

Bild und Schrift auf ‚magischen‘ Artefakten

Materiale Textkulturen

Schriftenreihe des Sonderforschungsbereichs 933

Herausgegeben von
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Bild und Schrift auf ‚magischen‘ Artefakten

Herausgegeben von
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Vorwort

Der vorliegende Band beinhaltet Beiträge, die auf einem interdisziplinären Workshop des Sonderforschungsbereichs 933 *Materiale Textkulturen – Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen in non-typographischen Gesellschaften* an der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg am 19. Juli 2013 am Ägyptologischen Institut vorgestellt wurden. Ausgerichtet wurde der Workshop mit dem Titel „Methodische Reflexionen zum Spannungsverhältnis zwischen magischem Text und Bild“ von den MitarbeiterInnen des Teilprojekts A03 „Materialität und Präsenz magischer Zeichen zwischen Antike und Mittelalter“ Sarah Kiyanrad, Christoffer Theis und Laura Willer. Die Vorträge der RednerInnen so wie ergänzende Artikel wurden in überarbeiteter Form in den Band aufgenommen.

Das Ziel des Bandes soll sein, die angeregten und anregenden Diskussionen des Workshops um die verschiedenen vorgestellten Thematiken fortzuführen und zu vertiefen. Ebenso soll anderen, an der Diskussion interessierten Personen, die nicht am Workshop teilnehmen konnten, die Möglichkeit geboten werden, einen Einblick in die Arbeit zu erhalten.

Unser Dank gilt dem Sonderforschungsbereich 933 mit seinen Sprechern Prof. Dr. Markus Hilgert und Prof. Dr. Ludger Lieb sowie den Herausgebern für die Aufnahme des Bandes in die Reihe *Materiale Textkulturen*. Besonderer Dank gilt der *Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft*, ohne deren finanzielle Unterstützung der vorliegende Band nicht hätte erscheinen können. Für hilfreiche Anmerkungen und ihre kritische Durchsicht des Skripts sei Prof. Dr. Susanne Enderwitz, Prof. Dr. Andrea Jördens und Prof. Dr. Joachim F. Quack gedankt. Laura Müller und Julia Weber sei unser Dank für ihre redaktionelle Unterstützung, Jessica Dreschert für die Erstellung des Satzes sowie Ursula Egner, Hadis Jahani und Karin Meese für ihre Hilfe bei der Ausrichtung des Workshops ausgesprochen.

Heidelberg, im Sommer 2017

Sarah Kiyanrad, Christoffer Theis und Laura Willer

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Sarah Kiyanrad, Christoffer Theis und Laura Willer
(Schrift-)Bildliche Magie

Zehn *Kab* Zauberei kamen in die
Welt herab: Neun nahm Ägypten,
eines die ganze Welt!

Talmud, *Traktat Qiddušin* 49b¹

1 Magie in Bild und Text


Auf zahlreichen Artefakten – Amuletten, sogenannten magischen Schalen und Gemmen –, die gemeinhin dem Bereich der ‚Magie‘ zugerechnet werden, finden sich sowohl Texte als auch Bilder. Deren Verhältnis, das bislang nur selten im Fokus wissenschaftlicher Aufmerksamkeit stand, soll im vorliegenden Sammelband nachgegangen werden.

Das Thema des vorliegenden Bandes basiert auf dem besonderen methodischen Fokus des Sonderforschungsbereichs 933, der die Verbindung von Material und Geschriebenem und die darauf bezogenen Praktiken untersucht. Die nachfolgenden Beiträge erforschen speziell den Konnex von bildlichen Darstellungen und Textstücken und deren Interaktion auf ‚magischen‘ Artefakten. Welche Bedeutungen sind in Bildern ‚hineingeschrieben‘, welchen ‚Text‘ vermitteln sie – um welche Informationen ergänzen sie also Texte auf Artefakten? Und in welcher Form und mit welchem Design wird andererseits Schrift auf einem Artefakt angebracht, um effektiv zu sein? Ist das Verständnis allein des Geschriebenen oder allein des Bilds ausreichend, um das Ensemble in seinem Ganzen zu interpretieren, oder entschlüsselt sich die Bedeutung eines Artefakts erst durch die Kombination von Bild und Schrift?

Diese Fragen sind insbesondere deshalb von Relevanz, weil sie hier auf non-typographische Gesellschaften angewendet werden – solche, in denen Handschriftlichkeit und Inschriftlichkeit noch die übliche Form der Schriftlichkeit darstellt. Schon das Bild – seien es eine Tintenzeichnung, inskribierte Figuren oder bereits zwischen Bild und Schrift stehende *charakteres* – muss ‚gelesen‘ werden können und bedarf der Entschlüsselung; ein Text wiederum erschließt sich nur denjenigen, die die entsprechende Schrift beherrschen und somit die vorhandenen Zeichen in ihrem Kontext deuten können. Um im Sinne des SFB 933 eine Reduktion auf ausschließlich philologische Fragen zu vermeiden, rücken die Beiträge vor allem die Bilder der Text-Bild-Ensembles in den Fokus.

Dieser Beitrag ist im Heidelberger Sonderforschungsbereich 933 „Materiale Textkulturen. Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen in non-typographischen Gesellschaften“ entstanden. Der SFB 933 wird durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft finanziert.

¹ Edition Stemberger 1987, 223.

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Alle Beiträge befassen sich scheinbar mit ‚Magie‘ – was dieser Begriff genau bedeuten soll und was man (alles) darunter subsumieren kann, ist nach wie vor Gegenstand einer regen Forschungsdiskussion.² Während der Begriff in zahlreichen Publikationen aus der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts noch unhinterfragt negativ konnotiert war und Magie willkürlich mal als „unverständlich“, „irrational“, „negative Wirkung“, „Parasit aller Religionen“³ und mal als „Zeugnis[se] eines weltbeherrschenden Aberglaubens“⁴ bezeichnet wurde, ist diese Forschungsposition heutzutage weitgehend verschwunden.

In fast jeder jüngeren Publikation zum Thema Magie finden sich Ansätze zur Definition des umstrittenen Begriffs. Öfter wird Magie auch als eine Art von ‚Restkategorie‘ begriffen,⁵ die erst durch den Betrachter geschaffen wird. So existieren in der Forschung Stimmen, die Magie als wissenschaftliche Kategorie insgesamt verwerfen wollen.⁶ Dies wird etwa damit begründet, dass sich keine sinnvolle Unterscheidung zwischen magischen und religiösen Praktiken treffen lasse. Magie wird damit als ein Element von Religion verstanden. Die Nähe oder Einheit von Magie und Religion zeigt sich unter anderem daran, dass die Trennlinie zwischen diesen beiden Kategorien nur mit großem Aufwand zu ziehen ist und weitgehend unscharf verläuft.⁷

Blickt man auf historische Einschätzungen ‚magischer‘ Praktiken, so nehmen die ‚Ausüßer‘ dieser Praktiken ‚Magie‘ naturgemäß positiv wahr, worauf verschiedene Beiträge des vorliegenden Sammelbands dezidiert hinweisen. Doch insbesondere in der Zeit nach Christi Geburt finden sich mehrfach Äußerungen, dass Magie etwas Negatives sei. So deutet Ignatius von Smyrna im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert in seinem Epheserbrief XIX die Geburt Jesu als das Ende der Magie,⁸ wie nach Origenes, *Contra Celsum* I, 60 der Lobpreis der Engel in Lukas 2, 14 einen Machtverfall aller Magier bewirkt habe.⁹ Etwas anders interpretiert Justin der Märtyrer in seiner Schrift *Dialog mit dem Juden Tryphon* LXXVIII, 9 die Anbetung Jesu durch die Magier als Befreiung letzterer.¹⁰ Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* IV, 42 bezeichnete die Zauberei als „trugvolle und alberne Kunst der Magier“.¹¹ Hippokrates, *De morbo*

² Zu Definitionsversuchen siehe Harari 2017, 15–203; Theis 2014, 19–25 und Otto 2012.

³ Eitrem 1939, 67.

⁴ Preisendanz 1939, 151.

⁵ Kippenberg 1998, 95.

⁶ Hier sei nur auf die rezente Arbeit von Otto 2011, 129–132 und passim mit weiterführender Literatur verwiesen.

⁷ Als Einführung hierzu sei auf Kippenberg/Luchesi 1978 und Cunningham 1999 verwiesen; speziell zur Ägyptologie Gutekunst 1987, 94 und Ritner 1994.

⁸ Edition von Bihlmeyer 1924, 87.

⁹ Edition von Crouzel/Simonetti 1978, 198.

¹⁰ Edition Haeuser 1917, 129. Dies findet sich auch bei Epiphanius von Salamis, *De Fide* VIII,1–3 und Eusebius von Caesarea, *Demonstratio Evangelica* VII, 331a wie auch bei Irenäus von Lyon, *Adversus haereses* III, 16,4.

¹¹ Griechischer Text nach Marcovich 1986, 126.

sacro, C 2 beschreibt Magier als Betrüger. Ähnlich findet es sich auch noch im Codex Theodosianus IX, 16,4: *Chaldaei ac magi ac ceteri quos maleficos ob facinorum magnitudinem vulgus appellat*, da hier der Magier schlicht als *maleficus*, als „übel Handelnder“, betitelt wird.¹² Augustinus von Hippo, *De doctrina Christiana* II, 20,30 schrieb Magie zusammen mit allen anderen heidnischen Riten dem Satan zu.¹³ Um die Zeit von Christi Geburt unterscheidet Philon von Alexandria, *De specialibus legibus* III, 100 f., zwischen ‚guter‘ und ‚schlechter‘ Magie, wobei letztere nur von den unteren Bevölkerungsschichten ausgeübt worden sein soll. Diese Unterscheidung findet sich noch im zehnten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert im Werk *Kitāb al-Fihrist* 309,16 und 311,16 von Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn an-Nadīm.¹⁴

Die wenigen genannten Stellen mögen genügen, um bereits den zwiespältigen Blick in der Antike auf das, was man gemeinhin als ‚Magie‘ betitelt, zu verdeutlichen. Bis heute wurde und wird der Begriff Magie vor allem im Zusammenhang mit Praktiken verwendet, die ein Nischendasein fristen und die eben nicht von allen als Teil der legitimen religiösen Praktiken anerkannt werden. Oft ist dies als Diffamierungsstrategie solcher Praktiken zu verstehen. Das Verhältnis zwischen Religion und Magie kann in diesem Band nicht erschöpfend behandelt werden. Doch lässt sich Folgendes festhalten: Gemeinsam ist den hier behandelten ‚magischen‘ Artefakten, dass man sie zur religiösen Volkskultur rechnen kann und dass die mit und an ihnen vollzogenen Handlungen nicht von allen Mitgliedern der jeweiligen Gesellschaft als legitime religiöse Praktik verstanden wurden.

Amulette, Gemmen und ähnliche Artefakte waren stets Objekte interkulturellen Austauschs. Auch davon zeugen die Bilder und Texte auf den Artefakten. Viele der vor allem aus Ägypten bekannten Vorstellungen und Anwendungsschemata finden sich nämlich auch in angrenzenden Kulturbereichen. Dies manifestiert sich nicht nur in zeitgenössischen Texten, sondern auch darin, dass die Schemata in zeitlich weit auseinanderliegenden Räumen zu greifen sind, weshalb man sie wohl als interkulturelles Gut bezeichnen kann.¹⁵ Entsprechende Praktiken konnten beispielsweise in Ägypten nicht nur im offiziellen religiösen Bereich, sprich dem Tempel angewandt werden, sondern finden sich ebenso im häuslichen Kontext.¹⁶ Freilich bedeutet dies nicht, dass die ausübenden Akteure selbst sie notwendig als Magie bezeichnet hätten.

‚Magische‘ Elemente aus der ägyptischen, mesopotamischen oder griechischen Antike begegnen auch noch im islamischen Kontext. Daher darf auch gefragt werden, inwiefern es speziell in diesem Bereich überhaupt sinnvoll ist, die entsprechenden Praktiken und Artefakte spezifischen Kulturen oder gar Religionen zuzurechnen. So begegnen uns in den *Papyri Graecae Magicae* und ‚magischen‘ Handbüchern in

¹² Text nach Fögen 1993, 323.

¹³ Siehe den Text bei Green 2004, 90.

¹⁴ Siehe die Textausgabe von Flügel 1871, 309, 311.

¹⁵ Vgl. nur die Beispiele bei Theis 2014, 631–654; id. 2016.

¹⁶ Zu diesem Zusammenhang auch Schneider 2000, 38.

koptischer Sprache¹⁷ höchst unterschiedliche göttliche Wesen, Epitheta, Mittel und Instrumentarien aus den Kulturen des antiken östlichen Mittelmeerraums. Es finden sich ägyptische, griechische und mesopotamische Einflüsse wie auch jüdisches und christliches Gedankengut.¹⁸ Dementsprechend würde hier eine Einengung der Texte auf einen speziellen Kulturkreis keinen Sinn ergeben – das Zusammenspiel verschiedenster Kulturen und Religionen tritt in den Texten offen zu Tage, was eine dezidierte Zurechnung eines (magischen) Textes – der in diesen wie auch in anderen Fällen aus kleinen, separat zu betrachtenden Einheiten besteht – zu nur einer Kultur oder Religion obsolet macht. Doch muss in diesem Kontext ebenso die Frage gestellt werden, ob dies nicht auch lediglich eine additive Nebeneinanderstellung verfügbarer Splitter aus verschiedenen Kulturbereichen darstellt, die als Anzeichen für einen Zerfall des Gesamtverständnisses zu verstehen sein könnte.

Wohl jede Fachdisziplin, die sich mit Magie befasst, trifft in dem von ihr betrachteten historischen und kulturellen Kontext nicht nur auf Handbücher, in denen neben Beschreibungen auch Abbildungen zu sehen sind, sondern auch auf Artefakte, die gleichermaßen Schrift und Bild tragen. Je nach Ausbildung und Forschungsinteresse steht in der Regel das eine oder andere im Vordergrund der wissenschaftlichen Beschäftigung mit dem Text bzw. dem Artefakt. So werden magische Gemmen manchmal nach ikonographischen Gesichtspunkten kategorisiert, wenngleich sie Zeichen tragen (können), während beispielsweise bei der Edition magischer Schalen die begleitenden Zeichnungen gelegentlich gar nicht oder nicht vollständig abgebildet und besprochen werden.

Zugegebenermaßen fällt es in vielen Fällen schwer, einen konkreten Zusammenhang zwischen Bild und Text herzustellen. Genau dies soll in der vorliegenden Publikation versucht bzw. es soll anhand einzelner Aspekte überprüft werden, inwiefern dies überhaupt möglich ist. Neben den rein inhaltlichen Aspekten sind auch praxeologische sowie weiterführende Fragestellungen zu betrachten, also Fragen, die auf den Umgang der Akteure mit schrifttragenden Artefakten abheben – wurden Text und Bild etwa von demselben Schreiber bzw. Zeichner ausgeführt? Wurden vorhandenen Texten nachträglich Bilder hinzugefügt – oder andersherum? Sind Text oder Bild allein für die Wirkweise entscheidend, oder sprechen beide möglicherweise je einen bestimmten Adressatenkreis an? Was vermögen Bilder, anders als Texte, zu bewirken – und umgekehrt?

Die Existenz von Objekten und Büchern, die Bild und Text vereinen, erlaubt einen anderen Blick auf solche, die nur Bild oder nur Text zeigen. Warum gibt es beispielsweise magische Gemmen mit ähnlicher Ikonographie, von denen manche beschriftet

¹⁷ Edition der PGM: Preisendanz 1973–1974. Bsp. für ein koptisches Handbuch siehe Choat/Gardner 2013.

¹⁸ Zur Durchmischung auch Theis 2014, 609 f.; Brashear 1995; Quack 2013, 177–199.

sind, andere wiederum nicht?¹⁹ Ohne auf diese und weitere Fragen abschließende Antworten geben zu können, möchte der vorliegende Sammelband aus unterschiedlichen fachlichen Perspektiven Bild und Text auf magischen Artefakten und in magischen Texten gleichermaßen in die Betrachtung miteinbeziehen und damit einen ersten Schritt hin zu einer holistischen Analyse der jeweiligen Forschungsobjekte leisten.

2 Bild versus Text?

Bekannt und seit langem publiziert sind textliche Überlieferungen aus der Antike, deren Inhalte dem Bereich der Magie zugeordnet werden, wie zum Beispiel die *Papyri Graecae Magicae* oder die sogenannten magischen Schalen aus Mesopotamien.²⁰ Weniger Beachtung wurde dabei den auf ihnen angebrachten Zeichnungen gewidmet; in den *Papyri Graecae Magicae* zum Beispiel sind einige davon als photographische Abbildungen beigegeben, ohne auch nur ansatzweise besprochen zu werden. Anders verhält es sich bei der Publikation von ‚magischen Gemmen‘, was in der Natur der Sache liegt, da diese viel häufiger bildliche Darstellungen aufweisen als Flächen, in die ausschließlich Schriftzeichen oder – im Falle von Pseudoschriften – schriftartige Zeichen geritzt wurden.²¹ Dabei zeigen neuere Untersuchungen übereinstimmend, dass es fruchtbar ist, Text und Bild auf ein und demselben Artefakt in Verbindung zu betrachten.²²

Die Spannweite bildlicher oder bildartiger Darstellungen auf ‚magischen‘ Artefakten reicht von anthropomorphen Gestalten bis hin zu abstrakten Zeichen wie den Zaubersymbolen, auch *charaktes* genannt.²³ Bei ihnen ist nicht klar auszumachen, ob sie für Eingeweihte symbolischen oder bildhaften Charakter aufwiesen oder eine Pseudoschrift darstellten. Denn schriftartige Zeichen bzw. Pseudoschriften befinden sich in einem Grenzbereich zwischen tatsächlicher Schrift und symbolischer Darstellung.²⁴

Die oben skizzierte Forschungssituation mag verschiedene Gründe haben. Einer davon wird zumindest im Falle der griechischsprachigen *Papyri* darin zu suchen sein,

¹⁹ Eine Antwort hierzu bietet Faraone 2011. Er geht davon aus, dass sowohl Bilder als auch Texte Weiterentwicklungen und zusätzliche Medien waren, die den an sich wirkmächtigen Steinsorten, die ursprünglich blank in Gebrauch waren, eingraviert wurden.

²⁰ Preisendanz 1973–1974; Naveh/Shaked 1985; Levene 2003; id. 2013; Moriggi 2014.

²¹ Zu sog. magischen Gemmen u. a. Michel 2004 und Entwistle/Adams 2011; einige Beispiele für solche Pseudoschriftzeichen liegen bei Mastrocinque 2003; id. 2007; id. 2014 vor.

²² Dijkstra 2015; Mößner/Nauerth 2015.

²³ Dazu Gordon 2014, 253–300.

²⁴ Zu Schriftzeichen Hornbacher/Neumann/Willer 2015, 172.

dass es deutlich mehr magische Stücke gibt, die nur Texte aufweisen als solche, die gleichzeitig mit einer Zeichnung versehen sind.²⁵ Eine weitere Ursache wird darin liegen, dass ein Bild zuerst ikonographisch identifiziert werden muss, bevor es interpretiert werden kann.²⁶ Während in der Moderne sprachliche Zeichen auf Grund ihrer Präzision zumeist als privilegiert betrachtet werden,²⁷ war in der griechisch-römischen Antike die Hierarchie oder strikte disziplinäre Trennung zwischen bildlichem und sprachlichem Ausdruck weit weniger ausgeprägt. Vielmehr gab es eine intensivere Interaktion zwischen beiden Feldern.²⁸ Als ein Grund dafür ist anzunehmen, dass in einer Kultur mit einer vermutlich hohen Analphabetenrate Bildern eine besondere Bedeutung zukam.²⁹ Dies wird allein an dem nahezu ubiquitär präsenten Bildschmuck auf Gefäßen, Tempeln und anderen repräsentativen Gebäuden deutlich. Ideengeschichtlich spielten Abbilder in der griechisch geprägten Antike eine herausragende Rolle; man denke nur an die Schattenbilder in Platons Höhlengleichnis. In den mythologischen Erzählungen wurde etwa von Narziss berichtet, der sich in sein eigenes Spiegelbild verliebte, und in der Mantik deutete man von den Göttern gesandte (bildhafte) Zeichen wie den Vogelflug oder die Eingeweide eines Opfertiers.

Dass selbst in den beiden verwandten Kulturen der griechischen und römischen Antike allerdings Unterschiede bei der Auffassung, was ein Zeichen sei, und der adäquaten Anwendung des Zeichenbegriffs bestanden, zeigen allein die Ausdrücke, die gewählt wurden, um das Kultbild einer Gottheit zu benennen. So wurde im Lateinischen oft auf *signum* „Zeichen, Götterbild“ und *simulacrum* „Bildnis“ zurückgegriffen, während im Griechischen *agalma* „(Götter-)Bild“ bevorzugt wurde, *sema* „Zeichen“ dagegen nie und *semeion* „Zeichen“ nur ausnahmsweise Verwendung fand.³⁰ In den koptischen Zauberpapyri werden Zeichnungen im Gegensatz dazu als *zodion* „figürliches Bildnis“ bezeichnet.³¹

Trotz platonischer Bildkritik wurden Götterbilder generell nicht von den Gottheiten selbst unterschieden, d. h. die Bilder repräsentierten nicht das göttliche Wesen, sondern verkörperten es.³² Die griechischen Philosophen thematisierten immer

25 Dijkstra 2015, 287. Auch wenn Dijkstra sich nur auf griechische Amulette christlichen Inhalts bezieht und einräumt, dass das Verhältnis auf sämtliche magischen Papyri bezogen anders ausfallen kann, wird es doch nicht beträchtlich divergieren.

26 Ein Bsp. für eine forschungsgeschichtliche Diskussion zu einem Zeichenkomplex bei Dijkstra 2015, 275 f.

27 Graf 1997, 952.

28 Squire 2009, 189–193.

29 Zur umstrittenen Frage nach der Alphabetisierungsrate in der Antike u. a. Harris 1989, Beard/Bowman/Corbier 1991 und Allen 1991, 7 f. Hinweise auf die neuste Literatur finden sich in der Einleitung zu Bagnall 2011.

30 Graf 1997, 947.

31 Mößner/Nauerth 2015, 351.

32 Squire 2009, 113–116.

wieder die Frage, ob ein Abbild eine Gottheit adäquat abzubilden vermöge.³³ Auch wenn die Diskussion über diese Götterbilder vor allem um Statuen kreist, zeigt sie, dass bildliche Darstellungen bereits in vorchristlicher Zeit nicht unumstritten waren. Somit ist es auch legitim zu fragen, wie die Darstellungen anthropomorpher oder andersgestaltiger Wesen auf ‚magischen‘ Artefakten verstanden wurden, ob die Darstellung als identisch mit der gezeigten Macht gesehen wurde oder doch nur als Zeichen für sie. Sowohl im paganen als auch im christlichen Kontext wurde von den Befürwortern bildlicher Darstellungen immer wieder das Argument vorgebracht, dass es sich bei ihnen nur um einen Verweis auf die jeweilige übernatürliche Macht handele.³⁴

Was definiert eine bildliche Darstellung? Dies ist wie im Falle des Magiebegriffs eine Frage, die sich nicht ahistorisch und kulturübergreifend beantworten lässt. Ein Aspekt, der im Verlauf der letzten mehr als 2000 Jahre immer wieder zur Beschreibung eines Bildes in den Vordergrund rückte, ist derjenige der Ähnlichkeit zu dem, was es abzubilden sucht. Bereits zwei einzelne Beispiele aus diesem Zeitraum können dies verdeutlichen. Platon bezeichnete als Erster die Malerei als *mimesis* „Nachahmung“ der Realität, und Thomas von Aquin sprach noch im 13. Jh. davon, dass der Sinn von Bildern ihre Ähnlichkeit zu dem realen Vorbild sei.³⁵

Konträr dazu steht die semiotische Sichtweise, bei der kulturabhängige Konventionen über die stets als Zeichen betrachteten Inhalte der Bilder vorausgesetzt werden.³⁶ Bilder definieren sich dabei nicht über Ähnlichkeiten, zumal diese Ähnlichkeiten ebenfalls nur kulturabhängig erkannt werden können, weswegen die Bilder selbst eben doch wieder aus kulturellen Codes bestehen und somit im semiotischen Sinn interpretierbar sind.³⁷ Um die ursprünglich auf linguistischen Aspekten beruhende Semiotik der Bildinterpretation anzupassen, entwickelte sich so die sogenannte Bildsemiotik.

Die semiotische Herangehensweise an Bilder kann hier nur sehr knapp angerissen werden. Ausführlicher handelt davon z. B. das vierbändige Werk *Semiotik. Ein Handbuch zu den zeichentheoretischen Grundlagen von Natur und Kultur*,³⁸ aus dem nicht nur ersichtlich wird, dass es mehrere Arten von Semiosen gibt, dass die semiotischen Verfahren in den verschiedenen Wissenschaftsdisziplinen unterschiedlich zur Anwendung kommen und dass eine große Vielfalt an semiotisch untersuchten Gegenständen existiert, sondern auch, dass die Beschäftigung mit Zeichen und ihrer Interpretation in sämtlichen Kulturen weltweit seit jeher eine Rolle spielt.

³³ Graf 1997, 949.

³⁴ Graf 1997, 956.

³⁵ Platon, Staat 598b. Thomas von Aquin, *Summa Theologica* I, q. 35, a. I: *De ratione imaginis est similitudo*.

³⁶ Schulz 2005, 64, 77.

³⁷ Schulz 2005, 76, 80 f.

³⁸ Posner 1997–2004.

Die phänomenologisch beeinflusste Bildwissenschaft sucht im Gegensatz zur Semiotik zwischen Bild und (Schrift-)Zeichen zu unterscheiden. Phänomenologisch soll die Präsenz des Bildes betrachtet werden, anstatt es als Repräsentation für etwas anderes anzusehen – was nötig wäre, um ein Bild im semiotischen Sinne als etwas aus Zeichen mit Kommunikationsabsicht Zusammengesetztes zu verstehen.³⁹ Aus phänomenologischer Sicht besteht ein Bild also eben nicht aus Zeichen.⁴⁰ Denn „das Wesentliche der Bilder liegt darin, etwas sichtbar zu machen, was ohne sie nicht sichtbar wäre. Sie machen etwas anschaulich, was ansonsten unanschaulich bliebe“.⁴¹ Dabei muss immer bedacht werden, dass die Bildwissenschaft unter Bildern häufig mehr versteht als die in den meisten Fällen mit wenigen Strichen ausgeführten Zeichnungen, die wir aus historischen ‚magischen‘ Kontexten kennen, nämlich Gemälde im westeuropäischen Sinne.

So wie in der von Markus Hilgert entwickelten Text-Anthropologie, die unter anderem von der Bild-Anthropologie Hans Beltings beeinflusst wurde, die Interpretation des Geschriebenen immer vom Rezipienten und seiner spezifischen sozial-kulturellen Situation abhängt, wobei auch die Materialität des Textträgers eine Rolle spielt, so ist schließlich auch davon auszugehen, dass die Rezeption einer bildlichen Darstellung ihrem spezifischen Kontext unterliegt, wozu auch ein auf demselben Artefakt befindlicher Text zählen muss, ebenso wie umgekehrt bei der Rezeption eines Textes ein beigegebenes Bild eine Rolle spielt.⁴²

Sowohl bildliche Darstellungen als auch textliche Mitteilungen – also das Gebilde aus einzelnen Schriftzeichen – können, müssen jedoch nicht als Zeichen mit Kommunikationsabsicht verstanden werden. Angelico-Salvatore di Marco, der sich mit Zeichen in Religion und Magie beschäftigt, formuliert dies folgendermaßen: „Mit Zeichen kann man vieles machen. Und endlich bestimmen wir, was wir mit Zeichen meinen und machen wollen. Die Zeichen haben den Sinn, den wir ihnen zumessen“.⁴³

3 Aspekte (schrift-)bildlicher Magie – Zusammenfassung der Beiträge

Angesichts solcher, in der Forschung noch nicht abschließend gelöster Schwierigkeiten, die sich bei der Definition von Begriffen wie ‚Magie‘, ‚Bild‘, ‚Zeichen‘ und selbst

³⁹ Frank/Lange 2010, 65 und Schulz 2005, 79.

⁴⁰ Schulz 2005, 78.

⁴¹ Schulz 2005, 69.

⁴² Hilgert 2010, 91, 97, 103. Vgl. hierzu auch Luft/Ott/Theis 2015.

⁴³ Di Marco 1988, 55.

‚Text‘⁴⁴ ergeben, stellt sich die Frage, was ein Workshop und ein daraus resultierender Sammelband überhaupt zu leisten imstande sind. Im Rückblick lässt sich konstatieren, dass mehrere Autorinnen und Autoren eine praxeologische Perspektive eingenommen haben und gleichzeitig einen eher emischen Ansatz verfolgen, der, wenn er die definitorischen Probleme auch nicht zu beseitigen vermag (und soll), zumindest erlaubt, genau diejenige Grundlagenarbeit zu leisten, welche vonnöten ist, um sich künftig erneut der Frage nach (zu revidierenden) Definitionen zu widmen.

Eine weitere Gemeinsamkeit findet sich darin, dass die Autorinnen und Autoren sowohl ‚Texte über Texte‘, ‚Texte über Bilder‘ als auch Artefakte im weitesten Sinne berücksichtigen und damit bewusst eine Brücke zwischen text- und artefaktorientierter Wissenschaft schlagen. Schließlich zeigen die Artikel, dass das ‚Problem‘ des Verhältnisses zwischen Text und Bild im Bereich der Magie kein kulturspezifisches ist, sondern epochen- und raumübergreifend auftritt und daher am besten Fachgrenzen überschreitend gelöst werden sollte.

Peter J. Forshaw (Universität Amsterdam) befasst sich anhand des Beispiels *Picatrix* mit dem Verhältnis beschriebener und abgebildeter ‚magischer‘ *imagines* oder *ṭalāsīm*. Während sich in diesem ursprünglich auf Arabisch verfassten, später ins Lateinische übersetzten ‚magischen Handbuch‘ selbst zwar *ekphraseis* finden – drei Arten von Zeichnungen sind beschrieben –, ist keine mittelalterliche Handschrift erhalten, in welcher die *imagines* als solche künstlerisch dargestellt sind. Anhand einer späteren illuminierten lateinischen Handschrift und Vergleichswerken weist Forshaw nach, dass die bildliche Darstellung von Planeten, Dekanen und Mondstationen wesentlich auf der Übersetzung der *Picatrix* ins Lateinische beruht und einen unmittelbaren Nexus mit dem *scriptorium* Alfons' X. aufweist. Im Zusammenhang mit diesem Übersetzungs- und Adaptionprozess wandelte sich die Bedeutung von Bildern in der (‚europäischen‘) Magie im 13. Jh. grundlegend.

Krisztina Hevesi (Universität Heidelberg) unternimmt das komplexe Unterfangen, ein in nur etlichen Fragmenten erhaltenes Handbuch mit Anleitungen zu unterschiedlichen magischen Handlungen zum ersten Mal zu rekonstruieren und zu publizieren. Dabei weist der koptische Text aus der Straßburger Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire nicht nur die üblichen *voces magicæ* und *characteres* auf, sondern auch Zeichnungen, die in den Text eingefügt sind. Deren Interpretation ist jedoch auf Grund des fragmentarischen Zustandes des Artefaktes deutlich erschwert. Trotzdem kann Hevesi aufzeigen, dass das Manual in der in Ägypten schon über 2000 Jahre alten Tradition von magischen Handbüchern steht, die sich aus Text und Bild zusammensetzen und deren einzelne Handlungsanweisungen und Rezepte hier zur individuellen Anwendung personalisiert werden.

44 Vgl. Ott/Kiyanrad 2015.

Gleichermaßen mit sogenannten magischen Handbüchern, in diesem Fall aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung, befassen sich **Jay Johnston** und **Iain Gardner** (beide Universität Sydney). Die drei von ihnen untersuchten koptischen Codices aus dem 10. Jh. enthalten neben Texten – vor allem Invokationen und Anleitungen – auch Bilder; hinzu kommen sechs Dokumente, die vermutlich als Amulette zu deuten sind. Für die Bestimmung des Verhältnisses zwischen Text und Bild schlugen Gardner und Johnston eine holistische Analyse vor, die einen typographischen Katalog, eine Untersuchung der Text- und Bildelemente und die Erstellung von Anwendungslisten bietet. Auf die behandelten Dokumente angewandt zeigen Johnston und Gardner, dass Bilder nicht nur immanenter Bestandteil von Ritualpraktiken sein konnten, sondern dass ihre Analyse als Ritualobjekte mancherorts auch zu einem besseren Verständnis des mit ihnen einhergehenden Ritualtexts dient.

Ein Amulett, allerdings deutlich jünger und aus dem islamisch geprägten Kulturkreis, behandelt auch der Beitrag von **Sarah Kiyarad** (Universität Heidelberg). Das möglicherweise aus dem Jemen stammende Artefakt ist ebenfalls auf Papier geschrieben und beinhaltet wie die zeitlichen Vorgänger Invokationen, die hier aber alle den einen Gott adressieren. Zwar ist die Ikonographie des Amuletts stark reduziert, doch zeugen die erhaltenen ikonographischen ‚Spuren‘ vom Phänomen des Kulturtransfers und liefern möglicherweise auch einen Hinweis auf die Funktion des Amuletts.

Neben Papieramuletten geben auch Objektamulette, die nicht selten Schrift tragen, Anlass, über das Verhältnis zwischen magischem Bild und Text nachzudenken. **Nils Hallvard Korsvoll** (Universität Trondheim) beschäftigt sich in seinem Artikel mit erhaltenen frühmittelalterlichen Amuletten, zu denen sich insbesondere Gemmen zählen lassen, und vergleicht die ikonographische Gestalt der Artefakte mit den Anweisungen einiger prominenter christlicher Autoren. Letztere scheinen, trotz insgesamt eher amulettkritischer Haltung, keinen Vorbehalt gegen die Verwendung dezidiert christlich konnotierter Symbole – allen voran des Kreuzes – auf Amuletten und als Amulette gehabt zu haben. Korsvoll weist anhand einer umfangreichen Analyse literarischer Quellen und erhaltener Amulette nach, dass die ‚kirchliche‘ Propagierung der Kreuzikonographie tatsächlich Einfluss auf die Verbreitung des Kreuzsymbols auf Amuletten bzw. von kreuzförmigen Amuletten selbst gehabt zu haben scheint.

Mit Text und Bild, in diesem Fall auf magischen Gemmen, ist auch **Christoffer Theis** (Universität Heidelberg) befasst. Theis nimmt unterschiedliche Abbildungen der mehrköpfigen bzw. mehrgestaltigen, vor Krankheiten und Übeln schützenden Göttin Hekate zum Anlass, eine Kategorisierung der Darstellungsvarianten auf Gemmen vorzunehmen. Dabei unterscheidet er vier unterschiedliche Typen von Hekate-Repräsentationen, zu denen er jeweils einen Überblick über zahlreiche erhaltene Exemplare und deren Inschriften bietet. Text und Bild können auch in diesem Fall als sich gegenseitig vervollständigende Komposita betrachtet werden.

Dass Anleitungen in (vor allem altgriechischen) Papyri und Steinbüchern zur Herstellung magischer Gemmen und die tatsächlich erhaltenen Exemplare zahlreiche

Gemeinsamkeiten aufweisen, zeigt **Paolo Vitellozzi** (IULM Mailand) anhand einer detaillierten Analyse einer umfangreichen Materialsammlung. Dabei kann nachgewiesen werden, dass sich Steinschneider zwar grundsätzlich an den existierenden Vorlagen bzw. Anweisungen orientiert zu haben scheinen, gleichermaßen aber ihr kreatives Potenzial einsetzen, sodass die praktisch auftretenden Bild-Text-Kombinationen die literarisch beschriebenen noch übersteigen. Vitellozzi revidiert auf Grundlage seiner eigenen Erkenntnisse vorhandene Ikonographiekataloge und schlägt eine eigene, Text und Bild vereinende Gemmentypisierung vor, für die er zahlreiche erhaltene Beispiele anführt.

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Peter J. Forshaw

From Occult Ekphrasis to Magical Art

Transforming Text into Talismanic Image in the Scriptorium of Alfonso X

This essay considers the relationship between texts and images in magical works produced in the thirteenth-century scriptorium of Alfonso X, *El Sabio - The Wise*, King of Castile, León, and Galicia (1221–1284). With the upsurge of translations from Arabic in the twelfth century, the Christian West discovered a vast amount of new material relating to a broad range of knowledge, ranging from medicine, law, and philosophy to astrology, alchemy, and magic. One of the most important new genres of learned magic introduced into the West during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is that of “Image Magic”.¹

1 Introduction

In the Latin High Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Early Modern Period, learned writers on the subject of *imagines magicae* or magical images were aware that the Latin phrase *Imago Magica* was a translation of the Arabic word *Ṭilasm* (i.e., *Talisman*, variously rendered as *Ṭilasm*, *Ṭilsam*, *Ṭelsam*, *Talisma*, *Tilsemon*, etc).² It is important to emphasise that the Arabic word *Ṭilasm*, taken from the Greek τέλεσμα, has a wider set of connotations than the English word *Talisman*.³ These *imagines* could be in two dimensions, as in simple painted figures, such as those found in Alfonso’s manuscripts, in three dimensions, as in statuettes and figurines, or in between the two, as in seals.⁴ In Arabic works, indeed, a *Ṭilasm* “might be many things, including a monumental statue, an engraved ring, a written tablet or scroll, or even an inscribed shirt”.⁵ The early Latin translators of Arabic material evidently had trouble with the word *Ṭilasm*, and there were variant translations as *Prestigium* (illusion or trick) and *Idolum*, before *Imago* became universally accepted.⁶ In any consideration of the relations between image and text, it is worth bearing this ambiguity of the term *Ṭilasm* in mind: although translated by the Latins as *Imago*, it could originally mean image

1 On image magic, see Láng 2008, 79–122; Klaassen 2013, 33–80; Page 2013, 73–92.

2 Hottinger 1659, 209; Frommann 1675, 279; Rutkin 2012, 492.

3 Luck 2006, 49: *talisman* could be an Arabic transformation of Greek *telesma* “initiation”.

4 Weill-Parot 2011, 118; Skemer 2006, 8.

5 Berlekamp 2011, 120.

6 Burnett 2008, 2.

and/or text. Nowadays specialists of medieval and early modern magic tend to draw a distinction between amulets as natural objects (without images), worn on the body, and talismans as man-made objects engraved with images of the planets, signs of the zodiac, symbols of the constellations, and other powerful images.⁷

An author in his own right, as composer of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, some themselves concerning magic,⁸ Alfonso was also a patron of translators.⁹ Between 1250 and 1280 he commissioned a series of translations that made a significant contribution to Western knowledge of astrology and magic in the Middle Ages. One product of his scriptorium was a translation from Arabic into Castilian, the *Libro de los Juegos – Book of Games* (1283), recognised as one of the first works in the West to discuss the game of Chess, but which also contains several astronomical or astrological games.¹⁰ He was also the sponsor of the *Tablas Alfonsies – Alfonsine Tables* (1252), listing revised astronomical positions for the Sun, Moon and five planets of the Ptolemaic system, which became the standard ephemeris in Europe for the next 300 years.¹¹ Most significantly for this essay, he encouraged the translation and production of works on the occult sciences. These included the *Lapidario* (1250/1259) on the magico-medicinal properties of stones,¹² *Libro de las Cruces – Book of the Crosses* (1259) on judicial astrology;¹³ *Libro del saber de astrología – Book on the Knowledge of Astrology* (1276–79),¹⁴ *Libro de las Formas et de las Ymágenes – Book of Forms and Images* (1276–79),¹⁵ *Libro de Astromagia – Book of Astral Magic* (1280),¹⁶ and the kabbalistic *Liber Razielis – Book of Raziél*.¹⁷ The main focus of this essay will be on the *Picatrix*, the Latin translation that Alfonso commissioned of the Arabic collection of astral magic the *Ghāyat al-Hakīm* or *Aim of the Wise Man*.¹⁸

⁷ Luck 2006, 49; Weill-Parot 2002b, 167 note 2; Lecouteux, 2005, 20.

⁸ See Escobar 1992; García Avilés 2006–2007, 64–65; 2011, 105.

⁹ Roxburgh 2009; Boudet 2006, 193; Pingree 1987.

¹⁰ See Goladay 2007, 640sq. concerning a game called “al-falakiyya” in Arabic, or “Kawākib” (stars) in Persian. See also García Avilés 2006–2007, 84–86.

¹¹ Chabás/Goldstein 2003.

¹² On the dating of the *Lapidario*, see Kahane/Kahane/Pietrangeli 1966, 580. On the *Lapidario*, see Dominguez Rodriguez 2007. See too her 2001 general essay on text, image and design in the codices of Alfonso X.

¹³ Muñoz 1981.

¹⁴ See Samsó 2008, Chapter IX “Alfonso X y los orígenes de la astrología hispánica”. See also Fernández Fernández 2010, 52–61.

¹⁵ On the *Libro de las Formas et de las Ymágenes*, see García Avilés 1996a.

¹⁶ On the *Libro de Astromagia*, see d’Agostino 1992 for the original text; Fernández 2013; García Avilés 1996a; García Avilés 1999; García Avilés 2006–2007, 67–80; García Avilés 2010.

¹⁷ On the *Liber Razielis*, see García Avilés 1997; 1999; O’Callaghan 2003; Grégorio 1993, 93. For additional background, see García Avilés 1996b.

¹⁸ See Weill-Parot 2002a, 123–138, “La magie à la cour alphonse et ses énigmes”.

The *Ghāyat al-Hakīm* and its companion alchemical work the *Rutbat al-Hakīm* (*The Step of the Wise Man*)¹⁹ was traditionally attributed to the Muslim astronomer, alchemist and mathematician Maslama al-Majrīṭī (d.c. 1008).²⁰ This claim was made in the *Muqaddima*, the *Introduction* to a planned world history, written in 1377 by the Tunisian cultural and political historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406).²¹ Although the attribution is now disputed by modern scholarship, the author of the *Ghāyat*, whoever he may be, claims to have laboured for six years on compiling information from 224 works, which it is generally agreed were assembled in the eleventh century in Al-Andalus by someone belonging to the religion of the Sabians of Harran.²² Given the fact that the Sabians considered that ancient authority on astrology, magic and alchemy Hermes Trismegistus to be their prophet,²³ one might expect the identity of the *Hakīm*, the Wise Man of the *Ghāyat al-Hakīm*'s title, to be Hermes. It appears, however, to be someone on the surface at least far less magical: the *Hakīm* is lauded as “the true master of the Greeks”²⁴ and in a discussion of the sciences necessary for the exercise of the prophets and wise men, we learn that these include, “logic, contained in the eight books of the first of the *Hakīm* [...] and the 13 volumes of the *Hakīm*'s physics and metaphysics”.²⁵ This can only be that famous teacher of Alexander the Great, the philosopher Aristotle; one of the works that most likely exerted an influence on the *Picatrix* is the pseudo-Aristotelian compendium of political, medical, astrological, alchemical and talismanic lore, the *Sirr al-Asrār*, well known in Latin as the *Secretum Secretorum* or *Secret of Secrets*.²⁶ At the request of King Alfonso, the *Ghāyat al-Hakīm* was translated first into Castilian in the years 1256–1258 and then eventually into Latin.²⁷ A Hebrew version, the *Takhlit he-hakham*, dates from possibly

19 Hamès 2011, 216.

20 Fierro 1996.

21 Garin 1983, 46. On Ibn Khaldūn, see Fromherz 2010, 1. On Ibn Khaldūn and magic, see Asatrian 2003.

22 The Harranian Sabians played a vital role in Baghdad and the rest of the Arab world from 856 until about 1050; playing the role of the main source of Greek philosophy and science as well as shaping the intellectual life. The most prominent of the Harranian Sabians was Thabit ibn Qurra. Pingree 1989, 8; 2002. See also Green 1992, 113. On the attribution of the *Picatrix* to Maslama al-Qurtubi (d. 964), see Saif 2015, 3, 201.

23 Pingree 2002, 22; van Bladel 2009, 96.

24 Pingree 1986, 194.

25 Hamès 2011, 216.

26 Pingree 1980, 2. See Williams 2003, 10–11 for an overview of the contents. For a comparison between the aphorisms of the *Sirr al-Asrār* and those in the *Ghāyat* and in the Latin *Picatrix*, see Parra Pérez 2009.

27 For the Latin critical edition, see Pingree 1986. See Bakhouché/Fauquier/Pérez-Jean 2003 for a modern French translation of the Latin and a useful introduction that identifies the important additions and suppressions between the original Arabic and the Latin translation. For a German translation of the Arabic *Ghāyat* and extremely useful prefatory matter, see Ritter/Plessner 1962. On the

the late thirteenth century.²⁸ The reason for the choice of *Picatrix* as the title of the Latin translation remains something of a mystery, though some scholars believe it to be an Arabic deformation of either Harpocration, author of the Greek magico-medical treatise the *Kyranides*, or even perhaps Hippocrates, as “Buqratis”.²⁹

Whatever the mysteries of its name, the *Ghāyat/Picatrix* certainly enjoys a reputation. Writing in the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldūn shows himself to be well informed about literature on magic and the occult sciences in both his *Muqaddima* and in a treatise on the Sufis, “The Cure for One who Asks, for the Improvement of Questions”.³⁰ In both works he engages in discussions of the talismanic art, alchemy, astrology and dream interpretation, one of the sources from which he draws his information being none other than the *Ghāyat al-Hakim*, which he considers to be the “most complete and best written treatise on magic”.³¹ The oldest external reference to the *Picatrix* in the Christian West dates from 1456 in *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei – Book of All Forbidden Arts, Superstition and Sorcery* of the physician Johannes Hartlieb (c. 1410–1468), a work famous in some circles for containing the first known record of a recipe for witches’ flying ointment (*unguentum pharelis*).³² There we read that “*Picatrix* is the most perfect book that I have ever seen on the art [of magic]”.³³ Modern scholars, in their turn, consider the *Ghāyat* to be the “most famous work of magic in the Islamic world”,³⁴ and “the most thorough exposition of celestial magic in Arabic”,³⁵ with the *Picatrix* being described as “a most complete text-book for the magician”.³⁶

The anonymous author of the *Ghāyat/Picatrix* claims to have exposed “the roots of the magical art” (*radices magice artis*).³⁷ In the light of his claim to have drawn from 224 sources, it quickly becomes apparent that the magical art has quite a complex root system, one that draws nourishment from extremely heterogeneous sources.³⁸

Spanish translation, see Pingree 1981. On “Manuscripts of *Picatrix*,” see Thorndike 1929, 822–84; Pingree 1986, xvi–xxiii; Ritter/Plessner 1962, ix–xi (Arabic), xi–xii (Hebrew); xii (Latin).

²⁸ Ritter/Plessner 1962, xi–xii. See also Idel 2005, 183; Leicht 2006, 316sq.; Leicht 2011, 295f.

²⁹ Thomann 1990; Kahane/Kahane/Pietrangeli 1966 576; Caiozzo 2003, 135. On the *Kyranides*, see Kahane/Kahane/Pietrangeli 1966.

³⁰ Asatrian 2003, 74, 94.

³¹ Garin 1983, 46.

³² On Hartlieb, see Kieckhefer 1997, 32f, on the *unguentum pharelis*, Kieckhefer 1997, 54.

³³ Ritter/Plessner 1962, xx: “Es ist noch gar ain mercklich püch jn der künst nigramancia das hebt sich an: ‚ad laudem dei et gloriosissime virginis Marie‘, haisst picatrix. das ist das vollkommnest püch, das jch ye gesach jn der kunst.“ See also Hartlieb 1465, f. 22^f.

³⁴ Vesel 2011, 80: “l’ouvrage le plus célèbre de magie dans le monde islamique”. See also Kieckhefer 1989, 133.

³⁵ Pingree 1980, 1.

³⁶ Yates 1964, 53; Tester 1987, 215.

³⁷ Pingree 1986, 30, 191. But see also, Thorndike 1929, 815: “the science of the stars is the root of magic”, as found in Pingree 1986, 32: “*radices magice sunt motus planetarum*”.

³⁸ Boudet 2011, 161.

Certain parts of the *Picatrix* must have been written in Spain at the time of compilation but the origin of the material is undeniably Eastern and reveals the influence of Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Persian, Zoroastrian, Sabian, Nabataean, and Indian sources.³⁹ The compiler's basic intention seems to have been to juxtapose different traditions of astral magic, in order to provide the reader with a strong theoretical and practical resource.⁴⁰ The four books of the *Picatrix* are full of diverse (and at times conflicting) philosophical theories, explanatory models and significant variants in ritual.⁴¹ In the prologue the author provides a summary of their contents: Book 1 concerns the heavens and their effect on account of the images (*ymagines*) in them; Book 2 speaks in general of the figures of heaven (*figuris celi*) and the motion of the eight spheres and their effects in this world; Book 3 considers the properties of the planets and signs, and of their figures and forms (*figuras et formas*) and how it is possible to speak with the spirits of the planets and “of other nigromantic things”; Book 4 speaks of the properties of spirits, things that should be observed in the art, and how it is helped by images (*ymaginibus*), suffumigations and other activities.⁴² The *Picatrix* contains practices from both main branches of astral magic, the talismanic and the liturgical, the former intent on drawing down celestial spirits or virtues into material objects so that they become imbued with magical powers; the latter making use of elaborate formulas to induce the planetary deities to send angels to fulfill the magician's requests.⁴³

It is likely that the *Picatrix* was influenced by the writings of the ninth-century student of Sabian lore, the Iraqi mathematician, physician and “first philosopher of the Islamic world”, Abu Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Kindī (c. 801–873), whose influential combination of Platonism and Aristotelianism *De radiis stellarum – On the Rays of the Stars*, also known as *De theoricis artium magicarum – On the Theory of the Magical Arts*, described both talismanic and liturgical forms of astral magic in detail. *De radiis* propounds a naturalist theory of radiations in which not only do all material things in the cosmos emit rays, but so too do words, actions, and images, such that ritual, prayer, and sacrifice all become powerful magical ways of influencing the cosmos.⁴⁴ Astral magic is presented as working through a cosmic harmony of interconnected omnidirectional rays, with the informed practitioner having the ability to direct the virtues of the celestial bodies (planets, constellations, fixed stars) down into terrestrial objects for magical purposes, on a natural rather than supernatural basis. It is probable that the *Picatrix* was also influenced by Al-Kindī's friend, the astrologer Abū Ma‘shar (787–

³⁹ Pingree 1980, 3.

⁴⁰ Boudet 2011, 161: “Il n’y a pas une seule sorte de magie, ni même une seule sorte de magie astrale dans le *Picatrix*, mais plusieurs.”

⁴¹ Vesel 2011, 81; Pingree 1980, 2f.

⁴² Pingree 1986, 2.

⁴³ Pingree 1980, 4.

⁴⁴ Pingree 1980, 4f.; Lehrich 2003, 116sq.; Travaglia 1999. See also al-Kindī 1974.

886) whose *Greater Book of Introduction [to Astronomy]* includes descriptions of the images of the astrological decans, a subject of importance in the *Picatrix*,⁴⁵ and whose *Book on Great Conjunctions* was to make such a strong impression on the history of Western astrology.⁴⁶

A purely naturalistic interpretation of the magic in the *Picatrix*, however, is contradicted by a great deal of its material, particularly the work's opening declaration: "Here begins the book on the necromantic arts that the most wise philosopher Picatrix compiled from very many books."⁴⁷ Much of the material in the *Picatrix* may well belong to the genre of astral magic, but there is the undeniable presence of more illicit practices. What on some occasions appears to belong safely within the realms of licit natural magic, knowledge of the occult properties of animals, vegetables and minerals, at other times strays into the realms of ritual magic, with explicit address to intelligences (angels, spirits, and demons) through invocations, divine, angelical and planetary names, magical signs and seals. For many readers, the description of the *Picatrix* as a "necromantic" work would immediately evoke visions of practitioners conjuring up the dead in order to prophesy or the even less licit ritual practice of exorcisms and the summoning of demons and spirits.⁴⁸ What we do not really find much of in the *Picatrix* is the kind of neoplatonic theurgic magic in order to facilitate communication of the soul with God and its ascent to union with the divine.⁴⁹ The magic of the *Picatrix* is far more pragmatic and the Picatrixian magician aims for domination over the world and over other men (and women). As such, the *Aim* (or *Aims*) of the Wise man are the usual suspects of Love, Sex, Friendship, Health, Wealth, Knowledge, Power, Hate, Discord and Death.⁵⁰ The necromantic magus accomplishes these aims by focusing on three particular themes: 1) the powers that one takes from the planets; 2) the best way to pray to the planets by invoking their spirits in order to obtain from them the benefits desired; 3) and the fashioning of *ymagines*, that is, talismans.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Vesel 2011, 91.

⁴⁶ Pingree 1980, 7. The *General Estoria*, a universal history of the world written by Alfonso and his collaborators in the scriptorium, provides a definition of magic very much in tune with the naturalistic, celestial magic propounded by al-Kindī and Abū Ma'shar. "Magic", we learn, "is a mode and part of the art of astronomy" (*General Estoria*, II, 2, 340b), "he who knows the art of magic is a magus, and the science of magic is an art of knowledge used by those who know about it to guide themselves according to the movements of the heavenly bodies in order to know earthly matters" (II, 1, 86a). See Martinez 2010, 69. On Abū Ma'shar's theory of Great Conjunctions, see Albumasar 2000.

⁴⁷ Pingree 1986, 1: "Incipit liber quem sapientissimus philosophus Picatrix in nigromanticis artibus ex quampluribus libris composuit."

⁴⁸ Burnett 1996. See too Fanger 1998.

⁴⁹ Perrone Compagni 2011, 366. For a useful working definition of theurgy, see Fanger 2012, 15; Page 2013, 93–129; Klaassen 2013, 89–113.

⁵⁰ Cf. Peters 1978, 110.

⁵¹ Caiozzo 2011, 60, 67.

2 *Picatrix* and Talisman

The creation of talismans is the practice that dominates the *Picatrix*.⁵² This is the ultimate “Aim” of the Wise Man. Al-Kindī’s theoretical work on magic was complemented by another ninth-century work, *De imaginibus astrologicis – On Astrological Images* by the Sabian scholar and philosopher Thābit ibn Qurra (826–901), one of the *Picatrix*’s cited sources.⁵³ By *Astrological Images*, Thābit means “talismans” and his book deals with the practical issues of creating astral magical talismans, an activity that Thābit, chief of the Harranian community and guardian of its traditions, declares is the “noblest part of astronomy”.⁵⁴ The author of the *Picatrix* gives some sense of how he philosophically categorizes the creation of talismans in a brief reference to three types of magical practices: “And part of this science is in practice, on account of which its works are about *spirit in spirit* [...]. And the composition of images is *spirit in body*, and the composition of alchemy is *body in body*.”⁵⁵ Only by consulting the Arabic manuscript do we learn that the first and highest, supercelestial kind of magic, the union of *spirit* and *spirit*, is the art of *nīranj*, the intermediate celestial magic concerns itself with talismans, i.e., the union of *spirit* and *body*, while the terrestrial art of alchemy practices the union of *body* and *body*.⁵⁶ The *Picatrix* continues by providing an intriguing definition of talisman: “And [these] images the wise call *telsam*, which is interpreted [as] “violator” because whatever an image does it does through violence and in order to conquer it does that for which it is composed.”⁵⁷ This linking of talisman practice with violation appears to be particular to the Latin *Picatrix* and is not what is found in the original Arabic of the *Ghāyat*, where we instead learn that if we read the letters of the word „Talisman“ (*ṭlsm*) in reverse order we get the word *musallat* (*mstlṭ*),

⁵² Vesel 2011, 81.

⁵³ Weill-Parot 2011, 130; 2002a, 62–72.

⁵⁴ Burnett 2007, 17.

⁵⁵ My italics. See Pingree 1986, 5: “Et pars istius sciencie est in practica propter quod sua opera sunt de spiritu in spiritum, et hoc est in faciendo res similes que non sunt essencia. Et ymaginum compositio est spiritus in corpore, et compositio alchimie est corpus in corpore.”

