

# P.Duk.inv. 729, Magical Formulae

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FROM THE COLLECTION at Duke University I publish here a fragmentary opisthographic papyrus with magical formulae in a script of  $\Pi^P$  or  $\text{III}^P$ .<sup>1</sup> The  $\uparrow$  side has three recipes: for a love-potion to be given to a woman, for a spell to make a man mute before a woman and thus hateful to her, for another to bring a woman to a man through the use perhaps of inscribed magical *charaktères*. There follow, on the  $\leftrightarrow$  side, directions for an entreaty of the Sun, which would have filled that side and continued on another leaf. Words in the fragmentary parts of the entreaty suggest that it could be used as a charm to win favor.

The papyrus, I assume, is a leaf from a codex. The height of the leaf as we have it is 0.133. Preserved top and bottom margins are 0.014 and 0.021 respectively, thus in the ratio of 2:3 that E. G. Turner considers typical of codex leaves;<sup>2</sup> presumably then the original height is preserved, at least ap-

<sup>1</sup> I thank John F. Oates and the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library of Duke University for permission to publish this text, Joachim Quack (Heidelberg) for general advice about the Egyptian vocables, and Barry T. Clarke (London) for information on the biology of Egyptian batrachia (lines 13–16); I am very grateful to Grace Ioannidou (Komotini) and Armand Leroi (London) for putting me in touch with Dr. Clarke.

Special abbreviations: Brashear = W. M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3380–3684; *HDA* = H. Bächtold-Stäubli and E. Hoffmann-Krayer (eds.), *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin 1927–42, repr. 1987); *PGM* = K. Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae*<sup>2</sup> (Stuttgart 1973–74); *SupplMag* = R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* (Opladen 1990–92). All measurements are in meters. In the transcription and text below, \* = *charaktēr*.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 25.

proximately. The height of the text-block of the papyrus, made up of 27 lines on each side, is 0.107. Letters are lost at the right on the ↓ side, at the left on the ↔ side; the average width of the block may be reconstructed with fair certainty as *ca* 0.094. To the left of the text on the ↓ side is a preserved margin of 0.010; presumably the same stood at the right; therefore the original width of the leaf was at least *ca* 0.114. The format would have been rather small and squarish, H. 0.133 x min. W. 0.114, much like that of Turner's Group 10 (*Typology* 22). There is no *kollésis*, but this is not surprising in a leaf of a codex of such small size. If the leaf is in fact from a codex, the codex may well have consisted of a collection of magical formulae.

Features of script worth noting are ï and the singly-dotted ú and the abbreviations μυρι]κς no doubt for μυρίκ(ω)σ(ον) (18) and ετεκ̄ for ἔτεκ(εν) (23). Where the left-hand parts of lines are preserved (on the ↓ side), we see that the recipes are separated with *paragraphoi*; the second, the third, and possibly the first recipes beginning in *ekthesis*. Occasionally there is an upper bar over a few letters of a magical word. The right-hand ends of lines on the ↔ side are not very evenly aligned.

Except in εἰς, πείν, and ποιεί, εἰ is spelled ι.

P.Duk.inv. 729      H. 0.133, max.pr. W. 0.114      ΠP or IIIP  
PLATES 1–2<sup>3</sup>

Transcription:

↓ 1    ποσιμονπεπιραμ[    ]ονυποπολλων λαβω[  
2    λοναμπελουτηαρ[    ]τεραχιριδυσιδακτυλοιςκ[  
3    ειςτηνδεξιανχιρακαικαθυπογραψονειςτ[  
4    ζταυποκιμεναονοματακαιγαραπορρη[  
5    μαεστιντηςαφρ[.]διτηςαζανδω ιαζα[  
6    αζαραοιαβαλη[    ]αρμαρ<sup>1</sup>δα φνουνι α  
7    ζαθεωου αβρασαξ εεε ηη ιιι οοοοο[  
8    ωωωωωωφιλ[.]τωμεηΔτονΔθιωκ[  
9    ρητωκαιακαταπαυστωερωτιυποταζεεμ[  
10    ηδηβ̄ταχυ[.]κλυσο[.]τοφ[.]λλονενακρατω[  
11    ..[    ]<sup>2-3</sup>[    ]υς[    ]δοςπεινκαι[

<sup>3</sup> Color photographs can be viewed at <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/729.html>.

