

“The Greek Magical Papyri: Diversity and Unity”

A Thesis submitted for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

"The Greek Magical Papyri: Diversity and Unity"

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This thesis investigates the notion of *diversity* and *unity*, in the *Greek Magical Papyri* through a careful and detailed analysis of the ritual actions and spells. The issue of *diversity* and *unity* is examined in the manifold religious identities and identifications of the gods and deities in the *PGM*. The idea of *diversity* and *unity* is also examined in the various relationships described in the spells; the relationship of the individual to the divine in the concept of *πάρεδρος*; the relationship between the *πάρεδρος* and the divine; the relationship between the individual and his/her personal *daimon*; and finally the erotic relationships of individuals.

The aim of this thesis is to uncover the underlying philosophical, mainly Neo-Platonic, and mystical parallelisms and influences on the spells. I aim to show that the philosophical notion of *diversity*, *plurality*, and *unity* may apply to the religious identifications of the gods, thereby revealing significant religious tendencies.

My intention is also to prove that the concept of *diversity* and *unity* may also apply to the various relationships described and developed in the *PGM* texts, between the humans and the divine, or between the various forms of divine, or in the most intimate human relationships, the erotic and sexual relationships, or even between humans and their inner selves. The common factor in all these relationships is unity in a strong mystical and philosophical sense.

*For Christos
and my parents
with all my love*

*“σὺ δὲ μαγικὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων ὀπλισθεὶς μὴ θαμβηθῇς”
PGM IV.209-10.*

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I would also like to thank the postgraduates and staff of the Newcastle University for encouragement and discussion.

ABBREVIATIONS:

AA	Acta Archaeologica
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
AS	Ancient Society
ArchRG	Archiv für Religionsgeschichte
ArchRW	Archiv fuer Religionswissenschaft
ArchP	Archiv fuer Papyrusforschung
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BIFAO	Bulletin de l' Institut Français d' Archéologie Orientale
BKPh	Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie
BJ	Bonner Jahrbücher
BJS	British Journal of Sociology
CR	Classical Review
CPh	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CS	Classical Society
CJ	Classical Journal
DT	<i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> in Audollent, A. (ed.) (1904) <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> . Paris: Minerva GmbH.
DTA	<i>Defixionum Tabellae Appendix</i> in Wünsch, R. (ed.) (1897) IG (<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>), Vol.III, Pars III: <i>Inscriptiones Atticae Aetatis Romanae: Appendix</i> <i>Defixionum Tabellae Consilio et Auctoritate Academiae</i> <i>Litterarum Regiae Borussicae</i> . Berolini apud Georgium Reimerum.
EPRO	Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l' Empire Romain
GGR	Geschichte der griechischen Religion
GM	Göttinger Miszellen
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HR	History of Religions
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
ICS	Illinois Classical Studies
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism

JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute
KP	Der Kleine Pauly
LdA	Lexikon der Ägyptologie
LSJ	Liddell, Scott, Jones et al. (eds.) (1996) <i>A Greek-English Lexicon with revised Supplement</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>Numen S</i>	Numen Supplements
NP	Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike (Stuttgart, 2000)
OCD	Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (eds.) (1996) <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
OMRM	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden
OZ	Hopfner, T. (1974-90) <i>Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber, Vols. I-II</i> . Amsterdam: Hakket.
PB	Papyrologica Bruxellensia
PDM	<i>Papyri Demoticae Magicae</i> in Betz, H.D. (ed.) (1996) <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation</i> . Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
PGM	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> in Preisendanz, K. and Henrichs, A. (eds.) (2001) <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae vols. I-II</i> . Munchen, Leipzig: K.G. Saur Verlag GmbH.
PhQ	Philosophical Quarterly
PRE	Pauly-Wissova, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften
PRE.S	Pauly-Wissova, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften Supplementa
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RÄRG	Bonnet, H. (1952) <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co.
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
Roscher	Roscher W.H., Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie
SGD	Jordan, D.R. (1985a) "A Survey of Greek Defixiones not included in the Special Corpora", <i>GRBS</i> 26, pp.151-97.
SM	<i>Supplementum Magicum</i> in Daniel, R.W. and Maltomini, F. (eds.) (1990-2) <i>Supplementum</i>

Magicum, Vol.I-II. Papyrologica Coloniensia 16.1.

Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

SO

Symbolae Osloenses

TAPA

Transactions of the American Philological
Association

ZÄS

Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und
Altertumskunde

ZPE

Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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god of gods /Helios/Apollo/Zeus/Sarapis/
Abrasax/the great Intelligence (Nous)/Adonaie/
Sabaoth/Iao/Wisdom/Tyche/Hour and Day/
the encompassing/the system/the spirit/
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INTRODUCTION

The *Greek Magical Papyri*: General Character, History, Modern Editions and Translations

The *Greek Magical Papyri* are a collection of individual spells, hymns, rituals, remedies and phylacteries, formulae from liturgies, and elements from mythology (*historiolae*).¹ The material originated in Greco-Roman Egypt. The papyri date from the 2nd c. BC to the 5th c. AD. The *PGM* represent only a small body of the immense amount of such material that existed in antiquity, since most of the magical books were destroyed in the Roman period.² The major part of the collection of the *PGM* was discovered by Giovanni Anastasi. He was an Armenian merchant in Alexandria who in 1828 became consul-General in Egypt to the kingdoms of Norway and Sweden.³

Most of the papyri were found in, or near, tombs. It is possible that the papyri from the Anastasi collection, also known as the “Theban Magical Library”, were actually found in a tomb, and many of them from the same tomb, perhaps belonging to a private collection, or even deriving from a collection of a temple library in Thebes.⁴ This collector could be a magician who collected the magical papyri in order to use them.⁵ This systematic collection of the papyri could also be attributed to a scholar, or a philosopher, or even to an archivist who was interested in the collection of this material.⁶

The term *Greek Magical Papyri* is the English translation of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (hereafter *PGM*), a title given to the first edition of these individual papyri collected and edited by Karl Preisendanz and his team in two volumes, the first one in 1928 and the second in 1931. But the idea of an edition that should contain all the Greek magical papyri had been suggested a few years earlier by Albrecht Dieterich and the attempt launched by his students, but suddenly interrupted by the First World War.⁷ The second

¹ Betz (1996) p.xli.

² Suet.*Aug.*31.1; *Act.Ap.*19.19-20; *Amm.*xxviii.i.26, xxix.i.41, ii.4; *Chrys.Act.Apост.Hom.*xxxviii; on the “the survival of magic arts” see Barb (1963).

³ Dawson (1949) pp.158-66; Betz (1996) p.xlii.

⁴ Betz (1996) p.xlii; Brashear (1995) pp.3402ff.

⁵ For example, in the reconstructed lost beginning of the Demotic papyrus No.30646 in the Cairo Museum, prince Khamwas, son of king Ramses II and high priest of Ptah in Memphis, is presented as “a very learned scribe and magician”, who is informed about the existence of a magic book in the tomb of Naneferkaptah; Lichtheim (2006) vol.III, p.127.

⁶ See Betz’s article on “The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the *PGM*”, Betz (1982); Henrichs’ article on “Hieroi Logoi and Hieroi Bibloi”, Henrichs (2003a); and Faraone’s article on “Handbooks and Anthologies”, Faraone (2000).

⁷ Betz (1996) p.xliii.

edition of Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae* was published again with a number of corrections made by Albert Henrichs in two volumes in 1973-4. The second of these contained the complete re-edition of some of the papyri of the previous edition and the addition of some new papyri. These two volumes contain the PGM I to LXXXI. Preisendanz's and Henrichs' edition *Papyri Graecae Magicae* in volumes I and II was edited again in 2001. The latest is the edition I use in this thesis and shall refer to as Preisendanz (2001).

Betz's edition of "*The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*" in 1986 is the first translation in English of Preisendanz's and Henrichs' *Papyri Graecae Magicae*. This edition also includes a translation of the parts of the magical papyri written in Demotic Egyptian, which were excluded from Preisendanz's edition, the so-called *Papyri Demoticae Magicae*, hereafter referred to as PDM. It also contains fragmentary spells in Demotic Egyptian, the PDM Supplement. In addition, Betz's edition includes the translation of some Greek spells which are not included in Preisendanz's edition, numbered as PGM LXXXII-CXXX.⁸

In this thesis I use Betz's second edition of 1992/96.⁹ Unless otherwise stated, all references given in the form of Roman numerals followed by Arabic numerals are PGM references. I have also used the various translations in Betz (1996), modifying them and correcting them where necessary.

I have also incorporated in this study the examination of the spells of *Supplementum Magicum*, hereafter referred to as SM, volumes I and II edited by Daniel and Maltomini in 1990-2,¹⁰ some of which are contained in Betz's edition. Also examined is the comparative material of the *Defixionum Tabellae*, the "binding tablet" spells, dated from the 5th c. BC to the 6th c. AD. The study of the "binding tablet" spells includes the *Appendix of Defixionum Tabellae Atticae* from the Roman period, hereafter abbreviated DTA, edited by Wünsch in 1897,¹¹ and the *Defixionum Tabellae*, hereafter abbreviated DT, edited by Audollent in 1904.¹² Moreover, also included are more recent publications of binding tablets, such as Jordan's "Survey of Greek Defixiones not included in the Special Corpora", hereafter abbreviated SGD,¹³ and a number of "binding

⁸ See Appendix 1, tbl.1, p.144.

⁹ 1996 is the paperback edition which I follow throughout.

¹⁰ Daniel and Maltomini (1990-2) vols.I and II.

¹¹ Wünsch (1897) vol.III, prt.III; the binding spells included in this edition are 220 altogether and they are all written in Attic Greek.

¹² Audollent (1904); the binding spells edited by Audollent are 305 altogether and they are written in Greek (166 DT), Latin, or other languages.

¹³ Jordan (1985a) pp.151-197; Jordan's SGD contains over 650 *Defixiones*; see also Gager (1992).

tablet" spells published individually.¹⁴ I finally incorporated references to the magical amulets to illustrate some depictions in the *PGM* texts. The study of the magical amulets include among others Bonner's edition on "*Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Greco-Egyptian*", and more recent Kotansky's edition on "*Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze*".¹⁵

Characteristics of the *PGM*

Handbooks

There have been found nine magical handbooks, which have no title with only one exception, the *PGM* XIII, which was titled "a sacred book called 'Unique' or 'Eighth Book of Moses' ". These handbooks date from the 3rd to the 4th or 5th c. AD.¹⁶

Three of the magical handbooks are bilingual, written both in Greek and Demotic Egyptian. Demotic is an Egyptian script whose signs involve alphabetic, syllabic and ideogrammatic representations.¹⁷ These are the *PGM* XII/*PDM* xii, *PGM* XIV/*PDM* xiv, *PGM* LXI/*PDM* lxi.¹⁸

The *PDM* belong to the Anastasi collection and they were found in Thebes. Most of the papyri have old Coptic words (Coptic is the Egyptian language written with the Greek alphabet). The *PDM* are dated from the 3rd to 4th c. AD and were probably written by the same scribe, a bilingual person both in the Egyptian and Greek languages.¹⁹

Greek Language

Apart from the *PDM*, the *PGM* are written in *koine*, the post-classical form of Greek mainly based on the Attic and Ionic dialects. In the *PGM* there are many characteristics of the *koine*. The athematic -μι verbs were progressively eliminated in *koine*. Thematic formations, replacing the older forms, appear mostly in medio-passive and active participial forms, as for example in IV.334

¹⁴ E.g. Jordan (1985b) pp.205-55; Voutiras (1996); Voutiras (1998); Trakosopoulou-Salakidou (1997); Jordan (1999).

¹⁵ Bonner (1950); Kotansky (1994); see also Bonner (1951); Bonner (1954); Kotansky (1991) pp.107-37, (1991a) pp.41-60, (1991b) pp.237-8 and (1995) pp.315-37; Smith (1979) pp.129-36.

¹⁶ See Appendix 1, tbl.2, p.144.

¹⁷ On "the Demotic Verbal System" see Johnson (1976).

¹⁸ See Appendix 1, tbl.3, p.145; see also Griffith and Thompson (1904); Johnson (1975); Johnson (1977).

¹⁹ Johnston in Betz (1996) p.lvii.

we find the form παρατιθῶν. Another characteristic of the nouns is the genitive -ης instead of -ας for the female nouns of the 1st declension, as for example in IV.443 we find the form γαίης. Ionic forms are also quite often used instead of the Attic ones. Some examples are the forms κούρη (IV.337), or κούρα (IV.1463), ἄρσην, (IV.368f), μύρσινος (IV.1423), Οὔλυμπος (IV.1473), καταλλάσσω (IV.1499), πράσσω (IV.2505), φρίσσω (IV.2541). Apart from these technical aspects of language, there are many Homeric quotations in the *PGM*,²⁰ and there is much linguistic inventiveness in Greek coinages and use of Greek.²¹ Also noteworthy is the frequent use of Egyptian names within the Greek language invocations to the gods.

Hymns

Preisendanz identified some spells that were composed in meter, reconstructed them and included them separately at the end of volume II of his edition of *"Papyri Graecae Magicae"*.²² These are the *Hymns* to gods and deities, as for example, to Apollo, Hermes, Helios, Hekate-Selene-Artemis, Aphrodite, Typhon, the creator of all, the gods of all and to the underworld deities.²³ These hymns are twenty-six in number. Most of them are contained in the magical handbooks and are written in dactylic hexameter. There are also included four *Historiolae Magicae*, a kind of small histories with mythological elements.²⁴

The Magical Operation

The magical operation is called προᾶξις, πραγματεία, οἰκονομία, or μυστήριον. In the description of the magical operation, the first thing to be considered is the relationship between the magician and the user. The magician²⁵ is the person who possesses the knowledge of the proper instructions concerning the ritual action and the spell. The ritual action involves the performance of a ritual and the ritual words the reciting, or writing, of the spells. The spell most often is called ὁ λόγος (ὁ διωκόμενος, ὁ λεγόμενος, ὁ γραφόμενος), but also ἐπαιδὴ, or ἐπωδὴ, or κατάδεσμος

²⁰ E.g. IV.939-40; VI.30-1; and the "Homer oracle", VII.1-148; see also Appendix 4, p.149; also Ciruolo and Seidel (2002) pp.107-18.

²¹ See Appendix 5, p.151; also p.62.

²² Preisendanz (2001) pp.237-264.

²³ See Appendix 3, p.147.

²⁴ Preisendanz (2001) pp.264-6.

²⁵ On the magicians in Egypt in the Roman period see Dickie (2001); on Egyptian magical practice under the Roman Empire see Ritner (1995); on magic in early Christianity, see Aune (1980); on the magicians in Ancient Egypt, Gardiner (1917); on ancient Egyptian, Demotic and Greek Magic, see also Brashear (1995) pp.3390ff; on the magicians in ancient Egyptian magic, Ritner (1993) pp.191ff; also Pinch (1994) pp.47ff.

(binding spell). The erotic spell most often is called ἀγωγή, or ἀγωγήμιον, or φίλτρον, or φίλτροκατάδεσμος.²⁶

When performing the ritual the magician sometimes needs a magical material called οὐσία (“essence”, “material”).²⁷ The spell to be spoken or written often involves an invocation, or a hymn to the gods, or daimons. A divine “assistant” called πάρεδρος, who can assume many different forms,²⁸ is sometimes summoned to carry out a range of tasks.

Sometimes, the use of phylacteries is recommended in order to protect the eyes, or to protect against fever, or against daimons and a variety of evils. A phylactery, φυλακτήριον, in the *PGM* refers to any stone, material, papyrus amulet or lamella, engraved with a spell or otherwise, which is worn by the person for protection.

The magical operation and the relationship between the magician and the user are depicted in the data flow diagram in the Appendix 2.²⁹ The ritual, which consists both of action and of reciting, or writing, spells, is at the centre of the magical operation. With these ritual actions and spells the magician controls gods and deities, daimons and spirits of the dead, and defines his own status as a magician in relation to people by understanding the individuals and helping them in times of crisis and to the gods by deifying himself. But within the description of the magical operation in the *PGM* it is not quite clear to what extent these ritual actions or spells were practised, recited, or written by the magician, or the user.³⁰ Nevertheless, the symbolic significance of the ritual in magic is quite distinctive by comparison with the collective character of the rituals established by the state,³¹ since the magic rituals are designed not by a formal arm of the state in order to create a symbolic reality, impose collective emotions and feelings and so reinforce its power and status. Instead, the magic rituals are designed by individuals, the magicians, and, most importantly, they refer to individuals. The rituals in magic also control as described above gods and daimons, but the reason for their creation, their purpose and their focus is the individual, or the needs, the wishes, the anxieties, the feelings of the individual. The individual is not only the initial reason for the magic ritual, but also the final receiver of the results

²⁶ See the discussion of terminology on p.106.

²⁷ For οὐσία see Jordan (1985), pp.253-55; Betz (1996) p.336; Fountoulakis (1999).

²⁸ See chpt.2, pp.73-93 below.

²⁹ See Appendix 2, p.146.

³⁰ See also Faraone (1991) p.4.

³¹ See definition of ritual in Smith (1982) p.63; Kertzer (1991); Seaford (1995) pp.xiff.; I am not generally concerned in this thesis with the vexed relationship between magic and religion, although see pp.71-2 for a few remarks.

or the benefits of magic – even if that sometimes means causing harm to other individuals. The individual also is the agent who in a period of crisis gets in contact with the magician who can be described as a crisis resolver. The result of that contact is the activation of the magic ritual, which through a series of actions and spells imposes the feeling of a symbolic accomplishment of the wishes of the person. Thus this individual orientation of the magic ritual is opposed to the collective character of the state rituals (even including the “individual” character of the initiation in established mystery rituals) and makes the nature of the magic rituals quite revolutionary and so in a sense “anti-ritual”.

Categories of spells

The *PGM* and *PDM* may be divided into major categories such as: prayers and invocations to the gods, spells for revelation and divination and oracles, spells and rites to acquire an assistant, spells for the personal daimon, erotic spells, spells for favour and victory, spells and charms for memory and foreknowledge, medical spells, prescriptions, amulets and phylacteries, spells and phylacteries against daimons, horoscopes and astrology, spells for silencing and subjecting, or inflicting harm and finally but not least spells to release from spells. Clearly, the material is extremely rich and varied.

The Focus and Methods of this thesis

Magic, Definition, Diversity, Identification, Unity

Modern-day experts on ancient magic and religion offer definitions of magic that are functional and pragmatic. For example, Versnel defines it as “a manipulative strategy to influence the course of nature by supernatural (‘occult’) means”; and Faraone defines it as “a set of practical devices and rituals used by the Greeks in their day-to-day lives to control or influence supernaturally the forces of nature, animals, or other human beings”.³² These definitions acknowledge the supernatural aspect of magic, but stress also its practical purposes.

The Neo-Platonist philosopher Plotinus offers an idealising definition of magic: “and the true magic is the love and the strife again in the all” (καὶ ἡ ἀληθινὴ μαγεία ἡ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φιλία καὶ τὸ νεῖκος αὐτό).³³ And on the question of how magic works, Plotinus claims, “indeed by sympathy and by the fact that there is by nature a concord of the things alike and opposition of

³² *OCD* (1996), p.909; Faraone (2001) p.16; see also Versnel (1991); Bremmer (1999).

³³ *Plot.Enn.IV.40.6-7*.

the different things, and by the diversity of the many powers which contribute to the one living being” (ἡ τῇ συμπαθείᾳ, καὶ τῷ πεφυκέναι συμφωνίαν εἶναι ὁμοίων καὶ ἐναντίωσιν ἀνομοίων, καὶ τῇ τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν ποικιλίᾳ εἰς ἓν ζῶον συντελούντων).³⁴ The notion of love and strife is an allusion to the Pre-Socratic Empedocles’ concept of “Love” and “Strife”. Empedocles, referring to the endless interchange of things from one to many and from many to one, argues that in this dual process all come together into one by “Love”, “Φιλότητι”, and each are separated by the “emnity of Strife”, “Νείκεος ἔχθει”.³⁵

This idealising definition of magic has a highly philosophical underpinning. But it is intended to say something about the *reality* of magic. Plotinus and the Neo-Platonists generally were very interested in magic.³⁶

This thesis takes its point of departure from Plotinus’ definition and claim. It is concerned above all with the religious thinking of the spells. It seeks to examine in the various relationships described in a magical act the notion of *plurality*, or *diversity*, and *unity*, through a careful and detailed analysis of the ritual actions and spells. Philosophical and mystical influences affecting the description of these relationships are examined as well. My choice of spells is necessarily selective. I exclude medical spells, prescriptions, amulets and phylacteries, spells and phylacteries against daimons, horoscopes and astrology, spells for silencing and subjecting, or inflicting harm, and spells to release from spells.

In the first chapter the issue of plurality and unity is addressed in relation to the religious identities and identifications of the gods and deities in the *PGM*.

The second and third chapters are concerned with the relationship/union of the individual with the divine as articulated through the concepts of *πάρεδρος* and the personal daimon in the *PGM*. Furthermore, in the second chapter the relationship between *πάρεδρος* and the divine is examined.

Finally, the fourth chapter on Eros as a passion in the erotic Spells in the *PGM* aims to examine human erotic and sexual unions and to uncover the underlying philosophical and mystical ideas.

³⁴ Plot.*Enn.*IV.40.1-4.

³⁵ Emp.*Fr.*17.1-13, 19-20; Kirk-Raven-Schofield (1983) pp.287ff; see also Guthrie (1978) pp.152ff. The huge recent modern debate about Empedocles’ cosmic cycle is beyond my scope.

³⁶ See e.g. Eitrem (1941); Dodds (1947); Merlan (1953); Armstrong (1955/56); Dodds (1959); Zintzen (1977); Lewy (1978).

In many cases, careful and detailed analysis involves going through individual spells one by one. Here I have tried at all times to avoid mere paraphrase of content. That is a danger. But it is difficult to see how any other procedure could bring out the richness, variety and diversity of the material or the special characteristics of these spells. Moreover, many spells pose specific problems of interpretation and these are best dealt with “organically”. Such detailed analysis also facilitates the correction of errors of interpretation or translation in existing treatments. Finally, only such a procedure allows the bringing-out of the logic of particular spells and – frequently – the linguistic cleverness with which the magicians characteristically express themselves.

I have also included many parallels. Here the point is to try to assess how widespread any given assimilation or identification is.

CHAPTER 1

RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES AND IDENTIFICATIONS OF THE GODS

Introduction

This chapter examines the religious identities and identifications of the gods and deities invoked in the spells in the *PGM*. The initial purpose is to identify the many different religious elements represented from the Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian and Jewish religions (including late allusions to Christianity) and any other influences (especially including philosophical ones), and to analyse the logic, or logics, of the various identifications and assimilations made. More general questions about the nature of the whole underlying religious thinking will then be addressed in the conclusion. This will involve consideration of the notion of syncretism. I organise the material by analysis of individual spells beginning with the god first invoked.

Helios/Horus Harpocrates/the Great Living God/God-Creator/Iao/Sabaoth/Adonai/Mithras¹

Helios, a nature god of Indo-European origins, holds a place in the Greek anthropomorphic and polytheistic religion, although he is not included in the Olympians.² In the *PGM* Helios is one of the most often and one of the most powerful gods invoked. Among the spells addressed to him, four hymns are written in meter, specifically dactylic hexameter.³

In the spell called “Connection with Your Own Daimon” (VII.505-28),⁴ Helios is described as “you are the one who have in yourself the mixture of the cosmic nature (τὴν τῆς κοσμικῆς φύσεως σύγκρασιν)” (VII.511).⁵ This mention of “σύγκρασις” is the only case in the *PGM* that the term occurs. The

¹ I consider the relationship between Helios and Christos on p.59 below.

² See e.g. Burkert (1996) pp.17, 175ff. In the Homeric world he is addressed as “Helios Hyperion”, or just as “Hyperion”, e.g. Hom.Od.12.133, 260-402; 1.8; Il.8.48. The name *Hyperion* perhaps helped the association between Helios and the *Highest* god (see p.23 below).

³ Reconstructed *Hymn 3 “To Helios”* (IV.939-948), *Hymn 4 “To Helios”* (IV.436-461 (A), 1957-1989 (B), VIII.74-81 (C), I.315-325 (D)), *Hymn 5 “To Helios and to the gods of All”* (III.198-229) and *Hymn 11 “To Apollo and to Apollo-Helios”* (II.81-101, 133-140, 136-166); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, pp.237-68; see also Appendix 3, p.147 below.

⁴ On the title and terminology see p.94 n.2 below.

⁵ Similarly in Book Three of the *Corpus Hermeticum* called “A Holy Discourse of Hermes Trismegistos” there is a reference to “ἡ πᾶσα κοσμικὴ σύγκρασις”, “the entire cosmic mixture”, associated to God with Nature represented as its renewing power, “because, as stated, it is in god that nature has been established”: *Corp.Herm.*3.4. On Hermes Trismegistos and the *Hermetica* see p.17 below.

simple form “κράσις” is also found only once in the *PGM*, in the so-called (by modern scholars) “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475-829),⁶ in which the magician addresses “fire” among the four elements (*pneuma*, fire, water, earth substance), defining it as “the one given by god to my mixture of the mixtures in me” (τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδώρητον) (IV.490-1). There is here one formal difference from our spell, in that, although fire is god-given, the term “κράσις” refers to the constitution not of a divine, but of a human, agent, that of the magician. But the constitution of the human agent reflects the larger divine or cosmic constitution. The term itself is found as early as the Pre-Socratic philosophers, as for example in Empedocles, as Kingsley notices.⁷ But Betz states that in context “κράσις” implies specific influences from Stoic cosmology on the four elements.⁸

We immediately face a recurring interpretative problem in the *PGM*, how far is it plausible to see the influence of sophisticated philosophy on these texts? Betz’ view of IV.490-1 seems right, because the verbal and conceptual parallels are close. What of our spell?

The closest formal parallels to the description of Helios as a deity who has inside him *the mixture of the cosmic nature* are found in Neo-Platonist philosophy. Plotinos, for example, in *Ennead VI “On the Kinds of Being II”*, discussing the *genera* (γένη) identified with *principles* (ἀρχάς), says, “so, by mixing the *genera*, all of them together with each other, each with those under these, do we accomplish *the whole* and make *a mixture of everything?*” (ἀρα τὰ μὲν γένη, ἕκαστον μετὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτά, ὁμοῦ μιγνύντες ἀλλήλοις τὰ πάντα, τὸ ὅλον ἀποτελοῦμεν καὶ σύγκρασιν ποιοῦμεν ἀπάντων;).⁹ Earlier in the same treatise, Plotinus argues that the “one” (ἓν) is at the same time also many (ἅμα καὶ πολλὰ) and “that manifold (ποικίλον) one having the

⁶ On “The Mithras Liturgy” see Meyer (1976); also Betz (2003).

⁷ Emp.*Test.*86.48-50, “οἷς δὲ καθ’ ἓν τι μόριον ἢ μέση κρᾶσις ἐστὶ, ταύτῃ σοφοὺς ἑκάστους εἶναι”; *Test.*86.68; 86.106-7, “ἔτι δ’ οἷς ἢ κρᾶσις ἐξ ἴσων, ἀνάγκη συναύξεσθαι κατὰ μέρος ἑκάτερον”; *Fr.*96.12-13; see Kingsley (1996) pp.374-5; also Betz (2003) pp.105ff.

⁸ Betz (2003) pp.107-8; cf. Zeno Stoic.*Fr.*102.7ff; Chrysip.Stoic.*Fr.*Log. et *Phys.*414.7ff, 420.58, 470.5ff, 471.19ff, 472.2ff, 473.17ff, 476.3ff, 478.2ff, 487.4ff; *Fr.*Mor.33.9ff, 229.a.43ff; on the “σύγκρασις” of the four elements see Chrysip.Stoic.*Fr.*Log. et *Phys.*555.5; also on “τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος κρᾶσιν” see Posidon.*Fr.*13.59ff; also *Fr.*169.35ff, 290a.367ff, 291.61ff, 307.2, 309a.4.

⁹ Plot.*Enn.*6.2.2.22; also Plot.*Enn.*6.3.25.9ff, “Εἰ δὲ σύγκρασιν τινα καὶ μίξιν σημαίνουσι καὶ κρᾶσιν καὶ εἰς ἓν ἐξ ἑνὸς σύστασιν τὴν κατὰ τὸ συνίστασθαι γινομένην, οὐ κατὰ τὸ συνεστάναι ἤδη” (Sleeman, Igal, H-S reads “σύγκρασιν”, though Armstrong in the Loeb ed. (2000) reads “σύγκρισιν”); Plot.*Enn.*3.3.4.49; also Porph.VP.31.9, “τὴν δὲ πασῶν ἅμα σύγκρασιν καὶ συμφωνίαν καὶ ὡσανεὶ σύνδεσμον, ἥσπερ ὡς αἰδίου τε καὶ ἀγενήτου μέρος ἑκάστη καὶ ἀπόρροια, Μνημοσύνην ὠνόμαζεν”; also Iamb.*Comm.*Math.p.29.1; Iamb.*Theol.*Ar.5.18.

many in one". Therefore, it is necessary according to Plotinus that this "one" should either be "generically (τῷ γένει) one" and the beings (τὰ ὄντα) its species, "by which it is many and one", or "there should be more than one genera, but all under one", or more genera and "none of them under the other, but each containing (περιεκτικὸν) those under it" and that "all would contribute (συντελεῖν) to one nature (μίαν φύσιν)" and that "from all there would be the composition (τὴν σύστασιν) with the intelligible cosmos (τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ), which we indeed call the being".¹⁰ In the final steps of Plotinus' argument this "one" defined as "one nature" is associated with the intelligible cosmos. Proclus also in *"In Platonis Timaeum commentarii"* refers to "the mixture from all towards the implied creation, which exists on the whole".¹¹

Moreover, in another spell called "[Connection with] Helios" (III.494-611), Helios is identified with the entire cosmos when he is addressed as "the image, the whole of the cosmos" (ὁ τύπος, τὸ σύνολον τοῦ κόσμου) (III.538-9). τύπος can itself be a philosophical term,¹² and Helios is also addressed as "ἀεροδρόμο[ν] μέγαν θεόν", "air-traversing great god" (IV.497). The last term is used metaphorically with allusions to "philosophy-science" to establish an organic and spherical association of Helios with the cosmos. There are again formal parallels with the concept of the mixture of all and its relation to the whole as expressed in Neoplatonist philosophy.

Furthermore, in the same spell, Helios is identified with various "forms" (μορφάς) (III.500) of animals. His animal "form" and "image" (τύπον) is different each hour, as are his creative activities, which are associated with the production of various trees and stones (III.501-36).¹³ These various "forms" of Helios are noteworthy for two major reasons. First, the depiction of the gods in animal forms, or in human forms with animal heads, was a characteristic of the Egyptian religious concept of the personification of the divine, according to which not only humans but also animals and plants can be associated with the divine power, and considered, as Morenz points out, to be "God in potentia".¹⁴ Secondly, the various "forms" of Helios in relation to his

¹⁰ Plot.*Enn.*6.2.2.2ff.

¹¹ Procl.*in Tim.*2.268.1-3, "προσήκουσα οὖν ἢ εἰς τὰ ὅλα γένη τῶν ψυχῶν παραδέδοται διαίρεσις καὶ ἢ ἐκ τῶν ὅλων σύγκρασις πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην δημιουργίαν ὀλικὴν ὑπάρχουσιν"; Procl.*in Tim.*2.297.15; also Procl.*in Prm.*777.5-9, "Ἡ δὲ σύγκρασις τῶν εἰδῶν ἐμφαίνει τὴν κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀδιάζευκτον καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τὴν αὐλον, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγαίαν αὐτῶν καὶ πρωτουργὸν ἐνδείκνυται φύσιν"; Procl.*in Prm.*723.29, 1051.22-3.

¹² Cf. e.g. Dem.*Test.*135.26-8; Epicur.*Ep.Her.*46.1, 7, 52.8, 53.2, 68.4, *Ep.*1p.9U, *Nat.*2.6; Thphr.*Sens.*52.2, 8.

¹³ See Betz (1996) p.31, n.95.

¹⁴ Morenz (1992) pp.19-21.

description as a god who represents the whole cosmos (or, in the “Connection with Your Own Daimon” spell, “the mixture of the cosmic nature”) seems parallel to Plotinus’ doctrine of the “generically” and “manifold” “one” which “at the same time” is “also many” (*Enn.*6.2.2.2ff).¹⁵

Now, Plotinus was himself Egyptian-born, the Neo-Platonists generally (including Plotinos) were interested in magic,¹⁶ and the relative chronology allows the possibility of two-way influence. Therefore, in view of these general considerations and of the formal verbal parallels between VII.511 and Neo-Platonic texts I am going to adopt Neo-Platonic influence on some of the spells as a working hypothesis. This working hypothesis will be tested throughout this chapter and indeed throughout the thesis. Of course, the presence of Pre-Socratic and Stoic influences raises the possibility of other philosophical influences.

So much, for the moment, on hypothetical Neoplatonist influence on the spells.

I next analyse “the Consecration for all purposes spell to Helios” (IV.1596-1715). Here again cosmic characteristics are attributed to Helios but this time as “the greatest god”, “the eternal lord”, “the ruler of the cosmos” (κοσμοκράτορα), “the one over the cosmos and under the cosmos” (IV.1598-1600), and as “the one who shines in the whole inhabited world” (IV.1635-6).¹⁷ Similarly in the *Orphic Hymn to Helios*, Helios is described as “κοσμοκράτορ” and “δέσποτα κόσμου”.¹⁸ The same epithet is used of Οὐρανός in the *Orphic Hymn to Ouranos*.¹⁹

The epithet κοσμοκράτωρ is often used in the first centuries AD as an epithet of Helios, Zeus, or, in the plural, of Helios and Selene.²⁰ In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, it is also widely used in a positive political sense, of

¹⁵ On Helios and the various forms see also Iamb.*Myst.*VII.3.12-16, “διὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δοθέντων τὸν ἕνα θεὸν ἐμφαίνειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολυτρόπων δυνάμεων τὴν μίαν αὐτοῦ παριστάναι δύναμιν· διὸ καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν ἕνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, τὰς δὲ διαμείψεις τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοὺς μετασχηματισμοὺς ἐν τοῖς δεχομένοις ὑποτίθεται”.

¹⁶ See p.vii and n.36 above.

¹⁷ The same description of Helios also occurs in III.142-3; cf. also Helios’ description in IV.1639-42; cf. also IV.989-91 (p.9 below).

¹⁸ *Orph.H.*8.11 and 16.

¹⁹ *Orph.H.*4.4.

²⁰ For Zeus: e.g. Clem.Rom.Theol.*Homil.* 6.21.2.1-3 (late 1st c. AD); Vett.Val.*Anthol.Libr.*170.36 (2nd c. AD), 171.5; for Helios: e.g. id. 314.16-17; for Helios and Selene: e.g. id. 360.7; for Helios: Heph.Astr.*Apotel.* 158.24 (4th c. AD).

supposedly all-powerful kings and monarchs.²¹ Christian authors can use it in a negative sense, either of kings as lords of “this world” (as opposed to the heavenly world),²² or most often of the Diabolos himself, whom, according to Irenaeus Theologos, “they also call lord of the world”,²³ or also in the plural of the evil powers in general as, “the lords of the world of darkness”.²⁴ On the other hand, Christians can use the epithet “παντοκράτωρ” to describe God himself.²⁵ The term (or similar terms), therefore, was widely contested, as between political and religious spheres, and, within the religious sphere, between Christians and pagans. Its use of various gods by the Egyptian magicians within the Imperial period must be seen within this complicated agonistic context.

Helios is next addressed as “mighty ruler of the sea (θαλασσοκράτορα)” (IV.1600-1, cf. 1696-7), as opposed to the cosmos or the inhabited world. In relation to this characterization, he is also described as the one “who mates (ὀχεύων) in the ocean” (IV.1642-3). This sexual imagery of Helios must be connected with the visual image of the sun setting in the ocean and in that way it reinforces Helios’ description as the powerful ruler of the sea. Similarly, in the *Derveni Papyrus* the sun is likened with the genital organ as a vital power of regeneration.²⁶

Helios is then addressed as “the gracious (ὁ ἱλαρός) Good Daimon” (IV.1607, cf. IV.1643, 1709-10 “τὸ παρεστὸς Ἀγαθὸν Δαιμόνιον”). The Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων in the Classical and later in the Hellenistic period was the Good Genius to whom a toast was made after banquets, associated with snakes and fertility,²⁷ and here easily assimilated to Helios. Elsewhere in the PGM, as for example at IV.1041 Helios is also described as “ἱλαρός”, and at III.569, 575, Helios as invoked by the magician is described “with your face gracious”

²¹ E.g. Man.Hist.Fr. 5c.76-7 (3rd c. BC); Basil.Theol. *Enar. in Proph.Is.* 14.280.21-27 (4th c. AD); even in the 5th c. BC of the Egyptian queen Sesostriis, Ctes.Fr.3c.688F.69.2-6.

²² E.g. Ephr.Syr.Theol.Serm. *de Sec.Aduent et Iud.*226.12-13 (4th c. AD), *Serm. in eos qui in Christ. Obdorm.*103.9-13.

²³ E.g. Iren.Theol. *Adv.Haer.*1.1.10.12 (2nd c. AD); Jo.Chrisost.Scr.Ad.Vid.Jun.443, 505.34.13 (4th c. AD); Ps.-Macar.Scr.Eccl.Serm.25.2.29 (4th c. AD); Greg.Naz.Theol.Ad Civ.Nazianz.35.976.33 (4th c. AD).

²⁴ E.g. NT.Eph.6.12.3 (1st c. AD); Ign.Scr.Eccl.Ep.Interpol. et supposit.11.13.2.5 (1st c. AD); Clem.Al. *Strom.*3.16.101.3.6, 5.14.105.2.3 and *Qu.div.salv.*29.2.3 (2nd c. AD); Origen.Theol.Cels. 8.34.37, *Fr. de princ.*12.4, *Fr. in Evang.*Jo.2.26.167.3, *De Orat.*48.17 (3rd c. AD).

²⁵ E.g. *Pap.Mag. (Fr.Christ.)* Fr.1.1-4.

²⁶ *Derv.Pap.*Col.XIII (olim IX) 9, “αἰδοίωι εἰκάσας τὸν ἥλιο[v]”, Janko (2002), pp.26-7.

²⁷ See Burkert (1996) p.180; also Colpe (1976b); the Good Daimon is also identified with a god or deity in XXI.1-29 (the deity invoked is called “Good Daimon” (7-8)); IV.930-1114 (“the greatest god, lord Horus Harpokrates” is called “Good holy Daimon” (987-8, 995)); and XII.121-43 (the deity invoked is called “Good Daimon” (135-7); for the Good Daimon as a πάρεδρος see chpt.2, p.75 below.

(ἱλαρῶ [σ]ου τῶ προ[ο]σώπῳ).²⁸ Why is Helios described as “ὁ ἱλαρὸς”? Already in Homer’s *Odyssey*, Helios is a god “who gives joy to mortals” (τερψίμβροτος).²⁹ But in our spell the magician addresses Helios in the following specific terms, “the earth flourished when you shone forth and made the plants fruitful when you laughed, and brought to life the living creatures when you permitted,” “ἀνέθαλεν ἡ γῆ σοῦ ἐπιλάμπαντος καὶ ἐκαρποφόρησεν τὰ φυτὰ σοῦ γελάσαντος, ἐζωογόνισε τὰ ζῶα σοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος” (IV.1610-4).³⁰ Thus the epithet “ἱλαρὸς” is justified by the description of Helios as a source of life and regeneration and by his association with the creation of the world.³¹ Helios’ joy is also related to the mentioning of his secret names, “which you rejoice to hear”, as the practitioner characteristically asserts, referring to the traditional reciprocal relationship of satisfaction between the worshipper and the god (IV.1611). The reciprocity of the feeling of happiness in the relationship between the god and the magician is also expressed in the so-called spell “[Connection with] Helios” (III.494-611), when the magician says to Helios, “we rejoice (χαίρομεν), because you showed yourself to us, we rejoice, because, while we are still in bodies, you deified (ἀπεθέωσας) us by the knowledge of who you are” (III.600).³²

After the description of Helios/the gracious Good Daimon as the ruler of the cosmos and the sea and his association with the creation of the world, we shall examine his relation to heaven, when he is described as [the one] “to whom heaven has become the proceSSIONal way (κωμαστήριον)” (IV.1607).³³ This is a complicated description. The κωμαστήριον was the meeting place of κωμασταί, those people who carried sacred images in a religious procession. The κωμαστής, originally meaning a member of a κῶμος, is also an epithet of Dionysus³⁴ and consequently an allusion to that god’s mystical rites. Helios’

²⁸ See also *Orph.H.*8.3, “ζῶων ἡδεῖα πρόσσοψι”, 6, “φαιδρωπέ” and 14, “εὕδιε”.

²⁹ *Hom.Od.*12.269, 274.

³⁰ Morton Smith translates it as, “the earth flourished when you shone forth, and the plants became fruitful when you laughed; the animals begat their young when you permitted”; Betz (1996) p.68. But the translation of “τὰ φυτὰ” and “τὰ ζῶα” as the subject of “ἐκαρποφόρησεν” and “ἐζωογόνισε” respectively, and not “ἡ γῆ” as the subject of both verbs, diminishes the fruitful and life-giving powers of the earth.

³¹ See also Jacobson (1993) p.261.

³² Here the rejoicing has a Gnostic character (cf. “the knowledge of who you are”); on ‘knowledge’ in Gnosticism see, for example, *Nag.Ham.Libr.Gos.Thom.*3ff; *Nag.Ham.Libr.Interp.Know.*2ff; Robinson (1996) pp.126ff, 473ff; also *Gos.Jud.*50, 54; Kasser et al. (2006) pp.37ff; on the further association between knowledge and the womb (III.603-6) see chpt.3, pp. 101-3; also chpt.4, pp.132-33 below.

³³ The concept of heaven as the proceSSIONal way occurs elsewhere in the *PGM*, as for example in III.130, XII.182-3 and 252, XIII.774, XXI.10 and LXXVII.13.

³⁴ E.g. *Ar.Nu.*606, “κωμαστής Διόνυσος”.

characterization also as “ὄργεατης” [sic] in IV.1627 and the possible connection with “ὄργεαστής”, the one who celebrates “ὄργια”, “orgiastic rites”, which are often associated with Dionysus, accentuates the mystical allusions.³⁵ Thus in IV.1607 the religious and mystical observances of initiates on earth imitate and foreshadow the “processions of the heavenly hosts”.

But the idea of heaven as the place of procession is unique in Greek literature. Is there here a local Egyptian influence? Helios in the same spell is addressed as “Ψοῖ φνουθι νινθηρ”, which in Egyptian means “the Agathodaimon, the god of the gods” (IV.1643).³⁶ Another description of Helios which reveals Egyptian influence is that of “the lotus emerged from the abyss” (IV.1683-4).³⁷ Moreover, there is another local reference to Egypt when Helios is described as “ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἔχων καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης”, “who control the beginning of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited world” (IV.1637-40).³⁸ The use of the motif of the “beginning” and “end” to describe the power of a god is very common both in pagan and in Christian contexts.³⁹ Here Helios’ world-rule is in fact defined in relation to Egypt (as being one of the traditional “ends of the world”). But there is also an allusion in “τελευτὴν” to the mystery cults, as emphasised by the repetition of this ritualistic term and its cognates throughout this spell.⁴⁰ So Helios’ world-rule as defined in relation to Egypt also has mystical implications.

But could there be any other religious influences than the Greek and Egyptian ones on the description of the heavenly processions? Helios is also addressed as “Σαβαώθ Ἀδοναί, ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας” (IV.1626), an identification which reflects clear Jewish influences. The names are Jewish divine names.⁴¹ The epithet “ὁ μέγας” is not restricted to monotheism but is often used in monotheistic contexts. For example, in the so-called “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475-829), the monotheistic two-named god Helios-Mithras is addressed as

³⁵ Betz (1996) p.68, n.207; see also Pl.Alc.2.2, E.Ba.416; this whole analogy between magic and the mysteries is very important; see Betz (1982); (1991); (1995); also pp.43-44, 121, n.81 etc below.

³⁶ Betz (1996) p.68, n.210.

³⁷ On the origin of life from a lotus see Morenz (1992) pp.179-80; on the lotus and Harpocrates see p.9 and n.51 below.

³⁸ Morton Smith’s translation: Betz (1996) p.68.

³⁹ E.g. in relation to Jesus: NT.Apoc.21.6.2, “ἐγὼ [εἰμι] τὸ Ἀλφά καὶ τὸ Ω, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος”; also 22.13.3.

⁴⁰ IV.1639, “τελευτὴν”; IV.1617-9, “ἐπιτελοῦμαι... τελουμένω”; also the title of this spell, “Ἔστιν δὲ ἡ κατὰ πάντων τελετὴ ἥδε”; also IV.1661-2, “εἰς ὃ τελεῖται πρᾶγμα”; IV.1679 and 1700-1, “τελεσθήτω”; IV.1703, “ἐφ’ ᾧ αὐτὸ τελῶ”; IV.1710-11, “πάντα μοι τελέσαι”; IV.1714-5, “ἐὰν τελῇς”.

⁴¹ See. e.g. V.464-85 with p.16 below; III.219, 221, with p.49 below; XII.62-3.

“ὁ μέγας θεός” (IV.482).⁴² And while “ὁ μέγας” is not restricted to the Jewish g/God, it is widely used of him.⁴³ The context (with the two Jewish names) makes this association operative here. One might say that a *megatheistic* concept with Jewish influences has been grafted onto a basically monotheistic concept of the divine. And in the Jewish *Hekhalot* literature, which displays elements of early Jewish mysticism and magic, there are allusions to the mystical ascendance to “Hekhalot”, “the heavenly places”, and to “Merkabah”, “the chariot”, of Elijah by which he ascended to Heaven.⁴⁴ This, then, is the final element in the description of Helios as the one “to whom heaven has become the processional way”. But there is of course a difference of status: Elijah is a great prophet who ascends to Heaven. Helios is himself “the great god”, who has appropriated and extended a prophetic motif.

I move on to the analysis of the *Hymn “To Helios”* (IV.939-48), which is included in the long and elaborate “Spell that produces direct vision (of the divinity invoked)” (IV.930-1114). Here Helios is addressed as “φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί” (IV.939).⁴⁵ Preisendanz translates this as “feuers zauberische Gewalten”, giving a later interpretation to φυσικός as meaning magical.⁴⁶ Grese on the other hand in Betz’s edition translates it as “natural sources of fire” and explains it as a possible echo of a Pre-Socratic expression.⁴⁷ Certainly, the combination of the terms φυσικαὶ and ἀρχαί implies influences from Pre-Socratic philosophy (hence the translation ‘natural’ is better).⁴⁸ Helios, the sun, is also presented as a source of fire in some of the Pre-Socratics.⁴⁹

Helios is also described as “serpent and prime lion” (δράκων ἀκμαῖέ τε λέων) and “clear water and lofty-leaved tree” (λευκὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρον

⁴² See also Betz (2003) p.98.

⁴³ On the Jewish “ὁ μέγας θεός”, see *Deut.*VII.21.2-3, “ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν σοί, θεός μέγας καὶ κραταίος”; *Deut.*X.17.2, “ὁ θεός ὁ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ὁ φοβερός”; *Ps.*LXXXV.10.2; *Esd.*XI.5.2, XIX.32.2; *Ps.*XCIV.3.2; *Ps.*Sal.XVIII.10.1 etc.

⁴⁴ On the mysticism, magic and angelology in *Hekhalot* literature see Elior (1993).

⁴⁵ Reconstructed *Hymn 3 “To Helios”* (IV.939-48); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.238; similarly, Helios/ “the living god” is described as “πυριφεγγῆ”, “fire-blazing”, in IV.960; see p.11 below.

⁴⁶ Preisendanz (2001) vol.I, p.104-5; in the reconstructed *Hymn 3 “To Helios”* (IV.939-48) Dieterich and Hopfner emend to “Φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή”; Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.238.

⁴⁷ Betz (1996) p.56.

⁴⁸ Cf. e.g. *Democr.*Fr.53.8, “ταῖς ἀρχαῖς περὶ φύσεως”; *Heraclit.*Fr.41.5, “περὶ τῶν ἐπ’ ἀρχαῖς τεττάρων στοιχείων”, *Fr.*43.2, “αἱ πρῶται τοῦ παντός ἐφυσαν ἀρχαί”, *Fr.*49.3, “τοῖς τέτταρσι στοιχείοις κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν”; *Emp.*Fr.38.6 “εἰ δ’ ἄγε τοι λέξω πρῶθ’ ἥλιον ἀρχήν, ἐξ ὧν δῆλ’ ἐγένοντο τὰ νῦν ἐσορῶμεν ἅπαντα” and *Fr.*66.21. The epithet φυσικός was itself also used for the Pre-Socratics.

⁴⁹ E.g. *Anax.*Test.1.23 (*Fr.*24 Schaub.); 19.2; 42.20-1; *Emp.*Fr.1.186; *Democr.*Fr.87.1-2 (*Cic.de Fin.*I.6.20).

ὑψιπέτηλον) (IV.939-40). These epithets are allusions to Homeric expressions and indicate, as Grese points out, the magician's knowledge of the particular passage in Homer's *Odyssey*.⁵⁰

Helios is next characterised as "leaping upon the clover of the golden bean" (IV.941). Here Helios is identified with Harpocrates, "the god seated on a lotus, decorated with rays", as he is described at the end of the spell at the moment of his expected revelation to the magician (IV.1107-8). Harpocrates, the Egyptian young Sun god, is often depicted in magical amulets of the late Hellenistic and Roman period as a naked child seated on a lotus flower or in a boat. The rise of the sun was also represented with the young child Harpocrates seated on the lotus cup.⁵¹ In the following "spell to bring the god" (IV.985-1035), the magician clearly identifies Helios with "the greatest god (τὸν μέγιστον θεόν),⁵² lord Horus Harpocrates", "god of gods" whom he invokes (IV.987-8, 999-1000, 1048-9). Helios is also described as "the one who enlightens everything and illuminates by his own power the whole cosmos" (IV.989-91).⁵³ Similar descriptions are used of Helios in the spell IV.1596-1715 already examined.⁵⁴ In the *Hymn "To Helios"*⁵⁵ included in the "Wondrous love-binding spell" (IV.296-466), Helios is once again identified with Horus (κλήζω δ' οὐνομα σόν, Ὡρ') (IV.454).

To revert to the *Hymn "To Helios"* (IV.939-48). Very strikingly, Helios is addressed as "forefather" (προπάτωρ) (IV.948). Helios is also characterised as "forefather" (IV.456, 1986) in another *Hymn "To Helios"*.⁵⁶ Athanassiadi and Frede argue that this term is "an attempt to appeal to a being higher than the father of all".⁵⁷ This must be right, for Helios is also described as "self-engendered" (αὐτογένεθλε) and "first-appearing" (πρωτοφανής) (IV.942-

⁵⁰ H.*Od.*4.456-8, "λέων...δράκων...ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρον ὑψιπέτηλον"; see also Betz (1996) p.56; the phrase "δένδρον ὑψιπέτηλον" is an actual quotation; the use also of "λευκόν" in the PGM instead of the Homeric "ὑγρὸν" for ὕδωρ actually 'improves' upon Homer; see also the Appendix 4, p.149.

⁵¹ See Plu.*De Is. et Os.*355B; Bonner (1950) pp.140-7, pls.IX-X; El-Khachab (1971) pp.132-45; Betz (1996) p.68; cf. also PDM xiv.45; also p.22 below (Eros).

⁵² On this formulation see pp.7-8, 12 etc.

⁵³ For this cosmic depiction of Harpocrates in the Greco-Roman period see El-Kachab (1971) pp.132-45; also Bonner (1950) plates IX-X.

⁵⁴ See p.4 above.

⁵⁵ Reconstructed *Hymn 4 "To Helios"* [IV.436-461 (A), 1957-1989 (B), VIII.74-81 (C), I.315-325 (D)]; Preisendanz (2001) Vol.II, pp.239-40.

⁵⁶ Reconstructed *Hymn 4 "To Helios"* (IV.436-461 (A), 1957-1989 (B), VIII.74-81 (C), I.315-325 (D)), Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, pp.239-40.

⁵⁷ Athanassiadi and Frede (1999) pp.18-19; for the god-creator see XII.237-8, I.200; for Kronos/the creator of the whole inhabited world see IV.3121; p.49 below.

3).⁵⁸ Helios is similarly described as “αὐτοφυής” in the *Orphic Hymn to Helios*.⁵⁹ The concept of “ὁ θεὸς ὁ προπάτωρ” is also found in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and in the Neo-Platonist philosophers.⁶⁰ We are dealing here, then, with some form of Orphic cosmogony,⁶¹ combined with Pre-Socratic thinking about fire and the sun.

I move on to other representations of Helios.

In the “spell to bring the god” (IV.985-1034), Helios is described as, “holding the reins and steering the tiller, restraining the serpent” (IV.993-4).⁶²

The origins of the idea of the chariot of the Sun are Indo-European.⁶³ The representation of Helios in his chariot is also a familiar one in Greek literature.⁶⁴ The representation of Helios in his chariot is described in Near Eastern religious texts as well.⁶⁵ In the Arsacid period (3rd c. BC) of Iranian religious history, in which there are various Hellenistic and Semitic influences, we find the first artistic representations of the chariot god.⁶⁶ The rituals of sun cult were performed, for example, in the Kushan period by the *magas*, the Iranian Magi who originated in Saka in eastern Iran. Further evidence of the sun god cult is the statue of the Iranian sun god in a sanctuary in Kabul, and the paintings of the frescoes in Bamiyan (Afghanistan) depicting the chariot sun god associated with Mithras.⁶⁷ On the Greco-Egyptian magical amulets inscribed on small pieces of papyrus or gems and originating in the Hellenistic and Roman period in Egypt there are also depictions of Helios driving his four-horse chariot.⁶⁸

⁵⁸ For the association of “self-engendered” with the Egyptian Kephri see Grese’s note in Betz (1996) p.57, n.134; Helios is also described as “self-engendered” in I.341, and IV.1986 in the reconstructed *Hymn 4 “To Helios”*; also in IV.1716-1870 Eros is described as “πρωτοφάνῃ” (IV.1791).

⁵⁹ *Orph.H.*VIII.3, “*To Helios*”.

⁶⁰ *Corp.Herm.Fr.*23.10.4-5; see also *Iamb.Myst.*8.4.22ff; also for Ouranos in *Procl.in Tim.*3.99.17-8; see also discussion on pp.49, 52 below.

⁶¹ For the main lines of which see Kirk-Raven-Schofield (1983) pp.21-33.

⁶² In the salutation to Helios in the same spell (IV.930-1114), the magician also salutes the abstract Hours (αἱ Ὡραὶ), personified and characterized as Helios’ Hours, “in which you ride through” (ἐν αἷς διῷππεύεις) (IV.1049-50), with similar “chariot” imagery.

⁶³ See Gelling and Davidson (1969).

⁶⁴ E.g. *Hom.H.*31.9; *E.Med.*1321-2; see also the myth of Phaethon in Euripides’ fragmentary play *Phaethon*, in Collard et al. (1995) pp.195-239; also *Orph.H.*8.18-9.

⁶⁵ See Burkert (1996) pp.174-6.

⁶⁶ For the depiction of the chariot god in the ritual of headgear used by the Saka queen see Duchesne-Guillemin (1966) p.108; for the cult of Helios in Syria and his depictions in his chariot see Seyrig (1971) pp.337-73.

⁶⁷ Duchesne-Guillemin (1966) pp.109-111.

⁶⁸ Bonner (1950) pp.148-55 and plates XI-XII.

So the idea is very widespread. But in our text there is a very specific Egyptian influence. The whole phrase “holding the reins and steering the tiller” followed by “restraining the serpent” alludes to the Egyptian ritual of repulsing the serpent Apophis, who according to the myth every night tried to destroy the ship of the sun god Re while he was making his journey through the skies. This magical ritual and spell is recited in an Egyptian papyrus entitled “The Beginning of the book of overthrowing Apophis, the enemy of Re and the enemy of king Wen-nofer” dated to 310 BC.⁶⁹

Next, in another included spell (IV.959-973), Helios is invoked as “the living god” (τὸν θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα) (IV.960). This description implies Jewish influence and more specifically the claim of the Jewish religion about their “living god” in contrast to the “dead” pagan gods.⁷⁰

One may compare the embedded “Compulsion spell” (IV.1035-46), where the magician says that Helios is given orders by “the great living god” (ὁ μέγας ζῶν θεός), “the one who lives for eons of eons” (ὁ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων), “who shakes together, who thunders, who created (κτίσας) every soul and race” (IV.1037-9). Here there are several noteworthy points. Helios, “the living god” of IV.960, now takes orders from “the great living god”. The reference to the creator-god of every soul and race reveals an influence from the Jewish concept of the god-creator.⁷¹ The use of the verb “κτίζω” in the sense of “create” also has Jewish connotations.⁷² The phrase “ὁ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων” echoes Jewish and Christian hymnology.⁷³ The implications of the epithet “ὁ μέγας” have already been discussed.⁷⁴

In the spell IV.959-973, Helios is next described as “πυριφεγγῇ”, “fire-blazing”, and “invisible begetter of light” (IV.960). It is noteworthy that the adjective πυριφεγγής is found only here and twice in the *Orphica*, in one case of which it is used as an adjective to Helios as well.⁷⁵ The ritual of this spell called “light bringing” (φωταγωγία) justifies Helios’ characterisation, since it

⁶⁹ The Bremmer-Rhind Papyrus (British Museum 10188) XXVI.21, XXVIII.4-18; Pritchard (1969) pp.6-7; Betz (1996) p.57.

⁷⁰ See also Hall (1974) p.31; contrast XII.79, p.22 below.

⁷¹ See p.48 below.

⁷² See discussion on p.57 below.

⁷³ For the exact phrase “εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων” see *Ma.*XVIII.24.1, *Ps.*IX.6, 37.1, XVIII.10.1, XX.5.2, XXI.27.3, XLIV.18.3 etc; also *NT*, *Gal.*3.16.4, *Phil.*4.20.2, *Tim.*1.1.17.2, *Tim.*2.4.18.3, *Heb.*12.21.4, *Pet.*1.4.11.4, *Apoc.*2.8.3, *Apoc.*4.9.2, *Apoc.*4.10.3, *Apoc.*5.13.6, *Apoc.*7.12.4, *Apoc.*10.6.1, *Apoc.*11.15.5, *Apoc.*15.7.3, *Apoc.*19.3.3, *Apoc.*20.10.4, *Apoc.*22.5.4 etc; see also the work of Ostanes Magus the Alchemist, *To Petasion on This Sacred and Holy Art*; *Ost.* 2.262.21.

⁷⁴ See IV.1626 with p.7 above.

⁷⁵ *Orph.A.*214, “πυριφεγγέος Ἡελίοιο”; also in *Orph.L.*173.

involves the instilling of the god in the fire as part of the rite of “filling with spirit” (ἐνπνευμάτωσις) of the lamp with “holy spirit”.⁷⁶ The “holy spirit” of Helios may reflect influences from Zoroastrian religion, since according to Zarathushtra, God, ‘Ahura Mazda’, and his Holy Spirit, ‘Spenta Mainyu’, are one factor of the Zoroastrian Heptad.⁷⁷ Fire was also important in the Zoroastrian cults.⁷⁸

Helios in IV.930-1114 is also addressed as “Ἰάω”, a name which is derived from the Hebrew god YHWH. It is noteworthy that “Iao” identified with Helios is mentioned quite a few times in almost all the spells included in IV.930-1114 and in one instance together with Σαβαώθ.⁷⁹ But there is one exception. In the *Hymn “To Helios”* (IV.939-48) the identification of Helios with Iao does not occur at all. So, it could be that this hymn with traces of meter was composed earlier than the other spells included in the IV.930-1114 collection.⁸⁰ Helios/Harpocrates is also “praised (εὐλόγητος) among all gods, angels and daimons”, which again implies Jewish influences (IV.998).⁸¹

So much for Helios’ identifications with Yaweh.