⁵⁶ Cf Ritter/Plessner, 7: “Es gibt aber auch einen praktischen Zauber; denn sein Gegenstand ist [die Wirkung von] Geist auf Geist. Diese aber liegt vor beim Nirendsch und der Phantasmagorie, während der Gegenstand der Talismankunst [die Wirkung] von Geist auf Körper, und der der Alchemie [die von] Körper auf Körper ist.” See too Saif 2011, 66. On *Nīranj*, see Burnett 2008, 7–8: “The *nīranj*, then, is a magical practice which includes the mixing and processing of ingredients, the recitation of magical words, the burning of incense, and the making of figurines, in order to manipulate spiritual forces. [...] Although there are many overlaps in the making of *nīranjāt* and talismans the starting points are different. With a *nīranj* one starts with the mixture of a variety of ingredients; whereas with a talisman one starts with an object that can be engraved or written upon, whether this be a mineral, a stone, a piece of incense, or even a cloth.”

⁵⁷ Pingree 1986, 5: “Et ymagine sapientes appellant *telsam*, quod interpretatur violatur quia quicquid facit ymago per violenciam facit et pro vincendo facit illud pro quo est composita.”

which denotes „one who is given power over another“.⁵⁸ The origin of this interpretation appears to be the Sufi alchemist Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (c. 721–815),⁵⁹ who in his *Book of the Passage of Potentiality to Actuality* explains that *musallaṭ* means “endowed with power, by reason of its mastery and its force”.⁶⁰ True, both *Ghāyat* and *Picatrix* share Jābir’s sense of talisman as something that has or enables power over another, but the Latin text’s emphasis on violation takes this power to an extreme and must surely have contributed to the suspicions of those already dubious about necromancy.⁶¹ The fact that both the *Ghāyat* and *Picatrix* draw an analogy between the powers of a talisman and that of poison, “which by flowing through bodies, by altering reduces them to its nature, on account of which a body is converted into another body by the force (*vis*) of composition existing in it”,⁶² cannot have helped the *Picatrix*’s reputation at a time when a synonym for witchcraft was *veneficium* (poisoning).⁶³ It is worth comparing the *Picatrix* interpretation to a later Arabic source, Sufi philosopher Ibn ‘Arabī’s (1165–1240) *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya – The Meccan Revelations*, which returns to the same relation between *talisman* and its reverse reading *musallaṭ* in a chapter “Concerning the true knowledge of the way-station of three talismanic mysteries, which are formed and governed by the Muhammadan Presence”. Although Ibn ‘Arabī is not speaking here of physical talismanic objects, but instead using the term metaphorically, with the first talisman (Reflection) having power over rational faculties, while the second (Imagination) “embodies meanings and places them within the mold of sensory forms”, while the third (Habits), has power “to rule over rational souls”, we nevertheless have a similar interpretation to the *Ghāyat*, that “everything given power to rule is a talisman, as long as it keeps its ruling power”.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Ritter/Plessner 1962, 7f.: “Über die Bedeutung von Talisman aber ist zu sagen, daß sie die Umkehrung seines Namens ist, nämlich *musallaṭ* (*mstl*) (dasjenige, dem Macht über ein anderes gegeben ist).”

⁵⁹ See Pingree 1986, 58sq., 196, where Jabir appears in the *Picatrix*, respectively, as “Geber Abnehayen” and “Geber Abenhayen”.

⁶⁰ Kraus 1931, 28; Kraus 1989, xxxvi–xxxvii: “[...] voici qu’il signifia *musallaṭ*, c’est-à-dire doué de pouvoir, en raison de sa maîtrise et de sa puissance”.

⁶¹ Ritter/Plessner 1962, 8 later adds “Denn aus den Substanzen der Macht und der Gewalt heraus übt er auf das, wofür er zusammengesetzt ist, eine Wirkung der Überwältigung und Übermächtigung aus durch Zahlenbeziehungen und sphärische Geheimnisse, die in bestimmte Körper zu geeigneten Zeiten gelegt sind, und durch stärkende Räucherungen, die das dem betreffenden Talisman zugehörige Pneuma anziehen.”

⁶² Pingree 1986, 5: “et sic ymagines faciunt que omnia faciunt per violenciam. Et similiter operatur venenum quod discurrendo corpora, alterando ea reducit ad suam naturam, propter quod corpus convertitur in aliud corpus per vim compositionis in eo existentis.”

⁶³ Jolly/Peters/Raudvere 2002, 189.

⁶⁴ Chittick 1989, 184: “*musallaṭ* (written *m.s.l.ṭ*) which means ‘a thing given ruling power (over something else)’”. For more on Ibn ‘Arabī and the word talisman, see Chodkiewicz 1993, 85.

3 *Picatrix*: Three Kinds of Images

The *Picatrix*, however, is concerned with the creation of physical images, of three kinds: 1) Planetary Images (Book 2, Chapter 10); 2) Decanic Images (Book 2, Chapters 11 and 12) and 3) Images of the Lunar Mansions (Book 1, Chapter 4 and Book 4, Chapter 9).⁶⁵ Textual descriptions of all three kinds of images can be found in the surviving Arabic and Latin manuscripts, though there is no surviving medieval copy of the *Picatrix* that includes visual images. Fortunately, other magic works have survived from Alfonso's scriptorium, including the *Lapidario* and the *Libro de Astromagia*, which contain substantial amounts of material either directly from the *Picatrix* or drawing from shared sources.⁶⁶ The *Lapidario* provides descriptions of a multitude of stones, their links with individual degrees of the signs of the zodiac, working from Aries to Pisces. We learn, for example, that the diamond is associated with the first degree of Taurus, while amber is connected with the eighteenth degree. We learn of their Arabic and Latin names, their elemental qualities (hot, cold, dry, wet), their colours, their properties, and which star has particular power over which stone. Each of these descriptions is accompanied by a miniature illustrating one of the stones. The *Lapidario* is further graced with illuminated initials, containing images of miners digging up stones, under the influence of particular stars, each miner accompanied by a sage scrutinising the stone. More striking are the zodiac wheels or Moirogeneses that occupy whole pages of the manuscript, each divided into 30 degrees, radiating from a central medallion, pedagogically representing the "core idea" of the zodiac sign, with its various aspects occupying each of the radial fields.⁶⁷ A second series of figures can be seen at the outer circumference of the wheel, representing the celestial angels assigned to each degree of the sign.⁶⁸

The later *Libro de Astromagia* contains very rare representations of a magus or necromancer performing magical ceremonies. In some cases, such as that of empowering a magical ring with celestial rays what we see is a fairly safe, licit practice; at other times, however, the magician is engaged in far more dangerous necromantic ritual. In one miniature, for instance, a magician is shown standing in a magic rectangle and invoking a Mercurial Spirit, which appears to him riding on a winged elephant

⁶⁵ Thorndike 1929, 820: "[*Picatrix*] lists images for forty-eight figures made from the fixed stars, for the twenty-eight mansions of the moon, for the signs of the zodiac and for the planets".

⁶⁶ García Avilés 2011, 106. Domínguez Rodríguez 2007, 323 the *Segundo Lapidario* occupies itself with the figures and faces of the signs, in parallel with one of the lists of the *Ġāyat*. On the *Segundo Lapidario*, see Domínguez Rodríguez 2007, 325sq.

⁶⁷ Domínguez Rodríguez 2007, 55.

⁶⁸ For monochrome reproductions of many of these images, see Domínguez Rodríguez 2007, 218–279. For more on the *Lapidario*, see García Avilés 2011, 107f.; Fernández Fernández 2010, 61–68. For a comparison between talismanic images in the *Picatrix* and *Lapidario*, see Kahane/Kahane/Pietrangeli 1966.

(fig. 1).⁶⁹ Like the *Lapidario* it also includes visual images that relate to those described in the *Picatrix*: 1) Planetary Images; 2) Decanic Images, 3) variant forms of wheels of the Talismans of the 28 Lunar Mansions; and 4) the Moirogenesis for each of the signs. In the *Libro de Astromagia*, the central image of the Moirogenesis is the Zodiac sign, with two rings, the outer of images representing each degree, the inner ring including a brief description of the fate of anyone born in that degree of the sign.⁷⁰



Fig. 1: Magician in a magic rectangle invoking a Mercurial Spirit, Alfonso X, *Libro de Astromagia*, Biblioteca Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1283^a, f. 36^r.

⁶⁹ For the text, see d'Agostino 1992. On the *Libro de Astromagia*, see García Avilés 1996. See also Boudet 2006, 194–195.

⁷⁰ d'Agostino 1992, 98. For example, for Taurus, the first degree shows a man leading a bull. Whoever is born in this degree of Taurus will be unhappy and unlucky. If however they are born in the second degree, represented by a woman holding a tambourine in her hand, they will love entertainment, musical instruments and all that brings joy. For more, see Lippincott/Pingree 1987.

Although no illustrated medieval manuscript of the *Picatrix* is known, there is a fifteenth-century manuscript copy in the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, a manuscript unique for two reasons: 1) it is the only codex of the *Picatrix* that has illustrations and 2) it is the first version that is longer than a short fragment.⁷¹ It dates from 1458–1459, appears to have been copied by a professor at the University of Krakow,⁷² and is bound with many other works connected with astrology and astral magic, including Pseudo-Alkindi's *De planetis sub radiis*, Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's *Secretum de Sigillo Leonis*, Albumasar's *Electiones planetarum*, Thābit ibn Qurra's *De Imaginibus* (two versions), Pseudo-Ptolemy's *Opus Imaginum*, the *Lapidary of Mercury*, and the *Centiloquium* of Hermes. The *Picatrix* is the fifty-fourth and final work in the collection.⁷³

4 Planetary Images – Saturn and the Moon

By the end of the thirteenth century, the planetary prototypes were already well established, but the *Ghāyat* and the *Picatrix* represent earlier material and draw from disparate sources. The Latin text begins by informing us that “these are the figures of the planets as we find them handed down in the *Lapidary of Mercury* and the *Book of Beylus* (i.e., of Apollonius of Tyana), and in the *Book of Spirits and Images*, transcribed by the sage Picatrix”.⁷⁴ The text then provides descriptions of talismans for each of the seven planets. It begins with the outermost planet Saturn, and moves inwards, geocentrically speaking, through the standard sequence, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and Moon.⁷⁵ Between three and five different talismanic images are described for each planet, though not all are illustrated in the manuscript.⁷⁶ The Krakow manuscript contains descriptions of four talismans of Saturn (fig. 2): 1) the first image follows the description of Picatrix himself, the figure of a man with a raven's head and

⁷¹ *Picatrix* 1458–1459. Láng 2008, 83–104; Láng 2004; Láng 2006.

⁷² Láng 2011, 137; Láng 2006, 29.

⁷³ For the complete list, see Láng 2006, 33.

⁷⁴ Pingree 1986, 65: “He sunt figure planetarum quemadmodum translatas invenimus in Lapidario Mercurii et in libro Beylus et in Libro spirituum et ymaginum quem transtulit sapiens Picatrix.” Note that the Krakow volume includes the *Lapidary of Mercury*.

⁷⁵ The sequence is different in the Arabic *Ghāyat*. See Ritter/Plessner 1962, 115–119: Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars.

⁷⁶ Described/Illustrated: Saturn (4/4); Jupiter (4/4); Mars (3/3); Sun (4/3); Venus (5/4); Mercury (4/4); Moon (4/4). The final images of the Sun and the fourth image of Venus on f.191^r and 191^v, which would have been back to back on the two pages, are missing, with a more recent piece of manuscript pasted in place. It is likely that the image of Venus “according to Ptolemy”, described as the form of a nude woman bearing on her neck the image of Mars holding a chain, was the cause of the removal, rather than the image of the Sun “according to Picatrix”, the form of a king sitting on a throne, wearing a crown, having the form of a crow before him, and under his feet the figure of the Sun.



Fig. 2: Four Images of Saturn. *Picatrix*, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, f. 189^v.

camel's feet, sitting on a chair, holding a spear in his right hand and a lance or rod in his left.⁷⁷ Here the visual image closely follows the verbal description. 2) In the second image, however, there is already some slippage in interpretation: although the Latin text “according to the image of the wise man Beylus”, describes an old man sitting upright in a tall chair, instead we have him standing.⁷⁸ 3) The third image is according to Hermes and shows a man standing with his hands raised above his head, holding a fish and beneath his feet a large green lizard.⁷⁹ The illustration shows a rather feline lizard and not at all green, the colour instead transferred to Saturn's tunic. 4) Only with the fourth image do we have anything resembling what came to be the standard image of Saturn, depicted “according to the opinion of other wise men”, in the form of an upright man on a dragon, holding a scythe in his right hand and a spear in his left, wearing black clothes and shoes.⁸⁰ The illustration is fairly close to the description but the colours are off.

It is clear that the Latin text expects images to be present from the repeated phrase “Et hec est eius forma” (And this is its form); something not found in the Arabic version. The layout of the text on the page, however, and its relation to the images doesn't really give us any sense of the relation of text to image. The format is generally that the first two images described appear at the top of the page on the margins, framing the central text, vaguely calling to mind medieval biblical manuscripts in which the commentary surrounds the central text.⁸¹ For the two subsequent images, the text is above with the images below, which at least allows for the possibility that such layouts imply the “ideal” textual description above, followed by the “real” visual image below.⁸²

Following the images of Saturn come those of Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, and so forth. By the time we reach the images for Mercury, the Polish scribe has stopped copying the text of the *Picatrix*. All we have in the manuscript from then on are the illustrations, whose descriptions we can check against the text in other *Picatrix* manuscripts. Finally, we have the Moon (fig. 3), though it is unlikely that many readers of the Krakow manuscript would have recognised her in the absence of the textual descrip-

77 Pingree 1986, 65: “Forma Saturni secundum opinionem sapientis Picatricis est forma hominis corvinum vultum et cameli pedes habentis et super cathedram sedentis, in dextra manu hastam habentis, in sinistra vero lanceam vel dardum tenentis. Et hec est eius forma.”

78 Pingree 1986, 65: “Forma Saturni secundum opinionem sapientis Beylus est forma hominis senis super altam cathedram sedentis erecti. Et hec est eius forma.”

79 Pingree 1986, 65: “Forma Saturni secundum opinionem sapientis Mercurii est forma hominis erecti. suas manus supra caput ipsius erigentis et in eis pisces tenentis et infra eius pedes similem unius lagari (id est racani) habentis. Et hec est eius forma.”

80 Pingree 1986, 65: “Forma Saturni secundum opinionem aliorum sapientum est forma hominis super draconem erecti, in dextra manu falcem tenentis, in sinistra vero hastam habentis, et nigris pannis et pardis induti. Et hec est eius forma.”

81 Sirat 2002, 60.

82 On this notion of layout in relation to “real” and “ideal”, see O'Donohoe 2007, 11.



Fig. 3: Image of the Moon. *Picatrix*, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, f. 192^v.

tion. From other, non-illustrated manuscripts we learn that, according to Hermes/ Mercury, the Moon should be represented as a woman with a beautiful face, with a dragon bound around her waist, a horn on her head (crescent moon, perhaps, or head-dress), with two snakes winding round it, a snake twined around each arm, a seven-headed dragon above her head and another beneath her feet. According to

the text the Moon should also have two snakes above her head as well as the dragon, but the illustrator has instead chosen to position them in front of her at waist height, along with the dragon that should be encircling her waist.⁸³ Although there are few specific instructions in the manuscript on how to pose the figures, it is interesting to note that almost all the faces of the personifications of the planets are in profile; the only ones to confront the viewer head-on are those of the female Lunar gaze. Why this should be is not stated, but it is striking. Perhaps as the planet closest to the earth, as the funnel for all the other planetary energies, she has a more personal relationship with the magician and thus regards him with a direct gaze?⁸⁴

5 Decanic Images and Divergences

In the Krakow *Picatrix* we initially encounter visual representations of the first decans in Book 2, Chapter 2 (f. 180^v). These are extremely unsophisticated depictions that only vaguely follow the descriptions given in the text. It looks as though there may have been two scribes involved in copying this manuscript. It is certainly difficult to imagine that these three crude images were created by the same artist who did the later planetary and decanic images. These initial images are meant to be the three decans of the first zodiac sign, Aries, according to the opinion of the Indians. The first is meant to be the first face of Aries: a man with red eyes and a great beard, wearing a loose white garment, looking grim and standing on guard on one leg. The second decan: a woman with one leg wearing a red dress, a linen cloak, and with a face like a horse; the third: a man coloured red and white, having red hair, dressed

83 Pingree 1986, 67: “Forma Lune secundum opinionem Mercurii est forma mulieris formosum vultum habentis. cincte dracone, et cornua in capite habentis duobus colubris circumvoluta. et super eius caput duos colubros et in quolibet brachio unum colubrum circumvolutum, et super eius caput unum draconem et alium draconem sub eius pedibus; et quilibet istorum draconum septem habet capita. Et hec est eius forma.” Compare the *Ghāyat*, in Ritter/Plessner 1962, 116–117: “Nach dem *Buche des Nutzens der Steine* von ‘Utard ist der Mond gleich der Gestalt einer Frau mit einem schönen Gesicht, umgürtet mit einem Drachen, auf ihrem Haupte sind zwei Schlangen, sie hat Hörner, sie trägt als Armringe zwei Schlangen, um jedes Handgelenk eine Schlange, über und unter ihrem Haupte sind zwei Drachen, deren jeder sieben Köpfe hat.’ Compare these descriptions to that found in Agrippa 1992, 362: “[...] figura erat mulier cornuta, equitans supra taurum vel draconem septicipitem vel cancrum, habeatque in dextra sagittam, in sinistra speculum, vestibis induta albis vel viridibus habensque in capite duos serpentes cornibus circumvolutos et cuilibet brachio unum habens serpentem circumvolutum et cuilibet pedi unum similiter.” For the English, see Agrippa 1651.

84 Although the Moon is the exception in the *Picatrix*, see Lippincott 2006, 13–14 who mentions a prescription stipulated by Hipparchus that all the constellations in the sky should be configured as if they were facing towards the earth and then remarks that according to this logic, the constellations on a celestial globe should also be depicted as if they are facing inwards, towards the centre and towards earth.

in red clothes, having a sword in his right hand and a staff in his left.⁸⁵ The scribe has done his best with the first two decans, but apparently doesn't know the word "pertica", and has possibly confused it with the verb "pertexo" (to weave), with the result that rather than holding a staff the third decan has a piece of cloth in his left hand. The full sequence of all 36 decans can be found at the end of the Krakow manuscript, clearly by another hand, as simple but effective line drawings (ff.193^r–197^r). The Planetary Images in Book 2 are immediately followed by the Decanic Images, minus the descriptive and instructive text that constitutes Chapters 11 and 12 in other manuscripts. Each Zodiac sign has 3 decans, of 10 degrees each, making 36 decans in total. While the original Egyptian iconography included zoomorphic figures, the European tradition generally represents the decanic spirits with human figures. The *Picatrix* text contains not only descriptions of the decanic images but also predictions concerning the profession and future virtues of the person born under the influence of a given decan.⁸⁶ As mentioned above, verbal descriptions of the decans could be found in Abū Ma'shar's *Greater Book of Introduction*, but the *Picatrix* appears to be the first manuscript to include visual representations.⁸⁷ It is apparent, however, that these decanic images caused some difficulty for artists, for there are verbal ambiguities within the text and visual divergences from the text in some of the decanic depictions in the Krakow *Picatrix*. The best example is that of the second decan of Aries (Fig. 4), where the text (in other manuscripts) describes "a woman wearing green clothes and holding a bone or flute (the Latin says *tibia* which could be either)".⁸⁸ Francesco del Cossa's fifteenth-century image of the second decan of Aries in the frescoes of the Salone dei Mesi in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara shows a woman wearing a red dress, with nothing in her hands. There is already some slippage in the dress colour, from green to red, presumably the artist finding red more appropriate for fiery Aries, especially since this decan of Aries is ruled by the Sun, and the image is meant to

85 *Picatrix* 1458–59, sig. 180r. Pingree 1986, 33–34: "ascendit in prima facie Arietis homo habens oculos rubeos magnamque barbam et pannum lineum album convolutum, faciens gestus magnos in incessu sicut coopertus magna clamide alba ac fune precinctus, stans in uno pede ac si aspiceret quod tenet ante se. Et ascendit in 2 facie Arietis mulier clamide cooperta linea, rubeis vestibis induta, unum tantum habens pedem; et in sui figura est similis equo, habens in animo iram, et querit vestimenta, ornamenta ac filium. Et ascendit in 3 facie Arietis homo colore albo et rubeo, capillos rubeos habens, iratus et inquietus, habens in dextra ensem et in sinistra perticam, vestibis rubeis indutus; et est doctus et perfectus magister laborandi ferrum, et cupiens facere bonum, et non potest."

86 Pingree 1986, 75sq.

87 Vesel 2011, 91.

88 Pingree 1986, 76: "Et ascendit in secunda facie Arietis mulier viridibus pannis induta et una tibia carens. Et hec facies est altitudinis, nobilitatis, precii et regni. Et hec est eius forma." Note that the green colour of the dress contradicts the previous description from Book 2, Chapter 2, mentioned above, of the second decan of Aries in a red dress.

represent nobility and dominion.⁸⁹ What is bizarre is that the Krakow illustrator (who has already ceased copying the text), has opted for the dissonant interpretation of the Latin *tibia* as “bone”, literally as shin-bone, and has drawn a young woman raising her skirt and bearing her leg, thereby transforming an image of nobility into the traditional symbol for a prostitute.⁹⁰ This moment of confusion suggests a scribe working in isolation, perplexed by his material. The result is that the scribal rendering of the pictorial image subverts the message of the text.⁹¹ If the illustrator truly believed that his image of the prostitute was what the text intended, perhaps this is one of the contributing factors in his decision not to copy the rest of the text?⁹²



Fig. 4: 2nd Decan of Aries. *Picatrix*, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, f. 193^r.

⁸⁹ On the decanic images in the Palazzo Schifanoia frescoes, see Lippincott 1990; Lippincott 1994. On the suitability of the colour red for fiery Aries, see Bakhouché/Fauquier/Pérez-Jean 2003, 92.

⁹⁰ Láng 2011, 140.

⁹¹ On errors of interpretation in Alfonsine manuscripts, see Cárdenas-Rotunno 2000, 86; more generally in astrological manuscripts, Lippincott 2006.

⁹² For more on misinterpretations of text and the iconographic hybrids that can ensue, see Lippincott 2006.

6 Abominable, Detestable and Acceptable Images

Scholars have looked for a key to the enigma of the *Picatrix* manuscript in the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, seeking a reason for why the copyist, who it is suggested was a professor at the university, first begins to diverge from the text in Book 2 and then abruptly stops copying the words at all at the moment when the *Picatrix* touches on the talismans of the decanic images.⁹³ One suggestion is the “doctrinal ambiguity” of the images, that perhaps the decanic images simply appeared too strange, too close to images of demonic beings to the eyes of a Christian anxious about orthodoxy.

Much of the medieval and early modern anxiety about magic texts and images arises from the influence of a work traditionally ascribed to Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), the *Speculum Astronomiae*, which in the middle of the thirteenth century, at the very time when Alfonso’s scriptorium was busy with its translation of the *Ghāyat al-Hakīm*, drew a dividing line between licit natural talismans and nigromantic or demonic practices. This widely distributed work divided the “Science of Images” (*Scientia Imaginum*) into 3 kinds: “the *abominable* and the *detestable*, on the one hand, whose images derive their power from demonic influences, and the *acceptable*, or ‘natural’, on the other, whose images obtain their virtue solely from the celestial figures”.⁹⁴ The material in the books that are absent from the Krakow manuscript – the third and fourth books of the *Picatrix* – is precisely the kind of matter condemned as abominable by the *Speculum Astronomiae*, for these two books are where the perilous rituals are evoked: suffumigations, rituals, and sacrifices destined for spirits.⁹⁵ The judgments of the *Speculum Astronomiae* are reinforced, furthermore, by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who in the *Summa contra gentiles* distinguished between what Nicolas Weill Parot terms “destinative” and “non-destinative” talismans. If they included marks, i.e., signs or words, they could only be directed to another personal intelligence, by which he meant an evil spirit. Such “destinative” talismans were condemned. If the marks, however, were pictures, their activity did not necessarily involve sentient beings.⁹⁶ Such “non-destinative” talismans, by which the magus sought to draw down celestial power by cosmic sympathy, were considered acceptable.⁹⁷

⁹³ Láng 2006, 29.

⁹⁴ Burnett 1996, 3; Láng 2008, 29; Weill-Parot 2002a, 27–62. For the original text, see Zambelli 1992, 241sq.

⁹⁵ Boudet/Caiozzo/Weill-Parot 2011, 19.

⁹⁶ Copenhaver 1984, 531.

⁹⁷ See Weill-Parot 2011; 2002b. On Aquinas, see Weill-Parot 2002a, 223–280.

7 Relations Between Text and Image

Perhaps anxiety about the kinds of powers that might be invoked lies at the heart of the Polish scribe's decision to stop copying the text; indeed, for an apparent demarcation between text and image in our surviving illustrated *Picatrix*. Unlike later talismans found, for example, in the works of Paracelsus (1493–1541), in the *Picatrix* we find none that include combinations of both picture and text.⁹⁸ The talismanic *imagines* have become images in the strictest sense: pictures with no words, for none of the figurative images, the personifications of planets and decans in the Krakow *Picatrix* contain any magical words. Although we can see magical signs and words in the *Libro de Astromagia's* illustration of the magician in his magic rectangle, no such image can be found in the *Picatrix*. Reading the Latin text, it is easy to find instructions for the creation of talismans that include magic figures and “forms of images”, as in Book 2, Chapter 9, where anyone wishing to banish flies from a place is advised to inscribe certain abstract figures of the stars on a lamina of tin, when the third decan of Scorpio is rising, and then to place the lamina wherever you wish to dispel the flies.⁹⁹ The following chapter includes details on the “formation of figures” of the planets in Chapter 10, but these are planetary symbols rather than figurative images.¹⁰⁰ Book 4 contains a series of 26 “figures” in the form of abstract geometrical shapes that should be engraved on a ring in order to be well received by royalty,¹⁰¹ but nowhere do we see these combined with images.

At first sight, then, there seems to be a strict segregation of pictorial image from text in sense of word of power in the Latin *Picatrix*. However, if we look more carefully, some indication is there for the creation of talismans that combine figurative images and abstract signs. One such example is the image of the goddess Venus holding an apple in her right hand and a comb in her left (fig. 5).¹⁰²

A few pages later we find a variant of this image, apparently a combination of the image recommended by *Picatrix* and one from *Hermes*:

If from the forms of Venus you make the form of a woman whose body is human, but with the head of a bird and eagle's feet, holding an apple in her right hand and in her left holding a

98 Cf. Paracelsus 1605, 159sq.

99 Pingree 1986, 63. For other examples of these abstract images or characteres, see *ibid.*, 68–73, 179, 181, 187f.

100 Pingree 1986, 65; see *ibid.*, 210 for these figures of the planets.

101 Pingree 1986, 222.

102 Pingree 1986, 67: “Forma Veneris secundum opinionem sapientis Picatricis est forma mulieris tenentis in eius dextra manu malum et in sinistra pectinem similem tabule et istis figuris scriptum: OAOIOA. Et hec est eius forma.”

wooden comb like a tablet with these kinds of letters written on it: $\circ \wedge \circ \backslash \circ \wedge$, he who carries this image with him will be well received and loved by all.¹⁰³

That is the description that we get in the Latin instructions in that place in the manuscript that includes the illustration (f. 191^v). Elsewhere in the text, though, we learn that the comb that Venus is holding should resemble a tablet on which the following Arabic numbers $\wedge \circ \backslash \circ \wedge \circ$ (851585) should be written. What is immediately obvious, when we compare these instructions with those in the Arabic *Ghāyat*, is that the artist has written these numbers back to front ($\circ \wedge \circ \backslash \circ \wedge$ – 585158).¹⁰⁴ Similarly, with one of the talismans of Mercury, we have the initial description of Mercury as a man sitting on a chair, who should have a cockerel on his head, a torch in his left hand, his feet like those of an eagle, and certain signs (*signa*) should be drawn beneath his feet.¹⁰⁵ We have to look elsewhere, however, to discover what these signs look like.¹⁰⁶ As the Polish scribe has not copied this text, the aspiring magus will look in vain.



Fig. 5: Image of Venus. *Picatrix*, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, f. 191^v.

¹⁰³ Pingree 1986, 70: “Ymago Veneris. Si ex formis Veneris feceris formam mulieris cuius corpus sit humanum. caput vero avis necnon et pedes aquile, in dextra manu malum, in sinistra vero pectinem tenentis ligneum similem tabule talibus figuris scriptum: OAOIOA, qui hanc ymaginem secum portaverit bene recipietur et ab omnibus diligetur.”

¹⁰⁴ Pingree 1986, 70. Cf. Ritter/Plessner 1962, 121, n. 6: “Dies sind die arabischen Ziffern 851585.”

¹⁰⁵ Pingree 1986, 67.

¹⁰⁶ Pingree 1986, 72; Ritter/Plessner 1962, 123. N.B. the characters in the Arabic and Latin are very different.

8 Illustrations and Illuminations

What, then, is the relation between these abstract and figurative images and the accompanying text? Clearly on one level they are illustrations, examples of what image to engrave on a talisman, lamen or ring, although the very notion of them as simply illustrations supporting the primary text breaks down when the scribe ceases to copy the text. Is it possible that the images have other functions? As concretizations of the text, perhaps they should be understood as having instructional value too, similar to the pedagogical images of the Moirogeneses in the *Lapidario*? The figurative images train the apprentice magician, perhaps, iconographically instructing him through the itemisation of attributes of each of the planetary gods, so that he can identify them in other material? They certainly facilitate the comparison and contrast between different textual traditions, the varying descriptions of images, according to Hermes, Apollonius and other authorities. Moreover, from the example of Venus, there seems to be a certain flexibility or fluidity between the components of images, and new hybrids can apparently be generated from the models provided. On another level, could these images be considered “illustrations” or “illuminations” in both a primary and secondary sense? If we follow Al-Kindī and Roger Bacon after him, then images emit rays that can make powerful impressions on other objects, including the minds of those intently inspecting them.¹⁰⁷ After all, at the start of the *Picatrix* we read “O you who wish to understand and know the sciences of the philosophers and to inspect (inspicere) their secrets”.¹⁰⁸ Could some form of “inspectival” magic be intended? Or perhaps the very incompleteness of the images is a way of avoiding the risk of making too powerful an impression on the viewer?¹⁰⁹ Likewise, the absence of the last two books of the *Picatrix* means that the would-be magician has no idea of how to animate the images.¹¹⁰

9 Occult Ekphrasis

In ancient Greece, the term *ekphrasis* could mean any detailed visual description, when a verbal text describes a visual art. In her work on medieval dream visions, Claire Barbetti takes the idea of ekphrasis further by asking “what about putting into words something that everyone has not seen – such as a dream or vision – but

¹⁰⁷ Marsh/White 2003. On Bacon’s optical theory, see Barbetti 2011, 8.

¹⁰⁸ Pingree 1986, 1: “O tu qui ciencias philosophorum intendere vis et scire ac eorum secreta inspicere [...]”.

¹⁰⁹ On the notion of “inspectival knowledge” and magic, see Clucas 1998.

¹¹⁰ On representations of deities and spirits *in effigie*, reanimated and called into being by prayer to live *realiter* for the duration of a magical ceremony or as long as the magician desired, see Brashear 1992, 48f.

whose constitutional elements are nonetheless common and familiar?”¹¹¹ Her introduction of John Hollander’s idea of “notional ekphrasis”, the representation of an *imagined* work of art, such as the shield of Gawain in the fourteenth-century romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* or the carved ivory saddle bows in Chrétien de Troyes’ twelfth-century *Érec et Énide*,¹¹² encourage a consideration of the concept of *ekphrasis* in the context of talismans – images described, some perhaps never physically created, others most definitely surviving in museum collections. True, the descriptions of the talismans in the *Picatrix* are not as detailed or intricate as the objects described in these two famous works of medieval literature, but they nevertheless partake of a similar interplay between verbal and visual, image and text.

In his consideration of “magical and mystical theories of eloquence”, Ryan Stark argues that ekphrasis has the power to transport “the audience into a different meta-physical awareness”.¹¹³ He goes even further:

Writers of magical ekphrases do not aim to represent an unrepresentable reality. They instead attempt to instantiate a reality, or transmogrify a reality with supernatural *enargia*, and, perhaps, transport onlookers into a spiritual realm. In the world of occult rhetoric, magical ekphrases participate in metaphysical realities.¹¹⁴

Although Stark does not have the production of talismans as his primary focus, one particular declaration seems extremely apposite: “In occult philosophy, charmed ekphrases conjure the world. Description is not simply a form of representation, but rather it is a form of substantiation: it is constitutive of reality.” The magic relation between verbal and visual is brought out particularly well in the statement that “For Renaissance sorcerers, the verbal image carries with it the same force as other types of talismans, for example, charms carved from wood or forged with metal. The verbal charm is a magical object, not a representation of reality, but rather an instantiation of reality – an instantiation of truth.”¹¹⁵ As dramatic as Stark’s arguments may sound, if such is the case, perhaps this too is another reason why the Polish scribe ceased copying his descriptions of magic images, even *before* he stopped the illustrations. Maybe the “verbal image” was enough to disquiet his conscience; perhaps the combination of both verbal and visual components or ingredients was a risk that he did not wish to take.

My introduction of the adjective “occult” as a qualification of this kind of ekphrasis in the title of this essay is because the complete instructions for fashioning tal-

111 Barbetti 2011, 2.

112 Barbetti 2011, 8. For the description of Gawain’s shield with its pentangle painted in gold, a sign devised, we are told, by Solomon, see Battles 2012, 58f., including the footnotes. For the description of Énide’s ivory saddlebows, carved with the story of Aeneas and Dido, see Staines 1993, 66.

113 Stark 2009, 185.

114 Stark 2009, 188.

115 Stark 2009, 189f.

ismans are there in the *Picatrix* text, but the information is at times dispersed and in need of collection and reconstruction by the attentive practitioner.¹¹⁶ Looking closely at the surviving Latin copy of the *Picatrix* that does contain visual images, we see that it also includes non-figurative material, including glyphs for the planets and abstract characters for a magic ring. This visual information, however, is scattered throughout the text, partly because the *Picatrix* is a compilation of practices from different textual traditions of astral and ritual magic, but also, perhaps it could be argued, there is an intentional dispersal. At the very beginning the *Picatrix* warns the incautious reader that “the philosophers have concealed this knowledge”, they have “veiled it [...] with abstruse words”.¹¹⁷ One of his stated intentions in the prologue is “to show that which they have hidden (occultaverunt) in their books with words in wandering ways and with very light words”.¹¹⁸ This calls to mind the level of secrecy found in alchemical works, both in the elaborate use of *Decknamen* or cover names for alchemical substances and processes, and the practice of dispersion of knowledge (*tabdīd al-‘ilm*) in the texts attributed to Jābir ibn Hayyān, where he states: “My method is to present knowledge by cutting it up and dispersing it into many places.”¹¹⁹ Rather than present this secret knowledge all at once, Jābir prefers to scatter an idea or process throughout one or indeed several books. It does not seem too far-fetched to suggest that similar practices could apply to the visual as well as the verbal. Nor should we think that Jābir is the sole example of this kind of practice. In the early modern period, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), author of the best known compendium of magical thought, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533) – which includes extracts from the *Picatrix* – describes his practice of “Dispersal of Knowledge”, in order to keep mysteries safe from “wicked and incredulous men”:

Some of these things are written in order, some without order, some things are delivered by fragments, some things are even hid, and left for the search of the intelligent, who more acutely contemplating these things which are written, and diligently searching, may obtain the compleat rudiments of the magical Art, and also infallible experiments. [...] You therefore sons of wisdom and learning, search diligently in this book, gathering together our dispersed intentions, which in divers places we have propounded, and what is hid in one place, we make manifest in another, that it may appear to you wise men [...]¹²⁰

116 For use of the term “occult ekphrasis”, see Stark 2009, 190. See too Eco 2003, 112 who also uses the term, though there it concerns the tacit use of visual descriptions of physical works of art, with the aim of providing additional pleasure for educated readers who recognise the original work.

117 Pingree 1986, 1: “hanc scienciam philosophi celaverunt [...] pro viribus velaverunt, et cum verbis absconditis.”

118 Pingree 1986, 2: “illud quod in eorum libris occultaverunt verbis peregrinis viis et verbis levioribus.”

119 Principe 2013, 44. On these alchemical “procédés d’occultation”, see too Obrist 1982, 141.

120 Agrippa 1651, 555.

10 Alfonso X's Magical Art

The texts that describe these images do not seem to have been illustrated in Arab works that predate the *Picatrix*. Abū Ma'shar's *Introductorium maius*, for example, provides verbal descriptions of the astrological decans, but no visual image exists in manuscripts prior to the *Picatrix*.¹²¹ Given the prevalent belief that painting is unlawful in Islam, perhaps the absence of pictured images is not so surprising, although that was to change in the thirteenth century.¹²² The development of this “magical art” in thirteenth-century Castile occurred around the same time as the beginnings of illustrations in alchemical texts. Like astral magic, alchemy entered the Christian West via translation from Arabic in the twelfth century, the earliest known work being Robert of Chester's 1144 *Liber de compositione alchemiae – Book on the Composition of Alchemy*, a translation of instructions on how to make the Philosophers' Stone, allegedly given by the Christian monk Morienus Romanus to the Umayyad prince Khālid ibn Yazīd.¹²³ The earliest known manuscript to include pictorial forms, however, Constantine of Pisa's *Book of the Secrets of Alchemy*, was compiled in 1257, at the very time that Alfonso's scriptorium was busy with the production of the *Picatrix*.¹²⁴ Barbara Obrist observes that Constantine of Pisa's text and images have been conceived as a unity: the text announces the images and depends on them in the course of the development of the treatise.¹²⁵ Furthermore, the visual image is not simply a new adornment to the text, but acts as a focus: “opposed to the multiplicity to which discursivity linked to the word leads, the image must bring the reader to the essential, to the truth”.¹²⁶ This could be argued to be the case with productions of Alfonso's scriptorium like the *Lapidario* and *Libro de Astromagia*; such is probably the case, too, with the *Picatrix*, but in a less systematic way.

One of the Spanish specialists of the magic works of Alfonso X, Alejandro Garcia Avilés, has argued that Alfonso's scriptorium, for the first time and probably with very few figurative models, had a program not simply of translating Arabic magical material, but indeed of transforming the *textual* astral magic of the Arabic manuscripts into a *visual art*,¹²⁷ an art capable of showing step by step the stages of the magical process, from the collection of the minerals and metals necessary for the physical substrate of the talismans, the images that one should engrave on them, and the

¹²¹ Vesel 2011, 91; García Avilés 2011, 109.

¹²² Motoyoshi Sumi 2013, 92.

¹²³ Principe 2013, 51.

¹²⁴ Obrist 1990, 1 on the dating of the manuscript; *ibid.*, 44–49 on the figures; Obrist 1982, 67sq. on the work. See too Obrist 2003 on questions of the uses of imagery in alchemical literature.

¹²⁵ Obrist 1982, 85

¹²⁶ Obrist 1982, 87: “Opposée à la multiplicité à laquelle mène la discursivité liée au mot, elle [l'image] doit ramener le lecteur à l'essentiel, à la vérité.”

¹²⁷ García Avilés 2011, 111.

rituals necessary to attract the power of the planetary bodies or celestial spirits in order to empower the magical object, each performed at its own propitious astrological moment.¹²⁸ While such is not apparent in the one surviving illustrated manuscript of the *Picatrix*, this notion is clearly visualised in the *Lapidario*, in a series of vignettes that synthesise each activity in its series of synoptic images. With his insertion of the wise men scrutinising the stones in the illuminated capitals, the illustrator of the *Lapidario* even goes beyond the information provided in the text; thereby further reassuring the reader of the success of the procedure.¹²⁹ Alfonso attempts, too, to make the magical rituals in the *Picatrix*, *Lapidario* and *Libro de Astromagia* acceptable to the Christian West by sanitizing them: the supernatural intermediaries are no longer ambiguously natured spirits or demons, but instead are angels, licit intermediaries for the action of God's power in the world (and consequently in the magician's ritual practice).¹³⁰ Here the image undoubtedly adds an extra dimension to the experience. As the author of the *Libro de Astromagia* says, "I've already said and explained everything. Now understand it thanks to the images."¹³¹

11 Receiving the Images

As an epilogue, I'd like to mention, briefly, the fate of the *Picatrix* in the early modern period. Although Frances Yates sets up a contrast between the "dirty old magic" of the medieval "necromancer studying his *Picatrix*" and the "new elegant magic" of the Florentine Renaissance philosopher, Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499),¹³² famed for his contribution to the revival of Platonism and Hermetism, it is now well known that Ficino made clandestine use of the *Picatrix* in his magical guide for melancholy scholars, *De Vita libri tres – Three Books on Life* (1489).¹³³ In a somewhat similar manner to the copyist of the Krakow manuscript, Ficino introduces descriptions of the images of the planets and of the zodiac into his work, but abstains from describing the decanic spirits, the faces of signs, presumably because of anxieties about avoiding accusations of demonic magic.¹³⁴ It is clear that Ficino is anxious about many of the practices

128 García Avilés 2011, 108. According to Ana Domínguez Rodríguez 2007, 178, 181 this was utterly novel at the time and there are no illustrated manuscript precedents known for the *Lapidario*, either in antiquity or in the Islamic world.

129 García Avilés 2011, 111.

130 García Avilés 2011, 107–109.

131 García Avilés 2011, 113: "Todo he dicho e fablado. Por figuras entiende."

132 Yates 1964, 107: "Who could recognise the necromancer studying his *Picatrix* in secret in the elegant Ficino with his infinitely refined use of sympathies, his classical incantations, his elaborately Neoplatonised talismans?"

133 On Ficino and the *Picatrix*, see Zambelli 2007, 9; Ficino 1989, 45, 340–43; Walker 2000, 36.

134 Láng 2011, 146f.

he discovers in medieval magic and is always careful to suggest that the effectiveness of talismans is due to natural rather than supernatural causes. He describes talismanic images but is careful to omit any linking with magical characters or words; he even suggests that it might be better simply to strike and heat talismans rather than engrave them;¹³⁵ nor does he include any illustrations of these talismans in his work. Indicative of Ficino's caution is his well-known statement in his "Exhortation to the Reader" in the third book of *De vita*: "If you do not approve of astronomical images, albeit invented for the health of mortals – which even I do not so much approve as report – dismiss them with my complete permission and even, if you will, by my advice."¹³⁶

Despite his apparent fascination for magical manuscripts, Ficino's younger contemporary, the German abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516), expressed his reservations concerning the *Picatrix* in his *Antipalus maleficiorum – Scourge of the Witches* (1508), for he believed it contained "many things that are frivolous, superstitious, and diabolical, [...] even though certain natural things seem to be interspersed".¹³⁷ Trithemius's protégé, the less cautious, but influential Agrippa, whose *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1533) exerted such an influence on the magical thought of early modernity, does draw from the medieval work, and while he does not go so far as to include illustrations from the *Picatrix*, he does include descriptions of talismanic images of the planets which clearly reveal the influence of Book 2, Chapter 10.¹³⁸ Elsewhere, it had a rather mixed reception and a rather notorious reputation. The French medical doctor Symphorien Champier (1471–1538), known to scholars for his slightly lukewarm writings on Cabala, considered it "a very vain book, full of superstitions and made like a ladder to idolatry".¹³⁹ François Rabelais (1483–1553) ironically mentions "the reverend Father in the Devil *Picatrix*, rector of the diabolical faculty" in the third book of *Pantagruel* (1546).¹⁴⁰ The witchhunter Nicolas Rémy (1530–1616) took matters far more solemnly, and numbered *Picatrix* one of three "masters in damnable magic".¹⁴¹

135 Ficino 1998, 343.

136 Ficino 1998, 239.

137 Brann 1999, 67; Véronèse 2011, 167; Zambelli 2007, 103.

138 See Agrippa 1992, 358–362; Agrippa 1651, 298–302.

139 Perrone Compagni 2011, 359.

140 Boudet/Caiozzo/Weill-Parot 2011, 14; Sez nec 1995, 62.

141 Davies 2009, 68; Rémy 1595, 210: "Qua de re Agrippa, Petrus de Abano, & *Picatrix tres damnatae Magiae proceres plura, quam e re hominum sit praecepta reliquere.*"

12 Conclusion

Alfonso X's scriptorium undoubtedly provided the Christian West with rich new material for the study of magic, not only with the valuable translations of Arabic sources, but also with the highly instructive images of zodiac wheels, illustrations of stones connected with particular planets and stars, the figures to engrave on talismans, and the at times dramatic new images of magicians at work. In some of the manuscripts the images complete and clarify the indications in the text, at times they even seem to supplant the text; at other times the text contributes to the sense of the images, but does not exhaust the possibilities for meaning. In the way that a verbal exegete can find multiple layers of meaning in even one word, such as is the case with the word *Talisman*, so too the illustrator as "visual exegete" can doubtless discover the polysemic possibilities in the images, and an anxious scribe perhaps suspect the ambivalent and ambiguous nature of what he is copying.¹⁴² As Karl-Ferdinand Schädler argued, "Originally, 'Image Magic' meant magic using images, i.e., with the aid of these. But in the flow of time this type of magic developed into magic emanating from the images themselves, i.e., from the power inherent in an image qua image."¹⁴³ In any consideration of the relation between the text and image we should bear in mind that the Polish scribe decided against copying the text that provided instructions and prayers for consecrating the images. In so doing he deprived any future owner of their use: they might have their occult technology, but it came without batteries, some of the components were missing and no user's guide provided. In any consideration of possible competition between text and image, in the case of the Krakow *Picatrix*, the images won, but it was a pyrrhic victory.¹⁴⁴

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¹⁴² On art as visual exegesis, see Hughes 2006, 183sq.

¹⁴³ Schädler 1984, 5.

¹⁴⁴ On this notion of competition, see Lippincott 2006, 10.

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Krisztina Hevesi

P. Stras. K 204 and K 205

An Unpublished Coptic Magical Collection from the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg

1 Introduction

The unpublished papyri K 204+K 205 (fig. 1–4)¹ belong to the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg (BNUS).² The manuscripts consist of several fragments of varying sizes that had been damaged by worms, and P. K 204 and 205 are placed separately between two panes of glass each.

The fragments are written by at least eight different hands and were grouped based on the handwritings at the beginning of the 20th century, thereby various manuscripts were assembled and their rectos and versos randomly placed. The handwriting of the German egyptologist Wilhelm Spiegelberg (1870–1930) is clearly recognizable on both glasses, hence apparently he was the one who arranged these manuscripts between the glasses, and probably, aggregated several different manuscripts together, as he did in the case of the Demotic papyrus fragments which he thought to be the work of the same hand.³ Nevertheless, it is likely that a few pieces of the papyri under the inventory number K 204 and K 205 were originally part of the same manuscripts as the attachment of some fragments is possible (for instance, the text on fragment A of P. K 204, and fragment D of P. K 205 stand together; pieces C and J of P. K 204 can be attached as well, and so on).

When the collection of the BNUS was founded at the turn of the 20th century, it belonged to the Deutsches Papyruskartell. A consortium was established between the Kaiserliche Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek and the Deutsches Papyruskartell (which included the BNUS) at the beginning of the 20th century. Two remarkable scholars, Wilhelm Spiegelberg, and the classical philologist Richard Reitzenstein acquired papyri and ostraca between 1898 and 1899 in Egypt in order to add them to the collections of the Deutsches Papyruskartell. The purchases of the sets were financed by the governor of Alsace-Lorraine, Hermann Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Langen-

1 P. Stras. K 204 and 205 are unpublished apart from a few brief remarks in Richter 2014, 109–110.

2 I am indebted to Madame Catherine Louis for showing me P. K 204+205 and for her precious help during the first part of my work on the manuscripts in Strasbourg. For the supervision of my Master thesis on P. K 204+205, I owe special thanks both to Dr. Andrea Hasznos and Dr. Gábor Schreiber, and also, to Dr. Gábor Takács who enriched my work with his remarks in the evaluation of my thesis.

3 Based on a discussion with Cassandre Hartenstein.

burg, who gave credit to the Kaiserliche Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek.⁴ In the archives of the BNUS,⁵ one of the bills of purchase explains the procedure of the acquisitions and the fact that the sets of papyrus were assorted by Egyptian antiquarians who had never sold single manuscripts, but rather cut or torn them into smaller pieces, and sold the fragments of different manuscripts together with the purpose of making more profit through the trade of antiquities.⁶ Therefore, the artifacts, having the same provenance, were sold separately, while others, having nothing in common, were piled together. The archives also mention that the manuscripts were distributed among the collections of the Deutsches Papyruskartell by drawing lots, then they took their places in Berlin, Heidelberg, Freiburg, Strasbourg, and so on. Consequently, it is possible that other fragments of P. K 204+205 could be part of the other collections of the Deutsches Papyruskartell.

According to the archives of the BNUS, papyri K 204+205 certainly arrived in the collection before February 10, 1906, because inventory numbers 264–282 were in use at this time,⁷ hence inventory numbers 204 and 205 had already existed before. Although the first inventory numbers were known earlier, they were registered only in 1911–1912.⁸

Fragment C of P. Stras. K 204 is a larger leaf of papyrus (33.8 x 15.5 cm) with regular broken parts between the last few lines, probably being the traces of rolling up. Based on these damages and the size, which would have been extreme for a codex, this manuscript was once rather a papyrus scroll. A scroll was considered to be a rare object in the collection. One of the financial archives of the Deutsches Papyruskartell contains a reference to “purchase 22” from a person named Danno Hag Magran,⁹ who sold the object for “500” (the currency is not precised in the document) on April 06, 1903. The details suggest that this purchase probably corresponds to “purchase 5” of another document, describing P. 22, a Coptic papyrus scroll from Ashmunein (“Eine sehr zerstörte koptische Rolle”).¹⁰ This manuscript was brought to the collection after drawing lots on August 21, 1903.¹¹ Other Coptic papyri, that could corre-

4 Colin 2014.

5 I am grateful to Daniel Bornemann for generously providing insight into the archives of the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

6 AL. 51, 25, 5, piece 68.

7 AL.51, 26, 3, piece 48.

8 AL.51, 26, 6 A.

9 Hag Magran sold manuscripts to the Deutsches Papyruskartell in the area of Ashmunein between 1905–1910 (Hagen/Ryholt 2016, 237, see also note 988). According to the archives of the BNUS, the dealer also sold papyri, originally coming from Oxyrhynchus (Essler 2007, 294, note 17; Hickey 2003, 199–200; Martin 2007, 42).

10 AL.51,26,5, piece 3.

11 AL.51,26,5, piece 4.

spond to P. K 204+205, were also discussed in the archives,¹² therefore it is not clear which description applies to our manuscript.

The provenance of the papyri is unknown, although a few characteristics of the phonology of Jeme can be identified,¹³ but these features are not systematic and can also refer to the idiolect of the scribes. The dialect is mainly Sahidic. Also, the dating is uncertain. According to the palaeographical analysis, the letters of the 8th century seem to be the closest to this handwriting.¹⁴

The fragments contain several magical spells, sometimes separated by lines, and completed with figural drawings and *charakteres*. Seemingly, the purposes of the spells are diverse, although it is extremely difficult to determine the aim of each spell because of the fragmentary state of the manuscripts.

In this edition, I provide the main papyrological description of the papyri, transcription of the Coptic text, followed by grammatical notes and an apparatus of the known parallel texts,¹⁵ translation of each fragment and commentary if the interpretation is possible. Since in the original arrangement, the rectos and versos were not always identified properly and the attachment of matching fragments has not yet been attempted either, I also tried to find and regroup the real rectos and versos,¹⁶ and digitally attach the fragments that might belong together; therefore, I discuss the matching pieces in the same chapter and deal with the others separately. The new, digital arrangement of the fragments does not always correspond to the original one (fig. 1–4).

12 “Koptische, arabische u. hebräische Papyrus” from Giza, bought by Spiegelberg on November 26, 1902 (AL.51, 26, 1, piece 4), and “Kopt. Papyrus” from Fayoum, also acquired by Spiegelberg on March 08, 1903 (AL.51, 26, 1, piece 7).

13 ω is sometimes used instead of λ, ϩ in place of ϣ, κ for τ, λ for ρ in Greek words and c for z (Winlock/Crum 1926, 241–244).

14 For example, the ligature of ερ is the same in P. BM Or. 6205 (which is a Greek papyrus), in P. Berlin Gr. 34/Jeme 3521 and in P. Caire 8732/Jeme 88 (Stegemann 1936, 11–12).

15 Unfortunately, the parallels that I found do not go beyond simple phraseological similarities, since the majority of these phrases and formulae reflect different purposes and they are contained in various compositions. The reason why I include them here is rather related to the reconstruction of the fragmentary parts of P. Stras. K 204-205 and the possible further research of the handbooks of spells in general.

16 In this article, I distinguish rectos and versos by the horizontal and vertical direction of fibers.

2 Edition of P. K 204+205

Size:

Fragment A of P. K 204: 7.8 x 14 cm
 Fragment B of P. K 204: 3.3 x 4.7 cm
 Fragment C of P. K 204: 33.8 x 15.5 cm
 Fragment D of P. K 204: 0.4 x 5.9 cm
 Fragment E of P. K 204: 3.0 x 7.5 cm
 Fragment F of P. K 204: 3.0 x 2.6 cm
 Fragment G of P. K 204: 5.2 x 3.6 cm
 Fragment H of P. K 204: 3.6 x 3.2 cm
 Fragment I of P. K 204: 2.7 x 2.3 cm
 Fragment J of P. K 204: 2.6 x 3.1 cm
 Fragment K of P. K 204: 1.9 x 3.3 cm
 Fragment L of P. K 204: 5.5 x 5.3 cm
 Fragment M of P. K 204: 4.9 x 4.2 cm
 Fragment N of P. K 204: 2.5 x 2.3 cm

Fragment A of P. K 205: 23.9 x 15.8 cm
 Fragment B of P. K 205: 7.4 x 8.6 cm
 Fragment C of P. K 205: 1.7 x 1.9 cm
 Fragment D of P. K 205: 5.2 x 7.6 cm
 Fragment E of P. K 205: 2.4 x 8.7 cm
 Fragment F of P. K 205: 5.5 x 12.7 cm
 Fragment G of P. K 205: 3.1 x 6.5 cm
 Fragment H of P. K 205: 2.0 x 6.5 cm
 Fragment I of P. K 205: 5.1 x 8.9 cm
 Fragment J of P. K 205: 4.2 x 6.4 cm
 Fragment K of P. K 205: 3.8 x 6.4 cm
 Fragment L of P. K 205: 2.6 x 7.8 cm
 Fragment M of P. K 205: 4.0 x 6.2 cm
 Fragment N of P. K 205: 3.5 x 7.1 cm
 Fragment O of P. K 205: 3.0 x 5.9 cm

Provenance: unknown

Material: papyrus

Dating: probably 8th century AD

Description: two very fragmentary leaves of papyrus with damages, caused by worms; and smaller fragments of the same manuscripts or of other manuscripts written by hands corresponding to some of our papyri. The ink is black and clearly visible.