12	ως τεσσ[	] [
	— [	] [
13	μυρικήςι[	]υύγρονκα.αθ[
14	γος και βάλ[	]στονομβριουύγ[
15	ἢ μευρη[	]ουλαβωντοαιμ[
16	εις δερμ[ ]ν[	]ψονκαιεντωελα[
17	ονθελισμ[	]αβρακ βραβα[
18	αβραβα[.][	]κστονΔπροστη[
19	καταδεσμ[	]ποιησῃστο[
20	ξῆς δια[	]ανκρινῃε[
21	ποιειπ[	]κασιτεριν[
22	ραξοντ[	]φιλιτωμε[
23	τεκῆΔ[	]α <sup>2</sup> περιπτ[
24	ταβλαν[	]τικαταδ[
25	πτις τικα[	]**** [
26	ιαι *** [	].. [
27	ηΔ διατω[	
↔ 28	]ντυχιασ προς σ ποιειδε[ ]παντα προς νομον	
29	]ακτηριον και θυμους ηγεμο[.]ων και προς πασαν	
30	]νοσ αθελισ εν τυχανιν εκτι[.]ε χαιρεμοιο	
31	]ωνεκ του υλωδουσ διασ τηματοσ ασ τερε κμηφ	
32	]ρκμηφ αφθπαιοσ αρχομενοσ παισ και ηγωνπρεσ	
33	]πιτουλω του ωσ ουρανοσ εγενετο κομασ τηρι	
34	]χερουβιχαιρεμοια βρασα[ ]καλουμενοσ αθερ	
35	]ητωρε λωευ συϊομεγασ αρουηρ συϊομεγασ	
36	]αλουμενοσ εν μεμφηφα[.]στοσ συϊτοσ τοιχιον	
37	]ητοντο γενηθεν εντωσ αναω διοναυγη	
38	]..[.]ς διοζωη και θνατοσ απα[.]ενωνεις	
39	]ων αιωνων[ ]ορ[ ]ντ[.]σουμι..ϊο	
40	]πα πυρω[ ]ρ..ν	
41	]αξιουωπρ[ ]βιουβιβιο[	
42	]ιου και το κρυπτο[ν ]ανατι	
43	]λαμπρο]ς ιλαροζ[ ]ποιησον	
44	]ιλαρον επικα[ ]..οτις ε	
45	]εωβαφρενε[ ]αευεαϊ	
46	]λιθομενοιομ[ ]..[.]νθεωρησῃς	
47	]τον αιωνα[ ]μιθρασ ου	
48	]μαρβαχαρβα[ ]ηφιο	