As we have just seen in the spell IV.959-973, Helios can also be identified with the Persian god from the Zoroastrian religion, Mithras. There are other examples. In the charm for foreknowledge and memory called “A copy from a holy book” (III.424-66), “Helios Mithras” is greeted (III.462).⁸² Similarly, in the so-called “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475-829), the author at the beginning of the spell refers to “the great god (ὁ μέγας θεός) Helios Mithras” (IV.481), who has revealed his mysteries for immortality to the initiated magician and author of this spell. Here Helios-Mithras is presented as “the great god”, but in IV.1035-46 as already examined Helios is subordinate to “the great living god” (ὁ μέγας ζῶν θεός) (IV.1037-9). Here the *megatheistic* concept of the divine applies both to Helios-Mithras and to the “Jewish” living god here mentioned as superior to Helios. In another untitled spell (III.1-164), in the formula to Helios, Helios is again equated with “the greatest (μέγιστε)

⁷⁶ See IV.964-5; see also chpt.2, p.90 below.

⁷⁷ See Boyce (1984) pp.12-15.

⁷⁸ See Boyce (1979) pp.3-6.

⁷⁹ IV.961, 980, 991, 1000, 1010, 1034, 1039, 1043, 1049, 1076; Griffiths suggests that “Ἰάω” may also possibly be derived from “the Egyptian for ‘ass’, cf. Coptic ‘εἰω’”: Griffiths (1970) p.409, n.4, 5. But the Jewish influences in some spells and the references to other Jewish deities often mentioned together with Iao make the reference to the Jewish god more likely.

⁸⁰ See also Grese’s note in Betz (1996) p.56, n.128.

⁸¹ On “εὐλόγητος” see *Gen.*IX.26.2, XII.2.2, XIV.20.1, XXIV.27.1, XXVI.29.3; *Deut.*VII.14.1; *Od.*VII.26.1, VIII.52.1, IX.68.1 etc.

⁸² Notice also the only one reference to the Persian Zoroaster (Ζωροάστρης ὁ Πέρσης) in the PGM (XIII.967-8).

Mithras", and described as "holy king, the sailor, who controls the tiller of the great god". This refers to the daily solar sea journey on the boat of the Egyptian sun god Re (III.99-102, cf. III.80-2).⁸³

Apollo/Helios/Zeus/Titan/Horus, Harpocrates

The equation of Apollo and Helios in the Greek religious cults is attested in the cult of Apollo and Helios related to the festival of the election of the *euthynoi* in Athens, which used to take place in those gods' sanctuaries in the agora. The equation thus goes back to the 5th century BC.⁸⁴

In the PGM Helios is often equated with Apollo. In the *Hymn "To Apollo and to Apollo-Helios"* (II.81-101, 133-40, 163-6),⁸⁵ included in the spell for revelation entitled "An alternative procedure" (II.64-184), Apollo, addressed as "Ἰήϊε", "Παιάν" and "Τιτάν" (II.82, 86), is identified with Helios (II.88). Similarly, Helios is identified with Titan in III.209.⁸⁶ The identification of Apollo with Titan also occurs in the *Orphic Hymn to Apollo*.⁸⁷ Apollo is also described as "Zeus' eye that guards the earth"⁸⁸ and later is identified with Ζάς, an old form for Zeus.⁸⁹ Among the various epithets attributed to Apollo/Helios is "unshaken" (ἀστυφέλικτε) (II.90). This epithet is also used in Proclus' *Hymn to Helios*.⁹⁰ Apollo/Helios is also addressed as "with a golden headband" (χρυσομίτρη) ((II.90), an epithet which characterises Dionysus in Sophocles' *Oedipous Tyrannos*.⁹¹

In the same hymn cosmic characteristics are attributed to Apollo/Helios when he is mentioned as the one "who dwell in the whole inhabited world" and as "seated upon the lotus and who light up the whole inhabited world" (II.101-3). This cosmic depiction of the seated god illuminating the whole world has

⁸³ See Betz (1996) p.21.

⁸⁴ Burkert (1996) pp.335-6, 406, n.55; see also A.Supp.212-14, Fr.83.

⁸⁵ Reconstructed *Hymn* 11 "To Apollo and to Apollo-Helios" (II.81-101, 133-40, 163-6); Preisendanz (2001) Vol.II, pp.245-6.

⁸⁶ Helios is also addressed as Titan (XXIII.26) in the spell XXIII.1-70, which contains a passage from *Kestos* 18.20 of Julius Africanus (see Betz (1996) p.264); also Emp.Fr.38; also *Orph.A*.512.

⁸⁷ *Orph.H*.34.3; also in *Collectanea Alexandrina: Lyrica Adespota* 35.23; Powell (1925) p.197.

⁸⁸ II.89, "Διὸς γαιήοχον ὄμμα"; see also III.215 and the Reconstructed *Hymn* 5 "To Helios and to the gods of All", Hymn 5.18, "Δι[ὸς] ὄμμα τέ[λειον"; Preisendanz (2001) Vol.II, p.241.

⁸⁹ II.115, Ζάς; see also XIXa.44, "Zās"; also "Zāνα" in *Derv. Pap* Col.8.9, Col.9.3, Col.9.13 and Col.23.3.

⁹⁰ Pr.H.Hel.15; Abel (1885) pp.276-8; this epithet is also used for Herakles in the *Orphic Hymn to Herakles*, *Orph.H*.12.13.

⁹¹ S.OT.209; notice also other epithets with "χρυσ-" compounds such as, "χρυσήνιε, χρυσοκέλευθα", "with reins of gold, travelling on a golden path" (II.91) in that hymn.

already been examined in relation to Helios/Harpocrates.⁹² The identification between Apollo and Horus is an old one, since Herodotus already mentions it in his *History*.⁹³ Moreover, Apollo/Helios is described as “many-named” (πολυώνυμε) (II.107-8), with specific references to his various forms. We have already examined the various forms of Helios in the previous section.⁹⁴ The concept of a god to whom can be attributed many names is already attested in Greek religion, as for example, as Burkert points out, in the identifications of Apollo and Helios, Apollo and Paeon and Ares and Enyalios and implies monotheistic tendencies. In the words of Aristotle, “εἷς ὢν ὁ θεὸς πολυώνυμος ἐστίν”.⁹⁵

In the *Hymn “To Apollo”* (VI.22-38), included within the untitled “Spell for connection with Helios” (VI.1-47),⁹⁶ Apollo is described as, “ἀργυρό[τοξ]ε, ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέ[βηκ]ας Κίλλαν τε Ζαθέην [Τε]νέδοιό τε Ἴφι ἀνάσσεις”, “god of the silver bow, who bestride Chryse and holy Killa and who are king in strength over Tenedos” (VI.30-1). This is an exact quote from the first book of Homer’s *Iliad* (1.37-8) and indicates the author’s personal knowledge of that particular book.⁹⁷ In the same spell, Daphne, “Apollo’s holy plant of presage” and “Phoibos’ mistress” (VI.40-1), is invoked as well.⁹⁸

Sarapis/Helios/Zeus/Mithras/the Great Mind (/Nous) /Aion/Adonai/Iao /Sabaoth

After the examination of the religious identifications of two major Greek gods, Helios and Apollo, we shall examine the *PGM* references to Sarapis. In origin, Sarapis is quite a different case from the other two, because he was a god created by the Ptolemaic dynasty in the third century BC as a way of securing a divine patronage for the newly founded city of Alexandria and of reinforcing the divine origins of their own dynasty. His divine figure assimilated features of the Egyptian Osiris and the Greek Asklepios and together with Isis and Harpocrates he was worshipped in Hellenistic and

⁹² See II.106-7; also IV.1107-8; see also IV.989-91; for the cosmic characteristics of Helios see III.494-611; see p.3 above; for the lotus see pp.7 and 9 above.

⁹³ Hdt.*Hist.*2.144.

⁹⁴ See pp.3-4 above.

⁹⁵ Burkert (1996) p.120; quotation from Arist.*Mu.*401a.12.

⁹⁶ Reconstructed *Hymn* 10 “*To Apollo*” (VI.22-38); Preisendanz (2001) pp.244-5.

⁹⁷ Another phrase from the same book is also copied, VI.36-9, “Σμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτ[έ] τοι χαρίεντ’ ἐπὶ βωμὸν ἔρεψα, ἢ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κ[ατ]ὰ πύονα μηρὶ’ ἔκηα ταύρων ἡδ’ α[ἰγ]ῶν, τόδε μοι κρήνηο[ν] ἐέλδωρ”; see Hom.*Il.*1.39-41.

⁹⁸ Reconstructed *Hymn* 13 “*To Daphne*” (VI.6-21) and *Hymn* 14 “*To Daphne*” (VI.40-7); see also *Hymn* 12 “*To Apollo and Daphne*” (234-58) within III.187-262, where Apollo is invoked together with Daphne; Preisendanz (2001) pp.247-8.

Roman Egypt.⁹⁹ Sarapis' name combines the Egyptian names of Osiris and Apis. Plutarch in *De Iside et Osiride* mentions the legend about Sarapis' creation, referring to Ptolemy Soter's dream of the colossus of Pluto in Sinope, the Egyptian origins of his name and his worship in Memphis.¹⁰⁰ Sarapis' hybrid character reveals the Ptolemaic dynasty's desire to create a god that could combine features of both Greek and Egyptian gods in order to appeal to these different ethnic and religious groups. Sarapis' cult was expanded to the rest of Egypt during the Roman period and he was often identified with Zeus and Helios whose divine characteristics defined him as a very powerful cosmic and solar god. It is also noteworthy that in the Hellenistic and Roman period many human names, both female and male, were derived from Sarapis.

Sarapis is therefore a god of particular interest and importance for the processes of divine assimilation and identification with which the *PGM* are concerned.

In the untitled erotic spell XIXa.1-54, Sarapis is invoked as “ὦ Ὅσαραπι Σάραπι”, both with “Osarapis”, an older form of his name, and “Sarapis”, his common invocation name (XIXa.6). Moreover, the names of the three sacred bulls of Apis are mentioned (ὦ Ὅσορ Νοβηχίς, Ὅσορ Μνευεῖ, ὦ Ὅσορ Νωφρίς) (XIXa.6).¹⁰¹ It is also interesting that in the ritual of “the bowl divination spell” (IV.154-285) the river water is associated both with Sarapis and with Osiris (IV.226-7).

In the “Spell to Helios” (IV.1596-1715), the magician is instructed to say when he completes the consecration spell, “one Zeus Sarapis” (εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις) (IV.1715).¹⁰² Similarly, in the “Oracle of Sarapis” (V.1-53), the god invoked to give a prophecy to the magician absorbs the attributes of various Greek gods and of one Persian god, Mithras. The order of the names is interesting, both chronologically and psychologically, “Ζεῦ, Ἥλιε, Μίθρα, Σάραπι”, with Zeus first, Sarapis last and Helios in the middle with Mithras following him (V.4-5). Next, this god is addressed as “the great, great (ὁ μέγας, μέγας) Sarapis” (V.12). The doubling of the positive for emphatic reasons also occurs in Hebrew and is reflected in the Greek of the *Septuagint* and of the *New Testament*.¹⁰³ This grammatical phenomenon called epanadiplosis is commonly used in the *PGM* in the magical formula “ἦδη ἦδη, τάχυ τάχυ”,

⁹⁹ For the cult of Sarapis in Egypt see Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) pp.214-21.

¹⁰⁰ See Plu.*De Is. et Os.*361F-362E.

¹⁰¹ See Betz (1996) p.256.

¹⁰² For such formulations and their implications cf. Arist.*Mu.*401a 12, quoted on p.14 above.

¹⁰³ E.g. LXX *Is.*6.3, NT.*Mat.*25.11, *Luk.*8.24, *Mat.*23.7, *Jn.*19.6 etc.; see also IV.3270, “ὁ μέγας μέγας Τυφῶν”; Blass (1961) sect.493.1.

often repeated at the end of spells. The identification of Zeus, Helios and “great” (μεγάλω) Sarapis occurs in two other spells (LXXIII.1 and LXXIV.1-2). Similarly, in XXXIb.1-10, Sarapis is identified with Helios (XXXIb.1). In other cases he is also invoked individually (XIII.620 and 640).

In the spell V.459-89 Sarapis is also equated to “the creator” (τὸν κτίσαντα), “the great Mind” (ὁ μέγας Νοῦς), Aion, Zeus and the Jewish Adonai, Iao and Sabaoth (V.464-85). Aune points out that the divine conceptualisation of Nous is an influence from Greek philosophy.¹⁰⁴ Plutarch also in *De Iside et Osiride* connects Osiris (one of Sarapis’ constituent gods) with *Nous* and reason.¹⁰⁵ What is interesting is here the identification of Sarapis with the Jewish creator-god and with various forms of Yaweh.

The tendency of deriving names from Sarapis is also reflected in the PGM, especially in the erotic spells in which the names of the persons involved and their mother’s names are mentioned.¹⁰⁶ In the erotic spell XVI.1-75, for example, the name of the male victim of the spell is Σαραπίων,¹⁰⁷ and in another erotic spell (XXXII.1-19) the name of the female victim is Σαραπιάς (XXXII.5, 10, 15). The name is even given to a plant called “Σαράπιδος βοτάνης”, which is used in an erotic charm as described in XXXVI.361-71.

As for Sarapis’ political significance in Egypt, in the untitled spell V.447-58 the magician is instructed to engrave on a stone Sarapis seated, holding an Egyptian royal sceptre and on it an ibis (V.447-9). This was a common depiction of Sarapis in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹⁰⁸

Hermes/Thoth/Hermes Trismegistos

Hermes in Greek religion was the messenger of the gods, also associated with logos as an interpreter of the divine and with the founding of the civilisation.¹⁰⁹ He was also presented as a thief in Greek mythology, as for example in the myth of stealing Apollo’s cattle, or in various episodes in the Iliad.¹¹⁰ His visual depictions showed him wearing winged sandals and

¹⁰⁴ Betz (1996) p.109.

¹⁰⁵ Plu.*De Is. et Os.*371A.

¹⁰⁶ See chpt.4, p.130 below.

¹⁰⁷ Also in XXXIc.4 the name Tasarapion is mentioned as well as the name Sarapion; in the PGM *Fragmenta Christiana* 9.5, the name of the father of the person who recites the spell to drive out a daemon is also Sarapion.

¹⁰⁸ Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) p.217; Bonner (1950) plat.1.

¹⁰⁹ Burkert (1996) pp.157-9.

¹¹⁰ E.g. *Hom.H.IV “To Hermes”* 17ff; *H.II.5.385ff, II.24.109, 334-470.*

holding a magical staff. Hermes also was associated with magic and medicine and with the world of the dead as being the escort of souls.¹¹¹

The Egyptian god Thoth was the moon-god represented in the Egyptian pantheon as an ibis, or a baboon. Thoth represented similar characteristics to the Greek Hermes. He was, for example, the messenger of the gods and the divine scribe associated with the sacred writings, wisdom and knowledge of magic and medicine.¹¹² He was also related to the dead as the god who would judge the dead and guide their souls. The tendency to identify Hermes with Thoth is already expressed in Herodotus when he refers to the city of Thoth as “Ἐρμέω πόλιν”, associating it to Ibis,¹¹³ and when he calls the temple of Thoth in Bubastis “Ἐρμέω ἱρόν”.¹¹⁴ Because of this resemblance of characteristics and attributes the Greek Hermes and the Egyptian Thoth were systematically identified with each other in the Hellenistic and Roman period.¹¹⁵ The Egyptian god Thoth as reinterpreted under Greek influence and the Greek god Hermes as Egyptianized produced the remarkable synthesis of *Hermes Trismegistos*, “the thrice greatest”. The synthesis of Hermes “*Trismegistos*” was also a way of distinguishing him from the Greek Hermes and recognising his Egyptianization as expressed in his identification with Thoth. The epithet “*Trismegistos*” (apart from the *Hermetica*) is first attested in texts of the 2nd century AD.¹¹⁶ The epithet “thrice-great” derives from the repetition of the positive three times in the superlative in the Egyptian language.¹¹⁷

Hermes Trismegistos was also associated with the *Hermetica*, which includes religious and philosophical treatises of syncretistic character¹¹⁸ from the Roman period in Egypt. The Hermetic writings were written in the form of short dialogues, most of the time between Hermes Trismegistos and his fictitious students, Tat, Asclepius, or Ammon. Greek philosophy was thought to have originated from the books of the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos.¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ E.g. H.*Od.*24.1-14.

¹¹² Morenz (1992) p.270; Wiedemann (2003) pp.225ff.

¹¹³ Hdt.*Hist.*2.67.6-7.

¹¹⁴ Hdt.*Hist.*2.138.21.

¹¹⁵ For the invention of a system of correspondence between Greek and Egyptian gods in that period see Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) pp.140-7.

¹¹⁶ Ph.*Bybl.Fr.*2 (810.3), Athenag.*Leg.*XXVIII.6; Fowden (1993) pp.216-7.

¹¹⁷ Betz (1996) p.133; see also Parlebas (1974) pp.25-8; for the title Hermes *Pentamegistos* see Ritner (1981) pp.73-5; Ritner (1981) pp.67-8; Boylan (1922) pp.129-30, n.2; Scott (1924) vol.1, p.5, n.1.

¹¹⁸ For “syncretism” see the discussion on p.67 below.

¹¹⁹ Scott (1924) vol.1, p.5; see also Pl.*Phdr.*274c-275d; Pl.*Phlb.*18b.

The Greek characteristic of Hermes as a thief is mentioned in XIII.1-734 when Hermes is playfully accused by the author of his spell of thieving the seven names of incenses from this handbook for his own book, probably another Hermetic Book (XIII.15-16).¹²⁰ In another spell (XIII.343-646), the Greek etymological connection of Ἑρμῆς and the verb “ἑρμηνεύω”, “to interpret”, is mentioned (XIII.487-90).¹²¹

Hermes is often invoked in the *PGM*. In the “Lamp divination” spell (VII.540-78), he is called “the thrice-great (τρισμέγας) Hermes” (VII.550). Here there is an implicit allusion to Hermes Trismegistos. Elsewhere, in the so-called “Solomon’s spell that produces a trance” (IV.850-929), he is mentioned as “the thrice-greatest (ὁ τρισμέγιστος) Hermes” (IV.886). Here the identification with Hermes Trismegistos is explicit. In the “Writing-tablet to the waning Selene” (IV.2241-2358), there is an address to “the leader of all the magicians, Hermes the Elder” (IV.2288-9). The epithet “Elder” refers specifically to the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos who was regarded as older than the Greek Hermes.¹²²

Next we shall examine the references to Hermes’ visual depictions in the *PGM*. In the untitled revelation spell (V.370-446) he is described as “wearing a mantle” and “with winged sandals” (V.403-4). In the same spell there is a reference to the figure of Hermes that the magician is instructed to make, described as “wearing a mantle” and holding a “herald’s wand” (V.379-81). In another spell (VIII.1-63) the magician is also instructed to make a wooden figure of a small dog-faced baboon sitting down and wearing Hermes’ winged helmet (VIII.53-5). Hermes’ depiction here absorbs a characteristic of Thoth, his representation as a baboon. In another spell, the so-called “Request for a dream” (XII.144-52), Hermes is described as “ibis-faced” (XII.145).¹²³ Hermes’ representation in this instance alludes to the other most common representation of Thoth, as an Ibis, or with an Ibis head. Hermes’ visual depictions in the *PGM* spells are thus a mixture of Greek and Egyptian features from the Greek god Hermes and his equivalent Egyptian god, Thoth.

In IV.2241-2358, Hermes is mentioned as Isis’ father (IV.2289-90). Similarly in the untitled erotic spell (IV.94-153), which is mainly written in old Coptic, “Thoth the Great” is presented as Isis’ father (IV.96).¹²⁴ Plutarch also in *De Iside et Osiride* mentions the tradition according to which for some Isis was the

¹²⁰ See also Betz (1996) p.172.

¹²¹ Also in XIII.172-5; also *Orph.H.*18.6, “ἑρμηνεῦ πάντων”.

¹²² Betz (1996) p.79.

¹²³ See also VIII.10.

¹²⁴ Even though in the Egyptian mythology the primordial Geb was thought to be the father of Isis.

daughter of Hermes and for others the daughter of Prometheus.¹²⁵ Griffiths explains this association between Isis and Thoth and accordingly with Hermes by the common connection of all these gods with wisdom.¹²⁶ Although the name Isis actually derived from the throne that the goddess personified, Isis in Greek can be etymologically connected with knowledge from the stem ἴσ- of the verb οἶδα.¹²⁷

The *PGM* also attribute cosmic characteristics to Hermes. In the *Hymn "To Hermes"* of the untitled spell for revelation (V.370-446), Hermes is called "ruler of the cosmos" (V.400).¹²⁸ The epithet "κοσμοκράτωρ" has already been examined in this chapter in relation to Helios.¹²⁹

In the same spell, in the included *Hymn "To Hermes"*, Hermes is also addressed as "ἐνκάρδιε", "in the heart" (V.400).¹³⁰ In the untitled spell for picking a herb (IV.2967-3006), Hermes' heart is also mentioned twice (IV.2983 and 2993-4). Similarly, Hermes is connected with the heart in the spell called "A sacred Book called 'Unique' or 'Eighth Book of Moses'" (XIII.1-734),¹³¹ in the following reference: "Nous (and Phrenes) (Νοῦς καὶ Φρένες) appeared because of the sharpness of the god holding a heart, and was called Hermes by whom all things have been interpreted;¹³² he is also in the mind/heart (ἐπὶ τῶν φρενῶν), by whom everything has been managed (δι' οὗ οἰκονομήθη τὸ πᾶν)" (XIII.487-90 and 172-5). Hermes' association with the heart and intelligence is accentuated by the adjectives "pleading the cause of justice" (πειθοδικαιόσυνε), "who holds the reins of the spirit" (πνεύματος ἡνίοχε) and "Helios' eye" (V.403 and 405).¹³³ Similarly, Thoth in the *Egyptian Book of the Dead* defines himself as "the Lord of Justice".¹³⁴ We have already seen Apollo described as "Zeus' eye" (II.89) in the spell for revelation (II.64-184).

¹²⁵ Plu.*De Is. et Os.*3.352a-b.

¹²⁶ Griffiths (1970) p.263; for the association between Isis and Thoth in the Greco-Egyptian tradition see also Morenz (1992) pp.219-20 and 336.

¹²⁷ Morenz (1992) p.23.

¹²⁸ The Reconstructed *Hymn 15/6 "To Hermes"* (V.400-20, VII.668-80 and XVIIb.1-23); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.249. The same hymn is also found in the untitled prayer to Hermes (XVIIb.1-23) with the same epithet "κοσμοκράτωρ" (XVIIb.1) and in the "spell for obtaining dream revelation/dream oracle" (VII.664-85), a similar epithet "παντοκράτωρ" (VII.668) is used as an epithet to Hermes.

¹²⁹ See pp.4ff. above.

¹³⁰ See also VII.668-9 and XVIIb.1.

¹³¹ On the *interpretatio Judaica* of Thot-Hermes see Mussies in Heerma van Voss et al. (ed.) (1982) pp.89-120; see also Scholem (1965) pp.75-83; on Moses and monotheism see Gager (1972) pp.92-5.

¹³² Note the implicit etymology (p.18 above).

¹³³ Reconstructed *Hymn 15/6 "To Hermes"* (V.400-20, VII.668-80 and XVIIb.1-23); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.249.

¹³⁴ Eg.*B.Dd.*182; Faulkner (1998) p.133.

Hermes is addressed not only as “the first leader of the words of tongue (λόγων γλώσσης)”, but also as “founder of the tongue of every sound (παμφώνου γλώττης)” (V.402, 406). These characteristics of Hermes as the god of intelligence and knowledge and the founder of speech correspond to those of both the Greek Hermes and the Egyptian Thoth as reinterpreted in the Hellenistic period by the Greeks and renamed Hermes Trismegistos.

In VII.540-78 Hermes is described as “ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ὠοῦ”, “(you) who are from the egg” (VII.555-6). In another spell (III.1-164) the god Helios invoked is adjured “by the egg” (κατὰ τοῦ [ὠ]οῦ) (III.145).¹³⁵ The reference to the egg is an allusion, as Hershbell points out, to the Orphic and Egyptian cosmogonies.¹³⁶ In the *Orphic Fragments* Phanes is born from the egg.¹³⁷ In the Egyptian cosmogonies also life originated from the egg.¹³⁸

Hermes is also called “circle of Selene” (V.400-1), another feature that recalls Thoth in his character as the moon god.¹³⁹ Hermes in the same spell retains something of his Greek characteristic as the chthonic Hermes, ὁ ψυχοπομπός, when described as the one “who with his lamps gives joy to those beneath earth’s depths and the mortals who finished life” (V.407-9).¹⁴⁰ But is the chthonic feature of Hermes a Greek characteristic only? Thoth in the Egyptian religious texts accumulates chthonic features as well. In the *Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, for example, the dead man claims to the celestial ferryman, as follows, “if you don’t ferry me over, I will leap up and put myself on the wing of Thoth, and he will ferry me over to yonder side”.¹⁴¹ Thus, the assimilation of characteristics between the Greek Hermes and the Egyptian Thoth is an important factor in the effectiveness and functionality of the synthesis of the Hellenistic Hermes Trismegistos.

Two more features are attributed to Hermes in the same spell (V.370-446), in the included *Hymn “to Hermes”*.¹⁴² First, he is described as, “μοιρῶν προγνώστης”, “the prognosticator of fates” (V.409).¹⁴³ Accordingly, he is the

¹³⁵ See also XII.100-6.

¹³⁶ Betz (1996) p.133.

¹³⁷ *Orph.Fr.*54, 55, 56.

¹³⁸ Morenz (1992) pp.177-9.

¹³⁹ For Thoth as “the moon god” or “the moon-eye” see Bleeker (1973) pp.114-17.

¹⁴⁰ See also in the erotic spell (IV.1390-1495) the epithet “Ἐρμῆ... χθόνιε” (IV.1443); also the *Orphic Hymn “To Chthonios Hermes”*, *Orph.H.*57.

¹⁴¹ *Eg.Pyr.T.Utt.*270.387; cf. also Utt.359.596; Utt.515.1176; Utt.555.1377; Utt.566.1429, etc. etc.; for Thoth as god of the dead see also Boylan (1922) pp.136-41.

¹⁴² Reconstructed *Hymn* 15/16 “*To Hermes*” (V.400-20, VII.668-80 and XVIIb.1-23); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.249.

¹⁴³ O’Neil translates this as “prophet of events”, but this misses the medical terminology and diminishes the force of “μοιρῶν”; Betz (1996) p.108.

one “who sends forth oracles by day and night”, equating him with “the divine Oneiros” (V.410-11).¹⁴⁴ The term “prognosticator” implies a comparison with the physicians who were skilled in prognosis. That implication could be justified by Hermes’ feature as the healer of pain, since he is requested to “cure (ιάσαι) all pains of mortals with your cures” (V.412-13). In another spell, the “Love-binding spell of Astrapsoukos” (VIII.1-63), Hermes is addressed as “the <inventor> of drugs (φαρμάκων)” (VIII.28).¹⁴⁵ Here the φάρμακα can have both a positive and negative meaning as either healing or noxious, but later in the same spell the drugs are mentioned in a negative sense.¹⁴⁶ The φάρμακα can also mean magical potions or philtres. Hermes’ relationship with magic and medicine explored in these spells can be illuminated by the equivalent Egyptian Thoth’s association with magic and medicine, which were in fact two names used by the Egyptians to describe the same art.¹⁴⁷ Thoth’s connection with knowledge and wisdom in the Egyptian religion was extended to the deep knowledge of a magician or a skilled physician. Instances of Thoth’s association with magic can be found in Egyptian literature, as for example in the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, in which Thoth is called “great of magic in the Bark of Millions of Years”.¹⁴⁸

Another characteristic of Hermes as expressed in VIII.1-63 is his ability to assume different “forms” (μορφάς) of animals related to various Egyptian deities (VIII.10-12). Here Hermes resembles Helios (III.500ff.) and Apollo-Helios (II.107ff.).¹⁴⁹ In the same spell Hermes is also addressed as “many-named” (πολυώνυμε) (VIII.14), as Apollo-Helios can be described as “many-named”.¹⁵⁰ Thus Hermes can be assimilated within a basically monotheistic viewpoint.

Eros/Harpocrates/Osiris

The god Eros is invoked as a divine “assistant” (πάρεδρος) in two spells in the PGM, in the spell called “Eros as an assistant” (XII.14-95) and in the erotic spell entitled “The Sword of Dardanos” (IV.1716-1870).¹⁵¹

In the spell called “Eros as an assistant” (XII.14-95), Eros is described as “the one in the mansion of desire”, “the master of heaven who shines upon the

¹⁴⁴ See the address in the *Hom.H.4* “To Hermes”, “ἡγήτορ’ ὀνείρων”.

¹⁴⁵ A similar characterisation is attributed to Thoth in V.246-8.

¹⁴⁶ E.g. VIII.33-5, “διάσωσόν με πάντοτε εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπὸ φαρμάκων καὶ δολίων”.

¹⁴⁷ In Egyptian mythology Thoth healed Horus’ injured eye; see also Boylan (1922) p.124ff.

¹⁴⁸ *Eg.B.Dd.*182; Faulkner (1998) p.133; see also Boylan (1922) p.124-35.

¹⁴⁹ See the discussions on pp.3 and 14 above.

¹⁵⁰ See p.14 above.

¹⁵¹ I discuss these spells in their πάρεδρος aspect in chpt.2, p.81 below.

whole inhabited world" and "the one who embraces the Graces" (XII.40, 48-9, 63). All these characteristics fit those of Eros as god of love, but with important cosmic dimensions. The description "the master of heaven who shines upon the whole inhabited world" obviously identifies Eros with Helios/Harpocrates.¹⁵² Eros is also described as "the infant" (ὁ νήπιος), "the living god", and "the one who has beauty" (μορφὴν) (XII.79). The phrase "the living god" can sometimes be explained as an appropriation of the Jewish and Christian phrase, which contrasts Yaweh with pagan gods, regarded, precisely, as dead.¹⁵³ But this does not apply in this context. For, as Ritner points out, this composite address is a Greek translation of the Egyptian epithets, "hwn for youth, ntr 'nh for living god and Wn-nfr for Onnophris, the beautiful being", and "Onnophris" was a common epithet for Osiris.¹⁵⁴ The phrase "the living god" has a further point in relation to Osiris, referring to Osiris' title as "the dead king, the god of the dead" and the *living* aspect of his characterization as "a god who dies and rises again", as symbolized in his mysteries.¹⁵⁵ Thus Eros is here being identified with the Egyptian god Osiris.

Another characterization of Eros which reveals Egyptian influence is his characterisation as "the one who sits on the lotus and illuminates the whole world" (XII.87-8).¹⁵⁶ Eros is here clearly being identified with Harpocrates, the young god of the rising sun, "Horus the child", the son of Isis and Osiris.¹⁵⁷ We may note here the apparent technical inconsistency of Eros being both Osiris and his son.

Eros is also described as "the master of the forms" (XII.50-1). The various forms of Eros are emphasised when the magician asks Eros to serve him "assuming the likeness (παρομοιούμενος) of a god (or a goddess) such as men and women worship" (XII.41-2). A similar phrase is repeated in the formula to be written in a piece of papyrus, according to which Eros is asked to accomplish his task, "having assumed the likeness of a god (or a goddess) he (or she) worships" (XII.83). The various identifications of Eros already mentioned (Helios, Osiris, Harpocrates) are thus to be understood as "likenesses" or "forms" of Eros. Apparent inconsistencies of identifications are therefore – in this instance – resolved.

¹⁵² See p.9 above.

¹⁵³ See Hall (1974) p.31-2; also Betz (2003) pp.148, n.347; see e.g. IV.960 with p.11 above.

¹⁵⁴ Betz (1996) p.156 n.19, cf. IV.1078.

¹⁵⁵ Morenz (1992) p.267.

¹⁵⁶ Also in II.102, 106-7; IV.1111, 1684 and LXI.32.

¹⁵⁷ See p.9 and n.51 above.

Nevertheless, in this spell there is an inconsistency. That is, although Eros is described as the greatest god with cosmic characteristics identified with Harpocrates and Osiris, at the same time he is ordered “on the command (κατ’ ἐπιταγῇν)¹⁵⁸ of the highest god (τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ) Iao, Adoneai” (XII.62-3).¹⁵⁹ It is also noteworthy that the magician describes himself as a “slave of the highest god” “who holds the cosmos and is ruler of all” (XII.71-2). Moreover, all human beings are described as being “under the creation” (XII.70), and “the whole creation” as being subdued to his holy and precious name (XII.85). Thus Eros as the cosmic god related to the inhabited world is presented as subordinated to the highest god as identified with the Jewish Iao and Adoneai. This highest god is also the cosmic god associated with the cosmos now defined as “κτίσις”,¹⁶⁰ with the people under his creation and the whole creation under his authority. Thus, the concept of the highest god is here associated with the Jewish concept of the god-creator of the cosmos, and Eros has been “demoted” to second rank.

In the erotic spell entitled “The Sword of Dardanos”¹⁶¹ (IV.1716-1870), we begin with the ritual which precedes the recitation of the erotic spell. The magician should engrave, on one side of a magnetic stone, “Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche” (IV.1722-4) and Eros holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche and, on the other side of the stone, “Psyche and Eros embracing one another” (IV.1738-40).¹⁶² This representation of Eros and Psyche must be an allusion to the story of Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (4.27-6.24), which (on most views) functions as a Platonist allegory about the soul.¹⁶³ The allusion here to an author of African origins is interesting, indicating the literary claims of some of the spells in the PGM, Apuleius’ own literary renown and presumably also his renown as a magician. The representation also suggests that erotic union should also be a “union of souls”.¹⁶⁴ The rite for acquiring Eros as an assistant (IV.1840-70) includes the preparation of a wooden figure of Eros. The magician invokes Eros to become his assistant and “after assuming the form of a god or daimon that she (the woman) worships”

¹⁵⁸ Also in *NT.Ep.Rom.*16.26, “κατ’ ἐπιταγῇν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ”; *NT.Ep.Cor.*1.7.6.

¹⁵⁹ On other PGM references to “ὁ ὑψίστος θεός” see: IV.1069, V.46, “ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ”; LXII.30, “κατ’ ἐπιταγῇν θεοῦ ὑψίστου”; it is also used for a daimon in XIV.10, “δαίμονος ὑψίστου”; also *PM.Fr.Chr.*3.6, “διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ”; *PM.Fr.Chr.*19.4, “[ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Ὑψίστου”]; on the “ὑψίστος θεός”, generally, though not universally, seen as the Jewish god, see Mitchell (2001).

¹⁶⁰ See the discussion of “κτίζω” and cognates on pp.57ff. below.

¹⁶¹ On the title of this spell see Nock (1925) p.154, n.1.

¹⁶² On the bronze reliefs of Eros and Psyche see Ferguson (1958) p.93; also Nock (1925) p.154, n.3.

¹⁶³ See further Kenney (1990) pp.17-22; also Betz (1996) p.69, n.220 and 221; also Edwards (1992).

¹⁶⁴ I discuss this important idea in chpt.4, pp.128-30 below.

to stand beside her and say everything the magician wishes (IV.1849-51, 54-7). Here we have again the idea of Eros as an assistant assuming a familiar form of a god or daimon.

In the invocation spell, Eros is presented as a cosmic power when he is described as “the first-born”, “the author of every birth”, “creator of all (παντὸς κτίστα),” and “the one who stretches out his own wings into the whole cosmos” (IV.1755, 1748-9, 1755-6, 1749-51). Here the cosmic/universal features of Eros implied with the phrase “σύμπαντα κόσμον” allude to the universal features of “the god-creator (κτίστα) of everything (παντὸς)”.¹⁶⁵ The description of Eros as “the first-born” alludes to some form of the Orphic cosmogony.¹⁶⁶ Eros is described as “unseen” and “body-less”¹⁶⁷ (IV.1775) (even though in the ritual for acquiring Eros as an assistant there are visual representations of “winged Eros wearing a cloak with his right foot lifted for a stride”) (IV.1843-5)). This creator of all is not only unseen and bodiless, but also “unapproachable and unmeasurable” (IV.1750-1). This description of Eros seems to fit Plato’s description in the *Timaeus* of the craftsman (δημιουργός) who created the world (*Tim.*28a, 29a, 41a, 68e, 69c), even though in a much disputed statement Plato goes on to say “now to discover the maker (ποιητήν) and father of this universe (τοῦδε τοῦ παντός) is a task indeed and even having discovered him, to declare him unto all men is impossible” (*Tim.* 28c). In the spell Eros is described as “breathing into all souls life-creating reasoning” and as “the one who fitted all things together by his own power” (IV.1751-5). This description of the god again recalls Plato’s reference to the creator god who created the cosmos as “a living creature endowed with soul and reason” or as an “intelligible living creature” (*Tim.*30b; 39e). Interestingly, this late work of Plato, which addresses the origins and organization of the universe, was very influential on Neoplatonism. In the *Chaldaean Oracles*, for example, a similar description is presented of Eros as the binder of all things and the continuator of the movement of the cosmic bodies.¹⁶⁸ In another fragment also Eros is mentioned as the one “who first leapt forth (ἐκθοῖε) out of the intellect”.¹⁶⁹

In addition to his representation as the cosmic divine force, Eros is addressed, within the spell, as “infant, when you are born within the heart” (IV.1783-

¹⁶⁵ Note the relationship of κόσμος (universe) with τὸ πᾶν (all), τὸ σύμπαν (the whole: the universe).

¹⁶⁶ See also Hes.*Th.*120; *Orph.Fr.*28; also West (1997) pp.195-6.

¹⁶⁷ See also similar description of the god as without form (οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος) in *Es.*LIII.3-5.

¹⁶⁸ *Chald.Or.* Fr.39; *Procl.Tim.*II.54.8; see also *Pl.Tim.*32c.2; see Lewy (1978) pp.126-9.

¹⁶⁹ *Chald.Or.* Fr.42; *Procl.Parm.*769.8-12; on “ἐκθρόσκω” see chpt.2, p.76, n.21 below.

85).¹⁷⁰ We have already met the adjective νήπιος applied to Eros in XII.79, in an invocation spell where Eros is being identified with the Egyptian god Harpocrates (XII.87-8).¹⁷¹ But Eros is also here addressed as “πρεσβύτατε, ὅταν ἐπιτευχθῇς” (IV.1784-5). What does this mean? O’Neil translates: “wisest when you have succeeded”,¹⁷² evidently taking ἐπιτευχθῇς as deriving from ἐπιτυγχάνω (in itself a suitable verb for an archer god). But this meaning seems strange in itself and it ignores the temporal contrast with “infant, when you are born within the heart”. Rather, the phrase should be translated as “the most senior when you have been accomplished” (taking ἐπιτευχθῇς as deriving from ἐπιτεύχω),¹⁷³ and understood as alluding to the rebirth of the god, as identified with Harpocrates. The daily rebirth of the sun and the lotus symbolized the rebirth of Harpocrates and the Sun god.¹⁷⁴

Eros is also described as “torch-carrier”, “begetter of silence”, the one “through whom the light and to whom the light travels”, “first-shining”, and “begetter of night” (IV.1778-9, 1782-3, 1792-4). This description, too, of Eros is compatible with Harpocrates, as the young Sun god, who is also often depicted as a child with one of his fingers on his lips, apparently keeping silence.¹⁷⁵ A parallel may be found in the untitled spell to the great god Helios-Mithras (the so-called “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.474-829), where the initiated magician instructs his fellow initiate, the moment his soul is in the air and the divine order of the heaven is revealed, in the following words, “and do you put immediately your right finger on your mouth and say: ‘silence, silence, silence, symbol of living, incorruptible god; silence, guard me’ ” (IV.557-60).¹⁷⁶ Here the initiate himself is depicted imitating the god with his right finger on his mouth as an expression of silence, since as it is explained by the father in the *Nag Hammadi Library*, codex 6 in the *Discourse on the Eight and Ninth*, “it is right before god that we keep silent about what is hidden”.¹⁷⁷

After all this, Eros is instructed to stand beside the woman-victim of the spell, “after assuming the likeness of a god or daimon that the woman worships” (IV.1856-7). This characteristic of Eros to assume various forms of either gods

¹⁷⁰ On the association of Hermes with the heart see p.19 above and for the simile of the fetus in the womb see chpt.3, pp.101ff.

¹⁷¹ See p.22 above.

¹⁷² Betz (1996) p.70.

¹⁷³ There is overlap of forms between the verbs ἐπιτυγχάνω and ἐπιτεύχω, but it is still important to differentiate them according to the requirements of context.

¹⁷⁴ See p.9 above.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. *Ov.Met.*9.692; *Plu.De Is. et Osir.*377F; note also the story that Isis nursed Horus by giving her finger instead of her breast: *Plu.De Is. et Osir.* 375C.

¹⁷⁶ On silence as the symbol of the god see Betz (2003) pp.147-8.

¹⁷⁷ *Nag.Ham.*VI.59.15.

or goddesses, which we have also seen in the previous spell, implies a monotheistic tendency.¹⁷⁸ We may compare it with the ability of Helios, Apollo-Helios and Hermes to assume various animal forms.¹⁷⁹ The difference is not a great one, partly because of the Egyptian tendency to picture gods in animal form.¹⁸⁰

Aphrodite/Heavenly One/All-Mother Nature/Ereschigal/Hathor

Apart from her representations with Eros and Psyche in “The Sword of Dardanus” discussed above, Aphrodite is also invoked in other PGM spells. In the “Erotic spell that leads”¹⁸¹ (IV.2891-2942), for example, and more specifically in the included *Hymn “To Aphrodite”* (IV.2902-39), Aphrodite retains her Greek epithets as “foam-born Kythereia” (ἀφρογενής Κυθήρεια) and “Cyprus-born” (Κυπρογένεια) (IV.2914, 2938).¹⁸² Aphrodite also maintains her basic characteristics as the goddess of love (“φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ”, IV.2910, 2937). The latter phrase is a Homeric formula.¹⁸³ She is also described as the one, “who gave birth to (γεννήσασαν)¹⁸⁴ Himeros, the lovely *Horai* and you Graces” (IV.3229-30). The personified “Yearning” and Graces are related elsewhere in Greek literature with Aphrodite, as for example in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, Homer’s *Odyssey*, and in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.¹⁸⁵ There are also examples of the personified Time being associated with Aphrodite, as for instance in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and in Pindar’s *Nemean* 8.¹⁸⁶ But, although Aphrodite is associated in Greek literature with the personified abstract Yearning, Hours and Graces, this seems to be the only reference to her as the parent of all three of them. After having her own “birth” described, she herself takes the active “parenting” role.

Aphrodite is also addressed as “ἀλληλοῦχε”, “the one who holds things together” (IV.2916-7). Aphrodite’s important function as a goddess of conjunction, unity and continuity is emphasised here. The epithet implies the

¹⁷⁸ See discussion on the description of Selene the Egyptian as “σχηματιζομένην παντόμορφον” (VII.870) (p.30) and of “the creator of all/Aion of Aion” as “ὁ μεταμορφούμενος εἰς πάντα” (XIII.70-1) (p.54 below).

¹⁷⁹ See discussion on pp.3, 14, and 21 above.

¹⁸⁰ See p.3 above.

¹⁸¹ On the erotic terminology of ἀγωγή see chpt.4, p.107 below.

¹⁸² Reconstructed *Hymn* 22 “To Aphrodite” (IV.2902-39), Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, pp.260-1; also in IV.2912; cf. Hes.*Th.*195-200, etc.

¹⁸³ Hom.*Il.*3.445; *Il.*6.25; *Od.*5.126; *Od.*10.335; *Od.*15.421; *Od.*23.219, etc; see chpt.4, pp.117, n.69 below.

¹⁸⁴ Note here the “active” use of the verb “γεννῶ” in contrast to its “passive” equivalents in the epithets ἀφρογενής and Κυπρογένεια.

¹⁸⁵ Hes.*Th.*64, 201; H.*Od.*8.365; Hom.*H.*5.61-2.

¹⁸⁶ Hom.*H.*6.5-6 and 11-13; Pi.*N.*8.1.

influence of the use of the term ἀλληλουχία from Greek philosophy, where it is found in Epicurus,¹⁸⁷ and in the Neo-Platonist philosophers.¹⁸⁸

Aphrodite is also described as “αἰθερία, χθονία”, “ethereal, chthonic” (IV.2915-6).¹⁸⁹ In another spell (IV.3209-54) Aphrodite, identified with “Zeus-sprung Nature of all things” (τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων διογενῆ Φύσιν) (IV.3230-1), is characterised as “two-formed” (δίμορφον), but at the same time as “indivisible” (ἀμερεῖν) (IV.3231-2), a term which also implies philosophical influences.¹⁹⁰ Similarly in Plato’s *Symposium* there is a reference to the two-formed nature of Aphrodite, the senior one called “daughter of Uranos/Heaven”¹⁹¹ and accordingly “Heavenly”, “Οὐρανία”, and the younger one, the child of Zeus and Dione,¹⁹² “worshipped by all the people (of the land)”, “Πάνδημον”.¹⁹³

I shall now examine the significance of this “doubleness” of Aphrodite as expressed in the epithets “ethereal, chthonic”, starting with the “ethereal”.

Similarly to her address as “αἰθερία”, Aphrodite is called “Οὐρανία” (VII.864) in the “Lunar spell of Claudianus” (VII.862-918), in which there is a local reference to Aphroditopolis, where that papyrus was thought to be found. In another spell also (IV.2441-2621), Aphrodite, identified with Selene, is addressed as “heavenly” (IV.2558). In fact, Aphrodite’s description as “Οὐρανία” is common at all periods and places in the Greek world.¹⁹⁴ According to Herodotus, the origins of the “Heavenly Aphrodite” are oriental, when he refers to the temple of the Heavenly Aphrodite in the city of

¹⁸⁷ Epic.Nat.2.993.5; Epic.Ep.Pyth.99.4; Epic.Deperd.Lib.24.19.1, 24.23.2, “ἀλ[λ]ηλουχίαι [...]ια[...]ς]υμμετρ[ίαι]ς”, 24.49.4, “[ἀ]λλη[λου]χοι φύσεις”.

¹⁸⁸ Procl.Inst.97.9-10, “τὸ δὲ αὐτόματον ἐν οἷς τάξις ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλληλουχία”; Iamb.Protr.116.15-16, “καὶ ἀλληλουχίας συμπαθείας τε καὶ συμπνοίας μεγάλα τεκμήρια”; Iamb.in Nic.p.7.7-8, “τοῦ δὲ συνεχοῦς κατὰ ἔνωσιν τε καὶ ἀλληλουχίαν”. Might IV.2916-7 ~ Lucr.1.1-49 (Epicurean- and Empedoclean-influenced invocation to Venus) ~ Emp.Fr.17 (Love and Strife) suggest here the influence of a Neo-Platonic reading of Empedocles? See p.vii above.

¹⁸⁹ Notice also the combination of the adjectives “Χθονία καὶ Οὐρανία” (XXIII.14), possibly for Isis (Preisendanz (2001) p.151), in the spell XXIII.1-70, which includes a passage from *Kestos* 18.20 of Julius Africanus.

¹⁹⁰ On the epithet “ἀμερεῖν” see Appendix 5, p.151; also on its philosophical allusions see e.g. Pl.Tht.205e on “ἐν τε καὶ ἀμερές”, Prm.138a, “τοῦ δὲ ἐνός τε καὶ ἀμεροῦς”; on “ἀμέρεια” in the Neo-Platonists see e.g. Porph.Sent.34.19; Procl.Inst.86.16ff, 95.7ff, 176.4ff, 190.7ff, 197.10ff.

¹⁹¹ See Hes.Th.185-90.

¹⁹² See Hom.II.5.370-430.

¹⁹³ Pl.Smp.180.d.3-8.

¹⁹⁴ E.g. Orph.H.55.1; E.Fr.781.15-17; Derv.Pap.Col.21.5, Betegh (2004) pp.44-5; Paus.1.19.2.6-7, 2.23.8.6 and 6.20.6.4.

Ascalon in Syria, describing it as “the oldest of all the temples of this goddess”.¹⁹⁵ This aspect of Aphrodite actually derives, as Burkert points out, from the Phoenician goddess Astarte, who was also called “the queen of Heaven”, and whose worship and cult had many similarities with that of Heavenly Aphrodite.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, Herodotus mentions that the Heavenly Aphrodite was called by the Assyrians Mylitta, by the Arabians Alilat and by the Persians Mitran.¹⁹⁷ Godley argues that all these names stand for “the great goddess Mother of Heaven and Earth” who was named differently by the various nations.¹⁹⁸

Now in our spell (IV.2891-2942) we see that Aphrodite is also described as “mother of gods and men” and equated with the abstract “all-mother Nature” (Φύσι παμμήτωρ) (IV.2915-16). Furthermore, in the spell XII.201-69 the magician identifies himself among the various Greek and Egyptian gods with Aphrodite (XII.232) and the “Mother of gods called Heaven” (μήτηρ θεῶν ἢ καλ[ου]μένη οὐρανός) (XII.233-4).

After explaining Aphrodite’s epithet as Heavenly and her association with the great goddess Mother of Heaven and Earth, we may now move to the examination of the other epithet of Aphrodite, “χθονία” (IV.2915-6). This epithet may already be justified in Aphrodite’s relation to the underworld as implied in her association with Adonis in the myth of Adonis’ resurrection from Hades, which is mentioned in this spell.¹⁹⁹ But examination of Aphrodite’s assimilation to other deities mentioned in this spell can also be helpful. Aphrodite is identified with the Babylonian underworld goddess Ereschigal (Ἐρεσχιγάλ) called Aktiophi(s)²⁰⁰ (IV.2913). Ereschigal, which means “Lady of the Great Place” in Sumerian, was the supreme goddess of the underworld.²⁰¹ Thus the chthonic characteristics of Aphrodite are here accentuated as a result of the identification process between these two deities

¹⁹⁵ Hdt.Hist.1.105.

¹⁹⁶ O.T.Jer.VII.18, 44.17-19; Burkert (1996) pp.152-3.

¹⁹⁷ Hdt.Hist.1.131.

¹⁹⁸ Page et al. (1931) p.137; note also Pausanias’ report on the combination of the statues of Aphrodite and the Mother of the gods and Tyche (Ἀφροδίτη τε καὶ Μήτηρ θεῶν καὶ Τύχη) in the *stoa* of Dionysus and Hekate, Paus.2.11.8.3-4.

¹⁹⁹ IV.2901, “οὐκ ὄψη τὸν Ἀδωνιν ἀνερχόμενον Αἴδαο”. Notice also the mention of another Greek myth, that of Ixion’s wheel (Ἰξιόνιον τροχόν) in relation to Adonis. On the Adonis cult in Egypt and its fusion with that of Osiris in the Middle Kingdom see Griffiths (1970) pp.320-1; also Betz (1996) p.93; on Adonis’ Semitic origins see Burkert (1996) pp.176-7.

²⁰⁰ Aktiophi(s) was an epithet of Selene, Hopfner (1974) OZ; also Betz (1996) p.332; on this epithet see also p.31; also chpt.4, p.127, n.108 below.

²⁰¹ Bottero (2001) pp.108-9; for Ereschigal as the goddess of the underworld see also the Akkadian myth in “The Tell El-Amarna Tablets”, Fr.A and B (obverse); Pritchard (1969) p.103.

of the Greek and the Babylonian polytheistic systems.²⁰² It is also noteworthy that in the same spell two Persian words are mentioned, indicating Persian influences, first “Βαζαν”, which in Persian means “shining light”, and then “Πουζω”, which could be a form of the Persian word “Zouro”.²⁰³ Moreover, Aphrodite-Barza is described as “causing the great fire to revolve” (πυρὸς μεγάλου περιδινήτειρα) (IV.2917). This association of Aphrodite-Barza with fire implies Persian influences in relation to the role and cult of fire in the Iranian religion.²⁰⁴

In another erotic spell called “Aphrodite’s name” (IV.1265-74) Aphrodite is addressed as “Νεφεριτηρι” (IV.1266). As O’Neil points out, “Νεφεριτηρι” stands for the Egyptian “Nfr-iry.t”, which means “the beautiful eye”.²⁰⁵ But what does this description imply about Aphrodite? “Νεφεριτηρι” was a common epithet of the Egyptian Sky-goddess Hathor, who according to the *Egyptian Book of the Dead* was responsible for the protection of the *eyes*.²⁰⁶ In the Hellenistic and Roman period Hathor became the Egyptian equivalent to Aphrodite because of their common characteristics as goddesses of love and joy.

Hekate-Selene-Artemis/Persephone/Ereschigal

Selene, Hecate and Artemis are three deities often identified with each other in Greek religion and literature. The origins of Hecate are considered Anatolian from Caria in Asia Minor where there was her temple in Lagina.²⁰⁷ Artemis was also a goddess worshipped in Asia Minor and often assimilated with the Anatolian Great Goddess, Kybele, or Anahita.²⁰⁸ Selene now also called Mene was a Nature deity of Indo-European origins.²⁰⁹ The identification between Artemis and Hecate is also early attested.²¹⁰ Hecate is also early associated with Persephone.²¹¹

²⁰² Notice also Preisendanz’ emendation of “ἀκτεβορε” to “ἀκτε<ρο> βόρε” which means “eater of the unburied dead” (IV.3240).

²⁰³ IV.2919, 2923, 2931, 2935; Betz (1996) p.93, n.368-9; Preisendanz (2001) vol.I, p.166; on Barza see also XIVa.4, “θεὸν μέγαν Βάζαν”; on Zouro see Preisendanz (1965) pp.763-4.

²⁰⁴ Boyce (1990) pp.10, 48-9, 61ff.; see also pp.11-13 above.

²⁰⁵ Betz (1996) p.62, n.171; see also Preisendanz’ comment on Nefretete, Preisendanz (2001) vol.I, p.115, l.1266.

²⁰⁶ *Eg.B.Dd.*: 42, “my eyes are Hathor”, Faulkner (1998) pl.32; for the protection of various divinities of different parts of the bodies of the blessed see Wiedemann (2003) pp.171ff.

²⁰⁷ Burkert (1996) p.171.

²⁰⁸ Burkert (1996) p.149.

²⁰⁹ Burkert (1996) p.176.

²¹⁰ *A.Supp.* 674-7; *E.Ph.* 109-10.

²¹¹ E.g. *Hom.H.* 2.438-9; *Orph.H.* 41.5ff; *Callim.Fr.* 466.

Selene or Mene, Hecate and Artemis are identified with each other in the five hymns all included in the magical handbook *PGM IV*.²¹² These three deities are often assimilated to Persephone as well.²¹³ In the case of these deities, as in the case of Apollo/Helios, the identification process initially occurs within the Greek religious system itself and does not involve gods or goddesses from different religious systems. But assimilation is helped by their common features, and assimilation itself sometimes involves the transfer of individual characteristics from one goddess to the other.

In the spell called “Prayer to Selene” (IV.2785-2890), the hymn included (IV.2786-2870) is addressed “*To Hekate-Selene-Artemis*”.²¹⁴ It starts with an address to Selene (IV.2787). Some of the epithets attributed to Selene are “*νυκτὸς ἄγαλμα*”, “Night’s ornament” (IV.2789), and, in relation to another Nature deity, Helios, “driving the chariot on equal course with Helios” (IV.2790-2).²¹⁵ Selene is also described as “three-faced” and as “you who with the triple forms of triple Graces dance (*χορεύεις*), revelling (*κωμάζουσα*) with the stars” (IV.2786-7, 2792-3). The last two descriptions of a triple-form goddess apply to the image of Hecate.²¹⁶ The description also of the Nature deity Selene as dancing and revelling with the stars plays a double role, alluding to the circling motion of the heavenly bodies,²¹⁷ and at the same time to the application of the religious and mystical rites and processions of the initiated to the heavenly and divine bodies and deities.²¹⁸ Selene is also described as “the one who sits upon fierce bulls” (*ἢ χαροποῖς ταύροις ἐφεζομένη*) (IV.2789-9). This depiction of Selene can be attributed to Artemis Tauropolos and her festival in the land of the Tauroi.²¹⁹

Then Selene, identified with Hekate and Artemis, is described as “many-named” and “many-formed” (IV.2798, 2830). Similarly, in the spell called “Prayer” (VII.756-94), Mene is addressed as “all-formed” and “many-named” (VII.757-8). Furthermore, the reference in the “Lunar spell of Klaudianus” (VII.862-918) to “*Σελήνην Αἰγυπτία*” and her description as, “*σχηματιζομένην παντόμορφον*”, “assuming all forms” (VII.870), implies

²¹² The reconstructed Hymns “*To Hekate-Selene-Artemis*”: *Hymn 17* (IV.2242-2417); *Hymn 18* (IV.2786-2870); *Hymn 19* (IV.2574-2610, 2643-74); *Hymn 20* (IV.2522-2567); *Hymn 21* (IV.2714-2783); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, pp.250-60; see also Appendix 3, p.147.

²¹³ E.g. IV.2745-6, 2796, 2819.

²¹⁴ Reconstructed *Hymn 18 “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis”* (IV.2786-2870); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, pp.253-5.

²¹⁵ See p.10 above.

²¹⁶ See also Hekate’s description in IV.2119-22; also *Orph.H.1.1*, “*To Hekate*”.

²¹⁷ E.*Ion*1079-80, “*ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ, χορεύει δὲ Σελάννα*”.

²¹⁸ See also discussion on “*κωμαστήριον*”, pp.6ff above.

²¹⁹ E.*I.T.*1450-63.

the monotheistic character of this goddess, who can assume forms of various gods or indeed other entities under her main title of Selene.²²⁰

In the “Prayer to Selene” (IV.2785-2890), the Hekate aspect of this goddess is reflected in the descriptions “three-headed”,²²¹ “the one who arms the hands with murky, dreadful lamps”, “goddess of the cross-roads, underground and nightly, goddess of Hades and dark” and the one who has “the voice of dogs”.²²² For Hekate was also associated with the Lydian dog-goddess called “Nenenene”.²²³

Artemis’ contribution to the assimilation of Hekate-Selene-Artemis in IV.2785-2890 is defined by the following features, “dart-shooter” (ιοχέαιραν)²²⁴ (IV.2816, 2854), “bull-faced” (ταυρῶπι)²²⁵ (IV.2807), “shooter of deer” (ἐλαφιβόλε)²²⁶ (IV.2819), “who roam the mountains” (ὀρίπλανε) (IV.2855, cf. also IV.2563), and “hiding your forms in shanks of lions” (IV.2810-11). Some of these epithets are quite traditional descriptions of Artemis, others are dramatically distinctive (notably “hiding your forms in shanks of lions”).²²⁷

The hymn is climaxed with a number of characteristics related to graves and the underworld, bloody sacrifices and even blood drinking and raw flesh eating (IV.2856-68). In another *Hymn “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis”* (IV.2574-2610, 2643-74)²²⁸ we also find similar references to human sacrifices, drinking of blood and eating of raw flesh, together with animal sacrifices, these practices being compared to the mystery rites through the allusion to “the greatest mystery” of the goddess who is also addressed as Aktiophi(s) (IV.2573-97, 2644-60).²²⁹ This description is justified by the connection of Hekate with the underworld and by Artemis’ bloody sacrifices among the Taurians, as

²²⁰ For the translation of “σχηματιζομένην παντόμορφον” see chpt.2, p.85; see also the discussions of the similar descriptions of Helios, Apollo-Helios, Hermes and Eros (XII.41-2, XII.83, IV.1856-7) and the creator of all/Aion of Aion” (XIII.70-1); pp.3, 14, 21 above.

²²¹ IV.2795; see also IV.2819-25, “τρίκτυπε, τρίφθογγε, τρικάρανε, τριώνυμε” and “τριπρόσωπε, τριαύχενε καὶ τριοδίτι, ἥ τρισσοῖς ταλάροισιν ἔχεις φλογὸς <ἀκ>άματον πῦρ καὶ τριόδων μεδέεις τρισσῶν δεκάδων τε ἀνάσεις”; also IV.2525-31 in the *Hymn 20 “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis”* (IV.2522-67).