2.1 Fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto)

Arabic protocol

- 1]λ ΝΤϞΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥ[Ν] ΩΔΡΟϞ Μ[Ν]ΠϞΜΗΗΩΕ ΤΗΡ[Ϟ ...]ΕΤ[
- 2 ΝΙΜ] ΠΩΕΝΙΜ <Μ>ΠΕΜΤΟ <Ε>Β[Ο]Λ Μ[Π]ΚΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡϞ ΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΜΗ ΝΩΕΕΡΕ
 [ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν]ΣΩΗ ΔΥΩ [
- 3 Ν]ΔΡΟΙ ΝΓΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν[ΣΑΝ]ΔΤΟΟΤ ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΑΖΗ[Τ ...Ν]ΔΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ <Ν>ΠΑΛΛΑϞ [.]ΚΕ. [
- 4 ΝΣΑΝΔ]ΤΟΟΤ Ζ[Ν Ζ]ΩΒ ΝΙ[Μ]ΕΟΥΕ<Ζ>ΣΔΖΝΕ[.]Ο[...].Ο[...]. ΕΙΤΕ ΟΥΩΖ ΕΙΤΕ
 ΠΟΟΝΕ ΕΙΤΕ[
- 5 Χ]ΔΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΕΙΤΕ Σ[ΔΙΟ ...]ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕ ΒΩΛ Ϟ[
- 6] .Ν [...].Ε ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟϞ ΜΠΕΙΩΤ [

Parallels

(2) ΝΙΜ ΠΩΕ Ν ΜΕΩΕΝΙΜ line 23 of the verso of fragment C of P. K 204, ΝΙΜ ΠΩ[Ε (Ν)ΝΙΜ line 1 of the verso of fragment E of P. K 204, ΝΙΜ ΠΩ ΝΝΙΜ Ν[line 26 of fragments A, I,

K of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204 (verso), $\overline{\text{NIM}} \overline{\text{TΩ}} \overline{\text{NNIM}}$ lines 7–8, 22–23, 28, 33 of P. Schmidt 2,¹⁷ $\overline{\text{NIM}} \overline{\text{TΧΗΛΙ}} \overline{\text{NIM}}$ line 14 of P. London 5525,¹⁸ $\overline{\text{ΧNIM}}$ and // for $\overline{\text{ΠΩ}} \overline{\text{NNIM}}$ lines 11 and 13, 25, 26 of P. Berlin 8314.¹⁹

(2) $\overline{\text{NPKENOC}} \overline{\text{THP}} \overline{\text{NΔΔAM}} \overline{\text{MN}} \overline{\text{NΩHP}} \overline{\text{THPOY}} \overline{\text{NΩH}}$ lines 3–5 of the verso of P. London Or. 10414,²⁰ $\overline{\text{MPKENOC}} [\overline{\text{THP}} \overline{\text{N}}] \overline{\text{ΔΔAM}} \overline{\text{MN}} \overline{\text{ΩHP}} [\overline{\text{THPOY}}] \overline{\text{NΩH}}$ lines 26–28 of the recto of P. London Hay 10122,²¹ $\overline{\text{MPEMTA}} \overline{\text{EBAL}} \overline{\text{MPKENOC}} \overline{\text{THP}} = \overline{\text{NΔΔAM}} = \overline{\text{MN}} \overline{\text{NΩHP}} \overline{\text{THP}} \overline{\text{NΩH}}$ = lines 39–41 P. Heidelberg Kopt. 681,²² $\overline{\text{ZMPGENOC}} \overline{\text{TH}} [\overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{NΔΔAM}} \overline{\text{MN}}] \overline{\text{ΠCΩNT}} \overline{\text{THP}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{ZΩH}}$ lines 10–11 and 19–20 of the P. London Or. 1013A,²³ $\overline{\text{MPEMTO}} \overline{\text{EBOL}} \overline{\text{MPGENOC}} \overline{\text{THP}} \overline{\text{NΔΔAM}} \overline{\text{MN}} \overline{\text{NΩHP}} \overline{\text{THPOY}} \overline{\text{NΩH}}$ lines 25–27 of P. London Or. 6795,²⁴ $\overline{\text{MPEMTO}} \overline{\text{EBOL}} \overline{\text{MPKOCMOC}} \overline{\text{THP}} \overline{\text{MN}} \overline{\text{PGENOC}} \overline{\text{T}} [\overline{\text{HP}}] \overline{\text{NΔΔAM}} \overline{\text{MN}} \overline{\text{NΩHP}} \overline{\text{THPOY}} \overline{\text{NΩ}} [\overline{\text{H}}]$ lines 51–53 of the verso of P. London Or. 6796,²⁵ $\overline{\text{MPEMTΩ}} \overline{\text{EBOL}} \overline{\text{MKENOC}} \overline{\text{ENΔΔAM}} \overline{\text{MN}} \overline{\text{NΩHP}} \overline{\text{THPOY}} \overline{\text{NΩH}}$ lines 3–5 of P. K 5024 of the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,²⁶ $[\overline{\text{PGEN}}] \overline{\text{OC}} \overline{\text{THP}} \overline{\text{NΔΔAM}}$ line 6 of P. Berlin 8326,²⁷ $\overline{\text{MMPGENOC}} \overline{\text{THP}} \overline{\text{NΔΔAM}} \overline{\text{PNNEΩPEPE}}$ (sic) $\overline{\text{THPOY}} \overline{\text{NΩH}}$ lines 73–74 of P. Heidelberg 500–501.²⁸

(3) $\overline{\text{NCANATOOT}}$ line 25 of fragment C of P. K 204 (verso), $[\overline{\text{MNCANAP}} \overline{\text{ΩI}} \dots \overline{\text{Χ}} \overline{\text{ΩK}} \overline{\text{EBOL}} \overline{\text{NCANATOOT}} [\dots] \overline{\text{ΔBIX}} \overline{\text{NFI}} [\dots \overline{\text{CΩ}}] \overline{\text{TM}} \overline{\text{NCANAP}} \overline{\text{ΩI}} \overline{\text{NΓXOK}} [\overline{\text{EBOL}} \text{ lines 28–29 of the verso of fragment C of P. K 204, line 2 of the verso of fragment E of P. K 204, line 4 of fragment H of P. K 204 (recto), } \overline{\text{NΠOLOΓIΔ}}] \overline{\text{THPOY}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{ΠAΛAC}} \overline{\text{EKEBAY}} \overline{\text{NEMAI}} \overline{\text{T}} [\dots] \text{ line 12 of fragment A of P. K 205 (verso), } \overline{\text{NΧOK}} \overline{\text{EBOL}} \overline{\text{NCA}} \overline{\text{NAPOI}} \overline{\text{NΠOLOΓIΔ}} \overline{\text{THPOY}} \overline{\text{ΠAΛAC}} \overline{\text{ΔIIO}} \overline{\text{ΔIO}} \overline{\text{ΔIIO}} \overline{\text{TΔ}} [\overline{\text{XH}} \text{ line 16 of fragment A of P. K 205 (verso), lines 22–23 of fragments A, I of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204 (verso), line 4 of fragment M of P. K 205 (verso), } \overline{\text{ETETMCΩTEM}} \overline{\text{NCA}} \overline{\text{NAPΩI}} \overline{\text{NTE}} | \overline{\text{TEH}} \overline{\text{BOK}} \overline{\text{EBOL}} \overline{\text{MNOYΩΩ}} \overline{\text{MΠ}} \overline{\text{ΔZHT}} \overline{\text{PETHMA}} \overline{\text{NTA}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{YXH}}$ lines 6–8 of the verso of P. Michigan 1190,²⁹ $\overline{\text{EIPPE}} \overline{\text{NNAPOI}} \overline{\text{NΓXOK}} \overline{\text{EBOL}} \overline{\text{NNAOTOOT}} \overline{\text{MN}} \overline{\text{NΠOLOΓIΔ}} \overline{\text{THPOY}} | \overline{\text{NΠAΛAC}}$ lines 21–22, 29–30, 33 of P. London Hay 10391,³⁰ $\overline{\text{EKTEMNAP}} [\overline{\text{EKI}}] \overline{\text{CA}} \overline{\text{NAPΩI}} \overline{\text{EKPEPE}} \overline{\text{ZN}} \overline{\text{NA}} \overline{\text{TTOOT}}$ lines 13–15 of P. Berlin 8314,³¹ $\overline{\text{NΧE}} [\overline{\text{E}}] \overline{\text{KECΩ}} [\overline{\text{TEM}}] \overline{\text{NCA}} \overline{\text{NAXΩI}} \overline{\text{NKI}} \overline{\text{NCAN}} [\overline{\text{Δ}}] \overline{\text{TAT}} [\overline{\text{N}}] \overline{\text{KIPPE}} | \overline{\text{NEI}} \overline{\text{MNOYΩΩ}} \overline{\text{MΠAZHT}} \overline{\text{MN}} \overline{\text{PETH}} \overline{\text{MA}} \overline{\text{NTA}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{YXH}} \overline{\text{ZN}} \overline{\text{OYTA}} \overline{\text{XH}} \overline{\text{MN}} \overline{\text{NOY}} \overline{\text{BEPH}}$

17 Kropp I. 1931, 13.

18 Kropp I. 1931, 15.

19 VKU 1904, 4; Beltz 1984, 91.

20 Crum 1934, 196.

21 Crum 1934, 198.

22 Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 401–402.

23 Erman 1895, 132–133

24 Kropp I. 1931, 33.

25 Kropp I. 1931, 43.

26 Till 1942, 104.

27 VKU 1904, 12.

28 Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 332.

29 Worrell 1935, 10.

30 Kropp I. 1931, 56–57.

31 Beltz 1984, 91.

lines 31–35, 39–40 and 53–56 of the collection H. O. Lange,³² $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau|\nu\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu} \bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha$
 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau|\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma \tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\bar{\iota} \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon[|\tau\bar{\nu}|]\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon \varsigma\alpha \bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\tau \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota \epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha\bar{\iota} \epsilon\chi\bar{\nu} \pi\epsilon\iota\alpha\pi\omicron\tau | \pi\alpha\iota$
 $\epsilon\tau\kappa\eta \epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha\bar{\iota} \bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\epsilon\bar{\mu}\tau\omicron \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma\epsilon | \bar{\nu}\chi\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}\varsigma \gamma\iota \bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\alpha \epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha\beta \bar{\nu}\eta\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota} \bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$
 $|\bar{\nu}\beta\rho\rho\epsilon \gamma\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu} \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\bar{\iota} \bar{\Delta}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\varsigma} \cdot \epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \bar{\Delta}\epsilon \epsilon\tau\epsilon|\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\varsigma}\omega\tau\bar{\mu} \bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha \bar{\nu}\alpha\rho\omega\bar{\iota} \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon \varsigma\alpha$
 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\tau \tau\iota\bar{\nu}\alpha|\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon \bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\alpha\omicron \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\eta\gamma\tau \tau\alpha\varsigma\omega\omega\tau \bar{\mu}\pi\eta\bar{\nu} \bar{\mu}\pi\iota\gamma\tau \rho\omicron\omicron\varsigma \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\tau$ lines 14–21
of P. London Or. 6794,³³ $\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota \bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\rho\omega\bar{\iota}$ line 10 of P. Berlin 8326,³⁴ fragments 4–5 of P.
Coptic Museum 4959,³⁵ P. Coptic Museum 4960.³⁶

(4–5) $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon \bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\tau \gamma\bar{\nu} \gamma\omega\beta \bar{\nu}\iota\bar{\mu} \bar{\Delta}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\varsigma} \bar{\nu}\iota\bar{\mu} \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \bar{\mu}\epsilon \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \bar{\mu}\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \zeta\alpha\iota\omicron$
 $\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \bar{\mu}\omicron\gamma\rho \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \beta\omega\lambda \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \gamma\omega\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon} \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma[\omicron] \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \varsigma\omega\omega\gamma\gamma\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu} \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \chi\omega\omega\rho\epsilon \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \cdot \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$
 $\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon [\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\epsilon \epsilon\iota]\tau\epsilon \rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\zeta \cdot$ P. Cologne 10235,³⁷ P. Coptic Museum 4960.³⁸

(6) $\tau\bar{\nu}\omega \bar{\nu}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\omicron\epsilon \bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\omicron[\gamma]\omega\beta\omega [\epsilon]\tau\pi\omicron\rho\chi \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \epsilon\chi\bar{\nu} \bar{\nu}\epsilon\theta\omicron\rho\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma \bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau [\bar{\nu}]\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$
lines 58–60 of London Ms. Or. 6796 (2. 3) verso,³⁹ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma \bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma \bar{\nu}\theta\omicron\rho[\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma] \bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\omega\theta$
lines 19–20 of page 12 of Rossi's Gnostic Tractate,⁴⁰ $\tau\bar{\omega}\rho\kappa \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa \bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\varsigma\alpha\omega\gamma \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$
 $\epsilon\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon \epsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\rho\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma \bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ lines 27–28 of col. I of P. Berlin 10587,⁴¹ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\gamma\lambda\gamma$
 $\bar{\nu}\gamma\omega\bar{\nu} \epsilon\tau\gamma\iota \bar{\Delta}\bar{\rho}\eta\bar{\nu} \gamma\bar{\Delta}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\rho\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ lines 11–12 of London Ms. Or. 6172.⁴²

Translation

- 1]... and he goes to him with all his crowd [...] ... [
- 2 N.] son of N. before the whole generation of Adam and [all] the children of
Zoe and [
- 3 of] my mouth and you may fulfill [those] of my hands, all the things of my
heart [...] all the spells of my tongue ... [
- 4 the things of my] hands in every affair [...] to command [...] whether
establishing or overthrowing or [
- 5] favour or d[is]grace [...] releasing and not loosening [
- 6] ... [...] the throne of the Father [

³² Lange 1932, 163–164.

³³ Kropp I. 1931, 29–30.

³⁴ BKU 1904, 12.

³⁵ Meyer/Smith 1999, 242.

³⁶ Meyer/Smith 1999, 244; Vycichl 1991, 1502.

³⁷ Weber 1972, 56; Meyer/Smith 1999, 373.

³⁸ Meyer/Smith 1999, 244; Vycichl 1991, 1502.

³⁹ Kropp I. 1931, 43.

⁴⁰ Kropp I. 1931, 72.

⁴¹ Beltz 1983, 80.

⁴² Crum 1905, 506.

2.2 Fragment B of P. K 204 (recto)

Arabic protocol (probably part of fragment A)

2.3 Fragment H of P. K 204 (recto)

1] ΜΠΞΔΡ [.] ΦΠΘ[
 2] ΔΞΩ ΞΩΩΤ ΜΠΕ[
 3] Π ΝΞΗΤϢ ΝΓΣΩ[ΤΜ (?)
 4 ΝΔΡ]ΘΙ ΝΓΧΟΚ [ΕΒΟΛ

Parallels

(4) See the parallels of line 3 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

Translation

1] ... [
 2] ... myself/too ... [
 3] in it and you may lis[ten (?)
 4 my mou]th and you may accomp[lish

2.4 Fragments B and C of P. K 205 (recto)

Drawing/Protocol

1].ΟΥΞΜΣΕ ΕΠΞΩ Ν.[
 2]ϢΞΗΣΕ ΜΝΟΥϞΟΥϞ.[
 3]ΥΞΕ ΜΜΟΚ[

Notes

(1) ΞΩΝ “approach” can also be read instead of ηΞΩ “face”.

(2) The word at the end of the line is probably a noun, thus it could be ϞΟΥϞΟΥϞΟΥϞ “sacrifice, offering”,⁴³ or ϞΟΥϞΟΥϞ “equality, sameness”.⁴⁴

⁴³ Crum 1939, 603b

⁴⁴ Crum 1939, 606a–607a

Translation

Drawing/Protocol

- 1] ... to the face [
 2] he is troubled with ... [
 3] ... you [

2.5 Fragments C and J of P. K 204 (recto)

Drawing (upside down)

- 1] ΜΑCΤΙΧΕ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ ΑΛΛΩΤ (sic.) ΝΒΑΛ [
 2] Ο[.] ΨΟ[Υ]ΡΗ ΝΟΜ'ΖΑΤ ΚΑ<Δ>ΜΙΕ ΜΑΤ[
 3 Ν]ΚΩΤ ΣΑΖΟΥΝ † ΣΑ\ΛΔ/ΖΤ ΓΑΡΒΟΝΕ ΝΨΕ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ[
 4]ΝΛΕΥΓΩΝ ΖΛΥCΟΥΤΑΡΕΝ ΠΧΒΩΤ..Ν[.]ΑΛΧ.ΝΙ.. [

(Separation lines)

- 5] . \Τ/Ν ΟΥΑCΦΑΛΤΩΝ Λ.[.....]Ε ΛΙΒΑΝΟ[Ϛ] Δ.[
 6] .ΜΕ ΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΝΖΟ[ΟΥ (?) ..]. ΖΩΦ. † Ν[
 7] ΜΑΡΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΣΗCΖ.[
 8]ΥΡΙΗΑ CΝΟΦ' [.]ΕΡΦΟΥ .ΧΕΝ\|ΕΙΝΕΜΟΤ .ΠΕ [

Notes

(1) ΑΛΛΩΤ is an erroneous form for the word αλω “pupil”.⁴⁵

(2) The Coptic word ΚΑΔΜΙΑ(C)/ΚΑΤΜΙΑ(C)/ΚΑΤΜΙΕ comes from the Greek καδμεία “cadmia, calamine”.⁴⁶

(3) ΓΑΡΒΟΝΕ stands for the Greek κάρβων “charcoal”.

(4) ΛΕΥΓΩΝ is a variant for the Greek λευκός “white”.

(5) ΑCΦΑΛΤΩΝ comes from ἄσφαλτος “pitch, bitumen”. The lacuna could contain λΙΛΟΟΖΕ “bdellium” as an ingredient or offering.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Crum 1939, 5a–b; KHW 2008, 3.

⁴⁶ Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996, 848.

⁴⁷ Crum 1939, 142a; Till 1951, 49.

2.8 Fragment L of P. K 204 (recto)

1]CH.CMEPEM'NE[

Translation

1] .. she loves (?) ... [

2.9 Fragment N of P. K 204 (recto; fig. 11)

1] .ΕΛΦ.Τ..[

2] .CΩΤΜ[

3]ΤΑΞΩ[

Notes

(3) ΤΑΞΩ could be a form of ΤΑΞΟ “set up”.⁵¹

Translation

1] ... [

2] listen [

3] set up (?) [

2.10 Fragment A of P. K 204 (verso) and fragment D of P. K 205 (verso)

blank, with traces of ring-letters on fragment A

2.11 Fragment B of P. K 204 (verso)

blank

2.12 Fragment H of P. K 204 (verso)

drawings

⁵¹ Kasser 1966, 44.

2.13 Fragments B and C of P. K 205 (verso)

blank

2.14 Fragments C, J and M of P. K 204 (verso)

- 1]ετ[
 2 εβολ ρ]ηπετροου' nca[ντεκουμε]νη τηρς' σωτμ' εροι' μπουο' να[
 3]αλγαστηριον τ[...]ερβε ντετνει ψαροι' μη[οο]γ' αιμογ [
 4]ς' αυωσ' θε.[...]τε ετχοσε' παρωρωτων νογοειν' π[
 5]κοαλ ..χεκαλας εκεκαλλιζε- ηγσωου' ναι εζουγν [
 6]ηηρ]π' μη πηε αυω θεεσ' ηγωπε ναι νογβαιωινε [
 7]ιμ' ζατθη' μπατογ ψωπε' αυω νεγχοοο' ναι' ν[.]ς.νς[.
 8] .ουνημη[...]αζρηε' νογ..[
 9]ηεγραν' εχιν : εθαεαιθ' : .[
 10]τικος πειβαιωινε ετνηωτ[.]ει[
 11]νογνη ζιχνητεκαπε: ερεψκεκ[ιλ (?)
 12]εβαρβα βαρβαροθ: πνογτε ννεζεβερεος[
 13] ητοπο[ς ε]τιωοοπ ηζητογ ηγχωκ' ναι εβολ μπουωψ τηρη[
 14]ηοου' νεκσομ μη νεσοτιον μη νεκφυλακτηριον μη νετοπ[οσ
 15]ταηρω' ηθε' ηουσον [μη] ηη[σον] αυω ηθε' ηουωβηη' μη ηη[ω]βηη[
 16]ετιορη' ε[ρ...] ποου' η[...]ηηη' ηηουγν' ζμκ.ρ.εηο. πιωτ[...]λ[
 17] ηαντω[κ]ρατορ' χεκαλα[ς ... κα]ταζογε' μοκ <μ>πουο' ηει ψαρο[
 18] ταχ]η ταχη +
 (Separation lines)
 19]ρρο <η>σαβαοθ' χε[...]' νεκβακ' χειναβακ' ψατ.[
 20]ουτ' μαρεσζε' ερραι' ετμημ.[
 21] .ρετ' μη ουλαμχατπ' μη .[
 22]εη ψα..ει' ηλας εβολ μη[
 23]ε[η]ηημ' ηαε' ημεψεηημ' \ω/[
 24]ητοπος' ετιωοοπ ηζηη' ηηγω[τμ
 25]ω]κ' εβολ ησανατοοτ' ηηηαστο' τα.πηαλ.[
 26]αζε]ρατ' μολαδ[... ε]βου' ζμηπαρταροσ' ηαμηηε[
 27] οορ.[...] ζι' ψααρ' ηημ' ψοοπ' η' ζο [
 28] μη [η]σαναρ[ωι ... χ]ωκ' εβολ ησανατοοτ' [
 29] ηαβιχ' ηηι.[... σω]τμ' ησαναρωι' ηηχωκ' [εβολ
 30] ...εω.....η' ηαπεερο[ηος
 31]ηαχρω' ηηηα.ηεν' λαμη[

Notes

(3) ΔΛΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ is used for ἐργαστήριον “workshop”. λ replaces ρ, just like in some of the texts of the monastery of Epiphanius in Western Thebes.⁵² At the end of the line, ΛΙΜΟΥ could be the 1st person singular of perfect I⁵³ or the imperative form (2nd sg.) of εἰ “come”.

(4) ΔΣΩΡΩΤΩΝ stands for ἄόρατος “invisible”. Correspondingly, ω can replace λ, λγ, ΟΥ or ΟΥΩ in the texts from the monastery of Epiphanius.⁵⁴

(6) ΒΑΙΩΙΝΕ “messenger” is the result of ϣ-β alternation.

(7) ΣΑΤΘΗ (ΣΑΘΗ) “in front of, before” comes from the preposition ΣΑ-/ΣΑΡΟϝ “to, toward” and ΤΣΗ/ΘΗ “fore part, before”.⁵⁵ ΣΑΤΘΗ often stands together with ΜΠΑΤΕ-, simply meaning “before”.⁵⁶

(10) ΝΣΩΤ is probably a form of ΝΣΟΤ+ “faithful”.⁵⁷

(13) As the scribe does not use † for the 1st person singular in this manuscript, ΕΤΙΩΘΟΝ is obviously for ε†ΨΟΘΟΝ.

(16) Probably, the construction ΕΤΙΟΡΗ consists of the 1st person singular of relative of present I and a curious form of the verb ΨΡĪ “adjure”, likely as a result of misunderstanding during dictation.

(17) After the invocation of the god almighty, the text continues with the verb ΚΑΤΑΣΟΥΕ together with its usual preposition ΜΜΟϝ.⁵⁸ ΚΑΤΑΣΟΥΕ comes from καταξιόω “deem worthy”.⁵⁹ ΜΟΚ is for ΜΜΟΚ.

(19) ΡΡΟ could also be part of ΜῆΤΡΡΟ meaning “kingdom”. ΧΕΙΝΔΕΩΚ is probably for the 1st person singular of future II (ΧΕ ΕΙΝΔΕΩΚ “for I may go”).

⁵² Winlock/Crum I. 1926, 243.

⁵³ The possible verbs beginning with ΜΟΥ are as follows: ΜΟΥ “to die” (Crum 1939, 159a); ΜΟΥΟΥΤ “to kill” (Crum 1939, 201a); ΜΟΥΤΕ “to speak, call” (Crum 1939, 191b); ΜΟΥΨΤ “to examine, search out, visit” (Crum 1939, 206b); ΜΟΥϝ “to fill” (Crum 1939, 208b), “to burn, glow” (Crum 1939, 210a); “to look” (Crum 1939, 210b).

⁵⁴ Winlock/Crum I. 1926, 241–242.

⁵⁵ Crum 1939, 634b; 640b–641b

⁵⁶ The same structure can be seen in lines 31–32 of London Ms. Or. 6795 (Kropp I. 1931, 33).

⁵⁷ Crum 1939, 246a

⁵⁸ This verb is present in the form ΚΑΤΑΚΣΙΟΝ in lines 8–9 of London Ms. Or. 5525 (Kropp I. 1931, 15), and as ΚΑΤΑΚΣΙΟΥ in line 40 of P. London Hay 10391 (Kropp I. 1931, 58), but both contexts differ from the one in P. Stras. K 204.

⁵⁹ Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996, 903.

(20) εΤΜΗΜ could consist of the preposition ε– with a noun as well as the construction of ε– and the negative conjugation base (ΤΜ) with the infinitive form of a verb.

Parallels

(2) ΔΜΟΥ ΨΑΡΟΪ ΜΠΟΥΥ Π[ΝΙ]ϞΕ ΠΩΝΑΣ | ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕϞΤΟΥΟΥ
 ΝΣΑ ΜΚΑΣ ΜΝ ΠΕϞΤΟΥΟΥ ΝΚΟΟΣ | ΝΤΕϞΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΤΗΡΣ lines 2–5 of London Ms. Or. 6795,⁶⁰
 ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΖΜ ΠΕϞΤΟΥΟΥ ΝΣΑ Μ|ΠΚΑΣ· ΚΑΝ ΠΑΗΡ· ΜΑΡΟΥ ΞΩΩΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΗΡΟΥ | ΖΙΤΝ ΤΣΟΜ
 ΝΕΛΟΕΙ... lines 10–12 of the verso of P. Berlin 11347.⁶¹

(4) [ΣΟΥΥΤΝ] | ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΚΕΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΕΤ[.....] | ΕΤΧΟΣΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΚΣΒΟΪ ΕΤΧΟΣΕ
 ΝΑΣΟ|ΡΑΤΟΝ ΝΓΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΙΜΟΥΥ ΜΝ ΠΙΝΗΣ | ΝΓΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥΥ lines 66–71 of the
 verso of London Ms. Or. 6796 (2.3),⁶² ΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΕ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΕΤΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΠΕΪΔΑΣΟΡΑΤΟΣ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤ ΖΜ ΠΧΙΣΕ lines 10–12 of page 2 of Michigan 593.⁶³

(5) ΤΟΚ ΝΕ ΕΚΣΑΛΠΙΖΕ ΝΤΣΑΛΠΙΞ ΝΝΟΥϞ | ΝΠΙΩΤ ΨΑΚΣΑΛΠΙΖΕ ΝΣΩΣΩΟΥΑΣ ΕΡΟΚ | ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΝΒΙ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΠΣΩΩΝΤ ΤΗΡϞ | ΕΙΤΕ ΔΡΧΗ ΕΙΤΕ ΔΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΙΤΕ ΔΡΧΗΔΓΓΕΛΟΣ lines
 77–80 of London Ms. Or. 5987,⁶⁴ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕΡΕΤΙΖΑΛΠΙΞ· ΝΟΥϞ· ΝΤΟΟΤΚ· ΕΚΨΑΝΣΑΛΠΙΖΕ
 ΨΔΥΣΩΟΥΕΞ· ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ· ΜΝΤΕϞΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΤΗΡΣ· ΠΧΩΚ ΝΕΔΚΕΛΟΣ· ΜΝΔΡΧΗΔΓΓΕΛΟΣ
 ΜΝΕΠΨΩΣΤΗΡ· lines 18–22 of page 4 of P. Macq. I 1.⁶⁵

(6) ΝϞΤΑΨΟΪ ΝΠΕ|ΣΟΥΨ ΜΝ ΝΗΡΠ ΜΝ ΠΝΕΞ ΜΝ ΘΕΒΣΩ ΝΣΕΩΧΝ Ν|ΖΗΤ ΝΠ ΜΑΓΙΑ ΝΙΜ
 ΖΙΦΑΡΜ[Δ]ΓΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΨΑΛΕΝΞ lines 23–25 of P. Berlin 8318.⁶⁶

(12) ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑΘ· ΤΝΟΣ ΝΣΟΜ ΝΤΕ lines 13 and 22 of London Ms. Or. 6796 (4),⁶⁷ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΩΘ
 line 9 of the recto and line 11 of the verso of P. Cologne 20826,⁶⁸ ΒΑΡΒΑΖΑΩΘ line 10 of
 P. Berlin 9074.⁶⁹ In a Greek text: ἔξορκίζω σε, δαίμον, ἢ ὅστις ποτ' οὖν εἶ, κατὰ τούτου
 | τοῦ θεοῦ σαβαρβαρβαθιωθ σαβαρ|βαρβαθιουθ· σαβαρβαρβαθιωνηθ | σαβαρβαρβαφαῖ
 · lines 1239–1243 of P. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574.⁷⁰

(13–14) ΝΤΟΠΟΣ Ε]ΤΙΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ [line 1 of fragment D of P. K 204 (verso), Ν]ΤΟΠΟΣ
 ΕΤΙΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤϞ ΝΓΣΩ[ΤΜ line 24 of fragments C, J and M of P. K 204 (verso), line 26 of
 fragments A, I of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204 (verso), [ΔΙ]ΣΟΠΣΗ ΔΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕ

⁶⁰ Kropp I. 1931, 32.

⁶¹ Beltz 1985, 33.

⁶² Kropp I. 1931, 43.

⁶³ Worrell 1930, 243.

⁶⁴ Kropp I. 1931, 25.

⁶⁵ Choat/Gardner 2013, 50.

⁶⁶ BKU 1904, 9; Beltz 1983, 69.

⁶⁷ Kropp I. 1931, 47–48.

⁶⁸ Römer/Thissen 1990, 176.

⁶⁹ Beltz 1984, 99.

⁷⁰ PGM IV,1239–1243.

ΜΜΩΤΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΡΑΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΘΟΜ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΣΩΤΙΟΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΚΩ
 ΝΣΩΤΝ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΤΝΩΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΙ ΕΠΕΔΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΕΙΩΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΗ
 lines 6–10 of P. London Hay 10391,⁷¹ ΤΙΤΑΛΚΑ ΜΑΚ ΕΠΕΚΛΕΝ ΜΝ ΤΕΚΘΑΜ ΜΝ ΠΕΚΖΟΤΙΟΝ
 ΜΝ ΠΕΚΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΝΟΥΧΕΙ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΩΠΩΣ ΕΚΨΑΛΠ ΕΝΖΗΤΟΥ lines 1–4 of London Ms.
 Or. 5525,⁷² 𐩧 𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩢 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩢 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩢 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩢 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩢 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩢 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩢 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩢 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩢
 ΝΕΟΟΥ ΕΤ [+ – 2] ΨΟΩΠ Ν[Ζ]ΗΤΟΥ lines 1–5 of P. Berlin 8325,⁷³ ΛΙΟ ΛΙΟ ΧΕΨΩΡΚ ΕΡΩΤΝ
 ΝΝΕΤΝΡΑΝ ΜΝΝΕΤΝΘΟΜ ΜΝΝΕΤΝΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΝΝΕΤΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΕΤΝΩΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ
 lines 8–11 of the verso of P. London Hay 10414⁷⁴ fragments 4–5 of P. Coptic Museum
 4959,⁷⁵ 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪
 ΖΙΧΟΟΥ ΜΝΕΚΡΑΝ lines 4–6 of P. Ashmolean Museum 1981.940,⁷⁶ 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩢
 ΜΠΟΟΥ ΜΝΕΤΘΟΜ ΜΝΕΤΝΡΑΝ ΜΝΝΕΤΝΖΩΨΟΝ ΜΝΝΕΤΝΦΑΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΝΝΕΤΝΤΟΠΟΣ
 ΕΤΩΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ lines 1–3 of Ms. Würzburg 42,⁷⁷ 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩨 [ΕΡΟ]Κ̄ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΚΣΩΤΙΩΝ Μ̄Ν
 ΝΕΚΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΝΟΥΧΑΙ] Μ̄Ν ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΕ[ΚΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ lines 18–20 of P. Cologne
 10235.⁷⁸

(23) See the parallels of line 2 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

(24) See the parallels above (lines 13–14 of fragments C, J and M of P. K 204, verso).

(25) Parallel texts are mentioned in the parallels of line 3 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

(26) ΖΝΤΑ[.]ΠΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΥΧΟΣ : ΝΑΜΕΝΤΕ : lines 20–21 of col. II of P. Michigan 1190 (recto),⁷⁹ ΤΕΝΤΑΣΩΚΕ ΠΕΣΗΤ ΕΑΜΕΝΤΕ ΔΣΙΝΕ ΜΠΑΡΤΑΡΟΥΧΟΣ ΝΑΜΕΝΤΕ ΕΡΑΪ
 lines 26–29 of col. II of P. Michigan 1190 (recto),⁸⁰ ΤΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΔΜΝΤΕ ΤΑΕΙΝΕ
 ΖΡΑΪΕΠΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΥΧΟΣ ΤΑΧΟΟΣ Χ̄Ν̄ΤΚΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΩ lines 15–18 of P. Berlin 8314.⁸¹

(28–29) See the parallels of line 3 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

⁷¹ Kropp I. 1931, 55–58.

⁷² Kropp I. 1931, 15.

⁷³ Beltz 1983, 75.

⁷⁴ Crum 1934, 196.

⁷⁵ Meyer/Smith 1999, 242.

⁷⁶ Smither 1939, 173.

⁷⁷ Brunsch 1978, 152.

⁷⁸ Weber 1972, 56.

⁷⁹ Worrell 1935, 9.

⁸⁰ Worrell 1935, 9.

⁸¹ Beltz 1984, 91.

Translation

1]...[
 2 from] the four sides of the entire [world.] Listen to me today ...[
 3] workshop [...] ... and you may come to me today. Come [
 4] ... manner [...] that is exalted. The invisible light [
 5]koal [...] in order that [you] may trumpet and gather for me [
 6 the wi]ne with the oil, and the garment, and you may become a messenger
 for me [
 7] ... before they existed, they had said to me ... [
 8] ... [...] among the manner of a (?) [
 9] their names: Ekhin, Ethaeaiθ, [
 10] ... this messenger, who is faithful, ... comes [
 11]nuēl upon your head, while the bell (?) [
 12]ebarbra Barbaraoth; the god of Hebrews [
 13] the places where I dwell and you may complete for me the whole will [
 14] today your forces and figures and your amulets and places [
 15] my mouth/door (?) like a brother, [and] his [brother,] and like a friend and
 his [f]riend [
 16 for] I adjure [...] today [...]iēl. The abyss is in ... the father [
 17] almighty, in order that [...] you deem it worthy today to come to [
 18 imme]diately, immediately! +
 (Separation lines)
 19] Sabaoth's mouth says [...] you went for I may go to [
 20] ... let her/it fall down to/ and not ... [
 21] ... and pitch, and [
 22] ... the tongue ... [
 23] NN son of NN [
 24 the] place where I dwell and you may lis]ten (?)
 25 comp]lete the things of my hands. I will bring back ... [
 26 st]and (?), wax (?) [...] from the infernal netherworld [
 27]... [...] and skin. Somebody/ Every kind of skin becomes... [
 28] and the things of my mou[th ... ful]fill the things of my hands [
 29]my hands and you may [...lis]ten to the things of my mouth and you may
 comp]lete
 30] ... to the thro[ne
 31 make] strong ... [

2.15 Fragment D of P. K 204 (verso)

1 ΝΤΟΠΟΣ Ε]ΤΙΨΘΟΩΠ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ [

Parallels

(1) See the parallel texts in the parallels of lines 13–14 of fragments C, J and M of P. K 204 (verso).

Translation

1 the places wh]ere I dwell [

2.16 Fragment E of P. K 204 (verso)

1]..ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΕΡΕΠΝΙΜ ΠΩ[Ε (Ν)ΝΙΜ
2 Ν]ΓΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΣΑΝΑΤΟΟ[Τ
3]..ΙΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ[

Parallels

(1) See the parallels of line 2 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

(2) See the parallels of line 3 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

Translation

1] to the place where NN so[n of NN
2 and] you fulfill the things of my hands [
3] I say that [

2.17 Fragment F of P. K 204 (verso)

1].. ΠΕΤΖΜ.[
2] .κ.[

Translation

1] which is in [
2]...[

2.18 Fragment I of P. K 204 (verso)

blank

2.19 Fragment K of P. K 204 (verso)

1] ΝΔΚ ΒΕ [
2] ΖΝΟΥΖΔΜΟ[

Translation

1] to you (?) ... [
2] ... [

2.20 Fragment L of P. K 204 (verso)

1] ΜΟΡ ΦΜΟΥΖ ΖΟΕΓ.[
2] .ΝΗΣΕ ΜΝΟΥΣΙΡΕ[
3] .ΜΟ.[...] ΖΓ.[
4] . ΕΠΤΟΠΟ[ς

Notes

(1) The word ΜΟΥΖ can mean “fill” as well as “burn”.

(2) According to Tonio Sebastian Richter, this line should be ΗΣΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΣΙΡΕ “Isis and Osiris”.⁸² A recipe of the Rylands Library contains ΟΥΣΙΡ which is a word of Arabic origin, meaning “hemorrhoid”.⁸³ If our text dates back to the 8th century, the occurrence of this loanword can be possible.

Translation

1] ... it burns (?) ... [
2] ... [
3] ... [
4] to the place [

⁸² Richter 2014, 109.

⁸³ Crum 1909, 56.

2.21 Fragment N of P. K 204 (verso)

blank

2.22 Fragment A of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204 (recto)

The first six lines are upside down:

- 1]ΜΝΤΑΥΤΕ ΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ <N>ΤΙΖΕ ΔΒΑΥΖΙ ΥΤ.Ρ[...] ΤΒΑΛ[ΔΣΤ (?)
 2] *charakteres* [... ΤΡΟ]ΜΑΣ (?)<NΠ>ΟΟΣ
 3]ΩΟ[...]ΔΛΒΑΝ[....] ΡΟΥΖΕ
 4] with ring-letters: ΔΜΑΣΤΕ ΩΔ[
 5]ΖΙΤΝ ΤΒΟΜ <N>ΝΕΙΦ[ΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ(?]
 6]ΩΔΚΩΔΚΟ[
 7]ΝΕΝ ΕΩΟΥΖΕ·. [...] ΒΑΛΑΣΗΤ ΒΗΡΕ ΜΟΟΥ ΝΑΜΦΟΤΚΟΝ Φ[Δ]ΝΟΣ ΝΣ ΜΗ Φ.[
 8]ΟΝ ΛΕΥΓΩΝ Ω[... Κ]ΑΛΛΑΜΟΝ (?) <N>ΝΟΥΥ ΚΛΟΜ <N>ΝΟΥΥ
 9] ΣΝΟΥ ΝΒΡΟΜΠΕ <N>ΛΕΥΓΩΝ ΠΔΡ[
 10] ΝΣΑΩΥ ΝΣ[ΟΟΥ (?) ...]ΖΩΠ

(Separation lines)

- 11]Χ/ ΝΝΕΣ ΣΙΜ ΕΩΕΝΓΝΟΣ
 12]ΕΒΩΤΕ ΜΠΝΗΚΤΚΟΣ ΧΑΧΗ [.]ΒΡΩΗΥ
 13].[
 14]..ΔΒ[...]ΜΕ ΕΥΧΑΣΜ +
 15]Ο ΜΕΛΑΝΕ

Notes

(6) ΩΔΚΩΔΚ could be a variant for ΩΟΚΩΕΚ “depth”.⁸⁴

(7) ΩΟΥΖΕ on fragment G may be a form of ΧΟΥΖΕ “limp, halt”. ΒΗΡΕ stands for ΒΡΡΕ “new”. ΦΑΝΟΣ comes from φανός “light, torch”. ΜΗ probably replaces ΜΕ “real”.

(8) Κ]ΑΛΛΑΜΟΝ could be restored as well as ΔΠΟΚ]ΑΛΛΑΜΟΝ “*calamus extract*”, which occurs in line 52 of London Ms. Or. 6795,⁸⁵ lines 16–17 of P. London Hay 10414 (verso)⁸⁶ and line 53 of P. Cairo 45060.⁸⁷

(11) ΓΝΟΣ could be a form of ΚΝΟΣ “stink”.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ KHW 2008, 308–309.

⁸⁵ Kropp I. 1931, 34.

⁸⁶ Crum 1934, 196.

⁸⁷ Kropp I. 1931, 53.

⁸⁸ Crum 1939, 112b

(12) It is unclear which word is referred to by $\eta\eta\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ but it could be the Greek $\nu\iota\kappa\eta\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ “charm for victory”.⁸⁹ $\chi\lambda\chi\eta$ is a variant of $\chi\lambda\chi\epsilon$ “enemy”.⁹⁰ At the end of the line, $\beta\rho\epsilon\omega\eta\gamma/\beta\rho\omega\eta\gamma$ could refer to “coriander seed”.⁹¹

(15) $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\eta\epsilon$ is probably used instead of $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ “black pigment”.⁹²

Parallels

(7) $\beta\lambda\chi\epsilon$ $\beta\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ line 20 of page 13 of P. Macq. I 1,⁹³ $\epsilon\chi\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\tau$ $\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$ lines 1–2 of P. London Hay 10414 (verso),⁹⁴ fragment 1 of P. Coptic Museum 4959.⁹⁵

(7–8) $\delta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\tau$ $\bar{\eta}\alpha\beta\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\bar{\eta}$ $\beta\rho\epsilon\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\eta\tau$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\theta\gamma\lambda\iota\kappa\prime$ $\phi\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$. \cdot $\eta\epsilon\beta\mu\epsilon$ $\Delta\eta$ [$\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda$] $\mu\omega$ lines 48–52 of London Ms. Or. 6795.⁹⁶

(7–9) $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\eta\rho$ $\beta\omega\beta$ $\tau\eta\rho\varsigma$ $\varsigma\tau\omicron\rho\alpha$ $\eta\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\mu\omega\eta$ $\mu\omicron\varsigma\chi\alpha\tau\omega\eta$ $\varsigma\eta\omicron\phi$ $\eta\beta\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\lambda\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\nu$ $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ $\varsigma\beta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omega\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\eta\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\tau$ $\eta\beta\rho\rho\epsilon$ \dagger $\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\chi\omega\phi$ lines 16–20 of P. London Hay 10414 (verso).⁹⁷

(9) $\epsilon\kappa\varsigma\beta\alpha\iota$ [$\eta\epsilon\phi\gamma\lambda/\kappa$ $\eta\varsigma\eta\phi$ $\bar{\eta}\beta\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\lambda\epsilon$ [γ] $\kappa\prime$] lines 112–113 of the verso of London Ms. Or. 6796 (2.3),⁹⁸ $\varsigma\beta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\epsilon\phi\gamma\lambda\alpha\tau\gamma\rho\iota\omicron\omicron\nu$ $\bar{\eta}\eta\omicron\gamma\varsigma\eta\phi\gamma\phi$ $\eta\kappa\rho\mu\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\lambda\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\eta$ lines 58–59 of P. Cairo 45060,⁹⁹ $\varsigma\beta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\epsilon\omega\phi\tau\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$ $\eta\varsigma\eta\phi$ $\beta\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma$ line 253 of P. Heid. Kopt. 686.¹⁰⁰

(11) $\Delta\rho\chi\eta$ $\eta\eta\eta\beta$ $\eta\varsigma\eta\mu$ line 37 of P. London Hay 10391,¹⁰¹ $\omicron\gamma\omicron\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\eta}\eta\eta\beta$ $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\phi\mu\omicron\kappa\epsilon$ lines 224–225 of P. Michigan 136.¹⁰²

Translation

- 1] fourteen (?) amulets of this type ...[...] $\rho\omicron$ [t (?)
2] *charakteres* [... cour]se (?) of the moon
3] ... [...] evening
4] *with ring-letters*: possession ... [

⁸⁹ Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996, 1176.

⁹⁰ Kasser 1966, 58.

⁹¹ Crum 1939, 44a

⁹² Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996, 1095.

⁹³ Choat/Gardner 2013, 68.

⁹⁴ Crum 1934, 196.

⁹⁵ Meyer/Smith 1999, 241.

⁹⁶ Kropp I. 1931, 34.

⁹⁷ Crum 1934, 196.

⁹⁸ Kropp I. 1931, 45.

⁹⁹ Kropp I. 1931, 53.

¹⁰⁰ Kropp 1966, 51.

¹⁰¹ Kropp I. 1931, 57.

¹⁰² Worrell 1935, 27.

- 5] by the power of these a[mulets (?)
 6] depth (?) [
 7] ... halt (?) [...] new pot, flower/unbewitched/immaterial (?) water, lamp,
 genuine oil ...[
 8] white ... [...] golden *calamus* (?), golden crown
 9] blood of a white dove ... [
 10] seven da[ys (?)] ... [
 (Separation lines)
 11] radish oil ...
 12] hate ... enemy ...
 13]...[
 14] ... which/who is/are defiled +
 15] black ink

2.23 Fragment J of P. K 205 (recto)

- 1]ΟΥΛΛΒ ΧΟΟ[...]ΡΟ.[
 2]ΦΥΛ/Ε ΕΥΠΛΑΞ ΞΝΑΛΛΒΑΣ[ΤΡΟΝ (sic)
 3 ΝΟΝΕΥ .. Ω[

Notes

(2) ΠΛΑΞ ΞΝΑΛΛΒΑΣΤΡΟΝ is to be understood as ΠΛΑΞ ΝΑΛΛΒΑΣΤΡΟΝ “alabaster tablet”.

Parallels

(2) ΩΔΚΣΔΙ ΝΙΦΥΛΑΚΤ ΝΕΦΕΙΩ ΜΜΕ ΝΑΤΜΟΟΥ ΝΑΤΚΩΣΤ ΕΥΠΛΑΞ ΝΑΛΛΒΑΣΤΡΟΝ lines 55–57 of London Ms. Or. 6794.¹⁰³

Translation

- 1] holy ...[
 2] amulet (?) on an alabaster tab[let
 3]...[

2.24 Fragment E of P. K 205 (recto)

- 1]...ΠΜΕΞΧΟΥΤΕ Δ..[
 2]ΞΝΟΥΝΗΣ ΔΚΒΗΚ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΝ[

¹⁰³ Kropp I. 1931, 31.

3]ΦΑΛΜΟΣΜΕ. ΟΥΡ\Ω/ΜΕ Ε[..**ΧΑΧΕ** Ν[

Notes

(3) The first word is unclear, although it could be related to the Greek σφαλμός “error, failure”.¹⁰⁴

Translation

1] ... the twentieth ... [
 2] in oil (?). You went with (?) power and [
 3] ... a man [...] enemy [

2.25 Fragment G of P. K 205 (recto)

1]Ν.[
 2]ΕΤΙΟΡΗ ΕΡ[
 3].Κ ΜΠΟΥ ΜΠΣΔ[

Translation

1]...[
 2] I adjure ... [
 3] today the thing of [

2.26 Fragments F, H, I, K, L, M, N and O of P. K 205 (recto)

blank

2.27 Fragments A, I, K of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204 (verso)

1].ΚΑΤΑ.[
 2]ΑΥΤΟΡΤΡ'·^ϛΩ[
 3]ΔΜΙΑΜΤΩΝ ΠΕΤΕΜΝΟΥΟΝ Τ.[
 4]ΜΝ ΠΖΟΜΕΤ Μ:Ν ΠΠΕΙΝΕΠΕ :Δ.[...].ΥΝ[.]...2'ΠΕΣΟΥ[
 5]ΜΕΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΙΝΔΩΙΝΕ ΝΩ[ΟΥ/4 Ε]ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ' ΔΥΩ ΝΙΓΤ[

¹⁰⁴ Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996, 1739.

- 6]ΝΣΕΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΙΟΥΝΑΜ ΜΜΟ[...]ΝΣΦ<Ρ>ΑΓΙΖΕ ΝΩΑΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤ[ΕΙ/ΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ]
ΝΤΑΤΑΠΡ[Ο
- 7]Κ ΜΠΟΥΪ.[...]Ρ..Ν ΝΕΙΚΤΟ ΘΝΖ[...] ...ΠΧΙΨΕ: . [
- 8] : ΗΛ : ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ : ΤΑΖΩΝΕΙΗΛ : ΔΒΡΑΝΟΥΗΛ : ΤΑ\ΖΟ/ΡΕΙΗΛ : ΣΟΥ.[...]Λ : ΧΙΝΟΥΗΛ
: ΠΕΙΝΟ[
- 9] ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ <Ν>ΝΕΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΝ : ΤΤΑΠΡΟ <Μ>\Π/ΣΥΜΝΟΣ <Ν>ΝΕΝΣΕΡΑΦΙΝ: ΧΕ
ΝΤ[...]Π ΕΡΕΠΚΛΟΜ <Ν>ΝΟΥΪ[
- 10]ΕΚΣΟΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΤΑΝ.Τ̂.[...]ΟΥ[
- 11] ΕΤΙ ΕΤΙ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ ∴ + ΧΕΚΑΔ.[
- 12 ΝΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ] ΤΗΡΟΥ <Ν>ΠΑΛΑΣ ΕΚΕΔΔΥ ΝΕΜΑΙ Τ[.]ΜΟ.[...] ΔΠΟ ΔΠΟ ΧΕ (Ε)ΤΙΟΡΗ
ΕΡΟΚ Μ[
- 13] ΧΕΚΑΔΣ ΕΚΕΘΥΩΝΖ<Κ> ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟ[Λ] ΝΓΩΑΧΕ ΝΕΜΑΙ ΝΤΑΠΡΩ ΖΙ[
- 14]Δ ΝΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΝ<Π>ΤΟΠ[ΟΣ(?) ... Ε]ΤΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΧ ΔΠΟ ΔΠΟ [
- 15] ΤΒΩ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΜΜΗΤ ΕΤΕΠ[ΟΡΧ ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΕΧΝ ΠΕΘΡΟ<ΝΟ>Σ <Μ>ΠΙΩΤ
Π[ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ
- 16]ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ <ΝΣΑ>ΝΑΡΟΙ ΝΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ <Ν>ΠΑΛΑΣ ΔΠΟ ΔΙΟ ΔΠΟ ΤΔ[ΧΗ
(Separation lines)
- 17]ΔΙΩΑΧΕ ΔΝ .ΝΛΕ.[.]ΟΝ.[
- 18]ΤΩΑΛΟΟΧ ΝΠΟΟΖ ΧΔΝ.[...] ΕΤΚΟΤΣ <Μ>ΠΟΟΖ ΠΚΩΣΤ[
- 19] ΕΒΟΛ ΝΣΑΠΩΜΤ ΕΤΕΡ ΧΕ ΤΙΝΑΣΑΖΤΕ ΖΔΝΓΕΕΣ[
- 20]ΒΙΣΑ ΤΑΚΛΑΒΑΘ .[...C]ΒΤΩΤ (?) ΙΜΨΝΔΙΠΩΕΒ[
- 21]ΧΕ ΖΔΠΟ ΖΔΠΟ ΖΔΠΟ ΣΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΠΔΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΑΠΙΖΩΝ.[
- 22]ΝΓΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΣΑΝ[
- 23]ΝΓΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΣ[ΣΑΝ
- 24]ΠΑΙ ΕΡΕΧΩΪ ΖΗΤΠΕ ΕΡΕΡ[ΔΤΪ]ΖΜΠΚΑΖ ΕΡΕΤΙΝΕ ΣΗΝ[
- 25]ΜΜΙΣΤΡΑΗΛ ΜΝΑΡ[...]ΣΙΖΙΖ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΣΝΔΪ Ν[
- 26]ΕΠΕΙΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΙΩΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΪ ΔΝ[Ο]Κ ΝΙΜ ΠΩ ΝΝΙΜ Ν[

Notes

(3) ἀμιάτων could be a variant for ἀμίαντος “undefiled, pure”.¹⁰⁵

(4) πεινεine seems to be a form of βενινε “iron”.

(5) μυστήριον “mystery” occurs here as μέστηριον.

(6) σφ<ρ>αγίζε stands for σφραγίζω “to seal”.

(12) ελαζ may replace ειαζ (ειω “to wash”), which is probably present here in the sense of “purify”.

¹⁰⁵ This word occurs in line 8 of London Ms. Or. 6796, 2.3 (Kropp I. 1931, 41).

(13) Although the reading of τ is possible instead of ρ before ωαχε, and the translation could also be “so that you may reveal to me the speech with me by mouth”, due to the parallel part of P. Cologne 10235, the reading of ρ, and the solution with an omitted suffix pronoun (probably κ) as object, is more plausible.¹⁰⁶

(15) ΜΗΤ “real” is often used in magical texts.¹⁰⁷ Based on the context, ἑρος is an abbreviation of ἑρονος “throne”.

(18) ΛΛΟΟϞ could be in relation to the status pronominalis (λλοϞ) of λλε “mount, go up”.¹⁰⁸ Also, οοϞ has several meanings: apart from “moon”, it can refer to “silver” in alchemical manuscripts, or “month”.¹⁰⁹ If we understood the beginning of the line as ωαλοογ “water-wheel (?)”¹¹⁰ and thus, assumed that the word χανησι “part of water-wheel”¹¹¹ was present just before and in the *lacuna*, the text would contain an interesting image in which the moon was compared to a wheel. In this case, the verb κωτε would also correspond to the movement of the wheel.

(19) Probably, ρεεϞ is a variant for κεεϞ “bone”.¹¹²

(20) A possible solution for the crossed word is σβτωτ+ “be ready”.¹¹³

Parallels

(5) ετετναουφ[νϞ] εβολ μηστηριον νιμ ειναωινε νσωου εβολ ζιτοττητυτη lines 43–44 of the recto of P. London Hay 10391,¹¹⁴ ντετνογωνϞ ναι εβολ νμηστ[ηριον νιμ] ειναωινε νσωϞ lines 48–49 of the recto of P. London Hay 10391.¹¹⁵

(12) See the parallels of line 3 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

(13) [χ]εκας [εκ]ε[ε]ι ωαροι ζμ̄ πειτο[πος ε†]φωορ νακ̄ ν̄[ζητῆ̄ ν̄]γϞγϞνζκ̄ ναι εβο[λ ...]Ϟο̄ ν̄γωαχε ν̄μμα ν̄ταηρ[ο lines 5–8 of P. Cologne 10235.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁶ Weber 1972, 56.

¹⁰⁷ Osing 1976, 150 and 649–650; Vycichl 1983, 105–106 and 124.

¹⁰⁸ Crum 1939, 4a.

¹⁰⁹ Crum 1939, 257b.

¹¹⁰ Crum 1939, 561a.

¹¹¹ Crum 1939, 777b.

¹¹² This solution is proposed by Dr. Gábor Takács. See also Crum 1939, 119b.

¹¹³ Crum 1939, 323a.

¹¹⁴ Kropp I. 1931, 58.

¹¹⁵ Kropp I. 1931, 58.

¹¹⁶ Weber 1972, 56.

(15) ΤΒΩ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΟΥΟ[Υ]ΦΒΩ [Ε]ΤΠΟΡΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧ̄Ν ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ
lines 58–60 of the verso of London Ms. Or. 6796 (2.3),¹¹⁷ ΠΟΥΧΑΪ ΕΤΒΩ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ
ΝΟΥΩΒΩ ΕΤΟΝΟΤ... ΕΧ̄Ν ΤΑΠΕ ΝΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ Ν̄Π̄ΘΕΟΥΓ lines 52–53 of London Ms. Or.
5987.¹¹⁸

(16) For the parallel manuscripts of this line, see parallels of line 3 of fragment A of P.
K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

(22–23) Similarly to line 16 above, see the parallels of line 3 of fragment A of P. K 204
and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

(24) ΚΟΚ ΤΠΑΡΚΟΚΟΚ ΠΑΙ ΕΠΕΡΕΧΩΓ ΣΑΠΝΟΝ ΕΡΕΡΑΤΓ ΣΙΑΜΝΤΕ lines 5–6 and lines 17–18
of P. London Hay 10414 (recto),¹¹⁹ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ †[ΠΑΡΑ]ΚΑ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΧΩΓ ΣΝ ΤΠΕ ΕΡ
ΡΑΤΓ ΣΜ ΠΝΟΥΝ lines 11–13 of Ms. Michigan 4932f (recto),¹²⁰ lines 19–20 of the collec-
tion H. O. Lange.¹²¹

(26) See the parallel texts in the parallels of lines 13–14 of fragments C, J and M of P.
K 204 (verso) and line 2 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

Translation

- 1]...[
- 2] they were disturbed ...[
- 3] undefiled (?); the one who does not exist (?) [
- 4] and copper/bronze and iron [...]... [
- 5] all mysteries that I will seek through you, and you may [
- 6] they may stand on the right of [...] seal every word that [comes/came from]
my mou[th
- 7] today [...] ... I turned ... [...] the height/top [
- 8] : Ēl : Manuēl : Tahoniēl : Abranuēl : Tahoriēl : Su[...]l : Chinuēl : Pino[
- 9] (en)light(en) the cherubim. The beginning of the praise of the seraphim is
that [...] ... the golden crown [
- 10] you gather ... [
- 11] quickly, quickly, immediately, immediately! ∴ + ... [
- 12] every [spell] of my tongue that you purify (?) with me [...] yea, yea, that I
adjure you [
- 13] so that you may reveal (yourself) to me, and you may speak with me by
mouth ...[

¹¹⁷ Kropp I. 1931, 43.