- 19 Κατάδεσμ[ος ] ποιῆς τὰ ΤΟ[<sup>ca 5</sup>— ᾗ-]  
 20 ξης διὰ [(e.g.) χαρακτήρων, ἐ]ὰν κρίνη, ἐ]ὰν μή κρίνη.]  
 21 Ποιεῖ π[ά]ντα. Λαβὼν τ[ά]βλαν] κασιτερίν[ην ἐγγά-]  
 22 ραζον τ[οὺς χαρακτήρας καὶ·] «Φιλίτω με [τὸν δ(ε)ῖ(να), ὄν ᾗ-]  
 23 τεκ(εν) ἢ δ(ε)ῖ(να), [ἢ δ(ε)ῖ(να), ἦν ἔτεκ(εν) ἢ δ(ε)ῖ(να), καὶ ἐν  
 π[ά]σῃ περιπτ[ώσι.» Ἐπὶ (δὲ?) τήν]  
 24 τ[ά]βλαν [ταύτην ἐγγάραζον καὶ] ὅτι· «Καταδῶ [τὴν δ(ε)ῖ(να)  
 αἰγυ-]  
 25 πτιστὶ κ[ατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ·] \* \* \* \* [ \* \* \* ]  
 26 ΙΑΙ \* \* \* [ \* \* \* \* \* \* ] \*· [Φιλίτω με]  
 27 ἢ δ(ε)ῖ(να) διὰ τῶ[ν χαρακτήρων τούτων.» *v a c a t* ]
- ↔ 28 [Ἵμνος ἐ]ντυχίας πρὸς (ἽΗλιον). Ποιεῖ δὲ [καὶ] πάντα – πρὸς  
 νόμον  
 29 [καὶ δικ]αστήριον καὶ θυμοὺς ἡγεμό[ν]ων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν  
 30 [ἀνάγκη]ν – ὅσα θέλις ἐντυγχάνιν. *v* Ἔστι [δ]έ· *vocat* «Χαίρέ  
 μοι, ὁ  
 31 [ἀνατέλλ]ων ἐκ τοῦ ὑλώδους διαστήματος, ἄστερ Εκμηφ  
 32 [Σατραπε]ρκμηφ *v* Αφθ, παῖ ὁ ἀρχόμενος παῖς καὶ λήγων πρεσ-  
 33 [βύτης, ὁ ἐ]πὶ τοῦ λωτοῦ, ᾧ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο κωμαστήρι-  
 34 [ον, ὁ ἐπάνω] Χερουβι. Χαίρέ μοι, Αβρασα[ξ ὁ] καλούμενος  
 αἰθέ-  
 35 [ριος γενν]ήτωρ Ελωευ. *v* Σὺ ἰ ὁ μέγας Αρουηρ. *v* Σὺ ἰ ὁ μέγας  
 36 [θεὸς ὁ ἐπικ]αλούμενος ἐν Μέμφι Ἵφά[ι]στος. *v* Σὺ ἰ τὸ στοι-  
 χίον  
 37 [τὸ ἀγέν]νητον τὸ γενηθὲν ἐν τῷ ἀενάφ, *v* δι' ὄν ἀυγή, δι'  
 38 [ὄν καὶ σκό]τ[ο]ς, δι' ὄν ζωὴ καὶ θάνατος, ἀπ' ἀ[ὐ]χένων εἰς  
 39 [<sup>ca 7</sup>— e.g. *v* Σὺ ἰ ὁ ἐπὶ τ]ῶν αἰῶνων [<sup>ca 2</sup>]ορα[<sup>ca 4</sup>]. *i*ο  
 40 [<sup>ca 9</sup>— το]ῦ παπυρῶ[νος —<sup>ca 12</sup>—]. ρ<sup>ca 2</sup>ω  
 41 [<sup>ca 5</sup>—]. ἀεθίουω πρ[κμημ Βιου Βιβιου] Βιου Βιβι[ο]υ]  
 42 [Βιου Βιβ]ιου καὶ τὸ κρυπτό[ν ὄνομα <sup>ca 6</sup>]ανατι  
 43 [<sup>ca 5</sup>— λ]αμπρός, ἰλαρός .[<sup>ca 11</sup>—] ποίησο(ν)  
 44 [λαμπρό]ν, ἰλαρόν. Ἐπικα[λοῦμαι —<sup>ca 6</sup>—] . ὅτι σε  
 45 [ὀρκίζι Ια]εωβαφρενε[μοιονεμοθιλαρικριφι]αευεαῖ-  
 46 [φιρικρια]λιθομενοιομ[ενερφαβωεαι, ὅ]πως [ἐ]νθεωρήσης  
 47 [<sup>ca 4</sup>— εἰ]ς τὸν αἰῶνα [<sup>ca 13</sup>—]. Μίθρα σου-  
 48 [μαρτα] μαρβα χαρβα [<sup>ca 12</sup>—]ηφιω  
 49 [<sup>ca 5</sup>—]<sup>v?</sup> αἰῶνι .[<sup>ca 12</sup>—] δὲ καὶ  
 50 [ἀρρήτῳ] καὶ ἀκαταπ[αύστῳ —<sup>ca 6</sup>—].ω

- 51 [ca 5] ὠραχιφ vac. [ca 17] ]ησο(ν)  
 52 [ca 5] ἄ]κτινά σου [ca 14] ].οα  
 53 [ca 9] ]. [ca 18] ]την  
 54 [ca 27] ].ζ ὁ αἰών (?)

1 πεπειρασμένον ὑπο pap. 2 χειρί 3 χεῖρα 4 Ζ pap. ὑποκείμενα 6 φνονν ια[ι? 8 φιλείτω θείω 9 ὑπόταξαι 10 β pap. ]' pap. 11 πιεῖν 13 ὕγρον pap. 15 Η pap. εὐρήσεις 16 θέλεις μισεῖν. Εἶτα 17 θέλεις 18 ]κς pap. 21 κασσιτερίνην 22 φιλείτω 23 περιπτώσει 26 φιλείτω 30 θέλεις ἐντυγχάνειν 35 εἶ bis 36 Μέμφει εἶ στοιχείον 39 εἶ 45 ὀρκίζει (or ὀρκίζω) 51 ]ησο pap.

#### Translation:

(↕) (1–13) A drink tested by many. Taking (masc.) one vine leaf in the left hand with two fingers, place it in the right hand and write on the leaf with myrrh ink the names below—for indeed they are unutterable. The name is that of Aphrodite: “AZANDÓ IAZA[ca 5]AZARAOIABALÊ[ca 2]ARMARIDA PHNOUNI AI ZATHEÔOU ABRASAX EEE ÊÊ III OOOOO [YYYYYY] ÔÔÔÔÔÔÔ. Let so-and-so (fem.) love me, so-and-so (masc.), with a divine and unutterable and inexhaustible love. Be subject to me, (to) so-and-so (masc.). At once (twice), quickly (twice).” Dissolve the leaf in unmixed wine and ... and give (it to her) to drink ... up to four times.