²²² IV.2799, 2809-10 and 2855; see also IV.2815, “κύνες φίλοι αγκιόθυμοι”; see also E.*Med.*395-8; E.*Hel.*569-70.

²²³ See Berg (1973) pp.128-40.

²²⁴ See also Hom.*Il.*5.53; Pi.*P.*2.9; Orph.*H.*36.6, “To Artemis”.

²²⁵ See also IV.2808-9, “ταυροκάρηνε, ὄμμα δέ σοι ταυρωπόν”.

²²⁶ See also Hom.*H.*9.2, 6, “To Artemis” and 27.2; Orph.*H.*36.10, “To Artemis”.

²²⁷ See further p.62 below on unique epithets in the PMG.

²²⁸ Reconstructed *Hymn 19 “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis”* (IV.2574-2610, 2643-74); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, pp.255-7; *Hymn 19* is included in the “Erotic spell that leads” (IV.2441-2621) and the “Slander spell” (IV.2622-2707); see also discussion on chpt.4, pp.126ff. below.

²²⁹ On the epithet Aktiophi(s) see p.28 above; also chpt.4, p.127 n.108 below.

mentioned in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*.²³⁰ Similar assimilations occur elsewhere in Greek literature. In the *Orphic Hymn to Selene*, for example, Selene is called "ταυρόκερως Μήνη".²³¹ Hekate in the *Orphic Hymn to Hekate* is also called "ταυροπόλος".²³²

Next, Hekate-Selene-Artemis is associated with the underworld, and mystical rites involving bloody sacrifices are associated with *Dike*, "Justice", the three *Moirai* - Klotho, Lachesis and Atropos - and the avenging *Erinyes* - Megaira and Allekto and Tisiphone (IV.2794-6).²³³ Later in the same hymn a similar assimilation of Hekate-Selene-Artemis with Justice is repeated, but this time it also involves their identification with Moira and Erinyes each referred to as one deity and not as three individual ones as previously (IV.2859-60). O'Neil regards this as an inconsistency,²³⁴ but it can be justified as a parallelism of the identification process of the threefold deities Hekate-Selene-Artemis to the three *Moirai* and three *Erinyes* mentioned in this spell. Moreover, the reference to *Moirai* and *Erinyes* both in singular and plural number is also found elsewhere in Greek literature, as for example in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*.²³⁵ This identification also with Justice together with *Moirai* and *Erinyes* establishes Hekate-Selene-Artemis's authority and "lawfulness" in the magical rite.²³⁶

In the hymn (IV.2574-2610, 2643-74) the magician also invokes "Hermes and Hekate together, both male and female offspring" (Ἑρμῆν τε καὶ Ἑκάτην ὁμοῦ, ἀρσενόθηλυν ἕρνος) (IV.2610).²³⁷ Similarly, in another spell (III.1-164) in which Hermes and Hekate are invoked, we find the compound form both male and female of the two deities, "Ἑρμεκάτη" (III.46-7). Hekate and Hermes are naturally associated together as chthonic deities.

The next level of assimilation occurs between Hekate-Selene-Artemis and the Babylonian goddess Ereschigal.²³⁸ In the *Hymn "To Hekate-Selene-Artemis"*

²³⁰ *Orph.H.*41.5; *E.I.T.*1450-61; see also Burket (1996) pp.149-52.

²³¹ *Orph.H.*9.2, "To Selene"; see also the epithet "δικέγατον" for Mene (*VII.*759).

²³² *Orph.H.*1.7, "To Hekate".

²³³ Preisendanz surely rightly emends Περσεφόνη to Τισιφόνη, who was one of the three *Erinyes*; Preisendanz (2001) vol.I, p.162; see also *Orph.H.*69.2, "To Erinyes".

²³⁴ Betz (1996) p.92, n.357.

²³⁵ *A.Eu.*724, "Μοίρας" and 961, "Μοῖραι", but 335 and 1046, "Μοῖρα"; also *A.Eu.*331-2, "ὕμνος ἐξ Ἑρινύων, δέσμιος φρενῶν", 344, 512, but 951, "Ἑρινύς".

²³⁶ Note also the role of Zeus, Justice's father, *Moirai* and *Erinyes* in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and especially in the "hymnos desmios" (299-396).

²³⁷ For the Orphic mystical allusions see discussion in chpt.4, p.127 below; also *IV.*3101-2.

²³⁸ See also the identification of Aphrodite with Ereschigal as discussed above, p.28; see also *DTA* p.XV.

(IV.2522-67),²³⁹ for example, included in the “Erotic spell that leads” (IV.2441-2621), Hekate-Selene-Artemis addressed as Aktiophi(s) is also identified with Ereschigal (IV.2485). Similarly in another *Hymn “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis”* (IV.2714-83),²⁴⁰ included in the spell called “Another erotic spell that leads” (IV.2708-84), these three goddesses are also identified with Ereschigal (IV.2750). In these examples, the process of identification involves three goddesses from the Greek polytheistic system already identified with each other with a goddess from another polytheistic religious system.

Typhon/Seth

Typhon, Typhaon, or Typhoeus according to the Hesiodic myth in the *Theogony* was a monstrous deity, the youngest son of Gaia and Tartaros, who was joined in love to Echidna and had three children, Orthus, Cerberus and Hydra.²⁴¹ His name was associated with the wind²⁴² and with “τυφώς, -ών”, “typhoon”.²⁴³ Typhon’s origins were related to Asia Minor.²⁴⁴

Seth in Egyptian religion was the god of disorder.²⁴⁵ He also represented a foreign god among the gods of the Egyptian pantheon.²⁴⁶ Seth generally personified evil, in contrast to his brother Osiris who represented the good.²⁴⁷ In animal form Seth was compared with various animals such as the ass, the oryx antelope, the gazelle, or even the crocodile and the hippopotamus.²⁴⁸ Typhon was identified with the Egyptian god Seth from the classical to the Greco-Roman periods.²⁴⁹

²³⁹ Reconstructed *Hymn 20 “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis”* (IV.2522-67); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, pp.257-9.

²⁴⁰ Reconstructed *Hymn 21 “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis”* (IV.2714-83); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, pp.259-60.

²⁴¹ Hes.*Th.*821-2, 306-15, with West (1997) p.252; see also *Hom.H. “To Apollo”* III.306, 352, 367; elsewhere Typhon is mentioned as the son of Hera, e.g. *H.Ap.*305-55, *Stes.Fr.*62.

²⁴² For his connection also with the volcano in Etna see *Pi.O.*4.6-7, *P.1.*16-20, *Fr.*92; also *A.Pr.*354-65.

²⁴³ West (1997) pp.252, 381; see also *LSJ* II.

²⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. Hes.*Th.*304; *Pi.P.*1.16-7; for Typhos’ association with other oriental monstrous deities see West (1997) pp.379ff.

²⁴⁵ E.g. *Eg.Pyr.T.*144b; see also Velde (1977) pp.26ff.

²⁴⁶ Morenz (1992) pp.268-9.

²⁴⁷ For the fight of good against evil represented by Osiris and Typhon see *Plu.De Is.et Os.*49.371a-c.

²⁴⁸ For the representations of the Seth-animal in Egypt see Velde (1977) pp.7-26; literary evidence: *Plu.De Is.et de Os.*49-50.371c-d; see also 30.362e-f; see also Griffiths (1970) pp.409, 489; the combination of the ass, Seth and magic is also attested in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses/ Golden Ass*.

²⁴⁹ *Hecat.1.Fr.*300 (*Hdt.Hist.*2.144); *A.Suppl.*560ff; *Plu.De Is.et Os.*2.351.

How do the PGM treat this dangerous god?

The identification of the Greek Typhon and the Egyptian god Seth is sometimes explicit. In the spell XIVc.16-27 (/PDM xiv.675-94), for example, Typhon is equated to Seth when addressed as, “Τ[υ]φῶν Σήθ” (XIV.20). Similarly in III.1-164, the “powerful Σ[ή]θ Τυφῶν” is invoked (III.87).

The representation of Seth is interestingly mixed. In VII.940-68 he is addressed as “ruler of all” (παντοκράτωρ)²⁵⁰ and “creator (κτίστης) of the gods” (VII.961). He is the supreme god among gods and though the most terrible of gods has the status of the Jewish god-creator.²⁵¹ He is also described as “the one in the solid *pneuma*/spirit,²⁵² invisible” (ὁ ἐν τῷ στερεῷ πνεύματι,²⁵³ ἀόρατος) and then again as “fire-bright *pneuma*/spirit” (πυριλαμπές πνεῦμα) (VII.960-4).²⁵⁴ In XIVc.16-27 (/PDM xiv.675-94) Typhon Seth is also characterised as “the one in the *empty pneuma* (τὸν ἐ[ν] τῷ κενεῷ πνεύματι), terrible, invisible, ruler of all, god of gods” (XIVc.16-7).²⁵⁵ Similarly, in the so-called “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475-829), πνεῦμα is among the four elements (πνεῦμα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, οὐσία γεώδης)²⁵⁶ invoked and described by the magician as “with immortal *pneuma*/spirit” (τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι), “with the most solid air” (τῷ στερεωτάτῳ ἀέρι) (IV.505-8). The reference to the god as “fire-bright *pneuma*/spirit” seems to be an allusion to the Stoics,²⁵⁷ and especially to Posidonios, who asserted, “g/God is intelligent and fiery *pneuma* (πνεῦμα νοερόν καὶ πυρῶδες) without having a form (μορφήν), but changing into what he wishes and assimilating to all (συνεξομοιούμενον πᾶσιν)”.²⁵⁸ Similarly, in another fragment Posidonios asserts, “g/God is intelligent *pneuma* pervading through every substance”

²⁵⁰ On this term see p.5 above.

²⁵¹ For the associations of κτίστης see p.57 below.

²⁵² On the association of θεός with πνεῦμα see I.96; III.553-8; IV.505, 510, 538, 617-8, 627, 658-9, 714; IV.1115-6; XII.323-50; XIII.166, 477; LXII.24.

²⁵³ Hock mistranslates this as “who are in the overlasting air”; Betz (1996) p.143.

²⁵⁴ Similarly in LXII.24-6, “ὁ τῶν θεῶν θεός, ὁ ἐκ πυρός καὶ πνεύματος φανείς μόνος”; also XIII.166, “Θεός ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ πυρός”.

²⁵⁵ See also XII.368; also V.121.

²⁵⁶ See also III.554-5.

²⁵⁷ E.g. Zeno.Stoic.Fr.146.1-5 (Epiphan. *Adv.Haeres.*III.2, 9 (DDG p. 592, 21); also Fr.135 (Diogen.L.7.157; Chrysipp.Stoic.Fr.1009. (*Aet. Plac.*I.6), “Ορίζονται δὲ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐσίαν οἱ Στωϊκοὶ οὕτως· πνεῦμα νοερόν καὶ πυρῶδες, οὐκ ἔχον μὲν μορφήν, μεταβάλλον δ’ εἰς ὃ βούλεται καὶ συνεξομοιούμενον πᾶσιν”; Fr.1037; Fr. 1051 (Origen. *Cels.*VI.7 Vol. II p. 141, 6 Ko. (p. 686 Del.)); also Fr.310.10-11, Fr.442 (Alex.Aphrod. *De Mixt.* p. 224, 14 Bruns), Fr.443; see Long (1986) pp.156ff.; see also the discussion of κράσις in relation to the four elements in “The Mithras Liturgy” on p.1 above.

²⁵⁸ Posidon.Fr.101; for comment see Kidd (1988) vol.II, pp.409-12; see also discussion on *pneuma* in relation to fetus in chpt.3, p.101, n.59 below.

(θεός ἐστι πνεῦμα νοερόν διῆκον δι' ἀπάσης οὐσίας), which is earth, water, air, heaven.²⁵⁹

In the spell, in the form of a letter, “Nephotes to Psammetichos immortal king of Egypt” (IV.154-285), Typhon is described as “τῆς ἄνω σκηπτουχίας σκηπτοῦχε καὶ δυνάστα”, “bearing the sceptre and master of the *upper* sceptred-realm” (IV.179). Why “τῆς ἄνω σκηπτουχίας σκηπτοῦχε”? A possible explanation is the possible association with Seth’s cult in Ombos in Upper Egypt as a major cult center for his worshippers.²⁶⁰ But more precisely in the same spell we see the characteristics of Typhon/Seth’s worship on earth taking cosmic dimensions as applied to the heavenly order and the whole firmament, when Typhon is addressed as “you who hold the kingly scepter over the heavenly ones, you who are above in the middle of the stars ... you who are the dreaded king over the firmament” (σὲ τὸν ἐπ’ οὐρανίων σκηπτρον βασίλειον ἔχοντα, σὲ τὸν ἄνω μέσον τῶν ἄστρον...σὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ στερεώματι δεινὸν ἄνακτα) (IV.262-4).

Typhon is also mighty, causing threats and fear to other gods and men. In the *Hymn “To Typhon”* (IV.179-201)²⁶¹ included in the “Nephotes to Psammetichos” spell, Typhon is called “master” (δυνάστα) and “god of gods” (θεὸ θεῶν) (IV.179-80). In the other *Hymn “To Typhon”* (IV.261-273) included in the spell, he is also called “master” (IV.264) and later “greatest” (μέγιστε) (IV.277).²⁶² Similarly, in the untitled spell to induce insomnia (IV.3255-74), Typhon is addressed as, “τὸν μέγαν”, “the great”, and “ὁ μέγας μέγας”, “the great, great” (IV.3266-7, 3270).²⁶³ But Typhon is at the same time described as “fearful and threatening and awful” (IV.265-6). He is also characterized in the transmitted text as “δῆλον, ἀμήχανον, μισοπόνηρον” (IV.266-7). Here there are two problems. First is the reading of “δῆλον”. Preisendanz keeps “δῆλον” of the *paradosis*, although he refers to Kroll’s emendation to “ἄδηλον”, “obscure”.²⁶⁴ But as O’Neil points out, “ἄδηλον” makes better sense, providing a parallel to the compound negative adjective “ἀμήχανον” and fitting the generally negative tone.²⁶⁵ The second problem is

²⁵⁹ Posidon.*Fr.*100; see Kidd (1988) vol.II, pp.408-9.

²⁶⁰ See Wiedemann (2003) p.223; for the religious significance of the physical place of Egypt within the *kosmos* see p.7 above.

²⁶¹ Reconstructed *Hymn 6 “To Typhon”* (IV.179-201); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.242-3; see also Appendix 3, p.147.

²⁶² Reconstructed *Hymn 7 “To Typhon”* (IV.261-273); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.243-4; also IV.277.

²⁶³ For the repetition of the positive (ὁ μέγας) see discussion on p.15 above.

²⁶⁴ Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.243.

²⁶⁵ Betz (1996) p.43, n.62.

the meaning of “μισοπόνηρον”.²⁶⁶ O’Neil translates it as “hater of the wicked”.²⁶⁷ The verb μισοπονηρέω of course can mean “hate the wicked”, but here the meaning of “hated because of wickedness” better fits the characteristics of Typhon. The fear that Typhon causes is spread throughout the whole cosmos, including the Nature deities, when he is presented as the one “at whom the earth, the depths of the sea, Hades, heaven, the sun, the moon, the visible chorus of the stars and the whole cosmos tremble” (IV.245-6).

In the “Nephotes to Psammetichos” spell, Typhon’s name is described as “a hundred letters” (IV.242) and as “the powerful name of the hundred letters” (IV.252). Similarly, in the “Powerful spell of the Bear constellation which accomplishes everything” (IV.1331-89), the magician is instructed to write the “hundred-lettered name of Typhon curved as a star” on a papyrus (IV.1879-81).²⁶⁸ The notion of a mighty god having a large number of different names is common in the *PGM*, as we have seen,²⁶⁹ but here the specific number of a hundred names seems to derive from his characteristic in Greek myth of a hundred heads.²⁷⁰

In XIVc.16-27 (/PDM xiv.675-94) Typhon/Seth is described as “causing destruction and desolation ... you who were driven out of Egypt and roamed outside the country” (XIVc.17-19). Typhon/Seth’s description here matches his Egyptian characteristics as a god of desert and storm and the lord of foreign lands.

The fight between Seth and Osiris is also reflected in the *PGM*. In the “Separation spell” (XII.365-75), for example, the user invokes the “great god”, “greatly powerful” Typhon to cause fights and enmity between two people, just as Typhon and Osiris had between each other (XII.372-3).

The same spell can be used for causing a quarrel between a man and a woman, if the user substitutes the phrase “ὡς εἶχον Τυθῶν καὶ Ἰσις” (XII.374). Similarly, in the untitled erotic spell (LXXVIII.1-14), the female user of the spell wants to burn the house and the soul of the male victim, “just as Typhon did not allow Osiris to find sleep” (LXXVIII.8-9). In the “charm to restrain

²⁶⁶ This epithet as an epithet of a god occurs also in *DT* of Hadrumetum dated to the 3rd c. AD; *TD* 271.36.

²⁶⁷ Betz (1996) p.43.

²⁶⁸ For the connection between Typhon and the constellation of the Bear in IV.1879-81 see the analysis in chpt.2, pp.76ff. below.

²⁶⁹ See e.g. pp.14 and 21 above.

²⁷⁰ Hes.*Th.*824-5, “ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλὰὶ ὄφις”; see also Pi.O.4.11, “Ἴπον ἀνεμόεσσαν ἑκατογκεφάλᾳ Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου”.

anger and to subject" (VII.940-68) Seth is also addressed as "you who did not grieve for your own brother" (VII.963-4).²⁷¹ In other spells there are references to the battle between Osiris and Isis' son Horus and Typhon. In the so-called "Charm to open a door" (XXXVI.312-20) the magician expresses his wish that the door may open for him, comparing his case with that of Horus trying to flee "the godless Typhon" (XXXVI.316-9).²⁷² Thus this mythological allusion to the hate-relationship between Osiris and his family against Seth/Typhon is often used as a model in the erotic spells.

In other spells, the name of Helios is mentioned instead of that of Horus as an adversary to Typhon, due to the common identification between Horus and Helios.²⁷³ For instance, in the untitled erotic spell (XXXIIa.1-25), a homosexual erotic case is compared with the case of Typhon, the adversary of Helios.²⁷⁴ In another untitled erotic spell (LXVIII.1-20), the same model of Typhon opposed to Helios is used for a heterosexual relationship.²⁷⁵ It is worth noting here that because of the process of identification between the Greek and the Egyptian deities both Seth and Horus are mentioned with their equivalent Greek names, Typhon and Helios.

Next, we shall examine Seth's visual representations in the *PGM*. Among the many associations of the Seth-animal with animals, it seems that in the *PGM* the favorite one is the association of the Seth-animal with an ass. Indeed, Betz states that the name "Typhon probably means ass", because of the representation of Seth as a donkey-headed figure.²⁷⁶

In "Pitys' spell that leads" (IV.2006-2125), we find a reference to the hide and the blood of an ass in the ritual of the resurrection of a dead person, according to which the magician is instructed as follows: "after taking the hide of an ass" and, "the hide is inscribed with blood of an ass" (IV.2015, 2099-2100). Similarly in the "Divine Assistance from three Homeric Verses" spell (IV.2145-2240), which again involves the resurrection of someone who died untimely, the magician is advised to add in the ink "μυτάριον Τυφῶνος" (Typhon's blood) (IV.2220-1).²⁷⁷

²⁷¹ See Velde (1977) pp.81ff.

²⁷² For the contest between Horus and Seth see the *Papyrus Chester Beatty I*, recto I i-xvi 8; Pritchard (1969) pp.14-17; see also *Eg.Cof.T.* Spell 12.

²⁷³ See p.9 above.

²⁷⁴ XXXIIa.1.

²⁷⁵ LXVIII.1.

²⁷⁶ Betz (1996) p.339; also *LSJ* s.v.4; cf. IV.3255-74, VII.652-60 etc, discussed on p.38 below.

²⁷⁷ For discussion of these controversial spells see pp.77ff. below.

The examination of the various references to Typhon's blood in the *PGM* could illustrate Typhon's association with Seth's donkey figure. In the spell to induce insomnia (IV.3255-74), which as examined above includes an invocation to Typhon, in the ritual to be practised the magician should draw on an unbaked [brick] "an ass" running and smear it with "the blood of Typhon" and of a pig and with onion juice (IV.3255-6, 3259). Similarly, in another "Spell to induce insomnia" (VII.652-60), the magician should use "blood of a black ox or of a goat or of Typhon, but preferably of a goat" (VII.652-3).²⁷⁸ In these cases the name of Typhon is used together with other animals instead of the animal associated with Typhon.²⁷⁹ In the same way in XIVc.16-27 (/PDM xiv.675-94) examined above, Typhon/Seth is invoked to cause harm to another person who once wronged him and as stated, "spilled Typhon's blood in his (her) own house" (XIVc.26-7). In the part that is written in Demotic the ritual instructions also involve the use of the donkey's head and donkey's blood (PDM xiv.675, 680).²⁸⁰ Similarly in the "Himerios' Recipes" (XII.96-106), among the other ingredients for the preparation of Typhon's ink, "Typhon's blood" is mentioned.²⁸¹

Now, why is the blood of the ass mentioned as the blood of Typhon in the sacrificial practices or in the rituals in the *PGM*, and what is its significance? According to the Egyptian myth, as reflected in the "Spell to restrain" (XXXVI.1-34), Typhon/Seth is described as the one "who slaughtered his own brother" (XXXVI.5). Thus slaughtering and blood are related to the myth of Osiris and Seth. Similarly in the *Egyptian Coffin Texts* Seth is represented as referring to Osiris as, "I will cause the god's body to fear, I will inflict injury on him, I will slaughter him".²⁸² But why is the blood of Typhon and not that of Osiris symbolized in the sacrifices, since Typhon is the one who slaughtered Osiris? In the *Egyptian Pyramid Texts* it is mentioned that Seth has suffered a bloody beating and punishment by Horus and his companions, as said to Osiris, "your foe is smitten by the children of Horus, they have made bloody his beating, they have punished him (Seth), he having been driven off, and his smell is evil".²⁸³ Plutarch also in *De Iside et Osiride* mentions that the

²⁷⁸ See Betz (1996) p.136, n.114, p.75, n.256, p.77, n.275.

²⁷⁹ See VII.652-3 on 'Typhon' as actually meaning 'ass', discussed in the main text.

²⁸⁰ See also in the spell called "Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman" (XIa.1-40) the mention of "[Τυ]φῶ[ν]ος κῆανιον", but the use of the blood of a black dog in this case; Betz (1996) p.150, n.1; also in VII.467-77 there is a reference to "the figure of Typhon" (ζῶδιον Τυφωνιακόν).

²⁸¹ See also in the "Erotic spell that leads", LXI.39-71 (/PDM lxi.197-216) the reference to "αἷμα]τι Τυφῶνος" (LXI.60) and the association with the image of Typhon invoked in this spell, "εἶδωλε Τυφῶ[νος]" (LXI.54-5).

²⁸² *Eg.Cof.T.*50.227; Faulkner (2004) p.47.

²⁸³ *Eg.Pyr.T.*Utt.369.643; see also *Eg.Pyr.T.*Utt.356.575; Velde also argues that Seth suffers the fate of the sacrificial animals; Velde (1977) pp.94-8.

sacrifices are a way of appeasing by Osiris and Isis “Typhon’s weakened and shattered power, still gasping and struggling”, while at other times his resemblance to an ass and its being thrown down a precipice in the festivals symbolizes his humiliation.²⁸⁴ Furthermore, Plutarch associates the wine libations with the blood, “as the blood of those who had once fought against the gods, from whom they believe that vines grew when they had fallen and mingled with the earth”.²⁸⁵ Griffiths comments that the sacrificial animals were considered as the “bodies of Seth and his followers” in the fight against Osiris and Horus, so that wine was interpreted with “Sethian symbolism”.²⁸⁶ Thus Typhon’s blood is rich in mythical association.

Another visual representation is rather different. In the “spell to restrain” (XXXVI.1-34), Typhon/Seth is described as “ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπτίαν πύλην καθήμενος”, which is translated by Morton Smith as “who sit on the under[world] gate” (XXXVI.5).²⁸⁷ The same phrase occurs again in the “Erotic Spell that leads” (XXXVI.69-101), again referring to Typhon/Seth, which is this time translated by O’ Neil as “who sit on the top of the gate” (XXXVI.77).²⁸⁸ In both cases the reference must be to the gate into the underworld, but Morton Smith’s interpretation is better, as there is a neat verbal play between the formulations “ἐπὶ” and “ὑπ-”, above and beneath. The picture of this dreadful god is very vivid.

Isis/Nemesis/Adrasteia/Tyche

Isis was a goddess widely worshipped in Egypt with many important cult centres such as these at Abydos, Mendes, or Busiris, or in latter times in Philae, at which she was still considered as a goddess until 453 AD, some years after the prohibition of the worship of Egyptian deities by the Roman emperor Theodosius.²⁸⁹ The process of Isis’ reinterpretation by Greeks takes us right back to Herodotus, who identifies Isis with the Greek goddess Demeter.²⁹⁰

In the PGM Isis can be represented as superior to all other gods, as for example in the “Love-binding spell of Astrapsoukos” (VIII.1-63), in which she is described as “greatest (μεγίστη) of all the gods” (VIII.22), or as having cosmic power, as for example in the “Marvellous erotic spell that leads”

²⁸⁴ Plu.*De Is. et Os.*30.362e; see also Griffiths (1970) pp.407-10.

²⁸⁵ Plu.*De Is. et Os.*353.6b-c.

²⁸⁶ Griffiths (1970) p.276.

²⁸⁷ Betz (1996) p.269.

²⁸⁸ Betz (1996) p.270.

²⁸⁹ Wiedemann (2003) pp.218-9.

²⁹⁰ Hdt.*Hist.*2.59.7; see also Solmsen (1979) pp.1-25.

(XXXVI.134-60), where it is stated: “for Isis raised up a loud cry, and the world was thrown into confusion” (XXXVI.141-2).

The Egyptian myth of Isis and Osiris is also reflected in the PGM spells. The untitled spell to acquire an oracle XXIVa.1-25, for example, starts with the phrase “Great Isis the lady” (Μεγάλη Ἴσις ἡ κυρία) and refers to Hermes together with Isis “who was seeking Osiris” (XXIVa.5-8).²⁹¹ Helios is also mentioned as the god to be invoked for the oracle.²⁹² Similarly, in VII.993-1009, there is a reference to the myth of putting together by Isis of Osiris’ separated members (VII.1000-1). In the “erotic spell that leads” (IV.1390-1495), which contains invocation spells to the chthonic gods and deities, Isis is also described in a *magica historiola* (IV.1471-9) as having arrived “holding on her shoulders her brother who is her bedfellow” at a meeting in which Zeus came down from Olympus to meet the “images (τὰ εἰδωλα) of the dead” which would perform a specific task for the magician.²⁹³ Noteworthy in this *historiola* is the coexistence of two major Egyptian gods, Isis and Osiris, with the most powerful god from the Greek pantheon, Zeus. In another spell called “Pudenda key spell” (XXXVI.283-94), the male user of the spell wants his female victim to love him for all her time, “as Isis loved Osiris”, and remain chaste, “as Penelope did for Odysseus” (XXXVI.288-9). Here again the two different models of love, the Egyptian and the Greek, coexist, with the added element of a parallel between the divine and the human.

In the untitled spell for protection (VII.490-504), “lady Isis” invoked is identified with the Greek personified abstract deities, Nemesis and Adrasteia, and addressed as, “many-named, many-formed” (VII.492, 501-4).²⁹⁴ Nemesis was a Greek deity who personified divine retribution and righteous anger.²⁹⁵ Adrasteia was a title often used for Nemesis.²⁹⁶ As we have seen several times, the epithets “many-named” and “many-formed” have monotheistic implications.²⁹⁷ In the same spell, Isis is also identified with Sothis (Ἴσι Σῶθι) (VII.494), which is a female name used for the Dog Star Sirius.²⁹⁸

²⁹¹ See also Plu.*De Is. et Os.*358.18a-b.

²⁹² For the association of the myth of Osiris and the sun in the Egyptian religious festivals see Plu.*De Is. et Os.*372.52b-c.

²⁹³ Reconstructed *Historiola Magica* 27 (IV.1471-9); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.264.

²⁹⁴ On these epithets see pp.3, 14, 21 above.

²⁹⁵ Nemesis is mentioned together with Aidos in Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, Hes.*Op.*200; Pi.*P.*10.44; see also Burkert (1996) p.185; two Nemeseis were also worshipped at Smyrna, Paus.7.5.2 and 7.5.3.

²⁹⁶ A.*Pr.*936; Pl.*R.*451.a.4; Pl.*Phdr.*248.c.2; for the equation of Isis/Nemesis see Apul.*Met.*XI.269.19, “Rhamnusian illi”; see also Griffiths (1975) pp.153-4; Betz (1996) p.131.

²⁹⁷ See pp.14, 21 above.

²⁹⁸ Betz (1996) p.131; see also Morenz (1992) p.270.

The various assimilations of Isis are reflected in the invocation to Isis included in the untitled spell to acquire a divine assistant, “πάρεδρος” (LVII.1-37).²⁹⁹ In this spell Isis is invoked to show the magician a divine sign (LVII.16-17) and later Kronos is described as the image of the goddess (LVII.27). Isis is addressed as “chaste Maiden” (ἀγνή Κούρα) (LVII.16) and associated with Tyche and a star constellation, when the magician tells her “shake your black Tyche and move the constellation of the bear” (LVII.17-8). In the multi-ethnic Egyptian society of the Greco-Roman period, the Greek Tyche emerged as an important abstract deity and was often connected to Isis, addressed as Isis-Tyche, the mistress of Destiny.³⁰⁰

Osiris/wine/Dionysus

The myth of Osiris is often mentioned in the *PGM*, as we have already seen, in relation to his sister and wife Isis and their son Horus and to the fight with his enemy Typhon/Seth.³⁰¹ Among the various identifications of the Egyptian gods with their Greek equivalents, Osiris was equated by the Greeks from the classical period with Dionysus.³⁰² In the Hellenistic period in Alexandria and in other Egyptian towns with high Greek population, such as Faiyum and Ptolemais, the cults and festivals of Dionysus and Demeter were the most popular and important.³⁰³

In discussing the *PGM* material, I shall start with explicit allusions to Dionysus.

The actual name of Dionysus is mentioned only once throughout the *PGM* spells. In XIII.734-1077, which contains a collection of various spells, among the *voces magicae* and other Hebrew and Egyptian gods and the Babylonian Ereschigal (XIII.912-33), Dionysus is invoked by name and addressed as “blessed” (μάκαρ) and “Εὔιε” (XIII.916-7). Noteworthy here is the etymological and vocal connection between Dionysus’ title “Εὔιος” - derived from the cry “εὐαῖ, εὐοῖ” - and the various combinations of vowels that follow (XIII.917-8, 929-30),³⁰⁴ together with the series of vowels that precedes

²⁹⁹ I discuss other aspects of this spell in chpt.2 on pp.83ff. below.

³⁰⁰ See Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) p.275ff; for the identification of Isis/Tyche see also *Apul.Met.* XI.277.4—6; also Griffiths (1975) pp.141-4.

³⁰¹ See pp.33ff. and 40 above, and cf. also IV.185-7, XIVb.11-15, LVII.3-5 and 7-8.

³⁰² *Hdt.Hist.* 2.42.3-5, 2.144.10, “Ὅσιρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν”.

³⁰³ Unfortunately, as Dunand points out, neither the temples of Dionysus and Demeter in Alexandria have been found; Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) p.244.

³⁰⁴ See also the combination of vowels preceding and following Apollo’s invocation in II.128-38.

them (XIII.905-11).³⁰⁵ In the so-called “Excellent love charm” (VII.459-61), there is a reference to another of Dionysus’ cult names, Bacchios, as the user of the spell adjures “by the glorious name of Bacchios” (κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος Βακχίου) (VII.461). O’Neil argues that it is here quite uncertain whether the reference is to Dionysus, or to a person’s name derived from the god’s epithet,³⁰⁶ but the adjuration to the “*glorious name*” of Bacchios must refer to the god Dionysus and not to a human person. In the spell to acquire a divine assistant called “A daimon comes as an assistant” (I.1-42), the assistant invoked is also addressed with his “authoritative name”, “αῤβαθ Ἀῤβαὼθ βακχαβῤῥῃ” (I.36). Here the first compound “βακχ-” of the magical name “βακχαβῤῥῃ” is etymologically connected to Βάκχ-ος.

I next consider explicit allusions to Osiris.

In “Pitys’ spell that leads” (IV.2006-2125), Osiris is addressed as “the holy god” and “OSIRIS KMEPHI SRO” (IV.2093-4), which in Egyptian means “Osiris, Good Daimon, great prince”, and he is described as the god who gives orders to “the daimon of a dead person”, here invoked by the magician to be his divine assistant.³⁰⁷ In the same spell we are informed about the Egyptian influences on Osiris’ depiction, as the magician is instructed to draw on a piece of papyrus “Osiris dressed as the Egyptians reveal” (IV.2124-5). O’Neil comments that “this prescription is remarkable because it seems to have been made by a magician who was not an Egyptian”.³⁰⁸ This inference is plausible but not decisive.³⁰⁹ The wording reinforces what is a remarkable point: that the Egyptian tradition of depicting the Egyptian Osiris in the *PGM* texts prevails over any other later influences. In the spell IV.3125-71 we find another representation of Osiris which displays Egyptian customs, when the magician is advised that the wax statue should “be wrapped like Osiris”, meaning as a mummy (IV.3136-7). Osiris’ appearance as a mummy dates back to the old Egyptian religious tradition. In the Greco-Egyptian magical amulets dated from 100 to 500 AD we also find depictions of Osiris with his body from the chest wrapped as a mummy.³¹⁰ Thus Osiris is one of the Egyptian gods who kept his Egyptian appearance in the Hellenistic and Roman period, and this is reflected in the *PGM* spells.

³⁰⁵ On the textual problems here see Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.127; Betz (1996) p.192, n.125.

³⁰⁶ See Betz (1996) p.130, n.64; also Detschew (1950) pp.1147-50.

³⁰⁷ See Betz (1996) p.75, n.255; for his Egyptian feature as the god of the dead see the text on *Papyrus Chester Beatty XIII* (xiv 5-xv 10); Pritchard (1969) pp.16-7; see also discussion on chpt.2, pp.77ff. below.

³⁰⁸ Betz (1996) p.75, n.259.

³⁰⁹ See. e.g. Hecat. *Fr.* 1, where Hecataeus of Miletus distinguishes “the Greeks” from himself.

³¹⁰ Bonner (1950) pp.149-50 and Pl.1.1, 3; see also pp.48, 113, 179 .

In the interesting and complicated erotic spell called “Cup spell” to be recited to a cup of wine (VII.643-51), the user is instructed to say the following spell, “you are wine, you are not wine (σὺ εἶ οἶνος, οὐκ εἶ οἶνος), but the head of Athena. You are wine, you are not wine, but the entrails of Osiris, the entrails of Iao” (VII.644-6).³¹¹ The formula “σὺ εἶ, οὐκ εἶ, ἀλλ’”, also found in the “Laudable love spell” (LXI.1-38/PDM lxi.159-96),³¹² plays an emphatic role in distinguishing the god’s symbols from the god himself and in tracing the progression of the spell. The wine associated with Osiris symbolizes the entrails of Osiris and of the Jewish god Iao,³¹³ which are connected with the entrails of the “female victim” as the final destination of the wine, since the purpose of the spell is clearly stated as follows, “for whatever hour you descend into the entrails of her, make her love me for all the time of her life” (VII.649-51). Now, although throughout the *PGM* there are no explicit references to the traditional identification between Osiris and Dionysus (indeed, Osiris is not explicitly identified with any Greek god or deity), the wine here provides a clear allusion to Dionysus, because of his association with vines and wine. Similarly, Euripides in *Cyclops* describes Dionysus as wine in a wine-skin when Cyclops asks Odysseus, “but how can a god bear to live in a wine-flask (ἐν ἀσκῶϊ)?” and he replies, “wherever someone puts him, there he is at ease”.³¹⁴ The parallelism of wine and wine-skin offers a mystical allusion to Dionysus-wine and his ability to possess humans. Now, in Greek and Roman sacrifices the entrails or the inner parts of the sacrificial animal were eaten by the worshippers at their sacrificial feast. Here the entrails are not used as a sacrificial feast, but they are connected with the god as the essence of the god. Instead, it is the wine that symbolizes the god who is to be instilled into the love victim. Thus there is an allusion to the process of eating the sacrifice as a way of instilling its spirit into the magician – a process called ἐνπνευμάτωσις, “filling with divine spirit”.³¹⁵

For in this spell there are interesting *New Testament* parallels. Smith points to the incident at the Last Supper, when Jesus gave a piece of bread to Judas who would betray him, “and after (he had eaten) the bread, then Satan entered into him”.³¹⁶ Here Satan is ingested into Judas by his eating the piece of bread. But the double symbolism of wine and bread in relation to a god is better exemplified by Christ’s words on that occasion: “Λάβετε· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ

³¹¹ Elsewhere in the *PGM* Osiris is associated with another liquid substance, water; e.g. in XII.201-69, “ἐγὼ εἰμι Ὅσιρις ὁ καλούμενος ὕδωρ” (XII.234); also in IV.154-285, “βάλε ὕδωρ...ἐὰν δὲ Ὅσιριν ἢ τὸν Σάραπιν, ποτάμιον” (IV.224-7).

³¹² E.g. LXI.6ff, “σὺ εἶ τὸ ἔλαιον, οὐκ εἶ δὲ ἔλαι[ο]ν, ἀλλὰ...”; see Betz (1996) p.136.

³¹³ See p.12 above.

³¹⁴ E.*Cycl.*525-6.

³¹⁵ See chpt.2, p.90 below.

³¹⁶ NT.*Jo.*13.27; see also NT.*Mar.*14.20, *Luk.*22.21; Smith (1985) pp.110-11.

σῶμά μου”, referring to the “positive” new symbolism of the bread that he gave to his disciples to eat, and “Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν”, referring to the wine.³¹⁷ While there is certainly some direct influence of Christian material on the *PGM*,³¹⁸ this is hardly the case here. The “cup spell” has its own internal logic. Nevertheless, there is an important common factor: that of a religious rite which is seen as a form of mystery and which involves drinking and eating the god, whether literally or symbolically.

Elsewhere in the *PGM*, as for example in the “Charm for direct vision” (VII.319-34), ritualistic language with allusions to mysteries is used to describe Osiris’ cosmic establishment and his revelation to the magician in order to make him prophesyze.³¹⁹

Thus the representation of Dionysus and Osiris in the *PGM* spells shows interesting tensions. To some extent Osiris maintains his Egyptian character and Dionysus in his own right seems relatively unindividuated. One might explain this as part of the general downplaying in the *PGM* of the really major Olympian gods. One might also argue that Dionysus is too dominant and demanding a god who requires to be worshipped in his own right, whereas the concept and practice of magic is based on the mixing of different elements through the process of identification, or assimilation, which in a way equalizes the different gods and so to some extent de-individualises them under the abstract concept of supreme divine power. But Dionysus has perhaps more of a presence than seems at first sight. In spells such as VII.319-34 and VII.643-51 Dionysus is implicitly identified with Osiris. And throughout the *PGM* texts, there are numerous allusions to the mysteries and assimilations of the magicians and their magical rites with the initiated in the mystery rites,³²⁰ and in at least some of these³²¹ it is difficult not to think of Dionysus.

Heron/Thoth (/Thouth)

One spell in the *PGM*, the so-called “Hermes’ ring” (V.213-303), deserves separate treatment. The magician identifies himself first with the Egyptian

³¹⁷ *NT.Mark.14.22-5*; also *NT.Luc.14.15.2*; *NT.Cor.1.11.25-27*.

³¹⁸ See pp.59ff. below.

³¹⁹ E.g. VII.326 and 329, “ἄνοιγε τὸν [ναὸν, τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδρυμένον] κόσμον, καὶ δέξαι τὸν Ὅσιριν” “ἄνοιξόν μου τὰ ὦτα, ἵνα μοι χρηματίσης”; see also the “Hermes’ ring” (V.213-303), “ἐπαφήσω ἄνοιξιν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς” (V. 285); also *Plu.2.738c*, “τῇ τῶν χειλῶν ἀνοίξει”.

³²⁰ See e.g. p.7, n.35, p.121, n.81.

³²¹ See e.g. IV.1607 (p.6 above).

god “Thouth, the discoverer and creator of drugs and letters” (Θωύθ, φαρμάκων καὶ γραμμάτων εὐρετῆς καὶ κτίστης) (V.246-8). The identification between the Egyptian Thoth and the Greek Hermes, which is implicitly expressed here in the title of the spell –“Hermes’ ring”- has already been examined.³²² Then, quite interestingly, the magician is identified with “Heron the famous” (V.250-1). Heron,³²³ “Ἡρώων”, or Heros was a Thracian rider or soldier god worshipped in the Hellenistic and Roman periods in places in Egypt with Greek populations, especially of cleruchs who had been settled on a piece of land given to them by the crown.³²⁴

Bes(as)/the headless god/Anouth (Osiris)

The name Bes in the Egyptian religion is attributed to a group of daimons of African origins. The figure of Bes was often depicted as a monstrous, dwarf god and because of his ugly appearance he was considered as the protector against the evil eye and of pregnant women in childbirth. His cult goes back to the Old Kingdom. His ability to ward off evil made him very popular in the New Kingdom and his worship was transmitted down into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the Hellenistic period, alongside the most popular images of Harpocrates and Isis as protectors of childhood and motherhood as depicted in amulets and other images in private religious practices, there were those of Bes together with Isis as a protector of childbirth.³²⁵ The popularity of Bes reflects a popular religious tendency of regarding lesser gods as closer to ordinary people and their worries.³²⁶

In the *PGM* texts there are two spells directly related to Besas (Βησᾶς), the Greek form of Bes: VII.222-49 called “Request for a dream oracle from Besas”, and VIII.64-110, with the title “Request for the dream oracle of Besas”.³²⁷ In the Roman period Besas was very popular for his oracle at Abydos.³²⁸ In both spells Besas is identified with “the headless god”. Similar figures are mentioned by Greek authors, as, for example, by Herodotus who refers to “the headless ones” (οἱ ἀκέφαλοι) as monstrous creatures in Libya.³²⁹

³²² See Hermes’ description as “the <inventor> of drugs” in VIII.28; p.21 above.

³²³ In the Greco-Roman period Heron’s cult also included elements of the Egyptian creator god Atum who had both human and serpent form; see Betz (1996) p.105; also Bonnet *RARG* pp.295-6.

³²⁴ Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) pp.246ff.

³²⁵ On the private religious practices including these of Besas in the Hellenistic period in Egypt see Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) chpt.8, esp. pp.304ff.

³²⁶ Cf. e.g. Nilsson (1948) p.72; Bell (1954) pp.65ff.

³²⁷ In another spell also (IV.475-829) the “Besas plant” (Βησάδος βοτάνης) is mentioned (IV.806).

³²⁸ Wiedemann (2003) pp.162ff.

³²⁹ Hdt.*Hist.*4.191.

Plutarch also in *De Defectu Oraculorum* mentions a festival in Crete in which they display “the image of a headless man”, which they consider to be “Molos”, the father of Meriones.³³⁰

In the first of our spells, the magician starts his invocation adjuring τὸν ἀκέφαλον θεόν, τ[ὸ]ν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄρασιν· ὁ ἀστράπ<τ>ων, ὁ βροντάζων (VII.232-4). The same phrase is repeated towards the end of the invocation: σὺ εἰ ὁ ἀκέφ[α]λος θεός, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχων κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν ὄρ[α]σιν. These words re-appear in the invocation to Besas in the other spell (VIII.91-3). Grese in these three cases translates “τὴν ὄρασιν” as “the face” and suggests that the phrase could be either an allusion to the Egyptian religious custom of “putting the head of the beheaded between their feet”, or a reference to Besas, “who has the heads of animals for feet”.³³¹ Since these two spells explicitly concern the headless Besas, both explanations can presumably apply. But “τὴν ὄρασιν” is obviously better translated as “the/his vision”, rather than as “the face”.

In both spells, Besas/the headless one is also described as “the one lying on a coffin and having towards the head an elbow-cushion of resin and asphalt” (VII.235-7; VIII.96-8), and identified with Anouth, which is a name of Osiris (VII.237, 243, 246; VIII.99-100, 102).³³² In addition, in VIII.64-110 the magician is instructed to draw “a man naked, standing, having a diadem on his head, in his right hand a sword with a bend (καμπῆ) placed on his neck and in the left hand a wand” (VIII.104-7).³³³ In another spell, the II.64-186, there is a similar reference to “the headless one” (II.166), accompanied with a figure showing a headless person with “five projections” instead of the head and with something like a triangle shape on the top of each one pointing to the right. This figure also holds in his right hand a staff with two circles attached on the top and two “hooks” attached on the other end and in his left hand a staff with arrows on it all pointing to the right.³³⁴

Bonner notes the resemblance of the figure described in VIII.104-7 to a magical gem now in the British Museum, both sides of which depict a figure wrapped as a mummy, having on the head three projections looking like

³³⁰ Plu.*Def.Orac.*417E, “εἰδωλον ἀνδρὸς ἀκέφαλον”; see also Paus.9.20.5; also Betz (1996) p.335.

³³¹ Betz (1996) p.123, n.19; also Preisendanz (1950) pp.211-16; Delatte (1914); Abel (1970); also Dickie (1999).

³³² Also in VIII.83 Anouth is presented as Helios’ “holy daimon”; see also Betz (1996) p.332.

³³³ See the figure in Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, Abb.6: P VIII Kol.III Besas; also in Betz (1996) p.148; in the untitled spell for revelation, II.1-64, the headless one should also be drawn on a piece of papyrus (II.11-12).

³³⁴ Preisendanz (2001) p.30, T.1, abb.2, II.166.

hairpins, or a “crest with plumes or plants”, or simply a crown.³³⁵ In both sides of the gem there is something like a staff with a circle at both ends and with a “hook” under it attached to it. The only difference between these two figures is that on the obverse the feet of the mummy are turned left, but on the reverse right.³³⁶ In our spells VII.222-49 and VIII.64-110 Besas/the headless god is, as we have seen, identified with Osiris. Bonner argues that the three projections on the head of the mummy may be either a crown, or an allusion to the three water plants which decorate the head of the Nile god Hapi, although Hapi is more often depicted with five water plants on his head. He also suggests that here Osiris is identified with the dead because of his characteristic as god of the dead and because of his connection with Hapi.³³⁷ Another explanation, that the three projections might be nails used in *defixio*, seems less plausible, since there is no reference to *defixio* in our spells.

There are further references to the headless god in the *PGM*. In V.96-172, for example, called “Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist in his letter”, the “holy Headless” is invoked to deliver a person from the daimon who restrains him (V.124).³³⁸ Here the Headless one is identified with “Osoronnohphris”, which in Egyptian means “Osiris the Beautiful Being”.³³⁹ So once again, Besas is identified with Osiris. The headless one/Osoronnohphris is next addressed as the one “who created (τὸν κτίσαντα) earth and heaven, who created night and day, who created light and darkness” (V.98-101). Furthermore, the magician first describes himself as “Moses your prophet to whom you have given your mysteries accomplished by Israel”³⁴⁰ (V.111-4), and then as, “ἄγγελος τοῦ Φαρωῶ Ὀσοποννωφρις”, “the angel of Pharaoh Osoronnohphris” (V.116-7),³⁴¹ and as “the Grace (ἡ Χάρις) of Aion” (V.156). The magician is also self-defined as “the headless daimon who have his vision in his feet” ((ἐγὼ εἰμι) ὁ ἀκέφαλος δαίμων ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχων τὴν ὄρασιν) and “who hurls lighting and thunders” (ὁ ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν) (V.144-50). In the former phrase, the description of the headless one is exactly the same as in the two spells referring to Besas examined above, although this time the magician identifies himself with the headless daimon. But what is striking is the identification of the headless one/Osoronnohphris with the (Jewish) god-creator in parallelism to the identification of the magician/the headless daimon/the angel of Pharaoh Osoronnohphris with the Jewish Moses and the abstract Grace of Aion (a phrase which itself combines Greek and

³³⁵ Bonner (1950) pp.108ff.

³³⁶ Bonner (1950) pl.VII, 151.

³³⁷ Bonner (1950) pp.109ff.

³³⁸ Also V.128-9; also V.98.

³³⁹ See also IV.1078; also Betz (1996) p.337; see also p.22 above.

³⁴⁰ On Moses and Magic see Gager (1972) pp.134ff; also Gager (1994) pp.179-188.

³⁴¹ On “Φαρωῶ” (V.114) see Preisendanz (2001) vol.I, p.185.

Jewish).³⁴² These bold equations of the headless god reveal a mixture of Egyptian, Jewish and Hellenistic and of polytheistic and monotheistic influences.

There is also a reference to a “headless lion” in the spell called “A restraining seal” (IV.2125-39) that should be engraved on an iron ring. This lion instead of a head should have the “crown (βασίλειον) of Isis” and “he should trample with his feet a skeleton (so that the right foot should trample the skull of the skeleton)” (IV.2131-5). The description of the figure of the headless lion trampling a skull with his foot fits with the references to the Headless one, or to Besas/the headless god examined in the spells above, VII.222-49, VIII.64-110 and V.96-172. This figure is also associated to Osiris, since the magician is instructed to seal the mouth of the skull with dirt “of the doors of Osiris”, referring to the doors of a temple of Osiris (IV.2117-8).³⁴³

The God-Creator of all/Helios/Kronos/Titan/Abrasax/Iao/Raphael/Michael/Sabaoth/Adonai

In many of the spells considered so far, there have been Jewish influences or direct or indirect allusions to the Jewish creator God.³⁴⁴ This section considers cases where these allusions become even more central.

In the *Hymn “To the creator of all”* (III.550-558),³⁴⁵ included in the spell called “[Connection with] Helios” (III.494-611), Helios is identified with the “creator of all” or “lord of all” and “the one who created all” (III.549-53). In the spell designed to establish communication with Helios (III.198-229) and included within the untitled spell for revelation (III.187-262),³⁴⁶ there are cosmic characterizations attributed to Helios,³⁴⁷ such as “begetter of the cosmos” (III.205), or the title “lord of cosmos” attributed to the Jewish Sabaoth (III.219), or even an identification of the Jewish Adonai with the cosmos itself in the following words: “being the cosmos alone you travel over the cosmos of the immortals” (κόσμος ἑὼν μούνος κόσμον ἀθανάτων ἐ[φοδε]ύεις) (III.221). In

³⁴² See pp.26 above and 51 below.

³⁴³ For dirt or similar substances as conveying the essence of a being see chpt.3, pp.98-99 below.

³⁴⁴ See e.g. pp.7, 11-12, 16, 23, etc.

³⁴⁵ Reconstructed *Hymn 2 “To the creator of all”* (III.550-558); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, 238.

³⁴⁶ Reconstructed *Hymn 5 “To Helios and to the gods of all”* (III.198-229); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.241. Technically, Preisendanz’ title is imprecise, because the address “gods of all” does not occur in the hymn.

³⁴⁷ Who is addressed as “king Semea”; see also III.29, “Σημέα χθονία”, V.429, “Σημέα”, PDM xiv.214. Σημέα was a Syrian goddess, who is identified with Astarte, Athena, Hera. She also appears in Ps. Lucian, *De Syr.Dea* 33, where she is Semiramis. Note here not only the assimilation of Greek and Syrian gods but also the assimilation of male and female.

this hymn, Helios is also identified with Titan, Abrasax and the Jewish Iao, Raphael, Michael, Sabaoth and Adonai.

Similarly, in the erotic spell called “The Sword of Dardanos” (IV.1716-1870), Eros is addressed as “creator of everything” (IV.1755-6), having had ascribed to him cosmic dimensions.³⁴⁸ Moreover, on a golden leaf, the user of the spell is instructed to write, “εἷς θουριήλ· Μιχαήλ· Γαβριήλ· Οὐριήλ· Μισαήλ· Ιρραήλ· Ιστραήλ” (IV.1813-5). The monotheistic message implied with “εἷς”,³⁴⁹ together with the mention of the names of the Jewish archangels and the variants of Israel, clearly reveal the Jewish influences of the spell. Similarly, Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria in the early Roman period, in *De Specilibus Legibus* refers to the “one god” (θεὸς εἷς) who at the same time is the “creator and maker of all things” (κτίστης καὶ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων).³⁵⁰

In the so-called “Oracle of Kronos demanding, called little mill” (IV.3086-3124), “the one who created the whole inhabited world” is identified with Kronos (IV.3098-9).³⁵¹ Although this spell is addressed to Kronos, his name is not mentioned, but he is identifiable through his relationship with his son Zeus (IV.3099-3101). Kronos/the creator is also described as the one “whom Helios bound with adamantine chains (δεσμοῖς), in order that the whole (τὸ πᾶν) might not be thrown into confusion (συγχυθῇ)” (IV.3100-1), which nicely explains the previous reference to Kronos’ expected epiphany as “the god is coming, having been bound with chains” (IV.3092-3). Kronos/the creator is also addressed as “hermaphrodite” (ἄρσενόθηλυ) (IV.3102), a title which as already examined above is also attributed to Hermes and Hekate.³⁵² Similarly, in an *Orphic Fragment* there is a reference to “ἄρσενόθηλυ” identified with Phanes by “Orpheus”, since, according to the fragment, “when it appeared, the whole (τὸ πᾶν) was illuminated through it”.³⁵³ In the dismissal spell Kronos/the creator is then addressed as “master of the cosmos, forefather (προπατήρ)” (IV.3121),³⁵⁴ again with no reference to him by name. Kronos/the god-creator of the whole world whose binding in chains is necessary for the avoidance of the dissolution of the universe is then told to go to the same places “in order that the universe (τὸ πᾶν) may be maintained

³⁴⁸ For discussion of IV.1716-1870 see under the section on Eros, pp.23ff. above.

³⁴⁹ See pp.14-15 above.

³⁵⁰ Ph.Spec.1.30.8; also Ph.Spec.1.294.1; also Ph.Som.1.76.6 and Ph.Som.1.93.4; on the Jews in Roman Egypt generally see Bell (1954) pp.25-49; Barclay (1996) pp.48-81; Borgen (1998) pp.71-102.

³⁵¹ For Kronos in magic see Eitrem (1934) vol.I, pp.351-60; Betz (1996) p.98, n.412.

³⁵² See IV.2610, p.32 above; also VII.606, 609.

³⁵³ Orph.Fr.56; Orph.Fr.13.12-3 (Damasc.123 bis [I 317, 15 R.]).

³⁵⁴ For “forefather” as applied to Helios see pp.9-10 above; also p.52 below.

(συντηρηθῇ)" (IV.3123-4). This is a very distinctive representation of the creator-god. It is notable that Kronos is not at this point compared to the Jewish god (or any of his various names), and obviously he could not be. Rather, we seem to be dealing with some form of Orphic cosmogony, whereby Kronos, the forefather who encompassed the world with chains, is himself bound in chains by Zeus, and this bondage is necessary for the preservation of Zeus' own rule.³⁵⁵

In the "Prayer of Jacob" (XXIIb.1-26), which, as its title already indicates, reflects Jewish influences, "the creator of all", or "the creator of angels and the archangels", or "the creator of the saving names" is invoked as "father of the patriarchs",³⁵⁶ "father of all things" (XXIIb.1-3). The model of the paternal figure of the creator-god is also revealed in his description as "father of the powers of the cosmos", "father of all powers" and "god of the powers" (XXIIb.2, 4, 7). In *Poimandres* of the *Corpus Hermeticum* men when they ascend to the Father, "give themselves up to the powers (δυνάμεις) and (they themselves) becoming powers, enter into the god".³⁵⁷ The Alexandrian Jewish philosopher Philo who worked on Greek philosophy and the *Old Testament* connected the concept of power (δύναμις) with that of the Jewish god.³⁵⁸ The association of power with god and the divine also concerns the Neo-Platonic philosophy.³⁵⁹ Furthermore, this god-creator/father of the cosmos is depicted as a Jewish "seated god", who actually overcomes the Egyptian and Hellenistic cosmic depiction of the seated Harpocrates/Helios when he is described as "the one who sits upon Helios Iao" (XXIIb.12).³⁶⁰ There is a difficulty here, since Helios is assimilated with the Jewish Iao, but it seems that the fact that the Jewish "seated god" overcomes a Greek-Jewish assimilationist god increases his superiority.

Next this "god-creator" is clearly defined as "lord god of the Hebrews" and identified with the Jewish god "θεὸς Ἀβαώθ, Ἀβραθιαώθ, [Σα]βα[ώθ,

³⁵⁵ In Orphic cosmogonies Chronos ('Time') can be the primary cosmogonical figure, and Kronos is often etymologised as Chronos; Kirk-Raven-Schofield (1983) pp.22ff; for Kronos' application of "δεσμούς ἀρρήκτους" to the world see e.g. *Orph.H. To Kronos* 14.4; for his own "bondage" cf. e.g. *Orph.Fr.*149. 155; *Plu.De Defectu.or.*420a (cf. *De Facie* 942a) (where the bonds are allegorised).

³⁵⁶ The reference to the patriarchs also shows Jewish influence; cf. e.g. *Para.*1.XXIV.31.3, XXVII.22.2, *Para.*2.XIX.8.2, XXIII.20.2, *Ma*4.VII.19.2, XVI.25.3 etc.

³⁵⁷ *Corp.Herm.Poim.*26a.

³⁵⁸ E.g. *Ph.LA.*1.37.5, "τείναντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ μέσου πνεύματος"; see also *LxxIs.*34.4; also *NT.Act.Ap.*8.10-12.

³⁵⁹ E.g. *Porph.Abst.*2.34; *Plot.Enn.*2.9.9.37ff, 5.9.6.9ff, 6.1.1012ff, 6.2.20.25ff, 6.7.32.7ff, 6.8.21.5ff, *Iamb.Myst.*3.3.33ff, 3.16.12ff etc; on power see also Nilsson (1948) pp.103ff.

³⁶⁰ Also XXIIb.10-12, "ὁ κ[α]θ[ή]μενος ἐπὶ ὄρους ἰ[ε]ροῦ Σ[ι]ναΐου", "ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς θα[λάσσης]", "ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν δ[ι]κοντ[ε]ίων θεῶν".

Ἀδωνάι" (XXIIb.15). We are even informed about the Jewish origins of the one who has this prayer when it is stated that he is "from the race of Israel" (XXIIb.19). Celsus in Origen's treatise *"Contra Celsum"* refers to the Jewish claim that there is "one god" called "either the Most High, or Adonaios, or the Heavenly One, or Sabaoth".³⁶¹

In contrast to all the above references, in the spell called "Ring" (XII.201-69), there is an invocation to "the heavenly gods", "the gods under heaven", and "the gods circling in the middle region" (XII.217), who are addressed among the other descriptions as "creators (κτίσται) and benefactors of every race" (XII.225). This is the only reference in the *PGM* to the concept of a plurality of god-creators. It looks like an awkward compromise between pagan polytheism and Jewish monotheism.

Aion (/god of the Aions/Aion of Aions)/god-creator of the world/god-creator of all / god of gods /Helios/Apollo/ Zeus/Sarapis/ Abrasax/ the great Intelligence (Nous)/Adonaie/Sabaoth/Iao/Wisdom/Tyche/Hour and Day/the encompassing/the system/the spirit/the form of the world/Pan/Ra/Khepri

Among the other abstract deities mentioned in the *PGM*, such as Tyche, Nature, Time, Graces and Moirai,³⁶² there is one deified abstract concept that needs to be examined in detail, Aion, or the god of Aions, together with his various identifications with other deities, including the god-creator of all.

In the *Hymn "To the gods of all"* (I.297-314, 342-345),³⁶³ included within the spell called "Apollonian invocation" (I.262-347), Apollo is first addressed as "the first angel (ἄγγελος) of the god,³⁶⁴ the great Zeus" and then identified with a whole range of deities, such as Abrasax, the Jewish Iao, Adonai, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and the abstract Nature. Similarly, in the *Hymn "To Helios"* (III.198-229),³⁶⁵ included in the untitled spell for revelation (III.187-262), another god, Helios, is described as "the flaming angel of Zeus" and identified with Iao, Raphael, Abrasax, Michael, Sabaoth and Adonai (III.210-3 and 219-20). Abrasax is a solar deity often invoked in the *PGM*.³⁶⁶

³⁶¹ Or.*Contr.Cels.*1.24.1-3.