¹¹⁸ Kropp I. 1931, 24.

¹¹⁹ Crum 1934, 195.

¹²⁰ Worrell 1935, 185.

¹²¹ Lange 1932, 163.

- 14] holy [...] but to the place where I will go (?). Yea, yea, [
 15] real grapevine that [branches out/divides] upon the throne of the father
 [almighty
 16] accomplish the things of my mouth, all the spells of my tongue. Yea, yea,
 immed[iately

(Separation lines)

- 17] I spoke ... [
 18] ... the moon [...] to the circuit of the moon (?), fire [
 19] three times ... that I will kindle fire beneath the bones [
 20] ... Taklabaoth [...] is ready (?) ... [
 21] ... yea, yea, yea, Suriël, the angel ... [
 22] and you may accomplish the things of [
 23] and you may accomplish the [things of
 24] whose head is in heaven, whose [leg] is on the earth, whose thumb (?) ...[
 25]... Mīstraël and ... [...]... the two sons [
 26] to this place where I dwell. [I] am NN son of NN [

2.28 Fragment J of P. K 205 (verso)

- 1 ε]ΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΒΤΩΟΥ Ν[
 2 Τ]ΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΣΜΠΝΟΥΝ· ΟΥΩ.[
 3].ΟΙΑΠ.[

Notes

- (1) ετωου is probably for τεουου “four”.

Translation

- 1]from the four [
 2] all the [...] that are in the abyss ... [
 3]...[

2.29 Fragments E and F of P. K 205 (verso)

blank

2.30 Fragment G of P. K 205 (verso)

drawings

2.31 Fragment H of P. K 205 (verso)

- 1]ΝΤΩΚ ΣΟΡΙΗΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
2]ΩΔΑΝΤΜΕΩΤΜ ΝΠ[

Notes

(2) The *lacuna* could contain a form of ΕΦΩΔΑΝΤΜΕΩΤΜ.

Translation

- 1] you are Soriēl, the an[gel
2 if] ... do not listen to [

2.32 Fragment L of P. K 205 (verso)

- 1] ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΟΝ[
2].ΑΝ ΕΤΑΧΕΩΤ ΝΤ[
3]Γ[
4].ΥΤΟΟΥΝ ΝΙΝΑΖΕΡΑΤΥ ΖΙΧ.[
5]ΣΟΥ[

Translation

- 1] from ... [
2] ... who restrained ...[
3] ... [
4] he arises and he may stand on [
5] ... [

2.33 Fragment M of P. K 205 (verso)

- 1]ΧΕ ΖΑΗΟ ΖΑΗΟ ΖΑΗΟ [
2 Ν]ΣΑΝΑΡΟΙ ΝΓΧΩΚ Ε[ΒΟΛ
3] ΖΜΟΟΪ ΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩ.[
4]ΠΙ.ΟΟΥ ΕΜΙΝΕ <Ν>ΜΦΟΥ.[

Parallels

(4) See the parallels of line 3 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto).

Translation

- 1] ... yea, yea, yea [
 2] the things of my mouth and you may ful[fill
 3] sit upon [
 4] ... in the manner of water (?) [

2.34 Fragment N of P. K 205 (verso)

- 1]ΒΟΛ Ν[.]ΤΙΣΔΥ..[
 2].ΕΠΥΤΙ ΒΩΩΝ ΒΩΚ Ν.[
 3]... ΝΣΕΕΙ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΤ[Ε

Translation

- 1] ... [
 2] ... bad comes [
 3] ... and they may come on foot

2.35 Fragment O of P. K 205 (verso)

- 1]ΤΑΕΠΤ.ΔΝΜΠ.[
 2]ΔΧΧΩΩ Ε[
 3]ΣΩΤΜ[

Translation

- 1] ... [
 2] he said (?) to [
 3] listen [

3 Commentary

3.1 Fragments A and B of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205¹²²

The recto of fragment A begins with an Arabic protocol, which is probably part of fragment B. The reuse of Arabic and Greek protocols for Coptic magical manuscripts was not rare;¹²³ similar examples are known from P. Berlin 8331¹²⁴ and P. Cairo 45060.¹²⁵

Lines 2, 3, 4 and 5 suggest that fragment D of P. K 205 was once part of fragment A of P. K 204, but the physical attachment is not possible anymore as a few words are missing from the *formulae* of these lines (fig. 5–6). Because of their fragmentary edges, there is still some doubt whether these two pieces really belong together. The verso is blank, except for a few traces of ring-letters on the verso of fragment A.

(1) Together with the second line, this phrase is parallel to lines 50–52 of P. London Or. 6796 (2.3): [...]**ΒΩΚ** ερωχ **ΜΠΕΜΤΟ** ε|**ΒΟΛ** **ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ** τηρχ **ΜΝΠΓΕΝΟΣ** τ[**ΗΡ**]ϣ | **ΝΑΔΔΑΜ** **ΜΝ** **ΝΩΗΡΕ** τηροϣ **ΝΖΩ[Η]**,¹²⁶ “go to him before the whole world and the whole generation of Adam and all the children of Zoe”.¹²⁷ However, the exact meaning and purpose remain unclear because of the lack of context.

(2) In place of the common **ΔΔ** (*deina/deinos*), the scribe used **ΝΙΜ** **ΠΩΕΝΙΜ** “NN son of NN”, maybe as a wordplay which is often part of magical texts. After the parallels, **ΝΙΜ** and **ΜΕΩΕΝΙΜ** that occur repeatedly in P. K 204+205, are synonyms and their uses in texts completely overlap. The best proof of this statement is **ΠΩ[Η]ΡΕ** **ΝΜΕΩΕ** **ΝΙΜ** in line 9 of P. Berlin 8318, instead of **ΠΩΗΡΕ** **ΝΝΙΜ**.¹²⁸ The occurrence of these expressions in P. K 204+205, gives us a clue that these manuscripts consist of collections of spells and recipes, which could be reproduced and personalized during the preparation of amulets, just like in the case of the Coptic magical collection of Michigan, where an amulet was also found, containing one of the texts from a handbook of

¹²² Based on the fibers, fragment A is the recto, and fragment C is the verso within the original arrangement, hence these two fragments under the inventory number K 204 cannot be attached, despite the fact that they were placed very close to each other.

¹²³ Usually, protocols contain, among other details, the name of the actual rulers and/or the date of preparation which can sometimes help us date a manuscript. In many cases, protocols were reused for different kinds of texts (Pilette/Vanthieghem 2015, 147; Delattre 2007, 218). For the classification of protocols, see Delattre 2007, 215–216.

¹²⁴ BKU 1904, 15.

¹²⁵ Kropp I. 1931, Pl. IV.

¹²⁶ Kropp I. 1931, 43.

¹²⁷ Meyer/Smith 1999, 287.

¹²⁸ BKU 1904, 9–10; Beltz 1983, 69.

the collection.¹²⁹ Consequently, the names of the future owner, and his/her mother could take their place instead of ΝΙΜ ΝΩΕΝΙΜ on the amulet, based on the text of our papyrus. As ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΚΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΦ ΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΝΩΞΕΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΣΩΗ, “before the whole generation of Adam and all the children of Zoe” is a common *formula* in Coptic magical texts,¹³⁰ the end of the line after ΝΩΞΕΡΕ is expected to continue with ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΣΩΗ/ΖΩΗ occurring on fragment D of the recto of P. K 205. Kropp mentions that the phrase of this line is also used for the blessing of animals, the same way as in the Greek Euchologion.¹³¹ As this *formula* appears in different contexts but without any explanation, its role is unclear. The only common feature of the texts mentioning “the whole generation of Adam and all the children of Zoe” is that all of them need a crowd to accomplish the given wish. P. Leiden Anastasi 9 contains the name Adam in a phrase which is about the resurrection of the Lord who freed “the whole generation of Adam” (lines 8–9 of page 10).¹³² The names of Adam and Zoe occur in an amulet against fever: [ΕΤ]ΙΡΕΤ.ΝΙΕ.ΩΙΩΕ.Μ ΕΞ[| [ΝΙΒΙ] ΓΜΕΓΝ Γ Γ [] ΓΝΙΓΒΙ ΜΕΝ ΩΘΕΒ ΝΙΒΙ | [Μ]ΕΝ ΔΣΙΚ ΝΙ[ΒΙ] ΕΘΕ ΨΩΜΑ ΝΠΑΤΡΙ | ΚΟΥ ΠΧΗ Μ[] ΔΚΟΥ ΧΗ ΙΕΙΙΣ.ΩΗ ΧΗ Ν | ΔΔΔΑΜ,¹³³ “... you may extinguish [every fever] and every [...] and every chill and every malady that is in the body of Patrikou child of [...]akou, child of Zoe, child of Adam”¹³⁴ (lines 6–10 of P. Heidelberg Kopt. 564). Probably, these names together help the effectiveness of the spell as this filiation revokes the ancient times, offering a kind of mythical precedent.¹³⁵ Their names, along with the person portrayed, also appear together in the filiation on the back of an execration figure (c. 5th–13th century) that was found at Fustāt.¹³⁶ Jewish magical bowls mention the same filiation to prove that the being in question descended from Adam/Eve and a demonic entity.¹³⁷

(3) Similarly to the previous line, this formula occurs in many contexts, making it impossible to draw a definite conclusion concerning its use. Probably the words ρο “mouth”, ῥοοτ “hand”, ζητ “heart”, ἀπολογία “spell, speech”, and λαc “tongue” refer to the elements of magical practices as it was the case already in the ancient Egyptian texts. In the Hymn to Sesostriis III, there is a similar allusion in columns 7–8

¹²⁹ Mirecki 1994, 439.

¹³⁰ For the examples of the extensive use of the *formula*, see the parallels of this line above.

¹³¹ Kropp III. 1930, 197.

¹³² Pleyte/Boeser 1897, 460.

¹³³ Quecke 1963, 255.

¹³⁴ Meyer/Smith 1999, 100.

¹³⁵ Quecke 1963, 262.

¹³⁶ Hansen 2002, 430. For the subject of punishment and destruction of enemies in Coptic and Arabic magic, sources and related rites, see Theis 2014, 88–96. In the manuscript of Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Būnī, a practice which is similar to the one of the execration figure from Fustāt is described (Theis 2014, 88–89).

¹³⁷ Levine 1970, 351–352.

of page I: ns n ḥm=f | rḥ Stj ṯsw=f sbḥ3 Stj.w¹³⁸ “His Majesty’s tongue restrains Nubia, his utterances make Asiatics flee”.¹³⁹ Obviously, these phrases were the instruments of royal propaganda, so the abilities of the king are strongly exaggerated. ṯsw means “speech, utterance” which is found in the heart of the king according to Egyptian belief, and recited to establish the order in Egypt. Spells, invoked in the name of the king, are believed to be more powerful.¹⁴⁰ As the tongue (ns) has an important role in pronunciation, it must be mentioned in relation to the performance of a spell or speech (this connotation also appears in the Teaching for King *Merykara*).¹⁴¹ Consequently, tongue (ns)/mouth (r3), heart (jb), and soul (b3/k3) were supposed to be the crucial body parts in the Egyptian magical practice.¹⁴² However, it would not be reasonable to suppose that the classical texts mentioned above were parallels of the Coptic formula in question, the idea itself is preserved also in Coptic texts,¹⁴³ likely in the different versions of the formula of line 3 of P. K 204, mentioning λαc “tongue”, ρο “mouth”, 2HT “heart”, and ψγχη “soul”. Apart from ṯsw, wḏ, and mdw are used for “spell” in Egyptian,¹⁴⁴ while this is expressed by ἀπολογία in Coptic *formulae*. Therefore, the phrase of line 3 may originate in ancient Egyptian texts, and might have become idiomatic in Coptic.

(4–5) Lines 4 and 5 can be partly reconstructed based on P. Cologne 10235 and the unpublished P. Coptic Museum 4960. This enumeration, occurring with the antonyms χαριc-βαιο (“favour” and “disgrace”), ογω2-ποουε (“establishing” and “overthrowing”),¹⁴⁵ and μογρ-βωλ (“binding” and “loosening”), changes in our text which probably uses χαριcμοc (from Greek χαρισμός “gratifying” or χάρισμα “grace, favour”)¹⁴⁶ for χαριc “favour”, and κω εβωλ “releasing” instead of μογρ “binding”. The word ογε<2>cα2νε (“to command”) does not appear in either of the two parallel texts mentioned above. In magical texts, it is usually part of the phrase χωκ εβωλ μπογε2cα2νε “execute the command”. P. Cologne 10235 dates back to the 6th century, and is from Ashmunein,¹⁴⁷ while P. Coptic Museum 4960 is from the 6th–8th century,

138 Griffith 1898, Pl. I

139 Lichtheim 1975, 198.

140 Derchain 1987, 26–27.

141 For the reference, see lines 32–33 in Quack 1992, 24–25.

142 Ritner 2008, 24, 31 and 34; Derchain 1987, 27–28.

143 Moreover, after the Christianization, some pagan statues were still believed to have protective power which was provided by the b3 of the given god, residing in the statue, and also, the magical words of the deity (Frankfurter 1998, 50).

144 Derchain 1987, 28.

145 Although Weber falsely restores the opposite of ογω2 as cοο2ε (Weber 1972, 56; Meyer/Smith 1999, 373).

146 Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996, 1979.

147 Meyer/Smith 1999, 210.

and its provenance is unknown.¹⁴⁸ P. Cologne 10235 contains a single spell which aims at blessing and cursing at the same time, alike, P. Coptic Museum 4960 is also a multipurpose spell, since it enumerates several purposes in its short text. Both of them include the *formula* of our third line and end with a similar enumeration as lines 4 and 5 of P. K 204+205, suggesting that our three fragments might make up a spell for fulfilling several wishes.

(6) On fragment A of P. K 204, only the letter κ is visible, but fragment D continues with $\pi\epsilon\rho\theta\omicron\nu\sigma\ \mu\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$. This construction refers to the throne of God which is described as a combination of throne and chariot, carried by four creatures and surrounded by cherubim and seraphim in Heaven.¹⁴⁹

3.2 Fragment H of P. K 204

The hand on the recto of fragment H (fig. 7) resembles to that of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205. The *charakteres* and traces of drawings on the verso would also confirm the relation between these fragments, as remains of ring-letters are clearly visible on the verso of fragment A. Due to the small size of fragment H of P. K 204 and the quantity of the *charakteres*, it would be difficult to define the exact nature of the drawing which consists of ring-letters and another part (maybe a figurative representation). The *formula* of the fourth line is discussed in the commentary of line 3 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205. However, the text is too scarce to arrive at a conclusion.

3.3 Fragments B and C of P. K 205

On fragments B and C of P. K 205 (fig. 8), a similar type of drawing or protocol can be seen as on fragments A and B of P. K 204. Also, the hand seems to be the same as on fragment A of P. K 204, but I have not found any certain correspondence between these pieces.

3.4 Fragments C, J and M of P. K 204 (recto)

Since fragments C, J and M (fig. 9) belong together, I discuss them in the same chapter. Although the recto of fragment M is mostly blank, the traces of lines are similar to

¹⁴⁸ Meyer/Smith 1999, 243.

¹⁴⁹ Kropp III. 1930, 70–72; Meyer/Smith 1999, 389.

those of fragment C and the handwriting and content of the verso also proves that it appertained to fragment C.¹⁵⁰

On the upper part of piece C, probably a church is depicted upside down with a figure next to both of its lower corners. The repetition of four vowels (ⲏ, ⲉ, ⲱ, ⲟ, each repeated seven times) fills the space between the two lines of the walls of the building, calling forth the seven vowels, invoked in Coptic magical texts. An ornate cross is drawn both outside and inside the church.¹⁵¹ The inner one bears the *nomen sacrum* of Jesus Christ (ⲓϥ ⲛϥ) at the top. The figure at the bottom left corner is a typical example for human representations with snake-like hands in Coptic magical manuscripts.¹⁵² The second entity at the bottom right corner seems to wear a halo around his/her head, similarly to the representation of the archangel discussed below. Other, indistinguishable shapes are arranged around the building.

Next to the church, a larger entity is represented with a halo around his/her head, feather-like body and a few ring-letters beside him/her. In P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 681, an archangel is depicted in the very same way, with feathered wings and five vowels on his body.¹⁵³ In our manuscript, the ring-letters (ⲏ and two or three ⲱ's) around the archangel follow the same example. A representation of Michael the archangel with clearly recognizable wings can be found in P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 686.¹⁵⁴ Wings of similar style are sketched on Aknator's figure in P. Coptic Museum 4959 as well.¹⁵⁵ Usually, archangels stand for protection or they help the achievement of the given spell,¹⁵⁶ however, it would be difficult to establish a theory regarding the purpose of this drawing because of lack of context.

According to Mößner and Nauerth, the role of magical drawings has long been underestimated by modern scholarship, although there are textual references to them as figures (ζῴδιον) or signs, furthermore, near the drawings, the instructions of magical practice are usually detailed. Therefore, they are not simple decorations, but believed to function as media between the earthly, heavenly and demonic worlds,¹⁵⁷ and transmit instructions concerning the rites.¹⁵⁸ In his article, Jitse Dijkstra con-

150 See the commentary on the verso of P. K 204.

151 Although I could not find a completely identical drawing in Coptic magical manuscripts, I suppose that the square enclosure might refer to a building which is distinguished by two crosses in this case. Therefore it is logical to assume that it is a reference to a church. Another similar drawing with a cross can be found in P. London Hay 10391 (Kropp I. 1930, Tafel III) where the interpretation of the representation is similarly uncertain.

152 Kropp III. 1930, 211–212.

153 Mößner/Nauerth 2015, 310; Mößner/Nauerth 2016, 28; Meyer/Smith 1999, 212–215; Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 400–404.

154 Mößner/Nauerth 2015, 312.

155 Meyer/Smith 1999, 239–242.

156 Mößner/Nauerth 2016, 28.

157 Mößner/Nauerth 2015, 351.

158 Noegel 2010, 144–148.

firms that magical drawings have particular importance in Greek magical manuscripts where they are often related to the texts.¹⁵⁹ In many cases, such as in P. Coptic Museum 4959,¹⁶⁰ figures are called by their proper names in texts. Although, here, the textual part is lost, distinctive types of patterns help in roughly defining an entity (as argued above, human-like and also animal representations often have serpentine limbs; archangels are depicted with feathered wings).

As stated by Gordon, it is not impossible that ring-letters could have been invoked during magical practices.¹⁶¹ In the case of both types of drawings, it is possible that their creation was an integral part of Coptic scribal education.¹⁶²

Since the whole drawing is upside down, it is supposed to belong to a different text than the one I discuss below.¹⁶³

(1) The first part of the recto of fragment C, right after the drawings, contains the ingredients, and materials of a recipe, beginning with wild mastic which is well-known from other Coptic recipes. Mastic is a kind of resin which is obtained from *Pistacia Lentiscus* and applied internally, or used for preparing plasters.¹⁶⁴ The line continues with $\lambda\lambda\omega\tau\ \text{N}\beta\lambda\lambda$ “pupil of eye” which likely refers to the pupil of eye, being the subject of this recipe.

(2) $\psi\omicron\gamma\eta\ \text{NOM}\ \lambda\alpha\tau$ is the censer in which burnt offering is placed. This practice derives from ancient Egyptian rites where burning incense was used as a medium between gods and humans. Censers, mentioned in Coptic texts, can be made of copper or clay, as it is also required in this recipe.¹⁶⁵ Calamine is the result of smelting (copper) ores; its type varies in alchemist texts and, also, in recipes for diverse illnesses, especially for eye diseases.¹⁶⁶ The Chassinat papyrus mentions calamine several times, sometimes in the form $\kappa\alpha\tau\mu\epsilon$, for external use in case of different eye afflictions.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, calamine is a common ingredient in Greek recipes of collyria for serious eye problems.¹⁶⁸ As the first line of fragment C ends with “the pupil of eye”, the purpose of this recipe is probably to cure an eye disease.

159 Dijkstra 2015, 273.

160 Meyer/Smith 1999, 239–242.

161 Gordon 2014, 272–274.

162 Gordon 2012, 167–168.

163 The drawing may be part of the lost section of P. K 204 or the recto of P. K 205, however, this latter statement remains a hypothesis, based only on the location of the drawing, since neither of the visible parts of the texts of P. K 205 refer to the figures.

164 Till 1951, 75.

165 Kropp III. 1930, 155–157.

166 Till 1951, 59–60.

167 Chassinat 1921, 157–159.

168 Leith 2009, 81–83.

(3) NKWT CAZOYN “sleep inside” is likely an instruction which is part of a magical practice beside the ingredients. A similar act is required in P. Heid. Kopt 1681 (NKWT CAHEZOY “sleep behind it”).¹⁶⁹ Apparently, another list begins with the sign t or ø , standing for øYCI\AA “offering”. It is stated in a recent article that ø\AA\AA\AA\AA “pot” is usually used in aggressive charms, and it is part of recipes or spells for positive purposes only in a few cases.¹⁷⁰ As the aim of this recipe cannot be identified decisively, this kind of negative connotation is not impossible, although it would be more feasible to hypothesize a positive purpose based on the reasons mentioned above. ø\AA\AA\AA\AA occurring here is a specific type of charcoal, made of vine wood, which might be used as a facial ointment in the fragmentary recipe No. 109 of the John Rylands Library.¹⁷¹

(4) øY\AA\AA “white” frequently appears in Coptic recipes as a modifier of an ingredient, which stays without any precision because of lack of context in the beginning of this line.¹⁷² At the end of the line, the text is darkened which suggests that the scribe tried to remove this part. Due to the facts that fragment J is the same colour as fragment C and the separation lines continue on fragment J, they can be attached.

(5) After the separation lines, a new prescription starts. Although its beginning is unclear, the word ø\AA\AA\AA\AA “pitch” is certain. Usually, it is used as a component for plasters or appears among offerings.¹⁷³ Similarly to line 5, pitch is applied together with frankincense as an offering in a recipe for pain in line 258 of P. Heidelberg Kopt. 686.¹⁷⁴ The range of application of frankincense is relatively wide,¹⁷⁵ hence it is impossible to consider the purpose of our fifth line based on these two ingredients.

(6) The beginning and the end of the line is obscure because of the missing parts of the manuscript, only the appearance of the number twenty-one (øY\AA\AA\AA) is certain, which likely indicates the number of days, just like in line 135 of London Ms. Or. 5987.¹⁷⁶ In this manuscript, ritual instructions are described from line 134 to line 157, which contain the purification of the ritualist.¹⁷⁷ As ø\AA\AA refers to him, ø\AA could also mean “himself, itself” as the object of an action verb, falling in the *lacuna*

¹⁶⁹ Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2014, 787; Meyer/Smith 1999, 215.

¹⁷⁰ Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2014, 788, 798.

¹⁷¹ Crum 1909, 59.

¹⁷² Although the next word seems to be clearly visible, its meaning is obscure. It could be a variant of ø\AA\AA\AA “mist” (Crum 1939, 671b), which describes the darkening of eye in line 59 of P. London Hay 10391 (Kropp I. 1931, 59) and the Chassinat papyrus (Chassinat 1921, 296), likely referring to *glaucoma* which can potentially lead to the loss of eyesight (Chassinat 1921, 72–73).

¹⁷³ Till about the use of pitch: Till 1951, 84. Furthermore, it is present in Choat/Gardner 2013, 66; Kropp I. 1931, 54; Chassinat 1921, 240; Crum/Bell 1922, 51.

¹⁷⁴ Kropp 1966, 53.

¹⁷⁵ Till 1951, 101.

¹⁷⁶ Kropp I. 1931, 27.

¹⁷⁷ Choat/Gardner 2013, 112; 114.

in P. K 204. Usually the number 21 refers to the number of angels,¹⁷⁸ but as it concerns the day in this text and the next line invokes Mary, it may be related to the ascension of Mary's soul which is said to be on 21 Tobe.¹⁷⁹

(7) Line 7 contains two variants for the name of Mary. Her invocation can be a part of any kind of spell or recipe, as well as the main element of protective texts, referring not only to her nature as *theotokos* “God-bearer”, but to the prayer of Mary in Bartos.¹⁸⁰ This tradition can be found also in Ethiopic, Greek and Arabic manuscripts,¹⁸¹ and originates in the *historiola* about the release of Matthias from prison.¹⁸² Texts mentioning the prayer of Mary have the motif of liberation in common, which is a popular subject of Ancient Egyptian spells as well.¹⁸³ In some of the Coptic texts, the owner is identified with Mary to transfer her beneficial abilities.¹⁸⁴ The dots after Mary's name are followed by four letters of an ambiguous word.¹⁸⁵

(8) In this last line, the hand seems to be different and more cursive than before those results in difficulties in understanding line 8. Since lines 6 and 7 may imply parts of the prayer of Mary, and this line contains the half of a name, ending with -uriël, concluding that the name is Bathuriël¹⁸⁶ would be reasonable, as it is part of the prayer of Mary in P. Heidelberg Kopt. 685¹⁸⁷ and London Ms. Or. 6796 (2.3).¹⁸⁸ However, other names of angels or entities are not excluded.¹⁸⁹ As the writing of γ often coincides with ϣ, this name could also be read as ϣλϣϣηλ.¹⁹⁰

3.5 Fragment I of P. K 204 (recto)

The hand of fragment I (fig. 10) differs from the others occurring in manuscripts K 204+205. Its small size hinders any identification of the subject.

178 Meyer/Smith 1999, 301.

179 Meyer 2003, 58–59.

180 An interesting discussion about the prayer of Mary in Bartos can be found in Meyer 2003, 57–67.

181 Kropp III. 1930, 222–224.

182 Meyer 2003, 60.

183 For further details about the native Egyptian *historiolae*, see Meyer 2003, 63.

184 Meyer 2003, 60.

185 The reading of the abbreviation ϣοϣ, used for ϣοεϣ “lord” is a possible solution.

186 Bathuriël is an extended form of the name Uriël (Fauth 2014, 73).

187 Meyer 2003, 61.

188 Kropp I. 1931, 37–38.

189 Uriël or Suriël could also stand here (Fauth 2014, 73).

190 In this line, ϣϣϣϣ can mean “or” or it might be the preposition “since, from” as well as the variant ϣϣϣϣϣϣ of ϣϣϣϣ “make music”.

Greek, late Coptic and Arabic magic.¹⁹⁵ The line continues with a general adjuration (CΩΤΜ̄ ΕΡΟΙ ΜΠΟΥΥ “listen to me today”).

(3) In most cases, ΔΛΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ/ ΔΡΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ “workshop” is present in *formulae* for gathering a crowd for a business.¹⁹⁶ Although other purposes are possible, ΝΓCΩΟΥZ ΝΑΙ ΕZΟΥΝ “and you gather for me”, in line 5, also implies this solution and probably, ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΙ ΜΠ[ΟΟ]Υ “and you may come to me today” in line 3 may express the same objective.

(4) The adjective ΔZΩΡΩΤΩΝ “invisible” usually goes together with the word “spirit” or “god” in texts which are related to Gnosticism. The invisible light may refer to the medium in which the Creation took place,¹⁹⁷ or to the story of Zoroastrianos who met the Invisible Child, dwelling in the invisible light, in the fifth *Aeon*.¹⁹⁸

(5) Since -λλ and -ελ endings are common in names of entities, meaning “god” in Hebrew,¹⁹⁹ ΚΟΔΔ is the end of the denomination of an angel or other entity. ΧΕΚΔΔC, together with future III, has an optative aspect which expresses the wish to gather together persons or entities by trumpeting. This is a recurring motif of charms which aims at assembling a crowd of people or other creatures. P. Yale 1791 bears a drawing

195 Viaud 1978, 80; about the frequent occurrence and importance of the number four in Egyptian magical practice, see Theis 2014, 669–679.

196 This word appears in P. London Hay 10391: ΟΥΔΔΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΚΟΥΩΕ ΕΚΒΟΥ “a shop you wish to seize” (line 86), and ΟΥ[Δ]ΔΔCΤΗΡΙΟ[Ν] | ΕΚΟΥΩΩΕ ΝΦΡΩΒ “a shop you wish to work” (lines 87–88; Kropp I. 1931, 60; Meyer/Smith 1999, 268); in London Ms. Or. 6794: ΝCΕΦΩΡΗ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΓΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ : ΝCΕΕΙ ΝCΕΝΔΥ ΕΠΔZΟ “let them shut their shops and come to watch my show” (lines 38–39; Kropp I. 1931, 30–31; Meyer/Smith 1999, 280); in P. London Hay 10414: ΧΕΕΤΕΤΝ† ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΧΑΡΙC ΜΝ|ΟCΜΟΥ ΜΝΟΥΩΩΕ ΝΠΜΔ ΝΩΩΠΕ ΜΝΔ|CΩΟΥZ ΔZΟΝ ΝΠΕΔΔΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΠΟΥΥ | ΝZΟΥΥ ΜΝΝΕZΟΥΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΕΠΔCΗΥ | ΕΕΤΝΔΩΩΠΕ ΝΗΙ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ “that you give me favour and blessing and desire in the dwelling place and assembly and the shop, today and all the days for the rest of my life, yea, yea, at once, at once” (lines 11–15; Crum 1934, 196; Meyer/Smith 1999, 169); in P. Moen 3: †CΩC †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ | ΜΜΟΚ ΜΧΟΕΙC ΠΝΝΟ|ΥΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤ|ΟΡ ΧΕΚΔΔC ΕΚΕΤΝΝ|ΟΟΥ ΝΔΪ ΕΒΟΛ ZΝ ΤΠΕ | ΜΙΧΔΝΗ ΠΕΚΑΡΧΗΔΓ|ΓΕΛΟC ΝΝCΩΟΥΔZ | ΕZΟΥΝ ΜΠΔΔC ΜΠΤ|ΜΕ ΕZΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΡΚΑCΤΗ|ΡΙΟΝ ΔΔ “I beg, I invoke you, lord, our god, almighty, that you send to me from heaven Michael your archangel, that he may gather together the people of this village into the shop of N. child of N.” (col. I, lines 1–10; Satzinger/Sijpesteijn 1988, 51–52; Meyer/Smith 1999, 233), and CΟΥZΟΥΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΔΔ | ΕΠΑΡΚΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΙΜ | ΔΔ ΤΑΧΥ ΤΑΧΥ “gather them all to N. child of N., to the shop of N., of N. child of N., at once, at once” (col. V, lines 73–76; Satzinger/Sijpesteijn 1988, 56; Meyer/Smith 1999, 235). It can occur in the same context in Greek manuscripts, for instance in P. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574: Καταπρακτικὸν καὶ κατακλητικὸν ἐργα|cτηρίου ἢ οἰκίας ἢ ὅπου ἐὰν αὐτὸ ἰδρῦcηc. “Charm for acquiring business and for calling in customers to a workshop or house or wherever you put it” (PGM IV, 2374–2375; Betz 1986, 81). However, it is also part of love spells (PGM VIII, 58–63; PGM LXXVIII, 1), and of a charm for working well in a workshop (PGM XII, 99).

197 Kákosy 1984, 84.

198 Kákosy 1984, 111.

199 Meyer/Smith 1999, 388.

of an angel, called Harmozēl who gathers and leads the choir of the angels which greets God in the morning and glorifies him in the daytime.²⁰⁰ He is also mentioned in P. London Hay 10122 with the purpose of calling together people, probably for a business.²⁰¹ However, “the trumpeter” is also an epithet of the archangel Suriēl whose name occurs in other contexts than the issues broached here. Based on the majority of the parallel texts, it is rather reasonable to suppose that this charm is for gathering a crowd.

(6) Similarly to P. Berlin 8318, the sixth line includes an enumeration which derives from a benediction of the Old Testament (“Thou hast put gladness in my heart, more than in the time that their corn and their wine increased” Ps. 4, 8).²⁰² The named products were considered to be precious in everyday life, therefore they could be also used as payment.²⁰³ A variant of αλιωίνε “messenger” occurs in the invocation of the archangel Gabriel in line 219 of P. Heidelberg Kopt. 686,²⁰⁴ and in the erotic charm of Cyprian of Antioch in P. Heidelberg Kopt. 684, in which line 245 of page 11 consists of an adjuration of Gabriel in order to fulfill the spell.²⁰⁵ The role of this word in our text cannot be defined accurately.

(8) The word αζρῆ-/αζρεζ “toward face of, to, among”²⁰⁶ or αζρ “sedge”²⁰⁷ forms part of line 8, accompanied by the construction ὅε νογ “manner of a” or ὅενογ/ὅενογ “pound it/them”.²⁰⁸

(9) Since *voces magicae* can usually be introduced with a phrase like εἶτε ναὶ νε νεγραν “whose names are”,²⁰⁹ ν]εγραν might be followed by a list of magical names as well. Despite the fact that this part of the text is lacunose, we can assume that the names εχιν and εθαεαιθ are probably separated by three dots which are used for

200 Meyer/Smith 1999, 246–247; Kropp III. 1930, 37.

201 πσογούζ αζο[ν] πσογούζ αζογν νναγτε|λός επασπασμος νπιωτ | †ναχω ντα†εοογ νταζμν|νεγε πετογδαβ πετογδαβ | †† ππαντοκρατωρ πδη|μιορκος πατναγ ερογ | ζωρμοςινα παγγελος πα | ετερετζαλιπζ ντοτγ | εχσωγζ εζογν ναγγελος | επασπασμος νπιωτ νπε|χερφωσια τηργ νπιωτ “The gathering, the gathering of angels for the salutation of the father: I shall sing and glorify and hymn: Holy, holy, god almighty, creator, invisible one, Hormosiel, the angel in whose hand is the trumpet, as he gathers the angels for the salutation of the father, of the whole council of the father” (lines 8–18; Crum 1934, 197–198; Meyer/Smith 1999, 171). πατναγ ερογ “the invisible one” is the epithet of the god almighty, which may call forth the subject of line 4 of fragment C of P. K 204 (verso).

202 Kropp II. 1931, 112.

203 Meyer/Smith 1999, 245.

204 Kropp 1966, 45.

205 Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 312.

206 Crum 1939, 649a

207 Crum 1939, 25a

208 Chassinat 1921, 336–337.

209 Stegemann 1934, 51.

enumerations in this manuscript. Although *vores magicæ* are specific to each text,²¹⁰ there are recurring types in which certain syllables persist. In line 8 of P. Berlin 8105, $\lambda\theta\alpha$ and $\lambda\theta\alpha\eta$,²¹¹ while at the beginning of P. Berlin 9074, $\lambda\omega\theta$ $\lambda\omega\theta$ ²¹² bear a resemblance to $\epsilon\theta\alpha\epsilon\lambda\theta$ appearing here. Already in ancient Egyptian magic, names had been given a special role in gaining power over a person: knowing the name meant being able to manipulate its owner.²¹³ This thought is preserved in Coptic tradition where magical names can belong to heavenly or infernal powers, occasionally having a Hebrew origin.²¹⁴ Their invocation and adjuration are believed to be helpful in accomplishing the aim of charms (for diseases as well as love affairs).²¹⁵

(10) $\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ is the end of a word of Greek origin which could be, among others, $\nu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ (from $\nu\eta\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma/\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ “fast”), being part of medical texts,²¹⁶ or by changing the neutral ending, $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ($\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$) “business (spell)”,²¹⁷ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$) “charm”,²¹⁸ or $\gamma\upsilon\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ($\upsilon\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$) “subjection (spell)”.²¹⁹ For $\beta\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\iota\epsilon$, see the commentary of line 6.

(11) Similarly to line 5, the magical name of this line, terminating with $-\nu\omicron\gamma\eta\lambda$ cannot be reconstructed with certainty as a consequence of the wide variety of *vores magicæ*. $\varepsilon\iota\chi\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\epsilon$ “on your head” refers to the place of the angel mentioned before during the performance of the rite. The determination of the position of adjured angels and spirits is a well-known element of Coptic texts.²²⁰ The practice of placing entities to the different sides and parts of the body has already been described in the Pyramid Texts (PT 273-274) and in ancient Egyptian magical manuscripts.²²¹ The last visible word of the line after the circumstantial clause is apparently $\omega\kappa(\epsilon)\lambda\kappa\iota\lambda$ “bell”, which is held in the right hand of Davithea, while gathering the angels for the morning glorification of the father in London Ms. Or 6794 ($\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\nu\epsilon\omega\kappa\lambda\kappa\iota\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\chi}$ $\bar{\varepsilon}\bar{\nu}$ $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota\chi$ $\nu\omicron\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\mu$ “the one who has the golden bell in his right hand”, lines 7–8).²²² Corresponding to lines 3

²¹⁰ Gordon 2012, 168.

²¹¹ Kropp III. 1930, 132; Beltz 1983, 64.

²¹² Beltz 1983, 98–99.

²¹³ Kákosy 1974, 92; Ritner 2008, 135.

²¹⁴ Meyer/Mirecki 1995, 440. For the discussion of the usage of “foreign” elements, see Boustan/Sanzo 2017.

²¹⁵ Meyer/Mirecki 1995, 410; 412.

²¹⁶ Van der Vliet 1991, 223.

²¹⁷ Choat/Gardner 2013, 68–69.

²¹⁸ Choat/Gardner 2013, 70–71.

²¹⁹ Choat/Gardner 2013, 70–71.

²²⁰ For example, it is present in line 98 of the recto of London Ms. Or. 6796 (2.3): $\bar{\iota}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\beta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\theta}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}$ “Yao Sabaoth is upon my head” (Kropp I. 1931, 39) as well as in lines 43–49 of the verso of the same manuscript (Kropp I. 1931, 42–43).

²²¹ Kropp III. 1930, 77; about the spell itself, see Theis 2014, 443.

²²² Kropp I. 1931, 29.

and 5, it might be, again, a proof of the subject of the first charm on the verso of fragment C, probably about assembling a group of people or entities.

(12) Several manuscripts allude to the name of Barbaraoth and its variants.²²³ In the commentary of P. Cologne 20826, Römer and Thissen suppose that Barbaraoth and the often recurring ΜΑΡΜΑΡΙΩΘ (in line 74 of P. London Hay 10391²²⁴ and in line 27 of P. Heidelberg Kopt. 681),²²⁵ or Μαρμαραυώθ in Greek (in line 231 of P. J 384 of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden)²²⁶ can be identified as one and the same entity.²²⁷ Generally, he is mentioned as a superior god.²²⁸ The title “god of Hebrews” is in relation with Koutha Yao in line 32 of the verso of London Ms. Or. 6796 (2.3),²²⁹ however, it seems to be Barbaraoth’s epithet in our context. Although the scribes were not always aware of the exact origin and primary application of foreign elements,²³⁰ it is expressed in P. Michigan 593 that the common reference to the Hebrew origin of names and words lies in the respect of Hebrew as the language of Heaven, which provides power for the ritualist.²³¹

(13–14) The *formulae* of lines 13 and 14 are often present together, but usually the phrase of line 14 comes first. The most essential part of the so-called cup divination, which is referred to in this *formula*, is the epiclesis of a higher power that must endow the offering, which is an object or potion, with ritual power and provides the ability for what the ritualist asked.²³² The cup can be filled with a liquid, usually water, oil or wine over which the rite is to be executed. The tradition itself exists in ancient Egyptian and Greek spells,²³³ but this type of invocation is related to Gnostic idea.²³⁴

(15) Owing to lack of context, the intention of this line, and its relation to the previous or the next one cannot be determined.²³⁵

223 For a few examples, see the parallels of line 12.

224 Kropp I. 1931, 60.

225 Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 401.

226 PGM XII, 231.

227 Römer/Thissen 1990, 179.

228 Kropp III. 1930, 126.

229 Kropp I. 1931, 42.

230 Boustan/Sanzo 2017, 22–23.

231 Meyer/Smith 1999, 302, 304; Worrell 1930, 243.

232 Kropp III. 1930, 183–184.

233 Kropp III. 1930, 13.

234 Kropp II. 1931, 49. The silver cup of Joseph is mentioned in the story about meeting his brothers (Gen. 44, 1–17).

235 A comparison to brother and sister is used in a love-charm: ΝΙΤΡΕ ΠΑΜΗ Ω[ΩΠΕ] ΞΜ ΠΕΣΖΗΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΣ ΩΠΕ ΞΜ ΠΩΙ [ΝΘΕ] ΝΟΥΣΩΝ ΜΝ ΟΥΣΩΝΕ: “and you must make my love [be] in her heart and hers in mine [like] a brother and sister” (lines 8–10 of P. Michigan 4932f in Worrell 1935, 184–185; Meyer/Smith 1999, 175).

(16) However, the text is obscure from the middle of the line, the beginning recurs in line 12 of fragment A of P. Stras. K 205 (verso) and in line 2 of fragment G of P. Stras. K 205 (recto). Both occurrences prove that the adjuration $\epsilon\tau\iota\omicron\rho\eta$ is followed by the preposition $\epsilon\text{-}/\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{,}$, which has its first letter just before the lacuna in line 16. In the former case, $\epsilon\tau\iota\omicron\rho\eta$ is preceded by $\chi\epsilon$. After the adjuration, the name of a deity or angel follows (probably, as vocative), also ending with $\text{-}\eta\lambda$, but remaining unknown due to the fragmentary state of this part.

(18) The charm ends with the typical utterance of magical texts ($\tau\lambda\chi\eta\ \tau\lambda\chi\eta$ “at once, at once”) in line 18, which is separated from the next spell by a few lines.

(19) The invocation of (Yao) Sabaoth is common among other higher powers in several Coptic and Greek charms of various purposes. The origin of his name is Hebrew, and the word Yao, often appearing before his name, denotes the name of the God (YHWH) in Hebrew. The meaning of the word Sabaoth itself is “the lord of hosts”, which often occurs in the Bible (passim, for instance, 1 Sam. 15, 2) as well.²³⁶ He is closely related to, and moreover, identified with Christ.²³⁷ The practice of giving words or orders in the gods’ mouth has its roots in Egyptian texts where the spells can be pronounced by Ra to provide efficacy.²³⁸ This method survives in certain Coptic charms where, in some cases, it is Sabaoth who has the authority to control the given events. A well-known example lies in the fourth section of P. Rylands 104: $\tau\lambda\iota\ \tau\lambda\pi\rho\ \mu\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \overline{\text{CAB}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}}$ $\tau\epsilon\text{NTAC}\chi\epsilon\ \text{ΠΑΙ} : \chi\epsilon\text{NΠEPTPE}\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma\ \text{N}\chi\alpha\text{TBE}\ \lambda\omicron\text{KCT}\ \lambda\text{NOK}\ \lambda\lambda\lambda\ \mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{N}\chi\alpha\text{TBE}\ \tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma\ \mu\pi\kappa\alpha\lambda\ \omega\omega\pi\epsilon\ \text{N}\omega\text{NE}\ \text{NΠAEMTO}\ \epsilon\omega\lambda.$ ²³⁹ “It is the mouth of the lord Sabaoth that said this: Let no reptile bite me, but let all reptiles of the earth become stone in my presence”.²⁴⁰

(21) Line 21, again, contains a part of a list of ingredients or offerings, connected with $\mu\eta$. The only element which remained undamaged from the enumeration is $\lambda\alpha\mu\chi\alpha\tau\eta$ “pitch” that was used for a wide variety of purposes in medicine, as well as in spells. Being a synonym of $\lambda\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\tau\omega\mu$, already discussed in the commentary of line 5 of fragment C of P. K 204 (recto), it has the same function, and hence, as a cure, its application was common in the preparation of dry and moist bandages.²⁴¹ The use of pitch recurs in recipes XV, XVI, CXLIX and CLVI²⁴² of the medical papyrus, published by Chassinat, and also in lines 25–28 of P. Cairo 45060, herewith to cure some kind of

²³⁶ Meyer/Smith 1999, 390–391.

²³⁷ Kühner 1980, 63; for a detailed discussion about (Yao) Sabaoth’s identity, see Fauth 2014, 75–79.

²³⁸ Meyer/Smith 1999, 108–109.

²³⁹ Crum 1909, 54.

²⁴⁰ Meyer/Smith 1999, 128.

²⁴¹ Till 1951, 84.

²⁴² Chassinat 1921, 103, 271 and 275.

hindrance.²⁴³ Furthermore, this ingredient is present in a prescription of unknown purpose in P. Berlin 4984.²⁴⁴

(22) This part of the text cannot be interpreted accurately; however, it is possible that the scribe wished to use a form of $\kappa\omega\upsilon\tau \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ “hinder”. The meaning of the latter one, together with $\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ “tongue”, might be synonymous with $\mu\omicron\gamma\gamma$ “bind”.

(26) Based on the recto and the fiber patterns of the verso, line 1 of fragment M presumably kept part of this line.²⁴⁵ $\mu\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ could stand for $\mu\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ “wax”,²⁴⁶ but its use in other texts does not really provide a clue for this context. Considering the other occurrences of the word $\lambda\mu\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ in magical context,²⁴⁷ it is possible that the original intention of the scribe was to write $\tau\alpha\rho\tau\alpha\rho\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma \bar{\nu}\lambda\mu\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ “keeper of the hell” instead of $\tau\alpha\rho\tau\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma \nu\lambda\mu\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ “infernal netherworld”, which I have not found in other magical texts so far. Regarding the idea of the netherworld, Coptic texts adopted elements not only from native Egyptian tradition but Mediterranean and Jewish sources as well. According to the Jewish concept, two angels, Tartarouchos and Temelouchos, were responsible for the punishment of sinners in the underworld, thus it would be feasible to hypothesize that Tartarouchos is mentioned in the present construction.²⁴⁸

(27) Certainly, $\omega\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho$, in this line, means “skin”,²⁴⁹ which is present in recipe CCXXIV of the Chassinat papyrus,²⁵⁰ but in a different context from this one.

(28–29) Similarly to line 25, the meaning of these two lines coincide with that of line 3 of fragment A of P. K 204. These lines also bear evidence of the attachment of fragment M and C. The parallel texts prove that fragment M is to be placed before fragment C, since $\nu\varsigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\rho\omega\iota$, occurring on fragment M, usually appears before $\nu\varsigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau$ in other texts as well.²⁵¹

3.8 Fragment D of P. K 204 (verso)

Since fragments D, E, F, K and L are in relation to fragment C of P. K 204 (verso), I arranged them in the same picture (fig. 12) which only partly differs from the original

²⁴³ Kropp I. 1931, 51.

²⁴⁴ BKU 1904, 30.

²⁴⁵ For further information, see the commentary of lines 28–29.

²⁴⁶ Crum 1939, 166a

²⁴⁷ For the parallel texts, see the parallels of this line.

²⁴⁸ Frankfurter 2013, 89–90.

²⁴⁹ Crum 1939, 582a

²⁵⁰ Chassinat 1921, 316.

²⁵¹ This statement is confirmed by the parallels.

layout (fig. 1). Although their hand corresponds to the second hand on the verso of fragment C, their exact position within the manuscript remains uncertain.

The visible part of fragment D (fig. 12) contains the same *formula* that was previously discussed in the commentary of lines 13–14 of fragment C of P. K 204 (verso). This fragment might also be part of fragment C; however, the exact place of attachment cannot be determined.

3.9 Fragment E of P. K 204 (verso; fig. 12)

(1) Based on the recurring *formula* ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΙΩΘΟΝ ΝΖΗΤΥ “the place where I dwell” in this collection of charms, this line could partly be restored as ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΕΡΕΝΝΙΜ ΠΩΕ (Ν)ΝΙΜ ΩΘΟΝ ΝΖΗΤΥ “to the place where NN son of NN dwells”.

3.10 Fragment L of P. K 204 (verso; fig. 12)

Although the one visible line on the recto suggests that this fragment could be attached to the last line of the recto of fragment C of P. K 204, owing to the lack of context, its original place can only be estimated. If the names of Isis and Osiris could be read in line 2 of the verso, fragment L would contain a *historiola* which would delimit the subject of the second part of fragment C of P. K 204 (verso). Within this context, line 26 could also be related to the native Egyptian idea of the underworld.

3.11 Fragment A of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204 (recto)

Three different hands can be distinguished on the recto of fragment A (fig. 13). In comparison with the second part of the text, the first six lines, written by the first hand, are upside down, and magical drawings and ring-letters are present. These facts, along with the angel names separated by three dots on the verso, prove that piece G of P. K 204 once belonged to this fragment, since the upper part of the recto of fragment G bears ring-letters and an upside down line, probably containing ΤΘΛΛ[ΔΖΤ “the pot”. The style of these ring-letters resembles that of the recto of fragment A of P. K 205 and also, the hand of the first line is the same.

(1) Fourteen amulets are mentioned in line 16 of page 5 of Rossi’s “Gnostic” tractate, related to fourteen magical letters.²⁵² Identically, the number fourteen is to be under-

²⁵² Kropp I. 1931, 66–67; Kropp III. 1930, 137–138.

stood as the quantity of amulets, and the remark “of this type” may somehow refer to the *charakteres* near the text, which are apparently to be drawn on the amulets.²⁵³

(2–3) The vocabulary (οοε “moon” and ρογχε “evening”) suggests that, similarly to line 18 of the verso of this fragment, a kind of astrological reference was contained in this passage. The word before οοε could be a variant (maybe τρομας) of τρόμος which is used for the “course of the moon” in line 97 of the verso of London Ms. Or. 6796 (2.3).²⁵⁴

(4) In the case of the fourth line, contrarily to the majority of ring-letters which consist of meaningless words, the word αμαετε “possession”, formed by ring-letters, really makes sense, but it cannot be interpreted without context.

(5) If the *lacuna* of line 5 contained again the word φηλακτηριον “amulet”, it could refer to the amulets prepared, following the instructions of the first line. The next section consists of two recipes written by two distinct hands and separated by lines, such as in the case of the recto of fragment C of P. K 204.

(7) Ingredients are enumerated from the first line of the second part of fragment A. The list begins with an illegible word followed by βαλαζητ βηρε “new pot”, which is also well-known from other texts.²⁵⁵ In some cases, when pot and water appear together in a text, it is clearly indicated that the water might be poured into the pot. “New” potsherd usually implies the use of unbaked, fresh clay, which is also convenient for writing a charm on it.²⁵⁶ The reading of the modifier, following μοογ “water”, is uncertain. It could be an erroneous form (maybe ανφελιον?) of ανθηλιον, which is translated as “flower” in lines 26–27 of page 13 of P. Macq. I 1.²⁵⁷ A recipe, prescribing the same ingredients as in lines 7–9 of our manuscript, can be found in lines 16–20 of the verso of P. London Hay 10414. In his footnote, Crum represents the interpretation of Preisendanz for the word αθελεκον (after μοογ), to be understood as ἄθελκτος “unbewitched”, as well as the solution ατ-εγλικος “immaterial”.²⁵⁸ However, it is also possible that the scribe was supposed to write the same modifier as in the case of P. Macq. I 1 mentioned above, hence the orthographic variants of that word are numerous. As it is stated above, fragment G of P. K 204 is to be treated as part of this fragment, but the content cannot be restored based on solely the two words of its second and third lines.

²⁵³ I discuss the instructions concerning the preparation of magical drawings on amulets in the commentary of fragment C of P. K 204 (recto), which are also the subject of Mößner/Nauerth 2015, 351.

²⁵⁴ In this case, the text is about evil forces wandering in the course of the sun, moon, stars and so on (Kropp I. 1931, 44).

²⁵⁵ I refer to the use of pottery in the commentary of line 3 of fragment C of P. K 204 (recto).

²⁵⁶ Martín Hernández/Torallas Tovar 2014, 782–783.

²⁵⁷ Choat/Gardner 2013, 68–69.

²⁵⁸ Crum 1934, 196–197.

(8) The first golden object, enumerated in this line, could be *καλαμῶν* “reed” or, based on the parallel texts, *ἀποκαλαμῶν* “*calamus* extract”. Similarly to *κρομνοῦ* “golden crown” occurring here, golden diadems are present in the adjuration of the twenty-four elders in line 124 of P. Heidelberg Kopt. 686.²⁵⁹

(9) The blood of a white dove can usually be an element of ink.²⁶⁰ Nowadays, it is still in use for writing amulets.²⁶¹

(10) The number seven could possibly be a reference to the number of days as a period of a rite; in this case, the line could continue with the word *ἡμέρας* “day”. However, the purpose of the recipe is unknown, the use of the elements seems to be clear: based on the related parts of London Ms. Or. 6795,²⁶² the verso of P. London Hay 10414²⁶³ and P. Cairo 45060,²⁶⁴ the new pot should be filled with water, genuine oil is used for the lamp, and the golden *calamus* with the blood of a white dove are the tools of the ritualist, probably for writing an amulet, while wearing a golden wreath.

(11) After the separation lines, another recipe begins in which the first visible word is *νεῖς σιμ*. Radish/vegetable oil is a well-known ingredient applied for cooking, and also, for internal and external treatment of diverse diseases.²⁶⁵

(12) Since the two completely clear words (*βῶτε* “hate” and *ἐχθροί* “enemy”) of this line have a negative connotation, the aim of this section can be to expel evil forces or, on the contrary, to call for their contribution.

(15) *μέλανε* “black ink” occurs in recipes as an element of magical practice; it can be an offering or an ingredient as well.²⁶⁶

3.12 Fragment J of P. K 205 (recto)

Compared to the verso, the text of the recto of fragment J of P. K 205 (fig. 13) is upside down which suggests that it could appertain to the end of the upside down part of fragment A of P. K 205, although the handwriting on this side of fragment J of P. K 205 is rather different from the one on the recto of fragment A and the content does

²⁵⁹ Kropp 1966, 31.

²⁶⁰ Kropp III. 1930, 162.

²⁶¹ Viaud 1978, 59.

²⁶² Kropp I. 1931, 34.

²⁶³ Crum 1934, 196.

²⁶⁴ Kropp I. 1931, 53.

²⁶⁵ The reasons for its application are listed in Till 1951, 81.

²⁶⁶ In lines 10 and 57 of P. London Hay 10391: Kropp I. 1931, 55, 59.

not affirm this *hypothesis* either because of the insufficient context. The second line implies that this part described the preparation of an amulet made of alabaster.

3.13 Fragment E of P. K 205

The hand on this fragment does not correspond to any other part of the manuscripts discussed in this edition; therefore it can be supposed that it was once part of a completely different papyrus, thus a separate chapter is devoted to the description of fragment E (fig. 14). Since the left side does not show the traces of damage and the text begins from this edge of the fragment, this part can be considered as the left margin of a manuscript.

(1) The number twenty or twenty-four (in the form of $\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon$) is indicated in the first visible line. As it is an ordinal (beginning with $\mu\epsilon\zeta$ -), it can refer to the number of a day in a date.

(2–3) The quantity of text is insufficient for an appropriate interpretation. Since the third line includes the word $\chi\lambda\chi\epsilon$ “enemy”, its possible subject is the protection against a hostile entity.

3.14 Fragment G of P. K 205

The fragment (fig. 15) preserves three lines of an adjuration, using the same form of the word $\omega\pi\bar{\iota}\kappa$ “adjure” as line 16 of fragment C of P. K 204 (verso), followed by the usual preposition $\epsilon\pi\omicron\zeta$; while ring-letters are visible on the other side.²⁶⁷ However, the hand seems to be the same as the first one on the verso of fragment C of P. K 204, the context is too scant and the ring-letters do not provide more information about the place of the fragment within the manuscript either.

3.15 Fragments A, I, K of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204 (verso; fig. 16)

The verso of the main piece of the papyrus under inventory number K 205 is made up of two separate parts, which were written by two different hands, similarly to that of the verso of fragment C of P. K 204. The first hand uses the very same punctuation as the first one on fragment C mentioned above, and the letters also seem to be the same. Consequently, we can probably speak about the same hand in the case of these two

²⁶⁷ It cannot be considered with certainty which side is the recto and which one is the verso.

fragments. The second hand uses much fewer dots and the handwriting is less fine than the first one.

(4) Copper or bronze and iron appear together in numerous texts, since they are associated with positive effects in general, and their use is also widespread in the production of Coptic amulets.²⁶⁸ Because of lack of context, the instruction for their use remains unknown.

(5) The same adjuration is part of the revelation spell²⁶⁹ of P. London Hay 10391 (lines 38–49), where powers are invoked to reveal mysteries with the help of a chalice of water.²⁷⁰ The cup divination, already discussed in the commentary on lines 13–14 of fragment C of P. K 204 (verso), is detailed in Greek in a charm of P. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574 (lines 222–242) where the manifestation of an entity is expected after the described ritual steps.²⁷¹ According to the *formula* of P. London Hay 10391, the sentence of our fragment could similarly begin with the verb $\sigma\gamma\omega\nu\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ “reveal” but the end of the line, following the conjunctive base and the 2nd person singular, cannot be reconstructed.