(13–18) Spell for making mute. Taking Ombrius’ moisture, put it into a jug and put a tadpole (?) into Ombrius’ moisture, covered. After 40 days you will find in the jug a toad (?), taking the blood of which, write onto (its) skin (the name of) her whom you want to hate (him). Then write also on the tablet (the name of) him whom you want to be made mute: “... ABRAK BRABA ... ABRABA ... Make so-and-so (masc.) mute before so-and-so (fem.).”

(19–27) Binding spell. ... to drive by means of *charaktêres* (?), whether she (?) approves or not. It does all. Taking a tin tablet, inscribe on it the *charaktêres* (?) and: “Let so-and-so (fem.), whom so-and-so bore, love me, so-and-so (masc.), whom so-and-so bore, even in any circumstance.” On the tablet write also: “I bind so-and-so (fem.) down in Egyptian by the great god (?) (CHARAKTÊRES) IAI (CHARAKTÊRES.) Let so-and-so (fem.) love me, so-and-so (masc.), because of these *charaktêres* (?).”

(↔) (28–end) Hymn (?) of intercession to Helios. Indeed it does all things—in regard to law and lawcourt and passions of magistrates and in regard to any need—that you want to succeed by intercession.

It is: “Hail, you who rise out of material space, star ΕΚΜÊΠΗ SATRAPERKMÊΠΗ, APHTH, child (?) who begin a child and end an old man, who sit upon the lotus, for whom heaven has become a dancing-floor, who are above the Cherubim. Hail, Abrasax, called the heavenly sire ELÔEU. You are the great AROUÊR. You are the great god called Hephaestus in Memphis. You are the unborn element born in the eternal, through whom (comes) light, through whom also dark (?), through whom life and death, from the narrows (?) into ...”

1–12: A love-potion to be made from a leaf inscribed with the secret names of Aphrodite that is then dissolved in wine and given to a woman. Tested, its title claims; a recipe for a divination spell, at *PGM* III 424–466, has another such guarantee: πεπείραται ὑπὸ Μανεθῶνο[ς] “it has been tested by Manetho” (439). The leaf here is to be put into the right hand and then inscribed, presumably with the left; the specification of the hand to be used figures elsewhere in the magical texts: at *PGM* XXXVI 257 the left hand is to pick up, from a triple crossroads, a potsherd, or at XII 191 to smear the body with oil prior to divination; in another divination spell, at I 262–347, in summoning the god one holds a staff in the left hand and inscribed leaves in the right, but to dismiss him one transfers the objects to the other hand.

3: New in this sense is καθυπογράφειν, which in its few previous attestations has meant “describe” or “append a signature to”: LSJ *s.v.*

6: Many of the elements in the secret name are unique here, and except where there are blank spaces on the papyrus it is not clear how it should be articulated. The letters φνου figure in Φνουκενταβαωθ, a regular member of the Μασκελλω Μασκελλι *logos*, which is discussed at *ZPE* 100 (1994) 328–329. They also appear at *SupplMag* 44.1, whose editors interpret them as φνου(ν), an Egyptian definite article *p(h)-* plus  $\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}$  “abyss”; cf. also *PGM* LXII 77 φνοον φειοουω, VII 401 φνουβε-  
 νει. Is the blank space in φνου<sup>ν</sup>ια[ a mistake? We might have expected φνου<sup>ν</sup>ια, for we find the independent vocable ιαι at XII 466, perhaps also in 26 below. Ζαθεου invites comparison with 371 ζαθαιων (Preisendanz: ζαθ Αιών?).

7: εεε ηη is a mistake for α εε ηηη, the intention no doubt being for the vowels to be written in a conventional form, with

one  $\alpha$ , two  $\epsilon$ 's, three  $\eta$ 's, etc., as at *SupplMag* 3.2 and elsewhere. For such use of vowels in magical texts see F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Berlin 1925) 35–60, esp. 58.

8–9: Greek erotic spells call love divine (*PGM* X 7, XV 3; *SupplMag* 48 J-K 13), inexhaustible (42.52), or both (45.48–49), but apparently only here (and *infra* 50?) “secret” or “unutterable.”

10: Write, that is, ἦδη ἦδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, a common phrase at the ends of commands in aggressive magic of Roman Imperial date, a survivor, evidently, of early Eastern practices, for it is found in Akkadian and Phoenician spells of the seventh century B.C.: see Th. Gaster, “The Magical Inscription from Arslan Tash,” *JNES* 6 (1944) 186–188. The abbreviation of the Greek is found at *PGM* XII 143, 396, etc.: see my “Notes from Carthage,” *ZPE* 111 (1996) 115–123, at 119. (R. Daniel has adduced a single ἦδη also at the end of a request in a papyrus document of 254 B.C.: “*P.Lond.* VII 1973 [= *SB* III 7263],” *ZPE* 61 [1985] 125–126.)