³⁶² For the personification and deification of Tyche, Moirai, Time, "the present hour" and "the present day" see chpt.3, p.95 below.

³⁶³ Reconstructed *Hymn 23 "To the gods of all"* (I.297-314, 342-345); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.262.

³⁶⁴ On Jewish angelology see chpt.2, p.83 n.56 below.

³⁶⁵ Reconstructed *Hymn 5 "To Helios"* (III.198-229); Preisendanz (2001) pp.241-2.

³⁶⁶ See Colpe (1976) pp.618-9; Betz (1996) p.331; Merkelbach and Totti (1990-1) vol.I-II; his representation in the magical amulets as an armoured cock-headed deity with serpent legs implies an amalgam of Greek, Egyptian, Persian influences; see Bonner (1950) pp.123-39 and plates VIII-IX.

The interesting point here is that both Apollo and Helios, described as the angel of Zeus, are compared with Jewish deities and angels and with the solar deity Abraxas. In addition, this peculiar amalgam of Apollo/Abraxas/Iao/Adonai/Michael/Gabriel is equated to “the aeonian god and Aion of all” (θεὸν αἰώνιον Αἰῶνά τε πάντων) (I.309). The deity adjured is also described as “father of the cosmos” (πάτερ κό[σ]μοιο) (I.303).³⁶⁷

In the formula of consecration of a plague, included in the spell “Divine assistance from three Homeric verses” (IV.2145-2240), the divine assistant is addressed as “the master of all things (ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης), Aion of Aions” and identified with “the ruler of the cosmos, Ra, Pan (Πᾶν)” (IV.2196-8).³⁶⁸ Noteworthy here is the implicit etymological connection of “τῶν ὅλων” with “Πᾶν” and their association to Aion.³⁶⁹ Similarly in XIII.734-1077, which contains a collection of various spells, the author refers to the title “Ἐν καὶ τὸ Πᾶν” of the fifth book of the Ptolemaica, relating it etymologically to the address of “ὁ πάντα κτίσας”, “the one who created all things” and “θεὸς μόνος”, “the only god” (XIII.978-83). The monotheistic suggestion here is significant, especially when this universal creator of all and the only god is identified with “the lord of Aion”, or “the great, great Aion”, or “god, lord Aion” (XIII.982, 994-5).³⁷⁰

In another spell called “a ring” (XII.201-69), the magician states before reciting it that this spell is addressed to “the forefather (τὸν προπάτορα) of gods, overseer and lord of all” (XII.237-8). Similarly, in the spell I.195-222, the first-begotten and first-born/god-creator is addressed as “[προπ]άτωρ” (I.200).³⁷¹ This forefather of gods is addressed as “the god ruler of all” (ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός) (XII.238).³⁷² This god is again addressed as “lord, holy ruler of all and master of all” (XII.250). Then follows a reference to the cosmic body of the god ruler of all/forefather of gods, described as “heaven (is) (the) head, ether (the) body, earth (the) feet and what is around you (the) water, ocean, Good (/Agathos) Daimon (τὸ δὲ περί σε ὕδωρ, ὠκεανός, Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων)³⁷³”

³⁶⁷ Also I.307, “ὀρκίζω χεῖρα δεξιτερήν, ἣν κόσμῳ ἐπέσχεσ”; note here the appropriately archaising genitive ending -οιο of “κό[σ]μοιο”.

³⁶⁸ In another spell also related to the concept of πάρεδρος (I.42-195) the divine assistant is addressed in the invocation spell as “god of gods”, “Aion” (I.162-3).

³⁶⁹ See chpt.2, p.88; on the association of the god Πᾶν and “τὸ πᾶν” see Pl.Cra.408b-c; also *H.Hymn to Pan* 19.47; *Plu.Mor.*419c.

³⁷⁰ On the repetition of “ὁ μέγας, μέγας (Αἰών)” see p.15 above.

³⁷¹ See also I.340, III.442; see also pp.9-10, 49 above.

³⁷² On the epithet “παντοκράτωρ” see the discussion on p.5 above.

³⁷³ Smith translates “τὸ δὲ περί σε ὕδωρ, ὠκεανός, Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων” as “and the water around you, ocean, [O] Agathos Daimon” (So does Preisendanz translating it as, “das Wasser um dich, der Ozear, der Gute Dämon”; Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.74; Grese follows this translation in XXI.6-8; Betz (1996) p.259), although in XIII.769-72 he translates “τὸ δὲ περί σ<ἐ> ὕδωρ ὁ

(XII.243). The same reference to the cosmic body of the deity invoked occurs in two more instances in the PGM.³⁷⁴

Next in the *Hymn "To the creator of all"* (XII 244-252)³⁷⁵ included in the same spell (XII.201-69), the god of all is equated with "the king of Aions and lord", or with "Aion nourishing Aion rules Aions" (Αἰὼν Αἰ<ῶ>να τρέφων Αἰῶσιν ἀνάσσει) (XII.246-7), and addressed as "one god immortal (εἷς θεὸς ἀθάνατος); the begetter of all" (XII.246-7), implying a monotheistic notion of the god-creator of all.³⁷⁶ Furthermore, the existence of "elements" (στοιχεῖα) and the birth of all in air, earth, water and "steam of fire" (πυρὸς ἀτμῶ) are related to his power (XII.250-2). Here there are a few noteworthy points. First is the reference to the four elements, which has already been examined in relation to the theory of "κράσις" in Pre-Socratic and Stoic Philosophy.³⁷⁷ The second noteworthy point is the mention of the element of fire as "πυρὸς ἀτμῶ". A similar expression occurs in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*.³⁷⁸

Another spell, VII.579-90, includes instructions for the preparations of a phylactery according to which the name of "the great god" should be written on it in order to assure the protection of the body and the soul of the person who wears it. The great god with the protective powers is identified among other magical names with Aion, Iao and even Chphyris (χφυρις), which stands, as Smith notes, for Khepri, the Egyptian primordial god in the form of a scarab (VII.583-4).³⁷⁹

In the so-called "Hermetic (spell)" (XIII.138-61) included in XIII.1-343, Helios ACHEBYKROM is defined as "the one who creates (κτίζων) the cosmos in divine light" (XIII.144-5) and later identified with Abrasax (XIII.156). The names of seven Jewish deities are also mentioned, described as "the first appeared angels",³⁸⁰ who are as follows, "Σαβαώθ· Ἀρβαθιάω· Ζαγουργη" "Ἀραθ· Ἀδωναῖε· Βασημμ Ἰάω" (XIII.146-7). This reference to the Jewish "angels" implies again influences of the Jewish concept of the god-creator.

Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων. σὺ εἶ ὁ ὠκεανός" as "and the environment water, the Agathos Daimon. You are the ocean"; Betz (1996) p.162; see also Betz (1996) p.162, n.77. But the latter translation of "τὸ δὲ περὶ σε ὕδωρ" seems better and according to the previous "οὐρανὸς μὲν κεφαλὴ, αἰθήρ δὲ σῶμα, γῆ πόδες" in which οὐρανός, αἰθήρ and γῆ are the subjects and κεφαλὴ, σῶμα and πόδες their equivalent complements.

³⁷⁴ XIII.769-72 and XXI.6-8.

³⁷⁵ Reconstructed *Hymn 1 "To the creator of all"* (XII 244-252); Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, 237.

³⁷⁶ For the formula εἷς θεός see pp.14-15 above.

³⁷⁷ See pp.1-2 above.

³⁷⁸ A.Eu.138, "τῷ ἀτμῶ...νηδύος πυρὶ"; see also in another context the association of ἀτμός with the sun, Arist.Pr.862a4.

³⁷⁹ See Betz (1996) p.134, n.102.

³⁸⁰ This phrase is placed between the first three names and the remaining four of the seven.

Both in this spell and the previous one, the spell of the sacred stele (XIII.61-89), the creator of all/Aion is equated to Helios, Abrasax and the Jewish Adonaie, Sabaoth, Iao. Smith also points out that these two invocations are an allusion to an old Egyptian hymn to the sun god/creator of the world.³⁸¹ There is thus a complex amalgam of Greek, Jewish and Egyptian influences.

In the spell called "GOD/GODS; A sacred book called "Unique" or "Eighth book of Moses" about the holy name" (XIII.1-343), the spell of the sacred stele (XIII.61-89) invokes again "the one who created all things" (τὸν πάντα κτίσαντα), "the self-begotten" (XIII.61-2), who is actually, as the title implies - "GOD/GODS"³⁸² - superior to the other gods, as the magician states, "to you all things have been subjected, whose real form none of the gods can see" (XIII.69-70). This god-creator of all is identified with "Aion of Aion", "who is transformed into all (gods)" (ὁ μεταμορφούμενος εἰς πάντας), although at the same time he is described as "invisible" (XIII.70-1).³⁸³ Thus the various gods of the polytheistic systems are here just "transformations" of the monotheistic god. The creator of all/Aion of Aion is also equated to Helios, Abrasax and the Jewish Adonaios, Sabaoth, Iao (XIII.74, 77, 79, 84). Similarly, in the other spells included in the XIII.1-343, as for example in the one called "opening by the name" (XIII.327-333) Helios is identified with Aion of Aions, and in the spell "to quench fire" (XIII.297-303) the magician identifies himself with Aion³⁸⁴ (XIII.329, 333 and 299).

In the "Stele" (IV.1167-1226), which contains a prayer for deliverance, the magician identifies "the one and blessed (τὸν ἕνα καὶ μάκαρα) of the Aions and father of the cosmos" with "Helios, father of the cosmos" (IV.1169-70, 1181-2). The god of Aions/Helios is also addressed as "creator of the world" (κόσμου κτίστα), "creator of all (things)" and "god of gods" (IV.1199). Moreover, he is addressed as "the one who created (ὁ κτίσας) gods and archangels and decans" (IV.1201-2). Similarly, in another spell/prayer for deliverance (I.195-222), the "first-begotten and first-born god" addressed as "eternal" (I.196-200) is also identified with the one "who has created mighty decans and archangels" (I.207-8). The reference to "the one god" and the

³⁸¹ Betz (1996) p.174, n.16.

³⁸² See also Betz (1996) p.172, n.1.

³⁸³ Notice also that in the second version XIII.343-646 the lines XIII.70-1 are repeated (XIII.578-81). Morton Smith translates "ὁ μεταμορφούμενος εἰς πάντας" as "who change into all forms"; Betz (1996) p.174; but "πάντας" is masculine and must refer to "the gods"; elsewhere another god, Eros, is also described as "having assumed the likeness (παρομοιωθεὶς) of a god (or a goddess" (XII.83) and "ὁμοιωθεὶς of a god or daimon" (IV.1849-51, 54-7); see pp.22 above; also chpt.2, p.81 below.

³⁸⁴ Similarly, in V.156 the magician identifies himself with "the Grace (ἡ Χάρις) of Aion"; see p.47 above.

identification of Helios/the god of Aions with the god-creator of gods, archangels and decans reveals Jewish influences in regard to the concept of a god-creator.³⁸⁵ These characteristics, which have already been examined in the previous section in regard to the equivalence of the god-creator of all with Helios, are attributed in most cases to Aion, or the god of Aions.

Another significant point of this spell is the identification of Aion with Wisdom, when the magician states, “and the lord witnessed to your Wisdom, which is Aion” (IV.1205-6). But this is not “a unique instance in the *PGM*”, as claimed by Grese,³⁸⁶ since in the spell I.195-222 of similar content, in which some phrases are repeated,³⁸⁷ the above sentence recurs as, “and the lord has witnessed to your wisdom” (I.209-10).

Wisdom was personified in Jewish, Gnostic and Christian texts. In *First Corinthians*, for example, the abstract Wisdom is personified and characterized as God’s Wisdom distinguished from the wisdom “of this aion” (τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου) or “of the rulers of this aion” (τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου).³⁸⁸ Similarly in the recently discovered “Gospel of Judas”, Wisdom is personified and deified.³⁸⁹

In the spell called “Connection with your own daimon” (VII.505-28), in the invocation that the magician should recite in order to communicate with his own daimon among the various abstract deities or deified concepts greeted, such as Tyche, the daimon of this place, the present hour and day, or even “the encompassing”, Helios is addressed as “the father of the reborn Aion Ζαχαθω”, or “the father of the terrible Nature ΘΟΡΧΟΦΑΝΩ” (VII.510-11).³⁹⁰ Similarly in the prayer included in the spell called “Hidden Stele” (IV.1115-66) the various abstract concepts greeted, such as “the whole system (σύστημα) of the aerial spirit”, or “the spirit” itself, or even “the incomprehensible form (σχῆμα) of the cosmos”, are addressed as “the god of

³⁸⁵ See also IV.1190-2, “συ εἶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον κα[ὶ] τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τὸ καθηγιασμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πάντων” and IV.1203-5, “αἱ μυριάδες τῶν ἀγγέλων παρεστήκασί <σοι> καὶ ὕψωσαν τὸν οὐρανόν”.

³⁸⁶ Betz (1996) p.61, n.164.

³⁸⁷ E.g. I.205-7 and IV.1189-91; I.207-9 and IV.1201-4; I.211-12 and IV.1208-9.

³⁸⁸ *NT.Cor.1.2.6.1*; *NT.Luc.11.49*; *Apoc.13.18.1*; also in the *Septuagint*, *Pr.III.28.3*; *Reg.XIV.20.4*; *Esd.I.VIII.23.1*; also in *Corp.Herm.Fr.23.29.2*.

³⁸⁹ *Gosp.Jud.44*, “Jesus said, “It is impossible to sow seed on [rock] and harvest its fruit. [This] is also the way [...] the [defiled] generation [...] and corruptible Sophia [...] the hand that has created mortal people, so that their souls go up to the eternal realms above”; transl. by Kasser, Meyer and Wurst (ed.) (2006) p.30.

³⁹⁰ For the names Ζαχαθω and ΘΟΡΧΟΦΑΝΩ, the latter of which is written in Coptic, see Betz (1996) p.132, p.79, and 80. For a detailed analysis of this spell see chpt.3, pp.94ff. below.

gods" (IV.1146-7) and identified with "the god of Aions", the "great" and "master of all" (IV.1162-3).

In another spell (V.459-89) with various functions, the magician invokes again the one "who created earth and bones and all flesh and all spirit" (V.459-61), equated with "the great Intelligence who administrates all lawfully", "ὁ μέγας Νοῦς, ἐν[ν]ομος τὸ πᾶν διοικῶν" (V.464). This assimilation reveals influences from Greek philosophy.³⁹¹ The "Nous (or Phrenes)" is elsewhere in the *PGM*, as we have seen, associated with heart as the place of intelligence and wits and identified with Hermes (XIII.172-5).³⁹² Similarly, in the spell XIII.343-646, Nous (and Phrenes) is identified with Hermes who, as stated, "is in the phrenes, by whom the whole is managed"³⁹³ (XIII.486-90). The idea of administration or management associated with Nous is represented in both spells. In the *Corpus Hermeticum*, in Book One called *Poimandres of Hermes Trismegistus*, there is also a reference to "the Intelligence/Mind (/Nous) of the sovereignty" (ὁ τῆς αὐθεντίας νοῦς), described as "the first god", or "the archetypal form", which the protagonist of this dialogue has perceived "in his mind" (ἐν τῷ νῷ).³⁹⁴ This first nous "being bisexual" gave birth to the "other Nous creator" (ἕτερον νοῦν δημιουργόν), who created in his turn the seven "administrators" (διοικήτωράς), whose administration (διοίκησις) is called destiny (εἰμασμένη).³⁹⁵

In our spell (V.459-89), the great *Nous* is described as "daimon of daimons, god of gods" and equated with Aion Iao (V.465-8). In addition, this god-creator/Nous/Aion is addressed as "the master of gods", which nicely anticipates the characterization "sovereign" (τύραννε) Zeus, with whom he is identified (V.470-2). This god-creator/Nous/god of gods/Aion Iao/Zeus is equated to the Jewish Adonai and Iao (V.477). The magician also states that he invokes this great god in Syrian and Hebrew, reciting magical words for each case (V.472-4).³⁹⁶ Then he identifies himself with a series of magical names, some of which are the Jewish Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai and Eloai Abraam (V.474ff).³⁹⁷ Furthermore, this god-creator is even identified with the Hellenistic Sarapis (V.485). Also noteworthy is the description of the god-creator/Nous/Aion/Iao/Adonai/Sarapis as "seeing with eternal eyes" (V.465-

³⁹¹ Betz (1996) p.109-10, n.61-2.

³⁹² See p.19 above.

³⁹³ See p.19 above.

³⁹⁴ *Corp.Herm.*1.3, 6, 7.

³⁹⁵ *Corp.Herm.*1.9.

³⁹⁶ For similar expressions see also I.286ff, XII.263-5; also XIII.79-87, 139.

³⁹⁷ Aune points out that the words in Greek of the magical names correspond to a "Jewish blessing" prayer, but he questions the level of the magician's understanding of their actual meaning; Betz (1996) p.110, n.63.

6)³⁹⁸ and later as “αἰωνόβιε”, “immortal” (V.480), a title used for the Egyptian kings and elsewhere found in the PGM. In the spell written in the form of a letter IV.154-285, for example, Nephotes greets Psammetichos, addressing him as “immortal king of Egypt” (βασιλεῖ Αἰγύπτου αἰωνοβίῳ) (IV.154-6).³⁹⁹

The abstract character of Aion, as it has been examined, is defined by his various assimilations with gods and deities mainly from the Greek and the Egyptian polytheistic systems, or from the Jewish monotheistic system with its whole range of angels and archangels, or even with philosophical abstract concepts. This identification process also implies his ability to accumulate the features of these gods or concepts into a single monotheistic concept of Aion/“Eternity”. The identification of Aion with the god-creator of all and with Jewish deities and angels reveals influences from the Jewish concept of the god-creator. This whole identification process of Aion either with gods of polytheistic systems, or with the Jewish monotheistic god, reveals a monotheistic tendency, though on a few occasions the tendency does not go as far as monotheism but remains at the level of henotheism.⁴⁰⁰

A question of language deserves separate consideration here. A distinctive feature of all the examples considered in the previous section and of many of the examples in the present section (and of certain others considered earlier)⁴⁰¹ is the use of the verb “κτίζω” and its derivatives (aorist participle κτίσας and the nouns κτίστης and κτίσις) in the sense of “create” and with reference to the “creativity” of the god-creator. This is not a normal meaning of the Greek verb “κτίζω”, whose basic meaning from Homer onwards is “found” (houses, cities, colonies, countries, etc.).⁴⁰² But “κτίζω” is used extensively in the sense of “create” in the *Septuagint* version of the *Old Testament*, which originated (at least in part) in Egyptian Alexandria.⁴⁰³ Hence some scholars see this as the source of the usage in the PGM. For example, Edwards states “[the verb κτίζω] is regularly used in the *Septuagint*, though not in pagan Greek, to denote the creative activity of the Deity, and when it appears in the Magical Papyri, it is generally as part of some locution also found in the Jewish scripture”, and he refers to particular spells in the PGM where the verb κτίζω

³⁹⁸ See discussion under the section “Divine epithets and Identities”, pp.62ff. below.

³⁹⁹ See also OGI90.4 in the Rosetta stone (2nd c. BC).

⁴⁰⁰ On which see Versnel (1990).

⁴⁰¹ E.g. IV.930-1114 (Helios), with p.11 above; V.96-172 (the headless one), with p.47 above.

⁴⁰² LSJ, s.v.1-2; e.g. H.Od.11.263; Il.20.216; Hdt.Hist.1.149, 3.49; Pi.P.1.62, 5.89, etc. etc.

⁴⁰³ E.g. Os.XIII.4.1-2, “ἐγὼ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεός σου στερεῶν οὐρανὸν καὶ κτίζων γῆν, οὗ αἱ χεῖρες ἐκτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν οὐρανοῦ”; Am.IV.13.1, “κτίζων πνεῦμα”, Is.XLV.7.2, “κτίζων κακά”; Is.LV.16.1-3, “ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐκτίσά σε, οὐχ ὡς χαλκεὺς φουσῶν ἀνθρακας καὶ ἐκφέρων σκεῦος εἰς ἔργον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκτίσά σε οὐκ εἰς ἀπώλειαν φθεῖραι”.

occurs and their Jewish parallelisms.⁴⁰⁴ Earlier, Zuntz had made a similar observation about the *Corpus Hermeticum*: “the basic concept of the ‘Creator of Heaven and Earth’ as well as many details of thought and wording derive from Alexandrian Judaism”.⁴⁰⁵

Now, while the sense of “found” is the dominant one in pre-*Septuagint* Greek, there are interesting earlier fifth-century usages. An ancient scholiast on the *Eumenides* points out that the sense of “ποιεῖν”, “make”, often associated with a predicative adjective, is an “ἰδίωμα Αἰσχύλου”.⁴⁰⁶ Aeschylus even uses the verb in the sense of “produce, create” and with reference to the supreme god, Zeus.⁴⁰⁷ Particularly interesting is one case in the *Suppliants* (138-40): “τελευτὰς δ’ ἐν χρόνῳ πατήρ ὁ παντόπτας πρευμενεῖς κτίσειεν”. The subject of the verb is “the all-seeing father” (Zeus) and the verb is used paradoxically of “the ends”, as if Zeus can see “the ends” at the very beginning, “found” them, and accomplish them over time. Thus already in the fifth century “κτίζω” can be used in a profound theological sense in reference to the creative activity of the supreme god.

Nevertheless, the hypothesis that the *PMG* use of “κτίζω” derives from the *Septuagint* remains strong: the *Septuagint* provides the best and most sustained parallels for the relatively distinctive usage; the relative chronology allows the influence; the *Septuagint* (or at least part of it) originated in Egyptian Alexandria; the *PMG* certainly show great interest in Jewish religion;⁴⁰⁸ the *PMG* generally link the usage to the Jewish creator-god; and there are cases where the magicians seem to be glossing Jewish locutions. This does not necessarily exclude other influences. Aeschylus is certainly one possible influence.

⁴⁰⁴ Edwards (1991) pp.234-5, also n.13 (p.234 *ibid*) for the Jewish parallelisms to XIII.145, V.459, V.98, IV.1040, I.207 and IV.1202.

⁴⁰⁵ Zuntz (1955) p.85.

⁴⁰⁶ E.g. A.*Eum.*17, “τέχνης δέ νιν Ζεὺς ἐνθεον κτίσας φρένα”; A.*Eum.*714, 825; A.*Ch.*1060; A.*Pers.*289; A.*Supp.*1067; Thomson (1938) Vol.II, p.254; Broadhead (1960) p.103.

⁴⁰⁷ E.g. A.*Supp.*172, “τὸν αὐτός (Ζεὺς) ποτ’ ἔκτισεν γόνῳ”; see also *LSJ*, s.v.4.

⁴⁰⁸ Note also the converse, Jewish interest in magic: cf. Betz (1997); Klauck (2000).

Christos (/Jesus Christos/Jesus)/Helios/god of Abraham, god of Isaac, god of Jacob/Thoth

Having examined representations of the Jewish creator-god in the *PGM*, we next consider the representations of Christos in the *PGM*.

In one of the short charms called “releasing from bonds” (XIII.288-95), which is contained within the spell called “GOD/GODS; A sacred book called “Unique” or “Eighth book of Moses” about the holy name” (XIII.1-343), Christos is brought into conjunction with Helios (XIII.289, 291-2). This text belongs to a papyrus dated to the fourth century AD. The lines which refer to Christ before the explicit mention of Helios are a Christian interpolation. The spell addressed to Helios is about release from bondage. Are Christ and Helios actually being identified? How does the Christian prayer work? According to Morton Smith, the spell was used for releasing from bonds and could be used by, or referred to, “the newly Christian criminal class”.⁴⁰⁹

In this spell Christ is addressed in the paradosis as “ὁ Χρηστός”, “Chrestos” (XIII.289). Preisendanz changes the paradosis to “Χριστός” with “ι” instead of “η”.⁴¹⁰ But Edwards argues for the retention of the paradosis: “the form is not a vulgar orthographic variant, but the key to the identity of the group for whom the petition was composed. Neither pagans nor Christians in late antiquity could distinguish “Χρηστός” and “Χριστός” by their sounds”.⁴¹¹ It is worth noting also that the form “ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΙΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ” is found elsewhere (IV.1231-9), in some lines written in Coptic included in the spell called “Excellent rite for driving out daimons” (IV.1227-64).⁴¹² Which reading in our spell is correct? Should the name be normalised, or does the precise form not matter, or does the paradosis Χρηστός have a particular point? The Christians are praying to Jesus for release from bondage not just because he is their god but – presumably - because he himself was put in “bonds” and “released”.⁴¹³ The point then is a double one. The badness of Jesus’ own fate in bondage is increased by the fact that he is described as “the Good one”. But because he himself is “the Good one” he has all the greater responsibility to listen to his Christian petitioners.

⁴⁰⁹ See Betz (1996) p.180, n.68.

⁴¹⁰ Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.102.

⁴¹¹ Edwards continues: “From this phonetic fact it has been inferred that the orthography of Christ’s name was also a matter of indifference, at least to pagans who knew of the sect by hearsay, just as the ι “Χριστός” gives way to η and ει both within and outside the Church”; Edwards (1991) pp.232ff; see also Blass (1895), pp.466ff; *PRE* 3 (1897-9) pp.2449-50.

⁴¹² See also p.61, n.418 below.

⁴¹³ Bonds: *NTMa*.27.2; *Mar.* 15.1; *Jo.* 18.12; “release”: *Ac.* 2.24.

“Chrestos” is next described as “the one who created Compulsion and Punishment and Torture” and also characterised as “very powerful in the world” (XIII.291). Here there are also interesting points.

First is the description of “Chrestos” as a god-creator associated with power. To the Jewish influences on the interpretation of the verb “κτίζω” and its derivatives as “create” we have already referred.⁴¹⁴ This description is also an allusion to the Jewish god-creator/“father of all the powers”, who is described in a similar way in the “Prayer of Jacob” (XXIIb.1-26), as already examined.⁴¹⁵

Secondly, there is a striking emphasis on the fact that “Chrestos” himself is the creator of Compulsion and Punishment and Torture”. This emphasis contrasts with his previous address as “the Good one”. It was unjust that “the Good one” should be tortured. But this “Good one” is *himself* “the creator of Compulsion and Punishment and Torture”.

The appeal of the suffering Christians to Jesus thus has several aspects. Jesus’ own sufferings were unjust and deserve commemoration, but because he suffered he can sympathise with the sufferings of the suffering Christians and because he is “the Good one” he will alleviate them. But because he himself “created” suffering he also has a responsibility to cure it. And because he himself is “very powerful” he can cure it. The prayer fits a precise context of the persecution of Christians. But it is also concerned with the whole problem of suffering in a world created by a “good” god and the problem of “theodicy”. Thus this is a very theologically reflective prayer.

Jesus and Helios are not here actually being identified. Rather, the Christian interpolators of the prayer XIII.289-92 modeled their prayer to Jesus on the original pagan spell to Helios, but substituted “the Good one” for Helios. This is an excellent example of Christian “appropriation” of pagan religion.

Moving on to the conjuration spell within the spell called “A tested charm of Pibechis for those possessed by daimons” (IV.3007-86), Jesus is mentioned as the god of the Hebrews.⁴¹⁶ The papyrus in which this spell contained is dated to the fourth century AD. This rather ignorant description shows that the magician was neither Jewish nor Christian but pagan, since neither Jews nor Christians could possibly have called Jesus the god of the Hebrews.⁴¹⁷ On the

⁴¹⁴ See pp.57ff. above.

⁴¹⁵ See p.50 above; see also I.195-222.

⁴¹⁶ See also Betz (1996) p.96, n.388; Deissmann (1927) p.260, n.4; Knox (1938) pp.193-4; Barb (1964) pp.7-9; Chadwick (1980) p.210; Smith (1985) p.113.

⁴¹⁷ Deissmann (1927) p.260, n.4.

other hand, the magician knows of Jesus' fame in casting out demons.⁴¹⁸ The god conjured is also addressed as "the one who was seen (ὅπτανθέντα) in Osrael in a shining pillar and a cloud of day" (IV.3033-5). The verb "ὀπτάζομαι/ὀπτάνομαι" in the passive is often used in the *Septuagint* and *New Testament* and in Gnostic texts.⁴¹⁹ The name Ὀσραήλ is one of the various forms of Israel that appear in the *PGM*.⁴²⁰

In the conjuration also of the god there are parallels and allusions to Jewish stories, as, for example, to the plagues of Pharaoh, the seal of Solomon, the prophet Jeremiah, the exodus,⁴²¹ and to Jewish prayers referring to the description of "the light-bringing god".⁴²² Moreover, among the magical names mentioned revealing Jewish origins, like these of IABA, IAE, ABRAOTH, AIA, the god conjured is identified with the Egyptian Thoth (IV.3020). This identification may be explained by the association of Thoth with wisdom and knowledge and specifically with the sacred writings and laws.

This is an interesting prayer in that it shows much knowledge of Jewish religious history and registers the importance of Jesus as a healer but was composed by a pagan.

In another short and fragmentary spell called "Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear" (XII.190-2) the names of Jesus, "Ἰησοῦς ἀνουι...", are the first two and only words preserved of this invocation. In the untitled memory spell (III.410-23) the name of Jesus, "ΙΗΣΟΥΣ", is also mentioned in the lines written in Coptic (III.420).⁴²³

⁴¹⁸ He is presumably also aware of the claimed etymological association – much emphasised by Christians such as Luke – between the name Ἰησοῦς and the verb "ἰάομαι", "heal", cf. e.g. *Act.Ap.9.34*.

⁴¹⁹ E.g. *LXX.Nu.14.14*; *NT.Act.Ap.1.3*, "ὀπτανόμενος"; see also "ὀπτανόμενοι" in the *Corp.Herm.3.2b*.

⁴²⁰ See also IV.1815, "Ἰσραήλ Ἰστραήλ"; XXXVI.259, "Ἀσστράηλος"; see also Ganschinietz (1939) pp.2233-4; also Betz (1996) p.96; Scholem refers to Istraël, or Astrael, as an angelic name; Scholem (1965) pp.95-6.

⁴²¹ IV.3034-6, 3038-40, 3053-5.

⁴²² IV.3045-52; see also *LXX Gen.i.3*; for more parallels in this passage see Deissmann (1927) p.261-2; Betz (1996) p.96.

⁴²³ Further on Christ and Christian influences see the *Christian Papyri* included in Preisendanz's ed., under the section "Christliches" (P1, P2a-24); P9 includes the Christian credo; Preisendanz (2001) Vol.II, pp.209-32; notice also the mention of Christ's name in the Ostraca included in Preisendanz's. ed. Vol.II, O3; the Christian credo in O4; Preisendanz (2001) Vol.II, pp.233-5.

Divine epithets and identities

In the above sections we examined the religious identifications of the gods and abstract concepts in the *PGM*. In this assimilation process the epithets played an important part in identifying the roles and characteristics of the gods and concepts that underwent this process, involving as it did a mixing of old and new religious ideas and of influences from different cultures. This section discusses epithets which seem to be unique to the *PGM*. The raw material is gathered in an Appendix, which lists first those epithets which are unique to the *PGM* according to *LSJ* and second the epithets in the *PGM* that are not recorded at all in *LSJ*.⁴²⁴

Most of the epithets that occur only in the *PGM* are included in the hymns, which are mainly written in dactylic hexameters.⁴²⁵ Obviously, therefore, most of these epithets are metrically useful. They are mainly used to describe and define the multiple characteristics of the gods. Thus in the *Hymn "To Hekate-Selene-Artemis"* (IV.2785-2870)⁴²⁶ Hekate-Selene-Artemis is described together with other epithets as "φιλήρεμε", "lover of silence" (IV.2807), "τετραώνυμε, τετραοδίτι", "having four names, of the four crossroads" (IV.2817), "νυκτοφάνεια", "appearing by night" (IV.2818-9), and later as "Δαμνῶ, Δαμνομένηα· Δαμασάνδρα· Δαμνοδαμία" (IV.2850-1). All these epithets are compound adjectives, all are easily invented, and all are easily understandable: "Φιλ-" and "τετρα-" compounds, for example, are very common. In the last example the repetition four times of Δαμν-compound adjectives creates a powerful climax.⁴²⁷ At the same time they all describe specific functions of the god or goddess and so allow the magician to summarise distinctive divine attributes with great economy.

In the same hymn, Hekate-Selene-Artemis is also characterised as "ζωνοδράκοντι, αίμοπότι, θανατηγέ, φθορηγενές, καρδιόδαιτε, άωροβόρε, οίστροπλάνεια", "girdled with snakes, drinking blood, death-bringing, breeding corruption, feasting on hearts, devouring those who die untimely, causing the wanderings of madness" (IV.2864-8). In this instance, the unique epithets are used one after another in a sequence. The combination of the new words and of the occurrence in a sequence is very intense and dramatic. The piling-up of adjectives about the goddess also allows the magician to summarise many of her essential attributes with great economy.

⁴²⁴ See Appendix 5, p.151 below.

⁴²⁵ See Appendix 3, p.147 below.

⁴²⁶ Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, pp.253-5.

⁴²⁷ Similar repetitions are quite common in the *PGM*; cf. e.g. "αίωναίε, αίωνακ<τ>ινοκράτωρ, αίωνοπολοκράτωρ" of the "first-begotten and first-born god"/god-creator addressed in a spell/prayer for deliverance (I.200-1).

But there are even more complex compounds as well. Typhon, for example, in the *Hymn "To Typhon"* (IV.179-201) is addressed as, "γνοφεντινάκτα, βρονταγωγέ, νυκταστράπτα, ψυχ<ρ>οθερμοφύσησε, πετρεντινάκτα, κοχλαζοκύμων, βυθοταραξοκίνησε", "shaker of darkness, bringing thunder, emitter of lightning-flashes by night, breathing cold and hot, shaker of rocks, causing earthquakes destructive of walls, with splashing wave, stirring the deep to movement (IV.182-4) and later as, "χθονοριφῆ", "flung on the ground" (IV.196). These epithets emphasise many of the different aspects of the destructive character of Typhon. The main consonants that each of them contains also help to create a dramatic and emotional atmosphere when they are being pronounced.

Other highly elaborate composite compound adjectives include "βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ", "father of the thunderbolt" (IV.3102), of Kronos; and "φριξωποβρονταξαστράπτα", "hurler of frightful thunder and lightning" (V.19), of Sarapis/Zeus/Helios/Mithras.

The richness of the magicians' religious thinking as we have analysed it is thus suitably accompanied by rich linguistic inventiveness, above all in the invention of epithets for the various gods and in the rhetorically powerful ways in which they are employed.

We may now bring in tabular form these identifications between gods and deities from various religious traditions:

Greek	Egyptian	Persian	Jewish	Christian
Helios (/Apollo)	Harpocrates	Mithras	The living god, Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai	Christos
Helios and the holy spirit		God, Ahura Mazda, with his Holy Spirit, Spenta Mainyu'		Holy Spirit, part of Holy Trinity after the Father and the Son
Helios, the chariot sun god	The ship of the sun god Re	The chariot sun god		
Sarapis Zeus/ Helios/ Asklepios/the great Mind(/Nous)/Aion	Osiris – Apis Sarapis	Mithras	Adonai /Iao /Sabaoth	
Apollo (Helios/Zeus/Titan) Abraxas	Harpocrates Abraxas		Iao, Adonai, Sabaoth Michael, Gabriel,	
Hermes Hermes Trismegistos (/Oneiros)	Thoth Hermes Trismegistos			
Eros	Harpocrates Osiris			
Aphrodite	Hathor	Ereschigal: Babylonian ΒαϞζαβ Πουζω Ιλαουχ?		
Hekate-Selene/Mene- Artemis- Persephone		Ereschigal: Babylonian		
Typhon	Seth			
The god-creator of all/	Abraxas		Iao/	

Helios/Kronos/Titan			Sabaoth/ Adonai/ Raphael/ Michael/	
Aion (/god of the Aions/Aion of Aions)/ god-creator of the world/ god-creator of all/ god of gods/ Helios/ Apolo/ Zeus/Sarapis/ the great Intelligence (Nous)/ Wisdom/ Tyche/Hour and Day/ the encompassing/ the system/ the spirit/ the form of the world/ Pan	Ra Khepri Abranax		Adonaie/ Sabaoth/ Iao	

Egyptian	Greek	Persian	Jewish	Christian
Isis	Nemesis, Adrasteia, Tyche			
Osiris	wine (Dionysus)			
Bes/Besas /Headless /Anouth (Osiris)	Headless god			
Thoth/Thouth	Heron/Heros: Thracian			

Christian	Jewish	Greek	Egyptian	Persian
Christos (Jesus Christos/ Jesus)	god of Abraham/ god of Isaac/ god of Jacob	Helios	Thoth	

Conclusions

How coherent are all these religious identifications? Is there any real religious consistency and uniformity within the corpus of the *PGM*?

Betz gives very positive answers. He refers to a Greco-Egyptian syncretism represented in the *PGM*, describing it not only as “a mixture of diverse elements” from various religions, but also as “a tendency toward assimilation and uniformity”, and he further argues that “this syncretism is more than a hodge-podge of heterogenous items. In effect, it is a new religion altogether, displaying unified religious attitudes and beliefs”.⁴²⁸ For Barb, however, “much that we are accustomed to see classified as late ‘syncretism’ is rather the ancient and original, deep-seated popular religion, coming to the surface when the whitewash of ‘classical’ writers and artists began to peel off”.⁴²⁹ And for Scibilia, “this [contributions from the pantheons of different religions] should not be taken as a sign of syncretism, but the combination of divinities is yet another illustration of magic’s natural receptiveness”.⁴³⁰

We may begin by considering the problematics of the notion of “syncretism”.

Syncretism is not a term that the authors, magicians, or collectors of the *PGM* texts ever use, or refer to, in the *PGM* spells and handbooks. This does not necessarily mean that it is an inappropriate term for us to use in analysis of those texts. The English word comes from the Greek term “συγκρητισμός”, which is used by the Greek philosopher and biographer Plutarch (c. 45-120 AD) of the political “union”, or federation, of Cretan communities when outside enemies attacked, i.e. it really refers to the political “coming together” of Cretans.⁴³¹ It is, however, widely used by modern scholars in discussion of ancient religion, in the broad sense of the “mixing” of different religious elements, as if it derived from the Greek verb συγκεράννυμι: to mix. It is often so applied in modern discussions of Roman and Egyptian religion.⁴³² This usage includes the notion of “union”, as from the prefix συγ-. The term “σύγκρασις” (from the verb συγκεράννυμι) is in fact, as already mentioned, used in the *PGM* to describe Helios’ cosmic constitution (VII.511),

⁴²⁸ Betz (1996) pp.xlv-xlvi.

⁴²⁹ Barb (1964) p.4, n.16.

⁴³⁰ Scibilia (2002) 74.

⁴³¹ Plu.*De Frat.Amor.*19; similarly, Michael Apostolius Paroemi (15th c. AD) referring to (again) the Cretan federation to defend themselves against an enemy army; Mich.Apost.Par.15.80.5.

⁴³² Thus e.g. on such “syncretism” in the Hellenistic and Roman periods see MacMullen (1981) pp.90ff; Fox (1986) pp.35ff; on Egyptian syncretism see Morenz (1992) pp.139-42; on Egyptian-Jewish syncretism, Barclay (1996) pp.119-24.

and “κράσις” is also found in the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475-829). Both these terms occur only once, but it is clear that the magicians possessed the philosophical concept of “mixing”. Thus while the modern term “syncretism” as applied to “mixing” of different religious elements or different religions to form some sort of “union” is based at least partly on a false etymology, it does connect with notions available in the ancient world. Moreover, when Plutarch uses the word “συγκρητισμός” in the narrow political sense described above, he is certainly suggesting an implicit etymological connection with the general political and philosophical process of “σύγκρασις”. Hence religious “syncretism” can be a useful practical term, because it describes an important religious phenomenon. But this religious phenomenon can itself take many different forms. This is why Richard Gordon in his entry on “syncretism” in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* asserts, paradoxically, “the term’s real value lies in its imprecision”.⁴³³

Gordon himself distinguishes between two main types of syncretism in the ancient world, “internal” (as in Ancient Egyptian religion before it was affected by outside influences) and “contact”, referring to three major modes, a: “the construction of the ‘traditional’ Greek and Italo-Roman pantheons who took the form of variable fusion in the proto-historic period between the incomers’ deities and the religions of the indigenous populations”; b: “the identification or interpretation of others’ gods in Greek or Roman terms”; c: “the integrating devices of the Greco-Roman polytheism to counteract its inherent fissility”. This typology allows no space to Barb’s “popular religion” model.

Without seeking to give answers to any of these theoretical questions, we shall use some of these categories pragmatically in our attempt to reach conclusions. There are really two, interrelated, issues. First, how is the process of religious identifications handled? And second, to what extent does monotheism come into play?

As has been examined in this chapter, the process of religious identifications of the gods in the *PGM* is a complex one, able to function on many levels.

The first level involves a religious system by itself (as in Gordon’s “internal syncretism”). In the *PGM* representations of the gods, we have referred for example to the identifications of Apollo and Helios, Apollo and Paeon and Selene or Mene, Hecate and Artemis and often Persephone. In these cases, the identification process according to their common features initially occurs in Greek religion and mythology and it is reflected also in the Greek religious

⁴³³ *OCD*³ (1996) pp.1462-3.

cults. Similarly, on the Egyptian side, Besas, for example, is identified with Osiris and the headless god.

The next level of these identification processes involves the procedures of interpretation and adaptation of the Egyptian gods in terms of the equivalent Greek ones, a process which the Greeks were already familiar with from the classical period, as our repeated references from Herodotus have shown (this is Gordon's "contact syncretism", mode b). Thus, for example, as reflected in the spells, Helios is identified with Horus Harpocrates, Apollo with Horus Harpocrates, Hermes with Thoth, Eros with Harpocrates, Aphrodite with Hathor and Typhon with Seth. The converse also applies. Isis, for example, is identified with Nemesis, Adrasteia and Tyche, Osiris with wine (Dionysus), and the Egyptian Thoth with the Thracian Hero. This identification process involves systematic comparison between the gods of two great polytheistic religious systems.

Such identifications become even more complex when influences from other pantheons are added in: notably the Persian and Babylonian pantheons, as, for example, in the identifications of Helios/Horus Harpocrates with Mithras or Sarapis/Helios/Zeus with Mithras, or in the identifications of goddesses of oriental origins, such as Aphrodite/Hathor with the Heavenly Goddess, the all-mother Nature and the Babylonian Ereschigal, or Hekate/Selene/Artemis/Persephone with Ereschigal.

Within the Egyptian pantheon, Seth has a particularly significant role in these processes. He represents "the foreigner god". The concept of an Egyptian god recognized as "a divine foreigner" who could assume the forms of major gods of other religious systems reveals a more or less conscious attempt by the Egyptians to deal with the issue of identification with, and adaptation from, other gods of other religious cultures they were in contact with.

The identification process becomes on one level even more complicated when it involves the comparison not only between two or more polytheistic systems, but also between polytheistic and monotheistic systems as well. That is the case with the Jewish and Christian religious influences displayed in the PGM. Helios/Horus Harpocrates/Mithras, for instance, is also addressed as the living god, Iao and Sabaoth and Christos (Jesus Christos/Jesus) is identified with Helios, the Jewish god of Abraham, god of Isaac, god of Jacob and the Egyptian Thoth. But on another level, it becomes simpler, since the Jewish and Christian influences push towards monotheistic solutions. Thus for example the god-creator of all is identified with the Greek Helios, Kronos and Titan, the Egyptian Abrasax, the Jewish Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, Raphael

and Michael, or even with the Jewish concept of “father of all powers”, or “god of the powers”.

This chapter has also examined various abstract concepts personified and deified, with a particular emphasis on Aion, or the god of Aions. The identification also of the abstract concept of Aion, or the god of Aions, with the god-creator of all and with various Greek, Egyptian and Jewish gods, or even with other abstract concepts, such as Wisdom, Tyche, Hour and Day, the encompassing, the system, the spirit, or the form of the world, reflects an attempt to appropriate to a single concept of Eternity the gods from various religious traditions, emphasizing at the same time its abstract quality by its identification with other abstract concepts.

Another important issue that has been examined in this chapter is the characteristic of most gods to assume various forms of other gods, or, in some cases, various animals. There have been references, for example, to the various “forms” of Helios. Apollo/Helios is mentioned as “many-named”. Hermes is another god addressed as “many-named”. Similarly, goddesses such as Selene/Hecate/Artemis and Isis are described as “many-named” and “many-formed”. Eros is invoked to help the magician as an “assistant”, “having assumed the likeness” of other gods. Selene is also described as “assuming all forms”. This “many-formedness” of gods already occurs within separate religious systems. But it is an important vehicle in the identification of gods from different religious systems. We have already mentioned this aspect of the Egyptian god Seth. But this “many-formedness” facilitates the tendency towards monotheism. This becomes explicit in the example of the god-creator of all as identified with “Aion of Aion”, “who is transformed into all (gods)”.

A similar notion is that of “one-ness” as transcending apparent plurality, as for example in the address “one Zeus Sarapis” (IV.1715), or when in the *Hymn “To the creator of all”* (XII 244-252) the creator of all/king of Aions is addressed as “one god immortal; the begetter of all” (XII.246-7).

There are other attempts to create a sense of order within a formally polytheistic framework which fall short of *monotheism*, for example, *henotheistic* notions, or what might be described as a *megatheistic* concept, in the emphasis on such-and-such a god as being “greatest”, or the search for a “forefather”, or some similar first principle (apparently sometimes derived from Orphic cosmogonies).

A constant concern of this chapter has been the question of philosophical influences on the *PGM* and a case has been made for fairly strong philosophical influence, especially from the Neo-Platonists. These influences are used in active ways, for example, to underwrite unifying abstractions such as Intelligence or Mind, or to reconcile the notion of apparent plurality with “one-ness”. The various identifications of the gods within a religious system, or between different systems and the various names and forms, which, as examined, reveal a religious tendency towards monotheism, may also at the same time reflect influences from the Neo-Platonist philosophers related to the notion of the “one (which) is at the same time and many”, or “that manifold one having the many in one”.⁴³⁴ On the whole, therefore, their function is to support fundamentally monotheistic conceptions.

So far, this survey tends to support Betz’ claims.

Are there any difficulties with his model?

It might be argued that there is inconsistency when in one spell a particular god is singled out as “the greatest”, or “the ruler of the cosmos”, etc. and in another a different god is so singled out. But this formal inconsistency tends to resolve itself into a fairly unified monotheism.

There are also internal inconsistencies. For example, in the spell called “Eros as an assistant” (XII.14-95), although Eros is described as the greatest god and identified with Harpocrates and Osiris, he is subsequently ordered “on the command of the highest god Iao, Adoneai” (XII.62-3). But here we should allow for the “negotiating mechanism” of the spells. Eros is “flattered” in an initial *captatio benevolentiae*, but he is then reminded that he is himself under higher authority. Similarly, in the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475-829), Helios-Mithras is addressed as “the great god” (IV.481), although in IV.1035-46 Helios is presented subordinate to “the great living god” (IV.1037-9).

There are also cases where, while formal identifications are going on, it seems to be important to the magicians to retain an emphasis on minor local identities, for example, in the visual representation of Besas.

Now, let us return to Betz’ claims concerning a Greco-Egyptian syncretism represented in the *PGM*, which is not just “a mixture of diverse elements” from various religions, but also “a tendency toward assimilation and uniformity”, and a “syncretism [which] is more than a hodge-podge of heterogenous items. In effect, it is a new religion altogether, displaying

⁴³⁴ Plot.*Enn.*6.2.2.2ff; also Iamb.*Myst.*VII.3.

unified religious attitudes and beliefs".⁴³⁵ As has been examined, these religious identifications involve gods from various different religious systems. With a very few exceptions, these identifications, however complicated, are consistent. It is therefore correct to speak of "unified religious attitudes and beliefs". Moreover, these religious identifications were not just a way invented by the magicians of securing the gods' help by calling them by their equivalent names in other religions, but they were a key vehicle for the functionality of a magical system which supported coexistence in the heterogenous society of the period, at least in the big cities in Egypt. This is not to say that this magical system, although it draws upon other religious systems, should be judged by comparison with formal religious systems.

⁴³⁵ Betz (1996) pp.xlv-xlvi.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONCEPT OF ΠΑΡΕΔΡΟΣ IN THE *GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI*

Introduction

The concept has been treated by Betz in his edition, by the incidental observations made by the various contributors to that edition, and by Ciruolo and Scibilia in two separate studies. A recent article on necromancy in the PGM by Faraone provides the longest and most detailed discussion of two of the relevant spells.¹

Betz characterises the παρέδρος as “a special type of daimon” and defines it as “an assistant daimon”.² One question we will address is whether this definition is too restrictive. We also hope to correct some misinterpretations and mistranslations in the existing treatments and we will suggest some significantly different interpretations of the logic and detail of particular spells. We also hope to give a broader account of the wider religious thinking behind the concept. In order to do this we shall examine the relationships between παρέδρος and the divine and between the magician and παρέδρος.

The basic concept of Πάρεδρος

Πάρεδρος is an adjective, literally meaning “sitting beside”. It can also be used as a noun, of one (or something) that “sits beside” (someone or something else) in a wide range of senses.³ The English “assistant” is a good working translation.

We begin with a brief survey of the religious and political associations of the concept of παρέδρος. Among the female idols from the Minoan period, the goddess is occasionally accompanied by a male partner and the two are interpreted as “the Minoan Mother Goddess with her dying παρέδρος”.⁴ The Minoan-Mycenaean Mother Goddess, whose origins are Phrygian, was

¹ Betz (1996); Ciruolo (1995) in Meyer and Mirecki (1995); Scibilia (2002) in Bremmer and Veenstra (2002); Faraone (2005) in Johnston and Struck (2005).

² Betz (1996) p.332 and xi, Glossary; the term is accordingly translated as “an assistant daimon” in I.42, p.4, n.12; XII.14, p.154 and xv; LVII.1, p.xix.

³ *LSJ* s.v.

⁴ Burkert (1996) pp.41, 361; Dietrich (1974) pp.12, n.47, 16, 167, 174-7, esp. 235, 238, n.268, 287, n.513, 303-4; Dietrich (1986) pp.39-40; Frazer (1923) chpt.1-12; Nilsson (1925) pp.9-37; Guthrie (1950) p.59; Guthrie (1957) pp.11-45.

related to Cybele.⁵ In Greek myth Demeter, daughter of Rhea and mother of Persephone, was often identified with the Phrygian Cybele. The chorus in Euripides' *Helen* refers to the rites of "the Mountain Mother (Μάτηρ) of all the gods", and connects these to Dionysus.⁶ Dionysus in Euripides' *Bacchae* associates himself with the mother Rhea when he refers to the drums of his thiasos and calls the women of the thiasos his "παρέδρους καὶ ξυνεμπόρους".⁷ In Pindar's *Isthmian* 7, Dionysus is also represented as "the πάρεδρος of the bronze-clashing Demeter".⁸ In the *Orphic Hymn to Aphrodite*, Aphrodite is addressed as "σεμνή Βάκχοιο πάρεδρε".⁹ These examples of the association of the πάρεδρος with the rites of the Minoan Great Mother and Dionysus and of their Phrygian origins reveal the use of the concept in Greek religion from the earliest times and its ancient Anatolian origins.

From the Classical period onwards, there are references to the πάρεδρος as the assistant of almost any god, but most often of Zeus.¹⁰ The term is also used later in the Roman period, as for example in Julian's *Hymn to King Helios dedicated to Sallust*, where Monimos and Azizos are represented as the assistants of Helios in his temple in Emesa, in Syria. According to Iamblichus' interpretation as quoted by Julian, "Monimos is for Hermes and Azizos for Ares, the assistants of Helios".¹¹ Naturally enough, the term was also appropriated by Christian writers in relation to God.¹²

Πάρεδρος is also frequently used in prose as a governmental or legal term in the sense of "counsellor", or "assessor", and also in military and naval life.¹³

From Classical Greek times, then, Πάρεδρος was a well-established term, used both in religion and politics, and often with overlaps (where, for example, there are implicit analogies between the "assistant" of Zeus and the

⁵ Burkert (1996) p.176-9.

⁶ E.Hel.1301-68.

⁷ E.Ba.57-9; see also Hom.H.14, "To the Mother of the Gods".

⁸ Pi.I.7.3-5.

⁹ Orph.H.54.

¹⁰ LSJ; e.g. Pi.P.4.4, "χρυσέων Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος", Pi.O.8.22, "Διὸς ξενίου παρεδρος ἀσκεῖται Θέμις", Pi.O.2.76, "ὄν πατήρ ἔχει μέγας ἐτοῖμον αὐτῷ πάρεδρον", E.Med.843, "ταῖ Σοφίαι παρέδρους πέμπειν Ἑρωτας".

¹¹ Jul.Or.IV150c7-d6. For the mention of "the assistant of Helios" see Procl.Tim.3.131, 30, also included in the Chald.Or.Fr.226.

¹² Cf. e.g. the fourth c. AD Epiphanius Scr. Eccl., *Panarion (Adversus Haereses)*, "Εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δαίμονα τινα πάρεδρον ἔχειν, δι' οὗ αὐτὸς τε προφητεύειν δικεῖ καὶ ὅσας ἀξίας ἡγεῖται <γενέσθαι> μετόχους τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ προφητεύειν ποιεῖ", Epiaph.Haer.2.7.4; also in Eusebius Scr. Eccl. Et Theol., *Commentaria in Psalmos*, "ἀεὶ δὲ πάρεδρον καὶ βοηθὸν κέκτηται τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Κύριον", Eus.Com.Ps.23.333.5.

¹³ LSJ s.v. II.1.

“assistant” of some Greek king or tyrant). In our analysis of πάρεδρος in the PGM, we follow our usual practice of dividing the spells into pragmatic categories.

Πάρεδροι as daimones

This category involves two spells. In the spell entitled “A daimon comes as an assistant” (I.1-42), this assistant daimon is called “good worker of the land, Good Daimon” (I.25-6)¹⁴ and later identified with “holy Orion” (I.29). The purpose of this invocation of the “assistant” daimon is to “reveal everything” to the magician (I.1). “Holy Orion” is portrayed as “rolling the currents of the Nile down and mingling (ἐπιμινύων) them with the sea and transforming (ἀλλ[οιῶν) them with life, like a man’s seed in intercourse” (I.29-32). The broad association between daimons and water goes far back to Egyptian literature of the second millennium BC.¹⁵ Here the association is made by a simile of sexual intercourse. While we are dealing with a very general motif of the divine sexual union as directly related to the physical processes on the Earth,¹⁶ a direct analogy between the divine sexual union and the human can be found in the *Derveni Papyrus*, where there is the image of the sexual union of Zeus and Aphrodite, like a man “mingling” (μισγόμενος) with a woman.¹⁷ But the closest parallel for the sexual union in the spell comes in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, in which there is a reference to the sexual union between nature and man.¹⁸ It is this sexual role which justifies Orion’s title “good worker of the land”.¹⁹ Elsewhere, a similar epithet, “the good oxherd”, is used of Anubis (PDM XIV.17, 35, 400 and 422).

The assistant is also then appropriately described as the one “who continually ejaculates seeds into the sacred fig tree of Heliopolis” (I.35-6). This reference can be explained in terms of the Egyptian cosmogonic tradition mentioned in the “*Egyptian Book of the Dead*”, according to which Atum-Re arose from Nun, the waters of chaos, and by masturbating created the gods.²⁰ A similar

¹⁴ For the Good Daimon and various gods see chpt.1, p.5 and n.27 above.

¹⁵ Pinch (1994) p.35.

¹⁶ See e.g. Hes.*Th.*133, A.*Fr.*25(44), E.*Fr.*898N, Procl.*in Ti.*3.176.28, Lucr.1.250,2.992, Virg.*E.*7.60, G.2.324ff, and Hor.*Epo.*13.2.

¹⁷ *Derv.Pap.Col.*XVII.5-10; ZPE 47 (1982) p.10; for translation see Laks and Most (1997), XXI (XVII) p.19 and Janko (2002), XXI(XVII) p.42 and Betegh (2004), XXI(XVII) p.45.

¹⁸ *Corp.Herm.*I.14.12-13 and 16.4.

¹⁹ The epithet γεωργός in the sense of ‘fertile’ is also used of the Nile itself in Lib.*Or.*13.39; ἔργον (and cognates) can itself be used of sexual activity: LSJ s.v. I.2.c.

²⁰ *Eg.B.Dd*, chpt.17: “I am Atum when I was alone in Nun [the waters of chaos, out of which life arose]... I am the great god who came into being by himself. Who is he? The great god who came into being by himself is water; he is Nun, the father of the gods”. Another version:

cosmogony about Zeus is presented in the *Derveni Papyrus*. Despite all the difficulties of its interpretation,²¹ on practically any interpretation, the creative activity of the primeval gods is being represented in sexual imagery. In the *Derveni Papyrus* the genital organ is also connected to birth and likened to the sun. Furthermore, Zeus is presented as giving birth to gods and nature, thus he himself being the only one.²² Of course, we are also dealing here with general patterns of Near Eastern cosmogonic myth.²³

In the “Power of the Bear constellation that accomplishes everything” (IV.1331-89), the magician invokes “the powerful arch-daimons” (IV.1347), in order to accomplish a task (IV.1379).

There are several noteworthy points about this address. The first is the use of the plural. A parallel use of the plural occurs in the *Defixionum Tabellae*, in which “the holy assistants” are mentioned (TD 155, A20-1, B21).

Second, this is the only case in the *PGM* where the assistants are addressed as “the assistants of the great god”. Who is the great god? It soon emerges that it is Typhon,²⁴ since the magician is instructed to “write on a piece of papyrus the hundred-lettered name of Typhon curved as a star” (IV.1879-81).²⁵ But what is the significance of Typhon here? Plutarch in the *De Iside et Osiride* connects the soul of Typhon with the constellation of the Bear when he reports that, as the Egyptian priests claim, “the souls of gods after death shine as stars in heaven” and “that of Typhon is called the Bear”.²⁶ In the ritual also to be practised before the recitation of the spell, the magician is told to use the fat of a black ass in his offering to the Bear and have as phylactery hairs from the same animals as used in the offering (IV.1332, 1334-5). Typhon was also

“He is Re. ‘He who created his names, the lord of the Ennead.’ Who is he? He is Re, who created the names of the parts of his body. That is how these gods who follow him came into being”; Pritchard (1969) pp.3-4; Betz (1986) p.4.

²¹ The meaning of the *Derv.Pap.* Col.IX.4, “αἰδοῖοι γ κα[τ]έπινεν, ὃς αἰθέρα ἔχθορε πρῶτος” is much disputed, ZPE 47 (1982) p.6; Laks and Most (1997), Col.XIII(IX) p.15, Janko (2002), Col.XIII(IX) p.26; Betegh (2004), Col.XIII(IX) p.29; Burkert (2004) p.90; the verb ἐκθρόσκω (ἐκθόρνυμαι later) of course may have a sexual meaning (see LSJ), though in this instance the sexual reference is in dispute.

²² *Derv.Pap.* Col.IX.5-9, ZPE 47 (1982); for transl. see Laks and Most (1997) Col.XIII(IX) and XVI(XII) p.15 and 16, Janko (2002) Col.XIII(IX) and XVI(XII) p.26 and 33 and Betegh (2004) Col.XIII(IX) and XVI(XII) p.29 and 35.

²³ E.g. the *Hurrian-Hittite Song of Kumarbi*; see Burkert (2004) chpt.4 and West (1999) chpt.6.

²⁴ See chpt.1, pp.33ff. above.

²⁵ See also chpt.1, p.36 above.

²⁶ Plu.*De Is. et Os.* 21.359C-D.

identified with the Egyptian god donkey-headed Seth and so often with an ass.²⁷ The allusion to Typhon is thus doubly motivated.