(6) Just like in line 11 of fragment C of P. K 204 (verso), the beginning of this line determines the place of entities during magical rites. As explained before, the practice of surrounding the patient with angels, gods and other entities is common when praying for transcendent assistance in ancient Egyptian and Greek texts, as well as in the Coptic ones.²⁷² The next part of the charm is about “sealing” someone’s words. Probably this phrase continues in the first line of fragment G of P. K 204, where the word $\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\nu[\rho\omicron]$ “my mouth” appears, suggesting that the sentence contained a similar construction to $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\epsilon$ $\nu\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon$ $\nu\iota\mu$ $\epsilon\tau[\epsilon\iota/\nu\eta\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ϱ] $\nu\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\rho$ “seal every word that comes/came from my mouth”. In relation to the occurrence of $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\omega$ “to seal” in line 33 of London Ms. Or. 6796 (4),²⁷³ Kropp remarks in his work that the use of this Greek verb refers to the drawing of a cross sign on the given object.²⁷⁴ By means of sealing, the person or the object gains protection against evil forces.²⁷⁵

268 Viaud 1978, 64–65. For an example for a Coptic bracelet made of copper and iron, with amuletic *formulae* and the representation of saints, see Raven 2012, 168.

269 The term is used as “*Offenbarungszauber*” by Kropp (Kropp III. 1930, 168–170).

270 Kropp I. 1931, 57–58.

271 PGM IV, 222–242.

272 For instance, a similar instruction takes place in line 14 of the verso of P. Michigan 1190 (Worrell 1935, 10).

273 Kropp I. 1931, 48.

274 Kropp II. 1931, 61.

275 Rudolph 1987, 361. The same method of protection is present in line 32 of P. K 191 from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Stegemann 1934, 74–75).

(8) The eighth line contains a list of names with the common ending -ηλ, already discussed above, in the commentary on line 5 of fragment C of P. K 204 (verso). The name *Manuēl* recurs in a vast number of magical texts. This part of the text proves the best that this fragment can certainly be brought into relation with fragment G of P. K 204, since the scribe used the same punctuation, namely the three points between each magical name, without exception. Doubtless, this method continues on fragment G, both before and after the name *ΧΙΝΟΥΗΛ*.

(9) Line 9 consists of the description of the Gnostic idea that cherubim and seraphim sing hymns to praise God in Heaven. However, the phrase is fragmentary, therefore only a few words are visible. Apart from the literal meaning of *ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΗΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΝ* (“the lights of cherubim”), the construction could also refer to the enlightenment of cherubim such as in lines 4–5 of page 15 of Rossi’s Gnostic Tractate,²⁷⁶ or to the “cherubim of light”, which occurs on the verso of London Ms. Or. 6796 (2.3),²⁷⁷ and also in a manuscript from the H. O. Lange collection.²⁷⁸ In case of the latter solution, the two words of the phrase would be reversed in this text. In this context, *ΠΚΛΟΜ <N>ΝΟΥϚ* “golden crown”, on fragment G, might be a reference to the heavenly crowns that are offered to the blessed ones by Uriēl.²⁷⁹ Although Coptic magical texts can incorporate certain Gnostic features, just like this text, these are to be treated with caution, therefore it should not be concluded that they are part of the Gnostic *corpus*.²⁸⁰

(12) Based on line 16, the first part of this line can be restored. Without doubt, the *formula* of line 3 of fragment A of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205 (recto) recurs here, but, beginning from *ΕΚΕΛΛΥ ΝΕΜΛΙ* “that you purify (?) with me”, the phrase is partly different. After the *lacuna*, the line continues with the adjuration *ΛΗΘ ΛΗΘ ΧΕ* (Ε)ΤΙΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΚ “yea, yea, that I adjure you”, which is identical with the construction of line 16 of pieces C and J of P. K 204 (verso).

(13) However, the details are not explained on the visible parts of the papyrus, it is known that this line is a demand for the revelation of a speech. Certainly, speech implies the oral intervention of a divine creature, as usual.²⁸¹ The call for the act of speaking is, again, part of revelation spells such as the *formula* of line 5 of this fragment.

(14) Line 14 probably conjures an entity and demands that it goes to the dwelling place of the 1st person singular speaker of the sentence.

²⁷⁶ Kropp I. 1931, 74.

²⁷⁷ Lines 16 and 22 in Kropp I. 1931, 41–42.

²⁷⁸ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ ΝΜΑΚ ΠΕΤΦΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΠΙ|ΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΝ ΣΝΕΥ ΝΟΥΔΙΝ “I adjure you, the one who raises up the two cherubim of light” (lines 36–37, Lange 1932, 163).

²⁷⁹ Kropp III. 1930, 78.

²⁸⁰ Kühner 1980, 64.

²⁸¹ Kropp III. 1930, 116–117; Weber 1972, 59–60.

(15) This part of the text can be restored, since parallel texts contain the same phrase. The motif of the vineyard is present in Is. 5,1–5,12 and Ps. 80,9–80,20. In some cases, it is Jesus, who is referred to by the word “vine-stock” as the son of David. Just as the vine-stock is related to Christ, the cup of wine is identified with his blood.²⁸² Even though the exact purpose of the first part of the text cannot be surely determined, several phrases refer to the revelation spell as a subject.

(18) The reading of ooz “moon” is certain in this line. Knowledge of astronomy was highly appreciated also in the Late Antiquity, and thus, celestial objects were brought into relation with supernatural power in Greek and Coptic magic.²⁸³ The moon can usually be present in magical texts in connection with the magical act, which is sometimes linked to the moon phases, suggesting that a given rite is to be executed during the time of the full moon or the crescent.²⁸⁴ Consequently, this line, mentioning the circuit of the moon, likely provides the description of a rite.

(19) The line prescribes the burning or cooking bones. According to my knowledge, this practice is not represented by any other Coptic text so far but the use of bones as medium is well-known, especially in the case of violent spells.²⁸⁵

(20) The name Taklabaoth is one of the wide variety of *voces magicæ* ending with -baoth.

(21) Generally, the name of the archangel Suriël occurs in the invocation of the seven archangels whose names change from text to text in order to find the correct form of the given name (for instance, the list can contain the following names: Michaël, Gabriël, Raphaël, Rakuël, Suriël, Asuël, Saraphuël).²⁸⁶ In other contexts, Suriël is also called “the trumpeter”,²⁸⁷ which is his epithet. In his article of 1936, Polotsky discusses the occurrence of the name of Suriël, and its relation to Uriël which he considers the precedent of the name Suriël. When the two names appear together in the same text or only the name of Uriël is encountered, it is usually Uriël who gets the role of trumpeter.²⁸⁸ Polotsky ascertains that, apart from the occurrence in lists, the name

282 Kropp III. 1930, 35–37.

283 Stegemann 1935, 393–394.

284 Kropp III. 1930. 149.

285 For the ritual use of painted bones in Karanis, see Wilburn 2013, 140–160. There is no closer parallel practice in native Egyptian sources either, although it is written in the Books of the Underworld that the enemies of Ra are burnt or cooked just like the enemies of the Egyptian state in magical papyri (Pinch 2006, 95, 154). In a text in Edfu, a threat mentions that the bones of the enemies have to be burnt (Theis 2014, 685–686 and also Chassinat 1931, 75). For the motif of fire, its protective and destructive nature, see Theis 2014, 680–687.

286 Meyer/Smith 1999, 388; Kropp III. 1930, 31; 130.

287 Kropp III. 1930, 76–77.

288 Polotsky 1936, 236; 238.

of Suriël occurs alone in five texts out of the fourteen studied cases.²⁸⁹ This fact proves to be true in our text as well; however, the reason of mentioning his name in this line and in the first line of fragment H of P. K 205 is uncertain because of the *lacunae*.

(24) From line 24 to line 26, fragments I and K are treated together, since it is reasonable to attach them based on their content. In other manuscripts, a creature, whose name is different in each text, and who has its head in heaven or abyss, and legs on the earth or in the underworld, is invoked, just like in our example.

(25) The beginning of the line contains a *vox magica* (ΜΙΣΤΡΑΗΛ),²⁹⁰ which might be followed by another name, thus ΩΗΡΕ ΣΝΔΥ “two sons” could refer to these two entities.

3.16 Fragment J of P. K 205 (verso)

As it is explained above, piece J (fig. 16) may belong to the upper part of fragment A of P. K 205, but there is no correspondence between the texts of the fragments on neither of the two sides.

Similarly to line 2 of fragment C of P. K 204 (verso) and lines 3–5 of London Ms. Or. 6795, the number four in the first line could be in relation with the four sides of an area, four creatures or objects.

3.17 Fragments H, L, M, N and O of P. K 205

The handwriting on fragments H, L, M, N and O (fig. 16) clearly shows a resemblance to the last part of fragment A together with I and K, although they cannot be attached based on their content. In each case, the recto is blank and the texts on the verso are too fragmentary to understand the real intents. Just like line 21 of fragment A of P. K 205 (verso), the first line of fragment H is probably an adjuration of the archangel Suriël, appearing here as Soriël. For a discussion on the occurrence of his name, see the commentary on fragment A.

In some cases, σωυτ “to hinder, restrain”, occurring on fragment L, expresses magical threat, for instance, the hindrance of the sun, moon or the stars on their course.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Polotsky 1936, 232.

²⁹⁰ Although I have not found ΜΙΣΤΡΑΗΛ in other texts so far, ΙΣΤΡΑΗΛ occurs in lines 93 and 107–108 of London Ms. Or. 5987 (Kropp I. 1931, 25–26).

²⁹¹ This thought appears in lines 109–113 of P. London Hay 10391 (Kropp I. 1931, 62), lines 14–18 of Cambridge University Library T. S. 12,207 (Crum 1902, 330), and lines 12–14 of P. Berlin 8322 (Beltz

4 Conclusions

During the examination of manuscripts K 204+205, the nature of the different spells and recipes became clear in the rarest of cases owing to the *lacunae* and the illegible words or phrases, therefore it is still worth to raise the question if the two larger fragments were once part of one and the same papyrus scroll. However, there is no undeniable evidence of their attachment, the number of sections separated by lines accords, also the number of lines and the position of the texts and drawings (even the upside down parts) are similar, sometimes there is a relation between the subject of the texts,²⁹² and the hands seem to be identical on the two fragments; albeit, these similarities could also exist accidentally between the different pages of a magical handbook.

In the field of language, apart from a few deficiencies, the scribes of our papyri seem to be experienced. In some cases, letters of a few words or the *ν*'s of the attributive and genitive constructions are omitted. The unique variants of certain words usually cannot be considered as mistakes, but as witnesses of the contemporary pronunciation (such as the alternation of *ο* and *ω*). For this latter case, *ετιουη*, that replaces *ετωρη* "I invoke/I adjure", also might be an example, since it could be pronounced in the way as it is written in our manuscripts, but its correct orthography usually differs from this particular form occurring in P. K 204+205.²⁹³

The type of the manuscripts containing longer texts can certainly be determined, whereas the substitute "NN son of NN" (*νιμ νωενιμ*) appears repeatedly, the size of the manuscripts (from the two larger leaves, fragment C of P. K 204 is 33.8 x 15.5 cm and fragment A of P. K 205 is 23.9 x 15.8 cm) is considerable, thus they could never have been personal amulets, and also, different sections written by several hands and to be personalized during the preparation of amulets, are separated by lines. Doubtless, these are the well-known characteristics of magical or medical handbooks, which are usually found in the form of rolls or codices.

As mentioned before, in this edition, I rearranged the fragments based mainly on the hands, sizes and colour of the papyri and context (where it was possible). As a result, fig. 5–16 reflect the basic groups of papyri, consisting of approximately 5–10 different manuscripts. Although a few fragments are left unattached and the exact quantity of different manuscripts found together under these inventory numbers

1983, 73).

292 The list of names in line 9 on the verso of fragment C of P. K 204 and line 8 on the verso of fragment A of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204 is an example. Although it deserves attention that the subject of gathering is a common feature of the first spell of the verso of fragments C, J, M of P. K 204 and fragment A of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204, the former text clearly seems to be a spell for gathering entities, while the latter one apparently contains some elements of revelation spells.

293 See in line 16 on the verso of fragments C and J of P. K 204, line 2 on the recto of fragment G of P. K 205, and line 12 on the verso of fragment A of P. K 205.

is not known, generally, the hands show clearly that the collection contains papyri written by the relatively well-qualified scribes of the same workshop. The repetitive *formulae* of the grimoire(s) treated here prove that the scribes composed these magical collections using sample books or these phrases were idiomatic and common in scribal spheres. These kinds of manuals were probably brought into being in monastic *scriptoria* and scribal workshops of shrines²⁹⁴ in order to have models for producing personalized amulets and recipes for the ones in distress. Among other examples, a personal letter from the Manichaean archive in Kellis (P. Kell. Copt. 35) gives a clue concerning the activity of scribes being able to compose spells.²⁹⁵ Other manuscripts found in the same area, show that scribes preparing amulets believed that magical texts were made more effective by means of using the Greek language,²⁹⁶ so the knowledge of Greek *formulae* was required together with the proficiency in *voces magicae*, Coptic spells and recipes, probably coming from manuals. This expertise made it possible to copy, edit and compose manuscripts, in one word, to continue the scribal tradition of more than two millennia.²⁹⁷ In most of the cases, the performance of rites was the task of ritualists, albeit sometimes, simple pious persons also attempted to execute magical acts.²⁹⁸

Another proof for the transmission and composition of texts is the Michigan magical collection where an amulet was found beside that particular handbook from which it had been reproduced.²⁹⁹ Similarly to our manuscripts, the manuals were written by five distinct hands in the same workshop between the 4th and 7th century. During the composition of these manuscripts, the scribes continuously reedited the spells by adding or removing certain *formulae*.³⁰⁰

In some cases, *voces magicae* of our manuscripts were also problematic. Since analogies have an essential role in magical texts, *historiolae* can appear in every kind of magical text in order to refer to an ancient story, often known from literary works.³⁰¹ In some cases, a story is simply referred to by a single *vox magica* wittingly, but in other cases, the original *historiolae* are not known anymore by scribes. By invoking a name, a whole legend, myth, or religious tradition can be called forth, giving

294 Frankfurter 1998, 258.

295 In P. Kell. Copt. 35, a person named Vales sends an alternative, bilingual spell to a certain Pshai who probably asked for help in a previous letter, now unknown to us. However, from this context, it is not completely certain that it was Vales himself who composed the spell (Mirecki/Gardner/Alcock 1997, 9).

296 Mirecki/Gardner/Alcock 1997, 17.

297 Dieleman 2011, 90.

298 Viaud 1978, 23.

299 Mirecki 1994, 439.

300 Mirecki 1994, 435–437.

301 Meyer/Mirecki 1995, 417.

authority to a spell.³⁰² Therefore, the exact meaning of the simple occurrence of a *vox magica* is frequently ambiguous, as the mythical precedent can be lost by now. Few of the magical names are believed to originate from ancient Egyptian words.³⁰³ Their plurality also makes the interpretation difficult, whereas it is not rare that a *vox magica* is a *hapax legomenon*; consequently, its origin will not necessarily be known (for example, ΜΙΣΤΡΑΝΗ in line 25 of the verso of fragments A, I, K of P. K 205 and a few unknown names from the enumeration of line 8 on the verso of fragment A of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204). To conclude, these facts lead to the polyvalence and obscurity of *vores magicae* which is also the case in manuscripts K 204+205.

Although the purposes remained unknown in the spells and recipes of P. K 204+205, it is clear that a few of the elements of usual ritual texts (namely the invocation of entities, *historiolae*, conjuration, and incitement of the closing *formula*)³⁰⁴ are recognizable. Also, the instructions concerning the method, ingredients, place and time of ritual acts appear on the intact part of our fragments which point to the importance of this grimoire. Usually, not the real effect, but the symbolical features of ingredients are regarded when choosing a given component.³⁰⁵ For instance, this is the reason why copper/bronze is enumerated together with iron in our manuscript. Difficulties during the interpretation of *charakteres* represented in P. K 204+205 are also pointed out in other similar manuscripts because the purpose of magical drawings is often unclear. As I discussed above, several hypotheses are known about their role. Among others, their application as magical seals, their possible invocation,³⁰⁶ – or merely, their pseudo-scientific character emerged as an idea for application.³⁰⁷ Nevertheless, a few texts include instructions for their reproduction on amulets or putting water on them to obtain their magical power,³⁰⁸ while others evidently have a relation to the drawing beside them, which can represent the subject of the text (for example, in London Ms. Or. 6794). The practice of drinking water or other liquids bearing the ritual power of an entity or figure drawn or described in a text, has already existed from at least the New Kingdom on. A significant example for the act of washing off the power of texts and representations and consuming the water which was poured over them, is the use of Horus *cippi* especially against the bite of dangerous animals.³⁰⁹

302 Beltz 1990, 56.

303 Bell 1957, 72.

304 Vycichl 1991, 1502.

305 van der Vliet 2014, 149.

306 Gordon 2014, 272–274; Bohak 2008, 250.

307 Gordon 2012, 168.

308 van der Vliet 2014, 149.

309 Kákósy 1999, 9. Some egyptologists suppose that the thought of obtaining an ability by swallowing water poured on its description in a text, is reflected in the development of the meaning of the word ζ_m “swallow”, since its Coptic reflex is $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ “know” (Sethe 1920, 9; Ritner 2008, 106; Lesko I. 2002, 65–66). However, the relation between the roots ζ_m “swallow” and ζ_{mj} “learn/know” has not

It is also possible that depictions of magical texts functioned as substitute figures, similarly to the ancient Egyptian wax figurines.³¹⁰ If they stood together with texts, magical representations of Coptic manuscripts probably played a complementary role beside the textual instructions; they represented magical elements which could not be described by texts with the required accuracy. Apparently, they stood for specific ritual actions which could not have been fulfilled with the help of texts, therefore these representations were considered to be indispensable within rites.

The lack of archaeological context and information about the acquisition of P. K 204+205 prevents us from knowing the provenance of the manuscripts, but based on the afore-mentioned details and the facts known about parallel collections, the conditions of its composition can be hypothesized, increasing our knowledge about the field of Coptic magical collections.

been proved by textual evidence yet. An exhaustive representation about the use of water in ancient Egyptian ritual practice: Janák/Megahed/Vymazalová 2011, 28–33.

310 Kropp III. 1930, 114–115; Hansen 2002, 433. According to an interesting Greek example, P. Suppl. Mag. II 97, a figurative drawing serves as an illustration for the preparation of a wax figurine (Dijkstra 2015, 287).

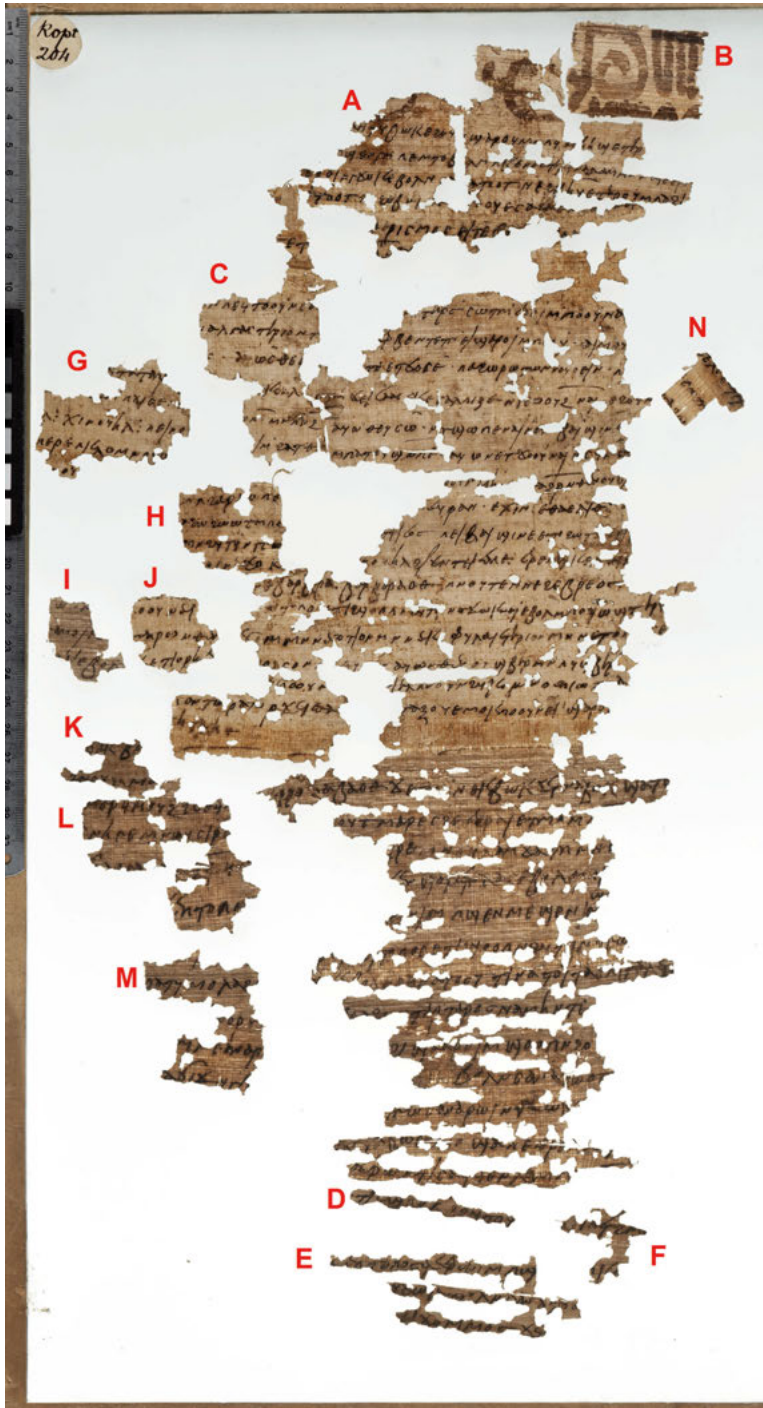


Fig. 1: The “recto” of P. K 204. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.

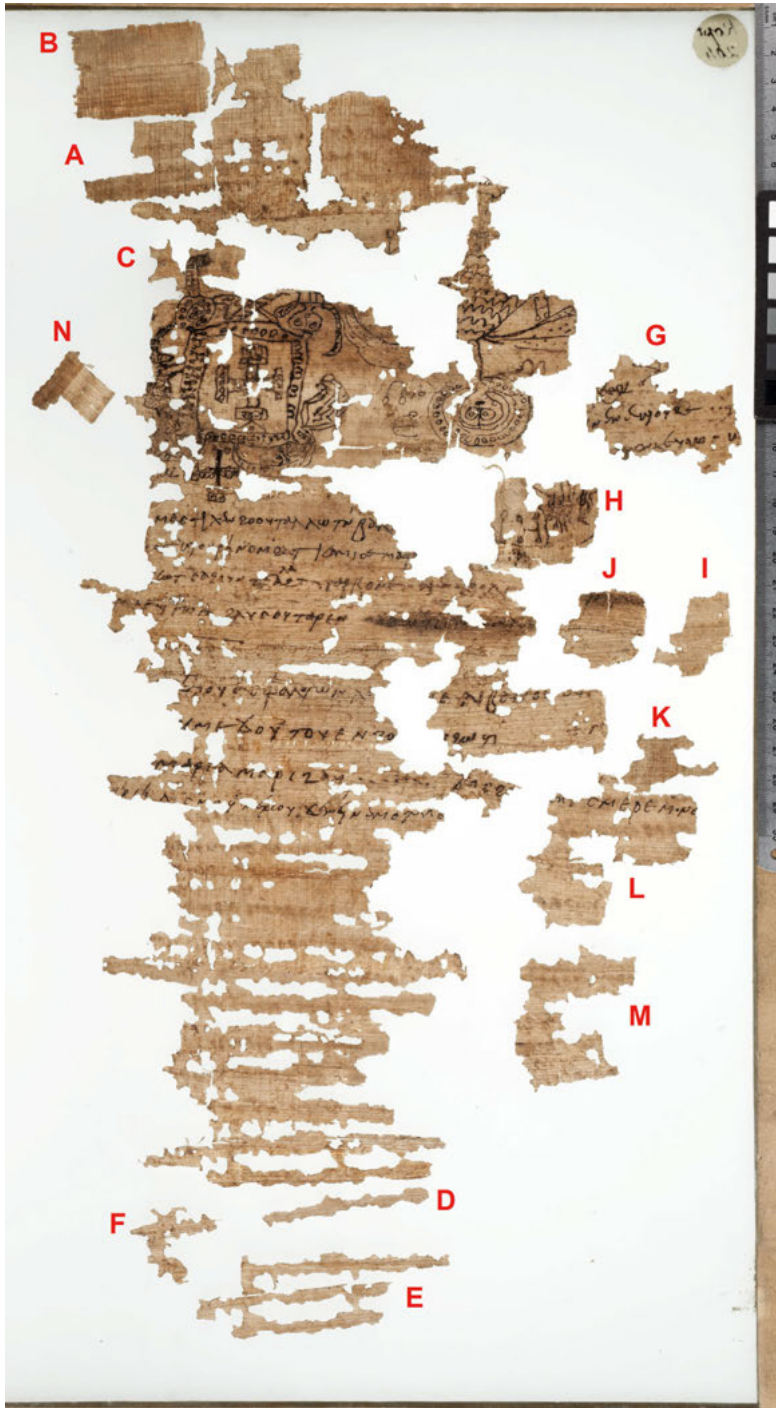


Fig. 2: The “verso” of P. K 204. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.



Fig. 3: The “recto” of P. K 205. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.



Fig. 4: The “verso” of P. K 205. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.

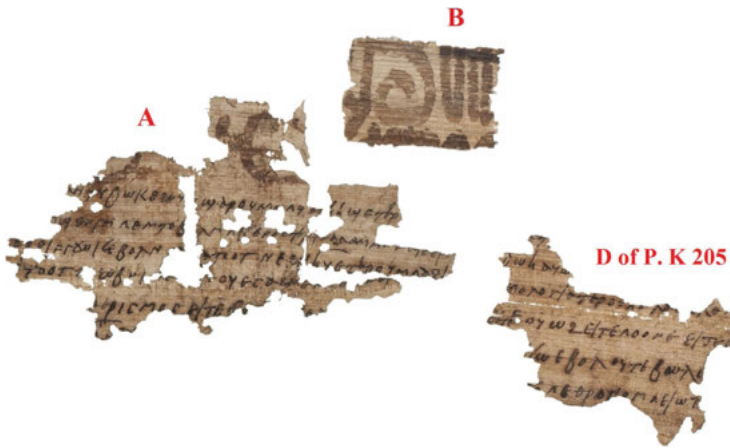


Fig. 5: The recto of fragments A and B of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.

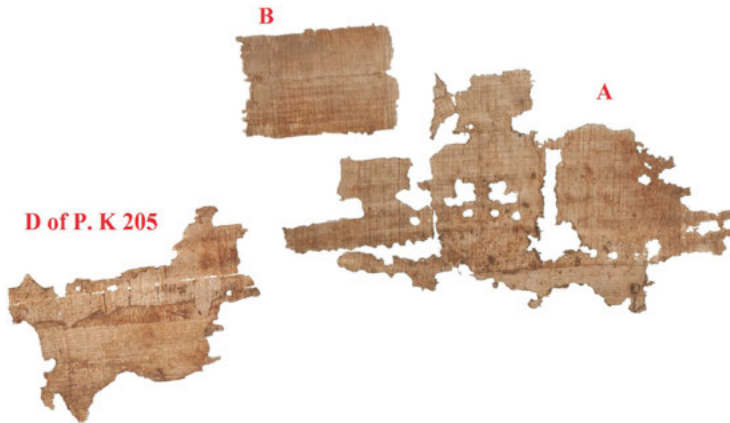


Fig. 6: The verso of fragments A and B of P. K 204 and fragment D of P. K 205. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.



Fig. 7: Fragment H of P. K 204. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.



Fig. 8: Fragments B and C of P. K 205. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.

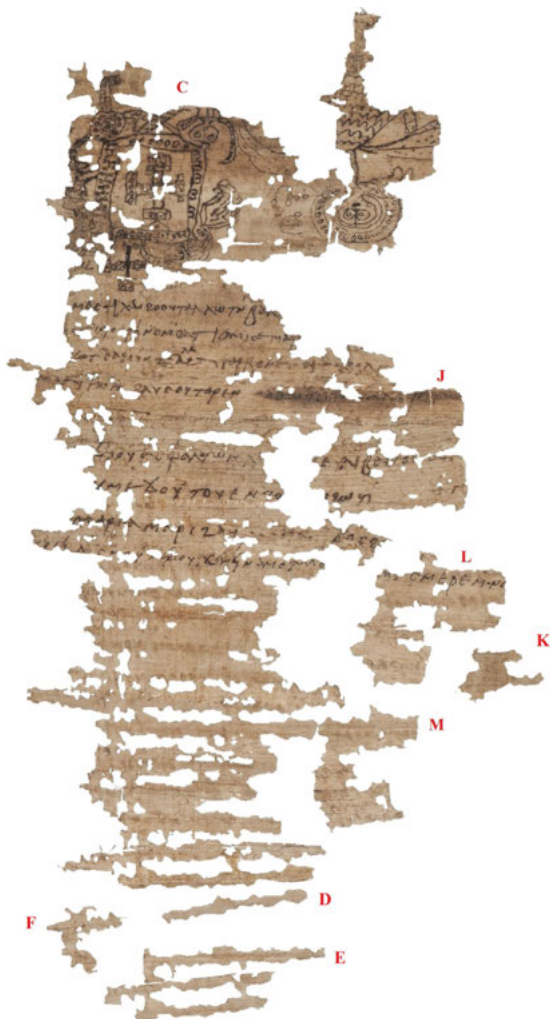


Fig. 9: The recto of fragments C, D, E, F, J, K, L and M of P. K 204. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.



Fig. 10: Fragment I of P. K 204. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.

Fig. 11: Fragment N of P. K 204. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.

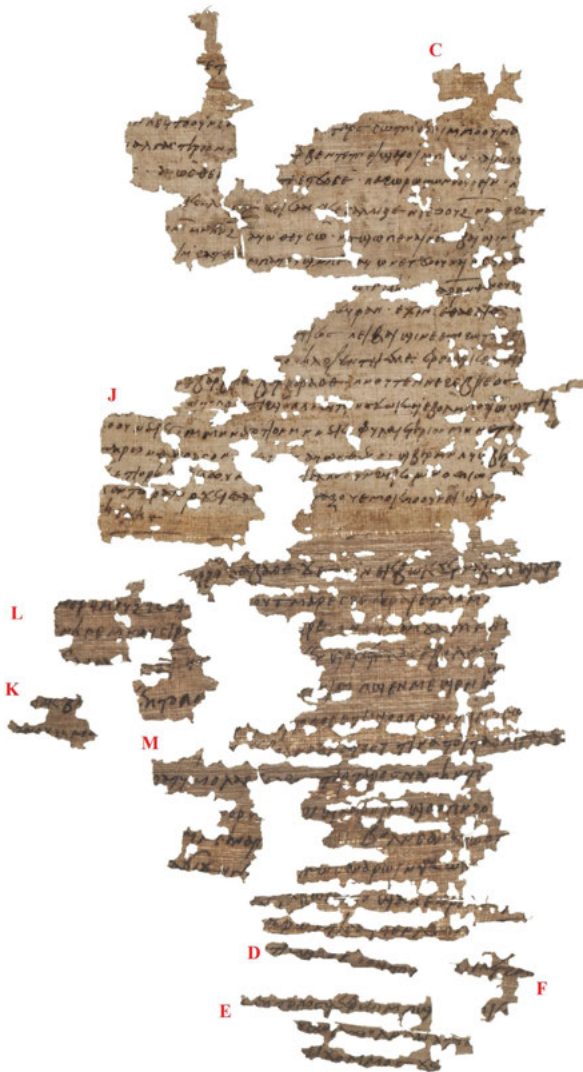


Fig. 12: The verso of fragments C, D, E, F, J, K, L and M of P. K 204. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.



Fig. 13: The recto of fragments A, H, I, J, K, L, M, N and O of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.



Fig. 14: Fragment E of P. K 205. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.

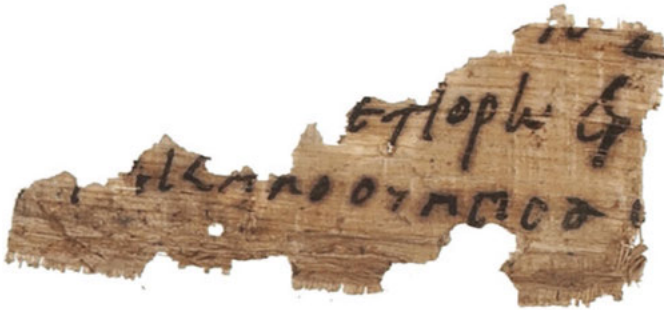


Fig. 15: Fragment G of P. K 205. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.



Fig. 16: The verso of fragments A, H, I, J, K, L, M, N and O of P. K 205 and fragment G of P. K 204. Photo et collection BNU Strasbourg.

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Sarah Kiyanrad

„Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf“

Ein schrifttragendes Amulett aus dem Jemen (?)

1 Einleitung

Bei dem hier beschriebenen Amulett¹ handelt es sich um ein im Jahre 2014 erworbenes bemerkenswertes Artefakt aus dem Kunsthandel, das sich in Privatbesitz befindet;² nur selten bergen erhaltene Amulethüllen noch ihren Inhalt, da dieser – zumeist aus Papier bestehende schrifttragende Amulette – nach Gebrauch regelmäßig zerstört wurde. Von der Verkäuferin wurde das Artefakt als jemenitisch-jüdisches Amulett beschrieben, da sie es angeblich von einer jüdischen, bis Mitte des 20. Jh. im Jemen lebenden (und später emigrierten) Familie erworben hat. Am Objekt selbst kann diese Attribution nicht nachgewiesen werden, wenngleich sie zumindest aus geographischer Hinsicht im Bereich des Möglichen bleibt.³ Der genaue Herstellungsort ist ebenso wie der zeitliche Kontext unklar, wobei die paläographische Evidenz nahelegt, dass das Amulett wohl frühestens im 19. Jh. geschrieben wurde. Natürlich ist nicht auszuschließen, dass Hülle und Streifen ursprünglich gar nicht zusammengehörten, sondern erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt kombiniert wurden.

Dieser Beitrag ist im Heidelberger Sonderforschungsbereich 933 „Materiale Textkulturen. Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen in non-typographischen Gesellschaften“ entstanden. Der SFB 933 wird durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft finanziert.

1 Obwohl der Begriff Magie in der Forschung zunehmend in Frage gestellt wird (s. Einleitung in diesem Band), werden Amulette in der Islamwissenschaft noch immer regelmäßig im Kontext von Magie behandelt. Für einige grundlegende Bemerkungen zu Magie im Allgemeinen und Amuletten im Besonderen im islamischen Kontext, siehe Douffé 1909, bes. Kap. IV; Kan‘ān 1914; Fahd 1966; Kriss/Kriss-Heinrich 1962; Maddison/Savage-Smith 1997; Savage-Smith 2004; jüngst kritisch: Kiyanrad 2017, 172-177; Nünlist 2018, 94-95.

2 Eigentümer des Amuletts sind Frau Prof. Dr. Andrea Jördens und Herr Dr. Gereon Becht-Jördens. Beiden danke ich vielmals dafür, mir die Untersuchung, Edition und Publikation des Artefakts gestattet und ermöglicht zu haben. Dies war nur mit der professionellen Hilfe der Restauratorinnen Yvonne Stoldt (Kurfürstliches Museum Heidelberg) und Elke Fuchs (Institut für Papyrologie, Universität Heidelberg) sowie einer großzügigen finanziellen Unterstützung durch den SFB 933 möglich, denen ebenfalls herzlich gedankt sei. Das Artefakt wurde im Rahmen der Ausstellung *LEBEN-DINGE-TEXTE* (02.02.–07.03.2015) des Sonderforschungsbereichs 933 ‚Materiale Textkulturen‘ im Universitätsmuseum Heidelberg gezeigt und im Ausstellungskatalog kurz beschrieben (Kiyanrad 2015).

3 Zu jemenitischen Amuletten und jemenitischer Magie sei speziell auf einen von Anne Regourd herausgegebenen Band hingewiesen; s. Regourd 1996.

Auf der zylinderförmigen Amulethülle sitzen oben zwei röhrenförmige Ösen auf, die es erlauben, sie an einer Kette um den Hals – oder, ob der Lage der Ösen weniger wahrscheinlich, auch um den Arm – zu tragen. Das rechte Ende der Hülle ist abnehmbar und besitzt einen langen, im Innenraum des Hüllenkörpers verschwindenden Schaft, sodass sie mit den Amulettstreifen befüllt werden kann. In der Amulethülle befanden sich drei aufgerollte Amulettstreifen, zwei davon in Arabisch beschrieben. Dabei war ein Streifen (Nr. 1) von beiden Seiten zur Mitte hin aufgerollt, sodass zwei Hohlräume entstanden, in denen die anderen beiden Amulettstreifen (Nr. 2 und 3) steckten. Nachdem die Amulettstreifen von einer Restauratorin entnommen und geöffnet wurden, stellte sich heraus, dass es sich bei Streifen Nr. 3 um eine „Fälschung“, d. h. eine unbeschriebene Rolle handelt, die wohl modern als Ersatz für eine ehemals vorhandene Rolle hinzugefügt wurde. Streifen Nr. 3 war in gerollter Form über mehrere Zentimeter fest verklebt; auf seiner Außenseite befand sich eine Kombination unverbundener arabischer Buchstaben (ادمى ع لا؟ى), die mit inzwischen verblasster schwarzer Tinte geschrieben war. Nach Lösung der Klebung durch die Restauratorin entpuppte die Rolle sich als im Inneren unbeschriebenes, blau liniertes Stück Papier jüngeren Datums. Dass der Urheber der dritten Rolle es als notwendig empfand, eine solche Rolle hinzuzufügen, muss der Rollung von Streifen Nr. 1 geschuldet sein – die zwei Hohlräume deuten in Kombination mit dem vorhandenen Streifen Nr. 2 auf das ehemalige Vorhandensein von insgesamt drei Rollen hin. Es lässt sich nur mutmaßen, ob die echte dritte Rolle, so sie existierte, verloren ging, zerstört wurde oder etwa separat verkauft wurde.

Im Folgenden sollen die Hülle sowie die beiden „echten“ Amulettstreifen Nr. 1 und 2 untersucht werden.

2 Form, Maße und Material

Beide Amulettstreifen (Abb. 2) sind, wie typisch, jeweils von rechteckiger Form.⁴ Streifen Nr. 1 ist 7,4 cm breit und 32,5 cm lang; Streifen Nr. 2 ist 7,3 cm breit und 23,6 cm lang. Sie bestehen aus Hadernpapier, welches hauptsächlich mit schwarzer, stellenweise auch roter Tinte beschrieben wurde.

Streifen Nr. 1 weist oben rechts einen vertikalen Riss auf; es fehlt ein kleines, dreieckiges Stück Papier, sodass in § 1 der erste Buchstabe mitherausgerissen wurde. Am unteren Ende des Amuletts ist ein ungefähr horizontal verlaufender Abriss zu bemer-

⁴ Es verfügen wohl die meisten beschrifteten Papieramulette aus islamischer Zeit über ein rechteckiges Format, wie es sich z. B. gut an den bei Schaefer 2006 abgebildeten und untersuchten Amuletten aufzeigen lässt; immerhin existieren auch einige wenige Schriftamulette anderer Form, wie das runde, bei Schaefer auch auf dem Cover abgebildete Amulett aus dem *Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Inv.no. 1978.546.37) zeigt.

ken. Umfangreicher sind die Beschädigungen an Streifen Nr. 2: Hier ist am rechten Rand von § 9 bis § 14 ein Stück abgerissen, sodass die ersten zwei bis drei Buchstaben der jeweiligen Zeilen fehlen; weiterhin ist auch an diesem Streifen unten ein Abriss zu konstatieren. Damit besitzt keiner der beiden Streifen seine ursprüngliche Länge, und es fehlt am unteren Ende jeweils ein Teil vom Text.

An den Klebspuren auf der Rückseite von Amulettstreifen Nr. 2 zeigt sich deutlich, dass Amulettstreifen Nr. 1 und 2 ehemals durch Klebstoff miteinander verbunden waren, also scheinbar zusammengehören (Abb. 1). Der Text fügt sich an der Klebestelle allerdings nicht unmittelbar aneinander, sodass nicht auszuschließen ist, dass die Klebung späteren Datums ist als die Redaktion der Texte. Gleichermäßen lässt sich fragen, ob tatsächlich ein ehemals vorhandener dritter Streifen das verbindende Mittelstück zwischen den beiden hier edierten Streifen bildete oder allein der Abriss am Ende von Streifen Nr. 1 Grund dafür ist, dass die Streifen sich nicht direkt aneinanderfügen. Inhaltlich wie formal ist jedenfalls deutlich, dass beide hier behandelten Streifen Teil eines zusammengehörigen Amuletts waren. Dass Streifen Nr. 1 den Anfang bildete, lässt sich vor allem an der einleitenden *Basmala* und der folgenden Rahmenformel festmachen.

Die 8,58 cm breite, 3,29 cm hohe und 2,46 cm tiefe, zylinderförmige Amulethülle scheint aus Silber(blech) gearbeitet zu sein (Abb. 3).⁵ Sie besitzt zwei kuppelförmige Enden, welche an ihren Spitzen Granulation aufweisen. Durch aufgelötete „Rippen“ sind die Enden segmentiert; zwischen den Rippen sind je drei Granulationsperlen aufgelötet. Unmittelbar an die Kuppelenden schließt je ein umlaufendes Band aufgelöteter Schlangelinien an, das sich nach einer parallel verlaufenden Reihe von Granulationsperlen wiederholt. Darauf folgt abermals ein umlaufendes Band Schlangelinien. Der Mittelteil der Hülle ist mit Granulationsperlen und zwei kurzen, horizontal verlaufenden Schlangelinien verziert.

3 Sprachliche und stilistische Besonderheiten

Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach beherrschte der Schreiber bzw. Kopist des Amuletts die arabische Schriftsprache nicht sicher. Anders lassen sich die zahlreichen Fehler, die eine sinnvolle Edition des arabischen Texts stark erschweren (bzw. nahezu unmöglich machen), nicht erklären.⁶ Spürbar wird dies ganz besonders bei der schlechten Aus-

⁵ Silber und Silberblech wurden im Laufe der islamischen Geschichte äußerst häufig für Amulethüllen eingesetzt; vgl. beispielsweise die abgebildeten Exemplare bei: Fodor 2009, 94 (Nr. 42), 114–115 (Nr. 44), 122 (Nr. 48), 123 (Nr. 49), et passim; s. a. Douité 1909, 147–148, 149 (dort begründet damit, dass man dem Metall zusprach, das Geschriebene effektiver zu schützen).

⁶ Tatsächlich ist die untenstehende Edition aus diesem Grund nicht identisch mit dem Amuletttext – die vom Kopisten „erfundenen“ Buchstaben lassen sich mit den herkömmlichen Zeichen nicht wie-

führung der Buchstaben wie auch bei der Setzung diakritischer Zeichen: Letztere sind an zahlreichen Stellen überhaupt nicht, in nicht existenter Form oder aber falsch im Sinne der Umwandlung von bestimmten Buchstaben zu anderen Buchstaben gesetzt – *fā* wird beispielsweise zu *qāf*, *ǧīm* zu *ḥā*, *ʿain* zu *ǧain* oder andersherum etc. Auch sind manche zu verbindenden Buchstaben unverbunden geschrieben (vgl. Streifen 1, § 5). Durchgehend sind auch gewisse Schwierigkeiten in der korrekten Verwendung des *alif* zu beobachten. So fallen zahlreiche Anfangs- und End-*alifs*, mancherorts aber auch *alifs* in der Wortmitte heraus; andererseits treten *alifs* auf, wo sie nicht hingehören (vgl. Streifen 1, § 6). Tatsächlich ist die Edition der beiden Amulettstreifen hauptsächlich dadurch möglich, dass das Amulett aus spezifischen, sich stets wiederholenden Koranversen besteht – d. h. auch, dass Übersetzung und Edition zumeist den intendierten Text beinhalten, nicht den falsch kopierten.

Es ist folglich davon auszugehen, dass der Schreiber, scheinbar in größerer Eile oder zumindest ohne die gebotene Sorgfalt, von einer Amulettvorlage Gebrauch machte.⁷ Möglicherweise war bereits die Vorlage schon nicht fehlerfrei bzw. so geschrieben, dass der Kopist z. B. Ende und Anfang unterschiedlicher Wörter nicht immer erkennen konnte – jedoch lässt sich nicht ausschließen, dass die auftretenden Fehler allein dem Kopisten anzulasten sind. Dass der Schreiber von einer Vorlage Gebrauch machte, zeigt sich u. a. bei Streifen 1, § 7, wo wie in der vorherigen Zeile abermals *mā*, „Wasser“, sowie eine nicht sinnvolle Buchstabenfolge steht, wobei in dem zugrundeliegenden Koranvers *rizq^{an}*, „Unterhalt“, folgen sollte. Vielleicht ist der Schreiber in der Zeile verrutscht? Hinzu kommen einige Elisionen, die sich möglicherweise ebenfalls als Abschreibfehler erklären lassen (vgl. z. B. Streifen 1, § 11 und § 13). Auffällig sind zudem Buchstabenvertauschungen, die in dieselbe Richtung deuten: So wird *tagʿalū* zu *tagǧalū* (Streifen 1, § 7 – beim *tā* fehlen zudem die diakritischen Zeichen) oder *taʿlamūn* zu *taʿlammū* (Streifen 1, § 8).

Anzunehmen ist jedoch, dass der Schreiber einige Übung im Kopieren von arabischen Texten hatte – seine Schrift wirkt durchgehend flüssig und, wie leicht zu erkennen ist, wurde der Text recht zügig verfasst.

Neben Brillenbuchstaben (vgl. Streifen Nr. 1, § 29), einem in Amuletten nahezu omnipräsentem Phänomen, sind auch weitere *charakteres* und unlesbare Wörter zu

dergeben. Dennoch wurde versucht, in der arabischen Edition so nahe wie möglich an den Text heranzukommen. Während im islamischen „Mittelalter“ gedruckte Amulette (s. Schaefer 2006) ausgesprochen häufig waren, scheint sich später eine Präferenz für handgeschriebene Amulette durchgesetzt zu haben; vgl. Douitt 1909, 148.

⁷ Solche Vorlagen existierten in Form ganzer Manuale – berühmt ist *Šams al-maʿārif al-kubrā* des ägyptischen Gelehrten al-Būnī (gest. 1225) – und konnten dann schlicht kopiert und ggf. personalisiert werden. Zu al-Būnīs Ausführungen zum Thema „Magie“, s. Pielow 1995. Mancherorts wurden sogar Amulettformulare hergestellt, die dann später – selbst ohne Personalisierung – als Amulette getragen wurden; vgl. zur Unterscheidung zwischen angewandten Texten und Vorlagen: Schäfer/Shaked 1994, I, 4.

konstatieren.⁸ Während man bei einzelnen auftretenden arabischen Buchstaben (vgl. Streifen Nr. 1, §§ 30–31, 40–42) spekulieren kann, ob sie auf die ihnen zugeordneten Gottesnamen referieren, fällt bei beiden Amulettstreifen vor allem die wiederholte Verwendung der Buchstabenfolge *š-t-ṭ* ins Auge. Zwar existiert ein arabisches Nomen in der Bedeutung „Übermaß“, „übermäßige Ferne (von Gott)“, und auch ein entsprechendes Verb, das die Bedeutung „abweichen“ oder „abschweifen“ (hier im Sinne von: weichen der Leiden?)⁹ besitzen kann; gleichermaßen wäre möglich, dass die Konsonantenfolge eine Art stimmhaftes Mantra repräsentiert – Amuletttexte wurden bei bzw. nach ihrer Anfertigung normalerweise in Anwesenheit des Klienten bzw. der Klientin rezitiert.

4 Struktur und Inhalt

Der Amuletttext weist eine relativ deutliche Struktur auf: Streifen Nr. 1 beginnt mit einer Rahmenformel (§§ 1–3) und geht dann über in einen ersten Abschnitt (§§ 4–14), in welchem aufeinanderfolgend mehrere Koranverse zitiert werden (Sure II, 22; LXVIII, 51–52; II, 255). Der Abschnitt endet mit einem dekorativen horizontalen Streifen, in dem drei Mal *Allāh* erwähnt und angerufen wird (§§ 15). Im zweiten Abschnitt des ersten Streifens (§§ 16–32) wechseln sich mehrmals zwei Koranstellen ab (Sure XLVI, 12 und LVII, 17). Der Abschnitt endet (§§ 29–31) mit Brillenbuchstaben und einzelnen, wiederholten arabischen Buchstaben. Abermals trennt ihn vom nächsten Abschnitt ein horizontaler Streifen, in dem drei Mal *Allāh* angerufen wird (§ 32). Der folgende Abschnitt beginnt erneut mit Sure XLIV, 12 (§ 33), um dann in eine insgesamt zwölf Mal wiederholte Basmala überzugehen (§§ 34–39). Es folgen einzelne arabische Buchstaben (§ 40), die ab § 41 mit der Buchstabenfolge *š-t-ṭ* kombiniert werden. In §§ 43–53 steht allein *š-t-ṭ* – fünf Mal in jeder Zeile. Mit § 54 und der abermaligen Wiederholung von Sure LVII, 17 endet der Abschnitt. Unter der folgenden Rahmenschräffur deutet sich ein weiterer Abschnitt an, der nicht mehr erhalten ist, aber eine Wiederholung von Teilen der Rahmenformel (§§ 2–3) zu beinhalten scheint.

Streifen Nr. 2 enthält in den §§ 1–21 eine dem zweiten Abschnitt des ersten Streifens ähnelnde Folge der Suren XLIV, 12 und LVII, 17. In §§ 22–23 findet sich eine je siebenmalige Wiederholung von *š-t-ṭ*. In Zeile 24 endet der erste Abschnitt mit Sure LVII, 17. Der zweite Abschnitt wird, analog dem ersten Streifen, formal und inhaltlich durch die dreimalige Anrufung *Allāhs* getrennt (§ 25). In §§ 26–37 wechseln sich wieder die Suren XLIV, 12 und LVII, 17 ab. Am Ende von § 39 beginnt eine Reihe von *sallam*, die sich in der folgenden Zeile fortsetzt. In §§ 41–42 sind einzelne arabische Buchstaben

⁸ Dazu ausführlich Winkler 1930.

⁹ Für diesen Vorschlag bedanke ich mich bei Dr. Rebecca Sauer.

wiederholt erkennbar. Die Entzifferung der folgenden Zeilen ist kaum möglich. Offensichtlich wurde jedoch in § 46, umgeben von zwei horizontalen Linien, abermals drei Mal Gott angerufen. In § 47 beginnt ein neuer Abschnitt, der nicht erhalten ist.

Die zitierten Koranverse lauten in korrekter Form (Übersetzung nach Rudi Paret):

Sure II, 22:

الَّذِي جَعَلَ لَكُمُ الْأَرْضَ فِرَاشًا وَالسَّمَاءَ بِنَاءً وَأَنْزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مَاءً فَأَخْرَجَ بِهِ مِنَ الثَّمَرَاتِ رِزْقًا لَكُمْ فَلَا تَجْعَلُوا لِلَّهِ أَنْدَادًا وَأَنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ

(Dienet ihm) der euch die Erde zu einem Teppich und den Himmel zu einem Bau gemacht hat, und der vom Himmel Wasser herabkommen ließ und dadurch, euch zum Unterhalt, Früchte hervorbrachte. Darum behauptet nicht, daß Gott (andere Götter) seinesgleichen (neben sich) habe, wo ihr doch wißt (daß er allein alles geschaffen hat).

Sure II, 255 (Thronvers):¹⁰

اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَّةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَئُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ

Gott (ist einer allein). Es gibt keinen Gott außer ihm. (Er ist) der Lebendige und Beständige. Ihn überkommt weder Ermüdung noch Schlaf. Ihm gehört (alles) was im Himmel und auf der Erde ist. Wer (von den himmlischen Wesen) könnte außer mit seiner Erlaubnis (am jüngsten Tag) bei ihm Fürsprache einlegen? [Er weiß, was vor und was hinter ihnen liegt. Sie aber wissen nichts davon außer was er will. Sein Thron reicht weit über Himmel und Erde. Und es fällt ihm nicht schwer, sie (vor Schaden) zu bewahren. Er ist der Erhabene und Gewaltige.]

Sure XLIV, 12:

رَبَّنَا اكْشِفْ عَنَّا الْعَذَابَ إِنَّا مُؤْمِنُونَ

(Die Ungläubigen sagen:) Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen (dann) gläubig sein.

Sure LVII, 17:

اعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ يُحْيِي الْأَرْضَ بَعْدَ مَوْتِهَا قَدْ بَيَّنَّا لَكُمُ الْآيَاتِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ

Ihr müßt wissen, daß Gott die Erde (wieder) belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist. Wir haben euch die Verse (Zeichen) klargemacht. Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein.

Sure LXVIII, 51–52:

وَأَنْ يَكْفُرُوا الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا يُبْرَأُونَكَ بِأَبْصَارِهِمْ لَمَّا سَمِعُوا الذِّكْرَ وَيَقُولُونَ إِنَّهُ لَمَجْنُونٌ / وَمَا هُوَ إِلَّا ذِكْرٌ لِلْعَالَمِينَ

¹⁰ Nur der Anfang des Verses wird zitiert.

Diejenigen, die ungläubig sind, würden dich, wenn sie die Mahnung (d. h. den Koran) hören, mit ihren (bösen) Blicken beinahe zum Straucheln bringen. Und sie sagen: Er (d. h. Mohammed) ist (ja) besessen. (Nein) es ist eine Mahnung für die Menschen in aller Welt.

Durch den fast ausschließlich koranischen Text verortet sich das Amulett deutlich im islamischen Kontext und wird, abgesehen von wenigen nichtkoranischen Elementen, selbst den in den Hadithen formulierten Ansprüchen an islamische Amulette genügen; es wirkt also allein durch seinen Text, das Wort Gottes.¹¹

Zentral für die Bedeutung des Amuletts scheint dabei Sure XLIV, 12 zu sein, in welcher der Gläubige sich wünscht, Gott möge ihn von seinen Leiden (‘*adāb*’) befreien. Sollte das Amulett seinen Träger also etwa von einer Krankheit heilen? Gleichmaßen mag mit Sure LXVIII, 51–52 ein Hinweis auf Furcht vor dem Bösen Blick (hier: *absār*, Blicke) gegeben sein.¹² Diese Verse, bzw. die Sure soll zu den am frühesten offenbarten gehören und ist auch auf anderen Amuletten belegt.¹³ Ob der ‚Böse Blick‘ als Grund für eine mögliche Krankheit betrachtet wurde, lässt sich anhand der textimmanenten Evidenz jedoch nicht abschließend klären. In den anderen Versen wird, wie auf Amuletten üblich, Gottes Allmacht dargestellt und zum rechten Glauben aufgerufen. Hier sticht vor allem die Verwendung des Thronverses heraus, bei dem aber gerade der namensgebende Abschnitt nicht zitiert wird.¹⁴

5 Dekor

Der Text beider Streifen ist durchgängig von einer schraffierten Doppellinie umrahmt, wobei die Linien selbst schwarz, die Schraffur schwarz-rot gehalten ist. Gleichmaßen verläuft in Streifen Nr. 1 an drei Stellen eine horizontale Doppellinie mit Schraffur, welche den Textkörper in drei ungefähr gleich große Teile teilt (§§ 15, 32 und zwischen § 54 und 55). Identisches ist bei Streifen Nr. 2 zu beobachten, der allerdings ob der Tatsache, dass er nicht vollständig erhalten ist, nur noch eine horizontale Trennung aufweist (§ 25). Solche Umrahmungen können durchaus als Schutz, gar als effektives Gefängnis für den Text betrachtet werden, um dessen Wirkmacht zu

¹¹ Siehe dazu Mommersteeg 1990, 65–68 (auch wenn dem Autor nicht in allen Punkten gefolgt werden kann).