11: ἐκλύσ[ας]? Swallowing of magical writings: F. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* (= *RGVV* 3.3 [Giessen 1907]) 128–129, commentary on *SupplMag* 75.3. In the lacuna at the right must have stood directions that the dosage could be repeated.

12: τεσσ[αρακοντάκις is not to be ruled out.

13–18: μυρικήσιον, a “muting spell” to make a man silent to a woman and therefore hated by her. The noun, attested only here, comes from the verb μυρικόω “make mute” (commentary on *SupplMag* 55 D-G 1), which itself has occurred only in magical texts: *PGM* XIII 239–240 ἐάν τινα θέλης μυρικόσ/αι πρὸς ἄνδρα γυναῖκα ἢ ἄνδρα πρὸς γυναῖκα, “if you want a woman to be mute before a man or a man before a woman”; *SupplMag* 55 D-G 1–2, 7, 17 μυρικόσον (for -ωσον) (αὐτὸν) Χιχοει(ν) ⋯ κατέναντι Ἑρμίου, “make Chichoïs mute ... before Hermias”;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The text at *SupplMag* 55 D-G 17 has τονομυρικόσον (for -ωσον), according to the editors a new compound verb, “make mute the volume of the voice,” now recorded in LSJ *Suppl*<sup>2</sup>. The compound may be doubted, however: see my “Il testo greco di una gemma magica dall’ Afghanistan (?) nel Museo Pushkin, Mosca,” in A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Gemme gnostiche e cultura*



and no doubt at 95 ↔ 4 ] μυρικ[. The writer of *PGM* XIII 638 μυρι{κ}ώτατε may well have been influenced by such a root. A Latin example of a muting spell: *DTAud* 139. We may think too of Papageno.

13–14: λαβών is so common at the beginning of magical recipes (cf. line 1) as to be virtually certain here and in 21. “(Zeus) Ombrius’ moisture” here, if correctly restored, is an elevated expression comparable to *PGM* IV 225 ζήνιον (*hapax*) ὕδωρ “Zeus’ rainwater”; cf. also I 287 σπονδή ἀπὸ ὀμβρίου ὕδατος, VII 224, VIII 72 ὕδωρ ὀμβριμον, and *SupplMag* 90 D 3 ὕδατι ὀμ[. Lines 14–16 suggest that something was to be put into (?) the water and that after (?) forty days a creature was to be found there that had blood and skin and a name that was masculine or neuter. My restorations, “tadpole” and “toad,” are only *exempli gratia*, as is the covering for the vessel (for the creature must not jump out), and in fact I have supplied φρῶνον “toad” rather than βάτραχον “frog” only because it fits the available space slightly better. According to Dr. Clarke (see n.1), the maturing tadpole, an “occasional eater,” could well survive for forty days in rainwater, and almost always it is the male frog or toad that sings to its desired female. In *SupplMag* 55, referred to above, which includes the wish 5–7 “let Her-  
 mias hate Chichoïs,” both muted and hater are to be affected. I have therefore assumed two operations here: the woman’s name to be inscribed on the toad’s skin, then the man’s on an ἔλασμα; even if this latter is previously unmentioned, the restoration in 17, with its definite article, seems inescapable. May we speculate that as toad is to human swain, uncroaking toad is to silenced swain who is to be scorned? This silencing seems to be the purpose of inscribing the man’s name on the tablet, along with his “croaks”: αβρακ βραβα[—<sup>c6</sup>—]/αβραβα [—] (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 209ff. βρεκεκεκεξ κοάξ, etc.).

As for the tadpole that the recipe calls for, if indeed the restoration is correct, not only does the sex go unspecified but it is hardly likely that the operant could have been expected to distinguish male from female in this early stage of growth. This

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*ellenistica* (Bologna 2002) 62–69, at 66–67, where I propose that τονο- may be the remnant of a lexical note calling for a name.

is to say that it is not to be assumed that the adult into which it grew would be a singing male, or that the point of the drawing of the blood to inscribe its skin was necessarily chiefly to kill this particular animal and thus to silence it: the “magic” must have lain elsewhere.