Third, by characterizing the assistants as themselves “the assistants of the great god” the spell suggests a paradoxical religious hierarchy in which the arch-daimons are subordinate both to the great god and to the magician himself.

It is also noteworthy that in his invocation of the assistants the magician uses more than sixty epithets to describe the arch-daimons, and these epithets are not only rich and impressive: most of them occur only in the *PGM*. For example, the assistants are called “inhabitants of Chaos, Erebus, the abyss, the depth, and the earth, dwelling in the recesses of heaven”, “directors of the infinite”, “servants in the chasm”, “bringers of compulsion”, “guardians of Tartarus”, “spirit givers”, “joiners together of deaths” and “revealers of angels”.²⁸ The inventiveness of the terminology emphasises the unique characteristics of the arch-daimons and consequently highlights the distinctive character of the particular magical invocation.

Πάρεδρος as the daimon/spirit of a dead person

This category also involves two spells.

In “King Pitys’²⁹ spell that leads (ἀγωγή)³⁰ over any skull cup” (IV.1928-2005),³¹ the magician is instructed to recite a spell to Helios, in order that he may, as expressed, “give me power over this spirit that died a violent death (βιοθάνατον πνεῦμα), from whose dead body I hold this (skull cup)” (IV.1947-50).³² The purpose of this invocation is, as stated by the magician, to have the “assistant” as a “helper and avenger” in the magical operations (IV.1950-2). Accordingly, Helios is addressed as “the ruler of heaven and earth and chaos and Hades, where dwell the daimons of men who once looked into the light” (IV.1963-5). Hence the assistant is called daimon, when the magician asks Helios to send him the daimon from the underworld whose

²⁷ See chpt.1, p.33 above.

²⁸ IV.1348-50, 1350-68, 1369-71; see Appendix 5, p.151; also chpt.1, pp.62-3 above.

²⁹ In IV.2140, Pitys is called Thessalian. For the identification of the Thessalian Pitys with the Egyptian priest and prophet “Bitys, Bitos, or Bithus” see Betz (1996) Gloss. p.338.

³⁰ For discussion of the term “ἀγωγή” see the discussion of its use in the erotic spells in chpt.4, pp.106ff.; see also Faraone (2005) p.258.

³¹ Discussion in Faraone (2005) pp.257ff.

³² In context, the reference and the meaning of *skyphos* in the title seem perfectly clear; see Faraone (2005) 258-61 for over-elaborate demonstration of these points. Note the parallel use of “σκυφίον” for skull in Paul.Aeg.3.22.5.

skull cup he holds (IV.1967-70). The daimon should also reveal to the magician “τὸν χρόνον, ὃν παρεδρεύει” (IV.1977-8). O’Neil translates this as “at what time he serves as my assistant”.³³ But this makes no sense and ὃν is an accusative of time, so that the correct translation is “the length of time he serves as assistant”, as already Preisendanz saw.³⁴

In the parallel “Pitys’ spell that leads” (IV.2006-2125), the term *πάρεδρος* refers to the “the daimon of a dead person” (*νεκυδαίμων*).³⁵ This spell may have various functions, such as “it erotically leads and causes illness and sends dreams and restrains and obtains dream revelations” (IV.2075-7). The magical operation involves an elaborate series of rituals and spells. According to the ritual described, the magician should go quickly to where someone lies buried, or to where something has been thrown away, if he has no buried body, and spread the hide of an ass under himself at sunset (IV.2039-42). The magician should also place a leaf of flax with the depiction of Hecate and the inscription of the spell on the head of the dead body and wreath him with black ivy and he will stand beside him through the night in dreams (IV.2049-53). The last stages of the operation involve the agreement between the magician and the *πάρεδρος* and the writing of the spell and task on a roll of hieratic papyrus for the divine assistant to accomplish (IV.2067-95, 2124-5).

With regard to the appearance of the divine assistant in the magician’s dreams, Graf argues that, “Socrates’ *daimonion*, which became a focus of later Platonic interest, was viewed as a precursor of this conception”.³⁶ Similarly, Scibilia finds a parallel between Socrates’ *daimonion* as “a kind of private oracle” and this *πάρεδρος*’ “ability to send divinatory dreams”.³⁷ Elsewhere, she compares the *πάρεδρος* with the following passage of Porphyry’s *Life of Plotinus*, “μακάριος εἰ θεὸν ἔχων τὸν δαίμονα καὶ οὐ τοῦ ὑφειμένου γένους τὸν συνόντα” (Porph.*Plot.*10.23-5).³⁸ But the reference in this passage is not to *πάρεδρος*, but to the personal daimon, “τοῦ οἰκείου δαίμονος”, as clearly stated in the text (Porph.*Plot.*10.18). The *πάρεδρος* is based on a different concept than that of the personal daimon or *daimonion*. The personal daimon conceptualizes an essentially internal agent. The *πάρεδρος* on the other hand is external and first established by the magician through a series of magical

³³ Betz (1996) p.73.

³⁴ Preisendanz, loc. cit.: “die Zeit, während deren er Beistand leistet”; Preisendanz (2001) vol.I, p.133.

³⁵ Similarly, in the *DT* from Carthage dated to the 2nd/3rd c. AD (*TD*.234.1), the spirit of a dead person who has died before his time is adjured.

³⁶ Graf (2003) p.117.

³⁷ Scibilia (2002) p.78.

³⁸ Scibilia (2002) p.81; also Graf (2003) p.271, n.89.

rituals and spells. Accordingly the two terms should not be confused. So this parallelism is not valid.³⁹

The assistant is now addressed not as the “νεκυδαίμων”, but as “the chthonic daimon”, “in whom the essence (ἡ οὐσία) of this female (or, of this male) has been embodied (ἐσωματίσθη) on this night” (IV.2086-8). In the previous “King Pitys” spell, when the magician asks Helios, “if you go to the depths of earth and the regions of the dead, send this daimon ... from whom I hold this skull cup” (IV.1967-70), he gives him a more precise instruction: “ἀλλὰ φύλαξον ἅπαν δέμας ἄρτιον εἰς φάος ἐλθεῖν” (IV.1976). O’Neil translates: “but guard that my whole body come to light intact”.⁴⁰ This is clearly incorrect, as already Preisendanz saw,⁴¹ since it is Helios who goes to the regions of the dead; the magician is praying for the total bodily resurrection of the daimon. So, it should be translated as “but guard that the whole (daimon’s) body come to light intact”. In another spell also (IV.2145-2240), which involves the consecration of a *lamella*, among its various uses there is a reference to the lamella “for wrecking chariots” (IV.2211),⁴² according to which the lamella should be buried for three days “in the grave of someone who died untimely” and “εἰς ὃν κεῖται, ἐκεῖνος διημερεύσει” (IV.2215-16). Martin translates this as: “he will come to life for as long as it stays there”, understanding “χρόνον” with “ὃν”.⁴³ It is more easily understood as “[the person] to whom it is placed, that man will have his day again” (with ὃν antecedent to ἐκεῖνος). Thus on this analysis, the concept of bodily resurrection of the dead person who died untimely, or had a violent death, is implied in the two spells of Pitys and in the *lamella* for wrecking chariots.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the concept of πάρεδρος as a daimon/spirit of the dead is associated in all three cases with this bodily resurrection of the dead.⁴⁵

³⁹ See chpt.3, pp.94ff. below, for the personal *daimon* as essentially “internal”; it is true that it is sometimes given a degree of “externality” (see pp.95, 98-99), but this is slight and is by way of paradox.

⁴⁰ Betz (1996) p.73.

⁴¹ Preisendanz, loc cit.: “die ganze Gestalt (des Dämons)”; Preisendanz (2001) vol.I, p.133.

⁴² ἀρματοράκτης (~ ἄρμα, ῥήγνυμι/ ῥήσσω, ῥήττω); not in LSJ.

⁴³ Betz (1996) p.77.

⁴⁴ On *paredros* and the resurrection of the dead who died a violent death (νέκυος βιοθανάτου) see I.252, “ἀνάστηθι, δαίμων καταχθόνιε”; examples of bodily resurrection appear in Greek and Roman literature, Luc.*Philops.*13 and 11, Heliod.*Aeth.*6.14-5, Apul.*Met.*2.28-9, 1.12-17, Luc.*Phars.*6.654-827, Philostr.*Heroic.*306 and Apoll.4.14; see Ogden (2001) chpt.13.

⁴⁵ Ogden rightly argues on this issue that, “the Greek Magical Papyri from Egypt provide a significant degree of context, if not for reanimation, then at least for the physical manipulation of corpses and body parts to achieve evocation”; Ogden (2001) p.203 and 212; but Faraone (2005) does not incorporate the notion of the bodily resurrection of the dead person into his study, despite the evidence that these spells provide as examined above. Faraone explicitly states, concerning IV.1928-2005, “this spell does not require a full corpse”; Faraone (2005) p.263; on IV.2006-2125 he states, first (p.266), “this is a spell designed to force

But what is the practical importance of the πάρεδρος in the Magical Rite? In “Pitys’ spell”, in his justification of the functional importance of the magical operation, Pitys cites the general experience of the majority of the magicians who have practiced it, “πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν μάγων παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς τὰ σκεύη βαστάξαντες καὶ ἀποθέμενοι ἐχρήσαντο αὐτῷ παρέδρῳ καὶ τὰ προκείμενα διὰ πάσης ὀξύτητος ἐπετέλεσαν· ἔστιν γὰρ ἄνευ πάσης λεσχολογίας, ἐν εὐκοπία δὲ τῇ πάσῃ εὐθέως τὰ προκείμενα ἐκτελῶν” (IV.2081-6): “the great majority of the magicians used him as an assistant, after carrying the vessels with them and after putting them aside, and accomplished the preceding things in complete speed. For it has the power to accomplish the preceding things without any idle talk and immediately and in complete ease”. Here “the vessels” means “the magical implements” and “him” is the daimon. Later, however, Pitys, addressing king Otanes in the second person, explains to him that with the accomplishment of these rituals he may know, “πόσης φύσεως ἔχεται ἡ οἰκονομία αὕτη ἐν τῇ πάσῃ εὐκοπία πάρεδρον οἰομένη τὰ σκεύη” (IV.2107-9).

Translation here is crucial. In the first place, what does the adverbial phrase “ἐν τῇ πάσῃ εὐκοπία” go with? Both Preisendanz and O’Neil take it with the participle “οἰομένη” (“der in aller Leichtigkeit nur das Gerät als Beihelfer betrachtet” and “since in all ease it considers the implements as the assistant”).⁴⁶ But this gives very unnatural sense, and Pitys should be reinforcing his emphasis on the utility of the magical operation, that is “ἐν τῇ πάσῃ εὐκοπία” should go with “ἔχεται”. This reading is confirmed by the earlier phrase “ἐν εὐκοπία δὲ τῇ πάσῃ εὐθέως τὰ προκείμενα ἐκτελῶν” (IV.2085), which ring-structures the section on the utility of the magical operation. The whole sentence can thus be translated, “how powerful a nature this magical operation gets hold of in all ease, considering the vessels as the assistant”. But how can this sentiment be reconciled with the earlier “the great majority of the magicians have used him as an assistant, after carrying the vessels with them and after putting them aside”? While scholars do not seem to recognise that there is a problem,⁴⁷ there clearly is one, for these two statements seem diametrically opposed. The answer is that the term σκεύη in the sense of “vessels” as “the magical implements” has been crucially redefined in the sense of “vessels” as “the skulls or bodies” of the soul.⁴⁸ This repetition of a term in order to distinguish its different meanings could be

the appearance and speech of a ghost”, but second (p.266), “it would appear that we are to do this to a head that is still attached to its corpse”.

⁴⁶ Preisendanz, loc cit.; Betz (1986) p.75.

⁴⁷ Preisendanz in his apparatus on 2110 writes: “vgl. 2081f”; others do not comment.

⁴⁸ The term σκεῦος literally means “vessel, implement, instrument”, but it can also mean “the body, as the vessel of the soul”: LSJ s.v. II.

regarded as an example of the rhetorical figure known as ἀντανάκλασις,⁴⁹ or more simply as a riddling verbal play characteristic of religious language. At any rate, the displacement of the magical implements by the πάρεδρος as consisting in the skull or skeleton of a dead person must have been a very useful innovation in Greek magic. The magician has permanently subdued the assistant for the rest of his life.

Πάρεδρος as the god Eros

This category also involves two spells, which have already been discussed at length in another context:⁵⁰ “Eros as an assistant” (XII.14-95) and “The Sword of Dardanus” (IV.1716-1870). We may summarise the previous analyses here.

In the first spell, Eros, given cosmic dimensions, is identified with Helios, Harpocrates, and Osiris, and described as “the master of the forms”, able to assume the likeness of any god or goddess regularly worshipped. He is also under “the command” of “the highest god”. It is obvious that all these characterisations are well suited to the basic purpose of the prayer: that the magician should have “favour, sweet speech and charm with all men and women” (XII.69-70). Also noteworthy is the emphasis on Eros’ ability to assume different divine likenesses. In sum, the πάρεδρος here is as powerful a god as it is possible to be, subject to the overriding power of “the highest god”. He is also as flexible a god as it is possible to be. And the magician himself brings himself into communion with the two most powerful gods of all.

In the second spell, Eros is also given cosmic dimensions and identified with the god-creator, one of the Orphic cosmogonical powers, the Platonic δημιουργός, and Harpocrates, and is again capable of assuming the likeness of practically any god or goddess. Once again, this πάρεδρος is a god of the highest power, here not even subject to the command of “the highest god”.

Πάρεδρος as the spell itself and as a god or goddess revealed as another entity

In the previous section, a particular god, Eros, had the power to assume different forms. In this section, this general divine attribute is presented as part of a much more complex process in the magical operation.

⁴⁹ Cf. Quint. 9.3.68: “ἀντανάκλασις, where the same word is used in two different meanings”; 9.3.71: “it is more elegant, when it is employed to distinguish the exact meaning of things”.

⁵⁰ See chpt.1, pp.21ff. above.

The “Spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant (πάρεδρος)” (I.42-195) is a composite spell sent by Pnouthis to Keryx, clearly another magician, and written in the form of a letter. This is a complex and difficult spell, which requires lengthy discussion.

At the start, Pnouthis writes to Keryx: “εἰδὼς προσέταξά σοι [τό]νδε [τὸν πάρεδρον] πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαπίπτειν ἐπιτελ[οῦν]τα [τή]νδε [τὴν προᾶξ]ιν” (I.43-5), which O’Neil translates as, “as one who knows, I have prescribed for you this spell for acquiring an assistant to prevent you failing as you carry out this rite”.⁵¹ In inserting the words “spell for acquiring an assistant” here, as in the title of the spell, O’Neil is incorporating into the translation an interpretation that the πάρεδρος referred to here actually is the spell. But the sense requires this interpretation, and this is confirmed by the next phrase “παρελόμενος τὰ πάντα καταλει[πό]μενα ἡμῖν ἐν] βίβλοις μυρίαῖς συντάγματα...<ὑπηρετ>οῦντά σοι τόνδε τὸν πάρεδρον ἐπέδει[ξ]α” (I.44-7), and by the parallel, a few lines later (I.52), “ἀπέπεμψα τήνδε τὴν βίβλον”. So the term πάρεδρος can be used for the actual spell to acquire an assistant.

How does the spell work? Pnouthis refers with details to the “sign” (σημεῖον) (I.65) of the divine presence. When the magician has completed the rituals, “a blazing star will come down and stand in the middle of the housetop and the star will be dissolved before your eyes” (I.75-8). Similarly, in the so-called “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.474-829), the god’s revelation is related to lightning, bolts and stars (IV.702-4), and in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the gods in heaven are visible in the forms of stars with all their signs (*Corp.Herm.*3.2b14-15). Again, in the *Gospel of Judas* the great invisible spirit as described by Jesus is also presented as follows, “Let an angel come into being as my assistant/to stand by me”, and an angel emerged from a cloud of light.⁵² In the *Testament of Solomon* also, which is dated to the 3rd or 4th century AD and which contains elements of Jewish demonology and magic, the daimon whom the god sent to Solomon described himself as “γόνος εἰμὶ τοῦ μεγάλου”, and when Solomon asked him “ἐν ποίῳ ἄστρῳ κεῖσθαι”, he showed where his star is in the heaven.⁵³

In our spell, when this blazing star comes down as stated, “you will look at the angel whom you summoned and who has been sent to you and you will quickly learn gods’ wishes” (I.75-7).⁵⁴ Then the magician should “approach the god and, taking his right hand, kiss it and say these words to the angel”

⁵¹ O’Neil’s transl., Betz (1996) p.4.

⁵² Transl. by Kasser, Meyer and Wurst ; the Greek translated as “assistant” is “παράστασις”, a noun with a similar meaning to πάρεδρος; Kasser, Meyer and Wurst (2006) p.34.

⁵³ *Test.Sol.*VII.5, 6; see also McCown (1923) pp.136ff.

⁵⁴ For the possible purposes of this spell see I.98-127.

(I.77-8). The magician should also prepare some food and Mendesian wine and “set these before the god with an uncorrupted boy serving and keeping silence, until the angel departs” (I.86-7).

A major interpretative problem arises at this point. How should we understand these formally different references to “the god” and “the angel”? Ciruolo states that “the term ἄγγελος is used interchangeably with θεός, essentially as synonyms, and the word does not appear to have any special connotations”.⁵⁵ Similarly, according to O’Neil: “this angel or messenger (ἄγγελος) is also referred to as ‘the god’ throughout the spell”.⁵⁶ Of course, in themselves these words could effectively be synonyms, but is this how they are being used here?

Before this question can be resolved, it will be helpful to look at the comparative material, a series of spells that present their own interest and problems. So I will discuss these spells in their own right before returning to the Spell of Pnouthis.

The Spell to Selene is included within the Spell of Pnouthis. In this spell also there is a similar revelation of the god as “some star from heaven setting itself gradually free and becoming divine/deified (θεοποι[ο]ύμ[ε]νον)” (I.154-5),⁵⁷ and there are again references both to “the god” (I.162) and to “the angel” (I.173 and 177).

The untitled spell LVII.1-37 is a compulsive spell addressed to the goddess Isis. In the beginning of the spell the magician requests from Isis, “give me a sign of the results (σημεῖόν μοι τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων δός)” (LVII.16-17), nicely anticipating the successful completion of the spell.⁵⁸ Isis’ sign is then described, “you will see a star ... having flashed an image (χαρακτήρα) and having leapt into you yourself, so that you become stricken by god (θεόπληκτος)”⁵⁹ (LVII.23-5). It is also clarified to the magician that, “the image from the goddess (πρὸς θεᾶς) is that of Kronos, who encourages you”

⁵⁵ Ciruolo (1995) p.283.

⁵⁶ Betz (1996) p.5, n.16; for the Hellenistic background to “angels” and their role in the Chaldaean system of divine entities as “ministering angels” see Lewy, H. (1978) pp.157-64; on the Jewish angelology see Langton (1936) and Elior (1993) pp.3-53; and for the angels in the Christian tradition see Hall (1974) pp.87-96.

⁵⁷ Similarly see VII.799-801.

⁵⁸ “Results” is the normal meaning of ἀποτελεσμάτων (LSJ s.v.); Hock (Betz (1996) p.285) prosaically renders ἀποτελεσμάτων as “things that are going to happen”.

⁵⁹ On the thunderbolt associated with the star (ἀστροβολής) presented as striking the initiated in the mysteries see Seaford (1997) pp.197; on ἀστροβολῆσαι in relation to magic see Porph.*Plot.*10.4-5.

(LVII.27).⁶⁰ Here the *πάρεδρος* refers to Isis and her image Kronos. So the magician is instructed, “ἔχε δὲ εἰς φυλακὴν προκειμένον τὸν χαρακτῆρα” (LVII.25-6). Hock translates this sentence as “wear the above picture for protection”,⁶¹ but that rendering of *προκειμένον* would require the word order τὸν προκειμένον χαρακτῆρα, and the notion of “wearing” a physical “picture” introduces a step into the sequence which does not seem to be there.⁶² So the sentence should rather be translated, “have as protection the [mental] image set before you”, with both *εἰς φυλακὴν* and *προκειμένον* having predicative force.

The goddess’ revelation to the magician in the Isis spell is similar to the god’s revelation in the spell of Pnouthis.⁶³ In the Isis spell, as in the spell of Pnouthis, the goddess/god sends a sign to the magician. In both spells, the divine, initially, reveals itself through a natural phenomenon, the fall of a star. In the spell of Pnouthis, an angel is sent to the magician and in the present spell the image of Kronos. In both cases, the god/goddess serves as a divine assistant to the magician through the angel or the image, which are the signs of the divine revelation. Nevertheless, there is one difference. In the Isis spell, the magician himself becomes stricken by the god.

In the erotic spell called “Lunar spell of Klaudianus and ritual of heaven and the Bear constellation over lunar offerings” (VII.862-918), the *πάρεδρος* refers to the “Egyptian goddess Selene” and her “sacred angel or holy assistant” (VII.869, 883). Thus, when among her many descriptions (VII.880-2), Selene is described as “lady of the night and walking through the air”,⁶⁴ these last descriptions help to anticipate the invocation to “send forth your angel from among those who assist you the one who is the leader of the night” (VII.891-2). This invocation also sketches a hierarchy among the assistants and a connection between Selene and the magician who summons her: the goddess Selene has “assistants”; their “leader” is to become the magician’s “assistant”.⁶⁵ The moment the goddess is magically efficient is associated with an allusion to the visual image of a physical phenomenon, that of fire: “but

⁶⁰ Hock translates “πρὸς θεᾶς” as “in the name of the goddess”, but the sense of the goddess as agent is what is required; Betz (1996) p.285.

⁶¹ Betz (1996) p.285.

⁶² The explicitly mentioned physical images of XII.17-20, IV.1722-40 and VII.869-70 are a different matter.

⁶³ I.75-8, 154-5.

⁶⁴ VII.882; the epithet “ἡγεοδία” occurs only in the *PGM* and is not found in *LSJ*; but, the epithet “εἰβοδία” is often used to describe a deity in the *PGM*; see Preisendanz (2001) vol.2, p.39.

⁶⁵ See IV.1331-89 and pp.76ff. above.

when you see the goddess becoming fiery red, know that she is, already, attracting" (VII.889-90).⁶⁶

The spell also involves a shrine of olive wood and the ritual of preparation of a clay image of the goddess, "κυρίαν Σελήνην Αἰγυπτίαν... σχηματιζομένην παντόμορφον" (VII.869-70).⁶⁷ O'Neil translates the phrase σχηματιζομένην παντόμορφον as "making her in the form of the Universe".⁶⁸ The adjective παντόμορφος or πάμμορφος can certainly be used of the Universe,⁶⁹ and this is relevant here, because of the subsequent descriptions of Selene as "mistress of the whole cosmos" and "ruler of the entire cosmic system" (VII.880-2), but it literally means "of all forms", and the critical question here is: who is doing the shaping (σχηματίζω)? On O'Neil's interpretation, the verb is passive and the phrase, "being shaped by you, the magician". But this is difficult and the verb is surely better applied to Selene, as the one "assuming (middle voice) all forms". The idea of the god Eros as an assistant assuming the form of a god or daimon that people worship has already been mentioned.⁷⁰

In the spell entitled "The old serving woman of Apollonius of Tyana" (XIa.1-40),⁷¹ the goddess invoked by the magician is referred to as the "the goddess called the mistress of the house" (XIa.10). This phrase is also the translation of the name of the Egyptian goddess Nephthys, the wife of Seth.⁷² Moreover, in this spell there are elements of the goddess' association with Seth, such as the use of "Typhon's skull" in the ritual to be practised for the goddess' revelation, the goddess' appearance "sitting on an ass" and the "tooth from the ass" (XIa.1-2, 11, 22).⁷³ The description of the goddess' revelation in two physically different forms needs detailed examination. The goddess first appears in the form of a young woman of extraordinary beauty and when the magician tells her that "I have a need from you with regard to the services of life", she will immediately strip off her beauty and will be transformed into

⁶⁶ On the association of angels and fire as where they emerged see the Jewish Book of Mysteries, *Sepher Ha-Razim*; Morgan (1983) p.21.

⁶⁷ See also chpt.1, pp.30ff. above.

⁶⁸ Betz (1996) p.141.

⁶⁹ *LSJ* s.v.

⁷⁰ XII.50-1, 41-2, 83 and IV.1849-51, 1854-7 (p.81 above).

⁷¹ The spell aptly trades on the reputation of Apollonius, a first century wanderer, philosopher and magician, even though the attribution to him of the present spell is unique in the *PGM* and indeed in ancient magical literature generally; on Apollonius see Philostr. VA; Bowie (1978); Elsner (1997); see also Betz (1986) p.332; Luck on "Witches and Sorcerers in Classical Literature" in Flint, Gorgon, Luck and Ogden (eds) (1999); on this spell see Ciruolo (1995) 282-3 (though I do not agree with her discussion).

⁷² Betz (1986) p.150 n.3; Griffiths (1970) p.447.

⁷³ Betz (1986) p.150; on Seth see pp.37ff. above.

an old woman (XIa.15-18). In the form of the old woman she will tell the magician, “I will be your servant and assist you” (XIa.17). Then, the goddess will again take on her beauty, which she had just taken off,⁷⁴ and she will ask to be released (XIa.19). Here, the motif of a god or a goddess assuming various forms already examined in the previous spells is simplified, by the ascription to the goddess of human forms. At this point the goddess and the old woman clearly become two different entities. Once the magician ensures that the old woman will serve him, he must release the goddess (XIa.31-2). The old woman is maintained inseparable from the magician, by her own molar tooth and by the tooth from the ass that the goddess gives him (XIa.21-2). When the magician wants to release the divinity in the old woman’s form, he must make fire and throw the teeth into it and the old woman will flee without a trace.⁷⁵

In the Gnostic text of *The Apocryphon of John*, John describes a similar revelation of Jesus, according to which the world was shaken and the heavens opened and John saw “in the light [a youth who stood] by me. While I looked [at him he became] like an old man. And he [changed his] likeness (again) becoming like a servant. There was [not a plurality] before me, but there was a [likeness] with multiple forms in the light, and the [likeness] appeared through each other, [and] the [likeness] had three forms”.⁷⁶ We have already discussed the descriptions of Eros and Selene the Egyptian as being many-formed and capable of assuming the form of various gods, a characteristic, which as examined elsewhere, reveals monotheistic tendencies.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Notice the use of “clothing” and “unclothing” verbs to describe the goddess’ changes of appearance. Of course, such imagery is often used both to denote physical, psychological or philosophical changes and in ritual contexts. This spell has clear folk-tale elements: Betz (1986) p. 151.

⁷⁵ See also VII.914-16.

⁷⁶ AJ.II.1, 1.31-2.8; transl. by Wisse in Robinson (1996) p.105; on Jesus in the form of god, human and servant see NT.Phil.2.6-8, “ὁ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὗρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος”; see also Edwards (1991) pp.28.

⁷⁷ See chpt.1, pp.25-6 and 30-31 above.

We may now bring these five spells together in tabular form:

1. "The spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant"(I.42-195)	2. "The Spell to Selene" (I.147ff)	3. The untitled spell (LVII.1-37)	4. "Lunar spell of Klaudianus" (VII.862-918)	5. "The old serving woman of Apollonius of Tyana" (XIa.1-40)
Divine Revelation-Stages (4):				
(Spell to the god)	(Spell to Selene)	(Spell to Isis)	(Spell to Selene)	(Spell to the goddess)
The god	The god	Isis	Selene	The goddess
Sign of divine Revelation:	Sign of divine Revelation:	Sign of divine Revelation:		
Star	Star	Star	Selene, fiery-red	Beautiful woman
Angel	Angel	Image of Kronos	Angel	Old woman
God/Angel: Two Entities	God/Angel: Two Entities	Isis/ Kronos: Two Entities	Selene/Angel: Two Entities	The goddess /Old Woman: Two Entities

Is Ciraolo, then, right to claim that "the god" and "the angel" are being used interchangeably and effectively as synonyms?⁷⁸ Certainly at the beginning of the magical rite, this is incorrect: the magician would never pray to an "angel" to send him a "god". Rather, he prays to the "god" to send him an "angel". Moreover, all these spells are based on the logic that the *πάρεδρος*, identified with a god or a goddess, may be revealed to the magician as an angel, the image of Kronos, or in the form of an old woman, but he or she remains god or goddess as one entity and his sign of revelation becomes another entity, such as the angel, the image of Kronos, or the old woman. The distinction between the god or goddess on the one hand and the angel, the image of Kronos, or the old woman on the other as two physical or divine entities helps for the understanding of this concept of *πάρεδρος*. This distinction also means that these forms of the god/goddess' revelation to the humans as an angel, the image of Kronos, or an old woman could be easily conceptualised by the magician. But this distinction seems more difficult in the spell of Pnouthis, with the words "approach the god and, taking his right hand, kiss it

⁷⁸ See p.83 and n.55 above.

and say these words to the angel" (I.77-8) and "set these before the god with an uncorrupted boy serving and keeping silence, until the angel departs" (I.86-7).

Nevertheless, it is wrong to say that the terms angel and god are being used interchangeably. Rather, they pose an intrinsic problem. And the problem is precisely the exact determination of divinity. The magicians here seem to be engaged in a deep theological sense with the religious and philosophical problem of the god and the various forms of the divine, a problem that is constantly treated throughout the *PGM*. Moreover, as we have seen in the previous chapter, god can be defined as spirit, or air,⁷⁹ and, as we shall shortly see,⁸⁰ the *πάρεδρος* is also equated with air, a physical element which further compounds the problem of definition of divinity.

Πάρεδρος as divine assistance from Homeric verses and an object

In the spell "Tristych of Homer as assistant" (IV.2145-2240), the divine assistance is actually attributed to a Homeric tristych,⁸¹ which should be inscribed on an iron tablet called *lamella*.⁸² In the ritual of the immersion of the spell, the divine assistant is invoked. His name is not mentioned, but he is called "ὁ δεῖνα" ("whoever"), yet he is very distinctively described as "with round nozzle, like the shrill storm of rain, with muddy wrinkles" (IV.2180-4).⁸³ He is also conjured "by the gods of the underworld" (IV.2182-3). In the spell to be spoken in the consecration of the *lamella*, the assistant is addressed as "Aion of Aions, Kosmokrator, Ra and Pan" (IV.2196-7). In this case, the god encompasses Egyptian (Ra) and Greek (Pan), time and space, the individual and the all. For, as Martin points out,⁸⁴ "Pan" is being used with etymological force (and the god is also described as "the master of all things"), which helps the identification with Aion (Time).

The Relationship between the Πάρεδρος and the Magician

In the spell entitled "A daimon comes as an assistant" (I.1-42), the assistant will be the magician's "companion (συνόμιλος) and will eat and sleep with him" (I.2). During the preparation of the offerings to the assistant, the

⁷⁹ See discussion of the spell VII.960-4, p.34 above.

⁸⁰ See pp.90-91.

⁸¹ Hom.*Il.*10.564, 521, 572; it occurs elsewhere, e.g. IV.470-4, 821-4.

⁸² For the various purposes of this spell inscribed in a *lamella* see IV.2151-77.

⁸³ For the three epithets "γογγυλόρυγχε, ὀμβρολίγματε, θοηρυσσῆς" see Appendix 5, p.157, 160.

⁸⁴ Betz (1996) p.77 n.271; cf. also XIII.980, "Ἐν καὶ τὸ Πᾶν"; see also chpt.1, p.52; also p.24, n.165 above.

magician is instructed, “and after taking the milk with the honey drink it before the sun rising and there will be something divine in your heart” (I.19-20; cf. also XIII.31-7). Milk and honey are often used in offerings mentioned in the *PGM*.⁸⁵ Elsewhere, the magician is instructed, “after preparing all types of foods and Mendesian wine, set these before the god”.⁸⁶ When the ritual has been practised and the spell recited, the magician eats the dinner and the prescribed offering, “coming face to face (τὸ στόμα πρὸς τὸ στόμα) as a companion (συνόμιλος) to the god” (I.37-40). The word “companion” is now referred to the magician and not to the assistant. The switch emphasises both the reciprocal relationship between daimon and magician and the growing equality of the latter, as he himself starts to become divine. Another point to be noticed in these descriptions is that at this juncture the magician and the god are presented as two different entities, engaged in an external relationship described as companionship.

In “Pitys’ spell of attraction” (IV.2006-2125), when the assistant has performed his tasks, the magician will pay him a sacrifice. The magician threatens the assistant that, if he does not agree to serve him, he should expect “other punishments” (IV.2065-6), “other” presumably than the ones already being suffered in the underworld. The magician also threatens the assistant that, if he delays, he will inflict on him unendurable punishments (IV.2095-7).⁸⁷ While prayers for divine assistance naturally often involve an element of “negotiation” between the human and the god or daimon, here the power relationship is dramatically weighted in favour of the human. There are three reasons for this. First, the notion of the πάρεδρος itself opens the possibility of an inferior position on the part of the daimon or other divine figure towards the person he “assists”. Second, this possibility is obviously increased by the identity of the πάρεδρος in this case. And thirdly, there could be no more impressive demonstration of the power of the magician than that he should be in a position to inflict punishments on the πάρεδρος. There are other instances in the *PGM* where the magician threatens the assistant.⁸⁸

In the spell called “Eros as an assistant” (XII.14-95), in the ritual of consecration of Eros (XII.15ff), the magician is instructed to take seven living animals, two of which should be nestlings and, as instructed, “holding them in your hand, you will choke them, at the same time offering them to Eros, until each one of the animals has been choked and their spirit has gone into

⁸⁵ I.4-5, 287, IV.908, 2191, XII.215; for the use of milk and honey see Darby et al. (1997) vol.I, pp.430-9 and (1976) vol.II, pp.760-71.

⁸⁶ I.85-7; also III.424-30, IV.750-75, VII.644-51.

⁸⁷ On threatening the gods as a characteristic of the *PGM* see Nock (1929) p.226.

⁸⁸ E.g. II.54; LVII.1; Ritner in Betz (1986) p.284 n.1; Graf (1991), pp.194-5 (on “coercive procedures”).

him" (XII.32-4). 'Him' here must refer to the cult statue of Eros. In Greek, Egyptian and Mesopotamian religions gods live in their statues.⁸⁹ The process of ἐνπνευμάτωσις, "filling with divine spirit", is frequently mentioned in the PGM, according to which they prepared hollow figures of the gods and placed inside them the magical spell in order for the figure to be filled with the spirit of the god.⁹⁰ In the "Holy book of Hermes Trismegistus addressed to Asclepius" in the *Hermetica*, Trismegistus refers to "living statues filled with sense and spirit".⁹¹ Furthermore, as is asserted in the same work, this invention of making gods out of material substance is ascribed to the Egyptians, "who invoked the souls of daimons or angels and implanted them by means of holy and sacred rites".⁹²

In the same spell, the magician is instructed, "place another chick on the altar; while practising the ritual eat the chick by yourself and let no one else be present" (XII.36-7). Just as the offering of the animals and chicks functions to instil their spirit into the statue of Eros, so eating this chick is a way of instilling its spirit into the magician. In the "Sword of Dardanos" (IV.1716-1870), the magician should also inscribe the magical formula on a golden leaf and "give the leaf to a partridge to swallow down and then kill it" (IV.1811-23). Then he should pick it up and wear it around his neck as a way of preserving the potency of the magical formula. The concept of eating living creatures as a way of acquiring their spirit and power is made dramatically explicit in the spells of the Egyptian Pyramid Texts (273-4): "The king is one who eats men and lives on the gods...The king eats their magic, swallows their spirits... He has seized the hearts of the gods... The king feeds on the lungs of the wise and is satisfied with living on hearts and their magic".⁹³

In the "Spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant" (I.42-195), the relationship between the magician and the assistant requires detailed discussion. A series of allusions equates the assistant with the air: Pnouthis tells Keryx, introduced as "friend of aerial spirits that move" (I.49-50), "it is recognised that this is the god; it is an aerial spirit, which you saw" (I.96-7), "he will accomplish [these tasks] for you, this most powerful assistant and the one who is the only lord of the air" (I.127-9). Furthermore, whenever the magician needs the assistant, he should "say to the air the name only".⁹⁴ In a

⁸⁹ Burkert (1996) pp.84ff and Schnapp (1994) pp.40-44.

⁹⁰ See e.g. III.282-409, 296ff; IV.964-6, 2359-72; also V.381-5; on this practice see Poulsen (1945) pp.178-195.

⁹¹ *Herm. Asclep.* III.24a.

⁹² *Herm. Asclep.* III.37.23-5.

⁹³ Faulkner (1969); on the Egyptian ritual of swallowing see Ritner (1993) ch.3.

⁹⁴ I.180, "εἰς ἀέρα λέγε τὸ ὄνομα μόνον"; see also XIVc.16, "the one in the empty *pneuma*" (τὸν ἐ[ν] τῷ κενεῷ πνεύματι); also XII.368; V.121; see discussion on chpt.1, p.34 above.

fragment of the Pre-Socratic Democritus Zeus is associated with air.⁹⁵ A similar identification of Zeus with the air is described in the *Derveni Papyrus*.⁹⁶ Keryx is also instructed by Pnouthis, “ask the angel and he will tell you in silence, but you should speak to the one who asks you as if speaking from yourself” (I.177-8, cf. also IV.735-8, 744-6), and “the god will be seen only by you alone, nor will anyone ever hear a voice of him speaking, except you yourself alone” (I.186-8).⁹⁷ Pnouthis also advises Keryx (I.77-8, 83, cf. 155): “approach the god and taking his right hand, kiss it” and “take the god by the hand”. Is this an inconsistency? No, “touching and kissing the god” creates a plausible visual presentation for the initiated magician in the “ritual of receiving the assistant”.

Pnouthis also calls the process of invoking and receiving the assistant “this great mystery” (I.131) and Keryx “blessed initiate of the sacred magic” (I.127). Secrecy, of course, is an important element of these rituals, so, for example, Pnouthis instructs Keryx, “share it with no one else but conceal it” (I.130). In the spell also of “Eros as an assistant”, in the formula to be written in a piece of papyrus, the magician says to the assistant: “which knowledge (of your most great name) I will keep in sanctity without imparting it to anyone except to the other fellow initiates of your holy mysteries” (XII.93-4). These examples reflect the magicians’ attempts to assimilate their magic to the great mystery religions.⁹⁸ There are also similar references in the *Derveni Papyrus* to the activities of the magicians as parallel to the initiates of mystery cults.⁹⁹

But this mystery element is not simply a matter of self-representation to the outside world. There are religious consequences. When Pnouthis instructs Keryx to ask the assistant, “become immovable from me from this day through all the time of my life” (I.165-6) and to “ask the angel and he will tell

⁹⁵ Dem.fr.30.5, “τῶν λογίων ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγοι ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας ἐνταῦθα, ὃν νῦν ἡέρα καλέομεν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πάντα <εἶπαν>, Ζεὺς μυθέεται καὶ πάνθ’ οὗτος οἶδε καὶ διδοῖ καὶ ἀφαιρέεται καὶ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τῶν πάντων”, also in Clem.Protr.68 (I 52, 16 St.), Strom.V 103 (II 394, 21).

⁹⁶ *Derv.Pap.* Col.17.2-6, “ἦγ γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν [ἐ]ὼν ἢ τὰ νῦν ἐόντα συσταθῆναι ἀήρ καὶ ἔσται ἀεὶ· οὐ γὰρ ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ ἦν· δι’ ὃ τι δὲ ἀήρ ἐκλήθη δεδήλωται ἐν τοῖς προτέροις. γενέσθαι δὲ ἐνομίσθη ἐπεὶτ’ ὠνομάσθη Ζεὺς, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πρότερον μὴ ἐὼν”, and 19.1-4, “τὰ ἐόντα ἐν [ἐκ]αστογ κέκ[λητ]αι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπικρατοῦντος, Ζεὺ[ς] πάντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐκλήθη· πάντωγ γὰρ ὁ ἀήρ ἐπικρατεῖ τοσοῦτον ὅξομ βούλεται”; see Burkert (2004) pp.122-4.

⁹⁷ In the *Nag Hammadi*, in the *Discourse on the Eight and Ninth*, there is a similar emphasis on the importance of silence, when “the father” advises “the son”, “return to <praising>, my son, and sing while you are silent. Ask what you want in silence”, *Nag.Ham.* VI.59.20; also in 56.10 and 58.25.

⁹⁸ Betz (1982); cf. p.7, n.35; pp.43-4, p.121, n.81 etc.

⁹⁹ *Derv.Pap.* II.1-13, *ZPE* 47 (1982) p.2; Laks and Most (1997), VI(II) pp.11-12, Janko (2002), VI(II) p.12 and Betegh (2004), VI(II) p.15.

you in silence, but you should speak to the one who asks you as if speaking from yourself" (I.177-8; see also IV.735-8, 744-6), the magician in effect internalizes the divine assistant. Furthermore, Pnouthis explains to Keryx, "when you have died, the angel will wrap your body, as it is fitting to a god, and after taking your spirit he will carry it into the air with him, since an aerial spirit which has been joined with the mighty assistant will not go to Hades" (I.177-80). Here there is a description of the magician's deification, combined with an allusion to the Egyptian custom of mummification. So, eventually, "you will be worshipped as a god, since you have the god as your friend" (I.190-1). In the "Mithras Liturgy", a similar immortalisation of the initiated magician is described (IV.574, 741, 746). Thus the process of receiving the divine assistant in "this great mystery" culminates in the magician's own divinisation and both the ambiguous power relationship between magician and assistant and the ambiguous portrayal of the divine assistant are finally resolved in a shared affirmation of divinisation on the magician's death.

Conclusions

It should be clear by now that Betz' characterization of *πάρεδρος* as "a special type of daimon" and his definition of it as "an assistant daimon" are far too restrictive.¹⁰⁰ Even within the general category of daimones, *πάρεδρος* may be applied to various types of daimones, such as the Good daimon, the holy Orion, the powerful arch-daimons, a daimon as the spirit of the man who died a violent death, or the spirit of a dead person. But the term can be used of other categories as well. It can refer to a god, as the god Eros presented as the master of forms, a divine factor of cosmic dimensions, or Osiris and Harpocrates, a god or a goddess, revealed to the magician as an angel, the image of Kronos, or in the form of an old woman. It can also refer to the concept of the assistant, or even the actual process of conceptualizing the divine, or to the spell which activates the assistance. The term may also describe the divine assistance given by some verses, as in the verses from Homer. Where the divine assistant is used as a medium in the relationship between the magician and the god and the magician is ascending to the god, the *πάρεδρος* can be identified both with the god (in his or her ambiguous god/angel form) and with the magician. The fact that, whether as a noun or an adjective, *πάρεδρος* can be either masculine or feminine makes it an enormously flexible term.

¹⁰⁰ Betz (1996) p.332 and xi, Glossary; also in I.42, p.4, n.12; XII.14, p.154 and xv; LVII.1, p.xix. One wonders if Betz is thinking of the hypothesised connection between the *πάρεδρος* and Socrates' *daimonion*, made explicit by Graf and Scibilia (p.78 above).

Thus the term illustrates the important role of assistance of the divine in practically all its various transformable forms. In this sense, “assistance” represents an aspiration towards the creation of unity out of apparent diversity parallel to the tendency towards monotheism in the larger religious thinking about the identities and identifications of the gods that we have seen in the previous chapter.

The divine “assistance” also serves as a vehicle for the internalisation of the divine. The magician receives the πάρεδρος through a ritualistic process of reciting spells and practicing rituals. Receiving the πάρεδρος and associating with it becomes even an internal process of the magician’s mystical transformation, which culminates in divine identification between the magician and the assistant/god. In this sense, the magicians’ analogy between “magic” and the “mystery” religions underwrites an important religious claim.

A final feature of this material is the linguistic inventiveness and cleverness of the magicians, as for example illustrated in the invention of compound adjectives for the gods or in Pitys’ paradoxical punning on “vessels”. To some extent this is simply a matter of appropriate religious “style”, designed to impress. But it does also underwrite the fundamental religious claims: out of all this diversity of manifestations of the divine can come unity – unity of the very concept of “assistance” – and unity between the divine and the magician himself.

CHAPTER 3

THE PERSONAL DAIMON IN THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI

Introduction

This chapter examines the concept of *personal daimon* in the *PGM*. The concept is examined in relation to Greek philosophy from the Pre-Socratics to Socrates' *daimonion*, to Plato and to the Stoic and Neo-Platonist philosophers. It is also examined in relation to the mystery cults. Other influences are also discussed. The chapter, finally, addresses the association between the *personal daimon*, the knowledge of the divine and the self-knowledge of the individuals.

The term *daimon* embraces a wide and difficult range of concepts. Ones that are relevant to this chapter include the notion of daimon as equivalent to "Fate" or "Destiny", of a daimon as some sort of divine being, whether a fully-fledged god or a lesser being, of a daimon as associated with a particular location (the *genius loci*); of a daimon as a divine being associated with individual human beings (the "personal daimon"), whether as a sort of tutelary deity, or as a "god within"; and the association between daimon and soul. The notion of daimon can be associated with quite primitive religious thinking. Equally, from the poet Hesiod onwards it was a concern of serious religious thinkers. And from the Pre-Socratics onwards it was also a concern of serious philosophers.¹

The *PGM* spells

The spell called "Connection with your own daimon" (Σύστασις ἰδίου δαίμονος) (VII.505-28) includes a spell and ritual that the magician should perform in order to connect with his own daimon.² The term σύστασις is often used in the *PGM* to define the spell for establishing communication between a man and a god.³ We are here clearly dealing with daimon in the sense of "personal daimon", often described in terms like these here. For example, the exact term ἴδιος δαίμων is also used in the *Commentary on the*

¹ On *daimon(s)* see (among a vast scholarly literature) Hopfner (1974) *OZ*, pp.1-26; Eitrem (1950); Wilford (1965); Smith (1978) pp.425-39; Moles (1983) 256-8; Rutherford (1991) p.215; on "Socrates' Divine Sign" see also Destrée and Smith (2005).

² For the title of this spell see Dodds (1951) p.304, n.56 and Betz (1981) pp.160-1; "Connection with your own daimon" is my translation, which seems to improve on Martin's "Meeting with your own daimon", Betz, 1996, p.131.

³ E.g. III.198, 439, 496, IV.261, 779, 930 and VI.1, 39.

Letter Ω by Zosimus of Panopolis, who was a famous alchemist of the 4th c. AD in Egypt.⁴ The close alternative οἰκεῖος δαίμων is used by the Neo-Platonists Porphyry and Iamblichus. Other similar formulations go back to the Pre-Socratics and Stoics.⁵ Note that there is a certain tension in the very notion of σύστασις ἰδίου δαίμονος, for the personal daimon is generally conceived of as being “inside” oneself, whereas *connection* implies contact with something external. This tension will recur in this spell and elsewhere in this section. The basic notion is of the unification of two things which are separated.⁶

At the beginning of the spell, the magician greets Tyche (VII.505). As we have seen, abstract deities like Tyche, Moirai, Time, Nature, or Aion are often invoked in the *PGM*.⁷ The personified abstract deity Tyche is elsewhere invoked individually or in association with *Daimon*, *Moirai*, or the Good Daimon and the good hour and day.⁸

The association between *Tyche* and related terms and *daimon* has a long philosophical history. Destiny (εἰμαρμένη) and nature are described as *daimon* by the Pre-Socratic philosopher Empedocles.⁹ In Plato’s *Republic*, Necessity’s daughters, the *Moirai*, are closely connected with the souls and the personal daimon. Plato describes the *personal daimon*, or the *chosen daimon*, as “the guardian (φύλακα) of a man’s life” and “the fulfiller (ἀποπληρωτήν) of a man’s choices”.¹⁰ The Neo-Platonists echo and develop this teaching. For Plotinus, the personal daimon is “the fulfiller of what one has chosen”.¹¹ Similarly, Iamblichus refers to “the personal guardian daimon” in each person as “the fulfiller of the lives of the soul”.¹² Proclus also connects the personal daimon with each man’s destiny, presenting him as the one “who guides (ἰθύνων) our whole life and fulfils (ἀποπληρῶν) the choices before

⁴ *Herm.Zos.Alch.Com.* Ω .2; Scott (1924) p.105; see also Dodds (1951) p.304.

⁵ Heraclit.Fr.119 (rationalising version); Emp.Fr.110.18; E.Fr.1018 (Anaxagoras); for Stoics see n.46 below.

⁶ One could perhaps compare the modern psychological “self-help” notion of “getting in touch with your inner self”; cf. Plotinus’ claim that the personal daimon is not entirely outside (*Enn.* 3.4.5.19); further p.100 below.

⁷ See chpt.1, pp.51ff. above.

⁸ For the invocation of Tyche/ai see IV.664-5, 3165-6, 2601, 2664, LVII.18; for the association of Tyche with daimon see L.3, 6 (recto); for Tyche/ai and Moirai XXI.16, XII.254-5, XIII.781-2; for the Good Tyche and the Good Daimon VIII.51; and for the Good Tyche and the Good Daimon in relation to the good hour and the good day see IV.2999-3000.

⁹ Emp.Fr.126.4.

¹⁰ Pl.R.620d-e and 621a; see also Betz (1981) p.161.

¹¹ Plot.*Enn.* 3.4.5.24-5.

¹² Iambl.*Myst.* 9.12 and 6.11-12.

birth, the allotments of destiny and of the gods who guide destiny".¹³ In this way, Platonist philosophers seek to reconcile Tyche and Destiny with personal choice.

In our spell, the greeting of Tyche is followed by greetings of "the daimon of this place", "the present hour", "the present day", and "every day" (VII.505-6). The specification of the place, day and hour is very important in the magical spells and rituals. The magician invokes the deity to be revealed in a specific day, hour and place,¹⁴ and practices the rituals in certain, usually purified, places.¹⁵ In one instance there is a reference to "the whole cosmic place" (VII.837). In other spells, the Hour, or Hours are personified and deified.¹⁶ Similarly in the *DT* from Karthage in Africa edited by Audollent the user of the spell adjures "the god of this day", "the god who has the power of this hour".¹⁷

The reference to "the daimon of this place" is to the *genius loci*. There are two other examples in the *PGM*, one in the untitled spell (III.1-164), in which the "daimon of the place" is invoked (III.34), and the other in the erotic spell (IV.1390-1495), in which the dead unlucky heroes and heroines, "these of this place, of this day and of this hour" (IV.1420-3), are called up. In our spell, which is designed to achieve "connection with your own daimon", it is striking that appeal should be made to "the daimon of this place". A connection must be made with this "external" daimon if the magician is to achieve proper connection with "his own daimon".

Next follows a greeting of "τὸ περιέχον", which can be literally translated as "the encompassing" (VII.506-7). This is a philosophical term widely used by different kinds of philosophers.¹⁸ In the text, next to "τὸ περιέχον", we see the epexegetic phrase "that is earth and heaven". Similarly in Plato's *Timaeus*, the term is used to describe the Universe, "which embraces all intelligible living creatures".¹⁹

¹³ Procl.*In Alc.*77.4-7.

¹⁴ E.g. III.37-7, 77-8, IV.544-5, 686-7, 1699-1700, V.194-5; VII.155-67 called "Days and Hours for divination"; for the role of astronomy in Egyptian rituals see Morenz (1992) pp.7-9.

¹⁵ E.g. II.148, IV.1926, VII.844.

¹⁶ III.130, IV.1050, 3229.

¹⁷ Audollent (1904) p.325ff.

¹⁸ See *LSJ*; e.g. Anax.*Fr.*2.1, "καὶ γὰρ ἀήρ τε καὶ αἰθήρ ἀποκρίνονται ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιέχοντος, καὶ τὸ γε περιέχον ἄπειρόν ἐστι τὸ πλῆθος"; Emp.*Fr.*57.5, "ὥς φερομένου τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ γιγνομένου ποτὲ μεταξύ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος".

¹⁹ Pl.*Ti.*31.4; for its interpretation as "the environment" see Epicur.*Nat.*79G and Plot.2.3.14; for its use as "the universal" opposed to τὰ περιεχόμενα, the individuals, see Arist.*Metaph.*1023b27.

After all these greetings to abstract deities and concepts comes the greeting to the god Helios, which is followed by an invocation to the god (VII.506-21), in recognised “du stil”.²⁰ Helios is also addressed as the one “who has in yourself the mixture of the cosmic nature”, a description which shows Neo-Platonist influence.²¹ Each of the sentences addressed to Helios ends with magical names in Greek, or Coptic.²² Helios’ character is described as follows, “you are the young one, of noble birth, descendant of the holy temple, kinsman to the sacred lake called Abyss, which is located next to the two pedestals σκιαθι: καὶ μαντω; and the earth’s four basements were shaken” (σὺ εἶ ὁ νέος, εὐγενής, ἔγγονος ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου ναοῦ, συγγενής τῇ ἱερᾷ λίμ<ν>ῃ, τῇ καλουμένῃ ἀβύσσῳ, παρεστῶσιν ταῖς δυσὶ βάσεσιν σκιαθι: καὶ μαντω· καὶ ἐκίνηθη τῆς γῆς τὰ δ’ θεμεῖλια) (VII.515-19). Bergman argues that the words σκιαθι and μαντω stand for the Egyptian solar barks, mśkt.t (Me-Sekret), the Night-bark, and m’nd.t (Manedjet), the Day-bark.²³ The stem of the three epithets εὐγενής, ἔγγονος, συγγενής denotes birth, since all come from the verb γεννῶ.²⁴ According to Bergman, the equivalent verb in Egyptian is hpr and the name of the Egyptian morning sun god of birth and existence is Khepri (Hprj).²⁵ Another evidence for the reference to Khepri is the address at the end of the spell “lord of all, holy Scarab” (VII.519-20), since the god Khepri was depicted as a scarab.²⁶ Khepri is similarly addressed as “the All-Lord” in a section of the Egyptian papyrus entitled “The beginning of the Book of overthrowing Apophis, the enemy of Re and the enemy of King Wen-nofer”.²⁷ The description as “the young one” also fits the characteristics of Khepri as the morning sun god.²⁸ Thus in Helios’ various descriptions here the Egyptian influences prevail.

Although the magician does not make any explicit demands on Helios and the other gods, there is an implicit but powerful logic in all this. As we have seen, if the magician is to achieve proper connection with “his own daimon”, a connection must be made with “daimon of this place”. But the process goes further: to achieve proper connection with “his own daimon”, the magician

²⁰ For the “du stil” form in prayers see Nisbet and Hubbard (1970), p.131.

²¹ See chpt.1, pp.1-4 above.

²² For the magical names Ορκορηθαρα, Ζαραχθω and ΘΟΡΧΟΦΑΝΩ in VII.509-10 see Betz (1996) p.132.

²³ Bergman (1982) p.30.

²⁴ Notice also the punning relationship between νέος and ναός (νεώς).

²⁵ See also XII.100 and XXXVI.170.

²⁶ Bergman (1982) pp.31-34.

²⁷ Pritchard (1969) pp.6-7; for the cultic parallels see Betz (1996) p.132, n.84; for the Khepri theology see also *Eg.Pyr.T.* Utt.587, par.1587-90, Faulkner (1969) pp.238-41; *Eg.Cof.T.* Spell 307, Faulkner (2004) pp.226-7; and *Eg.Bk.Dd*, spells 85 and 153B, Faulkner (1972) pp.62-63 and 121-122.

²⁸ Also in XXXVI.217-9; see Bergman (1982) p.34-6.

must situate himself properly within “the encompassing” and must successfully invoke Helios, the great cosmic god. But in this cosmic portrayal of Helios, Egyptian influences predominate.

At the end of the spell (VII.521-8), we find the ritual of two “male eggs”,²⁹ with one of which the magician is instructed to purify himself, licking off the name written on it, and from the other egg to swallow its contents. Since in this spell the magician’s connection with his own daimon is set in a cosmic context, it may be relevant that in the Orphic cosmogonies that interested the Neo-Platonists and in the Egyptian cosmogony the egg has cosmic associations.³⁰

The whole atmosphere of the present spell is like that of the incident recorded by Porphyry in his *Vita Plotini*, when an Egyptian priest conjured up Plotinus’ personal daimon (οἰκείου δαίμονος) in Rome, and did so in the temple of Isis, the only pure place in Rome according to the Egyptian,³¹ and when birds were strangled and held for protection by a friend present at the operation.³²

I move on to the untitled spell for dream revelation (VII.478-90). This contains an invocation spell, an offering, the preparation of a phylactery and the last and necessary stage for the revelation, the incubation. The invocation spell is addressed to “Ἐρως, Ἐρωτύλλε” (VII.578). Martin translates “Ἐρωτύλλε” as “darling” from ἐρωτύλος.³³ The use of the diminutive creates an affectionate, wheedling tone.

The magician’s request of Eros is interesting: “ἀπόστειλόν μοι τὸν ἴδιον τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ” (VII.478-9). A noun supplement after ἴδιον is needed. Preisendanz puts “ἄγγελον”, Betz puts “δαίμονα”.³⁴ “Ἄγγελον” looks natural after “ἀπόστειλόν”, but “τὸν ἴδιον ἄγγελον” in relation to a human being would be odd, since it seems impossible after μοι to take ἴδιον in relation to Eros. Moreover, this spell precedes the spell “Σύστασις ἰδίου δαίμονος”, as analysed above, which was concerned to connect the magician to his “personal daimon”, so Betz’s “ἀπόστειλόν μοι τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα” is challenging but correct. In this spell the personal daimon is to be revealed in the magician’s dreams. Furthermore, the magician is instructed to take dirt from his sandal and use it in the burnt offerings to Eros (VII.484). The dirt

²⁹ See Arist.HA.4.2, Pl.NH.10.74; also Betz (1996) p.132.

³⁰ See e.g. Kirk-Raven-Schofield (1983) pp. 22-9, 59-60; see chpt.1, p.20 and nn.135-138 above.

³¹ Porph.*Plot.*10.19-22; see also Eitrem (1941) pp.62ff, Dodds (1951) pp.289-90 and Betz (1981) pp.161-2.

³² Porph.*Plot.*10.25-8.

³³ Betz (1996) p.131.

³⁴ Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, p.22; Betz (1981) p. 163.

from someone's own sandal, as Betz notes, "is an instance of the magical substance representing the person's self".³⁵ It is also noteworthy that here the magician uses a "sign" (σημεῖον) and "symbol" (σύμβολον) that elsewhere in the PGM is associated with a deity. This illustrates the magician's tendency to equate himself with the divine. In the "Writing-tablet to the waning Selene" (IV.2241-2358), for example, the sandal is the symbol of the goddess, which the magician keeps hidden (IV.2292-3). Again, in the "Charm of Hecate Ereschigal against fear of punishment" (LXX.4-25), the sandal is one of the magical signs of Ereschigal/Hecate.³⁶

In the invocation spell, Eros is conjured "by the four regions of the universe", followed by four magical names, and "by the one above the four regions of the universe", followed again by two magical names (VII.481-3). The term κλίματα ("regions") may refer to the seven latitudinal strips of the whole cosmos, or to the seven astrological zones.³⁷ Porphyry in *De Antro Nympharum* associates it with the Chaldaio-Persian magical beliefs of the Persian magicians, when mentioning that "the cosmic elements and regions" of cosmos created by Mithras were depicted in Zoroaster's cave in the Persian mountains.³⁸

The concept of personal daimon is also implicit in the untitled spell concerning your own shadow (III.612-31). The magician is instructed that, if he makes specific offerings to the deity invoked, "τεύξῃ] τῆς ἰδίας σκιᾶ[ς, ὥστε σοι αὐ[τῇ]ν ὑπη[ρετήσῃ]" (III.614-5). Betz and Dillon translate: "you will gain control of your own shadow, so that it will serve you".³⁹ This translation of τυγχάνω is slightly too definite. It is stated that: "it (your own shadow) will come to you" (III.630). As in the two spells previously discussed, the internal, or in the case of a shadow the immediately adjacent, is conceptualised as external and the purpose of the magic is to bring the two together. The verb "τεύξῃ" may therefore better be translated "you will meet with your own shadow", though there may also be a physical implication: "you will get hold of your own shadow".⁴⁰

³⁵ Betz (1981) p.163. The same concept is found in *NT.Mar.6.10-12*, *Matt.10.14-5*, *Luk.9.5-6*, *10.10-12*, *Acts 13.51-2*.