¹² Vgl. zum Bösen Blick allgemein: Seligmann 1922; speziell im Jemen: Lambert 1995. Besonders gefährdet sind Frauen und Säuglinge (ebenda, 94–95).

¹³ So auf einem Amulett im *British Museum* aus dem 18. Jh., das überdies, wie das hier behandelte, auch den Thronvers trägt; Blair 2001, 94.

¹⁴ Der Thronvers scheint auf Amuletten zahlreichen Anliegen gedient zu haben und ist auch schon auf sehr frühen Exemplaren belegt; vgl. Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 420–421 (Nr. 146), 423 (Nr. 148), 423–424 (Nr. 149). Zur Bedeutung des Verses, s. Doutté 1909, 212–214.

erhalten;¹⁵ gerade im Kontext jüdischer Amulette sind Umrahmungen von Gottesnamen bekannt, die hier ihr Äquivalent in der besonderen Form der Einrahmung der Anrufung Gottes finden.

Der Text ist einheitlich mit schwarzer Tinte verfasst; eine Ausnahme bildet auf beiden Streifen der Text in den horizontalen Trennlinien, namentlich je die Anrufung Gottes (Streifen 1, §§ 15 und 32; Streifen 2, § 25). Schließlich sind im Text an einigen wenigen Stellen Zeichen, insbesondere Kreise zu bemerken (u. a. Streifen Nr. 1, §§ 10, 11, 31). Sie erinnern an die Kreise, welche Koranverse trennen und auch oft auf arabischen Amuletten zu beobachten sind – jedoch sind sie bei diesem Amulett nicht systematisch gesetzt.

Auf die Schlangenlinien auf der Amulethülle wurde bereits verwiesen; ob sie als rein dekorative Elemente zu betrachten sind oder man ihnen tatsächlich eine ursprüngliche – vielleicht zur Zeit der Amulett Herstellung längst vergessene – Verbindung zu realen Schlangen unterstellen darf, darüber mag hier nicht geurteilt werden. Jedoch ist die Verbindung zwischen dem Einsatz von religiös legitimierten Amuletten, die sich wie das hier untersuchte aus Koranversen zusammensetzen, und der Furcht vor Schlangenbissen und Skorpionsstichen in den Hadithen gut belegt. Schlangen und Skorpione wiederum lassen sich unmittelbar mit der Angst vor dem ‚Bösen Blick‘ in Verbindung bringen,¹⁶ sodass in diesem Sinne ein unmittelbarer Zusammenhang zwischen Text und Hüllendekor gegeben wäre. Freilich gilt zu beachten, dass wie erwähnt nicht sicher ist, dass Amulett und Hülle originär zusammengehörten.

Mit den bereits erwähnten Brillenbuchstaben ist zudem ein ikonographisches Element vorhanden, das auf das Phänomen des Kulturtransfers im Amulettwesen hindeutet.¹⁷ Dass die in unterschiedlichen Regionen und Religionen zum Einsatz kommenden alten Zeichen im islamischen Kontext eine Umdeutung erfuhren, ist klar; dass sie aber bestehen blieben, während islamische Schriftamulette, zumindest jene auf Papier und Tierhaut, ansonsten recht frei von den ikonographischen Traditionen früherer Zeiten sind, zeigt deutlich auf, welche Effektivität ihnen zugesprochen wurde.

¹⁵ Vgl. Gyselen 1995, 76.

¹⁶ Vgl. Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 443–447 (Nr. 162–166). Dort macht Grohmann auf die Verbindung zwischen Skorpion und Bösem Blick aufmerksam.

¹⁷ „The roots of using magical words and symbols clearly derived from the pre-Islamic era with obvious survivals into Islam through a number of different routes“ (Porter 2010, 131).

6 Edition und Übersetzung

6.1 Amulettstreifen Nr. 1

- 1 [ب]سم الله الرحمن الرحيم و الله
- 2 و صلي الله علي سيدنا محمد و اعل [=على آله؟]
- 3 و صحبه و سلم قاير(؟) العين (؟) ت..
- 4 و تقيق(؟) الذي جعلكم الارض فر
- 5 شا و السماء بـ ناء و انزل من
- 6 السماء ماء فاح(ر؟) اح يه من لى(؟)
- 7 التمرت ماء ورو لكم فلا بعجلو
- 8 الله اندادا و اتم تغلمنو وان يكادا
- 9 الذين كفنروا لنرفون بك بابصار
- 10 هم لما سمعو الذكر ونقول ون <Kreis>
- 11 لمخنو و ما هو لا دكر للعلمين <Kreis>
- 12 و لهكم اله وحد لا اله الا هو الرحمن
- 13 الرحيم الله الا له في السماوت و الا
- 14 من دا الذي يشفغ عنده الا به ا لا
- 15 يا الله يا الله يا له
- 16 ربنا كسق عنا العذاب المومن ربنا ا
- 17 كسف عنا العذاب المومين ربنا عنا العذاب
- 18 المومن ربنا كسف ا العذاب المومين
- 19 ربنا كسف عنا العذاب المومنين ربنا كسف
- 20 عنا العذاب مومنين عنا العذاب المومنين
- 21 علمو ان يحي الارض بعد موبها فد
- 22 بينه لكم اية تعهولو علمو ان الله
- 23 يني الارض نع د موبها فد نيا لكم
- 24 ربنا كسى عنا العذاب الموامين ربنا كسف
- 25 عنا العذاب امومين علموا ا الله يحي الا

54 علمو ان الله يحي الارض يعدتها [...]

Rahmenschraffung

55 و صلي اله [...] علي سيدنا محمد و اعل

56 و صحبه و سلم [...]

6.2 Amulettstreifen Nr. 2

- 1 علمو ان الله يحي الارض بعد هونها قد
- 2 يبي ا به ربنا اكسف عرا العذاب المومنين
- 3 ربنا عنا العذاب الميرمين ربنا عنا العواب امومنين
- 4 ربنا اكسف عنا العذاب المومنين رنيك اسف عنا ا
- 5 العذاب المومنين ربنا النسك ال ال اكشيو ي
- 6 [المومنين ال كشف عنا العذاب المومنين
- 7 [علم] و ان الله يحي الارض بعد مونها قد بينا
- 8 [لَكُمْ الْآيَاتِ] لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَّقُونَ ربنا كسف عبا العذاب ا
- 9 [ال] مومن علمو ان الله يحي الارض يغدا ا
- 10 [...] لا ب علمو الي ان الكم اثيو علمو ان الله ان ا
- 11 [...] الا ي ربنا كشف عنا العذاب المومنين ربنا ت
- 12 [...] اشف عنا العرب ان هند ربنا اكشف عنا العراب
- 13 [...] ي ب ربنا اكشف عنا الواب علمون الله ربنا ي
- 14 [...] بوا ان اله بند الارض انب ان يب الادرب بل
- 15 ربنا كشف عنا العراب المومنين عنا السق لا.
- 16 ربنا كسف عنا البواب ل الرت ر فتو اعان العزال ا.
- 17 المومنين ربنا كسف عنا العراب المومنين علمو ان الله
- 18 يحي الارض يعد موتها فدا ان منو ان لل
- 19 علمو ان الله يحي الارض بعد موتها قد اب
- 20 سل لكم ابنت لعلكم تععلون اكسف عنا العر
- 21 اب المومنين ربنا مسف عنا الواب المومنين اااا
- 22 شطط شطط شطط شطط شطط شطط شطط

- شطط شطط شطط شطط شطط شطط شطط شطط 23
- علمو ان اله بحي ارارض بعد بموها ند 24
- يا لله يا لله يا لله 25
- ربنا كشف عنا العاذاب ب مومون اى موا.. 26
- ربنا كشف فا العراب موا موز ربا .. اى الا 27
- رمذ ارارنا العذبا ان العذت بيك منر الات 28
- و ربا كشف عنا العراب النومين العرب ان ابر 29
- علمو ان حي الاررض يعد موتها و ان ا 30
- يتا لكم ابرا جز المو كشف عنا النو غالو 31
- علمو ان الله ا حى الارص بعد موتها ب 32
- د اكسق عنا الوار ر ب المومين ربا ا اكشف 33
- عذاب المومين ربنا اى عنا الو لا اى ا بن ب ار 34
- [nicht sinnvoll lesbar] 35
- [...] ربا كشف عنا العراب ال منون 36
- ربا اشقد عالم اب المومين داى الا الا ا بيا ا 37
- لا دهد ا لاهم اى يا كريم يا كريم ان 38
- [...] ربا شل شلم سلم 39
- سلم سلم سلم سلم سلم سلم سلم سلم سلم سلم سلم سلم 40
- طا [.] ا [...] ||||| [...] [...] 41
- ooooooooooooooooooooo |ooooooooooooooooooooo 42
- [...] علمو ان ا امين الا روز الارعزي 43
- [nicht sinnvoll lesbar] 44
- [nicht sinnvoll lesbar] 45
- [...] الله 46
- [nicht sinnvoll lesbar] 47

6.3 Übersetzung Amulettstreifen Nr. 1:

- 1 Im Namen des barmherzigen und gnädigen Gottes. Gott!
- 2 Gott segne Muḥammad, unseren Herrn, und (seine Familie?)
- 3 und seine Gefährten.
- 4 [Dienet ihm] der euch die Erde zu einem Tep-
- 5 pich und den Himmel zu einem Bau gemacht hat, und der herabkommen ließ
- 6 vom Himmel Wasser und dadurch hervorbrachte
- 7 Früchte, euch zum [Unterhalt]. Darum behauptet nicht,
- 8 dass Gott (andere Götter) seinesgleichen (neben sich) habe, wo ihr doch wisst
- 9 (dass er allein alles geschaffen hat)! Diejenigen,
- 10 die ungläubig sind, würden dich, wenn sie die Mahnung (d.h. den Koran) hören,
- 11 mit ihren (bösen) Blicken beinahe zum Straucheln bringen. Und sie sagen:
<Kreis>
- 12 Er (d. h. Mohammed) ist (ja) besessen. (Nein) es ist eine Mahnung für die
- 13 Menschen in aller Welt. <Kreis>
- 14 Euer Gott ist einer allein. Es gibt keinen Gott außer ihm, dem Barmherzigen
- 15 und Gnädigen. Gott, nur Ihm gehört (alles) was im Himmel und auf der [Erde]
- 16 ist.
- 17 Wer (von den himmlischen Wesen) könnte außer mit seiner Erlaubnis (am
- 18 jüngsten Tag) bei ihm Fürsprache einlegen?
- 19 O Gott! O Gott! O Gott!
- 20 (Die Ungläubigen sagen:) Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen (dann)
- 21 gläubig sein. Herr!
- 22 Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von
- 23 uns auf!
- 24 Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig
- 25 sein.
- 26 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die
- 27 Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf!
- 28 Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 29 Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott die Erde (wieder) belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben
- 30 ist.
- 31 Wir haben euch die Verse (Zeichen) klargemacht. Vielleicht würdet ihr
- 32 verständig sein. Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott
- 33 die Erde belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist. [Wir haben euch die Verse
- 34 klargemacht. Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein.]
- 35 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die
- 36 Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott die Erde
- 37 belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist. Wir haben euch die Verse klargemacht.
- 38 Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein.

6.4 Übersetzung Amulettstreifen Nr. 2:

- 1 Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott die Erde (wieder) belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist...
- 2 ... Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 3 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 4 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb
- 5 die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. die Strafe von uns auf!
- 6 Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 7 Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott die Erde belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist.
- 8 [Wir haben euch die Verse klargemacht.] Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf
- 9 Wir wollen gläubig sein. Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott die Erde belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist.
- 10 [Wir haben euch die Verse klargemacht. Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein.] Ihr müsst wissen,
- 11 [...]...Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr!
- 12 Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf!
- 13 Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott
- 14 die Erde belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist. Wir haben euch die Verse klargemacht. Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein.
- 15 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf!
- 16 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf!
- 17 Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott
- 18 die Erde belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist. Wir haben euch die Verse klargemacht. Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein.
- 19 Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott die Erde belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist.
- 20 Wir haben euch die Verse klargemacht. Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf!
- 21 Wir wollen gläubig sein. Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. alif alif alif alif
- 22 š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t
- 23 š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t š-t-t
- 24 Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott die Erde belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist.
- 25 O Gott! O Gott! O Gott!

- 26 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 27 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf!
- 28 Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 29 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 30 Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott die Erde belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist.
- 31 Wir haben euch die Verse klargemacht. Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf!
- 32 Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott die Erde belebt, nachdem sie abgestorben ist.
- 33 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 34 die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein. Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 35 [Nicht sinnvoll lesbar]
- 36 [...] Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 37 Herr! Heb die Strafe von uns auf! Wir wollen gläubig sein.
- 38 [...] O Großzügiger!(?) O Großzügiger!(?)
- 39 [...O Herr!(!)] Unversehrt. Unversehrt. Unversehrt.
- 40 Unversehrt. Unversehrt. Unversehrt. Unversehrt. Unversehrt. Unversehrt. Unversehrt. Unversehrt. Unversehrt. Unversehrt. Unversehrt.
- 41 [...] ṭā [.] alif [...] alif alif alif alif alif alif alif alif [...]
- 42 alif alif alif alif alif alif alif alif alif alif alif alif alif alif alif. <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis> <Kreis>
- 43 Ihr müsst wissen, dass Gott die Erde belebt,
- 44 [Nicht sinnvoll lesbar]
- 45 [Nicht sinnvoll lesbar]
- 46 [O Gott! O Gott! O] Gott!
- 47 [Nicht sinnvoll lesbar]

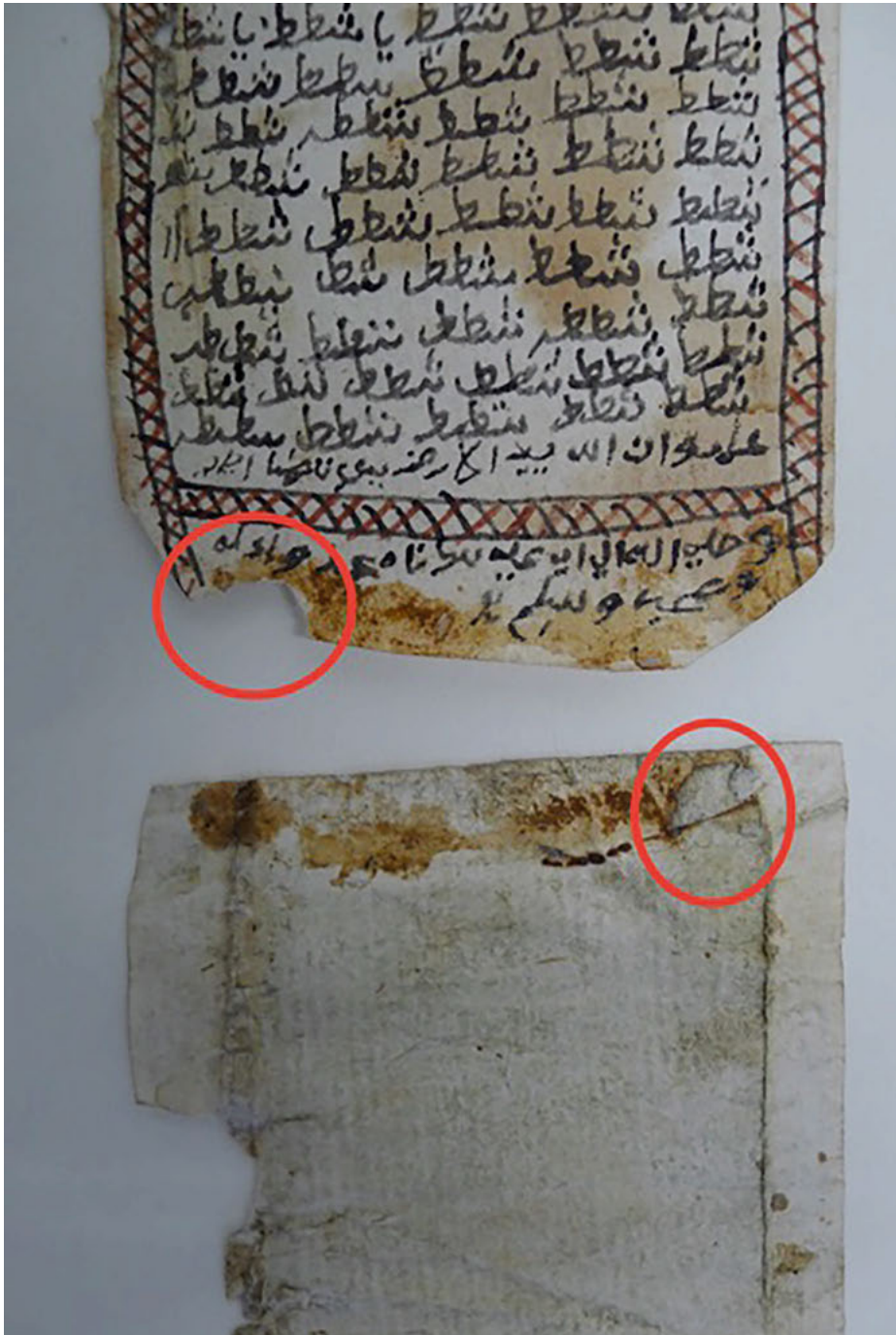


Abb. 1: Amulettstreifen 1 (oben) von vorne und 2 (unten) von hinten (Foto: Yvonne Stoldt).



Abb. 2: Amulettstreifen 1 (rechts) und 2 (links) (Foto: Elke Fuchs).

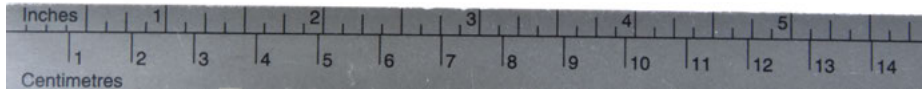


Abb. 3: Amulethülle (Foto: Elke Fuchs).

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Jay Johnston and Iain Gardner

Relations of Image, Text and Design Elements in Selected Amulets and Spells of the Heidelberg Papyri Collection

This article reports on the preliminary examination and re-reading of selected materials from the Heidelberg Papyri collection – Coptic magical texts numbered P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 678–686 – undertaken as part of the Australian Research Council funded project: The Function of Images in Magical Papyri and Artefacts of Ritual Power from Late Antiquity.¹ This chapter will first introduce the corpora being discussed, then outline the holistic methodology of analysis and finish with three case studies, each of which propose a new reading of the material (the integrated analysis of the corpora will be published at a later date).

1 Heidelberg Collection: Overview and Discussion of Provenance

This is a sizeable body of amulets and handbooks in Coptic on parchment and paper, dating from the tenth century. They were purchased by Carl Schmidt in 1930 and 1933 in Cairo (see further below). The pieces examined in our larger project are grouped together under current inventory numbers P. Heid. Inv. Kopt 678–686. That is, nine separate productions, three of which are single quire codices commonly termed magical handbooks and which contain lengthy invocations, ritual instructions, drawings and prescriptions. It is these three handbooks with which we are primarily concerned.

To outline briefly the three codices: The first, P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 684, known as the “Erotic Spell of Cyprian of Antioch”, is a book comprised of sixteen pages on paper (14.3 x 9cm) dated to the eleventh century on paleographic grounds. It was published by Friedrich Bilabel and Adolf Grohmann in *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit*, in 1934, with Greek and Arabic parallels;² an English translation was published by Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, in 1994, in *Ancient Christian Magic*.³ The second, P. Heid. Inv. Kopt.

¹ Project team: Jay Johnston (Sydney), Iain Gardner (Sydney), Julia Kindt (Sydney), Erica Hunter (SOAS, London), and Helen Whitehouse (Oxford).

² Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 304–325; see also Polotsky 1935.

³ Meyer/Smith 1994, 153–158.

685, “The Magical Book of Mary and the Angels” comprises twenty pages (22.2–23.4cm x 17.2–17.3cm: outside pages slightly wider) on parchment. It was published by Meyer in 1996 as *The Magical Book of Mary and the Angels*.⁴ The third ‘magical handbook’ in the Heidelberg collection is “The Praise of Michael the Archangel” (P. Heid. Kopt 686); it comprises sixteen pages on parchment and was published by Angelicus Kropp as *Der Lobpreis des Erzengels Michael* in 1966.⁵ Considered lost since World War Two it was accounted for again in 2010.

In addition to the handbooks, the other six pieces in the collection are short, singular works, probably amulets, but their exact function remains to be determined in each case. All nine productions were already associated together by Bilabel in his 1934 publication with Grohmann, where he presented the *editio princeps* of all six of the shorter pieces and one of the magic handbooks containing the famous erotic spell of Cyprian of Antioch. In this same publication, Bilabel noted all the works he published had been purchased by Carl Schmidt in 1930, and that there were two further pieces, that is the two magic handbooks he did not publish, which he referred to noting that this apparent magical library was still not exhausted.⁶ These two other handbooks were then published, firstly *Der Lobpreis des Erzengels Michael* by Kropp,⁷ and finally *The Magical Book of Mary and the Angels* by Meyer in 1996.⁸

It now appears clear that Bilabel did not publish the latter two books as they had only just been purchased. This is evidenced by Richard Seider’s account of the Heidelberg papyrus collection published in 1964, where he collated information about purchases according to the year.⁹ There he clearly states that in 1933 Schmidt obtained from Maurice Nahman, the famous antiquities dealer in Cairo, an additional two works, in very much the same style as those previously obtained in 1930. Therefore, “Erotic Spell of Cyprian of Antioch” was purchased in 1930, while “The Praise of Michael the Archangel” and “The Magical Book of Mary and the Angels” were purchased in 1933.

Considering this purchasing history, the question arises as to why the nine works have continually been associated together? Firstly, there is the issue of their collective purchase by Schmidt, but one does wonder why an extra two handbooks became available in 1933. Secondly it is notable that many of the works exhibit elements of Fayumic dialect (though they are by no means uniform linguistically). Further, six of the nine were written by what appears to be either a single scribe, or at least in such similar style of hand that they must be productions of a single workshop or scripto-

4 Meyer 1996.

5 Kropp 1966.

6 Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 392.

7 Kropp 1966.

8 Meyer 1996.

9 Seider 1964.

rium (or whatever origin we may suppose for them). This much is clear. At the same time the other three works (P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 678, 679 and 684), although of similar content in a general sense, are in very different hands, and are on paper (the other six are all on parchment). When considering the collection in its entirety this does raise the issue as to whether all nine of the pieces should continue to be treated together as has previously been the case. It is clear, at least, that regarding the three handbooks central to this analysis only one was purchased in 1930 (P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 684); the other two (P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 685 and 686) in 1933.

2 Holistic Methodology

In taking a holistic approach to this material we contend that accurate interpretations of magical handbooks and ritual practices cannot be produced without considering *both* text and image elements as of equal importance for scholarly analysis and as necessarily integrated with one another. We engage with questions of the production and function of the artefact as a whole, the role of images and design elements, issues such as orality and agency. Our methodological program includes (i) producing a typographic catalogue of design and figural elements for each collection; (ii) undertaking detailed analysis of the placement of image, text and other design elements within the bounds of the material form (for example their spatial arrangement in terms of codex leaf, papyrus roll); (iii) developing inventories of their deployment across material types and text genres, for example amulet, handbook of prescriptions; and developing inventories of their deployment in relation to ritual experts, clients and religious communities.

Included in this approach is engagement with the vexing issue of image agency. That is, we ask questions of what type of scopic regimes – modes of visibility – were employed to both produce and use such magical texts and artefacts without simply ‘importing’ our contemporary visual regimes (with which we operate unconsciously) and assuming they are necessarily applicable. To do so we need to include amongst our methodological tools the idea that an image may be attributed ontological status. It must be stressed that this is not our *only* approach, but one that must be acknowledged as a possibility along with considering the images as instructive – that is diagrammatic – and representational. Indeed, it is likely that such texts required a range of scopic regimes and this was part of the ritual practitioner’s ‘expertise’. That is, knowing which way to view various aspects of the image and text.

There have been various scholarly engagements with the ontology of the image over the past fifty years, most notably David Freedberg’s *The Power of the Image*.¹⁰ In

¹⁰ Freedberg 1989.

short, this text highlighted the potential of the image or artefact to have agency, or ‘power’; a particularly relevant concept for considering material culture employed in theurgic practices. Therefore, when applying such ideas to the interpretation of image and design elements found in ritual handbooks, decision must be made about whether, for example, the depiction of a spirit-being be read as an illustration (in the modern sense of the term) or as a manifestation of the actual being itself.

In addition, the relationship between placement of text and image warrants close scrutiny. For example, does the placement of repetitive vowel sequences inside the ‘body’ of a depicted angel or spirit-being represent the physical location from where such sound was understood to emerge; and thus a sign of ritual chanting? In short, the placement of visual elements in magical handbooks should not be viewed as arbitrary or ad hoc, but rather as consciously deployed, following a logic known to the ritual practitioners. That is, images are not mere decoration or ‘empty’ illustration.

While conscious that something of the agency of an ‘ontological’ image will necessarily slip beyond our grasp and, further, that we can never fully know the intent and purposes to which such images were put (we cannot ‘inhabit’ the conceptual and visual world of Late Antique people) it is clear that some images – certainly in their ‘amulet’ form – were attributed an efficacy. This can be demonstrated by the “Solomonic Spell for Exorcism and Protection” given in *The Magical Book of Mary and the Angels*,¹¹ which is accompanied by an image of a ‘guardian figure’ (the figure itself is discussed in more detail below).

Meyer notes that the client is directed to “put on that figure”, in the form of an amulet or phylactery “after it has been copied onto some appropriate material surface”.¹² He notes further: “From the moment that the client puts on the amulet, the adjuration insists, the guardian will become the client’s protector, ‘all the days of his life’.”¹³ Therefore, this figure is either activated by the spell and/or the spell’s residual efficacy is located in the figure. In short, it is attributed some type of power linked to the specific guardian and remains a material embodiment of the relation between client and spirit-guardian created by the ‘magician’.

In considering further other design elements in the text, we note that the way in which images and texts work together has long been an art historical focus.¹⁴ However, the objects and texts of this type of material would not traditionally be considered ‘art’, and this is perhaps one of the reasons why they have lacked the type of critical study that they warrant. To study these images not only will relations between specific drawings and text elements need to be examined, but also occurrences where the text itself operates as an ‘image’. An example would be the palindrome (sometimes placed within a box), or sequences of vowels (often arranged in pyramid shapes).

¹¹ Meyer 1996, 26–27.

¹² Meyer 1996, 82.

¹³ Meyer 1996, 82.

¹⁴ See, e. g., Diebold 2000.

Indeed, perhaps the books themselves had an ambiguous status: both as book (text of ritual instruction) and as an object of ritual power in and of itself (so both functional and symbolic). We are concerned to investigate how placement indicates the ‘function’ of each image: for example as illustration, or as ontological being, or as metaphysical ‘description’, etc. That is, what is the range of ‘functions’ that images could possibly have and can their positioning on the page give an indication as to how they should be read? For example, if a spell opens with an image of a power or angel does this figure operate differently than a figure drawn at the close of the spell? Is one presiding over and the other an illustration? Needless to say, there are very many questions to be asked when approaching these artefacts from this framework.

3 Revised Readings: Three Examples

To follow we will offer some preliminary application of this holistic methodology to the Heidelberg ‘magical’ papyri. These are three instances where we think a more rounded, holistic understanding will be possible; rather than just a narrow focus on the editing of Coptic text, without concern for the books as actual ritual objects in their own right. These readings emerged from an initial period of examination in July 2013. A much more substantial discussion of the corpus will be published in the future.

3.1 Example One: P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 684: Erotic Spell of Cyprian of Antioch

In this example we focus on the functionality of the ‘magic book’ and what its material ‘state’ (materiality) may be able to offer in terms of understanding its ritual use. The manuscript (on paper) is in fairly good condition, excepting two pages: page 12; and the final page of the ‘spell,’ page 13, which carries the image. In book form these two pages would have contacted one-another, when the text was closed.

The text of the ritual instructions given just prior to the image was first edited by Bilabel¹⁵ and has been translated by Howard M. Jackson:

The offering takes place for him with mastic, alouth, storax . . . daily prayers . . . as long as you like, while you fast daily, while you ... tell them ... (?) ... and oil ... while you ... while you fast, are in a state of purity, and wear garments, until ... on a potsherd with hair (brush?) the prayer ... let them watch over ...¹⁶

¹⁵ Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 313, 319.

¹⁶ Jackson in Meyer/Smith 1994, 157–158.

The ingredients listed are typical of these ritual texts. Such were selected for their fragrance, as with incense, or their relaxing qualities; or otherwise they were stimulants, perhaps sometimes to promote altered consciousness, or associated with the healing of specific physical ailments.

Considering the placement of the ritual instructions in relation to the image we wonder whether the degradation of the image page (p. 13) was caused by its repetitive ritual oiling, or rubbing, as part of the invocation, and that perhaps this action was understood to ‘activate’ Gabriel’s (if one reads the title above the image as identifying the main figure) intercession/bidding of the ritualist’s intent. Damage to its opposing page, page 12, is primarily on the right hand-side. This uneven distribution is curious, but can best be explained by residual oil matter seeping in that direction when the book was closed and stored. Nonetheless, the wear on page 13 would indicate that the book and its images had an active role in ritual invocation.



Fig. 1: P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 684 © Papyrologisches Institut, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg.

From such a perspective, the book is not something that is simply read (even by select specialists) but itself becomes a locus of ritual activity. Degradation of the image evidences that the ritualist, whose fingers etc. were presumably smeared with oil and various substances in some fashion, must have utilised the image in the performance of the ritual. Of course, exactly how this happens is unclear. For example, was the image pressed upon the ritual subject? One way or another we would imagine there must have been some sort of tactile transference of efficacy from the page, so that the book is no longer just instructions but is itself a player – an actor – in the ritual process.

3.2 Example Two: P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 685, “The Magical Book of Mary and the Angels” / 4.2 Solomonic Spell for Exorcism and Protection (10, 1–18)

This spell commences with an image on the left-hand side described by Meyer as a drawing of a birdlike figure¹⁷ and there written beside it (according to the edition) $\text{M}\text{A}\text{C}\text{B}\text{E}\text{N}\text{N}$, i. e. *masbēn*. The spell text refers to the use of an amulet, indeed the use of this image as an amulet for somehow begging and invoking “Nassklēn, who guards and protects the body of King Solomon”; and that “at the moment that NN wears your figure, you must begin guarding him ...” (10: 2–7). Thus, in the commentary to his edition, Meyer notes that this Nassklēn is a guardian of Solomon (pointing out that the latter “was prominent in Jewish and Christian traditions about magical power”) and is “drawn as a bird-like figure with a cross-shaped crown, a wand, ring signs and letters, and the word or name *Masbēn*.”¹⁸

In considering the relation between text and image in this spell, we examined the way in which this word has been presented beside the figure. It is not written with super-linear lines above it, as many proper nouns or words of power are in such texts, especially in association with a figural element. Indeed, the word is separated into two encased rings (one open-ended) or circles; one is placed around “mas” and the other drawn around “bēni”. This additional final *iota* has been assumed part of the design elements in previous readings. In this revised reading it is understood as the final letter of a second word.

Thus, on careful examination, it is clear enough that there are two words, which by the use of the rings were still conceptually linked together, and via their placement at the side of the image related in some way to it. Iain Gardner has subsequently offered a revised reading where *mas* refers to the young of an animal and *beni* refers to

¹⁷ Meyer 1996, 82.

¹⁸ Meyer 1996, 82.

a swallow¹⁹ (or perhaps some other species of bird, but the exact identification is not of any particular relevance to this argument here). Thus *mas + beni* = swallow-chick.

Thus, a series of new questions arise. Is this an image of a guardian, or of a swallow for ritual use? Are the figures on the stomach of the bird somehow related to ritual action to be performed on a young swallow? Is the guardian thought to inhabit the young swallow's body and they therefore have a relation of correspondence (such logic was very common in Renaissance Hermetic 'magic'), and thus this 'special' swallow is distinguished from others by its cross crown? Is the reference to young swallow to be read as separate from the guardian figure, and with regard to the spell as a whole? Does this image have any relation to the one that is 'activated' and to be worn as a phylactery?

Clearly we are still thinking through the ramifications of these text-image relations. However, we hope to have demonstrated that here is not to be read *Masbēn*, the name of some unknown being or suchlike, for which no other parallel is currently known. Rather, it refers clearly to a known entity; that is, a young swallow, and not a spirit-being, demon, or angelic power at all! Of course, the further question of the role of the swallow chick remains to be determined; but this reading – of just one small element – opens up a whole new avenue to consider.

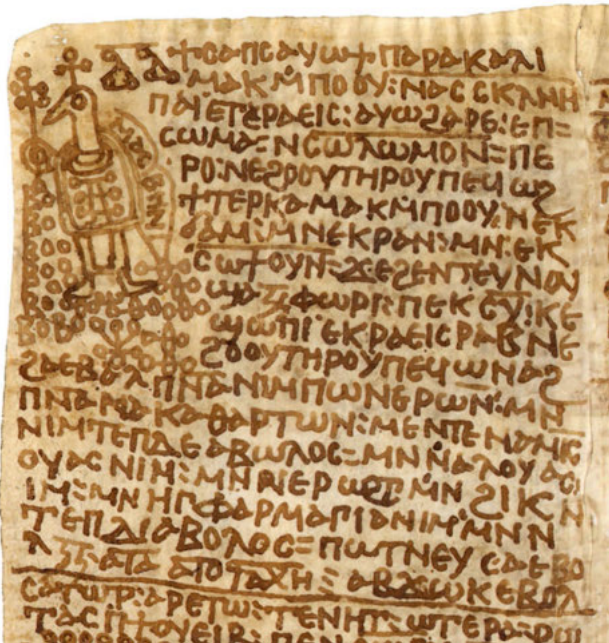


Fig. 2: P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 685 © Papyrologisches Institut, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg.

¹⁹ See Crum 1972, 40a s. v. *βΗΝΕ* and 185b-186a s. v. *ΜΑΣ* “.. young, mostly of animal or bird”.

3.3 Example Three: P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 682

This example is taken from a single spell on a strip of parchment. It has been of crucial importance to the Heidelberg collection due to the colophon containing both authorial identity and date:

(Colophon)

ΑΝΑΚ ΠΑΙ ΙΩ ΖΗΖΑ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ
 ΕΠΙΘΕΛΛΗΤ ΛΕΥΖΑΙ ΣΟΥΤΑ ΕΠΑΑ
 ΠΙ ΜΕΗ ΧΠΛ ΕΡΑΜΠΠ//

Bilabel gives this as:

Ich, der ... Diener Michael, (Sohn) des Pgelleta, habe (es) geschrieben am 21. Paophi und im 684. Jahr (n. der Märtyrerära).²⁰

Meyer translates this in *Ancient Christian Magic*:

I, Pdi Yo, servant of Michael, (son) of Pcelleta, have written on Paope 21 and in the year 684.²¹

Iain Gardner, however, proposes this revised reading of the colophon:

I, the deacon Io(hannes), servant of Michael, being the one entrusted to write on 11 Paophi in the year 684.

As the previous quotations indicate, Bilabel left blank any translation of the name (“Ich, der ...”), while it is transcribed by Meyer in *Ancient Christian Magic* meaninglessly as “I, Pdi Yo.” Gardner has recognised the ‘Pdi’ as an abbreviation of *p-di(a-konos)*, that is, “the deacon;” while understanding the ‘Yo’ as an abbreviation for the name Io(hannes). In both instances the abbreviation is marked clearly by the scribe employing a super-linear stroke, thus: ΠΑΙ ΙΩ.

Equally, here both Bilabel and the translation given by Meyer in *Ancient Christian Magic*²² have not understood a word they read as ΠΕΛΛΗΤΑ and consequently supposed it to be a name; indeed, as the imagined father of Michael. But there is no evidence for such a name in the standard list by Monica Hasitzka.²³ Gardner proposes it as much more sensible to make a slight textual emendation and also shift the supposed final alpha, which enables one to read this not as a nonsense name (for which there is no parallel) but rather as the common enough phrase “the one entrusted to ...”²⁴

²⁰ Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 395.

²¹ Meyer/Smith 1994, 180.

²² Bilabel/Grohmann 1934, 395; Meyer/Smith 1994, 180.

²³ Hasitzka 2007.

²⁴ See Crum 1972, 808b–809a s. v. ΣΘΕΙΛΕ.

Thus the revised reading is: “I, the deacon Io(hannes), servant of Michael, being the one entrusted to write on 11 Paophi in the year 684”. This evidences vitally important and new information regarding the production and the identity of the scribe. As a deacon, was such spell-production part of Iohannes’ everyday role? Further, in describing himself as a “servant” of Michael, is he referring to Michael the Archangel, the centrality of whom to healing and protective magic is well attested and evidenced here already by P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 686, “The Praise of Michael the Archangel”? Further detailed paleographical comparison may be able to identify the degree to which the same hand could have produced both pieces. This latter text evidences a ‘ritual’ relation between the practitioner and Archangel Michael, both in the sense of identification “I am Michael; my name is god and humankind” and of devotion “I Michael, with all those who follow me” (pp. 2–3).²⁵ By naming himself as “servant of Michael”, did the deacon Iohannes intend to express his spiritual indebtedness to the Archangel Michael; rather than some prosaic human relationship?

Thus, in conclusion, these three brief examples evidence that by more centrally considering figural elements in relation to text, and more consciously considering the potential ritual use of the texts themselves, one can achieve revisions in understanding the ritual role of such books, revised interpretations, and indeed new readings of both text and image.

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²⁵ Meyer/Smith 1994, 327.

Nils Hallvard Korsvoll

Official Teaching and Popular Practice

Are Church Opinions on Magic Reflected in the Surviving Amulets from the Early Middle Ages?

Late Antiquity witnessed not only the growth and eventual domination of Christianity in the Roman world, there was also the continuation and development of an extensive and complex magical tradition.¹ As the Church grew in size and influence, we see its continual attempts at addressing and suppressing the magical practices that were taking place within what was becoming the Christian dominion. The Canons of Alexandria, ascribed to Athanasius (c. 298–373), prescribe extensive penance for dabbling in magic,² and while Origen (185–254) allows the use of Christ’s name in exorcisms, since the apostles had used it in the New Testament, he denies that these are incantations.³ Cyril of Jerusalem (313–386) warns against the use of *lamellae* in one of his baptismal homilies,⁴ and Jerome (347–420) criticizes women for wearing scripture as an amulet instead of in their hearts.⁵ The Synod of Laodicea in Asia Minor in 364 declared phylacteries poison for the soul, and the Council in Trullo in Constantinople in 692 denounced magicians as charlatans.⁶ In the Latin Church, pope Gelasius I († 496) prohibited phylacteries, and the Council of Ratisbon in 742 confirmed his decree.⁷ Augustine (354–430), in *On Christian Teaching*, identifies the efficacy of magic as the work of demons, and then condemns amulets and spells as human forms of communicating with them.⁸ Caesarius of Arles (470–542) repeats Chrysostom’s warning against invocations and phylacteries, adding a warning against Christian clergy who have taken to using such things.⁹

However, archaeological evidence shows that the use of amulets and magical manuals continued within the dominion of the new Church and Christian state. Moreover, these magical practices did not only continue as some sort of pagan remnant, many amulets and magical manuals show that they actively engaged with and took up Christian themes and ritual elements together with the older, traditional ritual

1 Janowitz 2002, xi–xii.

2 Athanasius, *Canons* 71–72.

3 Origen, *Contra Celsus* 1,6.

4 Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures* 19,8.

5 Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew* 23,15.

6 Dickie 2001, 261.

7 Crow 2009, 103.

8 Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 2,36–37.

9 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons* 50,1.

elements.¹⁰ Popular Christian elements in these amulets are invocations of Christ and the Virgin, drawings of crosses and *chi-rho* monograms and excerpts from Scripture or liturgy. Especially popular are drawings of the cross, quotes from Psalm 90, the *Pater Noster* or the *Sanctus*.¹¹ Several scholars have pointed out that this continued magical practice within a Christian society is perhaps not so surprising. After all, Christ and his disciples performed miracles and wonders, and this will not have lessened the belief in supernatural assistance.¹² Other scholars further argue that the miracles in the Gospels differ from other contemporary magical practices only in that they originate from the Christian God.¹³ But, of course, this distinction of origin was for Christian theology the very key of the matter. And, with the biblical stories of Simon Magus and the Witch of Endor as infamous examples of the evil of magic, official Christianity remained strictly opposed to magic.¹⁴

Or did it? Some homilies and hagiography from Late Antiquity appear to have made one notable allowance when it came to the use and practice of apotropaic magic. Condemning those who use amulets and phylacteries for healing and the protection of children, John Chrysostom (347–407) extols the cross as the only true remedy and protection.¹⁵ Eligius of Noyons (588–660) writes that doing the sign of the cross, perhaps accompanied by the Creed or the *Pater Noster*, is the only form of true protection,¹⁶ and at the famous Benedictine monastery at Cluny the cross was said to have greater intercessory power than any saint.¹⁷ Of course, such reverence and practice carried with it the theological danger that the cross was accorded power in its own right, and not through the power of God, but this seems not to have affected the widespread use and reverence for the apotropaic cross.¹⁸ Even Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) permits amulets with the sign of the cross as late as the 13th century.¹⁹ It is widely observed, and generally agreed, that the magical practices of Late Antiquity continued into the early Middle Ages.²⁰ My question is to what extent the growing power and presence of the Church influenced these practices, and I propose to do an initial investigation of how Church teaching is reflected in contemporary amulets. More specifically, I ask whether the ambivalent, sometimes permissive, official attitude towards the cross as an apotropaic agent could accommodate the production of

10 E.g.: de Bruyn/Dijkstra 2011; Spier 2007; Vikan 1984; Preisendanz 1974; Meyer/Smith/Kelsey 1994.

11 De Bruyn/Dijkstra 2011, 178–181.

12 Aune 1980, 1523 and Czachesz 2013.

13 Garrett 1989, 19.

14 Stratton 2007, 107.

15 John Chrysostom, *Homily on Colossians* 8.

16 *Vita Eligii Episcopi Noviomagensis* 2,16a.

17 Flint 1991, 178f.

18 Skemer 2006, 50.

19 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* II: 2, 96, art. 4.

20 Angenendt 1997, 155.

more strictly Christian amulets, indicated by excluding non-Christian ritual elements and signs while taking up more Christian iconography. To explore this, I will distinguish amulets in the shape of a cross and amulets in other shapes, and then look at the extent to which non-Christian ritual elements, such as *charakteres* or *voces magicae*, occur in the two types of amulets. If, indeed, cross-shaped amulets show different decoration patterns than other amulets, this can be an indication that early medieval magical practices were, at least somehow, influenced by and adapted to official Christian teaching.

Being an initial investigation, the source material I engage with here will be neither comprehensive nor representative. Instead, I seek out amulets or groups of amulets that span both the time and the space that is in question here. To trace any potential development, I examine examples starting from Late Antiquity and going into the early Middle Ages. To include a spatial factor, I look at evidence from both the eastern and the western Mediterranean, in order to see whether the different ecclesiastical environments and developments in the East and the West had any impact on the use and development of amulets. Hereby, I hope to get an indication of whether official Christian teaching had an effect on the use and production of amulets in the early Middle Ages.

1 The Continued Use of Apotropaic Amulets

In the first couple of centuries of Christian domination, the practice of amulets combining traditional magical spells with Christian elements and symbols, continued.²¹ Some types of amulets, for instance the so-called *hystera*-amulets meant to protect against the roaming womb, even thrived without any form of acknowledgment of the new faith.²² In the sixth century, Alexander of Tralles records a cure for colic “by means of engraving an octagonal iron ring with the inscription, ‘Flee, colic, the lark seeks you’”, also without any Christian reference.²³ Yet, it seems to have been more common for the traditional amulet types to don a new, Christian interpretation. One long lasting amulet type, for instance, shows a holy rider spearing a demon, and from the fourth and fifth centuries the rider can be identified as Solomon, reputed for his command over demons, or the legendary St. Sisinnios.²⁴

It seems the process could also be reversed, with Christian practices taking up elements from traditional apotropaic practices. For instance, some *eulogia*, Christian pilgrimage tokens that became increasingly popular as apotropaic and healing

²¹ Pitarakis 2006, 21.

²² Spier 1993, 25.

²³ Alexander of Tralles, *De medicamentis* (‘On Colic’, 8,2).

²⁴ Spier 1993, 35–38; Bohak 2008, 160 and 212–214.

devices in the sixth and seventh centuries, include magical stars and *charakteres* as part of their decoration and/or invocation. Gary Vikan points to this as one of several examples suggesting continuity between the earlier magical-medical traditions and the growing cults of healing saints in early Christianity.²⁵ Such cults also kept the pre-Christian practice of votive gifts, metal or ceramic models of the afflicted body part of the devotee, deposited at healing shrines.²⁶ F. Pradel's study of medieval popular prayers in southern Italy argues that such mixing of Christian and older, magical tradition continued, at least in some places, far into early modern Europe.²⁷

However, *eulogia* and amulets combining Christian and traditional, magical symbols are still limited in number. The majority of them display more typical Christian motifs, and especially by the eighth and ninth centuries there is increased borrowing from official iconography and liturgy. In the east, amulets increasingly take the form of or are decorated by crosses, and their decoration includes saints, *orants* (figures in prayer with open arms) and Christological scenes.²⁸ In the west, cross-shaped or -decorated brooches and fibulae are common finds in burials in northern Italy already from the fifth century on,²⁹ and by the eighth and ninth centuries they are also common in burials in the Christian areas north of the Alps.³⁰

At the same time, Augustine condemns the continued use of ritual practices, amulets and magical symbols for protection or medical ailments.³¹ In 745 St. Boniface brought one Adalbert before the pope for abusing Christian devotional practice, calling upon angels and applying common liturgy and prayers for magical purposes,³² and Augustine's condemnation of phylacteries and magic signs is taken up by a number of medieval authors.³³ Regino of Prüm († 915) summarises in his book of rules how Gregory the Great (c. 540–604) declared that all who consult warlocks or use amulets should be banned,³⁴ and how a later book of penance prescribes three years penance, one on bread and water, for making amulets.³⁵ In short, every form of amulet, except the cross, was to be considered demonic.³⁶

25 Vikan 1984, 76f.

26 Vikan 1984, 66f.

27 Pradel 1907.

28 Pitarakis 2006, 39.

29 Bierbrauer 2003, 430.

30 Müller-Wille 2003, 443.

31 Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 2,30.

32 Flint 1991, 168f.

33 Flint 1991, 245–248.

34 Regino of Prüm, *De ecclesiasticis disciplinis* II.356.

35 Regino of Prüm, *De ecclesiasticis disciplinis* II.444.

36 Harmening 1979, 316.

2 Official Teaching on Magic: Condemnation and Ambiguity

This strict attitude against apotropaic amulets came from the general condemnation of magic from the Church in the early Middle Ages. As it had inherited Late Antiquity's demonology,³⁷ the medieval Church also retained Augustine's understanding of magic as interaction with demons. His strong condemnation of this in any form "weighed heavily on medieval theology and canon law for over a millennium".³⁸ Regino of Prüm, for instance, keeps Augustine's definition of magic as demonic remnants of pagan practice in his several discussions on this topic.³⁹

In addition to Augustine, Caesarius of Arles was a great influence on medieval perceptions of magic. His opposition to the use of amulets, and its spread into the clergy, was repeated in the writings of Martin of Braga († 579), Pirmin of Reichenau († c. 754), Aelfric of Eynsham († 1020) and Wulfstan of York († 1023).⁴⁰ Then, there is Isidore of Seville's († 638) chapter *De Magis* in his *Etymologies*, where he appears to draw upon such disparate sources as the Theodosian Code, Virgil and the Bible in describing the nature and history of magic. It all originated, he writes, with the fallen angels, who taught first Zoroaster and then the Greeks how to interact with them and spread their demonic practice.⁴¹ Isidore's work was in turn taken up and further spread by Rabanus Maurus, Hincmar of Rheims (806–882) and Burchard of Worms (c. 950–1025), combining it with references to Augustine.⁴²

It is important to note that in medieval theological treatises the categories *magic* and *heresy* are often used interchangeably.⁴³ The accusation of practising magic was frequently levelled against perceived heresies, in the Middle Ages as it had been in Antiquity.⁴⁴ Secular powers also legislated against magic, with for instance Charlemagne making a capitulary in 789 against baptising bells as protection against hailstorms.⁴⁵ Finally, I should add that the stereotype of magic being practised mostly by the ignorant and lower classes is not reflected in all historical sources; magical practice is discussed in and related from courts and among the nobility.⁴⁶

Yet, amid these strong voices of condemnation, magical practices continued, and some even thrived, as the Church became more dominant. Angels or holy figures are

37 Angenendt 2010, 49f.

38 Skemer 2006, 21.

39 Regino of Prüm, *De ecclesiasticis disciplinis* II.

40 Flint 1991, 42.

41 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum* 8,ix.

42 Flint 1991, 50.

43 Crow 2009, 103.

44 Fichtenau 1992, 32.

45 *Capitularia Regum Francorum* 34.

46 Kieckhefer 1992, 115.

invoked, and quotes from Scripture are used, for apotropaic purposes, making use of a wide variety of materials as medium.⁴⁷ Copies of a letter that adjures demons by the *Cross of Christ*, reportedly presented to Charlemagne by an angel from Heaven, spread across medieval Europe as an apotropaic amulet,⁴⁸ and accounts from 8th century Rome report that phylacteries are openly sold and worn in the Holy City.⁴⁹ Among the royal and princely houses of early medieval Europe, keeping lapidaries, which are collections of precious gems frequently inscribed with magical images or signs and generally thought to hail back to old wisdom, was popular.⁵⁰ In fact, the power and various properties of different gems are thoroughly described in several medieval treatises on minerals,⁵¹ and magic was also a recurring topic in the increasingly popular courtly romances, and it was far from always presented in a negative light. Rather, the heroes here have access to *white magic* by their virtue and stealth, while the antagonists employ diabolic or *black magic*.⁵² Also, the power and glory of the cross is a common topic in early medieval poetry.⁵³

In addition to this, there were many magical practices closely connected to Christian ritual and devotion. Gregory the Great, for instance, sent the Lombard queen Theodelinda (c. 570–628) a reliquary cross, suggesting he found relics or fragments of Scripture to be legitimate phylacteries.⁵⁴ Don Skemer argues that in a church where miracles and divine intervention was still very much a part of daily events, alternative ritual practices like amulets would be difficult to suppress.⁵⁵ Furthermore, in the popular and expanding medieval hagiography, the difference between magic and miracle is very slight. Hagiography easily combines traditional, magical elements, like invocations and various plants, with the sign of the cross and the saint's good works.⁵⁶ Many medieval saints even produced and spread amulets themselves, made efficacious by the saint's piety and devotion.⁵⁷

These tendencies can also be seen to combine with and strengthen the simultaneous growth of the cult of relics.⁵⁸ The apotropaic power accorded to, and allowed in, relics created a precedent for other amulet practices, and there are several examples

47 Flint 1991, 307.

48 Crow 2009, 101.

49 Harmening 1979, 243.

50 Kieckhefer 1992, 120f.

51 Kieckhefer 1992, 163.

52 Kieckhefer 1992, 122.

53 Flint 1991, 259.

54 Harmening 1979, 245.

55 Skemer 2006, 22.

56 Flint 1991, 302f.

57 Skemer 2006, 58.

58 Angenendt 2010, 110f.

from medieval literature where amulets are used in combination with relics.⁵⁹ Influence also seems to have flowed in the other direction, with medieval exorcism liturgies bearing striking resemblance to exorcism spells from Late Antiquity.⁶⁰ With time, even strictly liturgical elements, like altar candles, wax icons and eventually the Host itself, became favoured magical ingredients,⁶¹ so much so that the Synod of Trier in 1227 decided baptismal water, holy oil and the Host must be securely locked away so as to avoid abuse in magic.⁶² Several accounts relate how devotional books were mutilated to procure pieces of holy text or parchment for amulets.⁶³ Indeed, reports from the Middle Ages often point to the clergy itself as a source of magic and amulets,⁶⁴ and there are many spells and invocations found in manuscripts of monastic handbooks.⁶⁵

3 Cruciform Amulets in the East

The first corpus I want to look at is a compilation of early medieval Byzantine medical amulets.⁶⁶ This places us geographically in the east, but the amulets, which are mostly made of bronze or lead, are difficult to date. Some can be linked to sixth century Syro-Palestine, while others have Russian parallels dating to the twelfth century. A large group of them were found in the tenth- and eleventh century levels at the excavations at Corinth.⁶⁷ This distribution across time means it is difficult to ascertain any potential development from this specific corpus, but the parallels across the corpus do show that there was a degree of continuity. Indeed, there are amulets here that suggest an uninterrupted continuation of traditional magical practices, without recognising Christian teaching or doctrine. However, most of the amulets kept a pre-Christian form and imagery, but took on an *interpretatio christiana*. A common example of this is the previously mentioned holy rider; a mounted, saintly figure spearing a cowering, demonic figure. *Interpretatio christiana* is often underlined through invocations of Christian saints and the Sanctus, in addition to the traditional symbols or images.⁶⁸ There are also amulets taking up more recognised Christian iconography, such as a half-length figure saint with a martyr's cross or a frontal bust of the Virgin

⁵⁹ Skemer 2006, 53.

⁶⁰ Harmening 1979, 224.

⁶¹ Kieckhefer 1992, 95.

⁶² Harmening 1979, 223.

⁶³ Skemer 2006, 129.

⁶⁴ Harmening 1979, 223.

⁶⁵ Skemer 2006, 76.

⁶⁶ Spier 1993.

⁶⁷ Spier 1993, 31.

⁶⁸ Spier 1993, 52.

and Child.⁶⁹ However, none of these amulets are crossed-shaped. They are generally round or softly square, even if several of the elements witnessed, like the Sanctus, are unmistakably Christian, and drawings of the cross occur frequently. One amulet even possibly includes an abbreviated reference to *Psalm 90*.⁷⁰ The fact that none of these amulets, despite taking up Christian symbols and iconography, are shaped like a cross does suggest that the overriding concern was to follow the form and expression of traditional amulet- and ritual practice in the production of these healing and apotropaic amulets, and not primarily to follow Christian teaching. As with Vikan's *eulogia*,⁷¹ the emphasis here seems to be on continuity rather than Christian innovation.

In another corpus compiled by Jeffrey Spier, he catalogues gems from Late Antiquity and early Christianity.⁷² He here observes the same continuation and combination of traditional magical and Christian symbols, as witnessed in many of the metal amulets described above, but remarks that there in the sixth century is a definitive movement towards more explicitly Christian motifs on the gems, including biblical scenes or monograms in the shape of the cross.⁷³ A group of gems believed to be from Syria-Palestine in the fifth century, combines a variety of Christian figures and invocations with *charakteres* and *vores magicae*,⁷⁴ while a later group of rock crystals contains exclusively Christian images clearly borrowed from ecclesiastical art.⁷⁵ With this, the gems suggest that there is some development in amulets, moving towards what could be called a *Christian amulet*. However, he also lists many gems from this time that include Christian elements in traditional magical invocations, and also several cases where initially pagan images have been later supplied with a Christian inscription and thus an *interpretatio christiana*.⁷⁶ He also includes a section on Sasanian seals, where he finds Christian scenes and symbols executed in traditional Sasanian style and compositions.⁷⁷ Moreover, none of the artifacts are cut to a cruciform shape, which points towards a similar conclusion as that in the previous paragraph.

Moving on to the seventh and eighth centuries, there is in the Byzantine east a growing number of decorated cross pendants taking up the role of apotropaic amulet. These crosses are thought to initially have been meant to hold pieces of the Holy Cross, but with time became apotropaic devices of their own. Nikephoros I (750–828), patriarch of Constantinople, in the 810s describes the extensive use of cross pendants

⁶⁹ Spier 1993, 55.

⁷⁰ Spier 1993, 54.

⁷¹ Vikan 1984.

⁷² Spier 2007.

⁷³ Spier 2007, 183.

⁷⁴ Spier 2007, 109–111.

⁷⁵ Spier 2007, 119.

⁷⁶ Spier 2007, 35–39.