Pliny tells us (*HN* 32.50), in any case, that authorities try to outvie one another in relating marvels of the toad; indeed, although I have no parallel for the magical use of a toad nurtured in rainwater, frogs and toads are used in many operations of ancient magic (see *e.g.* M. Wellmann, “Frosche,” *RE* 8 [1912] 113–119.)<sup>5</sup> In a “muting spell,” the toad may be particularly appropriate, for Pliny goes on to say that if a toad is brought into an assembly of people, they fall silent. In addition, there is a recurrent story about silence supernaturally imposed on batrachia themselves: Aelian, for example, reports (*NA* 3.37) that the people of Seriphus claim that Perseus, tired from his struggle with Medusa and unable to sleep because of the frogs’ croaking, called on his father Zeus to silence them; from then on, frogs, even if introduced onto the island from elsewhere, were never again heard there. Others say that the hero was Heracles (*Ant. Car.* 4). Common to both legends, in either case, was Zeus as divine father—conceivably also in the later tradition that Martin Luther called on God (the Father?) to curse the frogs that were distracting him from his work on translating the Bible: to this day frogs croak not in the Schanzgraben at Wittenberg (H. Bächtold-Stäubli, “Frosch,” *HDA* III 124–142, at 130). If this is the pattern, relevant may be the use of the liquid of Zeus himself, which would work on the principle of analogical magic: just as Zeus through his water mutes the toad, so too shall the toad’s blood and skin mute the man to be hated.

16: ἵτα γρά]ψον: space would allow κατάγρα]ψον or ὑπό-γρα]ψον instead.

<sup>5</sup> A German superstition about the toad (H. Bächtold-Stäubli, “Kröte,” *HDA* V 608–635, at 614), even if it does not involve silencing the person to be hated, may be relevant: if a witch wants to draw a man away from his wife, she puts a dead toad under his threshold; as long as it is there the man will hate his wife and love the witch.

19–26: For a *katadesmos* (curse tablet) to bring a woman to a man. Of lead *katadesmoi* we have abundant examples, from the late sixth or early fifth century B.C. through late antiquity. Introduction: †K. Preisendanz, “Fluchtafel (Defixio),” *RAC* 8 (1972) 1–24, and D. Ogden, “Binding Spells: Curse Tablets and Voodoo Dolls in the Greek and Roman Worlds,” in V. Flint, R. Gordon, G. Luck, and D. Ogden (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. Ancient Greece and Rome* (London 1999) 1–90; bibliography: Preisendanz, *op.cit.*, and my “A Survey of Greek Defixiones not included in the Special Corpora,” *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151–197, and “New Greek Curse Tablets (1985–2000),” *GRBS* 41 (2000) 5–46 (also available at <http://www.duke.edu/web/classics/grbs/indices.html>).

20: “Whether she chooses or not:” cf. *PGM* IV 2251–2252, 2255–2257, 2299–2300 τὸ δεῖνα ποιήσεις, κἄν θέλης κἄν μὴ θέλης in a coercive hymn to the lunar goddesses, but I have not found a similar expression in an erotic spell.

21: Tin for such black magic is rarer than lead: we do find instructions at *PGM* IV 2213–2217 for inscribing a tin tablet ἐπὶ ἄρματορακτῶν “chariot-crashers” *add.lex.*), at VII 417–422 for a κάτοχος, and at 459–466 for an erotic spell; see also Ph. I. Koukoules, “Μεσαιωνικοὶ καὶ νεοελληνικοὶ κατάδεσμοι, 1,” *Λαογραφία* 8 (1925) 302–346, at 305–306. Normally, the use of tin is protective, as at *SupplMag* 94.36–39 (against strangury), where the editors give examples.

22–23: Lineage through the mother in magical texts: my “*CIL* VIII 19525(B).2 *QPVVVLA* = *q(uem) p(eperit) vulva*,” *Philologus* 120 (1976) 127–132, J. B. Curbera, “Maternal Lineage in Greek Magical Texts,” in D. Jordan, H. Montgomery, and E. Thomassen (eds.), *The World of Ancient Magic* (Bergen 1999) 195–204.

23–24: ἐν πά]ση περιπτ[ώσι (for -σει): the phrase is not paralleled in magical texts, but the restoration seems inevitable. Ἐπὶ (δὲ?) τὴν] / τάβλαν [ταύτην ἐγγάραξον καὶ] ὅτι· «καταδῶ etc.» is no more than a suggestion, and it may be objected that if the same tablet is referred to, repetition of τάβλαν and the verb is otiose. Another possibility is that the words of 24–27 are to be inscribed on a second tablet, of a different metal, e.g. Λαβῶν] / τάβλαν [μολυβδίνην, ἐγγάραξον καὶ·] «ὅτι καταδῶ (or ἐγγ. κ.) ὅ· «κ.), etc.»

24: The first-person καταδῶ is the verb *par excellence* of earlier curse tablets, particularly in Attic examples of IV<sup>a</sup>: see my “Towards the Text of a Curse Tablet from the Kerameikos,” in A. Matthaiou (ed.), *Ἀττικά Ἐπιγραφαί. Πρακτικά Συμποσίου εἰς μνήμην Adolf Wilhelm (1864–1950)* (Athens 2004) 291–312, at 307–308. Here we have its apparently single instance in a later magical text.