³⁶ LXX.10-11; see also Betz (1980) p.291.

³⁷ *LSJ*; it occurs elsewhere in the PGM (I.12), but with a different meaning.

³⁸ *Porph.Ant.6.15*.

³⁹ Betz (1981) p.163; Betz (1996) p.34.

⁴⁰ Shadows being notoriously hard to "get hold of"; see nn.42-3 below.

Here the shadow seems to be understood as the soul.⁴¹ This idea has a long history. In Homer's *Odyssey*, Odysseus in his descent to the underworld sees the souls of the dead called "the images" (εἰδωλα). These images "flit about as shadows" (σκιαὶ αἰσσοῦσιν).⁴² Odysseus also in Hades wished to take the "soul of his dead mother" in his arms and three times sprang toward her, but three times she fluttered out of his hands "like a shadow or a dream".⁴³ In Egyptian religion also, especially of the later period, the soul called BA was often associated with another part of a man, his shadow called KHAIBIT.⁴⁴

We thus have an implicit equation of shadow and soul and personal daimon. The association between the personal daimon and the soul is found in Platonism, Stoicism and Neo-Platonism. In *Timaeus* Plato relates the personal daimon to the soul and emphasizes its divine origins, "god has given to each of us as his daimon this kind of soul, which we say lives in the top of our body".⁴⁵ Posidonius refers to "each person's daimon" as his guardian and protector and concludes, "the god is inside and is your own daimon". Later Stoics say similar things.⁴⁶ Of the Neo-Platonists, Plotinus in his treatise *On our allotted Daimon* mentions that the soul chooses each person's daimon and life in the other world.⁴⁷ This personal daimon, as Plotinus describes him, "is not entirely outside - but in the sense that he is not bound to us- and is not active in us, but is ours, to speak about the soul".⁴⁸ Plotinus not only emphasizes the divine origins of the personal daimon, but also identifies him with god.⁴⁹ Iamblichus in his *On the Egyptian Mysteries* refers to the soul's choice of each man's life and to her own choice of the personal daimon, who is allotted to people from the whole cosmos including every kind of life and material substance within it.⁵⁰ Similarly, Proclus in his *Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato* mentions "our allotted daimons" and discusses Socrates' personal *daimonion*, identifying him with god.⁵¹

⁴¹ On "the soul as a man's shadow and a reflection" see Frazer (1911) pp.77-100; for the connection of soul and shadow see Rohde (1925) chpt.1 and Claus (1981) prt.3.

⁴² Hom.Od.10.495.

⁴³ Hom.Od.xi.207. 1257.

⁴⁴ Budge (1996) pp.189-92.

⁴⁵ Pl.Ti.90a.4-6. In Plato's *Laws* there is also a reference to "each man's daimon" (τοῦ δαίμονος ἐκάστου), Pl.Lg.5.732c.5-6; the idea is also found in the *Derveni Papyrus*; "δαίμ]ωγ γίνετα[ι ἐκά]στωι", *Derv.Pap.Col.*3.4, Betegh (2004), pp.22-3.

⁴⁶ Posidon.Fr.388 (Epict.1.14.12-14); Epict.2.7.3; 2.16.33; M.Aur.2.13, 2.17, 3.3.2, 3.4.3, 3.5.1, 3.6.2, 3.7, 3.12, 3.16.2, 5.10.2, 5.27, 7.17, 8.45, 12.3, 12.26; see Rutherford (1991) p.215, n.102.

⁴⁷ Plot.Enn.3.4.5; see also Rist (1963).

⁴⁸ Plot.Enn.3.4.5.19-21.

⁴⁹ Plot.Enn.3.4.6.3-4 and 3.4.6.28-30.

⁵⁰ Iamb.Myst.1.8.36-41, 6.4-11.

⁵¹ Procl.in Alc.78.7, 78.7-79.16.

The culmination of this spell is the revelation of the magician's personal shadow. At the seventh hour, "it (the shadow) will come to you before (your) face (ἐξάν[τ]ά [σο]υ),"⁵² "and you must address her saying, 'follow me everywhere'" (III.630-2). Betz comments, "control of the self has been achieved when the magician's shadow has become his assistant daimon (πάρεδρος δαίμων)".⁵³ But is this the case here? The πάρεδρος as an assistant is based on a different concept addressed and analyzed in the second chapter,⁵⁴ according to which the divine assistance is external and first established by the magician through a series of magical rituals and spells. Here, the personal shadow connected with a person's soul is identified with the personal daimon, which conceptualizes an internal agent, the person's soul associated with his destiny. So, the concept of the personal daimon should not be confused with that of the πάρεδρος.

After the equalization of the personal shadow with the soul and the personal daimon has been justified, it is time to examine how the factor of the divine origins of the soul influences the initial equalization between the personal daimon and the soul.

This issue is examined in relation to the (mis-named)⁵⁵ "Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos" (VIII.1-63),⁵⁶ addressed to Hermes. The god, described as "benefactor, [inventor] of drugs"⁵⁷ and "benefactor of the world", is asked to be beneficent to the magician (VIII.28 and 16).

We shall examine how the magician's invocation to the god Hermes is gradually built up. The magician begins by invoking Hermes as follows, "come to me, lord Hermes, as fetuses come to the wombs of women" (VIII.2). Here, remarkably, the epiphany of Hermes is internalised and compared with the conception of a baby in the womb.⁵⁸ This simile seems in the first instance to draw on Stoic ideas about the association of the fetus with *pneuma* and the soul.⁵⁹

⁵² For this emphasis in ritual contexts cf. E.Ba.469-70, "κατ' ὅμῃ" and "ὁρῶν ὁρῶντα"; generally for the magician and the deity see IV.2332-3, "ἡ θεωροῦσα καὶ θεωρουμένη βλέπω σε, καὶ βλέπεις με".

⁵³ Betz (1981) p.164.

⁵⁴ See chpt.2, p.78 above.

⁵⁵ The magician is actually asking Hermes to give him "favor, sustenance, victory, prosperity, elegance, beauty of face and strength among all men and women" (l. 4-6).

⁵⁶ Diogenes Laertius mentions the name of Astrampsychos among the names of the Persian magicians, D.L.Pr.2; see also Fowden (1993) p.26.

⁵⁷ <εύρετά> is Preisendanz' certain supplement.

⁵⁸ For the role of the womb in magic see Barb (1953).

⁵⁹ E.g. Zeno Stoic.Fr.128 (Euseb.Praep.Evang.XV.20, 1 (Ar.Did.Fr.phys.39 Diels. p. 470)), "τὸ δὲ σπέρμα φησὶν ὁ Ζήνων εἶναι, ὃ μεθίησιν ἄνθρωπος, πνεῦμα μεθ' ὕγροῦ, ψυχῆς μέρος καὶ

It also vividly stresses the intimacy of the desired “mystical union”⁶⁰ of the magician and the god. This “mystical union” is justified by the magician’s knowledge of the god, which is emphasised throughout the invocation. The knowledge of the signs and symbols of the god adjured is a common characteristic of the invocation spells to the personal daimon, as already examined in III.612-31 and VII.478-90.⁶¹ Moreover, the magician defines himself as one who knows “the names for you (Hermes) in heaven”, “and your forms”, “and your wood” and “and your barbarian names” (VIII.5-13 and 20-1). After mentioning the god’s names and signs, the magician refers personally to Hermes saying, “I know you, Hermes, who you are and where you come from and which is your city; Hermoupolis” (VIII.13-4). Another striking thing in the spell is the parallel the magician makes between his appeal to Hermes and similar appeals made to Hermes by the Egyptian goddess Isis in times of crisis. This parallelism increases the status of the magician, comparing his invocation with that of Isis, “the greatest of all the gods”. The magician also here cleverly exploits the etymological link between Isis and οἶδα.⁶² This steadily increasing status of the magician on the divine scale helps to build his mystical union with the god.

The womb analogy now acquires another implication. In the spell called “[Connection with] Helios” (III.494-611), the magician stresses his own knowledge of Helios and associates Helios with knowledge, and more precisely with the womb of knowledge, as stated at the end of the invocation: “We understood, O womb of all Knowledge, we understood, O womb pregnant through the father’s begetting, we understood, O eternal continuation of the pregnant father” (ἐγνωρίσαμεν, μήτρα πάσης γνώσεως, ἐγνωρίσαμεν, ὦ μήτρα κυηφόρε ἐν πατρὸς φυτεία, ἐγνωρίσαμεν, ὦ πατρὸς κυηφοροῦντος αἰώνιος διαμονή) (III.603-7).⁶³ Similarly, in the “Interpretation of Knowledge (XI.I)” in the *Nag Hammadi Library* there is an

ἀπόσπασμα καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ τῶν προγόνων κέρασμα καὶ μίγμα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν συνεληλυθός ἔχον γὰρ τοὺς λόγους τῷ ὅλῳ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦτο, ὅταν ἀφεθῇ εἰς τὴν μήτραν, συλληφθὲν ὑπ’ ἄλλου πνεύματος, μέρους ψυχῆς τῆς τοῦ θήλεος, καὶ συμφυῆς γενόμενον κρυφθὲν τε φύει, κινούμενον καὶ ἀναρριπιζόμενον ὑπ’ ἐκείνου, προσλαμβάνον ἀεὶ [εἰς] τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ αὐξόμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ”; Chrysipp.Stoic.Fr.407 (Plu.PrimFrig. cp. 2 p. 946a), “οἱ δὲ Στωϊκοὶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα λέγουσιν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τῶν βρεφῶν τῇ περιψύξει στομοῦσθαι καὶ μεταβάλλον ἐκ φύσεως γίνεσθαι ψυχὴν”; Posidon.Fr.401.33ff., “τὸ δὲ σπέρμα εἶναι σταγόνα ἐγκεφάλου περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ θερμὸν ἀτμόν· ταύτην δὲ προσφερομένην τῇ μήτρᾳ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου ἰχώρα καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ αἷμα προϊεσθαι, ἐξ ὧν σάρκας τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ὅσα καὶ τρίχας καὶ τὸ ὅλον συνίστασθαι σῶμα ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀτμοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ αἰσθησιν”.

⁶⁰ Dodds (1981) p.165.

⁶¹ See VII.478-9 and III.624-7, 629-30, pp.98ff. above.

⁶² See chpt.1, p.19 above.

⁶³ Here the γνω-words themselves presumably convey sexual imagery (cf. NT, Luke 1.34).

association of Knowledge with the Womb, “[And she caused] him to know [that] she is [the] Womb”.⁶⁴ Of course, it is a paradoxical metaphor, but the idea of the “pregnant father” is explicit in the “Connection with Helios” spell, and religious myth and thought generally provide parallels for pregnant fathers with wombs. For example, in Euripides’ *Bacchae* Zeus says in the choral song, “Go, Dithyrambos, enter my male womb” (526-7), in regard to the myth of the double birth of Dionysus.⁶⁵ A similar cosmogony about Zeus is presented in the *Derveni Papyrus*.⁶⁶ And in the *Letter of James* in the *New Testament* it is stated that God (the father) “gave birth to us” (“ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς”).

The magician’s *knowledge* of the god, which is an important factor in this mystical union, reaches the level of identification at the end of the invocation, when the magician says, “for you are I and I am you, your name is mine and mine is yours” (VIII.36-7), and then again, “I know you, Hermes, and you me. I am you and you are I” (VIII.49). Similarly, in XIII.734-1077, the magician invokes the god to enter into his “nous” and “phrenas” for all the time of his life and accomplish all the wishes of his soul (XIII.790-3), because, as he asserts, “you are I and I am you”. In our spell also, it is the reciprocal knowledge of human and god that enables them to cross their boundaries and achieve the mystical union. Furthermore, the mystical union of the magician and the god is described as an almost erotic union, the final logic of the opening simile.

The repeated stress on the reciprocal knowledge of human and god has in itself mystical associations. It is paralleled, for example, in Euripides’ *Bacchae*, when Dionysus says to Pentheus, “you don’t know what you are living nor what you are doing, nor who you are” (506), or to Kadmus at the end of the tragedy, “you understood us too late. When you should have, you did not know”, and Kadmus in his turn admits, “we have realized these things” (1345-6).

This mystical union, or identification between the magician and the god, is further justified: “for you are I and I am you, your name is mine and mine is yours; for I am your image (εἰδωλόν)” (VIII.36-8). How is this to be understood? The term εἰδωλον is often identified with the soul in Greek thought and philosophy. We have already referred, for example, to the Homeric “images” (εἰδωλα) of the underworld as the souls of dead men, when we examined the equation of the soul with the personal shadow and the

⁶⁴ *Nag.Ham.Lib. Interp. Know.* 3ff; Robinson (1996) pp.474ff.

⁶⁵ *E.Ba.* 87-102; see Seaford (1997), pp.159-60.

⁶⁶ See chpt.2, p.76, n.21 above.

personal daimon.⁶⁷ In Neo-Platonism, the concept of “image” after death is mentioned in the *Chaldaean Oracles*, when referring to the afterlife of the initiated: “You will not leave behind the dung of matter for the river edge, but (there is) a portion for the image (εἰδῶλῳ μερὶς) in an all-visible place”.⁶⁸ Proclus in *The Elements of Theology* argues that all the divine souls are “gods upon the psychic level” (θεοὶ ψυχικῶς), and defined the soul as “the things of sense by means of examples” (παραδειγματικῶς μὲν τὰ αἰσθητά), and “the intelligible things by means of images (εἰκονικῶς δὲ τὰ νοητά)”.⁶⁹ Proclus, here, according to his doctrine on the intelligence (νοῦς) becomes more analytical in the definition of the soul, associating the images with the intelligible things.

These general associations between εἰδωλόν and soul are relevant to our spell. But we must also take account of more specific ideas. In the Jewish *Old Testament* man is created in the image of God (*Genesis* 1.24). The idea of a man created by god “in the image of god” is also expressed in the *Corpus Hermeticum*.⁷⁰ The converse idea of G/god as the mirror image of the worshipper occurs in the *Acta Joannis*, as Betz points out, when Christ states among other things: “I am a mirror to you who know me”.⁷¹ Christ and the initiated are the mirror image of each other. This mirror image derives from the Dionysiac mysteries, as Plotinus makes clear when he refers to the “souls of men” who see their “images” (εἰδῶλα) “as if in the mirror of Dionysus”.⁷² Also relevant is another passage in the PGM, in “The Prayer of Deliverance” (I.195-222), where the magician states concerning Christ that God “said that you have strength, in accordance with his likeness, as much strength as he has” (I.211-2). Here the concept of likeness (“ὁμοιότης”) justifies the relationship between Christ and his Father. From the *New Testament*, a good parallel comes in Paul’s *Second Letter to the Corinthians*, in which Christ is presented as the likeness (εἰκὼν) of God (2.4.4).

Of all these, Plotinus is the best single parallel. It seems plausible that the magician’s conception of himself as the εἰδωλόν of Hermes reflects the influence of Dionysiac mystical ideas. But it is also worth noting that the use of the term εἰδωλόν as the final mystical justification for the identification of the human and the divine is etymologically pointed, reinforcing the essential logical connection between “knowledge” (οἶδα, etc.) and “likeness” (εἰδωλόν) and identification and mystical union.

⁶⁷ Cf. pp.99-100 above.

⁶⁸ *Chald.Or.*158; Lewy (1978) pp.213-4.

⁶⁹ *Procl.Inst.*185 and 195; see Dodds (1933) pp.163 and 171.

⁷⁰ *Corp.Herm.Fr.*8; also *Corp.Herm.Lib.*VI.4 and *Fr.*15; see also Betz (1981) pp.166-7.

⁷¹ *Act.Joan.*95.16f.; see Betz (1981) p.167.

⁷² *Plot.Enn.*4.12; cf. *Nonn.D.*6.169-206; Vernant (1990) pp.468ff.

Conclusions

In the first of our spells, the so-called “Spell for establishing communication with your own daimon” (VII.505-28), the conceptualization of the *personal daimon* shows philosophical influences from Platonism and Neo-Platonism and perhaps also from Stoicism. The relationship of the *personal daimon* with *Tyche*, *Destiny* and other abstract concepts reflects such philosophical influences. There are also influences from the Orphic cosmogony and Egyptian religion, as in the description of Helios.

In the second spell, the untitled spell for dream revelation (VII.478-90), there seem to be influences from Chaldaio-Persian magical beliefs, as in the Neoplatonic reference to the four regions of the universe.

In the third spell, the untitled spell for meeting your own shadow (III.612-31), there are certainly similarities to Platonist, Stoic and Neo-Platonist thinking about the relationship between the soul and the personal daimon, though there are also parallels with much earlier religious ideas reflected in Homer in the association of a person’s soul with his shadow.

In the last spell examined, the “Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos” (VIII.1-63), there are influences from Stoic physiology and from mystery religions and Neo-Platonism.

A common feature of all four spells is the magician’s personal knowledge of the god, which is parallel to the knowledge of the initiated in the mystery cults and which is the essential factor in the mystical union between the magician and the god, a union which reaches the level of identification.

CHAPTER 4

EROS AS A PASSION IN THE EROTIC SPELLS

Introduction

This chapter examines the representation of eros as a passion in the category of the Erotic Spells in the *PGM*. The material is very considerable and there has been much scholarly debate. This debate has focused on the terminology applied to the erotic spells, on gender and social questions about the people who used the erotic spells and their eros victims; on the question of whether the evidence of the erotic spells is consistent with the evidence of Ancient Literature in general and on the goal of the erotic spells. I shall also be concerned with further issues such as the following. Is the erotic passion a “pathological condition”? Could the victim of the erotic spell be a “sinner” and the spell a way of “punishment”? How do issues of power and time define these erotic unions? The question will also be asked whether there are any philosophical or mystical implications in these erotic unions.

The Material

There are about one hundred and five erotic spells altogether including the separation spells but more precisely, ninety-six erotic spells, of which sixty *PGM* erotic spells are contained in Preisendanz vols.I-II, four of which are written both in Greek (*PGM*) and in Demotic Egyptian (*PDM*; Betz’s ed.). Betz’s edition also includes eleven *PGM* erotic spells in translation and twenty-five *PDM* erotic spells in translation. Of the nine separation spells, four are both in Greek (*PGM*) and in Demotic Egyptian (*PDM*) and one in Demotic Egyptian only.¹ There is also in Preisendanz’s edition one separation spell written on an ostrakon (O 2).²

Terminology used in describing the erotic spells

The Greek terms used in the *PGM* for the category of erotic spells are: “ἀγωγή, or ἀγωγή ἀγρυπνητική, ἀγωγήμον, ἀγωγήμον παράψιμον, or ἀγωγήμον αὔθωρον, φίλτρον, or φίλτροκατάδεσμος, ἔμπτυρον and πότισμα, or ποτήριον”. We shall consider these one by one.

¹ For a list of all these spells see the Appendix 7, p.164.

² Preisendanz (2001) vol.II, pp.233-4.

Betz in his edition translates ἀγωγή and ἀγώγιμον as “Love Spell, or Charm of Attraction”.³ Faraone translates both these terms as “a spell that leads”.⁴ It is true that the term “ἀγωγή” is not restricted to erotic spells either in the PGM or elsewhere. For example, in the spells entitled as “Ἀγωγή Πίτυος βασιλέως ἐπὶ παντὸς σκύφου” (IV.1928-2005) and “Πίτυος ἀγωγή” (IV.2006-2125), it is used for a “spell that leads” spirits or daimons of dead persons from the underworld,⁵ even though in the second one there are traces of erotic formularies.⁶ The term is also used by the Neo-Platonist philosopher Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* in a theurgical context as meaning “the procedures of evoking the spirits”.⁷ Faraone’s more neutral translation is therefore technically more correct than Betz’s, but because we are here considering the use of the term in the context of the erotic spells it is simpler to refer to “ἀγωγή” as an “erotic spell that leads”. In this context, it refers precisely to “the procedure that leads, or brings” a person (love-victim) by means of a spell and/or a ritual to be spoken or practiced by the user of the spell to the victim of his/her erotic passion.

In the PGM there is also an erotic spell called “ἀγωγή ἀγρυπνητική”, an *agoge* “producing insomnia” (IV.2943-66).⁸

“Ἀγώγιμον” is another term referring to “the procedure able to lead, or bring”.⁹ We also find the terms “ἀγώγιμον παράψιμον”, *agogimon* “acting by means of touch” (VII.973-80) and “ἀγώγιμον αὐθωρον” *agogimon* “acting immediately” (VII.300a-310). Another term applied to ἀγωγή or ἀγώγιμον used in the PGM is “ἔμπυρον”, an erotic spell “by means of fire” (XXXVI.69-101, 102-33 and 295-311).¹⁰ The term “φίλτρον” in magic means a “love potion”, or generally a love spell by any other means. The term is also more broadly used for “love, affection”. We often also find the term “φίλτροκατάδεσμος”, which means “love-binding” spell.¹¹ Other terms used in the erotic spells are “πότισμα”, “draught” spell (VII.969-72), or - more

³ Betz (1996).

⁴ Faraone (1999) p.25.

⁵ See chpt.2, pp.77ff. above.

⁶ E.g. IV.2090-1, “πορεύου, ὅπου κατοικεῖ ἡδε (ἡ ὁσδε), καὶ ἄξον αὐτὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ διὰ μέσης νυκτὸς ἢ διὰ τάχους”.

⁷ Iamb.Myst.3.6.11; cf. also Iamb.Myst.3.14.46, “τρόποι τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς ἀγωγῆς”; Iamb.Myst.5.26.57, “τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀγωγῆς”.

⁸ As ἀγρυπνητικός -ή -ον is a term used by the medical authors, e.g. Gal.1.326.2, 6.30.13, 6.626.13, 8.162.7, 19.930, 10.930, obviously in contexts where they aim to cure insomnia, a spell for “producing insomnia” subverts medical precepts.

⁹ Cf. Plu.2.1093d; Gal.12.251.

¹⁰ See also VII.294, “ἔμπυρον ἦτοι ἀγώγιμον”.

¹¹ Note that, as already stated (p.101 above), the “Φίλτροκατάδεσμος Ἀστραψούκου” (VIII.1-63) is not actually a love-binding spell.

frequently found - “ποτήριον”, “drinking cup” spell. The title “φυσικλείδιον” occurs once in XXXVI.283-94 and could be translated as the “pudenda key” spell. Betz creates and includes another subcategory called “Fetching Spells and Charms”, but, although most of the spells are untitled, the term applied to these spells whenever one is used is “ἀγωγή” (VII. 593-619). The pattern followed is also the same as in the erotic spells, so this distinction does not seem useful.¹²

In the category of the erotic spells I have also included the “διακοπός” (sc. λόγος) spells, a term used for the “Separation” spells.

The scholarly debate

The erotic spells have attracted more scholarly discussion than any other aspect of the *PGM* or indeed of Greek Magic generally.¹³

Modern scholars generally claim that the *Greek Magical Papyri* and tablets present men as the predominant users of the erotic spells, hence a predominance of men in practicing erotic magic. Winkler, for example, asserts that “the prescription papyri and tablets are predominantly composed by (or on behalf of) men in pursuit of women”.¹⁴ Graf agrees that almost exclusively men practiced the erotic spells to obtain women.¹⁵

This claim runs counter to the general assumption that in Greek and Roman literature it is women who are represented as the main practitioners of erotic magic.¹⁶ Hence various attempts have been made to explain this alleged discrepancy between Greek and Roman literature and the alleged reality of the *PGM*. Winkler, for example, hypothesises “a cultural habit on the part of men to deal with threats of eros by fictitious denial and transfer”, hence they “transferred” the practice of magic to women, whereas in reality (according to Winkler) young women in lovesickness were “considerably more watched

¹² Thus: IV.1872-1927, (No title) Fetching charm; VII.593-619, Fetching charm; XII.469-73 (*PDM* xii.119-34), A spell for it (fetching spell?); *PDM* xiv.1090-6, (No title) Fetching spell; LXXXIV.1-21, (No title) Fetching charm; CI.1-53, (No title) Fetching charm; CIII.1-18, (No title) Fetching charm; CVII.1-19, (No title) Fetching charm; CVIII.1-12, (No title) Fetching charm; CXVII.1-23, (No title) Fetching charm; CXIXa.4-6, Fetching charm; Betz (1996).

¹³ It may not be accidental that the scholars on the *PGM* are mostly men.

¹⁴ Winkler (1991) p.227.

¹⁵ Graf (1997) pp.185-6.

¹⁶ A representative list: Hera and Aphrodite's *Kestos Himas*, Hom.*Il.*14.216ff; Calypso, Hom.*Od.*1; the nurse and Phaedra, E.*Hipp*; Deianeira, S.*Tr*; Simaetha, Theoc.*Id.*2; the Syrian sorceress, Melitta and Bacchis, Luc.*D.Meretr.*4.4; Canidia, Hor.*Epod.*5.17, *Sat.*1.8; Dido, Verg.*Aen.*4; a woman, Verg.*Ecl.*8; Meroe, Apul.*Met.*1.8-10; Pamphile, Apul.*Met.*2.5, 3.15-16; the baker's wife, Apul.*Met.*9.29-30, etc. etc.

and guarded and disciplined than their brothers and presumably had less access to the male experts with their books and to the money required for hiring them".¹⁷ Graf also accepts this "inconsistency" between literature and life and situates men's (alleged) "almost exclusive" practise of erotic magic within the context of general social competition, explaining the erotic spells as a way to social and financial benefits for the male user through the goal of a successful marriage.¹⁸ Graf's sociological explanation raises a question which he himself notices: if men's practice of erotic magic is geared towards this socio-financial model of transferring power and fortune, why is the head of the oikos, the woman's father, not mentioned at all in the spells? If, then, it is not only a matter of social struggle, but also a matter of emotional crisis, "could gender asymmetry even mean that mad love in man was excused and was censured only in women?".¹⁹

Other scholars, however, challenge the alleged discrepancy between literature and reality. Gager, for example, comments on Winkler's argument, observing: "Yet, even more than Winkler seems prepared to admit, both the tablets and literary figures such as Lucian demonstrate that women resorted to precisely the same ceremonies, spells and devices as did men. Thus it is not too much to insist that it is precisely through defixiones that women emerge from their stereotyped seclusion and passivity in aggressive pursuit of their own erotic dreams".²⁰ Ogden also urges reasons for caution, noticing, "Winkler is undoubtedly right about the scale of male involvement in cursing in comparison to female, but this collation of the relevant evidence now needs to be revised for a number of reasons...".²¹ Dickie also questions the claim that in Greek and Roman literature it is women who are "predominantly" represented as engaged in erotic magic.²²

The arguments about the alleged discrepancy between literature and reality raise further questions about social and gender issues. Thus Winkler states that, "in fact *agogai* are aimed as a rule at women and maidens, who are constantly guarded and watched by their own families and by all the neighbours".²³ Graf also argues that the male users of erotic spells aimed at

¹⁷ Winkler (1991) pp.227-8; Martinez also mentions the notion of "transference"; Martinez (1995) pp.354-5.

¹⁸ Graf (1997) pp.185-6.

¹⁹ Graf (1997) pp.188-90.

²⁰ Gager (1992) pp.80-1.

²¹ Ogden (1999) pp.63-7.

²² Dickie (2000).

²³ Winkler (1991) p.240, n.74.

“young women, especially of ‘good families’ with the purpose of “a permanent union that is marriage”.²⁴

Further complexities are added by Faraone’s more general study on “Ancient Greek Love Magic”, which covers a period from the 8th to the 1st centuries BC, referring to the Greek-speaking people from the Mediterranean area. This study posits a taxonomy in Greek love magic according to which there are two main categories, the spells for inducing eros, which are “a specialized extension of cursing rituals”, and the spells for inducing philia, “a subcategory of healing and protective rites”.²⁵ The first category, which included the ἀγωγαί, φίλτροκατάδεσμοι and ἰυγγες²⁶ spells, was mainly practiced “by men, courtesans, or whores” and the victims were “young women and men, usually living in their natal home”.²⁷ The second category of spells, which included φίλτρα and χαριτήσια,²⁸ was used “by wives and social inferiors” and their victims were “husbands, kings and other male heads of household”.²⁹

Dickie, however, questions Faraone’s taxonomy, “Did these distinctions exist?”, and he argues that “the φίλτροκατάδεσμος, ἀγωγή and the φίλτρον have a good deal of overlap in the forms of expressions they employ”, and that they are used to induce both eros and philia.³⁰

The following sections aim, by posing a series of specific questions with some quite detailed analysis, to answer the various issues raised by this extensive scholarly discussion. Then I will explore some new aspects before reaching some broader conclusions.

Who were the users of the erotic spells?

The tabular reconstruction of the “PGM and PDM erotic spells” in Appendix 7, which includes the gender of the user and the victim and their names

²⁴ Graf (1997) pp.186.

²⁵ Faraone (1999) pp.27-31.

²⁶ The term “ἰυγξ” originally for the wryneck, although it does not occur at all in the PGM, was used in magic “as a charm to recover unfaithful lovers” bound to a wheel; see LSJ with many references.

²⁷ Faraone (1999) p.28.

²⁸ “χαριτήσιον, τὸ” is the spell for winning χάρις, “grace, favour, beauty”; the term occurs in the PGM.

²⁹ Faraone (1999) p.28.

³⁰ Dickie (2000), pp.582-3.

whenever stated with chronological references, may provide a starting point.³¹ There are only six erotic spells in which the user is female and the victim male.³² There is also one case of male (XXXIIa. 1-25) and one of female homosexuality (XXXII.1-19).³³ There is also an ambiguity whether the untitled erotic spell LXVI.1-11 is a male homosexual spell.³⁴ Similarly, in the *PDM* erotic spells included in Betz's translation, whenever the gender of the user and the victim is stated, the user is always male and the victim female. In the separation spells, the gender of the user is not stated at all, but the gender of the victims, which are two in most cases, is stated, involving in four spells a man and a woman (/husband and wife), in one spell two men, in another either two men, or a man and a woman, and in one case three men. Similarly, in the ostrakon separation spell (O 2), the user is not mentioned, but the victims involve a man/husband and a woman/wife.

Similarly in the sixteen erotic spells included in the *Supplementum Magicum*, vol. I edited by Daniel and Maltomini, most of which are included in Jordan's "Survey of Greek Defixiones not included in the Special Corpora" and some in Betz's edition, the gender of the user is male and that of the victim female.³⁵ However, there is one exception, *SM* 42, which is a female homosexual erotic spell with both the names of the user and the victim being stated. There is also an ambiguity on the gender of the user of *SM* 37 as numbered in Daniel and Maltomini's edition, whether it is female or not and consequently whether it should be considered as a female homosexual spell.³⁶

Examination of the comparative material of the erotic *Defixionum Tabellae*, the erotic "binding tablet" spells, can be useful and illuminating, because these spells offer us a wider chronological, topographical and cultural range, dating from the 5th century BC to the late Roman period (6th century AD) and originating from the Mediterranean area. *Defixionum Tabellae* is the Latin term used for the Greek κατάδεσμοι. The binding tablet spells were most often inscribed on small lead tablets rolled up and pierced with a nail and placed in tombs, chthonic sanctuaries and underground bodies of water, such as wells,

³¹ See pp.164ff.below; The grounds on which these figures are based are of course under scrutiny in this chapter.

³² XIXb.1-3; XXXIX.1-21; LXVIII.1-20; LXXVIII.1-14; XV.1-21; XVI.1-75.

³³ Maltomini includes *PSI* 28 in the female homosexual spells; Maltomini (1980) p.176.

³⁴ LXVI.1-11 aims to create strife between Φιλόξενος and his friend (φ<ι>λον) Γεννάδιος and between Φιλόξενος and Πελάγιος the elder; see Koenen (1971) p.199, n.1.

³⁵ *SM* 38-51; Daniel and Maltomini (1990) vol.I, pp.113-213; Jordan (1985) pp.151-197; Betz (1996); see also Appendix 8, p.175.

³⁶ See the discussion on the confusion about the relative pronoun ἧν/ὄν which determines the gender of the user, Παιτοῦς (/Παντοῦς); Daniel and Maltomini (1990) vol.I, pp.116-7. Jordan includes it in his *Survey of Greek Defixiones* as *SGD* 158-9, where he argues that the relative pronoun "ἧν is for ὄν"; Jordan (1985a) p.190.

baths etc.³⁷ The *Appendix of Defixionum Tabellae Atticae* from the Roman period edited by Wünsch contains one erotic binding tablet spell in which the user is female and the victim male (*DTA*, p.XVII) and three separation binding tablet spells.³⁸ In two of the separation binding tablet spells, although the gender of the user is not stated, the victims are a man/husband and a woman/wife (*DTA*, p.xi and *DTA*, p.XV), and in the third very fragmentary spell written in a curse form the user is female and the binding spell is directed at a woman who is now with the user's husband (*DTA*, p.xii).³⁹

The *Defixionum Tabellae* edited by Audollent include twenty-six erotic and six separation binding tablet spells covering various regions, such as Attica, Boeotia, Latium-Roma, Nomentum, Minturnae, Germany, Campania, Africa-Karthage, Hadrumetum, Ammaedara and Caria-Cnidus.⁴⁰ In this collection also, in most of the erotic binding tablet spells the user is male and the victim female, with four exceptions in which the user is female and the victim male⁴¹ (*DT* 103, *DT* 270, *DT* 271 and *DT* 299). There is also one binding tablet spell of male homosexuality (*DT* 38), which is also included in the *Supplementum Magicum*, vol.II as *SM* 54, although there is a controversy among modern scholars whether it should be considered as an erotic spell or a juridical spell to gain victory at court, or even both.⁴²

Most of the erotic *DT* found in Italy, Germany and Africa are written in Latin, although some in both Greek and Latin, and some even in Latin but with Greek letters and one in Greek but with Latin letters.

As examination of the *PGM*, *DT* and *DTA* erotic spells reveals, there are some inaccuracies in Winkler's figures. For example, he includes only seven *PGM* erotic spells in which the user is male and the victim female (XVIIa, XIXa, LXXXIV, CI, CVII, CVIII, CIX) and one ostrakon O2, but the spells are actually more than these. Winkler also mentions only four *PGM* cases in which the user is female and the victim male (XV, XVI, XXXIX, LXXVIII), but there are actually two more erotic *PGM* spells of which this is true (XIXb.1-3, LXXVIII.1-14). He also assumes that the user in LXVI is male and he includes it in the male homosexual spells, but the name of the user is not mentioned

³⁷ Jordan (1985) p.152; Gager (1992) pp.3ff.

³⁸ Wünsch (1897) vol.III, prt.III.

³⁹ See the Appendix 10, p.181.

⁴⁰ Audollent (1904).

⁴¹ See Appendix 9, p.177.

⁴² Audollent included it in "Causa defixiones obscura"; Audollent (1904) pp.69-72 and 473; Jordan considered it an erotic spell; Jordan (1985b) p.223, n.16; Preisendanz thought it was possibly a juridical curse; Preisendanz (1972) pp.13f.; both: Daniel and Maltomini (1992) vol.II, pp.16-17.

and there is no indication about the gender of the user. Again, Winkler mentions twelve *DT* erotic spells directed from men at women (*DT* 100, 227, 230, 231, 264-71), but in fact the spells are more. Similarly, he refers only to two *DT* cases in which the user is female and the victim male (*DT* 270, *DT* 271), but there are two more cases (*DT* 103 and *DT* 299).⁴³

Furthermore, there are also more recent publications of binding tablets, as for example Jordan's "Defixiones from a well near the Southwest corner of the Athenian agora", in which he includes three separation binding tablet spells, or as described by Jordan, "curses directed against lovers" dated from the second half of the 1st through the first half of the 3rd c. AD.⁴⁴ Although in none of the three spells is the name of the user mentioned, the victims are a man and a woman in two cases, spells n.7 and n.9, and a woman and two men in the other one, spell n.8.⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that the woman at whom the spells 8 and 9 are directed is the same person, *Ιουλιανή, ἣν ἔτεκεν Μαρκία* (spells n.8.2-3 and n.9.2, 8-9).

Another separation binding lead tablet quite recently (1986) discovered in a grave in Pella in Macedonia, dated to the first half of the 4th century BC and written in Doric Greek was published as "*ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΙ*" by Voutiras in 1998.⁴⁶ The user of this spell is a female, possibly called *Φίλα* "[*Φίλ?*]αν", and the victims a man called "*Διονυσοφῶν*" and a woman called "*Θετίμα*".⁴⁷

Jordan in his article "Three Curse Tablets" refers also to one erotic lead-binding spell found in a grave in Akanthos, again in Macedonia, and dating to the late 4th, early 3rd century BC.⁴⁸ This erotic binding spell is opisthographic, on the side A of which the male user, *Παυσανίας*, binds his female love-victim, *Σίμη*. On side B of the tablet the same *Παυσανίας* binds a person called *Αἶνις* who could be either a man or a woman.⁴⁹

⁴³ Winkler (1991) p.240, n.74; *DT* 271 is also included in the erotic spells in which the user is male and the victim female; see also Ogden (1999) p.64.

⁴⁴ Jordan (1985b).

⁴⁵ See Appendix 11, p.182.

⁴⁶ The text was first published in *REG* as "A propos d'une tablette de Malédiction de Pella", Voutiras (1996) pp.678-82; then in 1998 as "*ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΙ*: Marital Life and Magic in Fourth century Pella"; Voutiras (1998); see also Appendix 12, p.183.

⁴⁷ For the suggestion of Phila as the female user of the spell see Voutiras (1998) pp.11-13.

⁴⁸ Jordan (1999) "Three Curse Tablets" in Jordan, Montgomery, Thomassen (ed) (1999) pp.115-124; the tablet first appeared in Trakosopoulou-Salakidou (1997) "*Κατάδεσμοι από την Άκανθο*" in Christides and Jordan (eds.) (1997) pp.153-69.

⁴⁹ See Jordan (1999) pp.120-3.

On the evidence so far of the *PGM*, *PDM* and *SM* erotic spells, taken at face value, the users of the spells were mainly men and the objects, or their victims, women. The comparative evidence also of the *Defixionum Tabellae* erotic spells points in the same direction.

But at this point an important qualification needs to be considered. In the erotic *PGM* spells the user of the spell is most commonly called “ὁ δεῖνα”, the son of “τῆς δεῖνα”, and the victim “ἡ δεῖνα”, the daughter of “τῆς δεῖνα”. In all the erotic spells, for example, included in the magical handbook *PGM* IV the user is male called ὁ δεῖνα and the victim female called ἡ δεῖνα.⁵⁰ In the erotic spells of the handbook *PGM* VII only five out of sixteen follow the “ὁ δεῖνα-user, ἡ δεῖνα-victim” formula.⁵¹ In the other *PGM* we find about fifteen erotic spells in which the above formula occurs.⁵² In some cases the gender of the user is not mentioned, but the gender of the victim is, and in others neither the gender of the user or the victim is declared.⁵³ We have already mentioned the six erotic spells in which the user is female referred to as ἡ δεῖνα and the victim male referred to as ὁ δεῖνα.⁵⁴

However, in some erotic spells this “δεῖνα” pattern is quite flexible and can be used of either a male or a female user directed at either a male or female victim. In the “Erotic spell that leads by means of fire” (XXXVI.69-101), for example, as Dickie points out, although the user is mentioned as ὁ δεῖνα and the victim as ἡ δεῖνα, it is clarified in the very beginning of the spell that “it leads men to women and women to men and makes maidens/virgins to leap out of their homes”⁵⁵ This point can also be illustrated in the so-called “Separation Spell” (XII.365-75). Here the victims are two men, who could be lovers or friends, and against each of them the user, whose gender is not defined, asks Typhon, “give to NN the son of NN strife, war and to NN the son of NN odiousness, enmity, just as Typhon and Osiris had” (XII.372-3). But, at the end of the spell there is a reminder in brackets that, “if it is a man/husband and woman/wife; just as Typhon and Isis had”). The untitled erotic spell LXXVIII.1-14 also, although it makes it clear in the beginning that, “it leads a woman to a man” (LXXVIII.2), is actually directed according to its

⁵⁰ IV.94-153, 296-466, 1265-74, 1390-1495, 1496-1595, 1716-1870, 1872-1927, 2441-2621, 2708-84, 2891-2942, 2943-66; Preisendanz (2001) vol.I.

⁵¹ VII.619-27, 643-51, 862-918, 969-72, 981-93; Preisendanz (2001) vol.II.

⁵² X.1-23, Xic.1-19, XII (*PDM* xii) 480-95 (147-64), XIXb.1-3, XXXVI.69-101, 102-33, 134-60, 187-210, XXXVI.283-94, 295-311, 333-60, 361-71, LXII.1-24, LXVII.1-24, CIII.1-18.

⁵³ See Appendix 7, p.164.

⁵⁴ See p.111, n.32 above; of these spells the user is referred to as ἡ δεῖνα and the victim as ὁ δεῖνα in the following: XIXb.1-3; LXXVIII.1-14, in the other four the names of the user and the victim are given.

⁵⁵ Dickie (2000) p.566.

context from a female user to a male victim (LXXVIII.5–6). In the same way in the so-called “Sword of Dardanos” spell (IV.1716-1870), although in the beginning of the spell the victim is mentioned as male (IV.1720), later the victim is referred to as female (IV.1895-6; also 1850-3). In VII.862-918 also, the victim of the erotic spell is constantly mentioned as female, but once is referred to as female and in brackets as male (“ἡ δεῖνα (ἢ ὁ δεῖνα)”, VII.909), implying the gender flexibility of the spell.

Similarly *PDM* xiv.366-75, written in Demotic Egyptian, is described as “The method for separating man and woman and a woman from her husband”.⁵⁶ Another Demotic Egyptian spell (*PDM* xiv.355-65) also states in the very beginning that its purpose is “to give favour to a man before a woman and vice versa”.⁵⁷

Hence we must agree with Dickie’s claim that “the use of the masculine grammatical gender is merely a convention for writing out as economically as possible spells that may be used equally by either sex”,⁵⁸ and (obviously) that the same applies to the use of the female gender for the victim. Spells following the “δεῖνα” formula are clearly intended as “models”.

Now, out of 105 erotic *PGM* and *PDM* spells together with the separation spells there are thirteen *PGM* erotic spells in which the names of the users and the victims, whether male or female together with their mothers’ names, are stated. These are examples of spells actually used, with reference to the persons involved and their precise names. Similarly, in all the sixteen erotic spells included in the *SM*, four of which are also included in Betz’s edition,⁵⁹ the names of the users and the victims are stated.⁶⁰

Thus the great majority (92) of *PGM* erotic spells use the “δεῖνα” formula. This formula problematises the assumption that men were the main users of the erotic spells and weakens the alleged discrepancy between literature and reality in relation to the users of the erotic spells.

⁵⁶ Transl. by Johnson in Betz (1996) p.217.

⁵⁷ Transl. by Johnson in Betz (1996) p.216.

⁵⁸ Dickie (2000) p.567.

⁵⁹ *SM* 40 (/PGM LXXXIV.1-21), *SM* 43 (/PGM CVIII.1-12), *SM* 44 (/PGM CVII.1-19) and *SM* 45 (/PGM CI.1-53).

⁶⁰ See Appendix 8, p.175.

That alleged discrepancy is further weakened by Dickie's observation that in fact in literature not only women, but also a significant number of men, are displayed being engaged with magic.⁶¹

It is true that in the *PGM* there are exclusively references to male magicians, or to male figures engaged with magic, with only two exceptions, the Syrian woman from Gadara (XX.4) and the Thessalian⁶² Philinna (XX.13).⁶³ But obviously in the case of erotic magic the distinction between the magician and the user is crucial.

Thus this survey greatly problematises the claims that the great majority of the users of erotic magic were men and that there is a puzzling discrepancy between the evidence of the magical papyri and the world of literature.

Who were the women-victims of the erotic spells?

As we have seen, existing scholarship has also raised the question of the social status of the women-victims of the erotic spells. Were they really the well-protected and "guarded" maidens of "good families" "usually living in their natal home"?⁶⁴ Let us analyse some concrete examples.

In the "Wondrous love-binding spell" (IV.296-466), the male user adjures the chthonic gods and daimons, the men and women who died untimely deaths and youths and maidens (IV.336-42) to assist "the daimon of a dead person" (νεκυδαίμων)⁶⁵ (IV.360, 368, 397) invoked to go to "every place and every street and every house" and "lead and bind" the woman "whose magical material he has got" in order to love him (IV.347-50). The male user also wishes her, "not to have sexual intercourse, not to have anal intercourse, nor do anything with another man for pleasure if not with me alone, NN, so that she, NN, may not be able to drink or eat, that she may not be content, not be patient, not have peace of mind, that she, NN, may not find sleep without me, NN" (IV.351-6).⁶⁶ Furthermore, the user later emphasizes his wish that the

⁶¹ E.g. Jason in *P.Pyth.* 215-9; Calasiris and the Thessalian hero in *Heliod.Aeth.* 3.16.2-3; Moeris in *Verg.Ecl.* 8; the Hyperborean magician and the young man in *Luc.Philops.* 14; for more examples see Dickie (2000) pp.577-580.

⁶² Thessalian witches were of course legendary in antiquity; e.g. *Ar.Nu.* 749; *Hor.Ep.* 17.77; *Luc.Phars.* 6.452; *Apul.Met.* 2.21; see also Cazeaux (1979) pp.265-75.

⁶³ For a list of male magicians, or to male figures associated with magic see the Appendix 6, p162.

⁶⁴ See pp.109-110 above.

⁶⁵ O'Neil mistranslates νεκυδαίμων as, "god of the dead"; Betz (1996) p.45. But the reference here is to the daimon of the dead person into whose grave the love-binding spell is placed (τίθεσαι...παρὰ ἄωρου ἢ βιαίου θήκην, IV.333-4).

⁶⁶ On the verbs βινῶ and πυγίζω see Bain (1991); also Wortmann (1968) p.72.

daimon of the dead person, as stated, “may not let her, NN, take for pleasure the experience of another man, not even of her own man/husband, if not of me alone, NN” (IV.374-6). Is there any evidence here that the male user casts the spell at a maiden living in her natal home? Clearly, the reverse. And the reference to “her own husband/man”⁶⁷ counts decisively against that possibility.

In IV.2708-84 called “Another erotic spell that leads”, the male user invokes Hecate-Selene-Artemis together with those who died untimely and those of the heroes who died without a wife and children to take away from the female victim sweet sleep and, as stated, “if she lies having someone else in her bosom,⁶⁸ let her thrust him away and put me into her mind/heart and having abandoned him immediately let her stand before my door subdued in soul longing for my bed of love”.⁶⁹ Later in the spell the user refers again to the female victim of the spell as, “may she, NN, driven mad come into my doors fast forgetting children and intimacy with parents and hating the whole race of men and women except me, NN, and may she have only me, NN”. Here again the references to the female victim do not at all fit the description of a well-guarded maiden in her natal home.

Similarly in XIXa.1-54, the daimon of the dead person is invoked, “not to let Karosa herself, whom Thelo bore, remember her [own] husband/man, child, drink, food”, but she should come with an erotic desire to Apalos” (XIXa.52-4). In the same way in the so-called “Laudable love spell”, LXI.1-38 (*PDM* lxi.159-96), which is written both in Greek and Demotic Egyptian, the male user invokes what he addresses as “image of Helios” (LXI.35/*PDM* lxi.176) to bind the female victim, “so that she may love me and do whatever I want [and] she may forget (her) father and mother, brothers, husband, friend, except me only she may forget them all” (LXI.28-30/ *PDM* lxi.172-4). In neither of these cases can the female victim be a maiden in her natal home.

In another spell (LXI.64/*PDM* lxi.202) (LXI.39-71/ *PDM* lxi.197-216), the user, whose gender is not defined, addressing the spell to a lizard asks him to make the woman-victim of the spell hate “her husband/man” and vice versa (LXI.45-7/*PDM* lxi.189-90). Similarly, in the separation spell written on an ostrakon (O2), the user, whose gender is not mentioned, wants to send away Allous “from Apollonios, her husband/man” (O2.40-3).

⁶⁷ No matter whether “ἰδίου ἀνδρός” means ‘legal husband’ or, as Dickie suggests, “the man with whom the woman is currently living”; Dickie (2000) p.569.

⁶⁸ “ἐν κόλποις” could also mean, “in (her) vagina”.

⁶⁹ “φιλότῃτι καὶ εὐνῇ” is a Homeric formula, e.g. Hom.*Il.*3.445, 6.25; it is translated as “in the bed of love” by Lattimore; Lattimore (1951); see also Betz (1996) p.89. For the same phrase in a similar context see also the “Erotic spell that leads”, IV.2908-11.

In CI.1-53, which is also included in the *Supplementum Magicum* Vol.I as SM 45, the male user adjures the daimons who lie there and the youths who died untimely to make the female victim leave (her) father, mother, brothers, sisters and “if she has another in the bosom, she should put him aside and forget and hate him” (CI.1-53 /SM 45.46-51), clearly envisaging the possibility of a lover, or her husband.

In the *Supplementum Magicum* Vol.I there are also six more examples in which the male users wish the female victims to have sexual intercourse and experience with no other men but them. In SM 38, for example, Ammonion binds Theodotis, “so that you may not ever be able to commingle with another man, nor have sexual intercourse, nor have anal intercourse, nor fellate, nor do anything for pleasure with a lover man, if it is not me alone, Ammonion, son of Hermitaris” (SM 38.3-6). Ammonion uses this spell “so that Theodotis, the daughter of Eus, may no longer have (erotic/sexual) experience with a lover man, but with me alone” (SM 38.9-10). The list of the various types of sexual practice is a pattern found in the other five erotic spells from the *Supplementum Magicum* (SM 46-50) and implies that they belong to the same erotic subcategory.⁷⁰ The sheer variety of the sexual practices and the emphasis on “not ever” and “no longer” mark the female victim as sexually active.

Within this sub-category, two spells provide further information about the female victim. In SM 49, Theodoros adjures the chthonic gods and daimons, men and women who died untimely, youths and maidens to assist the daimon of a dead person, invoked to “go to every place and every street and every house and every tavern and lead and bind Matrona, whom Tagene bore” (SM 49.17-20). Here “tavern” is added to the list of possible places that the daimon should search for the female victim. The other erotic spell, SM 50, also includes “taverns” (50.17-20). Tavern girls were generally associated with prostitution.⁷¹

All the spells considered so far attribute a considerable level of sexual freedom and sexual experience to the female victims and exclude the possibility that these women were well-guarded maidens in their natal homes. Two of them, indeed, may have been prostitutes.

Similarly, in Jordan’s comparative material, the woman who is the victim of spells n.8 and n.9 is probably a prostitute, since the two male victims of the spell are described as “the ones who visit” “Juliana’s business place” (n.8.2,

⁷⁰ SM 46; SM 45.9-10; SM 45.21-2; SM 47.8-9; SM 47.22-3; SM 48.8-10, 22.

⁷¹ See Olson (2006).

5).⁷² Spell n.9 refers to their “affection and intimacy and falling down together” (n.9.13-4), implying a sexual relationship. Likewise, in the separation spell *DT* 68, the woman victim has a relationship with two men and with “the other men” (*DT* 68A, B).

In sum, the claim that the women-victims of the spells were the well-protected and “guarded” maidens of “good families” “usually living in their natal home” is challenged by a considerable number of spells directed against women described as sexually active, having a high level of sexual freedom and experience, being married, or (it seems) engaged in prostitution.

What is the goal of erotic magic?

Is it “a permanent union that is marriage”?⁷³ And how valid is the distinction between ἀγωγαί and φίλτροκατάδεσμοι on the one hand and φίλτρα on the other?⁷⁴ Again, we need to look at concrete cases.

The male user in the “Wondrous love-binding spell” (*IV*.296-466) wishes that the daimon of a dead person may “lead and bind her, NN, to love, sexually love and long for him, NN (φιλοῦσαν, ἐρῶσαν, τὸν δεῖνα ποθοῦσαν) (*IV*.395-6). Both the verbs ἐράω and φιλέω (together with ποθέω) are used in this φίλτροκατάδεσμος to induce ἔρως, φιλία (and πόθος) in the female victim. The spell supports neither distinctions of feeling nor distinctions of genre.

Similarly, in the untitled erotic spell *XIXa*.1-54, Karosa is to be aroused until “having leapt forth”,⁷⁵ she comes to Apalos “for erotic passion and love” (ἐπὶ ἔρωτι καὶ φιλίᾳ) (*XIXa*.50-2). The feelings of erotic passion and love also involve yearning for sexual intercourse: “melting for erotic passion and love and sexual intercourse, especially yearning for the sexual intercourse of Apalos” (*XIXa*.53-4). The male user of *XIc*.1-19 also wants to arouse ἔρως, φιλία and συνουσία in the female victim. Similarly, the “binding spell”, *SM* 47, aims at both ἔρως and φιλία between Ptolemais and Sarapammon (*SM* 47.27).

The male user of the untitled erotic spell *X*.1-23 wants to induce φιλία and ἔρως in the woman victim at first sight: “(let her) see me and having seen me

⁷² Jordan (1985b) pp.225-7.

⁷³ See p.110 above.

⁷⁴ See p.110 above.

⁷⁵ See also its use in other ἀγωγαί, e.g. *XXXVI*.69-101.71; *XXXVI*.333-60.359; *SM* 42.17; *SM* 48.10.

fall in love with me”⁷⁶ The smiling of the woman when they see each other is described as “the sign of love” (X.23).

In the erotic spell called “Sword of Dardanos” (IV.1716-1870), the male user invokes the god, “so that she [NN] may love me, so that she may love me with a sexual passion, so that she may give me what is in her hands” (IV.1805-8). Again, the goal is sexual union.⁷⁷

In “Klaudianus’ Lunar spell” (VII.862-918) the user calls upon Selene to “order an angel to go away to her, NN, to lead her from the hair, from the feet; may she being in fear, terrified by visions/phantasms, sleepless because of her erotic passion for me and her love for me, NN, come to my bedroom” (VII.885-8). As in the previous spell, the male user wants to induce both ἔρως and φιλία in the female victim. Moreover, two more verbs enrich the feelings to be induced, ἀγαπῶ and στέργω, when the user requests her to remain, “fully satisfying, loving, feeling affection for me, NN, and she may not be able to commingle/have sexual intercourse with another man than me alone”.

Similarly, in the “Erotic spell that leads” (IV.1496-1595), the male user sends Myrrh to lead and bind a woman, “and make her have me only in her mind, desire me alone, love/feel affection for me alone, NN, and fulfil all my wishes” (IV.1519-22). Later in the spell “στέργω” is replaced by “φιλέω” in a similar context, “until she comes to me, NN, loving me and fulfils all my wishes” (IV.1531-3).

In the untitled erotic spell CI.1-53 (/SM 45), the daimons of that place and the youths who died untimely are adjured to lead Euphemia to Theon, “loving (him) with mad erotic passion and affection and intercourse” (CI.30-1/SM 45.7). Later in the spell Theon repeats his request, but using this time “φιλοῦσαν” instead of “ἐρῶσα”: “φιλοῦσάν με ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ καὶ στοργῇ καὶ συνουσίᾳ, ἔρωτι μανιώδῃ” (CI.31-2/SM 30-1). The same phrase is again repeated: “φιλοῦσαν ἔρωτι μανιώδῃ” (CI.44/SM 45.43). The use of “ἐρῶσα” and “φιλοῦσαν” in the same context reveals the author’s tendency to use these two verbs of similar meaning in any possible combinations. This tendency becomes even more obvious in the expression, “φιλοῦσα{ν} με, ἐρῶσά{ν} με θῖον ἔρωτα ἀκατάπαυστον καὶ φιλίαν μανικὴν”, “loving me, desiring me with divine, incessant erotic passion and mad love” (CI.51/SM 45.48-9). The concept of covering the various shades of the meaning of “love with affection” is again repeated in, “φιλήσῃ, ἀγαπήσῃ καὶ στοργήσῃ” (CI.51/SM 45.51).

⁷⁶ This is the “love-at-first-sight” commonplace (Theoc.Id. 2.82ff; Verg.Ecl.8.4. etc. etc.).

⁷⁷ I discuss this complicated spell further on p.130 below.

In the binding spell from the Athenian agora n.9, the erotic relationship is described as “their purpose and affection and intimacy” (9.3-4, 13-4) and as “their affection and intimacy and falling down together” (n.9.13-4).⁷⁸ The noun “στοργή”, generally meaning “love, affection”, is used here of the sexual relationship between a prostitute and a man.

In the female homosexual erotic spell SM 42A, the terms used are “erotic passion and love” (SM 42.13, 45, 47) and “love, yearning, unending erotic passion” (SM 42.51-2, 55). Here again the word “φίλτρον” is used for “love” and not for “love potion, or spell” and joined to πόθος and ἔρως without any implication of distinctions of meaning or categorisation. The term “φίλτρον” is also used in the same meaning in another erotic spell, XV.1-21, in which Capetolina wishes, “may Nilos love me with eternal love” (XV.21).

It is noteworthy that some examples emphasize the idea of “θεῖον ἔρωτα”, “divine erotic passion” (CI.51/SM 45.48-9; X.1-23.7-8 (θεῖον ἔρωτα); XV.1-21.3 (θεῖον ἔρωτα; and SM 48.13-4, 25, (ἔρωτι θίω)). This divine love is elsewhere described as “τὸ τῆς Αφροδίτης μυστήριον”, “Aphrodite’s mystery rite” (XXXVI.295-311.306), or as “τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον”, “the divine mystery” (XIXa.1-54.52).⁷⁹ So, the divine mystery here is associated with the act of sex.⁸⁰ This is a specialised case of the wider assimilations of magic with religious “mysteries”.⁸¹

So far, then, the evidence of the *PGM*, *PDM*, *SM* and *Defixionum Tabellae* seems to imply that the purpose of practicing erotic magic is a sexual union, but without defining it as marriage. Instead this union is described as “erotic passion, love, sexual intercourse, love and affection”, “ἔρως, φιλία, συνουσία, ἀγάπη, στοργή”. The evidence does not support a sense of categorisation between spells inducing ἔρως or spells inducing φιλία.

⁷⁸ Jordan (1985b) pp.227ff.

⁷⁹ This phrase belongs to the temporal clause “[ἐφ’] ὅσον κεῖται παρά σοι τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον” addressed to the daimon of the dead person who is invoked to lead the female victim to the male user instilling to her erotic passion, love and desire for sexual intercourse with the user of the spell (XIXa.1-54.52-4).

⁸⁰ Nock translates “τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον” as “the magic art”, but the point here is that the “magical art” brings about the mystery of sex; Nock (1925) p.158.

⁸¹ E.g. I.131, “τὸ μέγα τοῦτο μυστήριον”, IV.722-3, “ὥς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριον”, IV.2592, “τὸ σόν, θεά, μυστήριον μέγιστον”, XII.322, “μεγαλομυστήριον”, XIII.128, “τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν κάνθαρος”, XIII.685-6, “τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ”, XII.331.3, “τῷ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ κατασκευασμένῳ μυστ[ηρ]ίῳ”, IV.794, IV.476, “τὰ <ᾠ>πρατα, παραδοτὰ μυστήρια”, V.111, “τὰ μυστήρια”, XIII.56-7, “ἀμυστηρίαστον”, XIII.380, “ἀμυστηρίαστω”, XIII.429, “ἀμυστηρίαστον”, I.127, “ὦ μα[κάρι]ε μύστα τῆς ἱερᾶς μαγεῖας”, IV.474, “μύσται τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως”, IV.747, “ὥς μύστης”, IV.172, 2254, “μυσταγωγός”, IV.731-2, XII.94, “συμμύστης”, XX.6, “παῖς μυστοδόκος”.

To this general picture there are two exceptions, both from the comparative material.

In the first one (DT 271), the female user binds the male victim with erotic passion, love and desire: “needing her to return to his house and become (his) companion/wife σύμβιο[ν]” (271.6-8).⁸² The word “σύμβιος” is repeated four more times in the spell (271.12-15, 21-3, 28-32, 45-7). The explicit aim is to “join them with marriage and love, living together for the whole time of their life” (DT 271.42-3).