⁷⁷ Spier 2007, 143. See also Lerner 1977 and Shaked 1977.

and phylacteries with the True Cross, and furthermore tells that this is an old practice.⁷⁸ In Brigitte Pitarakis' catalogue of Byzantine bronze pectoral crosses, she dates them to between the ninth and the twelfth century.⁷⁹ These pectoral crosses are typically between 1,5 and 4 cm tall, mostly in bronze but also some in lead. Their decoration varies from geometric or floral patterns, to icon-like images, biblical scenes or inscriptions.⁸⁰ The most common decoration is without a doubt a generic saint *in orans*, easily connected to the popular cult of saints and martyrs in Byzantine Christianity. Especially after Iconoclasm in the eighth century, saints took on an important role as intercessors and protectors.⁸¹ Several of these saint-figures have clear predecessors in Byzantine iconography.⁸² Interestingly, Pitarakis notes that there does not seem to be any correlation between the shape or decoration of the cross and the relic it is meant to have held.⁸³ Other pectoral crosses bear the Sanctus or an appeal to a holy figure for help, or the popular invocation IC XC NHKA "Jesus Christ wins!"⁸⁴ Simpler crosses can have figures and patterns as decoration, or no decoration at all. A common decorative motif is the use of concentric circles, a very common motif on both sacred and profane objects throughout the Mediterranean world.⁸⁵ So, all in all, the decoration on Byzantine bronze crosses does carry some parallels with the non-cruciform amulets, but there is a clear leaning towards the symbols and iconography of ecclesiastical art. Moreover, none of them contain explicitly non-Christian magical elements like *charakteres* or *voces magicae*. So, in this somewhat later corpus and genre of apotropaic amulets, there is a definitive turn towards the cruciform shape, and we see also that these cruciform amulets do not include the older, traditional magical symbols or elements that are found on other Christian amulets.

4 Cruciform Amulets in the West

At first glance, the situation for the Latin Church in the early Middle Ages seems to have been different. There appears to be such a dearth of evidence for amulets in the fifth to eighth or ninth centuries here, that Skemer ponders whether Augustine and Caesarius of Arles' strict rebuke of amulet production and use in fact lead to a suc-

⁷⁸ Nikephoros I, *Antirrheticus* III, PG 100, col. 433.

⁷⁹ Pitarakis 2006, 143.

⁸⁰ Pitarakis 2006, 23f.

⁸¹ Pitarakis 2006, 78.

⁸² Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou/Pitarakis/Loverdou-Tsigarida 2001, 56.

⁸³ Pitarakis 2006, 120.

⁸⁴ Pitarakis 2006, 105f.

⁸⁵ Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou/Pitarakis/Loverdou-Tsigarida 2001, 30.

cessful suppression of the practice.⁸⁶ North of the Alps, Christian motifs like the cross and doves only occur on grave goods in the seventh century, earlier grave goods are decorated with traditional geometric or floral patterns.⁸⁷ Only in the eighth and ninth centuries do bronze or copper *fibulae* with Christian decoration appear to be common in women's dress throughout the Carolingian empire.⁸⁸ This could suggest that not only amulets were few and far between, but also that religious or ritual expression through jewellery in general was not very common in western Christianity, especially north of the Alps, in the early Middle Ages. When it does occur, it is with simple motifs like a cross, perhaps flanked by doves, and in combination with the traditional geometric or floral patterns, without elaborate iconography or invocations. Still, contradicting this dearth of material evidence, there is a repeated condemnation of amulets and phylacteries by popes, synods and theologians throughout these centuries,⁸⁹ and there are also repeated instances of saints performing and writing out exorcist formulae in Latin hagiography.⁹⁰

And there is some material evidence from the time, which, despite the undisputed fact of their low number, does point towards at least some use of apotropaic amulets in the early Christian west. First, there is the reliquary cross that Gregory the Great presented to the Lombard queen Theodelinda in 603. It is an enamelled pectoral cross, likely to have been made in the Holy Land. On the front it has the scene of the Crucifixion and the Seven Last Words of Christ, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke 23,34), while the back contains the first ten verses of a poem by Gregory Nazianzus (c. 329–390) where Christ exorcises the devil. Both elements on the front are known from other forms of amulets, and the poem on the back may serve as a *historiola*, the recounting of a miracle story with the aim of the miracle, here exorcism, being repeated.⁹¹ Although admittedly eastern in origin, its acquisition and further use by Gregory the Great suggests that such a cross is permissible, even desirable, also in the Latin Church, and thus that traditional apotropaic practice, even on a cruciform amulet, was found. Skemer further mentions a Greek-style silver pectoral cross found at the Lausanne cathedral in 1910, measuring some 8,2 cm: "It has inscriptions comprised of crosses and variations on ABRAXAS and ABRACADABRA, ancient *voces magicae* [...] The magic words were incised in a crude roman majuscule (possibly incorporating some Greek letters) on the front and back of the pectoral cross".⁹² Skemer further notes that Waldemar Deonna reports similar

⁸⁶ Skemer 2006, 21.

⁸⁷ Bierbrauer 2003, 436f.

⁸⁸ Müller-Wille 2003.

⁸⁹ Skemer 2006, 45f.

⁹⁰ Skemer 2006, 48.

⁹¹ Skemer 2006, 49.

⁹² Skemer 2006, 49.

crosses from other early medieval Germanic burials.⁹³ These, then, are even clearer examples of traditional magical elements being combined with a cruciform amulet, but these examples are of course likely to represent a much less official attitude than Theodelinda's papal cross.

Amulets continued also in the Latin west to have a special connection to healing. The *Hunter MS 100* at the Durham Cathedral Chapter Library is a twelfth century monastic compilation of questions of medicine and healing, including some recipes for amulets that, also in this late century, combines Christian elements with pre-Christian magical practice. For instance, there is a recipe for a blood-staunching amulet, consisting of a spell that should be written out on a leaf and then given to the patient. Included in the spell are the distinctly liturgical phrases *in nomine patris et filii et spiritu sancti*, the *kyrie eleison* and the *Pater Noster*.⁹⁴ Another recipe is for a fever amulet, and consists of inscribing a lead cross with a spell that has repeated invocations of Christ, but also non-Christian elements like the rhyming, nonsensical words, "...hon con non ton yon zon..."⁹⁵ Here there is, then, a cruciform amulet that includes typical magical elements from the Mediterranean magical tradition, as late and far away as twelfth century England. Still, however striking such examples of continuity may be, they remain few and far between. The vast majority of recipes and instructions for amulets from the Latin Middle Ages restrict themselves to liturgical elements and explicitly Christian symbols and invocations, in spells that are not too different from prayer.⁹⁶ Herein the cross was a favoured symbol, occurring in various forms and guises, praised and described, configured in monograms or used as a form of punctuation. Hence, it appears that the Church did have a considerable influence on the use of amulets in the early Middle Ages, and that the cross here played an important role as an allowed apotropaic symbol. However, the old practices did clearly not die out, and continued in a limited way to be used alongside and combined with Christian apotropaic elements up to at least the twelfth century.

5 Use and Production

From the material I have looked at, it appears I can give a cautious affirmative answer to my question: Yes, the Church and its, at least partial, endorsement of the cross as an apotropaic symbol did lead to changes in the use and production of amulets as Christianity established itself in the Roman and post-Roman world, and the cross became an important apotropaic symbol. However, several examples show not only the con-

⁹³ Skemer 2006, 49.

⁹⁴ Skemer 2006, 80 n.11.

⁹⁵ Skemer 2006, 80 n.11.

⁹⁶ Skemer 2006, 90–96.

tinuation of earlier practices and symbols, but also their combination with Christian elements, something which was strictly forbidden. To appreciate the Church's ambivalent attitudes towards amulets, many scholars draw parallels to the revered and popular relics. Relics were extremely popular among laypeople, clergy and aristocracy, and their worship was propagated by dramatic hagiography and grand festivals.⁹⁷ As with amulets, these were material artefacts believed to hold spiritual, and often apotropaic, power.⁹⁸ Moreover, relics and amulets were often used together, as shown for instance in Pitarakis' study, with holy dust or oil being held and carried around as part of the amulet.⁹⁹ Pitarakis observes the importance of the enclosed relic in the fact that many pectoral crosses have functioning systems of opening and closure. Furthermore, the crosses that have been damaged appear to have been so at the centre of the cross, most likely to be able to reach the relic inside.¹⁰⁰ Such vibrant cults of relics are then seen as parallel to the use of apotropaic amulets, and thereby having had a legitimising function.

Also when it comes to healing-amulets, the Church faced a difficult task in separating proper from improper practice. For instance, the popular lapidaries describe gemstones as harbouring extensive healing powers, and sources indicate a widespread use of for instance haematite, or *blood-stone*, in treating blood-related afflictions.¹⁰¹ The question of proper medicine was complicated by the fact that medieval medicine generally relied on the pre-Christian Greeks, where much learning had centred on the cult of Asclepius. As the founder of medicine, Asclepius enjoyed a certain degree of respect in the Middle Ages, but of course as a pagan cult it was always open for accusations of magic and dealing with demons.¹⁰² But the ambivalence here will have allowed some leniency when it came to healing-amulets. Even Augustine could not prescribe a clear division between medicine and magic: "And yet, where there are no enchantments, invocations, or characters, we can ask these questions. Is the object which is tied or fastened in any way to the body for the restoration of its health efficacious by virtue of its own nature? (If so, we may use the remedy unrestrictedly.) Or, does it succeed because of some signifying bond?"¹⁰³ "In the thirteenth century, the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach categorized the Ave Maria, Benedictie, and sign of the cross as *medicina*, in the sense of a divine remedy to protect the faithful in their daily struggles against the Devil".¹⁰⁴

97 Angenendt 2010, 112.

98 Angenendt 2010, 131f.

99 Pitarakis 2006, 116.

100 Pitarakis 2006, 119.

101 Kieckhefer 1992, 163.

102 Flint 1991, 347

103 Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 2,29; trans. J. J. Gavian (1947), *Saint Augustine, Christian Instruction*, Washington.

104 Skemer 2006, 92.

In fact, also when it comes to the production of amulets, most scholars point to the clergy. I have already mentioned Caesarius of Arles' warning, and its frequent repetition throughout the Middle Ages. Skemer argues that clerics would be the only people with the basic literacy, equipment and access to liturgical and iconographic models to produce amulets,¹⁰⁵ and John L. Crow asserts that, at least up until the spread of literacy in the high Middle Ages, the clergy was the only group with the means and expertise to produce amulets.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, Jean-Patrice Boudet presents a full exploration of the relations between magic and the educated classes in medieval Europe.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, as we have already observed how saints were described to produce amulets, and the Church's ambivalence regarding relics and the art of medicine, why should not also the clergy produce amulets? Still, there are of course the several rulings against producing amulets, and the prescription of extensive penance for the making of amulets quoted by for instance Regino of Prüm and Burchard of Worms, so the situation must have remained ambiguous. In fact, the ambivalence regarding amulet production is clearly shown in the *Hunter MS 100*. Although the book was kept in the library and the pages with the amulet recipes not torn or cut out, there is a note in the margin warning against actually using these recipes.¹⁰⁸ So it is clear that the use and production of medieval amulets was just as multifaceted and complex as the amulets themselves are.

6 Conclusion

I have outlined how the emerging Church in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages responded to the well-established amulet-tradition in the Roman and post-Roman world. The Church generally condemned any form of amulet, or other magical practice, but there seems to also have been an allowance made for the apotropaic use of crosses. I asked, then, whether this leniency towards cruciform amulets can be seen in the material evidence from this period, and whether cruciform amulets use a different register of symbols and ritual elements than non-cruciform amulets. If so, this would suggest that Church teaching and dogma did have an effect also on amulet use and production in the early Middle Ages. I looked at examples ranging from the 5th to the 11th century, and from both the Greek east and the Latin west, in order to potentially identify patterns of development across time and space.

And, as it turns out, there does seem to be a development toward more wholly Christian amulets. As the centuries progress, there appears to have been more cruci-

105 Skemer 2006, 47.

106 Crow 2009, 98.

107 Boudet 2006. See also Weill-Parot 2002.

108 Skemer 2006, 80.

form amulets, and the vast majority of these borrow their imagery and symbols from ecclesiastical art, whereas earlier, non-cruciform Christian amulets also include non-Christian symbols and elements. However, there are some examples of this also in late and cruciform amulets, so there are exceptions to the general rule. Turning to my geographical variable, this does not seem to make a big difference for my question. Certainly there are differences in the development and use of amulets between the two areas, but the shift towards Christian form and iconography in amulets appear to be common to both. Hence, this initial, and necessarily superficial investigation, does suggest that the rising Church and its teachings did have an impact on the use and production of amulets, even if there are also cases illustrating the longevity and presence of earlier magical traditions well into the Christian age.

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Christoffer Theis

Hekate Triformis auf Gemmen

1 Einleitung

Aus dem antiken Griechenland existieren vielfältige Quellen, die von verschiedensten Wesen mit mehreren Köpfen berichten oder diese bildlich darstellen. Ausgehend vom Stammvater Typhon weisen dessen Kinder Orthos, Kerberos, Hydra, Chimaira und Skylla alle mehrere Häupter auf, wie sie mit Ausnahme von Skylla bereits bei Hesiod, *Theogonia* 309–327 überliefert werden.¹ Diese sind durch Sagen und Mythen teilweise auch im heutigen westlichen Kulturkreis noch bekannt, erscheinen doch zwei der Genannten in den Arbeiten des Herakles. So musste der Held als seine zweite Aufgabe die neunköpfige Hydra töten und als zwölfte und letzte Tat den dreiköpfigen Hund Kerberos aus der Unterwelt heraufbringen. Darüber hinaus erscheint als seine zehnte Arbeit der Raub der Rinderherde des Geryon, welcher z. B. von Hesiod, *Theogonia* 287 als dreiköpfiger Mann (τρικέφαλος) beschrieben wird.² Bei diesen Wesen handelt es sich um bereits in der Archaischen Periode Griechenlands nachgewiesene Geschöpfe mit mehreren Köpfen.

Erst später tritt die dreigestaltige Hekate hinzu.³ Unter den genannten Geschöpfen aus dem griechischen Raum scheint deren Ausstrahlungskraft den heute bekannten Belegen nach sehr groß gewesen zu sein, erscheint sie noch in mannigfaltigen Belegen auf spätantiken Gemmen. Ihre zahlreichen Darstellungen auf Gemmen erscheinen nicht überraschend,⁴ da Hekate speziell mit dem Zauber in Verbindung gebracht wurde und auf den Gemmen viele als magisch-zauberreich anzusprechende Wesen abgebildet wurden. Noch Augustinus von Hippo, *Sermones genuini* 242, 7 bezeichnet sie als „Weltseele“.⁵ Der dreigestaltigen, dreigesichtigen oder dreiköpfigen Göttin wurden bereits einige Abhandlungen gewidmet, die auch Zusammenstellungen des Quellenmaterials von Statuetten, Münzen und Reliefs bieten.⁶ Allerdings

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1 Siehe den griechischen Text bei von Schirnding 2012, 28, 30.

2 Siehe den griechischen Text bei von Schirnding 2012, 26.

3 Als einführende Literatur zu ihrer Darstellung und ihrer Entwicklung sei v. a. auf Berg 1974; Fauth 2006; Johnston 1990; Kirfel 1948, 101–110; Kraus 1960; Lautwein 2009; Marquardt 1981; Mitropoulou 1978; Roscher 1890, 1903–1910; von Rudloff 1999; Sarian 1992 und Werth 2006 verwiesen.

4 So v. a. in einem Liebeszauber in Pap. Oslo 1 U. B., VIII, 2 (PGM XXXVI, 190) bei Preisendanz 2001b, 169.

5 Siehe die Überlieferung bei Rotelle 1994, 74; hierzu auch Cook 2004, 158.

6 Siehe Mitropoulou 1978; Sarian 1992, 998–1012 und Werth 2006, 293–509.

existiert bisher keine Zusammenschau ihrer Darstellungen auf Gemmen. Diese sind in den bisherigen Betrachtungen nur unzureichend aufgeführt worden, was wohl mit der Verstreutheit des Materials zu begründen ist.

2 Die mehrköpfige Hekate

Zu der Göttin existieren wie erwähnt bereits einige Abhandlungen in der Literatur, so dass sich im Folgenden auf diejenigen Aspekte beschränkt werden soll, die sie mit Mehrköpfigkeit und mit ihren Darstellungen auf Gemmen, in Verbindung bringen. Hekate wurde wohl aus einem kleinasiatischen Kult in das griechische Pantheon übernommen.⁷ Ihre Gestalt durchlief im griechischen Kulturkreis eine Entwicklung. War sie in ihren ersten Darstellungen während des sechsten und fünften Jahrhunderts vor Christus ein Wesen mit nur einem Kopf, taucht gegen Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr. die dreiköpfige Wesenseinheit auf und koexistiert seither mit der einköpfigen Gestalt. Doch wird ihre dreiköpfige Gestalt bestimmend,⁸ wie sie dann auch noch etwa eintausend Jahre später auf spätantiken Gemmen nachzuweisen ist. Auch auf den Gemmen existieren beide Erscheinungsformen nebeneinander, wie die Göttin z. B. auf Berlin, Ant.-Slg., Slg. Heinrich Dressel, Inv.-Nr. 32.232 oder auf Boston, MFA, Inv. 03.1010 drei Mal mit jeweils nur einem Kopf dargestellt wurde.⁹ Nach Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* II, 30, 2 war Alkamenes (gest. um 400 v. Chr.) der erste, der drei Bilder der Hekate zu einem zusammenfügte (Ἀλκαμένης δὲ ἔμοι δοκεῖν πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἑκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις).¹⁰ Hekate hatte den Schlüssel zum Hades in ihren Händen und damit die Macht, die Unterwelt zu verschließen. Doch gleichzeitig kommen aus dieser Dämonen und Krankheiten, so dass die Göttin auch für diese verantwortlich gemacht wurde.¹¹ So erscheint es nicht verwunderlich, dass ihre Darstellung vielfach auf Gemmen belegt ist und diese den Träger gegen Krankheiten und Übel schützen sollte.

Ihre erste literarische Erwähnung findet sich bei Hesiod, *Theogonia* 410–452.¹² Hiernach war sie die Tochter von Perses und Asteria (*Theogonia* 409 f.).¹³ In antiken

⁷ Vgl. Berg 1974, 129 f. und auch die Abhandlung von Werth 2006, 24–27. Kirfel 1948, 103 nennt Thrakien als Möglichkeit ihrer Herkunft; Stein 1990, 20 Karien.

⁸ Vgl. Berg 1974, 130 f. und Werth 2006, 15.

⁹ Publiziert von Weiß 2007, Nr. 670 (datiert in das zweite nachchristliche Jahrhundert) und Spier 2007, 82, Taf. 56 (Nr. 463) (hergestellt aus rot-bräunlichem Jaspis; Inschrift Η·ΟΥΡΤΙΝΙΑ·ΘΕΟΔΟΤ·). So auch auf Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, S5 bei Spier 2007, 176 belegt.

¹⁰ Griechischer Text nach Rocha-Pereira 1973, 177.

¹¹ Vgl. Kirfel 1948, 102 und Werth 2006, 246 f.

¹² Siehe den griechischen Text bei von Schirmding 2012, 36, 38; zu diesem Teilstück speziell Stein 1990, 18 f.

¹³ In anderen Quellen erscheinen auch hiervon abweichende Angaben, wie sie z. B. nach *Orphicorum fragmenta* XLII, 113 K eine Tochter von Demeter und Zeus, gewesen sein soll; s. hierzu Fauth 2006, 22.

Werken wird häufig auf ihre besondere Gestalt angespielt. Doch wie die Dreigestaltigkeit der Hekate zu bewerten ist, hat in der Forschung einige – oft gegensätzliche – Meinungen hervorgebracht.¹⁴ Nina Werth hat sich intensiv mit diesen auseinandergesetzt und ihre Forschungen sowie ihre Zusammenfassung weiterer Meinungen belegen, dass mehrere Deutungen der ikonographischen Tradition der dreifachen Darstellung abzulehnen sind.¹⁵ Insgesamt hat sich die Meinung durchgesetzt, dass die drei Köpfe bzw. ihre drei Gestalten auf das tellurische Phänomen der drei Wege und einen weiblichen Dreierverein hindeuten.¹⁶ Mit dieser Deutung kann eine Passage aus Pap. Michigan, Inv. 7, Z. 16–18 aus dem dritten oder vierten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert in Verbindung gebracht werden.¹⁷ Hiernach sollte ein Mittel für Gunst mit den Namen der Hekate und der Ereškigal an einem Dreiweg (τρίοδος) gesprochen werden, da die Göttin an solchen Wegen erscheinen (φαντάζομαι) kann. Beschrieben wird Hekate mit ihrem Hauptattribut in Pap. Paris, Bibl. Nat., suppl. gr. 574, Bl. 28r (PGM IV, 2523 f.) aus dem vierten Jahrhundert n. Chr. als

τρίκτυπε τρίφθογγε τρικάρανε Σελήνη θρινακία τριπρόσωπε τριαύχενε καὶ τριοδίτι

dreifach stampfende, dreistimmige, dreiköpfige Selene, dreispitzige, dreigesichtige, dreinackige und dreiwegige.¹⁸

Des Weiteren wird die Göttin noch als dreigesichtige (τριπρόσωπος) in den Belegen Pap. Paris, Bibl. Nat., suppl. gr. 574, Bl. 24r, Bl. 29r und Bl. 30v (PGM IV, 2117–2120, 2609, 2786 f.) genannt.¹⁹ τρικάρηνος erscheint ebenso in Pap. Paris, Bibl. Nat., suppl. gr. 574, Bl. 17r, 28v, 30r, 30v, 31r (PGM IV, 1402, 2546, 2725, 2748, 2796, 2821).²⁰ Auch Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* VII, 325 bezeichnete sie etwa zeitlich im dritten Jahrhundert n. Chr. als τριοδίτις γὰρ καὶ τρίγληνος „dreiwegige und nach drei Richtungen schauende“.²¹ Früher, im ersten Jahrhundert vor Christus, nannte Ovid, *Fasti* I, 141 als ihr bestimmendes Element *vides Hecates in tres vertentia partes* „du siehst, daß sich das Gesicht der Hekate (gleichzeitig) in drei Richtungen wendet“.²² Ebenfalls bezeichnete er sie in seinem Werk *Metamorphoses* VII, 177 als *diva triformis* und in VII, 194 als *triceps*,²³ bezeichnet hiermit also direkt ihre auffällige Erscheinungs-

14 Hier sei auf die Zusammenstellung der Thesen bei Fauth 2006, 19–21 und Werth 2006, 35–60, 139–141 verwiesen.

15 Siehe Werth 2006, 61–85.

16 Vgl. Fauth 2006, 19 und Werth 2006, 84 f.

17 Publiziert von Preisendanz 2001b, 202; entspricht PGM LXX, 16–18.

18 Griechischer Text nach Preisendanz 2001a, 150.

19 Publiziert von Preisendanz 2001a, 136, 154, 158, 160.

20 Publiziert von Preisendanz 2001a, 118, 152, 158, 160, 162.

21 Griechischer Text nach Gulick 1967, 460. τριοδίτις erscheint ebenso in Pap. Paris, Bibl. Nat., suppl. gr. 574, Bl. 28r, 30r, 31r (PGM IV, 2526, 2728, 2824) bei Preisendanz 2001a, 150, 158, 162.

22 Lateinischer Text nach Bömer 1957, 66; vgl. auch den Kommentar von Frazer 1929, 168 f.

23 Lateinischer Text nach Kenney 2011, 22. Exakt so nannte Horaz, *Carmina* III, 22, 4 Diana, siehe den Text bei Burger 1927, 78.

form. Seneca nannte sie ebenso *Hecate triformis* in seinem Werk *Medea* 7 während des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts.²⁴ Ein Jahrhundert später bezeichnete Artemidorus Daldianus, *Oneirocritica* II, 37 sie als Ἐκάτη τριπρόσωπον.²⁵ Im vierten Jahrhundert n. Chr. nannte Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* IV, 23, 6 sie „dreieihig“ (τό τρίστοιχον) und wohl im fünften Jahrhundert erscheint sie in Orpheus, *Argonautika* 976 als „dreiköpfig“ (τρισοκέφαλος).²⁶ Noch Eustathios, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 1197 benannte Hekate im zwölften Jahrhundert n. Chr. als τριοδίτι, τρίμορφε, τριπ(ρ)όσωπε „dreiwegige, dreigestaltige, dreigesichtige“.²⁷ Eine späte Ausdeutung liegt bei Johannes Lydus, *Liber de mensibus*, III, 8 im sechsten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert vor, der Hekate als τριοδίτιν benennt.²⁸ Die verschiedenen genannten Quellen zeigen somit immer eine bestimmte Gestalt der Göttin, die sich in einem Erscheinungsbild von drei Köpfen oder ‚drei Formen‘, unter denen man drei Leiber verstehen kann, widerspiegelt. Die Mehrköpfigkeit scheint eines ihrer bestimmenden Elemente gewesen zu sein, da ein textlicher Hinweis sehr häufig mit ihrem Namen erscheint und somit häufig direkt auf ihr polykephales Erscheinungsbild hingewiesen wird. Unter dem Namen Ἐνήφιογος dürfte Hekate auch in *Testamentum Salomonis* XV, 1–6 genannt werden.²⁹ Beschrieben wird sie dort als eine Frau mit zwei Köpfen (δύο κεφαλὰς) auf ihren Schultern, sie wird nach eigener Aussage durch die Weisen in Magie beschworen und kann die Dreigestaltigkeit annehmen (τρῆς μορφὰς κατέχω), was insgesamt eine Identifizierung mit Hekate wahrscheinlich macht. Der Textquelle *Testamentum Salomonis* zufolge wäre die Göttin somit neben ihrer Erscheinung mit drei Köpfen auch mit zwei Häuptionen belegt. Erscheint eine derartige Wandlung auf den ersten Blick merkwürdig, muss hierzu angeführt werden, dass verschiedene Götter in der Antike mit unterschiedlichen Kopffzahlen belegt sind, wobei in vielen Fällen eine Verwechslung aufgrund der in den Texten genannten Namen auszuschließen ist. Als Beispiel kann der bereits genannte Kerberos herausgegriffen werden, der wie oben genannt in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Quellen als ein Hund mit drei Köpfen beschrieben wird. Allerdings hat er nach Hesiod, *Theogonia* 311 fünfzig Köpfe (πεντηκοντακέφαλος), während ihn Horaz, *Carmina* II, 13, 34 als einen Hund mit sogar einhundert Häuptionen (*belua centiceps*) bezeichnet.³⁰

²⁴ Lateinischer Text nach Boyle 2014, 4.

²⁵ Griechischer Text nach Pack 1963, 167. So auch belegt bei Diphilos, *frag.* 42, siehe den Text bei Meineke 1841, 427 f.

²⁶ Griechischer Text nach Zink 1979, 228 und Vian 1987, 145. Vgl. auch Vergil, *Aeneis* IV, 511 mit *tergeminamque Hecaten tria virginis ora Dianae*, lateinischer Text nach Conte 2011, 114.

²⁷ Griechischer Text nach van der Valk 1979, 373.

²⁸ Griechischer Text nach Wünsch 1898, 44; siehe hierzu auch speziell Bortolani 2016, 293 f.

²⁹ Siehe den Text und die Ausführungen bei Busch 2006, 201 f. und McCown 1922, 46* f.

³⁰ Siehe den lateinischen Text bei Burger 1927, 45. Küster 1913, 90, Anm. 2 nahm an, dass die Reduktion der Kopffzahl durch bzw. für die Kunst durchgeführt wurde, da ein Hund mit fünfzig oder hundert Köpfen nicht darstellbar gewesen wäre.

Die die Köpfe betreffenden Quellen machen deutlich, dass diese als das bestimmende Element der Göttin erkannt wurden. Viele der genannten Texte sind in etwa zeitgleich mit den im Folgenden zu nennenden Darstellungen auf Gemmen, die nur grob in die Spätantike datiert werden können, entstanden. Es ist sehr gut anzunehmen, dass ein Hersteller einer der Gattungen auch Kenntnisse der anderen besaß. Es wäre aufgrund der zweidimensionalen Darstellungen auf Gemmen zwar möglich, dass Hekate eigentlich vier Gesichter oder vier Köpfe aufweisen soll, wobei jedoch das vierte aus Gründen der Perspektive nicht dargestellt werden konnte, da es sich hinter den anderen drei Häuptionen verbirgt und somit vom Betrachter weggewandt ist. Es existieren im Kontrast zu den sehr häufig belegten Epitheta, die Hekate mit drei Köpfen oder drei Gesichtern in Verbindung bringen, nur wenige Quellen, die von einem vierten sprechen. So wird sie in Pap. Paris, Bibl. Nat., suppl. gr. 574, Bl. 28v (PGM IV, 2559 f.) als „viergesichtige, viernamige, vierwegige“ angesprochen.³¹ In der Mehrzahl der genannten Quellen wird Hekate als eine Göttin mit lediglich drei Köpfen bezeichnet. Dementsprechend spiegeln die Darstellungen auf Gemmen ihre Erscheinung genau wieder.

3 Darstellungen der Hekate auf Gemmen

Den überlieferten Belegen nach stellte die Göttin Hekate ein recht beliebtes Motiv auf spätantiken Gemmen dar. Sie ist gewöhnlich mit einem knöchellangen Peplos bekleidet, der in den Hüften meist bauschig ausfällt. Ihre sechs Arme sind vom Körper weggestreckt und mit der Bemühung um eine Perspektive übereinander gestaffelt. Die Attribute in den Händen können wechseln: es handelt sich zumeist um je zwei Fackeln, Dolche und Geißeln.³² Gemein ist den Darstellungen auf Gemmen das Pfeilerhafte der Göttin, ihre Gestalt steht gerade mittig auf der Gemme.³³

Auf den Gemmen sind drei verschiedene Darstellungsarten zu differenzieren. Die im Folgenden aufgeführten Belege sollen eine Übersicht über das derzeit bekannte Material bieten. Aufgrund ihrer Masse wie der verstreuten Publikationen kann kein Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit geleistet werden. Obwohl der Name Hekate nur selten in einer Inschrift auf den Gemmen genannt wird, sind die Darstellungen anhand der Form der Figur und ihrer Attribute eindeutig als diese Göttin zu erkennen. Nina Werth legte bereits 2006 eine Liste mit Darstellungen der Hekate auf magischen Gemmen

³¹ Griechischer Text nach Preisendanz 2001a, 152.

³² Die Fackel stellt bereits bei Homer, *Hymnos in Demeter* 52 ein Attribut der Hekate dar, siehe Richardson 1974, 158.

³³ Mit der Gestaltung einer Gemme mit Hekate nach den Zauberpapyri setzt sich Paolo Vitellozzi im vorliegenden Band auseinander.

vor,³⁴ die hier im Folgenden durch einige weitere Belege ergänzt und nach den Details der Köpfe klassifiziert werden soll.

1. *Triprosopos*: Die Göttin hat einen einzigen Körper mit einem Kopf, der aber drei Gesichter aufweist. *Belege*: Ann Arbor, Special Collections Library (CBd-1038);³⁵ Ann Arbor, KM, 26149 (CBd-1313);³⁶ Bonner 49;³⁷ Chiflet 1657, Taf. XIV, 56;³⁸ Chiflet 1657, Taf. XIV, 57;³⁹ Delos, Mus., 74/551;⁴⁰ Delos, Mus., 74/8840;⁴¹ Delos, Mus., 75/1937;⁴² Delos, Mus., 75/604;⁴³ Göttingen, Arch. Inst. der Universität, Inv.-Nr. G 188;⁴⁴ Florenz, MAF, Inv. 15078;⁴⁵ Siegelabdruck Gaziantep, Gaziantep Museum, 7587.58.01;⁴⁶ London, BM, Inv. 1814,0704.1345;⁴⁷ London, BM, Inv. 1917,0501.1358;⁴⁸ London, BM, Inv. G 251, EA 56251 (CBd-129);⁴⁹ London, BM, Inv. G

³⁴ Siehe Werth 2006, 405–439*.

³⁵ Publiziert von Bonner 1950, 263 f. (Nr. 64). Hergestellt aus rotem Jaspis; Größe 1,3 x 1,0 x 0,3 cm; Inschrift umlaufend ΑΒΡΑCΑΞ und ΒΑΙΝΧΩCΩΧ → Ἀβρασαξ und Βαίνχωωχ.

³⁶ Publiziert von Bonner 1950, 264 (Nr. 66) und Werth 2006, 418 f. (Nr. 279). Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 1,9 x 1,3 x 0,4 cm. Um die Gestalt sind die Buchstaben Ε, Υ, Α, Π, Ω und Ζ zu erkennen.

³⁷ Publiziert von Bonner 1950, 263 f. (Nr. 64); Nagy 2002, 159 und Werth 2006, 419 f. (Nr. 281). Hergestellt aus rotem Jaspis; Größe 1,3 x 1,0 x 0,3 cm. Auf der Rückseite wurde ein Gorgonenhaupt angebracht.

³⁸ Publiziert von Chiflet 1657, I, Taf. 14, 56. Hekate ohne Beischrift; auf der Rückseite ein hockender Affe mit Beischrift ΙΑΩ.

³⁹ Publiziert von Mastrocinque 2003, 351 (Nr. 307) und Chiflet 1657, I, Taf. 14, 57. Hergestellt aus Diasper; Größe unbekannt. Inschrift in drei Zeilen unterhalb der Figur: ΑΜΟΙΡΟΜΟΙΠΠΙΟΜΙΟΜΑ/ nicht deutbare Zeichen.

⁴⁰ Publiziert von Boussac 1992, 187 (H 62) und Werth 2006, 436 f. (Nr. 326). Abdruck auf Terrakotta; Größe 1,28 x 0,42 cm.

⁴¹ Publiziert von Boussac 1992, 187 (H 63) und Werth 2006, 436 (Nr. 325). Abdruck auf Terrakotta; Größe 1,1 x 0,66 cm.

⁴² Publiziert von Boussac 1992, 188 (H 65) und Werth 2006, 437 (Nr. 327). Abdruck auf Terrakotta; Größe 1,44 x 0,63 cm.

⁴³ Publiziert von Boussac 1992, 188 (H 66) Werth 2006, 437 (Nr. 328). Abdruck auf Terrakotta; Größe 1,45 x 0,67 cm.

⁴⁴ Publiziert von Nagy 2002, 158 f.; Werth 2006, 413 f. (Nr. 266) und Zazoff 1970, 160 (Nr. 608). Hergestellt aus Karneol; Größe 1,7 x 1,27 x 0,41 cm. Inschrift auf dem Rand ΓΟΜΑΝΔΑΡΗΑΡΗΓΟΡΩ. Auf der Rückseite wurde ein Gorgonenhaupt angebracht.

⁴⁵ Publiziert von Mastrocinque 2003, 350 (Nr. 304) und Michel 2004, 277. Hergestellt aus gelbem Diasper; Größe 1,98 x 1,54 x 0,39 cm. Inschrift umlaufend ΑΒΡΑCΑΞ ΑΖΙΑΙΧΥΧΑΥΧΑΥΝΑΥΛΑΝΥ → Ἀβρασαξ; auf der Rückseite ΧΥΧ/ΒΑΧΥΧ/ΙΗΙ → wohl Βαίνχωωχ.

⁴⁶ Önal 2010, 37 und http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/talismans/cbd/1588?element=455&multiple_cond=and (Zugriff am 7. Juni 2017). Größe 0,9 x 0,7 cm. Stammt aus den Archiven der Agora in Zeugma, Süd-Osten der heutigen Türkei.

⁴⁷ Walters 1926, Nr. 1344. Hergestellt aus rotem Jaspis; Größe 1,3 x 1,0 cm.

⁴⁸ Walters 1926, Nr. 1345. Ein bronzenener Fingerring, dessen Einlage aus Sardis Hekate zeigt; Durchmesser 2 cm.

⁴⁹ Publiziert von Michel 2001b, 44 f. (Nr. 67) und ead. 2004, 278. Hergestellt aus Obsidian, aber nur schwach poliert; Größe 2,1 x 1,7 x 0,4 cm. Auf der Rückseite wurden sieben achtstrahlige Sterne * * * / * * * * innerhalb eines breit gerippten Ouroboros angebracht.

284, EA 56284 (CBd-470);⁵⁰ Hannover, KMH, Inv. K 449;⁵¹ Inv. K 450;⁵² Montfaucon 1722a, Taf. 162,7;⁵³ Montfaucon 1722b, II, Taf. 163;⁵⁴ Neapel, MAN, Inv. 27265/1403 (CBd-2208);⁵⁵ Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coll. Blanchet;⁵⁶ Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coll. Cahn, Bâle (CBd-1903);⁵⁷ Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fr 2886;⁵⁸ Paris, Bibl. nat., Fr 2890;⁵⁹ Paris, Bibl. nat., Fr 2892;⁶⁰ Paris, Cab. méd., S 390;⁶¹ Slg. Seyrig 26;⁶² Slg. Skoluda, MN001 (CBd-1689);⁶³ Slg. Skoluda, MN003 (CBd-1733; neuzeitliche Kopie);⁶⁴ Slg. Skoluda,

50 Publiziert von Michel 2001b, 47 (Nr. 70) und ead. 2004, 277; Ex-Sammlung Greville John Chester. Hergestellt aus Koralle; Größe 1,9 x 1,4 x 0,3 cm. Auf der Rückseite befindet sich eine Inschrift in fünf Zeilen: $\text{I}|\text{H}\text{C}\text{I}\text{ }\Phi\text{O}\text{P}|\text{B}\text{O}\text{N}\text{N}\text{H}\text{B}\text{A}|\text{P}\text{O}\text{A}\text{P}\text{B}\text{C}\text{O}|\text{I}\Sigma \rightarrow \text{Ἴσις}$.

51 Publiziert von Zazoff 1975, 310 (Nr. 1707) und Michel 2004, 277. Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 1,11 x 0,86 x 0,21 cm. Inschrift auf der Rückseite: $\text{O}\text{P}\text{X}\text{P}\text{A}|\text{Θ}\text{O}\text{M}\text{X}\text{A}$.

52 Publiziert von Zazoff 1975, 310 (Nr. 1706). Hergestellt aus Jaspis; Größe 1,68 x 1,26 x 0,25 cm. Inschrift auf dem Rand: $\text{Γ}\text{O}\text{M}\text{A}\text{N}\text{Δ}\text{A}\text{P}\text{H}\text{A}\text{P}\text{H}\text{Γ}\text{O}\text{P}\text{O}$. Auf der Rückseite wurde das Haupt der Medusa angebracht.

53 Publiziert von Mastrocinque 2003, 350 f. (Nr. 305) und Montfaucon 1722a, Taf. 162,7. Inschrift umlaufend $\text{Δ}\text{E}\text{I}\text{A}\text{I}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{I}\text{X}\text{A}\text{T}\text{P}\text{A}\text{Γ}\text{A}\text{T}\text{E}\text{I}\text{T}\text{I}\text{C}\text{A}\text{X}\text{A}\text{T}$. Auf der Rückseite sieht man ein hohes, rechteckiges Gebäude, auf dem ein Vogel sitzt und um das die Inschrift $\text{A}\text{Λ}\text{I}\text{M}\text{O}\text{N}\text{E}\text{C}\text{C}\text{H}\text{M}\text{E}\text{Λ}\text{H}\text{N}\text{T}\text{P}\text{E}\text{M}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{C}\text{I}\text{N}$ läuft.

54 Publiziert von Mastrocinque 2003, 351 (Nr. 306) und Montfaucon 1722b, Taf. 163. Hergestellt aus Sarder; Größe unbekannt. Auf der Rückseite befindet sich die Inschrift $\text{A}\text{H}\text{O}\text{H}|\text{Ω}\text{A}\text{Ω}\text{A}|\text{H}$.

55 Publiziert von Mastrocinque 2003, 353 (Nr. 310). Hergestellt aus Karneol; Größe 2,39 x 1,93 x 0,6 cm. Auf der Rückseite befindet sich ein Anguipedes, Inschrift umlaufend $\text{I}\text{A}\text{C}\text{O}$.

56 Publiziert von Delatte/Derchain 1964, 191 (Nr. 253); Michel 2004, 277; Mitropoulou 1978, Nr. 61d und Werth 2006, 405 f. (Nr. 246). Hergestellt aus Jaspis; Größe 1,5 x 1,0 cm. Inschrift bei Hekate: $\text{I}\text{A}\text{C}\text{O}\text{X}\text{O}\text{X}\text{M}\text{A}\text{I} \rightarrow \text{Ἴδω}$.

57 Publiziert von Delatte/Derchain 1964, 191 (Nr. 254); Mitropoulou 1978, Nr. 47b und Werth 2006, 407 f. (Nr. 251). Hergestellt aus Karneol; Größe 0,9 x 1,1 cm.

58 Publiziert von Delatte/Derchain 1964, 136 (Nr. 174); Mastrocinque 2014, 70 (Nr. 164) und Werth 2006, 406 (Nr. 248). Hergestellt aus Jaspis. Auf der anderen Seite wurde Bes dargestellt.

59 Publiziert von Delatte/Derchain 1964, 190 (Nr. 152); Mastrocinque 2014, 143 (Nr. 375); Michel 2004, 277 und Werth 2006, 418 (Nr. 277) (die Inventarnummer ist zu berichtigen). Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 1,2 x 1,0 x 0,25 cm. Inschrift auf der Rückseite: $\text{B}\text{C}\text{O}\text{P}\text{Φ}\text{C}\text{O}|\text{P}\text{B}\text{C}\text{O}\text{P}\text{B}|\text{A}$.

60 Publiziert von Mastrocinque 2014, 143 (Nr. 374). Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 1,75 x 1,25 x 0,3 cm. Inschrift unter der Göttin: $\text{A}\text{B}\text{P}\text{I}\text{A}\text{H}\text{A}|\text{Θ}\text{A}\text{I}\text{O}\text{X}\text{O}\text{C}\text{O}$.

61 Publiziert von Delatte/Derchain 1964, 215 f. (Nr. 294) und Werth 2006, 416 (Nr. 272). Hergestellt aus Jaspis.

62 Publiziert von Bonner 1950, 314 (Nr. 360); Michel 2004, 277 und Werth 2006, 407 (Nr. 250). Hergestellt aus Limonit; Größe 1,9 x 0,8 x 0,8 cm. Inschrift: $\text{Z}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{A}\text{Γ}\text{I}\text{E}\text{A}\text{Γ}\text{I}\text{O}\text{C}\text{T}\text{P}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{I}\text{K}\text{A}\text{K}\text{E}$; sowie eine Darstellung von Isis-Tyche.

63 Publiziert von Michel 2001a, 63 f. (Nr. 61) und ead. 2004, 278. Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 6,9 x 1,5 x 1,3 cm. Die beiden Seitengesichter von Hekate sind praktisch nicht zu erkennen; umgeben ist sie von *charakteres*. Auf Seite A befindet sich ein Anguipedes; dabei eine Inschrift in drei Reihen $\text{I}\text{A}\text{C}\text{O}\text{C}\text{A}\text{B}\text{A}\text{C}\text{O}\text{M}\text{I}\text{X}\text{A}\text{H}\text{A} \rightarrow \text{Ἴδω}\text{ Σαβαώθ}\text{ Μιχαήλ}$; auf Seite C wurde eine von zwei Löwen flankierte menschliche Figur mit Hand am Mund dargestellt.

64 Publiziert von Michel 2001a, 109 f. (Nr. 123) und ead. 2004, 277. Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 3,04 x 2,12 x 0,41 cm. Auf beiden Seiten die kurze Inschrift: IYC , $\text{T}\text{I}\text{Θ}$; unter Hekate: $\text{I}\text{A}\text{H}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{C}\text{O}|\text{Z}\text{H}\text{H}\text{O}$ mit *charakteres*. Auf der Rückseite wurde die Inschrift $\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{I}\text{P}|\text{I}\text{M}\text{O}\text{P}\text{P}\text{I}\text{O}|\text{M}\text{H}\text{Z}\text{H}\text{I}\text{Z}|\text{Z}\text{O}\text{I}\text{Z}\text{Y}\text{I}$

MN093 (CBd-1754);⁶⁵ Slg. Reverend Dr. V.E.G. Kenna, Nr. 20517;⁶⁶ Den Hague, Cab. Roy., Inv.-Nr. 1444;⁶⁷ Wien, Kunsthist. Mus., Inv. IX B 1197;⁶⁸ Gemme o. Nr.⁶⁹

2. *Trikephalos*: Die Göttin besitzt einen Körper, aus dessen Oberseite drei individuelle Köpfe auf je einem Hals hervortreten. Diese Gestaltung ist oft durch eine nicht wirklich überzeugende anatomische Kombination gekennzeichnet, so dass es erscheint, als ob drei Göttinnen hintereinander stehen würden. *Belege*: Ann Arbor, KM, 26117 (CBd-1269);⁷⁰ Arch. Ztg. 15, Taf. 99;⁷¹ Baltimore, W.A.G., Inv. 42.874;⁷² Berlin, Äg. Mus., 9807 (CBd-2027);⁷³ Berlin, Äg. Mus., 9838 (CBd-2028);⁷⁴ Berlin, Äg. Mus., 9864 (CBd-221);⁷⁵ Berlin, Äg. Mus., 11934 (CBd-2026);⁷⁶ Berlin,

ΜΟΖΑΙ/ΣΥΕΙ in sechs Zeilen angebracht. Das auf http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/talismans/cbd/1733?element=647&multiple_cond=and (Zugriff am 7. Juni 2017) angegebene Palindrom vermag ich nicht nachzuvollziehen.

65 Publiziert von Michel 2001a, 147 und Spier 2007, 82, Taf. 57 (Nr. 465). Hergestellt aus braun-grauem Jaspis; Größe 1,99 x 1,53 x 0,45 cm. Inschrift um die Göttin herum **ΥΕΝΥΣΥΙΣΤΡΙΠ**... → „Venus siegt!“.

66 Publiziert von Vollenweider 1983, 188 f. (Nr. 239) und Michel 2004, 278. Hergestellt aus grünem Jaspis; Größe 1,9 x 1,1 x 0,3 cm.

67 Publiziert von Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 353 (Nr. 1110); Michel 2004, 277 und Werth 2006, 411 f. (Nr. 261). Hergestellt aus grauem Hämatit; Größe 1,3 x 1,2 x 0,2 cm. Inschrift um die Göttin umlaufend **ΟΡΩΜΑΝΔΑΓΑΤΗΑΒΡΑΣΑΞΥΙΑΡΗΓ** → ?, ἀγάπη („Liebe“), ἄβρασάξ, ?. Auf der Rückseite wurden in zwei Zeilen *charakteres* angebracht, darunter **ΝΙΙΙ**.

68 Publiziert von Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 153 (Nr. 2183); ead. 2007, 459 (Nr. 779). Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Durchmesser 2,76 cm. Auf der anderen Seite wurden die drei Chariten über einem Gorgoneion abgebildet.

69 Publiziert von Mitropoulou 1978, 48 (Nr. 65).


70 Publiziert von Bonner 1950, 315 (Nr. 367); Michel 2004, 277 und Werth 2006, 419 (Nr. 280). Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 4,7 x 1,2 x 1,0 cm. Inschrift **ΣΕ/ΣΕ/ΝΓ/ΕΡ** → σεσεγγεν βαρφαραγγης-Formel.

71 Publiziert von Gerhard 1857, Taf. 99; Roscher 1890, 1909 und Werth 2006, 438 (Nr. 331).

72 Publiziert von Bonner 1950, 263 (Nr. 63); Michel 2004, 277, Taf. 80, 1 und Werth 2006, 407 (Nr. 249). Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 1,7 x 1,1 x 0,3 cm. Inschrift um Hekate herum **ΒΡΕΙΜΩ ΠΡΟΚΥΝΗ ΡΗΞΙΧΩΝ**. Auf der Rückseite Inschrift in sieben Zeilen **ΑΚΤΙ/ΩΦΙ ΕΡ/ΕΣΧΕΙΓ/ΑΛ ΝΕΒ/ ΟΥΤΟΣ/ΟΝΑΛ/ΗΘ** → (Die Göttin) Ereškigal und unverständliches.

73 Publiziert von Michel 2004, 277; Philipp 1986, 53 (Nr. 51) und Werth 2006, 409 (Nr. 255). Hergestellt aus schwach gelblichem Chalcedon; Größe 2,7 x 2,35 x 0,5 cm. Inschrift um Hekate herum: **ΙΑΩ ΣΑΒΑΩ ΦΥΛΑΣΩΝ** → Ἰάω Σαβαώ φύλαξον → „Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, schütze!“.

Auf der Rückseite Inschrift in fünf Zeilen: **Z * ΙΑΩ charakteres/Ρ ΣΑΒΑ/ΩΘ ΓΑΒΡΗΛ** → Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Γάβρηλ.

74 Publiziert von Philipp 1986, 53 f. (Nr. 52) und Michel 2004, 277; Ex-Slg. Philipp von Stosch. Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 1,7 x 1,05 x 0,3 cm. Inschrift umlaufend: **ΒΟΥΒ[.]C[.]**... → Βούβ[α]σ[τις]. Auf der Rückseite sind noch drei Zeichen erkennbar, die leicht an das Zeichen  erinnern, in dem sich ein rundes Objekt befindet.

75 Publiziert von Philipp 1986, 93 f. (Nr. 138); Werth 2006, 412 (Nr. 263) und Zazoff 1983, 360 u. Taf. 113,5. Unter Hekate die Inschrift: **ΦΟΡΒΑΦΟΡΒΗ/ΒΡΙΜΩΦΟ/ΡΒΑΤΙΠ/ΟΡΘΕ**. Auf der Rückseite eine löwenköpfige Gestalt mit Inschrift: **ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ** → Ἀβλαναθαναλβα-Formel. Unter der Grundlinie: **ΜΙΧΑΗΛΥΨΙΣ/ΤΕΓΑΒΡΗΛΚ/ΡΑΤΙΣΤΕ** → „Höchster Michael, mächtigster Gabriel“.

76 Publiziert von Michel 2004, 277; Mitropoulou 1978, Nr. 46; Philipp 1986, 52 f. (Nr. 50) und Werth 2006, 410 (Nr. 257); identisch mit Gerhard 1857, Taf. 99 und Roscher 1890, 1909. Hergestellt aus Nilkie-

Staatl. Mus., 9830 (CBd-2055);⁷⁷ Bonn, Franz Joseph Dölger-Institut, Inv. 69;⁷⁸ Braunschweig, Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum, Ahrens B 231;⁷⁹ Hannover, KMH, Inv. K 448;⁸⁰ Hannover, KMH, Inv. K 540;⁸¹ London, BM, Inv. G 28, EA 56028 (CBd-445);⁸² Skarabäus London, BM, Inv. G 582, WAA 48268 (CBd-932);⁸³ London, BM, Inv. G 600, 1979,10-3,4 (CBd-446);⁸⁴ London, BM, Inv. G 1986,5-1,111 (CBd-447);⁸⁵ Montfaucon 1722b, Taf. 55, 3;⁸⁶ Montfaucon 1722b, Taf. 144;⁸⁷ New York, ANS, Inv.-

sel oder Jaspis; Größe 1,48 x 1,1 x 0,35 cm. Auf der Rückseite Inschrift in fünf Zeilen: $\text{IAPBAETHPA} / \text{MNH}\Phi\text{BIA}\omega / \text{XNHME}\omega / \text{COYMAPT}$ → Verschiedene $\text{IAPBA}\theta\alpha$ -Formel und COYMAPTA .

77 Publiziert von Philipp 1986, 67, Taf. 19 (Nr. 79) und Werth 2006, 409 (Nr. 254). Hergestellt aus gelblichem Glas. Umgeben ist Hekate von Isis und Serapis.

78 Publiziert von Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 460 (Nr. 791) und Michel 2004, 278. Hergestellt aus Heliotrop; Durchmesser 2,96 cm. Auf der Rückseite ist die Geburt des Sonnengottes dargestellt, darum Inschrift: $\text{ABLANATHANALBA}\Phi\text{Y}\lambda\alpha\text{XONPOMANAN}$ → $\text{Ab}\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha$ -Formel und „Beschütze Roma-na“.

79 Publiziert von Michel 2004, 278 und Zazoff 1970, 53 (Nr. 186); bei und Werth 2006, 411 (Nr. 260) ohne Inventarnummer. Hergestellt aus Nicolo; Größe 2,85 x 2,35 x 0,37 cm. Inschrift: $\text{GOC}\Delta\text{AIMON} / \text{LOYKENETH}\omega / \text{CABA}\omega / \text{IA}\omega$ → $\Sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$ und $\text{I}\acute{\alpha}\omega$.

80 Publiziert von Michel 2004, 277; Werth 2006, 415 (Nr. 270) und Zazoff 1975, 310 (Nr. 1708). Hergestellt aus Jaspis; Größe 0,82 x 0,7 x 0,28 cm. Inschrift auf der Rückseite: $\text{IA}\omega$.

81 Publiziert von Sarian 1992, 308 und Werth 2006, 410 (Nr. 258). Hergestellt aus rotem Jaspis.

82 Publiziert von Michel 2001b, 43 f. (Nr. 66) und ead. 2004, 277. Hergestellt aus grün-braunem Jaspis, der stark poliert wurde; Größe 3,2 x 2,2 x 0,55 cm. Auf der Rückseite Inschrift $\text{EIPEC} / \text{****} / \text{CXI} / \text{ΓA}\lambda$ → Ereškigal. Als Ereškigal wird Hekate auch in Pap. Michigan Inv. 7, Kol. I, 5 (PGM LXX, 5) bei Preisendanz 2001b, 201 genannt.

83 Publiziert von Michel 2001b, 331 f. (Nr. 573) und ead. 2004, 277, Taf. 80, 2. Hergestellt aus dunkelgrünem Stein; Größe 3,0 x 2,2 x 1,5 cm.

84 Publiziert von Michel 2001b, 45 f. (Nr. 68) und ead. 2004, 278. Hergestellt aus dunkelgrünem, schwach poliertem Obsidian; Größe 3,25 x 2,4 x 1,74 cm. Unterhalb der Göttin drei menschliche Wesen mit je einem Tierkopf, hiervon trägt der linke einen Vogelkopf, der in der Mitte den eines Schakals sowie der rechte den eines Ibis. Hiermit erinnert die Gestaltung der Wesen direkt an die Gemme London, BM, Inv. G 191, EA 56191, die zum Schutz eines Hauses gefertigt werden sollte. Auf der Rückseite um eine Figur umlaufend die Inschrift $\text{EIA}\omega\text{CECOAIMOITPOCEPI}\omega\text{EI}$; unterhalb der Figur CO ; um die gesamte Szenerie $\text{ANETHIBALLOMAITTOIHCAIKEAICOMOIEITITEYKTI}\Delta\text{AON}$. Vielleicht steckt in dem ersten längeren Text $\text{I}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ ἔσσε ἐμοὶ προσερῶ σε ἄν ἐπιβάλλομαι ποιῆσαι καὶ αἴσα μοι ἢ ἐπίτευξις „Sei mir gnädig, wenn ich dich anbete“, so die Deutung bei Michel 2001b, 46 sowie auf http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/talismans/cbd/446?element=647&multiple_cond=and (Zugriff am 7. Juni 2017).

85 Publiziert von Michel 2001b, 46 (Nr. 69) und ead. 2004, 277; Ex-Slg. Ogdon. Hergestellt aus rotem Jaspis; Größe 1,9 x 1,6 x 0,3 cm. Auf der Rückseite Inschrift in sechs Zeilen: $\text{OPAP}\rho / \text{ANIKAIIEKA} / \text{TYHTO} / \text{TACCII}$ → Hierin ist der Name Ἐκάτη enthalten.

86 Publiziert von Mastrocinque 2003, 352 (Nr. 308) und Montfaucon 1722b, Taf. 55,3. Material unbekannt; Größe 2 x 1,3 cm. Inschrift unterhalb der Arme EKEDIAIEIT ; unterhalb der Beine $\text{CEPIGE} : \text{MN} / \text{T}$. Auf der Rückseite wurde Harpokrates mit Hand am Mund dargestellt.

87 Publiziert von Mastrocinque 2003, 352 (Nr. 309) und Montfaucon 1722b, Taf. 144. Hergestellt aus rotem Diasper; Größe unbekannt. Inschrift umlaufend ...] $\text{OAKA}\omega$ [... $\text{A}] \text{BPACAZ}$ → Ἄβρασάξ. Auf der Rückseite ein von drei Sternen umgebener Anguipedes.