24–25: In the papyrus formulae attention is given to the special languages in which divinities are addressed, *e.g.* in the instructions at *PGM XIII* 81–86 for the invocation of the Creator God: ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε, κύριε, ὀρνεογλυφιστί ..., ἱερογλυφιστί ..., ἀβραϊστί ..., αἰγυπτιστί ..., κυνοκεφαλιστί ..., ἱερακιστί ..., ἱερατιστί ..., “I invoke you, lord, in inscribed bird-talk ‘...’, in hieroglyphics ‘...’, in Hebrew ‘...’, in Egyptian ‘...’, in baboon-talk ‘...’, in falcon-talk ‘...’, in hieratic ‘...’”; later the operant is to say ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε, τὸν τὰ πάντα περιέχοντα, πάση φωνῇ καὶ πάση διαλέκτῳ, “I invoke you, who embrace all things, in every tongue and every dialect.” To this same god, who has an Egyptian name (153–154 τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν ὄνομα αἰγυπτιστί ...), the Sun sings a hymn in “hieroglyphics” and Hebrew. 24–25 αἰγυ]/πτιστί is inevitable: is the conceit that the *charaktêres* of 25–26 represent Egyptian? *Charaktêres* such as these are not uncommon in magical texts, but of their meaning, if any, there has been no general study, a need stressed long ago by A. D. Nock, “Greek Magical Papyri,” *JEA* 14 (1928) 211–235, at 235 (= *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* [Oxford 1972] 176–194, at 194). Aëtius Med. (12.51) preserves a note by the physician Philagrius (III/IV<sup>p</sup>) that implies, if he is referring to *charaktêres* of the type found in magical texts, that they were pronounceable: a drug under discussion is, they say (i.e. as one finds in recipe-books), more effective if while boiling it you spit once into the pot and once onto the ground. After this one finds, in such books, ὀνόματα βαρβαρικά, written in a curious script (περίεργον ἐχόντων τὴν γραφήν). “It seemed to me superfluous and inappropriate to copy them out, for the drug prepared without the incantation (ἐπίφθεγξις) works as well as that prepared with it.” We may think of a silver phylactery at Rome (G. Bevilacqua, “Iscrizioni greche magiche di Roma. Alcune espressioni cultuali,” *SEL* 20 [2003] 115–131, at 119), whose text includes λέγε plus several *charaktêres*. One of the papyrus

recipes cited above, for an erotic spell written on a tin tablet, calls for the *charaktères* (*PGM* VII 464–465)

to be inscribed; to the third, fourth, and fifth of these and to the two vowels followed by the last *charaktēr* may be compared the second, third, and fourth on the present papyrus and the vowels and *charaktēr* beginning its line 26.

25–27: Restoration of the Greek after αἰγυ]πτιστί only *exempli gratia*; cf. *PGM* XXXV 35–38 ὀρκίζω σε ··· κα[τ]ὰ τοῦ μεγάλου χθονίου θεοῦ αριωρ' ευωρ'. Equally possible is e.g. κ[ατὰ τῶν μ. θ.].

26–27: Restoration of the Greek only *exempli gratia*.

28–end: An appeal to the Sun. The supplement ὕμνος at the beginning is only *exempli gratia*, for εὐχή “prayer” would equally suit; and ἐντυχία, here translated “intercession,” may mean no more than “encounter” or “audience.” For such encounters or meetings with the Sun see S. Eitrem, “Die σύστασις und der Lichtzauber in der Magie,” *SymbOsl* 8 (1929) 49–53. The syntax of ποιεῖ δὲ [καὶ] πάντα ··· ὅσα θέλεις ἐντυγχάνειν is somewhat awkward, the result perhaps of a scribe’s being distracted by the insertion of the examples in the πρὸς phrases.

31–32: Εκμηφ as an independent vocable seems new here (a deformation of περκμημ—line 41 below—without the Egyptian definite article?); we find similar letters in *PGM* O 2.24 ζανεκμητ, and the sequence forms part of Σατραπερκμηφ just afterwards (32), which is itself well attested (XII 185, 917; F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyri of London and Leiden* [Oxford 1921] 22<sup>v</sup> 4; other examples: R. D. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets I* [Opladen 1994] 48.2) and has attracted theories as to its meaning, possibly “house of darkness” or “lord of darkness” (Brashear 3596). Is Αφθ a deformation of Φθα? If so, perhaps the three letters following it are part of the name: cf. *PGM* XIII 1056 Πατθ· Φθα.