The second exception is a separation spell from Pella, in Macedonia,⁸³ which aims to prevent a wedding, so that the female user may marry the male victim herself (4-5).

The question of whether the goal of the erotic spells is marriage or not has also been linked to the financial benefits of marriage.⁸⁴ In fact, there is only one erotic spell, the SM 42A, in which the sexual and erotic subjugation is connected to financial benefits (SM 42.17-8, 39), but this is a female homosexual spell.

Curse elements in the erotic spells

As we have seen, Faraone considers the spells for inducing eros as an extension of cursing rituals.⁸⁵

Examples of “curses”, “ἄραί”, are widely displayed in Greek poetry, for example, in Homer, Alcaeus, Archilochus, Hipponax, Theognis, Homeric Epigrams, tragedy (Aeschylus’ *Choephoroi*⁸⁶ and *Eumenides*, Sophocles’ *Ajax* and *Oedipus Coloneus*), and in Hellenistic poetry (Callimachus and Theocritus). Audollent’s edition of *Defixionum Tabellae* includes many examples of judicial curse binding tablets, or curse tablets against the opponents, mainly charioteers, in athletic competitions not only from Greece but also from various places of the Mediterranean world.⁸⁷ Since Wunsch and Audollent’s editions many works have been published on the curse binding spells. Jordan,

⁸² See also Wunsch (1912) pp.23-26.

⁸³ Voutiras (1998) p.9.

⁸⁴ See Graf p.109 above.

⁸⁵ Faraone (1999) pp.28ff, 41ff; p.110 above.

⁸⁶ On “Aeschylus’ ὕμνος δέσμιος (*Eum.*306)” see Faraone (1992) pp.150-4.

⁸⁷ See Audollent’s categorisation in “Index V: Defixionum Genera et Causa”, Audollent (1904) pp.471-3; see also Wunsch (1897).

for example, has widely published on this area.⁸⁸ Watson in *"Arae: The Curse poetry of Antiquity"* examines the relation of the Hellenistic area and the *Defixionum Tabellae*.⁸⁹ Daniel and Maltomini's edition of the *Supplementum Magicum* also contains examples of curse spells mostly derived from Egypt dated from the first to the sixth century AD.⁹⁰

The question of the curse elements in the erotic spells will be examined from two points of view: first, whether the erotic passion is described as a disease to be inflicted on the erotic victim, and second, whether the erotic spell can then be regarded as a way of punishment for the eros victim, presented as a sinner.

Is the erotic passion a "pathological condition"?

In the "Erotic spell that leads" (IV.1496-1595), the male user sends Myrrh not as far off as to Arabia, or to Babylon, but to the female victim, in order to bind and lead her to him (IV.1505-9).⁹¹

There is an emphasis on two points. First, the user instructs Myrrh, "not to enter her through her eyes, or through her side, or through her nails, nor through her navel, or through her limbs, but through her soul" (IV.1523-25).

Second, there is detailed reference to the particular parts of the body to be affected by the erotic passion, according to the instructions, "remain in her heart and burn her guts, her breast, her liver, her breath, her bones, her marrow, until she comes to me, NN, loving me and until she fulfils all my wishes" (IV.1526-33).⁹² Here the symptoms to be caused to the victim characterise the erotic passion as a pathological condition.⁹³

The same formula is followed in the "Erotic spell able to lead" (VII.981-93). Thus the user instructs Helios, "enter into the soul of her, NN, whom she, NN, bore and burn her heart, her guts, her liver, her spirit, her bones" (VII.985-90). It is noteworthy that in the untitled spell that follows this one

⁸⁸ Jordan (1975) pp.245-8.; Jordan (1994) pp.111-26.; Jordan (1997) pp.387-96; Jordan and Curbera (1998a) pp.31-41; Jordan and Curbera (1998b) pp.215-218; Jordan (1999b) pp.115-24; Jordan (2000) pp.95-103; Jordan (2002b) pp.141-7; see also Curbera (1997) pp.90-4.

⁸⁹ Watson (1991) pp.194-216.

⁹⁰ SM1-62; Daniel and Maltomini F (1992) Vol.II, pp.1-57.

⁹¹ See also VII.616-7, "ἄγει δέ καὶ διαποντίους".

⁹² Also IV.1541-2, "κατάκαυσον τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ἔκκαυσον καὶ ἐκστρεψον αὐτῆς τὰ σπλάχνα, ἔκσταξον αὐτῆς τὸ αἷμα"; on the marrow see Griffiths (1977) pp.287-8; Giangrande (1978) pp.101-116; also Gorissen, P. (1980) pp.199-200.

⁹³ For the symptoms of eros see also Petropoulos (1997) pp.104-119.

(VII.993-1009), the purpose of which is not very clear, the god of medicine, Asklepios is mentioned.

In the “Erotic spell that leads over Myrrh” (XXXVI.333-60), Myrrh is invoked to, “rouse yourself”, search for the female victim and, “open her right side and enter like thunder, like lightning, like a burning flame” (XXXVI.353-6).⁹⁴ The description of the victim’s possession by Myrrh here is very vivid with allusions to natural phenomena. Here there are perhaps also allusions to the mystical initiation as being “star-struck”.⁹⁵ The condition to be caused to the victim is clearly characterised as a pathological one, “make her thin, pale, sick, weak, unable in her body for any action” (XXXVI.356-9). These symptoms also constitute a medical “diagnosis”, which is by implication curtailed when the female victim ‘leaps out’ to join him.

The Ostrakon Separation spell, O2, aims to separate Allous from her husband Apollonios, burning her soul, “her female body, her parts”, until she leaves her husband. The spell wants to, “cause Allous to take to her bed with fever, incessant sickness, without food Allous, without being able to understand” (O2.30-5).⁹⁶ Similarly DT 51 from Athens aims to cause, “a horrible fever to all the parts of Gamete, whom Hygia born”.

Such descriptions have a long tradition in Greek literature. In a famous poem (31), Sappho refers to her symptoms as a lover at the sight of the beloved as: abnormal heartbeat, loss of the ability to speak, see and hear, “cold sweat”, trembling, turning “paler than grass”, and fainting.⁹⁷ Similarly in Theocritus’ *Idyll 2, Pharmakeutria*, Simaetha describes her reaction at the sight of her beloved Delphis as “turned chiller than snow”, starting to sweat, not being able to speak and change of skin colour.⁹⁸ We also find this idea in the native Egyptian material. For example, the symptoms of eros are described in the Egyptian “*Chester Beatty Love Songs*” of the New Kingdom. In the “Beginning of the Songs of Extreme Happiness” a female lover says about her beloved, “My lover excites my desire with his voice, he gets a sickness to seize me”.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ See also XIXa.14, “ἀνέγειρέ μοι σεαυτόν”; for a similar description see LXII.16-19, “ἀναλύθητι εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ φύσιν καὶ μίγητι τῷ ἀέρι καὶ γενοῦ πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα (κοινά) καὶ καὶ κάταξον αὐτὴν ἐ[μ]οὶ π[υ]ρὶ κεραυνίῳ”.

⁹⁵ See chpt.2, p.83; one might also recall Zeus’ final destructive possession of Semele.

⁹⁶ Preisendanz (2001) Vol.II, pp233-4.

⁹⁷ Sapph.fr.31; see also Devereux (1970) pp.17-31; also Marcovich (1972) pp.19-32.

⁹⁸ Theoc.*Id.*2.106ff; see also Faraone (1995) pp.1-15.

⁹⁹ *Chest.Beat.LS.*32.2nd stanza; similarly in *Chest.Beat.LS.*37.7th stanza, “a sickness has shot through me. I have become sluggish, I have forgotten my own body”; transl. by Simpson in Simpson, Faulkner and Wente (eds.) (1973) pp.316-21; on “love Poems in Ancient Egypt” see Pound and Stock (eds.) (1962).

Thus the detailed reference to the symptoms of eros as a sickness in the human body and psychology and the mention of specific areas of the human body to be affected by eros reveal a scientific knowledge and approach by the magicians/authors of the spells. It seems that the authors of the spells being aware of the scientific methods of observation and diagnosis of a disease use them, in order to reflect the exact symptoms of erotic passion on to the eros victim of the spell. Thus, we are not dealing here with “denial and transference”, as Winkler claims.¹⁰⁰ On the contrary, it is reflection (and not transference) of the symptoms of the erotic passion, and the best way this reflection and consequently the spell could be effective is “accuracy”, which in the “professional medical practitioners’ ” language is translated as observation and diagnosis. Knowledge and accuracy played an important general role in magic, as has been shown, for example, in the knowledge of the exact names and symbols of the gods invoked in the spells and in the names of the mothers of the users and victims of the erotic spell.¹⁰¹

Greek and Roman physicians themselves treat the erotic passion as a disease, observing the symptoms in humans, making a diagnosis and suggesting a treatment. Galen (129-99 AD), for example, *On Prognosis*, describing the erotic grief and sickness of a woman, refers to the change of expression and the facial colour and the irregular pulse, which indicates disturbance of mind, and diagnoses that “it was not a bodily illness and that the woman was troubled by some psychological disturbance”.¹⁰² Soranus also in *Gynecology* refers to the erotic desire as weakness and disease of the body, when he observes, “the body is made ill by desire. Indeed, they say, we see the bodies of lovers pale, weak and thin”, and he relates good health to chastity in his conclusion, “men who remain chaste are stronger and bigger than others and pass their lives in better health”.¹⁰³ Rufus from Ephesos, a physician of the 2nd century AD, in his short treatise *On Love*, as preserved in Abu Djafar’s extracts, describes love as a mental disease and suggests sexual intercourse as a treatment for the lovesick.¹⁰⁴ Paulus Aegineta in his treatise *On the Lovers* dated to the 7th century AD observes similar symptoms of bad condition of the eyes, irregular pulse, bad mood and sleeplessness in the lovers.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ See p.108 above.

¹⁰¹ Further discussion of this topic on pp.133, 136 below.

¹⁰² Gal.*Progn.*632.7-8; Nutton (1979) pp.102ff.

¹⁰³ Sor.*Gyn.*1.7.30ff; transl. by Temkin (1991) pp.27ff.

¹⁰⁴ Ruf. Eph.IV.Lov; Daremberg (1963) pp.582-4.

¹⁰⁵ Paul.Aeg.*Lov*; Heiberg (1921) pp.160-1.

Is the victim of the erotic spell a “sinner” and the spell a way of “punishment”?

The “Erotic spell that leads” (IV.1390-1495) is cast by a man against a woman with the help of heroes, or gladiators, or those who died a violent death.

The significant features of the prayer (IV.1405-12) are as follows. First is the description of the bad psychological condition of the user of the spell, “he cries, groans, feels pain in his heart and he is tortured because of her - the victim of the spell”. This is the only case, as far as I know, in the erotic spells that the situation of the user is described with the same eros symptoms as the ones he wants to inflict on the erotic victim.

Secondly, the results of the spell are described in the verb “καρπίζομαι” twice repeated, having the male user of the spell as its object, meaning “make him fruitful”. The male user is “currently” possessed by tortures (βασάνοις) and wishes to reflect these tortures on to the female victim with this spell and make her tortured too (βασανιζομένην). These “tortures” are metaphorical. While the use of “καρπίζομαι” is partly simply erotic, referring to the “fruits” of love, in context it is also an allusion to the mystical and sexual initiation in the mystery cults. In Euripides’ *Bacchae*, for example, it is used in a mystical context in relation to Eros and Dionysus (*Ba.*408). It is used in Euripides’ *Helen* in relation to the Mother goddess (Aphrodite and Dionysus) (*Hel.*1328).¹⁰⁶ This idea of mystical fruitfulness is another version of sex as the mystery of Aphrodite.

Thirdly, noteworthy is the depiction of the female victim as “ungodly and unholy” and so worthy of the eros tortures and sorrows that the user wants to cause her. Thus here the female victim is presented as a sinner and the difficult situation in which the user wants to place her as a just punishment. And both the user and the victim are in different ways required to go through a sort of initiatory “punishment” before they arrive at the “fruit” of love.

In another “Ἀγωγή” (IV.2441-2621) on the same papyrus, the “punishment” of the erotic victim is linked to a literal desecration of the mysteries. The included spell VI.2472-91 is presented by the male user as, “a slander of the defiled and unholy woman, NN” (IV.2475-6). In the formula followed in the justification of the female victim’s slander the user says to Aktiophis, to

¹⁰⁶ For the mystical allusions of καρπός see also Clem.Al.*Protr.*2.14.2.5-6, “ὥς ἀσελγῶν ὑμῖν μορίων ἄξιος γίνεται [Ἀφροδίτη] καρπός”; in association to Christ also in Clem.Al.*Paed.*1.6.41.3.5, “Χριστὸς ὁ τῆς παρθένου καρπός”; fruits were also used in the mysteries, s.v. the rise of the sacred birth of the child out of fruits; s.v. also the epithets of Dionysus “Φλοιός” and “Ἄνθιος”; Harrison (1991) pp.549, 641.

whom the spell is addressed, “for she slandered your holy mysteries to the knowledge of people. She, NN, is the one who says that – not I who says that ‘I have seen the greatest goddess...It is she who said, ‘I saw the goddess drinking blood’. She, NN, said, not I” (IV.2476-85).¹⁰⁷ Here the female victim of the spell is depicted as a sinner, because she revealed the holy mysteries of Aktiophis - assimilated to Ereschigal - to the knowledge of people.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, the included coercive spell (IV.2574-2610) is related to the slander of the female victim, described as “unlawful” (IV.2606).¹⁰⁹ In this spell, there is a detailed reference to the burning sacrifices of the female victim to Aktiophis, which involved “dappled goat’s fat and blood and filth, the menstrual flow of a dead virgin and the heart of one untimely dead and the magical material of a dead dog and a woman’s embryo”, various herbs and the sacrifice of a vulture and a mouse (IV.2574-91). All these human and animal sacrifices were prepared by the female victim for the goddess’s greatest mystery (τὸ σὸν, θεά, μυστήριον μέγιστον) (IV.2591). The accusation of the female victim with respect to the goddess later becomes more revealing of its mystical association and assimilation, when she is accused, “for she said that you slew a man and drank the blood of this man, ate his flesh and that your headband is his entrails and that you have all his skin and put it in your vagina, that you drank the blood of a sea falcon and your food was a dung-beetle” (κτανεῖν γὰρ ἄνθρωπόν σε ἔφη, πιεῖν τὸ δ’ αἷμα τούτου, σάρκας φαγεῖν, μιτρήν τε σὴν εἶναι τὰ ἔντερα αὐτοῦ, καὶ δέρμα ἔχειν δορῆς ἅπαν κεῖς τὴν φύσιν σου θεῖναι, <πεῖν> αἷμα ἰέρακος πελαγίου, τροφήν τε κάνθαρόν σοι) (IV.2593-5). Moreover these acts of Aktiophis are described as “ἄλγη”, “acts of suffering” (IV.2592).¹¹⁰ Here we have an explicit reference to human sacrifices, drinking blood and eating raw flesh (ὠμοφαγία) performed in the mystery cults.¹¹¹ Furthermore, the goddess Aktiophis is assimilated in this spell with Selene, Mene and with “Hermes and Hecate at once, both male and female offspring (ἀρσενόθηλυν ἔρνος)” (IV.2610). This reference here to male-female child is an allusion to the Bacchic and Orphic mysteries and more specifically to the Orphic Eros-Phanes described in the *Orphic Fragments* as both male and female, “ἀρρενόθηλυ”, or “θῆλυς καὶ γενέτωρ”.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ On this formula see also III.114-5; Eitrem (1924) pp.50ff. There may also be influences from Egyptian curse-form texts; c.f. Sethe, op.cit.II.1322-4; Pritchard (1969) p.327; see also Betz (1996) p.83.

¹⁰⁸ The name “Aktiophis” also occurs in IV.2473, 2484, 2601, 2664, 2749, 2913, VII.317, 984, XVI.23; see also chpt.1, p.28, n.200 above.

¹⁰⁹ It is the *Reconstructed Hymn* 19 in Preisendanz (2001) p.255-9.

¹¹⁰ For the mystical allusion of the “ἄλγος” see E.Ba.1260, “ἀλγήσεται ἄλγος δεινόν”.

¹¹¹ See E.Ba.136ff.

¹¹² *Orph.Fr.*56 and 76 (Pl.*Phaedr.*246e); also 80, 81 (Pl.*Tim.*30cd); Kern (1972).

After all these, after the slandering of the victim, when the user expresses his wish to Aktiophis, it is presented as a punishment or curse against the female victim, when he says, "take away her sleep and give her burning in her soul, punishment in her mind and frenzied passion" (IV.2487-92). Similarly, in IV.2574-2610 the user asks Aktiophis to cause the female victim bitter punishments (πικραῖς τιμωρίαις) (IV.2605).

As we have seen, Winkler justifies the alleged "victimisation" of women in the erotic spells as the "exclusive" victims of eros, in contrast to the reality, as a fictional "denial" by men and "transference" of the symptoms of eros to women.¹¹³ But, as these powerful examples illustrate, not only is there here no "denial" of the painful feelings of eros as experienced by men, but also the male user's pain is used as an argument for the same feelings that he wants to inflict on his female victim. What also Winkler describes as "transference" would more precisely be characterised as "reflection" of the feelings of one lover to the other.

The pattern of accusing the female victim is followed in the "Erotic spell that leads an unmanageable (woman)" (VII.593-619), in which the user accuses the female victim of being a sinner, "ungodly", "for she has said...she, NN, has said...I am not the one who says (these things), but she, the ungodly NN". Hence the spell should work as a punishment for the female victim ... until of course she comes to him (VII.610-11).

Finally, going back to our initial investigation of the curse elements in the erotic spells, we may say that, as has been illustrated in the above two sections, the erotic spells examined imply the application of the methods of observation and diagnosis of a disease into the spells. The detailed reference to the bodily and psychological symptoms of the erotic passion to be caused to the victim of the spell reveal the authors/magicians' observation of the eros symptoms on the persons in love. Then we examined the description in specific spells of the victim as a sinner, "ungodly and unholy", and the spell's role as a punishment towards the victim of the spell. Thus in both cases whether the erotic spells were regarded as a punishment or a disease there were curse elements, but we should bear in mind that these spells functioned as a way of leading and uniting the beloved-victim of the spell to the lover-user of the spell. Another important factor that should be taken under consideration was that in these erotic unions the spells worked as a way of reflecting rather than transferring the symptoms of the erotic passion from the user to the victim of the spell.

¹¹³ Winkler in Faraone and Obbink (eds.) (1991) pp.227-8.

What is the significance of the erotic and sexual union depicted in the erotic spells?

The erotic and sexual union which is the goal of the erotic spells is generally depicted in rather explicit terms.

In the “Wondrous love-binding spell” (IV.296-466), the male user expresses the desire that “she may fasten (her) head to (my) head and join together lip to lip and fasten belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit the black¹¹⁴ together with the black” (IV.400-4). The same sexual depiction of the lovers is expressed in the untitled erotic spell XVIIa.1-25, “joining thigh to thigh and belly to belly and her black to my black the most pleasant” (21-3). Similarly in the “Erotic spell that leads by means of fire” (XXXVI.69-101), the male user wishes that his female victim, “may fasten her female genitals to my male one” (XXXVI.81-2). The same formula is used in the following erotic spell by means of fire, XXXVI.102-33 (113-4).

The SM 38, however, combines this explicit terminology with something else. Ammonion binds Theodotis so that she “may draw thigh close to thigh and genitals to genitals for “being together” (συνουσίαν) “always” (ἀεί) (SM 38.12). Here of course ‘being together’ includes the notion of sexual intercourse, but Ammonion is hardly praying for perpetual sexual intercourse. Rather, sexual intercourse is subsumed within a wider and everlasting unity.

Now in Greek philosophy generally sexual intercourse may be a metaphor for the ‘union’ of separate things, or for the aspiration of the soul to the divine, or to immortality. In Plato’s *Symposium*, for example, erotic union between the two sexes is a metaphor for the soul’s aspiration for a mystical union, “one-ness”, and immortality. Hence philosophical texts can use the same erotic vocabulary as erotic texts like the erotic spells under consideration. And both sorts of texts are necessarily concerned with the “union” of two persons or things.¹¹⁵

Among the Neo-Platonist philosophers, Iamblichus develops the Platonic doctrine as follows (*De Mysteriis* IV.12), “the All which draws things together and the reason of their mixing attracts naturally the parts towards mingling with each other” (Τὸ δὲ συναγωγὸν ὅλον καὶ τὸ τῆς συγκράσεως αἴτιον ἔλκει μὲν καὶ αὐτοφυῶς τὰ μέρη πρὸς τὴν ἀλλήλων σύμμειξιν). This

¹¹⁴ LSJ, s.v “τὸ μέλαν”, II.2 gives αἰδοῖον, as it is usually translated, but the reference must surely be to the pubic hair.

¹¹⁵ See e.g. *Smp.*191d; 192e.

συναγωγὸν ὅλον can also be aroused by an art (ἀπὸ τέχνης) and according to Iamblichus is both good and a reason of fulfilment. This force, the so-called συναγωγὸν ὅλον, also defined by Iamblichus as “a factor which co-ordinates community and union (sexual) and symmetry” (κοινωνίας τε καὶ συνόδου καὶ συμμετρίας συναρμοστικόν), puts into the union the indissoluble principle of eros (ἔρωτός τε ἀδιάλυτον ἀρχὴν ἐντίθησι τῇ ἐνώσει).

Moreover, Plotinus explicitly invokes the erotic art of the magicians as a parallel to the Platonic doctrine of the *Symposium*. In *Ennead* 4 (4.4.40.10) he refers to the birth of the power of the erotic art by magic (ἀλκή ἐρωτικῆς διὰ γοητείας τέχνης), based on the notion “that men love by nature and the things that cause loving are drawn to each other” (ὅτι ἐρᾶν πεφύκασι καὶ τὰ ἐρᾶν ποιοῦντα ἔλκει πρὸς ἄλληλα), so that the magicians “apply by contact to different people different substances which bring them together and which have eros inside them” (προστιθέντων ἐπαφαῖς φύσεις ἄλλας ἄλλοις συναγωγούς¹¹⁶ καὶ ἐγκείμενον ἐχούσας ἔρωτα). And this “bringing together” is not merely sexual. According to this notion of attraction, the magicians join one soul to another (4.4.40.19).

We may now return to “being together (συνουσίαν always ἀεί)” (SM38.12). Elsewhere, as we have seen, the Egyptian magicians show influence from Neo-Platonism.¹¹⁷ The phrase συνουσίαν ἀεί seems to combine several elements. First is the notion of οὐσία, the physical essence of somebody. Second, of course, is the notion of ‘intercourse’. Third is the notion of the unity of two essences or substances. Fourth is the notion of ‘always’. Synoptically speaking, the spell seems to show the influence of the theory of love set out in Plato’s *Symposium*, in which there is much emphasis on the search for the ἀεί,¹¹⁸ as interpreted by the Neo-Platonists. The joining-together of two lovers expressed as sexual intercourse is in fact everlasting “consubstantiation”.

According to the Neo-Platonic notion of *attraction*, the magicians join one soul to another. Is this notion too reflected in the PGM spells?

In the “Sword of Dardanos” (IV.1716-1870), the male user invokes the god, “ἐπίστρεψον τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δεῖνα εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα” (IV.1805). O’Neil translates “ἐπίστρεψον” as “turn”,¹¹⁹ but this interpretation is not precise enough. This sentence is included in a spell which is quite distinctive from the

¹¹⁶ Note that συναγωγούς echoes Plato’s συναγωγεὺς (*Smp.*191d), as presumably also does Iamblichus’ συναγωγὸν ὅλον.

¹¹⁷ See e.g. pp.vi-vii, 1-4, 105, etc. above.

¹¹⁸ See. e.g. *Smp.*207a, d; 208a, c.

¹¹⁹ Betz (1996) p.70.

other erotic spells for the following reasons. The user invokes not the daimon of the dead, or any other of the underworld gods or daimons, as is usual in the erotic spells, but Eros himself, describing him as “the author of every creation”, “the creator of all”, and attributing to him cosmic dimensions (IV.1748-1811).¹²⁰ This Eros is associated with the souls and characterised as the one “who breathe into all the souls life-producing reasoning, who fitted everything together by his own power” (IV.1751-5). Similarly, in *On the Three Primary Hypostases*, Plotinus associates the souls with the father god as their source of being and refers to the two ways that someone may make men to *return* (ἐπιστρέψει) to the primary source.¹²¹ Moreover, this spell includes “a rite for acquiring an assistant” (IV.1840-70).¹²² Here the concept of the daimon of a dead person, or any underworld god or daimon, is identified with that of the divine “assistant”. Thus in our sentence, which comes at the end of the prayer-hymn to Eros, the god associated with the souls as the source of life-giving reasoning is invoked as a divine “assistant” to the user of the spell to make the soul of the female lover-victim *return* to the male lover-user, as if to the source of its origins. The relationship between the user and the assistant reinforces and defines the relationship-union between the two lovers. Therefore, the interpretation of “ἐπίστρεψον” as “make/cause to return to” is more precise and fits better in the context of the prayer-hymn to Eros. Again, Neo-Platonist influence is reflected, and again sexual union, while literal, is also a vehicle for the union of separated souls.

How does the almost exclusive use of matronymics function in these erotic unions?

As we have seen, existing scholarship has been much concerned with the social and marital status of the women in the erotic spells.

One particular aspect of this remains to be considered. In the erotic PGM, PDM, SM spells and the *Defixionum Tabellae* the name of the mother of the user and of the victim of the spell is almost always mentioned.¹²³

Why is this the case? Some scholars suggest Egyptian or Babylonian influences.¹²⁴ For example, in most of the erotic spells included in Borghouts’

¹²⁰ See also chpt.1, p.24 above.

¹²¹ Plot.*Enn.*5.1 ἐπιστρέψει; cf. also Procl.*Inst.*144.9-10, “καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ πρὸ τῶν μέσων ὡσαύτως, καὶ πρὸ τῶν πρώτων”; also Procl.*Inst.*39, 158.

¹²² See also chpt.2, p.81 above.

¹²³ There are two exceptions: (1) DT 198 (also in DTA, p.XV); (2) SM 47.8; see also Kambitsis (1976) p. 221; also Youtie and Bonner (1937) p. 48.

¹²⁴ E.g. Wilcken (1901) pp.423-5; Lewy (1931) pp.189-93; Bonnet (1952) pp.880-1; Jordan (1976) p.130, n.8.

edition of the “Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts” the name of the mother of the victim is mentioned.¹²⁵ The practice of mentioning the mother’s name of the victim or the user also appears in the Jewish erotic spells contained in the *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries*.¹²⁶ Ogden suggests among various explanations the fact that “maternal parentage was much more secure than paternal (*pater incertus, mater certa*)”.¹²⁷ Similarly, Tataki in her study of the names of the 1st to the 3rd century AD in the “Macedonian Edessa: Prosopography and Onomasticon” explains the high frequency of the matronymics to describe the origins of individuals by the possibility that they were “illegitimate children”.¹²⁸ Ogden also argues that matronymics can be explained as an “example of magic’s preference for the countercultural”, justifying it as an adoption from slave custom, according to which slaves used to identify themselves by their mothers.¹²⁹

This “countercultural” explanation does not really represent the way magic as a system is organized and functions within society, or the magicians’ ways of legitimising its structure. In the definition of the term *πάρεδρος* as the divine “assistant” in the PGM, for example, we have seen the magicians appropriating an established religious or political term.¹³⁰ The use of terms originally derived from the mystery cults to describe magic, the magicians, the initiate, or the uninitiated, such as “*μυστήριον*”, “*μύστης*”, “*μυσταγωγός*”, “*συμμύστης*” and “*ἀμυστηρίαστος*”, also reveal the magicians’ attempts to assimilate magic to the established mysteries.¹³¹ Indeed, this “normalisation” of magic promotes the psychological efficacy of the spells and rituals.

It is hard to assess the validity of the other explanations for the almost exclusive use of matronymics. Another possibility, however, deserves to be explored.

Several of the erotic spells explicitly mention the womb. For example, in the untitled erotic female homosexual spell XXXII.1-19 the female user, Ἡραεῖς, “ἦν ἔτεκεν Θερμοῦθα[ρῖν μήτ]ρα αὐτῆς”, wants to bind “Σαραπιᾶδ[α], ἦν

¹²⁵ Spells 1-4 in Borghouts (1978) pp.1-2.

¹²⁶ *Sepher Ha-Razim: The first Firmanent* 145ff, 150ff, 165ff and *The Second Firmanent* 30ff; Morgan (1983) pp.35-7, 45.

¹²⁷ Ogden et al. (eds.) (1999) pp.61-2; this suggestion was already made in Wünsch (1912); Jordan (1976) p.130, n.8; Martinez (1991) p.56, l.7.

¹²⁸ For the use of matronymics in Ancient Macedonia see Tataki, (1994) pp.90, 94, 97; Tataki (1980) pp.1453-71; Tataki (1998).

¹²⁹ Ogden et al. (eds.) (1999) pp.61-2.

¹³⁰ See pp.73ff. above.

¹³¹ See p.7, n.35 above, etc.

ἔτεκεν <Ἑλένη> εἰδία μήτρα” (XXXII.8-18). Here the maternal identity of both the user and the victim is emphasised by the role of womb. To the Greek mind, μήτηρ and μήτρα must be etymologically connected, and here the implicit etymology is clear.¹³² Similarly, in a DT from a tomb in Cirta, instead of the name of the mother, we find the expression “q(uem) p(eperit) vulva” (DT 300).¹³³ Similarly, in SM 43 the reference to the maternal origins of the female victim is expressed as, “ἦν ἔτεκεν μήτρα Εὐα” (SM 43.7). In the same way the womb is identified with woman in PDM xiv.335-55, where the male user wants praise, love and respect, “before every womb, every woman” (PDM xiv.353).¹³⁴

In these examples, the mention of the womb emphasises such things as genetic descent, physical essence and physical intimacy. A Jewish parallel is found in an erotic spell of the *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries*, where the user adjures the angels of favor and knowledge to turn a woman to him, using a simile of a woman and her infant in her belly, “just as a woman will return to the infant of her womb, so this NN will return to me to love me from this day and forever”.¹³⁵ In general, Eastern love literature contains some very explicit references to the womb. The lover-user of an Egyptian erotic spell, for example, very vividly says, “I will enter your belly as a fly and then I will see your belly from its inside”.¹³⁶ In the oldest surviving Mesopotamian erotic spell written in Akkadian from the twenty-fourth century BC the user refers to his “seizure” of the female victim’s vulva as, “I have seized your urine-yielding vulva”.¹³⁷ Moreover, we also find symbolic uses of the womb in the magical rituals, as for example in the “Erotic spell that leads an unmanageable person (woman)” (XXXVI.361-71), in which “the blood of the womb of a silurus (a river fish)” is used in the ritual preparations (XXXVI.362).¹³⁸ Here also the notion is of the female physical essence.

¹³² In the untitled erotic spell XVI.1-75, we even find the word “μήτρα” in the compound name of Sarapion’s mother called Πασάμητρα.

¹³³ In “...ento demando tibi ut ac[c]eptu[m] h[ab]eas [S]ilvanu[m] q[ue] puulva[m] fac[I]as et custodias”, DT 300B1-2; for the interpretation see Jordan (1976) pp.127-32.

¹³⁴ Transl. from the Demotic Egyptian by Johnson in Betz (1996) p.215; note also the use of βαυβώ meaning κοιλία (Emp.Fr.153) as an epithet to various goddesses, e.g. II.33, IV.1257, 2195, 2712, V.423, VII.681, 692, 886, 926, XIII.926.

¹³⁵ Transl. by Morgan (1983) p.35.

¹³⁶ Spell 3 in Borghouts (1978) p2.

¹³⁷ Leick (2003) p.195.

¹³⁸ The word “μήτρα” is also found in the compound “λωτομήτραν” meaning “fruit pulp of the lotus” (III.333). The mention of “λωτομήτρα” as a magical ingredient in the ritualistic preparations reveals Egyptian influence; see also “λωτομήτρας σπέρμα” (IV.755) “λωτομήτρας” (IV.3005); for the lotus see pp.7, 9 above.

But there are also deeper associations. In the erotic spell called “Pudenda key spell” (Φυσικλείδιον) (XXXVI.283-94), instead of references to the user as *ὁ δεῖνα* and to the victim as *ἡ δεῖνα*, we find the expressions, “μήτρα τῆς δῖνα” and “τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ δεῖνα” (XXXVI.286-7). In this erotic spell the womb is directly addressed and connected with memory.¹³⁹ We have already examined the “[Connection with] Helios” spell (III.494-611), where the creator of all is described as the “womb of all knowledge”, and there are addresses to “o womb pregnant through the father’s begetting” and “o eternal continuation of the pregnant father” (III.603-7).¹⁴⁰ Again, in VIII.1-63 Hermes is invoked to come to the user, “as fetus come to the wombs of women” (VIII.2), as an internal process of establishing knowledge within the user.¹⁴¹ Here as elsewhere sex is associated with knowledge,¹⁴² even philosophical knowledge.

How does the factor of power “in time” define the individuals in these erotic unions?

Another important relationship that should be examined in regard to the erotic unions as described in the spells is that of power in time. In the “Wondrous love-binding spell” (IV.296-466) - which has so often been used throughout this chapter to illustrate various different things - the user wishes that the daimon of the dead person may bind the woman, “for all the time of my life” (*εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου*) and force her to be “of service” to him and not to skip away from him, “not even one hour of (my) life” (*ὥραν μίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος*) (IV.380-3).

This concept of the subordination of the love-victim in time is present in many erotic spells. In “Another erotic spell that leads” (IV.2708-84), for example, the male user binds the female victim to come to his house, “subdued in heart by eros’ strong necessity” (IV.2761-2). Similarly in “Klaudianus’ Lunar spell” (VII.862-918), the male user invokes Selene, so that “she may lead and subdue (the female victim) on this very day, on this very night” (VII.907-8). The period also of the effect of this erotic spell is defined as, “for all the time of her life” (VII.913-4).

¹³⁹ E.g. “σοὶ λέγω, μήτρα τῆς δῖνα”, “σὺ δέ, μήτρα, μνημόνευέ μου εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς μου χρόνον, ὅτο ἐγὼ εἰμι Ακαρναχθας” (XXXVI.289-90); notice also in the spell called “Πρὸς μήτρας ἀναδρομήν”, the adjuration, “ἐξορκίζω σε, μήτραν <κατὰ τοῦ> κατασταθέντος ἐπὶ τῆς αβύσσου...” (VII.260-2).

¹⁴⁰ Also “ὦ μήτρα κυηφόρε ἐν πατρὸς φυτεία”, “ὦ πατρὸς κυηφοροῦντος αἰώνιος διαμονή” (III.604); see pp.102ff. above; see also Barb (1953) pp.193-238; on the exorcism of the womb in a Greek gold *lamella* from Beirut dated from the 1st BC to the 1st c. AD see Kotansky (1994) pp.265-9; see also Aubert (1989) pp.421-49.

¹⁴¹ See chpt.3, p.101 above.

¹⁴² For the association of sex and knowledge see also chpt.3, pp.102-3 above.

The female users demand the subjugation of the male victims in similar terms as well, as for example in the untitled erotic spell XV.1-21, in which Capitolina invokes the daimons to bind Nilos, so that he may love her and be “in every way her attendant/follower” and “inseparable” from her every hour and every day, “for all the time of his life” (XV.3, 12, 21). Domitiane also in DT 271 invokes “the daimonion spirit”, adjuring it to the “great god”, “to make Ourbanos to be subdued to her, loving her as a slave” “for all the time of their life” (DT 271.42-7).

This “subjugation” formula is also found in the erotic spells included in the *Supplementum Magicum*. In SM 38, for example, Ammonion binds Theodotis to have sexual intercourse with him, “having been enslaved, driven mad, flying through the air asking for Ammonion”, “for the whole time of her life” (εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς (SM 38.10-12). In SM 46 Posidonios invokes the daimon of a dead person to make Heronous “inseparable” from him until death, in order to have her “subdued” “for all the time of my life” (SM 46.24-6).¹⁴³

Expressions such as “εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον”, “ἕως ὅτου εἰς Αἶδην ἀφίκηται”, “εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον”, “μέχρι θανάτου”, are repeated in other erotic spells as well.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, this notion of erotic passion and sexual intercourse “for ever” is curtailed in the “Laudable love spell” (LXI.1-38/PDM lxi.159-96), in which there are instructions for stopping and releasing the victim (ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς αὐτὴν παῦσαι¹⁴⁵... καὶ εὐθέως [ἀ]παλλαγῇσεται) (LXI.33-8/PDM lxi.176-80). In another erotic spell, CI.1-53 (/SM 45), the time of the effect of the spell is limited to ten months from the date the spell is cast, “for the period of ten months from today, which is Hathyr the 25th of the 2nd indiction” (ἐπὶ χρόνων μηνῶν δέκα ἀπὸ σήμερον, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀθὺρ κε β

¹⁴³ The same pattern in relation to subjugation and time is followed in SM47 as well (SM47.26, “ὑποτεταγμένην εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου). In SM50 (/SGD156) the daimon of a dead person is invoked to make Matrona “be subdued” (ὑποταγῆναι) to Theodoros, be “obedient” to him (ὑπήκοον) and “inseparable” to him (ἀχώριστον “αὐτὸν” ποιήσον) “until death, night and day, every hour of her life” (μέχρι θανάτου νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέραις, πάσα ὥρα τοῦ αἰῶνος) (SM.50. 23-32, 66-9); in the phrase, “ἀχώριστον αὐτὸν ποιήσον”, “αὐτὸν” is for “αὐτὴν” (Matrona); Jordan (1988b) p.246, n.3. Similarly in SM 39, Ptolemaios binds Aplonous to be “obedient” (ἐπήκοός) to him “for all time” (εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον) (SM 39.5-6, 13, 17).

¹⁴⁴ E.g. VII.649-51, XIc.6-12, XVI.6-8, LXI.17-19/PDM lxi.157-9, SM 48.25, SM 49.4-5, 79-80.

¹⁴⁵ Bell et al. ed. have “παῦσε”, which is surely better; Bell, Nock and Thompson (1933) pp.20 and 38.

<ι>νδικ(τίωνος) CI.1-53 (/SM 45.36-7).¹⁴⁶ The date that a spell is cast is itself very rarely mentioned in the spells.¹⁴⁷

As examined, the issue of power, meaning subordination in relation to time, which lasts in most cases for the lifetime of the user, or the victim of the spell, is important in the erotic-sexual unions as described in the erotic spells. The issue of power in the sense of subordination for as long as the spell is effective has already been illuminated in another relationship, that of the magician with the πάρεδρος, the divine “assistant”.¹⁴⁸ In fact, in two cases the concept of πάρεδρος, which defines the relationship of the magician with the divine, overlaps with that of the νεκυδαίμων, the daimon of a dead person, which defines the relationship/union of the lovers. These two spells are the “Sword of Dardanos” (IV.1716-1870), in which the male user invokes Eros to become his πάρεδρος and bind and erotically and sexually lead the female victim to him, and the “Klaudianus’ Lunar spell” (VII.862-918), in which the male user invokes Selene the Egyptian to send a sacred angel or “holy assistant”, “πάρεδρον ὅσ<ι>ον”, to bind and lead with eros and passion his female victim. In both the erotic spells and the “πάρεδρος” spells the issue of power characterises both relationships, whether this is interpreted as subordination of the love-victim, or of the divine assistant as a medium to the divine. In any case it is the power of the individual who is the user of the spell.

Now let us examine the issue of power from another perspective. Eros in the “The Sword of Dardanos” (IV.1716-1870) as well as in the “Eros as an assistant (π[ά]ρεδρος)” (XII.14-95) is described as a personified deity invoked by the magician to be the πάρεδρος and described as a cosmic deity, or master of the forms, or even identified with the Egyptian god Harpocrates.¹⁴⁹ Eros has also been analysed, in the untitled spell for dream revelation (VII.478-90), in relation to the concept of personal daimon as a deity invoked to send the magician’s *personal daimon*.¹⁵⁰ Both the aforementioned cases refer to the mystical relationships/unions of the magician with the divine, either described as an external divine assistance first established by the magician through the magical ritual and spell, or as the personal daimon, conceptualising an internal agent, and so defining an internal process of identification with the divine and so determining the self-definition of the

¹⁴⁶ Betz comments on it that the period of ten lunar months was the expected pregnancy period; Betz (1996) p.308, n.14.

¹⁴⁷ For example in XXVIIa.1-7, “on the 15th day of Pachon” and SM.52, “the 26th”; see also Daniel and Maltomini (1990) p.172.

¹⁴⁸ See chpt.2 above.

¹⁴⁹ See chpt.1, pp.21ff; chpt.2, p.81 above.

¹⁵⁰ See chpt.3, pp.98ff above.

individual. Divinisation of the individual,¹⁵¹ or identification with the divine,¹⁵² which characterise the *πάρεδρος* and the personal daimon relationships, is achieved through knowledge of the divine and of the self. Now, going back to the erotic/sexual unions, we realise that there is a standard factor common to all the erotic spells, which is the knowledge of the name of the mother of both the user and the victim of the spell. The accuracy of this knowledge defines the power of the user over this union. The association of womb with knowledge is illuminated, as already examined, in the assimilation of the divine to the “womb of all knowledge”, “μήτρα πάσης γνώσεως” (III.494-611). The goal of all three types of spells, the *paredros*, personal daimon and erotic spells, is union. The goal of the first two types of spells is mystical union. This is also an element of the erotic unions. In all three cases this union is achieved by the power that derives from knowledge. These factors raise a question about the real significance of the gender issues in the erotic spells.

Conclusions

This chapter began by examining various important issues about the erotic spells, as raised by modern scholarship. Most of these are gender and social issues, but they also raise profound questions about how the magicians view erotic passion.

I tested the modern orthodoxy that the users of the erotic spells were overwhelmingly male and that consequently there is a discrepancy between the situation in the *PGM*, which presumably overlooks the reality, and Greek and Roman literature, where, allegedly, women are represented as the main practitioners of erotic magic.

The evidence revealed that the great majority (92 out of 105) of *PGM* spells use the *deina* formula, which can be quite flexible, applied both to men and to women. Nor is the evidence of Greek and Roman literature as one-sided as generally assumed. Consequently, neither the claim that men were overwhelmingly the users of erotic spells nor the claim that there is a great discrepancy between real life and the world of literature is soundly based.

Then I examined the question of who were the women-victims of the erotic spells. Were they, as some modern scholars allege, the well-protected and

¹⁵¹ As described in: I.1-42, “A daimon comes as an assistant”, I.42-195, “Spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant”, XII.14-95, “Eros as an assistant”, LVII.1-37; see chpt.2, pp.75ff; chpt.1, pp.21ff. above

¹⁵² As in III.612-31, VIII.1-63.

“guarded” maidens of “good families” “usually living in their natal home”? A close examination of the *PGM*, *PDM*, *SM* and *Defixionum Tabellae* erotic spells has shown that many erotic spells directed against women describe them as sexually active, with a high level of sexual freedom and experience, or being married, or even engaged in prostitution.

I was also concerned with the investigation of the goal of erotic magic. Was it “a permanent union that is marriage”? And could a useful distinction be made between ἀγωγαί and φίλτροκατάδεσμοι on the one hand and φίλτρα on the other? The examination of the *PGM* and of the extensive comparative material did not support a sense of categorisation between spells inducing ἔρως or spells inducing φιλία. The evidence clearly showed that, with only two exceptions, the purpose of practicing erotic magic was not marriage. Instead, the goal of erotic magic was a union between the user and the victim of the erotic spell, described as “erotic passion, love, sexual intercourse, love and affection”, “ἔρως, φιλία, συνουσία, ἀγάπη, στοργή”.

With regard to the curse elements within the erotic spells, I examined the question of whether the erotic passion is described in some spells as a disease to be inflicted on the erotic victim. The answer was affirmative. Indeed, the magicians show knowledge of scientific methods of observation and diagnosis parallel to that of physicians, who themselves treat erotic passion as a disease. Also with regard to the curse elements within the erotic spells, I examined the ways in which the victim is sometimes depicted as a “sinner” and the spell a way of “punishment”. This kind of representation suggests analogies between erotic passion and mystical initiation.

I then discussed the significance of the erotic and sexual “union” of the individuals. I concluded that this union is sometimes conceived in philosophical terms, representing the union of separated souls. I found philosophical influence here from Plato’s *Symposium* and from the Neo-Platonists.

I was also concerned with the function of the almost exclusive use of matronymics in these erotic unions. Among various possible explanations, I particularly emphasised the association of the use of matronymics with the womb and the importance of the connection between the womb and knowledge.

I also examined how the erotic spells characterize the union as a power relationship in which the eros victim is to be completely subordinated to the user in time.

A final question may be raised here. Why did people use the erotic spells, rather than expressing their erotic passion directly to the person they were in love with? In a moment of emotional crisis the individuals are weaker than any structural system real or symbolical. The use of the erotic spell plays an important psychologically therapeutic role for the user, since in that way the individual admits his/her erotic passion and places it in a secure net of a magico-erotic ritual: the spell and action. So the ritual – the spell and action - works as a liberating way for the individual in an erotic crisis.

CONCLUSION

Synoptically speaking, could the idealising definition of magic given by the Neo-Platonist philosopher Plotinus, as “the love and the strife again in the all”, based on the Pre-Socratic Empedocles’ concept of “Love” and “Strife”,¹ and Plotinus’ further explanation of how magic works, “indeed by sympathy and by the fact that there is by nature a concord of the things alike and opposition of the different things, and by the *diversity* of the *many powers* which contribute to the *one* living being”,² be derived from our investigation of the ritual actions and spells in the PGM?

This investigation was focused, as I set out the objectives of this thesis in the introduction, on the examination of the various identifications of the divine, the relationship between the *πάρεδρος* and the divine, those between the individuals and the divine, between the individuals and themselves, and of the individuals with each other. I also aimed at the examination of the notion of diversity and unity in regard to these relationships/unions, seeking philosophical, religious and mystical correlations and testing their influence on the spells.

The concept of diversity and unity was first examined in the first chapter on the “Religious Identities and Identifications of the Gods”. These identifications of the gods, as analysed in this chapter, functioned on many levels, initially involving gods from a religious system itself and then involving the comparison between two or more polytheistic systems. These identification processes also functioned between polytheistic and monotheistic systems.

These religious identifications of the gods, as expressed in the notion of “*many-namedness*” and the characteristic of the “*many-formedness*” of *one* god, who can assume various forms of other gods, or other animals, suggested, as I first argued in that chapter, philosophical influences from the Neo-Platonist philosophers on the idea of the “*one* which is at the same time *also many*”, or “that *manifold one* having the *many* in *one*”.³ I adopted such influences as a working hypothesis to be tested throughout the thesis. I believe that by the end of the thesis a credible cumulative argument has been made. The main significance of these Neo-Platonic philosophical conceptions

¹ Plot.*Enn.*IV.40.6-7; Emp.*Fr.*17.1-13, 19-20.

² Plot.*Enn.*IV.40.1-4.

³ Plot.*Enn.*6.2.2.2ff; also Iamb.*Myst.*VII.3.

on the notion of “*one-ness*” as transcending perceptible *plurality* is that they translate in the religious sphere into a tendency towards monotheism.

This monotheistic tendency is further supported by the identification of the abstract concepts, as for example that of Aion with the god-creator of all, or with different Greek, Egyptian and Jewish gods, or with other abstract concepts, which reveals an attempt at appropriating to a single concept of Eternity many and various gods from different religious systems.

In the second chapter, I examined the notion of diversity and unity in the concept of *πάρεδρος* and in the relationship between the magician and the *πάρεδρος*. I showed that the definition of *πάρεδρος* as “an assistant daimon” was far too restrictive and that the basic term of “assistant” covers a very wide range of “assistants”, including different types of daimons, the spirit of a dead person, or the spirit of the man who died a violent death, a god (Eros), a god or a goddess, revealed to the magician as an angel, an image, or a human form. The term may further refer to the very concept of divine assistance, the actual process of conceptualising the divine, or even to the spell which activates the assistance. The examination of a particular application of the term to a god or a goddess, revealed in various forms (an angel, an image, or a human form), together with the problems that arose from the use of the terms “god” and “angel” in the same context, revealed serious theological and indeed philosophical concerns on the part of the magicians, or of the authors of the spells, about the relationship between a god and his or her various transformable forms and hence about the exact determination of divinity.

In the same chapter the notion of unity was examined in the relationship between the magician and the *assistant*. This relationship is initially an external one, established first with a ritualistic process of reciting spells and practicing rituals that the magician should follow in order to receive the *assistant*. But there are further implications of this relationship. The divine “assistant” could also be used as a medium in the relationship-union between the magician and the god. In that case, the process of receiving the *πάρεδρος* is transformed into an internal process of the mystical transformation of the individual magician, which is expressed in the equation between the magician and the god as defined by identification, between the magician and the assistant and between the assistant and the god.

In the third chapter, the idea of diversity and unity was examined in the relationship between the individual and his *personal daimon*. The *personal daimon* conceptualised an essentially internal agent, assimilated to the

individual's soul or destiny, although in some cases there was a slight degree of externality, in the case of the individual's shadow, or in the description of the process as "communication", or in the notion of "*sending* the personal daimon". This relationship between the individual and his *personal daimon* was further focused on the philosophical and religio-mystical internalisation of the divine by the individual, illustrated in the magician's tendency to assimilate himself with the divine through the mystical factor of his personal knowledge of the forms and the names of the divine.

Finally, in the fourth chapter on "Eros as a Passion in the Erotic Spells", the concept of diversity and unity was investigated in the erotic unions of the individuals. These unions were examined in relation to gender and social issues. The factor of diversity was illustrated in the gender relationships of these unions. I also showed that these human unions could in some spells be interpreted according to philosophical and mystical conceptions, whose purpose was to emphasise a deeper notion of unity, of "oneness", between humans, as if between humans and the divine, or between humans and themselves. I finally emphasised the factor of power for the individual (user of the spell) within these unions.

Thus the goal of all three types of spells, the *paredros*, *personal daimon* and erotic spells, is union. In the first two types of spells it is mystical union with the gods. This is also an element of the erotic unions. In all three cases this union is achieved by the power that derives from knowledge.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

List of PGM and PDM

Table 1

<i>Preisendanz (2001)</i> <i>vol.I</i>	PGM I-VI
<i>Preisendanz (2001)</i> <i>vol.II</i>	PGM VII-LXXXI
<i>Betz (1996)</i> <i>(in translation)</i>	PGM I-LXXXI PDM xii PDM xiv PDM lxi PGM LXXXII-CXXX PDM Supplement

PGM AND PDM HANDBOOKS

Table 2

<i>PGM (Preisendanz (2001) vol.I; Betz (1996)):</i>		
PGM I	1-347	(No title) Magical Handbook (4 th /5 th c. AD)
PGM II	1-183	(No title) Magical Handbook (4 th c. AD)
PGM III	1-731	(No title) Magical Handbook (4 th c. AD)
PGM IV	1-3274	(No title) Magical Handbook (4 th c. AD)
PGM V	1-489	(No title) Magical Handbook (4 th c. AD?)
<i>PGM (Preisendanz (2001) vol.II; Betz (1996)) and PDM (Betz (1996)):</i>		
PGM VII	1-1026	(No title) Magical Handbook (3 rd /4 th c. AD)
PGM XII /PDM xii	1-495 1-164	(No title) Magical Handbook (4 th c. AD) PDM xii.1-49 PGM XII.1-444 PDM xii.50-164: PGM XII.445-95
PGM XIII	1-1077	“A sacred book called ‘Unique’, or ‘Eighth Book of Moses’” (4 th c. AD)
PGM XIV /PDM xiv	a, b, c 1-1227	(No title) Magical Handbook (3 rd c. AD) PDM xiv.1-92 PDM xiv.93-114: PGM XIVa.1-11 PDM xiv.115-450 PDM xiv.451-8: PGM XIVb.12-15 PDM xiv.459-674 PDM xiv.675-94: PGM XIVc.16-27 PDM xiv.695-1227

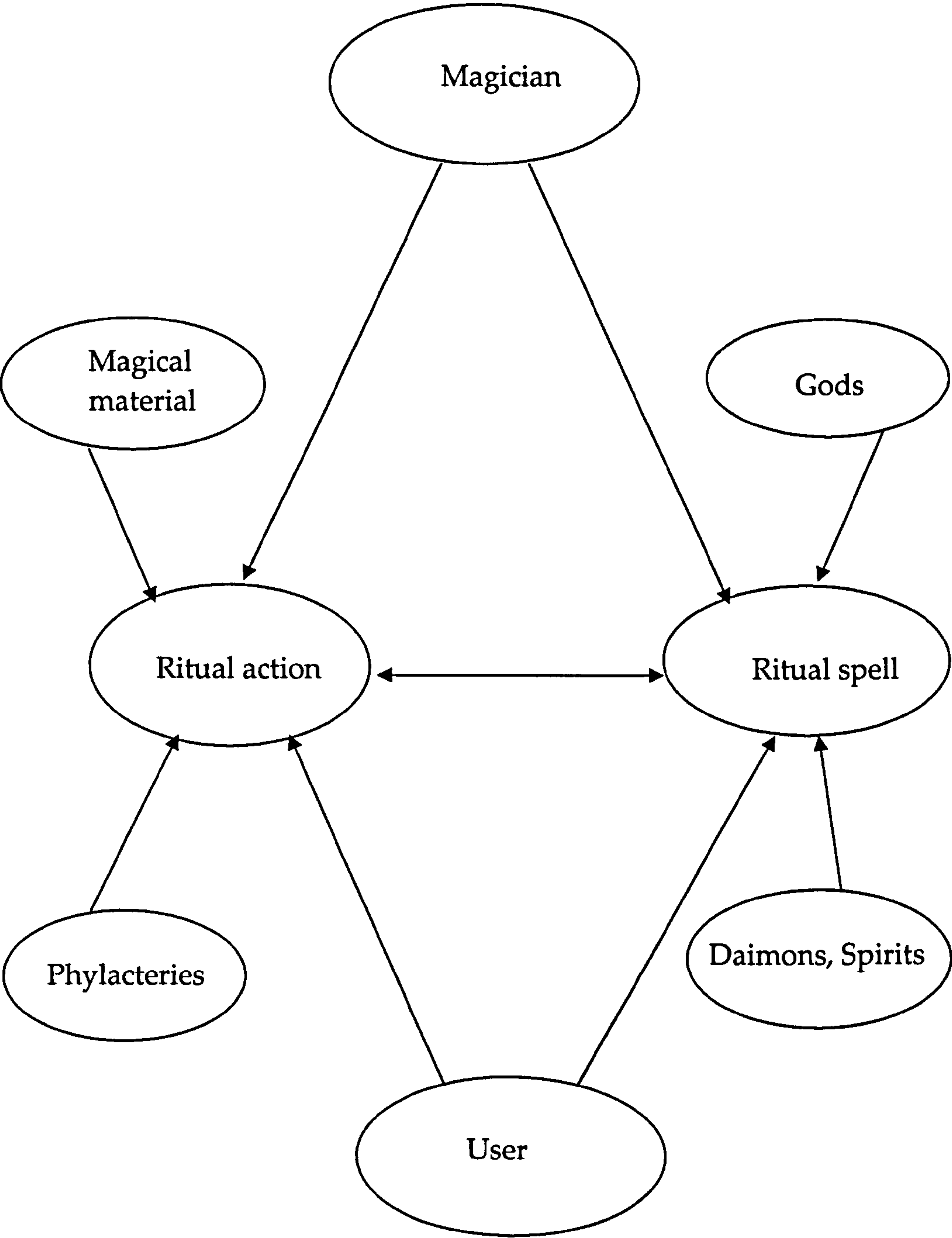
PGM AND PDM TEXTS:

Table 3

Bilingual Magical handbooks in Greek and Demotic Egyptian (4th c. AD): PGM (Preisendanz (2001) vol.II; Betz (1996)) and PDM (Betz (1996))		
<i>PGM XII</i> <i>/PDM xii</i>	1-495 1-164	(No title) Magical Handbook <i>PDM xii.1-49</i> <i>PGM XII.1-444</i> <i>PDM xii.50-164: PGM XII.445-95</i>
<i>PGM XIV</i> <i>/PDM xiv</i>	a, b, c 1-1227	(No title) Magical Handbook <i>PDM xiv.1-92</i> <i>PDM xiv.93-114: PGM XIVa.1-11</i> <i>PDM xiv.115-450</i> <i>PDM xiv.451-8: PGM XIVb.12-15</i> <i>PDM xiv.459-674</i> <i>PDM xiv.675-94: PGM XIVc.16-27</i> <i>PDM xiv.695-1227</i>
Bilingual Magical texts in Greek and Demotic Egyptian (3rd c. AD): PGM (Preisendanz (2001) vol.II; Betz (1996)) and PDM (Betz (1996))		
<i>PGM LXI</i> <i>/PDM lxi</i>	1-71 1-216	<i>PDM lxi.1-42</i> <i>PDM lxi.43-8: PGM LXI.i-v (not in Preisendanz)</i> <i>PDM lxi.49-57</i> <i>PDM lxi.58-62: PGM LXI.vi-x (not in Preisendanz)</i> <i>PDM lxi.63-158</i> <i>PDM lxi.159-216: PGM LXI.1-71</i>

APPENDIX 2

The Magical Operation
(πραΐξις, πραγματεία, οἰκονομία, μυστήριον)



APPENDIX 3

PGM HYMNS¹

<i>Hymn 1</i>	<i>To the creator of all</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM XII.244-252
<i>Hymn 2</i>	<i>To the creator of all</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM III.550-558
<i>Hymn 3</i>	<i>To Helios</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM IV.939-948
<i>Hymn 4</i>	<i>To Helios</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM IV.436-461(A), 1957-1989(B), VIII.74-81(C), I.315-325(D)
<i>Hymn 5</i>	<i>To Helios and to the gods of all</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM III.198-229
<i>Hymn 6</i>	<i>To Typhon</i> (Iambic trimeter)	PGM IV.179-201
<i>Hymn 7</i>	<i>To Typhon</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM IV.261-273
<i>Hymn 8</i>	<i>To Apollo</i> (Iambic pentameter)	PGM I.296f
<i>Hymn 9</i>	<i>To Apollo</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM II.2-7
<i>Hymn 10</i>	<i>To Apollo</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM VI.22-38
<i>Hymn 11</i>	<i>To Apollo and to Apollo-Helios</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM II.81-101, 133-140, 163-6
<i>Hymn 12</i>	<i>To Apollo and Daphne</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM III.234-258
<i>Hymn 13</i>	<i>To Daphne</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM VI.6-21
<i>Hymn 14</i>	<i>To Daphne</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM VI.40-47
<i>Hymns 15/16</i>	<i>To Hermes</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM V.400-420(A 1-15), VII.668-680(B 1-12), XVIIb (C 1-23)
<i>Hymn 17</i>	<i>To Hekate-Selene-Artemis</i> (Iambic trimeter)	PGM IV.2242-2417

¹ As they are reconstructed in Preisendanz (2001) Vol.II, pp.237-66; some of these hymns are included in the Appendix of Abel's edition of the "Orphica" under the title "Hymni Magici"; Abel (1885) pp.286-95.

<i>Hymn 18</i>	<i>To Hekate-Selene-Artemis</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM IV.2786-2870
<i>Hymn 19</i>	<i>To Hekate-Selene-Artemis</i> (Iambic tetrameter acatalectic)	PGM IV.2574-2610, 2643-74
<i>Hymn 20</i>	<i>To Hekate-Selene-Artemis</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM IV.2522-2567
<i>Hymn 21</i>	<i>To Hekate-Selene-Artemis</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM IV.2714-2783
<i>Hymn 22</i>	<i>To Aphrodite</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM IV.2902-2939
<i>Hymn 23</i>	<i>To the gods of all</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM I.297-314, 342-345
<i>Hymn 24</i>	<i>To the gods of all</i> from Julius Africanus' <i>Kestoi</i> 18.20 (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM XXIII.25-43
<i>Hymn 25</i>	<i>To the underworld deities</i> (Iambic trimeter)	PGM IV.1399-1434
<i>Hymn 26</i>	<i>To the underworld deities</i> (Dactylic hexameter)	PGM IV.1459-1469
<i>HISTORIOLOAE MAGICAE</i>		
<i>Hist. Mag. 27</i>	(Dactylic hexameter)	PGM IV.1471-1479
<i>Hist. Mag. 28</i>	(Dactylic hexameter)	PGM XX.6-20
<i>Hist. Mag. 29</i>	(Trochaic and Cretic) ²	PGM XXIX
<i>Hist. Mag. 30</i>	(Iambic trimeter)	PGM IX.12-13

² Betz (1996) p.266; also Powell (1925) pp.195-6.