32–33: The Sun young when rising, old when setting: I 33–34 ὁ πρωΐας νεαρὸς καὶ ὁ[ψὲ πρεσ]βύτης (cf. IV 1695 δὺς ὁψὲ γέρων). In Egyptian texts the Sun in his heavenly journey is called the child Kheper at daybreak, the man Re at noon, and the old man Atum at nightfall: J. Gw. Griffiths, “Solar Cycle,” in D. B. Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* II (Ox-

ford 2001) 476–480, at 477.

33–34: Heaven as a dancing-floor: *PGM* IV 1628, XII 183, LXXVII 12–13; cf. my “Two Papyri with Formulae for Divination,” in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden 2002) 25–36, at 33.

34: The expression “(seated) above the Cherubim,” familiar from the Bible as a description of the god of Israel (*e.g.* in the doxologies at LXX Isa. 37.16 and Dan. 3.55), also appears in the magical papyri: at *PGM* VII 634 as an epithet of Menôphri (Th. Hopfner, “Orientalisch-religionsgeschichtliches aus den griechischen Zauberpapyri Ägyptens,” *ArchOr* 3 [1931] 119–155, 327–358, at 140: “der schöne Anlegeplatz” = *Mn-nfr* “Memphis”?) in an invocation of the Memphite Asclepius and at XIII 255 (~ 334) in an invocation of the Sun, in which the speaker claims that he himself sits above the Cherubim.

34–35: I have not seen this spelling, Ελωευ, of the angel-name; it is surely a variant on the Ελωαι, Ελωε(ι), etc., in the magical texts: cf. *PGM* XXXVI 42 Ιαω Σαβαωθ Αδωναϊ Ελωαι Αβρασαξ, which associates E. not only with Jewish celestials but, as here, with the familiar Abrasax, calling them all κύριοι ἄγγελοι. “Abrasax” seems also to be an appellation of the Sun in a doxology at VII 505–521.

39: The traces at the end of the line are incompatible with σὺ ἰὸ.

40: A recipe at *PGM* LVIII 1–14 for a ritual *diabolê* and *DTAud* 188 (Rome?, IV<sup>p</sup>?), itself based on this recipe, refer to the impiety of burning Osiris’ παπυρών, which ordinarily should mean a papyrus patch (cf. μάραθρον/μαραθῶν “fennel/fennel-patch,” σίκυος/σικυῶν “cucumber/cucumber-patch,” etc.) and is so defined by LSJ, but J. Gw. Griffith (in my “Magia nilotica sulle rive del Tevere,” *MedAnt* 7 [2004] 693–710, at 694 n.3) urges *per epistt.* that on Egyptological grounds it is likelier there to mean “papyrus boat” (indeed Aquila, in his paraphrase of the story of Moses in the bulrushes, calls Moses’ boat a παπυρεῶν). The context is too fragmentary to tell us what the word means here: the Sun’s heavenly boat?

41–42: πρ[κμημ restored after *SupplMag* 44.3–4 περκμημ Βιου Βιου Βιβιου, whose editors explain it as Egyptian for “house of darkness;” it may be related to the -πε]ρκμηφ of line 32. Βιου: *PGM* V 484, XIII 1058, XVI 63. Βιβιου: I 129–130, II 123,

XII 81, XIII 325, XIXa 2, *DTAud* 269.14. Both: *SupplMag* 44.3–4. Suggested meanings: Brashear 3585.

42: *E.g.* ὄνομά ἐστιν ἴ]ανατι.

43: *E.g.* [ὡς σὺ ἴ λ]αμπρός, ἰλαρός, [οὕτως καὶ ἐμὲ] ποιήσο(ν) etc., “just as you are resplendent, happy, so too make me resplendent, happy.”

45–46: The reading ὄπ]ως (46) is not at all certain, but it suits the context and has led me to supply either ὀρκίζι (for -ζει) in 45, with Ιαεωβ- as subject, or ὀρκίζω “I adjure you in the name of Ιαεωβ-.” The long palindrome here is frequent: Brashear 3587.

47–48: Μίθρας as an appellation of the Sun: *PGM* III 462 Ἥλιε Μίθρα, IV 482 ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ἥλιος Μίθρας; cf. H. D. Betz, *The “Mithras Liturgy”* (Tübingen 2003) 98–99.

Σου/[μαρτα] μαρβα χαρβα: *PGM* IV 1805 σουμαρτα· μαρβα· καρβα·, O 2.21 σουμαρτα μαξα καρβα (cf. also XIXa 44 ζερμαβε χαχαρ?) in “fetching” spells. Σουμαρτα has been interpreted as “protector:” Brashear 3599.

49: Or αἰὼν ι[,] or αἰωνι[.]

50: Restored after lines 8–9.

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*P.Duk.inv.* 729 †



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