APPENDIX 4

HOMERIC LINES COPIED IN PGM

<i>Rhaps.</i>	<i>ODYSSEY, lines</i>	<i>ODYSSEY, lines [PGM VII: HOMER ORACLE]</i>
1.		302, 356, 65
2.		329, 273
3.		115, 117, 216, 196
4.	458	607, 688, 685
5.		208,38, 346, 220
6.		201, 244
7.	332	65, 35, 30, 64, 76
8.		329, 244, 466
9.	75	137
10.	513-4, 1753	495
11.	34-43, 48-50, 51, 588	358, 366, 80, 224, 456, 443, 427, 278
12.		342
13.		308, 339, 421
14.		161
15.		344, 128
16.		19, 72, 79, 81
17.		244, 66, 550
18.		10, 176
19.		306, 360
20.		316, 355, 237
21.		214, 180, 310, 293, 257, 288, 133, 207, 236, 129, 180, 209, 339,369, 196, 212, 342, 363, 202, 322, 156
22.		412
23.		7, 26
24.		19
<i>Rhaps.</i>	<i>ILIAD, lines</i>	<i>ILIAD, lines [PGM VII: HOMER ORACLE]</i>
1.	75, 96, 37-38	212, 542
2.	548	101, 204, 325, 24, 66, 200
3.	278-80, 40, 445	41, 65, 51, 255, 57
4.	141	26, 443, 101, 62, 264, 95, 412, 161, 264, 362, 320
5.	385	899, 654, 83, 408, 218, 740, 218, 127, 413
6.	25	441, 264, 432, 326
7.	741	360
8.	486, 424	94, 246, 282, 299, 413
9.		120, 385, 378, 482, 43, 310, 698, 137, 598, 133, 120
10.	193, 39-41, 521, 564, 572	303, 294, 71, 383, 447

11.		371, 69, 125, 789, 654
12.		234, 243, 216, 173, 412, 234
13.	437	
14.		80, 81, 212, 110, 53
15.	412	203, 52, 129
16.		250, 282, 91
17.	714	201, 197
18.		328, 134, 128, 328, 329, 10, 535, 463, 121, 117
19.		138, 107, 185, 189, 176, 119, 139, 138, 175
20.	215-16	250, 242
21.		21, 223, 474
22.		513, 393, 79, 268, 484, 219, 50, 185, 348, 13, 263, 495
24.	530-33	725, 726, 602, 363, 369, 203

APPENDIX 5

“PGM New Epithets”

Epithets found only in the <i>PGM</i> according to <i>LSJ</i>	
<i>Hymn 17, “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis”</i> (IV.2242-2417)	
IV.2242: ταρταροῦχε Also IV.2294: ταρταρούχου (Κερβέρου) IV.2325: ταρταροῦχε IV.2334: τῆς ταρταρούχου (and LXX.10-11: [τ]ῆς ταρταρούχου)	ταρταροῦχος, -ον: controlling Tartarus
IV.2242-3: φωτοπλήξ	φωτοπλήξ, ό, ή: smiting with rays of light (<i>LSJ</i> : πλήσσει/ττω: strike)
IV.2250: ἰσοπάρθενος (κύων)	ἰσοπάρθενος, -ον: resembling a maiden
IV.2261-2: ἐν ἣ προλυσσᾶ Κέρβερος κεραύνοπλος	προλυσσᾶω (ν): advance raging κεραύνοπλος, ό: armed with the thunderbolt
IV.2266: δαιδάλη	δαιδάλη, ή: cunning (<i>LSJ</i> : δαιδάλεος, -α, -ον: cunning)
IV.2267: θυμάνδρεια	θυμάνδρεια, ή: brave, valiant
IV.2272: ἰνδαλίμη	ἰνδαλίμη, ή: the one who appears (placed between εἰδωλίη and δείχτειρα; see epith. Not in <i>LSJ</i>) (<i>LSJ</i> : ἰνδάλλομαι: appear, seem ἰνδαλμα, τό: form, appearance; mental image)
IV.2275: στρατηλατί	στρατηλάτις, ή (voc. -άτι) (<i>LSJ</i> : στρατηλάτης, ό: leader of hosts, general, commander)
IV.2276: λυκώ	λυκώ -ους, ή: she-wolf (<i>LSJ</i> : for λύκαινα, ή: she-wolf; of Artemis in Mithraism; Porph. <i>Abst.</i> 4.16)
IV.2286: ἀκτινοχαῖτι	ἀκτινοχαῖτις, ή: with rays for hair
IV.2307: νήθουσα	νήθουσα, ή: name of a plant
<i>Hymn 18, “To Hekate-Selene-</i>	

<i>Artemis</i>” (IV.2785-2870)	
IV.2807: φιλήρεμε	φιλήρεμος, -ον: lover of silence
IV.2811-12: μορφόλυκον (σφυρόν)	μορφόλυκος –ον: having the form of a wolf, wolf-shaped
IV.2817: τετραώνυμε Also IV.2560: τετραώνυμε	τετραώνυμος, -ον: having four names
IV.2817: τετραοδίτι Also IV.2561: τετραοδίτι	τετραοδίτις, ή: of the four crossroads
IV.2818-9: νυκτοφάνεια (also in IV.2524)	νυκτοφάνεια, ή: appearing by night (LSJ: νυκτοφανής, -ές: appearing by night)
IV.2850-1: ‘Δαμνῶ, Δαμνομένεια· Δαμασάνδρα· Δαμνοδαμία’ (: The letters in Selene’s sceptre, which Kronos wrote himself) Also III.434: (Ἄρτεμι) Δαμνω Also VI.19: δ]αμάσα[ν]δρα (Daphne) Also VII.695: δαμάσανδρα (Ἄρκτη)	Δαμνῶ, Δαμνοδαμία, Δαμνογόνη (δαμνάω, δάμνημι, δαμάζω): she that subdues Δαμασάνδρα, ή: subduer of men Δαμνομένεια (see epithets not found in LSJ)
IV.2864: ζωνοδράκοντι	ζωνοδράκοντις, ή: girdled with snakes
IV.2864: αίμοπότι	αίμοπότις, ή: drinking blood
IV.2864: θανατηγέ	θανατηγός, –ον: death-bringing
IV.2865: φθορηγενές	φθορηγενής, –ες: breeding corruption
IV.2865-6: καρδιόδαιτε	καρδιόδαιτος, –ον: feasting on men’s hearts
IV.2867: άωροβόρε	άωροβόρος, –ον: devouring those who die untimely
IV.2868: οίστροπλάνεια	οίστροπλάνεια, ή: causing the wanderings of madness
<i>Hymn 20, “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (IV.2522-2567)</i>	
IV.2545: ή νυκταιροδύτειρα	νυκταιροδύτειρα, ή: she that rises and sets by night
IV.2549: κυνολύγματε	κυνολύγματος, –ον (?): perh. for κυνολολύγματος, –ον: howling like a dog
IV.2555: (πτηνῶν δ’ έξῆς παντοία γέννη) παλίνεδρα	παλίνεδρος, –ον: coming home to roost
IV.2556: έρωτοτόκεια (Άφροδίτη)	έρωτοτόκεια, ή: producing love (LSJ: έρωτοτόκος, ή: for Aphrodite in Procl.H.2.13)

Hymn 21, "To Hekate-Selene-Artemis" (IV.2714-2783)	
IV.2717: ἀδαμάστωρ	ἀδαμάστωρ, ό: unsubdued (LSJ: ἀδάμαστος, -ον: unsubdued; ἀδαμάτωρ)
IV: 2721-2: σκυλακάγεια	σκυλακάγεια, ή: leader of dogs
IV.2748: πυρίφοιτε	πυρίφοιτος, -ον: walking in fire
Hymn 10, "To Apollo" (VI.22-38)	
VI.32: Πυθολέτα (A)	Πυθολέτης, ό: dragon-slayer
VI.33: Μελιοῦχε (A) Also III.45-6; III.99; V.4-6, (Ζεῦ, Ἥλιε, Μίθρα, Σάραπι, ἀνίκητε), Μελιοῦχε, Μελικέρτα, Μελιγενέτωρ; also in <i>voces magicae</i> , VII.379-80, 384, "Μελιβου Μελιβαν Μελιβαυβα[υ"; LVII.33, "Μελιβευ"; the "μελι-" compound also found in VII.63, "(ο]ἶνον) μελίφρονα" (quoted from H. <i>Il.</i> 6.264); VII.23, "(ο[ῖ]νός) μελι[ηδής" (quoted from H. <i>Od.</i> 21.293); there are many examples of this compound in Homer, e.g. H. <i>Il.</i> 2.34, "μελίφρων ὕπνος"; II.4.47, "ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο"; II.4.165; II.6.258, "μελιηδέα οἶνον"; II.4.346; II.16.143, "Πηλιάδα μελίην"; II.17.9; <i>Od.</i> 7.181, "μελίφρονα οἶνον"; <i>Od.</i> 10.519, "μελικρήτω" etc; TD.22.32, 38.12	μελιοῦχος, ό
Hymn 11, "To Apollo and to Apollo-Helios" (II.81-101, 133-140, 163-6)	
II.85-6: κραταιόφρων	κραταιόφρων, -ον: stern
II.90: φαλεροῦχε	φαλεροῦχος, ό: wearing φάλαρα
II.91: ἄκαμνε	ἄκαμνος, -ον (LSJ: ἀκάμας, ό (κάμνω): untiring, unceasing)
II.91: χρυσοκέλευθα	χρυσοκέλευθης, ό: travelling on a golden path
II.99: κισσεοχαίτα	κισσεοχαίτης, ό: wreathed with ivy
Hymn 12, "To Apollo and Daphne" (III.234-258)	

III.255: οὐροδρόμε	Preisendanz emends it to οὐρανοδρόμε; Preisendanz (2001) vol.I, p.43; (LSJ: οὐρανοδρόμος, -ον: running along the sky; also in TD.41B5)
III.258: ἀεροδρόμε (Πύθιε Παιάν) (also III.497, IV.1359, IV.1374)	ἀεροδρόμος, -ον: traversing the air
<i>Hymns, 15/16, "To Hermes" (V.400-420 (A 1-15), VII.668-680 (B 1-12), XVIIb (C 1-23))</i>	
V.402: πειθοδικαίόσυνε (also in VII.669; XVIIb3)	πειθοδικαίόσυνος, -ον: pleading the cause of justice or obedient to justice
<i>Hymn 22, "To Aphrodite" (IV.2902-2939)</i>	
IV.2919: περιδινήτειρα (also in IV.680: τὸν περιδίνητον ἄξονα)	περιδινήτειρα, ἥ: causing to revolve (LSJ: περιδινητής, ό: found in Hsch.)
<i>Hymn 6, "To Typhon" (IV.179-201)</i>	
IV.181: γνοφεντινάκτα	γνοφεντινάκτης, ό: shaker of darkness (LSJ: γνώφος, ό: later form of δνόφος, ό: darkness; ἐντινάσσω: hurl; pass., to be shaken)
IV.182: βρονταγωγέ	βρονταγωγός, ό: bringing thunder
IV.182: νυκταστράπτα	νυκταστράπτης, ό: emitter of lightning-flashes by night
IV.182-3: ψυχ<ρ>οθερμοφύσησε	ψυχ<ρ>οθερμοφύσησος, ό: breathing cold and hot
IV.183: πετρεντινάκτα	πετρεντινάκτης, ό: shaker of rocks (LSJ: ἐντινασσω)
IV.183-4: τειχοσεισμοποιέ	τειχοσεισμοποιός, -ον: causing earthquakes destructive of walls
IV.184: κοχλαζοκύμων	κοχλαζοκύμων, -ον: with splashing wave
IV.184: βυθοταραξοκίνησε	βυθοταραξοκίνησος, ό (?): stirring the deep to movement (Notice the σ in ψυχ<ρ>οθερμοφύσησε, βυθοταραξοκίνησε)
IV.196: (μ[ή] με ρίψης) χθονοριφῇ	χθονοριφής, -ές (ρίπτω): flung on the ground
<i>Hymn 2, "To the creator of all"</i>	

(III.550-558)	
III.556: ὕσγηνοῖδῃ (τε σελήνη<ν>)	ὕσγηνοῖδής, -ές: scarlet in appearance (LSJ: ὕσγηνον, τό)
III.556-7: (ἀστέρας ἀερίου<ς>, ἑώου<ς>), περιδινοπλανήτα[ς]: (The three types of stars)	περιδινοπλανήτης, ό: the whirling planet; one who wanders around
Hymn 25, "To the underworld deities" (IV.1399-1434)	
IV.1402: βορβοροφόρβα	βορβοροφόρβα, ή: feeding on filth (LSJ: Βόρβορος, ό: filth)
IV.1405: πυριδρακοντόζωνε	πυριδρακοντόζωνος, -ον: girt with fiery serpents
IV.1407: (ήρωες) ἀλλοιόμοροι	ἀλλοιόμορος, -ον: unfortunate
IV.1418-19: (Ερινύν) Ὀργογοργονιότριαν	Ὀργογοργονιότρια, ή (LSJ: Ὀργογοργονίστρια, ή)
"Aphrodite's saucer divination" (IV.3209-54)	
IV.3232: ἀφρωραίαν	ἀφρωραίος, -α, -ον: foam-beautiful
"Oracle of Kronos in demand, called little mill" (IV.3086-3124)	
IV.3102: βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ	βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ, ό: father of the thunderbolt
I.195-222	
I.200-1: αἰωνακ<τ>ινοκράτωρ, αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ	αἰωνακ<τ>ινοκράτωρ, ό: eternal lord of the sun's rays αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ, ό: eternal ruler of the poles
"Otherwise" (V.459-89)	
V.465-6: αἰωνόφθα[λ]μος	αἰωνόφθα[λ]μος, -ον: seeing with eternal eyes
"Power of the Bear constellation that accomplishes everything" (IV.1331-89)	
IV.1350-1: οὐρανοκευθμωνοδιαίτους (παρέδρους τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ)	οὐρανοκευθμωνοδιαίτος, -ον: dwelling in the recesses of heaven
IV.1353-4: ἀπειροδιοικητάς	ἀπειροδιοικήτης, ό: director of the infinite
IV.1354: κραταιόχθονας (also in VII.353)	κραταιόχθων, ό, ή: wielding power over the earth
IV.1355: στηριγμοθέτας	στηριγμοθέτης, ό: foundation-layer
IV.1355-6: χασματυπουργούς	χασματυπουργός, ό: servant in the

Also VII.353-4	chasm''
IV.1356: φρικτοπαλαίμονας (also in VII.354)	φρικτοπαλαίμων, ό (?): shedderful fighter (LSJ): φρικτός, -ή, -όν: to be shuddered at; παλαιμονέω: wrestle, fight)
IV.1356-7: φοβεροδιακράτορας (also VII.354: φοβοδιάκτορας)	(LSJ): φοβεροδιακράτορες: variant for φοβοδιάκτορες, οί)
IV.1357: στρεψηλακάτους	στρεψηλάκατος, -ον: turning the spindle
IV.1358-9: χιονοβροχοπαγείς	χιονοβροχοπαγής, -ές: snow and rain congealing
IV.1359: αεροδρόμους (also in IV.1375)	αεροδρόμος, -ον: traversing the air
IV.1359-60: θεροκαυσώδεις	θεροκαυσώδης, -ες: causing summer heat
IV.1360: άνεμοεπάκτας	άνεμοεπάκτης, ό: wind bringer
IV.1360-1: κοιρανομοίρους	κοιρανόμοιρος, ό: lord of fate
IV.1361: σκοτιοερέβους	σκοτιοέρεβος, -ον: inhabitant of dark Erebos
IV.1360: άναγκεπάκτας	άναγκεπάκτης, ό: bringer of compulsion
IV.1361: πυροπεμψιφλόγους	πυροπεμψίφλογος, -ον: sending flames of fire
IV.1361-2: χιονοδροσοφερείς	χιονοδροσοφερής, -ές: bringing snow and dew
IV.1362: άνεμαφέτας	άνεμαφέτης, ό: wind releaser
IV.1363: βυθοκλόρους	βυθοκλόνος, -ον: convulsing the deep
IV.1364: γαληνοβάτας	γαληνοβάτης, ό: treader on the calm sea
IV.1364: άλκιμοβρίθους	άλκιμόβριθος: mighty in weight
IV.1365: όβριμοδυνάστας	όβριμοδυνάστης, ό: powerful potetante
IV.1365-6: κρημνοβάμονας	κρημνοβάμων, -ον: cliff-walking
IV.1366-7: σιδηροψύχους	σιδηρόψυχος, -ον: iron-hearted
IV.1368: ταρταροφρούρους	ταρταρόφρουρος, -ον: guardian of Tartarus
IV.1368: πλανησιμοίρους	πλανησίμοιρος, -ον: causing fate to go away
IV.1369: πανθυπακουστάς	πανθυπακουστής, ό: one who hears everything

IV.1371: πνευματοδῶτας	πνευματοδότης, ὁ: spirit giver
IV.1371: ἀφελόζῳους	ἀφελόζῳος, -ον: living simply
IV.1372: κινησιπόλους	κινησίπολος, -ον: heaven-shaken
IV.1372-3: θανατοσυναρτάς	Θανατοσυνάρτης, ὁ: joiner together of deaths
IV.1373: ἀγγελοδείκτας	ἀγγελοδείκτης, ὁ: revealer of angels
IV.1373-4: ἐκδικοφῶτας	ἐκδικόφως, ὁ: punishing mortals
IV.1374: ἀνηλιοδείκτας	ἀνηλιοδείκτης, ὁ: one that points the direction without the aid of the sun
IV.1374-5: δαιμονοτάκτας	δαιμονοτάκτης, ὁ: ruler of daimons
“Oracle of Sarapis” (V.1-53)	
V.19: φριξωποβρονταξαστράπτα	φριξωποβρονταξαστράπτης, ὁ: hurler of frightful thunder and lightning
IV.475-829	
IV.593: πνευματόφως	πνευματόφως, ὁ: shining spirit
IV.592: πυρίθυμε	πυρίθυμος, -ον: fiery-spirited
“Tristych of Homer as assistant” (IV.2145-2240)	
IV.2183: γογγυλόρυγχε	γογγυλόρυγχος, -ον: with round nozzle
“Erotic Spell that leads” (IV.2441-2621)	
IV.2613-4: ταυροδράκαινα	ταυροδράκαινα, ἡ: bull-snake
“Bear Charm” (VII.686-702)	
VII.695: καλέσανδρα	καλέσανδρα, ἡ: summoner of men
VII.695-6: κατανίκανδρα	κατανικάνδρα, ἡ: she that subdues men
VII.700: πυροσώματε	πυροσώματος, -ον: fire-bodied
VII.700: προ[φαίδι]με	προ[φαίδι]μος, -ον: (LSJ: φαίδιμος, -ον: radiant, glistening, glorious)
VII.700-1: καρχάροπλε	καρχάροπλος, -ον: (LSJ: κάρχαρος, -ον: saw-like, jagged, harsh)
PGM adjectives that they are not recorded in the LSJ	
Hymn 17, “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (IV.2242-2417)	
IV.2267: λοφαίη	λοφαίη ἡ: the one with a crest (LSJ: λοφάω: have a crest λοφιά/-ιή, ἡ: mane, black fin λοφίας/-ίης, ὁ: having a black fin)
IV.2267: ὀλκῖτι (φασγάνων)	ὀλκίτις, ἡ: the one who draws

	(swords) (LSJ: ὀλκάζω: draw ὀλκή, ἡ (ἔλκω): drawing, dragging; attraction)
IV.2267: προμηθική	προμηθική, ἡ: forethought (LSJ: προμήθεια/-ία/-ίη: forethought προμηθικῶς: warily)
IV.2272: εἰδωλίη	εἰδωλίη, ἡ: ghostly (LSJ: εἰδωλεῖον/-ιον, τό: idol's temple εἰδωλικός, -ή, -όν: symbolical εἶδωλον, τό: phantom, ghost; image)
IV.2272: δείχτειρα	δείχτειρα, ἡ: the one who shows (LSJ: δείκνυμι: show)
IV.2272: βαριδοῦχε	βαριδοῦχος, (-ον): the one who has a boat (βᾶρις, ἡ: flat-bottomed boat used in Egypt)
IV.2274-5: μιτρίη	μιτρίη, ἡ: with a headband (LSJ: μίτρα/-η, ἡ: headband μιτρίον, τό: dim. of μίτρα)
IV.2275: Δωδωνίη	Δωδωνίη, ἡ (LSJ: Δωδωναῖος, -α, -ον; Δωδωνίς, ἡ)
IV.2277: ἀκρίη	ἀκρίη, ἡ: extreme (LSJ: ἄκρις -ιος, ἡ: hill-top, mountain peak; ἄκρος, -α, -ον: at the farthest point, end, outermost, highest)
IV.2280: πανγαίη	πανγαίη, ἡ: holding the whole earth (?) (LSJ: πάγγεος, -ον: holding the whole earth; but, παγαίη = κύων (Scyth.) Hsch.) (πανγαίη is followed by κυνῶ)
IV.2281: ἀρηγέ	ἀρηγός, ὁ, ἡ (?): helper (LSJ: ἀρηγών, ὁ, ἡ: helper)
IV.2280: Κλωθαίη	Κλωθαίη, ἡ (LSJ: Κλωθῶ, ἡ)
IV.2281-2: εὐρύστοχε	εὐρύστοχος, (-ον): wide- aimed
Hymn 18, "To Hekate-Selene- Artemis" (IV.2785-2870)	
IV.2850-1: Δαμνομένεια	Δαμνομένεια, ἡ: she that subdues

	by force (LSJ: δαμάζω, μένος)
IV.2867: καπετόκτυπε	καπετόκτυπος, -ον (?): the one who makes the graves to resound (LSJ: κάπετος, ή: ditch, hole, grave; κτυπέω: crush, resound)
<i>Hymn 20, "To Hekate-Selene-Artemis" (IV.2522-2567)</i>	
IV.2546: άβρονόη → in <i>Hymn 20</i> : άπρονόη	άβρονόη, ή: gracious-minded (?) άπρονόη, ή: improvident (?) (LSJ: άβρός, -ά, -όν: graceful νοῦς, ό (νόος); but, άπρονοησία, ή: improvidence άπρονόητος, -ον: unpremeditated)
IV.2559: άστρο[δ]ία → in <i>Hymn 20</i> : +αστροχια+	άστρο[δ]ία, ή: star-coursing (LSJ: άστρον, όδίος, -ον; but, άστροχίτων, -ον:star-clad)
IV.2560: τετραπροσωπεινή	τετραπροσωπεινή, ή: with four faces (LSJ: τετραπρόσωπος, -ον: with four faces)
<i>Hymn 21, "To Hekate-Selene-Artemis" (IV.2714-2783)</i>	
IV.2714: γιγάεσσα	γιγάεσσα, ή: giant (LSJ: γίγας, ό: giant)
IV.2717: εὐπατόρεια	εὐπατόρεια, ή: she who is of a noble sire (LSJ: εὐπατέρεια, ή: daughter of a noble sire)
IV.2718-9: κατα<καμ>ψυψάύχενε	κατα<καμ>ψυψάύχενος, -ον (?): the one who bends down proud necks (Betz (1996) p.89) (LSJ: κατάκαμψις, ή (κατακάμπτω): bending down; ύψάύχενος, -ον (ύψαυχενεύω: carry the neck high, show off Lxx2Ma.15.6, Plu.2.324e)
IV.2725: Άυδναία	Άυδναία, ή (?): infernal Reitzenstein emends it to Αἰδωναία, ή, Preisendanz (2001) vol.I, p.159; also Betz (1996) p.89; Also IV.2855: αἰδωναία (HAS) (LSJ: Αἰδωνεύς, ό: poetic form of

	<p>Ἄιδης)</p> <p><i>LSJ Suppl.</i>: Αὐδυναῖος, ὅ; Αὐδνίος, ὅ)</p>
IV.2749: πανφόρβα	<p>πανφόρβα, ἥ</p> <p>(untranslated in Betz 's ed.; Betz (1996) p.89)</p> <p>In the PGM “φόρβα” often occurs on its own or in a compound form always among other magical names, <i>voces magicae</i>, of the same, or similar compounds like here, “βουορφορβη, πανφόρβα, φορβαρα”; see also I.150ff, III.431, IV.1256ff, 1416ff, 1431-2, 2203ff, 2291, 2349ff, 2485ff, 2611, 2957, VII.403ff, 654ff, 978ff, LXX.20ff, etc.)</p> <p>(<i>LSJ</i>: φορβάς -άδος, ὅ, ἥ: giving pasture or food; metaph. “of women who support themselves by prostitution”, <i>Pi.Fr.122.15</i>, <i>S.Fr.720</i>; φορβή, ἥ: pasture, food; φόρβα <i>Hsch</i>; also φορβειά, φορβεά, φορβέα, φορβαία, ἥ: halter for horses etc, mouthband, bandage)</p>
Hymn 5, “To Helios and to the gods of all” (III.198-229)	
III.209: πυρεσ[ίθυμε]	<p>πυρεσίθυμος, ὅ: fiery at heart/ in spirit</p> <p>“Feuermutiger” in Preisendanz (2001) vol.I, p.41; “who hold the fiery vapor in your power” in Betz (1996) p.24</p>
Hymn 11, “To Apollo and to Apollo-Helios” (II.81-101, 133-140, 163-6)	
II.165-6: Δαμνανενεὺς	<p>Δαμνανενεὺς, ὅ</p> <p>(<i>LSJ</i>: δαμνάω, δάμνημι, δαμάζω)</p>
Protective spell (I.195-222)	
I.200: αἰωναῖε	αἰωναῖος, ὅ: eternal
“Tristych of Homer as assistant” (IV.2145-2240)	
IV.2184: ὄμβρολίγματε	<p>ὄμβρολίγματος:</p> <p>(ὄμβρος-λιγαίνω, λιγύς)</p> <p>like the shrill storm of rain</p>

IV.2184: θοηρυστηρις	θοηρυστηρις: θοηρός, θολερός (muddy), ῥυστήρης (from ῥύσημα: wrinkle), or Θόηρις - Ὅσιρις with muddy wrinkles
“Aphrodite’s saucer divination” (IV.3209-54)	
IV.3231-2: ἀμερεΐην	ἀμερεΐη, ἥ: indivisible (LSJ: epith., ἀμερής, -ές; ἀμερειαῖος, -α, -ον; n., ἀμέρεια, ἥ)
“Bear Charm” (VII.686-702)	
VII.699: πα[ν]υπάτα	πα[ν]υπάτα, ἥ: most high (ὑπάτος, -η, -ον, -ος, -ον: highest)
“Power of the Bear constellation that accomplishes everything” (IV.1331-89)	
IV.1370: πανθυποτακτ<ικ>ούς	πανθυποτακτ<ικ>ός, ό: most subordinate (LSJ: υποτακτ<ικ>ός, ό: subordinate)

APPENDIX 6

MAGICIANS, OR OTHER FIGURES ENGAGED WITH MAGIC IN THE PGM:

Agathokles (Ἀγαθοκλεύς)	PGM XII.107
Apollobex (Ἀπολλώβηξ)	PGM XII.121
Apollonius of Tyana (Ἀπολλώνιος Τυανεύς)	PGM XIa.1
Astrapsoukos (Ἀστραψούκος)	PGM VIII.1
Sortes Astrampsychi	PGM XXVI.1-20
Dardanos (Δάρδανος)	PGM IV.1716
Demokritos (Δημόκριτος)	PGM VII.795, XII. 351
Euenos (Εὐήνος)	PGM XIII.965, XCII.5(?)
Erotylos (Ἐρώτυλος)	PGM XIII.950
Hieros (Ἱερός)	PGM XIII.954
Himerios (Ἡμέριος)	PGM XII.96
Iymhotep	PDM xii.24
Jacob (Ἰακώβ)	PGM XXIIb.1
Jeu (Ἰέος)	PGM V.96
Julius Africanus	PGM XXIII.55-63
Keryx (Κήρυξ)	PGM I.43
Klaudianos (Κλαυδιανός)	PGM VII.862
Manethon (Μανεθῶν)	PGM III.440
Mithras (Μίθρας)	PGM V.4, III.462
Moses (Μωυσῆς)	PGM V.109, VII.619, XIII.1, 343, 971, III.444
Nephotes (Νεφώτης)	PGM IV.154
Orpheus (Ὀρφεύς)	PGM XIII.933
Osoronnohris (Ὀσοροννώφρις)	PGM V.100
Ostanes (Ὀστάνης)	PGM IV.2006, XII.121
Pachrates (Παχράτης)	PGM IV.2446
Pibechis (Πίβηχis)	PGM IV.3007
Pitys (Πίτυς)	PGM IV.1928, 2006, 2140
Pnouthis (Πνούθis/Πνούθιος)	PGM I.42
Psammetichos (Ψαμμήτιχος)	PGM IV.154
Ptolemaeus Claudius (ἐν τῇ ε' τῶν Πτολεμαϊκῶν)	PGM XIII.979
Pyrrhus (Πύρρος)	PGM XIII.970
Pythagoras (Πυθαγόρας)	PGM VII.795
Solomon (Σολομῶν)	PGM IV.850, XCII.6
Syrian woman from Gadara	PGM XX.4

(Σύρα Γαδαρηνή)	
Thessalian Philinna (Φιλίννη Θεσσαλή)	<i>PGM XX.13</i>
Thphes (Θφής)	<i>PGM XIII.959</i>
Zminis of Tentyra (Ζμίνις Τεντυρίτης)	<i>PGM XII.121</i>
Zoroaster (Ζωροάστρης)	<i>PGM XIII.968</i>

APPENDIX 7

“PGM-PDM EROTIC SPELLS”

The erotic spells examined are included in both Preisendanz’s and Betz’s editions.

The “Erotic spells” include 105 erotic spells together with the separation spells and more precisely, 96 erotic spells, of which: 11 *PGM* erotic spells in Preisendanz vol.I, 49 *PGM* erotic spells in Preisendanz vol.II, 4 of which are written both in Greek (*PGM*) and Demotic Egyptian (*PDM*; Betz’s ed.). Betz’s edition also includes 11 *PGM* erotic spells in translation and 25 *PDM* erotic spells (written in Demotic Egyptian) in translation.

The category of Erotic spells also includes 9 “Separation Spells”. The tables refer to the spells included in these subcategories with their titles, the gender of the user and the victim and their names when mentioned together with chronological references to the papyri to which they belong.

<i>(Preis. vol. I)</i>		<i>EROTIC SPELLS</i>
(1) <i>PGM</i> IV: Magical Handbook (4 th c. AD)	94-153	(No title) (written in Old Coptic and Greek) User: Male Victim: Female
(2)	296-466	Φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός Wondrous love-binding spell User: Male, ό δεινα της δεινα Victim: Female, ή δεινα της δεινα
(3)	1265-74	Ἀφροδίτης ὄνομα Aphrodite’s name User: Male Victim: Female, γυνή
(4)	1390-1495	Ἀγωγή (ἐπὶ ἡρώων ἢ μονομάχων ἢ βιαίων) Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ό δεινα της δεινα Victim: Female, ή δεινα της δεινα
(5)	1496-1595	Ἀγωγή (ἐπὶ ζμύρνης ἐπιθυομένης) Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ό δεινα της δεινα Victim: Female, ή δεινα της δεινα

(6)	1716-1870	Εἶφος Δαρδάνου Sword of Dardanos User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα (Male, ὁ δεῖνα?)
(7)	1872-1927	(No title) User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(8)	2441-2621	Ἀγωγή Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(9)	2708-84	Ἄλλη ἀγωγή Another erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(10)	2891-2942	Ἀγωγή Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(11)	2943-66	Ἀγωγή ἀγρυπνητική Erotic spell that leads producing insomnia User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα

<i>(Preis. vol. II)</i>		EROTIC SPELLS
(12) PGM VII (3/4 th c. AD)	191-92	φ[ι]λτροκατάδεσμος αἰώνιος Eternal love-binding spell User: Male Victim: (?)
(13)	300a-310	Ἀγωγίμον αὐθωρον Erotic spell able to lead acting immediately User: Male (?) Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(14)	385-89	Ποτήριον καλόν A good drinking cup spell User: Male (?) Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα, <ῆν> ἡ δεῖνα
(15)	405-6	Φίλτρον Love spell User: (?) Victim: (?)

(16)	459-61	Φίλτρον κάλλιστον Excellent love charm User: (?) Victim: (?)
(17)	462-66	Φίλτρον κάλλιστον Excellent love charm User: Male (?) Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(18)	467-77	(No title) User: Male (?) Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα, ἡ<ν> δεῖνα
(19)	593-619	Ἀγωγή ἀσχέτου Erotic spell that leads an unmanageable person (woman) User: Male (?) Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(20)	619-27	Ἐκ τοῦ Διαδήματος Μουσέως From the Diadem of Moses User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(21)	643-51	Ποτήριον Drinking cup spell User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(22)	661-63	Φίλτρον Love spell User: (?) Victim: (?)
(23)	862-918	Κλαυδιανοῦ σεληνιακὸν "Klaudianus' Lunar spell" User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(24)	969-72	Πότισμα καλόν A good "draught" spell User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(25)	973-80	Ἀγωγήμιον παράψμιον Erotic spell able to lead by means of touch User: Male (?) Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῇ[ς] δεῖνα
(26)	981-93	Ἀγωγήμιον Erotic spell able to lead

		User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(27) PGM X (4/5 th c. AD)	1-23	(No title) User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(28) PGM XIc (5 th c. AD)	1-19	(No title) User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(29) PGM XII (PDM xii) (4 th c. AD)	469-73 (119-34)	(No title) User: (?) Victim: Female (?)
(30) PGM XII (PDM xii) (4 th c. AD)	474-9 (135-46)	(No title) User: Male (?) Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα ἦν [δεῖνα
(31) PGM XII (PDM xii)	480-95 (147-64)	Another User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(32) PGM XV (3 rd c. AD)	1-21	(No title) User: Female, Καπετωλίνα (Καπιτωλίνα), the daughter of Πεπεροῦς (Πιπεποῦς) Victim: Male, Νῖλος (Νεῖλος), ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, the son of Δημητρία
(33) PGM XVI (1 st c. AD)	1-75	(No title) User: Female, Διοσκοροῦς, the daughter of Τικωί, (or Τικουί, Τικοῖ, Τακουί, Τικανί, Τικουού) Victim: Male, Σαραπίων, the son of Πασάμητρα
(34) PGM XVIIa (4 th c. AD)	1-25	(No title) User: Male, Ἑρμείας, the son of Ερμιόνη Victim: Female, Τιγηροῦς, the daughter of Σοφία
(35) PGM XIXa (4/5 th c. AD)	1-54	(No title) User: Male, Ἀπαλῶς, the son of Θεονίλλα Victim: Female, Κάρωσα, the daughter of Θελώ
(36) PGM XIXb (4 th c. AD)	1-3	(No title) User: Female, ἡ δεῖνα Victim: Male, ὁ δεῖνα
(37)	4-18	Ἀγωγή ἐπὶ κυνός Erotic spell over a dog User: Male (?)

		Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(38) PGM XXIVb (3 rd c. AD)	1-15	(No title) User: Male (?) Victim: Female, ἡ γυνή
(39) PGM XXXII (2 nd c. AD)	1-19	(No title) User: Female, Ἡραεῖς, daughter of Θερμουθαριν Victim: Female, Σαραπιάς, daughter of Ἑλένη
(40) PGM XXXIIa (2 nd c. AD)	1-25	(No title) User: Male, Σεραπιακός, son of Θρέπτη Victim: Male, Ἀμώνειος, son of Ἑλένη
(41) PGM XXXVI (4 th c. AD)	69-101	Ἀγωγή, ἔμπυρον Erotic spell that leads by means of fire User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(42)	102-33	Ἄλλο ἔμπυρον Another Erotic spell by means of fire User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(43)	134-60	Ἀγωγή θαυμαστή Marvelous Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(44)	187-210	Ἀγωγή Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(45)	283-94	Φυσικλείδιον Pudenda key spell User: Male, τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα, μήτρα τῆς δῖνα
(46)	295-311	Ἀγωγή, ἔνπυρον Erotic spell that leads by means of fire User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(47)	333-60	Ἀγωγή ἐπὶ [ζ]μύρνης Erotic spell that leads over myrrh User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(48)	361-71	Ἀγωγή ἄσχετος Erotic spell that leads an unmanageable

		person (woman) User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα
(49) PGM XXXVIII (4 th c. AD)	1-26	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(50) PGM XXXIX (4 th c. AD)	1-21	(No title) User: Female, Ἀλλοῦς, the daughter of Ἀλεξανδρία Victim: Male, Ἡρακλῆς, the son of Τααῖπιδας
(51) PGM LII (3 rd c. AD)	1-9	(No title) User: (?) Victim: (?)
(52)	9-19	(No title) User: (?) Victim: (?)
(53) PGM LXI (PDM lxi) (3 rd c. AD)	1-38 (159-96)	Φίλτρον ἐπαινετὸν Laudable love spell User: Male Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(54) PDM lxi (Demotic Egyptian) (3 rd c. AD)	148-58	(No title) User: (?) Victim: Female, NN
(55) PGM LXI (PDM lxi) (3 rd c. AD)	39-71 (197-216)	Ἀγω[γή (ἄγει γ]υναῖ[κ]α[ν ἄ]δικισθε[ῖσαν ὑπὸ το]ῦ ἀνδρός) Erotic spell that leads/actually a Separation spell (διάκοψον) User: (?) Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα and Male, τ]ὸν ἄνδρα (/husband and wife) (κα[ὶ] αὐτὴν ὁ ἀ]νὴρ)
(56) PGM LXII (3 rd c. AD)	1-24	(No title) User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα
(57) PGM LXIII (2/3 rd c. AD)	1-7	(No title) (Erotic potion/πο[τ]όν) User: (?) Victim: (?)
(58)	7-12	[Γυναῖκα κοι]μωμέ[νην] ὁμολογήσαι τὸ ὄν]ομα, οὗ φιλεῖ Erotic spell to make a woman confess the

		name of the man she loves. User: Male Victim: Female
(59) PGM LXVII	1-24	(No title) (Erotic spell?) User: Male, ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα (?) Victim: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα (?)
(60) PGM LXVIII (2/3 rd c. AD)	1-20	(No title) User: Female, Ἐ[ρ]ι[έ]α, the daughter of Ἐ[ρ]χη[ε]λιώ Victim: Male, Εὐτύχης, the son of Ζωσίμη
(61) PGM LXXVIII (3 rd c. AD)	1-14	(No title) (ἄγει γυναῖκαν πρὸς ἄνδρα...καὶ μονίμους αὐτοὺς ποιεῖ καὶ πιστικούς) (No title) Erotic spell (eros punishment) User: Female, ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα Victim: Male, ὁ δεῖνα
(Betz's ed./ transl.)		
(62) PDM xiv (Demotic Egyptian) (3 rd c. AD)	335-55	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female
(63)	355-65	Another Erotic spell User: Male Victim: Female
(64)	428-50	(No title) (Two erotic potions) User: Male, NN, the son of NN Victim: Female, NN, the daughter of NN
(65)	636-69	(No title) (Erotic potion) (eros punishment- compare with the Greek) User: Male, NN, whom NN bore Victim: Female, NN, whom NN bore
(66)	772-804	A method (three erotic spells) User: Male, NN, whom NN bore Victim: Female, NN, whom NN bore
(67)	930-2	A prescription (Erotic spell) User: Male Victim: Female
(68)	1026-45	(No title) User: Male, NN, whom NN bore Victim: Female, NN, whom NN bore
(69)	(1046-47)	(No title)

		User: Male, husband Victim: Female
(70)	1047-8	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female
(71)	1049-55	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female
(72)	1063-9	(No title) User: Male, NN, whom NN bore Victim: Female, NN, whom NN bore
(73)	1070-7	(No title) "A spell to bring [a woman] to a man, to send dreams" User: Male, NN, the son of NN Victim: Female, NN, the daughter of NN
(74)	1090-6	(No title) User: (?) Victim: Female NN, the daughter of NN
(75)	1130-40	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female
(76)	1155-62	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female
(77)	1188-9	(No title) (Erotic spell?) User: (?) Victim: Female
(78)	(1190-3)	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female
(79)	1194-5	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female
(80)	1196-8	(No title) User: Male (?) Victim: Female
(81)	1206-18	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female
(82) <i>PDM</i> lxi (Demotic Egyptian)	95-9	"Spell for giving praise and love in Nubian" User: Female (?) Victim: Male

(3 rd c. AD)		
(83)	112-27	“A Prescription for making a woman love you” User: Male Victim: Female
(84)	128-47	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female
(85)	148-58	(No title) User: (?) Victim: Female
(86) PGM LXXXIV (3 rd c. AD)	1-21	(No title) User: Male, Πτολεμαῖος, ὃν ἔτεκεν Διδ[ύ]μη Victim: Female, Πτολεμ[α]ίς, ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη
(87) PGM CI (5 th c. AD)	1-53	(No title) User: Male, Θεών, ᾧ ἔτεκεν Προεχία Victim: Female, Εὐφημία, ἣν ἔτεκεν Δωροθέα
(88) PGM CIII (2 nd c. AD)	1-18	(No title) User: Male (?), son of NN Victim: Female, [NN, whom NN] bore
(89) PGM CVII (3/4 th c. AD)	1-19	(No title) User: Male, Ἀχ[ίλ]λας ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη Victim: Female, Ταπιάς ἣν ἔ[τε]κεν Δημητρία
(90) PGM CVIII (3/4 th c. AD)	1-12	(No title) User: Male, Διόσκ[ο]υρος ὃν ἔτεκεν Θέκλα Victim: Female, Λεοντίας ἣν ἔτεκεν μήτρα Ἑλία
(91) PGM CIX (4 th c. AD)	1-8	(No title) User: (?) Victim: Female, Kalemera
(92) PGM CXVII (1 st c. AD)	1-23	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female ([her] husband [forgetting])
(93) PGM CXIXa (3 rd c. AD)	2-3	Erotic spell through touch User: (?) Victim: (?)
(94) PGM CXIXa (3 rd c. AD)	4-6	Erotic charm User: (?)

		Victim: woman (?)
(95) <i>PGM</i> CXXII (1 st c. AD)	5-25	Enchantment [spoken] three times over apples User: (?) Victim: Female
(96)	26-50	(No title) User: (?) Victim: Male, NN/Female, NN

“Separation Spells”

The Separation spells include 9 spells of which: 2 *PGM* and 4 spells written both in Greek (*PGM*; Preisendanz vol.II) and Demotic Egyptian (*PDM*; Betz’s ed.) and 2 *PGM* and 1 *PDM* separation spells (Betz’s ed.) in translation.

<i>(Preis. vol. II)</i>		SEPARATION SPELLS
(1) <i>PGM</i> XII (4 th c. AD)	365-75	Διακοπός Separation Spell User: (?) Victims: Two males (who could be lovers or friends), or a male and a female ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα and ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, or between a husband and wife, εἰ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν καὶ γυνή
(2) <i>PGM</i> XII (<i>PDM</i> xii)	445-8 (50-61)	(No title) User: (?) Victims: two (?)
(3) <i>PGM</i> XII (<i>PDM</i> xii)	449-52 (62-75)	Another Separation Spell User: (?) Victims: two (?)
(4) <i>PGM</i> XII (<i>PDM</i> xii)	453-65 (76-107)	Another Separation Spell User: (?) Victims: Two males, ὁ δεῖνα, ὁ δεῖνα
(5) <i>PGM</i> XII (<i>PDM</i> xii)	466-8 (108-18)	A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man User: (?) Victims: a woman and a man (husband and wife?)
(6) <i>PGM</i> LXVI (3/4 th c. AD)	1-11	(No title) User: (?) Victims: Three Males, Φιλόξενος, Γεννάδιος, Πελάγιος

(Betz's ed./ transl.)		
(7) PDM xiv (3 rd c. AD)	366-75	The method of separating man from a woman and a woman from her husband User: (?) Victims: a man from a woman (NN, the son of NN, and NN, the daughter of NN) and A woman from her husband
(8) PGM CXXVIa (5 th c. AD)	1-21	(No title) User: (?) Victims: A Female and a Male (her, NN, from him, NN)
(9) PGM CXXVIb (5 th c. AD)	1-17	(No title) User: (?) Victims: Two: one Female, NN, and one Male (?)

Ostraka (O) Erotic Spells

(Preis. vol. II)		SEPARATION SPELL
(1) O 2		(No title) User: (?) Victims: a woman/wife from her man/husband Female, Ἀλλοῦς Male, Ἀπολλώνιος

APPENDIX 8

“SM EROTIC SPELLS”

(ed. by Daniel and Maltomini (1990-2))

<i>SM vol.I</i>	Elsewhere	<i>SM EROTIC SPELLS</i>
(1) <i>SM</i> 37 (2 nd c. AD)	Jordan’s <i>SGD</i> 158-9	(No title) User: Male/or Female Παιτούς (/Παντούς), ἦν/ ὄν ἔτ[εκ]ε Τμεσιῶς Victim: Female, Νίκη Ἀπολλωνοῦτος
(2) <i>SM</i> 38 (2 nd c. AD)	Jordan’s <i>SGD</i> 161	(No title) User: Male, Ἀμμωνίων Ἐρμιταρίς Victim: Female, Θεόδοτις Εὕς
(3) <i>SM</i> 39 (3 rd c. AD)	Jordan’s <i>SGD</i> 160	(No title) User: Male, Πτολεμαῖος, ὄν ἔτεκεν Θασεῖς Victim: Female, Ἀπλωνοῦν, ἦν ἔτεκεν Ἀρσινόη
(4) <i>SM</i> 40 (3 rd c. AD)	<i>PGM</i> LXXXIV. 1-21 (Betz’s ed.)	(No title) User: Male, Πτολεμαῖος, ὄν ἔτεκεν Διδύμη Victim: Female, Πτολεμαῖς, ἦν ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη
(5) <i>SM</i> 41 (3 rd -4 th c. AD)	Jordan’s <i>SGD</i> 189 (also Sijpestein (1977) pp.89- 90)	(No title) User: Male, Ζοήλ, τῷ ἔτεκεν Δροσερ Victim: Female, Τερμοῦτις, τὴν ἔτεκεν Σοφία
(6) <i>SM</i> 42 (3 rd -4 th c. AD)	Jordan’s <i>SGD</i> 151	(No title) User: Female, Σοφία, ἦν αἶτεκεν Ἰσάρα Victim: Female, Γοργονία, ἦν αἶταικεν Νιλογενία
(7) <i>SM</i> 43 (4 th c. AD)	<i>PGM</i> CVIII. 1-12 (Betz’s ed.)	(No title) User: Male, Διόσκ[ο]υρος, ὄν ἔτεκεν Θέκλα Victim: Female, Λεοντία, ἦν ἔτεκεν μήτρα Εὕα
(8) <i>SM</i> 44	<i>PGM</i> CVII.	(No title)

(3 rd -4 th c. AD)	1-19 (Betz's ed.)	User: Male, Ἀχιλλᾶς, ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη Victim: Female, Ταπιάδα, ἣν ἔ[τε]κεν Δημητρία
(9) SM 45 (5 th c. AD)	PGM CI. 1-53 (Betz's ed.)	(No title) User: Male, Θέων, ὃ ἔτεκεν Προεχία Victim: Female, Εὐφημία, ἣν ἔτεκεν Δωροθέα
(10) SM 46 (2 nd - 3 rd c. AD)	Jordan's SGD 153	(No title) User: Male, Ποσιδώνιος, ὃν ἔτεκεν Θσενουβάσθις Victim: Female, Ἡρωνοῦς, ἣν ἔτεκεν Πτολεμαῖς
(11) SM 47 (2 nd - 3 rd c. AD)	Jordan's SGD 152 (Kambitsis T.Louvre Inv. E 27145)	(No title) User: Male, Σαραπάμμων, ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἀρέα Victim: Female, Πτολεμαῖς, ἣν ἔτεκεν Αἰᾶς, τὴν θυγατέρα Ὠριγένους
(12) SM 48 (2 nd - 3 rd c. AD)	Martinez P.Michigan XVI (1991)	(No title) User: Male, Αἰλουρίων, ὃ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία Victim: Female, Κοπρία, ἣν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις
(13) SM 49 (2 nd - 3 rd c. AD)	Jordan's SGD 155	(No title) User: Male, Θεόδωρος, ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῶσις Victim: Female, Ματρῶνα, ἣν ἔτεκεν Ταγέννη
(14) SM 50 (2 nd - 3 rd c. AD)	Jordan's SGD 156	(No title) User: Male, Θεόδωρος, ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῶσις Victim: Female, Ματρῶνα, ἣν ἔτεκεν Ταγέννη[ς]
(15) SM 51 (2 nd - 3 rd c. AD)	Wortmann (1968) p.83	(No title) User: Male, Θεόδωρος, ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῶσις Victim: Female, Ματρῶνα, ἣν ἔτεκεν Τεχ[ῶσις]
(16) SM 54 (2 nd - 3 rd c. AD)	DT 38 Aegyptus- Alexandrea	(No title) Erotic spell, or Juridical spell to gain victory at court? Male homosexual spell User: Male, Ἡωνικός Victim: Male, Ἀννιανός

APPENDIX 9

“DT EROTIC SPELLS”

(ed. by Audollent (1904))

<i>DT</i>	<i>Elsewhere:</i>	<i>DT EROTIC SPELLS</i>
(1) <i>DT</i> 38 Aegyptus- Alexandrea	SM 54	(No title) Erotic spell, or Juridical spell to gain victory at court? Male homosexual spell User: Male, Ἡωνικός Victim: Male, Ἀννιανός
(2) <i>DT</i> 51 (Attica-Athenae)		(No title) in Greek User: (?) Victim: Female, Γαμετή ἣν ἔτεκεν Ὑγία
(3) <i>DT</i> 100 (Germania- Crucinacum)		(No title) in Latin User: Males, Surus, Caenus, Secundus Victim: Female, Silonia
(4) <i>DT</i> 103 (Germania- Crucinacum)		(No title) in Latin User: Female (?), Aprilis Kaesio Victim: Male, Art(um) Dercomogni
(5) <i>DT</i> 135 (Latium- Nomentum)		(No title) in Latin User: (?) Victims: Male, Malcius Niconae filius (servus) and Female, Pulica Rufae filia (serva)
(6) <i>DT</i> 138 (Latium-Roma)		(No title) in Latin User: Male, Soterichus (servus) Victim: Female, Eutychia (ancilla) (uxorem)
(7) <i>DT</i> 139 (Latium-Roma)		(No title) in Latin User: Male, M.Licinio Fausto Victim: Female, Rhodine Diti patri
(8) <i>DT</i> 190 (Latium- Minturnae)		(No title) in Latin User: (?) Victim: Female, Tychene, Carisi uxor (serva)
(9) <i>DT</i> 191 (Campania-Cales)		(No title) in Latin User: (?) Victim: Male, C(aius) Babu[l]liu(s), C(aii) fil]lius, and Female, Tertia Salvia, Quartae Satiae (filia)
(10) <i>DT</i> 227		(No title) written in Latin and Greek

(Africa-Karthago)		User: Male, Suc(c)es(s)us Victim: Female, Suc(c)es(s)a
(11) <i>DT</i> 228 (Africa-Karthago)		(No title) in Latin User: (?) Victim: Female, Iulia Faustilla, Martii filia
(12) <i>DT</i> 229 (Africa-Karthago)		(No title) in Latin User: (?) Victim: (?)
(13) <i>DT</i> 230 (Africa-Karthago)		(No title) written in Latin and Greek User: Male Victim: Female
(14) <i>DT</i> 231 (Africa-Karthago)		(No title) Latin with Greek letters User: Male, Μαρχ[τ]ιαλ[ι]ς κουεμ πεπεριτ Κορωναρια Victim: Female
(15) <i>DT</i> 264 (Africa-Hadrumetum)		(No title) in Latin User: (?) Victim: Female, Victoria quem peperit Suavulva
(16) <i>DT</i> 265 (Africa-Hadrumetum)		(No title) in Latin User: Male (?) Victim: Female, Victoria quem peperit Suavulva
(17) <i>DT</i> 266 (Africa-Hadrumetum)		(No title) in Latin User: Male, Felix quem peperit Fructa Victim: Female, Vettia quem peperit Optata
(18) <i>DT</i> 267 (Africa-Hadrumetum)		(No title) written in Greek including Latin in Greek letters User: Male, Όππιουμ κουεμ [π]επεριτ Ουενερία Victim: Female, Βονωσα κουαμ πεπεριτ Πάπτη
(19) <i>DT</i> 268 (Africa-Hadrumetum)		(No title) in Latin User: Male (?) Victim: Female, Bonosa qu[am] pe(pe)ri(t) Bonosa
(20) <i>DT</i> 269 (Africa-Hadrumetum)		(No title) Latin with Greek letters User: (?) Victim: Female, Τοττίνα κου[αμ] πεπεριτ
(21) <i>DT</i> 270		(No title) in Latin with Greek letters

(Africa-Hadrumetum)		User: Female, Σέπθιμαμ Ἀμένε φίλια (Septima, Amoenae filia) Victim: Male, Σεξτίλλιος Διονισίε φίλιους (Sextilius, Dionysiae filius)
(22) DT 271 (Hadrumetum)		(No title) in Greek; also Greek in Latin letters User: Female, Δομιτιανή, ἣν ἔτεκεν Κ[αν]διδά Victim: Male, Οὐρβανός, ὃν ἔτεκεν Οὐρβανά / Orbanon hon ethecn Urbana (: Greek in Latin letters)
(23) DT 292 (Africa-Hadrumetum)		(No title) Erotic Spell (?) in Latin User: Male (?) Victim: Female, Adbocata
(24) DT 296 (Hadrumetum)		(No title) in Greek, very fragmentary User: (?) Victim: (?)
(25) DT 299 (Ammaedara)		(No title) in Greek, very fragmentary User: Female, [Ἰ]ουε[ν]αλία[ν] Victim: Male, [τὸν δεῖνα] ὃν ἔτεκεν Καλ[πουρ]νία
(26) DT 304 Additamenta (see DT 269)		(No title) in Greek and Latin with Greek letters User: (?) Victim: Female, Τοττινα κου[αμ πεπεριτ...]

<i>DT</i>	<i>Elsewhere:</i>	<i>DT SEPARATION SRELLS</i>
(1) <i>DT</i> 5 (Caria-Cnidus)	<i>DTA</i> , p.xi	(No title) in Greek User: (?) Victims: Male from Female / husband from his wife and children Male, Νάκωνα, Female, Προσόδιον
(2) <i>DT</i> 10 (Caria-Cnidus)	<i>DTA</i> , p.xii	(No title) in Greek, very fragmentary User: Female Victim: Female, Δωροθέα, who had the female user's husband
(3) <i>DT</i> 68 (Attica)		(No title) in Greek User: (?) Victims: Female, Θεοδώρα, from two Males and others, Καλλίας, Χαρίας, πρὸς το(ὺ)ς ἄλλο(υ)ς ἀνθρώ[π]ο(υ)ς
(4) <i>DT</i> 69 (Attica)		(No title) in Greek, very fragmentary User: (?) Victim: Female (?), Πε[ρρ]εφά[ττηι]/Φ[ε]ρ[ρ]εφάττηι
(5) <i>DT</i> 85 (Boeotia)		(No title) in Greek User: Victims: Male and Female, Ἀνθειρα and Ζωῖλος (A) and two other persons mentioned a Female, Φιλιμένη (A) and a Male, Μολοττός (B)
(6) <i>DT</i> 198 (Campania)	<i>DTA</i> , p.XV (IGSI.872)	(No title) in Greek User: (?) Victims: (Hatred between) a man/husband and a woman/wife. Male, Βετρούβιος Φῆλιξ ὃν ἔτεκεν Βετρουβία Μαξίμιλα ὃν ἔσπειρε Βετρούβιος Εὐέλπιστος Female, Οὐαλερία Κορδάτιλλα ἣν ἔτεκεν Οὐαλερία/Βαλερία Εὐνοια ἣν ἔσπειρε Οὐαλέριος Μυστικός

APPENDIX 10

“DTA EROTIC SPELLS”

(ed. by Wunsch (1897))

<i>DTA</i>	<i>Elsewhere:</i>	<i>DTA EROTIC SPELLS</i>
<i>DTA</i> , p.XVII (Coll.Mus.Al.I, p.101)	<i>DT</i> 271 (Hadrumetum)	(No title) User: Female, Δομιτιανή ἥν ἔτεκεν Κανδιδὰ Victim: Male, Οὐρβανὸν ὃν ἔτεκεν Οὐρβανὰ

<i>DTA</i>	<i>Elsewhere:</i>	<i>DTA SEPARATION SPELLS</i>
<i>DTA</i> , p.xi	<i>DT</i> 5 (Caria- Cnidus)	(No title) in Greek User: (?) Victims: Male from Female/husband from his wife and children Male, Νάκωνα, Female, Προσόδιον
<i>DTA</i> , p.xii	<i>DT</i> 10 (Caria- Cnidus)	(No title) in Greek, very fragmentary User: Female Victim: Female, Δωροθέα, who has the user’s husband
<i>DTA</i> , p.XV (IGSI.872)	<i>DT</i> 198 (Campania)	(No title) User: (?) Victims: (Hatred between) a man/husband and a woman/wife. Male, Βετρούβιος Φῆλιξ ὃν ἔτεκεν Βετρουβία Μαξίμιλα ὃν ἔσπειρε Βετρούβιος Εὐέλπιστος Female, Οὐαλερία Κορδάτιλλα ἥν ἔτεκεν Οὐαλερία/Βαλερία Εὐνοια ἥν ἔσπειρε Οὐαλέριος Μυστικός

APPENDIX 11

“DT FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA EROTIC SPELLS”

(ed. by Jordan (1985b))

<i>DT from the Athenian Agora</i>	<i>Elsewhere:</i>	<i>DT from the Athenian Agora EROTIC/SEPARATION SPELLS</i>
<i>DT from the Athenian Agora 7</i> (Second half of the 1 st through first half of the 3 rd c. AD)		(No title) User: (?) Victims: a man and a woman Male, Τρο]φιμᾶς, ὃν ἔτε[κεν Τροφίμη Female, Κα]ρποδώρα, [ἦν ἔτεκεν Εἰσιᾶς
<i>DT from the Athenian Agora 8</i> (Second half of the 1 st through first half of the 3 rd c. AD)		(No title) User: (?) Victims: two men, customers of a prostitute called Ἰουλιανή, ἥ ἔτεκεν Μαρκία One Male, Λεοσθένης The other Male, Πειῖος
<i>DT from the Athenian Agora 9</i> (Second half of the 1 st through first half of the 3 rd c. AD)		(No title) User: (?) Victims: a man and a woman Male, Πολύνεικος Female, Ἰουλιανή, ἥν ἔτε[κεν Μαρκία]

APPENDIX 12

“DT FROM MACEDONIA EROTIC SPELLS”

(ed. by Voutiras (1998) and Jordan (1999))

<i>DT from Macedonia</i>	<i>Elsewhere:</i>	<i>DT from Macedonia EROTIC/SEPARATION SPELLS</i>
<i>DT</i> ed. by Voutiras (Pella-Macedonia) (4 th c. BC)		(No title) User: Female, Φίλα (?) Victims: a man and a woman Male, Διονυσοφῶν Female, Θετίμα
<i>DT</i> ed. by Jordan (Akanthos-Macedonia) (late 4 th early 3 rd c. BC)		(No title) Side A User: Male, Παυσανίας Victim: Female, Σίμη Side B User: Male, Παυσανίας Victim: Male/Female (?), Αἶνις

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