- Nr. 0000.999.35426 (CBd-1782);⁸⁸ Paris, Cab. Méd. 2220bis;⁸⁹ Privatlg. Piolenc;⁹⁰ Slg. Southesk, N 29;⁹¹ Stockholm, RCC, Inv.-Nr. 613;⁹² Wien, Kunsthist. Mus., Inv. IX B 1259.⁹³
3. Drei Körper: Der Körper der Göttin ist etwas breiter und erscheint als drei individuelle Leiber, die dicht beieinander stehen. Jeder Leib verfügt über ein eigenes Paar Arme. Aus jedem der Körper tritt ein Kopf aus. Hierbei handelt es sich eigentlich um die Darstellung von drei Frauengestalten, die um eine Säule gruppiert wurden. *Belege*: Ann Arbor, KM, 26058 (CBd-1312);⁹⁴ Belgrad, NM, 59;⁹⁵ Berlin, Äg. Mus., 9806 (CBd-2024);⁹⁶ Berlin, Äg. Mus., 9808 (CBd-2025);⁹⁷ Slg. Bonnet;⁹⁸ Budapest, Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Art, 2002.6.A (CBd-8);⁹⁹ Kopenhagen,

88 Publiziert von Schwartz/Schwartz 1979, Nr. 40. Hergestellt aus gelbem Jaspis; Größe 1,2 x 0,9 cm. Umschrift umlaufend um Hekate [.]ΒΡΑΣΑΧΣΑΒΑΩΑΙΛΩ → Ἀβρασάξ, Σαβῶ(θ) und Ἴάω.

89 Publiziert von Delatte/Derchain 1964, 205 f. (Nr. 280); Mitropoulou 1978, Nr. 61f und Werth 2006, 408 (Nr. 252). Hergestellt aus rotem Jaspis.

90 Publiziert von Nagy 2002, 159. Hergestellt aus Karneol; Größe 1,55 x 1,17 x 0,35 cm. Auf der anderen Seite befindet sich ein Gorgonenhaupt.

91 Publiziert von Carnegie 1908, 156 f., Taf. 13 und Michel 2004, 277. Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 1,35 x 0,9 cm. Auf der linken Seite von Hekate befindet sich die Inschrift: ΑΡΑΓΩΡΑΙΡΕΣΧΕΙΡΑΛΧΟΕΝ ΕΒΟΥΗΓΙΓΑΝΤΟΡΗΚΤΑ ΧΝΟΥΩΡ ΑΒΡΑΣΑΣ ΧΩΡΧΩΡ ΒΟΥΒΑΙΩΧΝΕΜΕΙΝΕ → γιγαντορηκτα-Formel, Ἀβρασάξ und eine verkürzte Form von Βαῖνωωωχ; auf der rechten Seite: ΩΡΗ·ΑΛΡΟ·· ΕΙΕΥ··ΥΕΩΕΙΕ·ΙCΡΩCΙ CΙΦΕΡΜCΥΧΘΕΝΝΒΙΩ ΜΑΧΩΡ ΚΟΜΒΕΑ ΑΧΡΙΧΘΩΝ; unten ΜΑCΚΕΜΑΙ ΜΑCΚΕΜΩΘΗΝ ΟΥ ΚΕΝΤΑΡ ΑΩΟΙΕ ΟΒΑΡΖΑ ΓΡΑΥΦΜΑ ΟΥ ΟΓΟΥΝΣ. Auf der Rückseite ist ein Gott mit vier Flügeln auf einem Löwen zu sehen.

92 Publiziert von Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 297 (Nr. 857) und Werth 2006, 433 (Nr. 318). Hergestellt aus rotem Karneol; Größe 1,3 x 0,95 x 0,4 cm.

93 Publiziert von Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 152 f. (Nr. 2182) und ead. 2007, 459 (Nr. 778) (wohl identisch mit Werth 2006, 438 [Nr. 330]). Hergestellt aus Hämatit; Größe 3,45 x 2,32 x 0,6 cm. Hekate steht auf einem Löwen. Auf der Rückseite eine Darstellung der Aphrodite Anadyomene.

94 Publiziert von Bonner 1950, 264 (Nr. 65) und Werth 2006, 418 (Nr. 278). Hergestellt aus Steatit; Größe 1,9 x 1,5 x 0,2 cm. Inschrift: ΙΑΩ CΑΒΑΩΘ ΑΔΩΝΑΙ ΧΩ[...] → Ἴάω, Σαβῶθ, Ἄδωναί. Auf der anderen Seite ist ein Gorgonenhaupt abgebildet, aus dessen Oberseite zwei Schlangen austreten.

95 Publiziert von Sarian 1992, 301 und Werth 2006, 414 (Nr. 267). Hergestellt aus grünem Jaspis.

96 Publiziert von Mitropoulou 1978, 42 (Nr. 45); Philipp 1986, 53 (Nr. 51); Werth 2006, 408 f. (Nr. 253) und Zazoff 1983, 360 u. Taf. 117,1; Ex-Slg. Philipp von Stosch. Hergestellt aus gelbbraunem Jaspis; Größe 2,6 x 2,1 x 0,45 cm. Um Hekate wurden acht achtzackige Sterne angeordnet. Inschrift unter den Füßen: ΙΑΩ. Auf der Rückseite befindet sich eine Mondsichel mit drei Sternen sowie *charakteres*.

97 Publiziert von Michel 2004, 278; Nagy 2002, 159; Philipp 1986, 51 (Nr. 48) und Werth 2006, 409 f. (Nr. 256). Ex-Slg. Philipp von Stosch. Hergestellt aus gelbbraunem Jaspis; Größe 2,6 x 2,1 x 0,45 cm. Inschrift unterhalb der Göttin: ΛΑΧΝΙΑ. Auf der Rückseite ist ein Gorgonenhaupt mit einer umlaufenden Inschrift CΕCΕΝΓΕΝΒΑΡΦΑΓΓΗC → σεσεγγεν βαρφαραγγης-Formel erkennbar.

98 Publiziert von Mastrocinque 2003, 349 f. (Nr. 303). Material und Größe unbekannt. Inschrift um die Göttin herum [Ε]ΡΕCΧΙΓΑΛΦΩΒΙΑ → Ereškigal, Angst? (vgl. griech. φόβος). Auf der Rückseite: ΝΕΒΟΥΓΤΟCΟΥΑ/ΛΗΘΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΝ → φύλαξον „Beschützer“.

99 Publiziert unter http://www.2szepmuveszeti.hu/talismans/cbd/8?element=455&multiple_cond=and (Zugriff am 7. Juni 2017). Hergestellt aus rotem Jaspis; Größe 3,27 x 4,28 x 0,88 cm. Vor der Göttin kniet

Thorv. Mus.;¹⁰⁰ London, BM, Inv. G 137, EA 56137 (CBd-636);¹⁰¹ London, BM, Inv. G 528, EA 26748 (CBd-635);¹⁰² New York, ANS, Inv.-Nr. 0000.999.35699 (CBd-1783);¹⁰³ Paris, Bibl. nat., Coll. Cahn, Bâle;¹⁰⁴ Paris, Louvre, MNC 994;¹⁰⁵ Stockholm, RCC, Inv.-Nr. 614.¹⁰⁶

Die Stücke Baltimore, W.A.G., Inv. 42.874, Slg. Bonnet, London, BM, Inv. G 28, EA 56028 und Paris, Bibl. nat., Coll. Cahn, Bâle weisen jeweils den Namen ΕΡΕΧΙΓΑΛΛ als Bezeichnung der babylonischen Göttin der Unterwelt auf. Diese wird auch in einigen Belegen mit Hekate gleichgesetzt. Die Form der Göttin Hekate als *Triprosopos* dürfte auch ihren Einfluss auf andere Darstellungen gefunden haben. So bilden die Gemmen New York, MMA, Acc. No. 81.6.208 und Wien, Kunsthist. Mus., Inv. IX B 1118 ein Gefäß ab,¹⁰⁷ dessen Standfläche in Form von drei Köpfen geformt wurde. Zwar dürfte die Darstellung auf der Gemme Slg. Sa'd, Gadara, Jordanien, Nr. 424¹⁰⁸ durch die Wahl der Köpfe eventuell von Hekate inspiriert worden sein, doch ist die Darstellung in einem Panzer, mit Flügeln und Hahnenbeinen sicher von Hekate zu unterscheiden. Aufgrund der Darstellungsweise scheint das Wesen eher mit demjenigen auf Slg. De Clercq 3470 in Verbindung zu stehen.¹⁰⁹

ein Mann, um die beiden herum verschiedene andere Wesen und die Inschrift: *Ophelimus/ex viso numi/nis posuit* „Ophelimus hat es nach einem Traum des Göttlichen gegeben.“

100 Publiziert von Sarian 1992, 291 und Werth 2006, 411 (Nr. 259). Hergestellt aus Hämatit. Es handelt sich um ein vierseitiges Prisma.

101 Publiziert von Michel 2001b, 146 (Nr. 238). Hergestellt aus Bronze; Durchmesser 2,5 cm. Auf der Rückseite wurde ein Anguipedes mit Panzer, Schwert und Schild dargestellt, um den herum sich sieben siebenzackige Sterne befinden.

102 Publiziert von Michel 2001b, 145 (Nr. 237); Ex-Slg. Greville John Chester. Hergestellt aus Bronze; Größe 3,3 x 2,9 cm. Auf der Rückseite wurde ein Anguipedes mit Panzer und Chlamys dargestellt, der in den Händen Schild und Schwert hält. Um die Gestalt herum sind sieben achtzackige Sterne abgebildet.

103 Publiziert von Schwartz/Schwartz 1979, Nr. 41. Hergestellt aus gelbem Karneol; Größe 1,45 x 1,85 cm. Hekate wurde hier als drei separate Figuren dargestellt, die nach rechts schreiten. Die Rückseite wurde leer belassen.

104 Publiziert von Delatte/Derchain 1964, 191 (Nr. 254^{bis}) und Michel 2004, 278 (nach Werth 2006, 406 [Nr. 247] trägt das Stück die Inventarnummer Paris, Louvre, AO 7242). Hergestellt aus Chalcedon; Größe 2,7 x 1,9 cm. Inschrift umlaufend: ΕΡΕΧΙΓΑΛΛ ΝΕΒΟΥΤΟΚΟΥΑΛ ΝΕΛΧΕΙΩΦΙ → Ereškigal. Auf der Rückseite ein Adler auf einem Globus mit einem Kranz im Schnabel, Inschrift: ΘΕΟΣ ΨΥΙΤΟΣ → Gott und wohl verschrieben Christos.

105 Publiziert von Michon 1892, 422, Abb. 6 und Werth 2006, 414 (Nr. 268). Hergestellt aus schwarzem Stein.

106 Publiziert von Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 304 (Nr. 886) und Werth 2006, 433 f. (Nr. 319). Hergestellt aus weißem Chalcedon; Größe 1,1 x 0,85 x 0,5 cm.

107 Publiziert von Richter 1956, 117 (Nr. 566) und Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 124 (Nr. 2060).

108 Publiziert von Henig/Whiting 1987, 39 (Nr. 424) und Michel 2004, 278 (bei Werth 2006, 412 [Nr. 262] zwar in der Materialsammlung aufgeführt, aber nicht als Hekate bezeichnet). Hergestellt aus Heliotrop; Größe 1,4 x 1,2 cm. Inschrift: ΑΒΡΑ/ΣΑC → Ἀβραάξ.

109 Publiziert von De Ridder 1911, 779, Taf. 29. Hergestellt aus rotem Jaspis; 3,15 x 2,3 x 0,4 cm. Die Gemme wurde vor 1911 in Bagdad gefunden.

4 Zusammenfassung

Durch die erhaltenen Gemmen, welche mit einem Abbild der Hekate versehen wurden, wird deutlich, dass es sich dabei um ein recht beliebtes Motiv in der Antike gehandelt hat.¹¹⁰ Hekate wird hierbei auf verschiedene Weisen dargestellt, wobei aber immer zu beachten ist, dass die Ritzungen auf den Gemmen teilweise so klein ausgeführt sind, dass Verwechslungen nicht auszuschließen sind. Am weitaus häufigsten erscheint Hekate in ihren Darstellungen als *Triprosopos*, d. h. sie hat einen Körper mit einem Kopf, an dem sich aber drei Gesichter befinden, oder als *Trikephalos*, bei dem sich auf einem Leib drei individuelle Köpfe auf je einem Hals befinden. Die häufigsten Belege lassen sich unmittelbar mit den oben angeführten Zitaten von antiken Autoren in Verbindung bringen, die oftmals die Dreiköpfigkeit oder Dreiförmigkeit der Hekate betonen, so dass Beinamen wie *triformis*, *triceps*, *τριπρόσωπος* oder *τρικάρανος* durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch immer wieder erscheinen. Für die Darstellungen auf spätantiken Gemmen wären als Vorbilder damit zum einen Texte zu nennen, wobei aufgrund ihrer zeitlichen Entstehung speziell an die Referenzen in den Papyri Graecae Magicae zu denken ist, zum anderen sind aber auch Statuen und Statuetten, welche eine dreiköpfige oder dreigesichtige Hekate darstellen, als Vorbilder möglich.

Hat es den Darstellungen der Göttin auf Gemmen nach den Anschein, dass es sich immer um drei Menschenköpfe handelt, wird dies in antiken Texten auch anders geschildert: Orpheus, *Argonautika* 975–980 bezeichnet sie wie erwähnt als *τρισοκέφαλος*, wobei der linke Kopf der eines Pferdes (*ἵππος*), der rechte der eines Hundes (*σκύλαξ*) und der mittlere der einer Schlange (*ὄφις*) sei.¹¹¹ Als „Göttin mit dem Gesicht eines Pferdes“ (*ἵπποπρόσωπε θεά*) wird sie auch in Pap. Paris, Bibl. Nat., suppl. gr. 574, Bl. 28v (PGM IV, 2550) bezeichnet.¹¹² Neben den genannten Abbildungen zeigt auch die Gemme Newell 21 eine dreiköpfige Hekate, doch wurden die Köpfe hier anders dargestellt.¹¹³ Hekate hat nur einen Hauptkopf in Menschenform mit einem Modius, aus dessen Seiten rechts ein Vogelkopf sowie auf der Linken ein Gänsekopf treten. In der rechten Hand hat sie eine Peitsche und in der Linken eine entzündete Fackel. Der griechische Text, der in drei konzentrischen Kreisen um Hekate herum verläuft, ist unverständlich. Von den antiken Stücken unterscheidet sich die

¹¹⁰ Contra Bortolani 2016, 228, Anm. 28: „Hecate’s amulets are quite rare“, da hier leider nicht die relevante Literatur mit einbezogen wurde.

¹¹¹ Griechischer Text nach Vian 1987, 145.

¹¹² Griechischer Text nach Preisendanz 2001a, 152.

¹¹³ Publiziert von Bonner 1950, 278 f. (Nr. 156). Hergestellt aus schwarzem Eisenstein; Größe 4,4 x 3,2 x 0,4 cm. Auf der Rückseite befindet sich eine Inschrift in Form eines Rechtecks ἄξον Ἀχειλλᾶν ὃν ἔτεκεν Σεραπίας Διονυσιάτι ἢ{v}<τ> ἔτοκεν Σεραπίας „Bringe Achilles, Sohn des Serapias, zu Dionysia, Tochter des Serapias“. In der Mitte des Rechtecks ἢ ἄξον ἢ κατάκλειρον „Bring ihn zurück oder werfe ihn nieder!“

neuzeitliche Kopie Slg. Skoluda, MN130 (CBd-1732) deutlich.¹¹⁴ Es handelt sich um die Darstellung einer Hekate mit einem Leib und einem Kopf, der aber nur über zwei Gesichter verfügt. Es wäre möglich, dass das dritte Gesicht beim Kopieren unabsichtlich weggelassen oder schlicht vergessen wurde.

Die Darstellung der Hekate auf Gemmen ist wie erwähnt wohl mit ihrer Konnektion zum Bereich des Zaubers zu begründen.¹¹⁵ Durch ihre Sicht in verschiedene Richtungen war ihr eine uneingeschränkte Macht inhärent, die sie zur Beschützerin der Menschen vor schädigenden Mächten machte.¹¹⁶ Scheint ihre Erscheinungsform auf den ersten Blick recht skurril, zeigt eine Zusammenstellung aller Belege aus der Antike, dass mehrköpfige Götter, Tiere und andere Wesen durchaus zu fast allen Zeiten belegt sind und sich oftmals auch über mehrere Jahrhunderte hinweg nachverfolgen lassen. Speziell aus dem ägyptischen und dem mesopotamischen Raum aus der Zeit vor Christi Geburt ist eine solch große Masse an Wesen belegt, dass hier auf die Nennung ausgewählter Beispiele verzichtet werden kann. Diese werden vom Autor in mehreren Detailstudien behandelt. Doch ist die Dreizahl von Köpfen nicht nur aus den genannten Kulturräumen belegt, sondern lässt sich in Griechenland auch parallel zu Hekate nachweisen und ist dort bereits in der archaischen Periode textlich zu greifen. So bezeichnen bereits Hesiod, *Theogonia* 319–323 (τῆς δ' ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλαί) und Homer, *Ilias* VI, 179 f. (πρόσθε λέων ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα) die Chimaira als ein Wesen mit drei Köpfen.¹¹⁷ Bereits genannt wurden Geryon und Kerberos, wobei speziell letztgenannter wohl eines der bekanntesten Wesen mit mehreren Köpfen aus dem antiken Griechenland darstellen dürfte, wie er z. B. noch bei Dante Alighieri, *Divina Commedia*, Canto VI, 12–35 mit drei Köpfen beschrieben wird. Hat es auf den ersten Blick den Anschein, als ob Mehrköpfigkeit auf Mischgestalten, Tiere und Menschen beschränkt ist, wobei Hekate als Göttin eine Ausnahme darstellt, kann ebenso auf den dreiköpfigen (τρικέφαλος) Hermes bei Isaeus, *frag.* 12 f. und Lykophron, *Alexandra* 680 hingewiesen werden.¹¹⁸ Auch Asklepios wird einmal bei Aelius Aristides, *Orationes* I, 35 als ein Gott bezeichnet, der drei Köpfe hat (τρεῖς κεφαλὰς ἔχον).¹¹⁹

114 Publiziert von Michel 2001a, 109 (Nr. 122) und ead. 2004, 278. Hergestellt aus schwarzem Steatit; Größe 2,77 x 1,38 x 0,24 cm. Auf der Rückseite sitzt Harpokrates auf einer Lotusblume, um ihn herum wurde die Inschrift ΑΒΛΩΙΑΩC → Σαβαώ, Ἰάω angebracht.

115 Zu Quellen ohne einen magischen Bezug siehe Werth 2006, 249.

116 Vgl. Werth 2006, 244.

117 Griechischer Text nach von Schirnding 2012, 28–30 und Dindorf 1901, 118. Generell zu Chimaira Ogden 2013, 98–104.

118 Griechischer Text nach Hurst/Kolde 2008, 40 und Thalheim 1903, 191.

119 Siehe den Text bei Dindorf 1829, 517.

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Paolo Vitellozzi

Relations Between Magical Texts and Magical Gems

Recent Perspectives

In 1979, Morton Smith published a seminal article on the relationship between magical papyri and gems.¹ His reflections stimulated interest in magical stone amulets and this eventually led to significant developments in the field of ancient religion over the last decades.² Many years after the publication of Smith's article, his theories can be supported with new evidence.

It is well known that the magic of the engraved gemstones is essentially the magic of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM), but magical gems are far from being illustrations of the papyri, since most of the motifs that occur on gems are never mentioned in the surviving texts. Extraordinary creations, totally unknown outside the magical gems, burst into the repertory with remarkable vigour and uniformity of composition. The Anguipede is still challenging us as to its meaning; this figure, interpreted by most scholars³ as a pictorial rendition of God's name, occurs on about twelve percent of the extant gems although it is not mentioned in the papyri. The radiate lion-headed serpent Chnoubis is another mainly glyptic motif; essentially a solar deity, Chnoubis is a composite figure based on the decan Kenmet in combination with other gods. But Chnoubis is rarely seen in the Greek magical papyri, though he is sometimes mentioned in astrological treatises, such as the *Holy Book of Hermes* addressed to *Asclepius*, as well as in the ancient lapidaries.⁴ On the other hand, the designs described in the texts we have are rarely attested on archaeological artefacts. These evident discrepancies between the preserved texts and the repertory of gems

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1 Smith 1979.

2 On the state of research on magical gems see recently Gordon 2011.

3 On the Anguipede see especially Nagy 2002a. See also Mastrocinque 2007, 84–90; Michel 2004, 106–113, 239–249, no. 3; Cosentino 2013; Nagy 2014; Zwierlein-Diehl 2016. Against the current interpretation of the Anguipede see e.g. Bohak 2008, 197 n. 152: "There have been repeated attempts [...] to find a Jewish 'iconographical etymology' for the cock-headed snake-legged god, who appears on hundreds of magical gems. But while the origins of this image remain obscure, the search for a Jewish explanation says more about the ingenuity of modern scholars than about the iconography of ancient Jewish magic".

4 See the lists below. On Chnoubis represented on magical gems see: Mastrocinque 2008a; Dasen/Nagy 2012; Quack, forthcoming § 2.4.3.

pose the problem of the relationship between the two.⁵ Smith's survey of PGM, which has recently been developed by Árpád Nagy⁶ and Giulia Sfameni Gasparro⁷, shows essentially that, in the whole of our papyri, there are only eighteen references to uses of gems; of these eighteen, only nine say the gems are to be engraved.⁸ Moreover, two of the engravings mentioned—an Isis and a seated Serapis—would not be recognized as magical if they were not described as such in the papyri, and two of the remaining seven are types to which we cannot find any close parallels on gems. Finally, the papyri mention six engravings of metal rings,⁹ plus a further engraved object which hasn't yet been identified:¹⁰ since some of these motifs are seen commonly on gems, we are forced to infer that such changes in the material were extremely frequent. This is also demonstrated by some apparent differences between gems and papyri. For example, the graphic model of a phylactery that we find in PGM VII, column XVII, shows a lion-headed *ouroboros* which is to be drawn on a metal leaf or on papyrus, with a series of magical names and *charakteres* written inside the circle made by the snake biting its tail; but though the text does not mention any gems or rings, the stone amulets that resemble our design¹¹ far outnumber the few metal parallels (fig. 1).¹²



Fig. 1: Comparison between PGM VII, column XVII and a magical gem (Vitellozzi 2010, 428–429, no. 529).

⁵ On the relationship between magical gems and magical papyri see Bonner 1946, 25f. (discrepancies); Preisendanz 1966, 388f. (PGM and gem parallels); Wortmann 1975, 80 (parallel); Smith 1979; Schwartz 1981; Brashear 1995, 2412–3418; Nagy 2002b (complete list of occurrences); Sfameni Gasparro 2003, 28–43.

⁶ Nagy 2002b.

⁷ Sfameni Gasparro 2003, 28–43.

⁸ PGM I.64–69 (continued in 143–147); II.18; III.189, 503, 505, 510, 513, 515, 519; IV.1615–1620, 1722–1743, 2162, 2304–2305 (coral), 2631–2637, 3140; V.238–343, 447–450; XII.203–209 (continued in 267–269), 273–276; XXIIa.11–14; LXII.40–42.

⁹ PGM IV.2130–2139, 2690–2693, 2943–2966; VII.629–631; PDM xii.6–20; LXI.31–33.

¹⁰ Probably, it is a metal ring (see Suppl. Mag. II, 212, no. 94, line 23).

¹¹ See A. Mastrocinque 2003, 421–424; Michel 2004, 131–245.

¹² See Jordan/Kotansky 1999.

Probably, this is due to the fact that, while metal rings could be melted down to be used again as raw material, engraved gems may have survived because they cannot be reused. In any case, the instructions of PGM VII.579–590 say that the phylactery is to be worn as a seal (φορούμενον σφραγιστικῶς ἔστιν), and this must have encouraged practitioners to use the model for stone engravings.

As Smith has pointed out, it seems clear that most of our gems were not made according to the instructions in the papyri, but were certainly made following some instructions: the regular recurrence of the same formulas in the same connections rules out the possibility of free invention, and the large number of extant gemstones proves that their creation was continued by a fixed tradition probably in a written form.

Though formulated long before the publication of modern *corpora* (such as Simone Michel's *Die Magischen Gemmen* or the *Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum*) and before the availability of digital resources such as the Campbell Bonner database (CBd), Smith's hypotheses are still satisfactory: in the end of his essay the scholar concludes that "[...] since the instructions for gems are not to be found in the magical papyri that we have, there must have been another set of instructions, a lost magical literature written by men who regularly prescribed stones instead of the metal and papyrus strips commonly prescribed by the writers of our papyri [...]".¹³ Indeed, we know that the III–VI/VII century A.D. texts in our collections cannot be the original works of the scribes who penned them, but are rather compilations from a multitude of various sources, and we cannot say what these sources were or how far they are removed from our copies; then, it is noteworthy that the large majority of our papyri come from a single context,¹⁴ while the provenance of our gems, largely unknown, seems to be diverse. Therefore, we can postulate the existence of an entire set of procedures involving the use of stones.

However, there are a few gems that refer closely to our texts on papyrus, demonstrating the use of handbooks for making amulets out of stones: these examples show how engravers might have worked under the directions of professional magicians following a written text. Good proof of this is provided by an amulet now in Budapest (fig. 2),¹⁵ the so-called "ὡς πρόκειται gem".

¹³ Smith 1979, 133.

¹⁴ On the so-called Theban library (Anastasi-papyri) see Dieleman 2005, 11–21; Gordon 2005, 63, no. 4; Zago 2010.

¹⁵ Inv. no. 53.169 (CBd no. 4).



Fig. 2: Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (inv. no. 53.169). The so-called WC ΠΡΟΚΕΙΤΑ[Ι] gem (obverse). CBd no. 4. Photo: László Mátyus, reproduced by courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest.

This well-known gem shows a group of three deities (an anguipede and two bird-headed gods) with the inscription WC ΠΡΟΚΕΙΤΑ[Ι] (“as in the model”) engraved above their heads. The writing of this phrase, which is a common prescription in the papyri, is certainly due to the presence (and to the misunderstanding) of a written formulary. Something similar, though this is much more hypothetical, could have happened to the writer of the inscription CTOMAKOY H XNOYNIC^{sic} on a Syrian gem published by René Mouterde; according to the editor, the engraver might have misunderstood the instructions of a formulary prescribing to write either στομάχου or (Grk. ἦ) Χνοῦφις.¹⁶

But, besides these two intriguing examples, some spectacular evidence of direct relationship between written texts and gem designs is provided by those intaglios that were evidently made following the instructions given in the documents. Árpád Nagy¹⁷ gives a clear exposition of this phenomenon: by distinguishing archetypes and series, he explains how magical gems were produced and why their number is much greater than their presence in the papyri suggests. It is worth quoting Nagy’s own words:

Bien que le lien entre les deux soit évident, on remarque que les gemmes ne s’accordent pas exactement avec les recettes des papyrus. A mon avis, cette liberté exprime bien l’aspect dynamique de la magie de l’époque impériale, qui n’était pas assujettie à des règles autoritaires et inflexibles. Ainsi, la somme de connaissances changeait-elle progressivement et quiconque pouvait y ajouter ses *praxeis* ou modifier celles déjà existantes. Pour établir une pratique, le mage composait le schéma de la gemme dont il avait besoin (l’archétype), puis le donnait au graveur qui taillait les pierres appropriées. D’autres mages, pouvaient modifier à leur gré le plan

¹⁶ See Mouterde 1930, 74: “Il est fort possible que le graveur ait copié servilement une recette où l’on indiquait, à côté de l’image à graver, deux textes à choisir: Chnouphis ou Στομάχου”. On scribal corrections in magical artefacts see recently Faraone 2012.

¹⁷ See Nagy 2002b; Nagy 2012, 82–90; and, recently, Nagy 2015.

de la gemme, en partant de la recette originale ou des gemmes déjà faites, et donc faire exécuter des nouvelles versions. Il est donc logique que les plans de certaines gemmes n'aient été utilisés que pour des petites séries. Une des méthodes de recherche applicable aux gemmes magiques consisterait à rassembler ces séries.¹⁸

The validity of this explanation is in itself evident. However, recent discoveries offer unquestionable proof of its effectiveness: there is, in fact, a series of four pieces that can be taken as an example of applied magic based on the papyri, showing how a magical gem could be created following written instructions. The first of these specimens is a newly edited magnetite housed in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia (fig. 3),¹⁹ which corresponds strikingly to the gem described in the love ritual called “Sword of Dardanos” (PGM IV.1716–1870).²⁰ If we compare this gem with the few other exemplars made following this procedure, such as the famous amulet published by Mouterde in 1930 (fig. 4),²¹ we can have a clear view of how an archetypal model was subjected to variations that depended on a three-headed relationship among magician, engraver and, last but not least, customer.



Fig. 3: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria (inv. no. 1526). Magnetite gem showing Eros and Psyche (“Sword of Dardanos”). The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria.

¹⁸ Nagy 2002b, 157–158.

¹⁹ Vitellozzi 2010, 419–420, no. 518.

²⁰ About this ritual: Nock 1925; Mouterde 1930; Suárez de La Torre 2012–2013; Vitellozzi, forthcoming. This section contains an excerpt from that article.

²¹ Mouterde 1930, 53–64, pl.1.



Fig. 4: Impression of a magnetite showing Eros and Psyche. CBd no. 1555 (Mouterde 1930, pl. 1). Reproduced by courtesy of the Campbell Bonner Database.

The *πρᾶξις* reported in the great magical papyrus of Paris, which is presumably a magicians' handbook,²² is a detailed procedure for performing a binding love spell²³ that works through the cooperation of several elements, one of them being an engraved gem. The making of the gem is described as follows:

λαβὼν λίθον μάγνετα τὸν πνέοντα, γλύψον Ἀφροδίτην ἱπιστὶ καθεμένην ἐπὶ Ψυχῆς, τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ κρατοῦσαν, τοὺς βοστρύχους ἀναδεσμευομένην, καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς· ἀχμαγε ραρπεψει· ὑποκάτω δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆς Ψυχῆς Ἔρωτα ἐπὶ πόλου ἐστῶτα, λαμπάδα κρατοῦντα καομένην, φλέγοντα τὴν Ψυχὴν. ὑποκάτω δὲ τοῦ Ἔρωτος τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα· ἀχαπα Ἀδωναίε βασμα χαρακῶ Ἰακῶβ Ἰάω η · φαρφαρηῖ · εἰς δὲ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ λίθου Ψυχὴν καὶ Ἔρωτα περιπελεγμένους ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἔρωτος ταῦτα· c c c c c c c, ὑποκάτω δὲ τῆς Ψυχῆς· η η η η η η η η (PGM IV.1721–1745).²⁴

The instructions describe the creation of an amulet out of a magnet: the attractive force of this stone, which was likened to that of love,²⁵ is employed for all the amulets styled

²² See Smith 1979, 129, n. 4.

²³ On this topic see, in general, Faraone 1999, 43–54.

²⁴ Take a magnetic stone which is breathing and engrave Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche/and with her left hand holding her hair bound in curls. And above her head: “ACHMAGE RARPEPSEI”; and below/Aphrodite and Psyche engrave Eros standing on the vault of heaven, holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche. And below Eros these/names: “ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHARAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ Ē PHARPHARĒI.” On the other side of the stone engrave Psyche and Eros embracing/one another and beneath Eros' feet these letters: “SSSSSSS”, and beneath Psyche's feet: “ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ”. (Engl. tr. E.N. O'Neil in GMPT).

²⁵ On the properties of magnetite see Halleux/Schamp 1985, 98–100 (=Orph. L. 13.306–343). See also, in general, Radl 1988.

following this procedure. The scene of a Psyche tortured by Aphrodite and Eros²⁶ is perfectly represented in the Perugia magnetite, a good example of synergy between text and image. The motif, rather than a narrative scene, seems to be a “persuasive image”²⁷ based on the meaning of the Greek word for soul, ψυχή: the iconic force of the images, together with the power of words, was evidently thought to unleash the magical virtues of the stone.

The obverse shows Aphrodite wearing a short dress and riding Psyche, who is flying with outstretched arms and who is burnt from beneath by a torch-bearing Eros standing on a globe. This motif is almost unique in Graeco-Roman art, since nowhere else we meet Aphrodite sitting astride an anthropomorphic figure: this is a good reason to suppose that such a device was created by an expert engraver under the directions of a professional magician.

This is evident if we look at the intriguing gesture that Aphrodite makes with her left hand, a philological rendition of the expression τῆ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ κρατοῦσαν, τοὺς βοστρύχους ἀναδεσμευομένην (PGM IV.1725–1726). In fact, if we compare the gem to the text, we may read (with different punctuation) “τῆ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ κρατοῦσαν τοὺς βοστρύχους, ἀναδεσμευομένην”, wherein τοὺς βοστρύχους can be an *apo koinou* construction. This emphasis on Aphrodite’s gesture is due to its “persuasive” function; the manual action of twisting curls reflects the magical aversion of a soul mentioned in the procedure (line 1808: ἐπίστρεψον τὴν ψυχὴν), and this is further evidence of the cooperation of words with images.

The complex Perugia specimen has a more conventional counterpart in the Syrian gem (fig. 4), which was probably influenced by the famous ἀναδυομένη type; here Aphrodite, holding her hair with both hands, rides a naked Psyche crawling on all fours.

The upper rim of the Perugia magnet bears the inscription AXMA[...]ΦΕΡΜΕΙ, probably to be read as AXMA[ΓΕ ΡΑΡ]ΦΕΡΜΕΙ (αχμαγε ραρπειφει in PGM IV.1730). The lower part of the intaglio, all around the standing Eros, is occupied by a formula in six lines:

Π

ΑΚΑΠΑΚΑ

ΑΔΩΝΑΙΕ

ΒΑCΜΑΧΑΡ

ΑΚΩΙΑΚ

²⁶ On the role of Eros and Psyche in ancient Greek love magic, see Reitzenstein 1930; Merlin 1934; Binder/Merkelbach 1968; Winkler 1991; Faraone 1999, 41–55; Michel 2004, 203–211; 265–266, no. 15.2.

²⁷ On persuasive images in the ancient world and on the notion of “persuasive analogy” see Faraone 1992, 117–123.

WBIAW

→ πακαπακα ἄδωναίε βασμα χαραχω Ἰακώβ Ἰάω

The reverse side shows Eros and Psyche embracing on a ground line, with an inscription in two lines written beneath:

HHHHCCCCCC

HHHHCCCCCC

A comparison with the papyrus text (tab. 1) suggests that both the stones were styled after the same written tradition.

Tab. 1: Comparison of the PGM description with gemstones (obverse)

	PGM IV.1716–1741	Perugia Inv. 1526	Mouterde 1930
Device (Obv.)	Ἄφροδίτην ἰππιστὶ καθεμένην ἐπὶ Ψυχῆς, τῆ ἄριστερᾷ χειρὶ κρατοῦσαν, τοὺς βοστρύχους ἀναδεσμευομένην	Aphrodite (with short dress), riding Psyche (dressed, flying), and curling her hair	Aphrodite (naked, <i>anadyomene</i> 's gesture), riding Psyche (naked, on all fours)
	ὑποκάτω δὲ τῆς Ἄφροδίτης καὶ τῆς Ψυχῆς Ἔρωτα ἐπὶ πόλου ἐστῶτα, λαμπάδα κρατοῦντα καομένην, φλέγοντα τὴν Ψυχὴν.	below: torch-bearing Eros on a globe, burning Psyche	below: torch-bearing Eros on a globe, burning Psyche
Inscriptions (Obv.)	ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς (scl. Ἄφροδίτης) · αχμαγε ραρπειπει·	above Aphrodite's head: ΑΧΜΑ[ΓΕ ΡΑΡ]ΦΕΡΜΕΙ	beside Aphrodite's head ΑΧΜ ΑΑΓ ΕΓΑΡ ΓΕΡΦ ΕΨΙ
	ὑποκάτω δὲ τοῦ Ἔρωτος τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα · αχαπα ἄδωναίε βασμα χαραχω Ἰακώβ Ἰάω η · φαρφαρηῖ·	around Eros: Π ΑΚΑΠΑΚΑ ΑΔΩΝΑΙΕ ΒΑCΜΑΧΑΡ ΑΚWΙΑΚ WΒΙΑW	beside Eros:ΧΛΑΔW ΝΑΙΕΒΑCΜΑΧΑ WΙΑΚ WΒΙCΑΚW

In fact, the inscribed formulas have the position indicated in the papyrus, namely, above Aphrodite and below Eros: this probably means that each deity has his/her own λόγος expressing the divine essence (οὐσία). The meaning of ΑΧΜΑ[ΓΕ ΡΑΡ]ΦΕΡΜΕΙ

(αχμαγε ραρφερμει), associated with Aphrodite, is obscure, but we know much more about the sequence of magical names related to Eros. The word αχαπα is probably an onomatopoeia (ΠΑΚΑΠΑΚΑ), as both specimens seem to demonstrate. The Perugia gem also reports the well-known sequence Ἄδωναίε βασμα χαραχω Ἰακῶβ Ἰάω as it appears in the papyrus.²⁸

Neither gem bears the sequence η φαρφαρηῖ, wherein η could be a *vox magica* rather than a subjunction,²⁹ while φαρφαρηῖ is a glossolalic *vox* that may indicate a daemonic entity.³⁰ This omission is probably due to a lack of space and not to a misinterpretation of the papyrus. However, we cannot exclude that the maker of the gem used an altered text, or even considered η as a coordinating subjunction (the opposite of what happens for the abovementioned inscription CTOMAKOY H XNOYNIC): thus, he could have interpreted the prescription as an option between the sequence αχαπα Ἄδωναίε βασμα χαραχω Ἰακῶβ Ἰάω and the single *vox* φαρφαρηῖ.

The substitution of Isaac (ICAKW) for JHWH (Ἰάω) on the Beirut exemplar shows better knowledge of the Old Testament: it seems that the magician took some liberties with the λόγος and preferred a list of Abraham's descent³¹ to the juxtaposition of JHWH and Jacob.³² If we now look at the reverse of the gems (table 2), we can see that, though the motifs are identical, there is no correspondence between the inscribed texts.

²⁸ See Bohak 2008, 199. Ἄδωναίε is the vocative of the name Ἄδωναῖος, a Greek word formed on the Hebr. Adōnai, 'Lord'; βασμα, which is originally a transliterated form of the Aramaic locution *bi-šēma* 'in the name of', is elevated to the rank of deity, sometimes being identified with the supreme god. The *vox* χαραχω is an Egyptian-sounding formula that can be compared with the Coptic name *Harko* of PGM IV.84.

²⁹ According to Reinhold Merkelbach (Abraxas I, 152 ad PGM XXI.19), followed by William Brashear (Brashear 1995, 3586, s. v. 'H), the letter H could be the transliterated name of the Egyptian primal deity Ḥḥ. Though highly hypothetical, this interpretation is intriguing, since in PGM XXI.19 'H is the first of the eight *phylakes* corresponding to the Egyptian Ogdoad. Probably we would not expect a single member of the Ogdoad occurring here, but both the explanations seem plausible.

³⁰ See e.g. φορφορ βορβορβα φωρφορ in PGM VII.660; Φερφεριήλ in Delatte 1927, 70.124. For a general discussion see Fauth 1993, 57–75. Similar to φαρφαρηῖ is, also, the magical word βαρβαρεῖχ of PGM XII.241, part of the Sun god's "great name".

³¹ We know that Old Testament patriarchs are often elevated to the rank of deities and therefore invoked by the magicians: cf. PGM XII.287, where the Great God is called τὸν Ἀβραάν, τὸν Ἰσάκ, τὸν Ἰακῶβ, or the sequence Αβρααμ ἰσακ ἰακῶβ inscribed (lines 2–3) on an onyx in the Metropolitan Museum NYC (M.M. 15–43.317 = Bonner 1950, 300, no. 284).

³² This is attested in ancient magical texts: cf. the *vox* ἰακουβια (lakoub + Iao) in a *defixio* from Istanbul (Moraux 1960, 28f.).

Tab. 2: Comparison of the PGM description with gemstones (reverse)

	PGM IV.1716–1741	Perugia Inv. 1526	Mouterde 1930
Device (Rev.)	Ψυχὴν καὶ Ἔρωτα περιπεπλεγμένους ἑαυτοῖς	Eros and Psyche embracing	Eros and Psyche embracing
Inscription (Rev.)	ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας τοῦ Ἔρωτος ταῦτα· c c c c c c c c, ὑποκάτω δὲ τῆς Ψυχῆς· η η η η η η η η·	Under the ground line: HHHHCCCCCC HHHHCCCCCC	IACIM H MA ἴασιμ(ον) ἦμα

The Perugia amulet has the same sequence of vowels and consonants found in the papyrus. However, instead of eight *etas* and eight *sigmas* as in the formulary, the gem has four H and seven C; this is not random, and can be compared with two other gems, now in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris. On these gems, the couple Ares-Aphrodite is associated with asymmetric vowel sequences which evidently express the mutual contrast of the two deities and their respective dominances.³³ The sound of these letters, probably intended to imitate the exhalation of the stone's πνεῦμα from the performer's mouth, seems to be more than a magic hiss (Grk. συριγμός), as it rather symbolizes the οὐσία of the two deities: the sequence seems to emphasize Eros' final victory (expressed by the seven C) to which the entire ritual aims.

According to Mouterde's reading, the Syrian specimen has a "motto" instead of the sequence of *etas* and *sigmas*: the presence of such expressions is a common feature of magical gems made for love purposes.³⁴ Doubtless the oxymoric phrase ἴασιμ(ον) ἦμα ("trait guérissable") is in perfect accordance with the idea of pain caused by erotic desire and healed by the sweet comfort of the beloved; the writing of this sentence on an amulet showing both the torments of Psyche and her love embrace with Eros could be intentional, but we cannot exclude that IACIM H MA is merely a *vox magica*.

Together with these examples of perfect correspondence between gems and formularies, it is worth mentioning two other intaglios which probably refer to the same tradition. The first one is a magnetite in the Getty Museum showing Eros and Psyche in a love embrace (fig. 5).³⁵

³³ See Bevilacqua 2002, 22f.

³⁴ Like, for example, the inscription ΔΙΚΑΙΩC on some intaglios with Eros and Psyche: see e.g. Michel 2004, 359, pl. 87,2–4.

³⁵ Michel 2004, 359, pl. 87,3.



Fig. 5: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California (inv. no. 85.AN.370.39). *Engraved Gem*, 1st–4th century, Green Jasper Ringstone. Amulet showing Eros and Psyche. Digital images courtesy of the Getty’s Open Content Program.

The first word of the inscription, [EE]ECCAWΘ NIXAΠOΠIAHΞ³⁶ seems to suggest that the magical hiss mentioned in the papyrus has been gradually elevated to the rank of deity. If this is true, it could be another amulet possibly related to our text. Then comes a famous chalcedony in Paris,³⁷ which is also connected with our papyrus; on its obverse, a naked figure (probably a woman) sits on the back of another human crawling on all fours, while the reverse shows a seated Zeus facing a standing Apollo. This gem is different from the model described in our procedure and its magical function needs further comment,³⁸ but the motif may owe something to the tradition of the Sword of Dardanos, as the scholars have pointed out.³⁹

The comparison between the PGM text and these four gems shows a meaningful aspect of the relationship between formularies and gemstones: variation within the tradition. The Perugia gem, probably made to order by a professional magician for his better paying clients, follows exactly the instructions in the papyrus, while the Syrian specimen shows significant changes probably due to the use of a simplified text. The Getty gem appears to be a standard artifact styled by men who had some reminiscence of our archetype, while the Paris chalcedony shows a creative reinterpretation.

³⁶ I propose this reading after a look at the high-definition photograph provided by the Getty’s Open Content Program.

³⁷ Cabinet des Médailles, M 6601 = Delatte/Derchain 1964, 235, no. 322.

³⁸ It is difficult to say whether or not this gem was made for love purposes, since none of its elements can be related with any certainty to the sphere of erotic magic.

³⁹ Delatte/Derchain 1964, 233–235. See now Mastrocinque 2014, 131, no. 351.

This comparison gives evidence of how an archetypal model could be altered, innovated or even routinized according to the competence of both the magician and the engraver, in a context which is far from being homogeneous and despite the many injunctions we find in the papyri to reproduce and perform a spell precisely. As Nagy⁴⁰ and Mastrocinque⁴¹ have pointed out, a large part of the gem designs could well have originated from archetypal models described in magical handbooks; most of these handbooks are unknown to us, but part of their contents can be reconstructed from references we find in the lithic tradition⁴² as well as in other literary sources, such as medical texts.⁴³ Indeed, we know of several medical recipes involving engraved gems; Galen,⁴⁴ relying on Nechepso and followed by other authors,⁴⁵ recommends the wearing of a ἴασις χλωρός (green jasper) with a “radiate serpent” (Chnoubis) to heal stomach diseases (fig. 6), while Marcellus Empiricus prescribes a *iaspis frygia aerizusa* (probably a chalcedony) bearing the well-known symbol SSS for his pleuritic patients (fig. 7).⁴⁶ Alexander of Tralles mentions some Median stone amulets showing Herakles’ fight against the Nemean lion which were used as a cure for colics (fig. 8),⁴⁷ while Pelagonius recommends engraving a lion and a star on an iron ring to heal dental abscesses.⁴⁸ All these imageries are widely attested among the extant gems.

These elements lead us on to conclude that the absence of *grimoires* for making magical gems is due not to their being something else from the magic of the papyri, but rather to the vagaries of transmission; the complete catalogue of types provided

⁴⁰ Nagy 2002b, 153–179.

⁴¹ Mastrocinque 2003, 63–66.

⁴² See Nagy 2002b, 170–176; *addendum*: Nagy 2015.

⁴³ On gems used for medical purposes see Nagy 2012.

⁴⁴ Galen. *De simpl.* 10.19 (Ed. Kühn XII, 207): Ἰδιότητα δέ τινες ἐνίοις λίθους μαρτυροῦσι τοιαύτην, οἷαν ὄντως ἔχει καὶ ὁ χλωρὸς ἴασις, ὠφελῶν τὸν τε στόμαχον καὶ τὸ τῆς γαστροῦ στόμα περιεπτόμενον. ἐντιθέασί τε καὶ δακτυλίῳ αὐτὸν ἔνιοι καὶ γλύφουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν τὰς ἀκτίνας ἔχοντα δράκοντα, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Νεχεψῶς ἔγραψεν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακαίδεκάτῃ βίβλῳ. It is well known that Chnoubis is often represented on green stone (green jaspers, plasmas, or prases): see the list provided in Michel 2004, 255–263, no. 11. Compare also Faraone 2011, 50–52.

⁴⁵ Cf. Aët. *Tetrabiblos* 1 serm. 2 c.36: *quidam anulis iaspidem viridem includunt et draconem radios habentem in ipsa sculptum ex praecepto Necepsi regis, qui prosit ventriculo*; Marc. Emp. 20.98 (Liechtenhan 1968, 354): *Ad stomachi dolorem remedium physicum sic: in iaspide exculpe draconem radiatum, ut habeat septem radios et claude auro et utere in collo.*

⁴⁶ Marc. Emp. 24.7 (Liechtenhan 1968, 412): *in lapide iaspide frygia aerizusa si nota infra scripta insculpta fuerit, id est SSS, et collo dolentis latus fuerit suspensus, inire proderit.* This type has a close parallel in a milky chalcedony from Aquileia (SGG II, 23 pl. 5, no. Aq 33).

⁴⁷ Alex.Trall. VIII (Brunet 1933-1937, IV, 80) Εἰς λίθον Μηδικὸν γλύψον Ἡρακλέα ὀρθὸν πνίγοντα λέοντα καὶ ἐγκλείσας εἰς δακτυλίδιον χρυσοῦν δίδου φορεῖν. On magical gems showing Herakles and the nemean lion see SGG I, 59, 361–364; Michel 2004, 178–181; 280–281, no. 23; Faraone 2011, 51–53. On Herakles’ labours in ancient magic see Faraone 2013.

⁴⁸ *Hippiatr. Paris.* 206.1: Πελαγωνίου πρὸς αὐτό. Δακτυλίδιον σιδηροῦν ἔχον γλύμμα λέοντος καὶ ἐπάνω ἀστέρα ὑποκάτω τῆς <γούλας> κρέμασον καὶ θαυμάσεις.



Fig. 6: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria (inv. no. 1249). Plasma showing Chnoubis (Vitelozzi 2010, 407–408, no. 507). The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria.



Fig. 7: Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (inv. no. 62.21.A). Chalcedony showing the Chnoubis-sign. CBd no. 152. Photo: László Mátyus, reproduced by courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest.



Fig. 8: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria (inv. no. 1493). Red jasper showing Heracles and the Nemean lion (Vitellozzi 2010, 421–422, no. 520). The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria.

by Simone Michel⁴⁹ clearly demonstrates that most of the motifs can be classified in series and that the models for their making can be found in the surviving texts (including the papyri), no matter how removed their original sources are from the copies we have.

It is evident that engravers and magicians worked together following a written tradition, but this tradition could be altered as magical formularies, which were often compiled from a multitude of various sources, were produced, copied and interpolated; obviously, this does not exclude oral transmission, which could persist as far as magical books were illegally owned, or because of the secrecy that magic rituals imply. Procedures and instructions could be changed by the magicians themselves at any time, in the light of their own knowledge⁵⁰ or according to their clients' requests. Gem motifs were customized for specific purposes, and probably most of them could be simplified for the needs of the low classes; although the relative cost of gems excluded a great part of the population, their availability provided a wide range of options. As the extent of routinisation seems to suggest, it is probable that most of the practitioners relied on receptaries for common designs.

⁴⁹ Michel 2004.

⁵⁰ On the transmission of magical formularies, see Brashear 1995, 3412–3419. On magic and magicians in the ancient world see, in general, Dickie 1999; Dickie 2001.

Moreover, the creation of the most elaborated types could be the result of a long ritual tradition. Since the earliest magical gems were probably made by combining *nomina barbara* with traditional imageries, we can suppose that some original designs could have become popular once (and because) they were “tested” and appreciated in a ritual context.

The comparison of texts and artefacts leads us to make two important considerations. First, perfect correspondence is rare, because every magical amulet is the result of a ritual. Secondly, gem designs are individual creations made for specific purposes, and therefore strongly influenced by the occasion and by the need to meet the clients’ requests. Consequently, the instructions we find in the literary sources are not to be considered as strict rules, but rather as guide-lines subjected to the initiative of the practitioners.

In the light of this, relations between magical texts and gems can be found regardless of whether or not the modern categories classify our stones as “magical”. As Nagy points out,⁵¹ the designs mentioned in the ancient lapidaries are rarely accompanied by magical formulas, but some of them are represented on magical gems; in turn, there are plenty of ordinary gems that can be recognized as magical for their features or for being described as such by the sources. The ancient lapidaries contain many examples of designs for talismans, but most of them are never seen on gems, and no magical formulas or signs are recommended. According to Nagy,⁵² we can now consider the “magical gems” as a *species* of the vast *genus* of jewellery used in magical rites.

In this heterogeneous context, as Morton Smith did for the magical papyri, we are now able to divide magical gems in three groups. The first comprises high-quality exemplars made after elaborate models, which were produced by skilled engravers under the direction of famous mages who could also use the gems for themselves. In the second group are gems made by professional magicians for some particular person or purpose; though their creation was influenced by archetypal models, many variations could be made according to the needs of the performers. In the third and final group are amulets with no specific reference: these include a large number of the extant magical gems, most of them being standard artefacts with routinized imageries. Also “ordinary” gems can be classified as amulets when our sources say they were, even when they do not bear inscriptions or *charakteres*: Nagy’s definition of “talismans”, including both magical intaglios and traditional gems, appears to be an excellent solution for this hermeneutic *impasse*.⁵³

The growing number of published gemstones, together with the renewed interest in the sources, has led scholars to suggest new parallels. In 1987, Marise Waegeman published a detailed survey of the stone amulets mentioned in the first book of

51 See Nagy 2012.

52 See esp. Nagy 2012, 82–90; Nagy 2015.

53 See esp. Nagy 2012, 90.

Cyranides, which has been recently developed by Attilio Mastrocinque and Sabino Perea Yébenes.⁵⁴ The discovery of the wooden tables from Grand, with their consequent edition (1993),⁵⁵ has furnished archaeological data that are of extreme value for establishing relations between the repertory of gems and the references we find in the astrological treatises (especially in the *Holy Book of Hermes*); on this topic, important considerations will be provided in Quack's forthcoming monograph.⁵⁶

In 2002, Nagy published a useful list of literary references to the use of gems, from both the Greek papyri and the ancient lapidaries.⁵⁷ Ten years later, in his *Daktylios Pharmakítes* (2012) he focused on those gems prescribed for medical purposes. Michel's *opus magnum*⁵⁸ gives detailed literary references for each of the typologies commented, highlighting parallels that had not been considered by the previous studies.

The investigation of the medieval treatises on stones is producing surprising results, as the comparison between these sources and the repertory of Roman gems evidences interesting parallels; in one of his recent works, Nagy has been able to demonstrate an indirect relationship between Albertus Magnus' *De mineralibus* and a famous magical gem, now in St. Petersburg, showing Perseus holding a Gorgon's head.⁵⁹

In the light of these new perspectives, and aware of the provisional nature of such compilations, the following is a summary of the lists provided by the scholars with updated parallels taken from the most recent publications, based on an established classification.

1 Magical gems and rings mentioned in the magical papyri⁶⁰

1.1 PGM I.42–195: Spell of Pnouthis for acquiring an assistant

[...] and engraved on the stone is: Helioros as a lion-faced figure, holding in the left/hand a celestial globe and a whip, and around him in a circle is a serpent biting his tail. And on the exergue

⁵⁴ Mastrocinque 2005; Mastrocinque 2014; Perea Yébenes 2014, 75-128; Mastrocinque 2015.

⁵⁵ Abry 1993.

⁵⁶ Quack, forthcoming.

⁵⁷ On the relation between engraved gems and lapidaries see also Quack 2001; Perea Yébenes 2010, 473–484; Perea Yébenes 2014, 129-160.

⁵⁸ Michel 2004.

⁵⁹ Nagy, 2015. On Perseus in magic arts see also Mastrocinque 2013.

⁶⁰ Compare Nagy 2002b.

of the stone is this name (conceal it): ,ACHA ACHACHA CHACH CHARCHARA CHACH'. And after passing an Anubian string through it, wear it around your neck.⁶¹

The remarks made by Nock and Bonner on the position of the whip (see Bonner 1950, 19 and Nagy 2002b, 177, n. 1) are based on iconography. Good examples of the type are: Bonner 1950, 292–293, pl. 11, nos. 234 (rock crystal, without *Ouroboros* serpent, inscr. ΖΕΘ ΑΦΟΒΕΤΩΡ ΘΡΟΥΜΕΩ ΜΙΘΟΡΟΝ ΦΑΩΧΙ ΕΙΑΕΟC ΤΗ ΕΜΕ ΨΥΧΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥCΕΜΟΥC ΤΕΚΝΥC⁶²), 235 (rock crystal, without *Ouroboros* serpent, inscr. ΖΕΘ ΑΟΒΕΤΩΡ ΘΡΟΥΜΕΩ ΜΙΘΟΡΟΜ ΦΑΩΧΙ ΙΛΕΩC ΤΗ ΕΜΕ ΨΥΧΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΕΜΩ ΒΙΩ⁶³); Michel 2001, 163, pl. 38, no. 265 (fig. 9) (rock crystal, without *Ouroboros* serpent, inscr. ΖΕΘ ΑΒΕΤΩΡ ΘΡΜΕΩ ΜΙΘΟΡΟΝ ΦΑΩ).



Fig. 9: London, British Museum (inv. G 502, EA 56502). Rock crystal amulet with Leontokephalos [drawing: Jim Farrant] (Michel 2001, 163, pl. 38, no. 265). Cbd no. 159. The image, sourced by the Cbd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

⁶¹ Translation E. N. O’Neil (GMPT).

⁶² “Zeth, fearless-hearted, Thropsmeô Mithoron Phaôchi, (be) well disposed to my soul and my children.”

⁶³ “Zeth, fearless-hearted, Thropsmeô Mithorom Phaôchi, (be) well disposed to my soul and to my life.”

1.2 PGM IV.1716–1870: “Sword of Dardanos”

Take a magnetic stone (μάγνης) which is breathing and engrave Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche/ and with her left hand holding her hair bound in curls. And above her head: ‘ACHMAGE RAR-PEPSEI’; and below/Aphrodite and Psyche engrave Eros standing on the vault of heaven, holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche. And below Eros these/names: ‘ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHARAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ Ē PHARPHARĒI.’ On the other side of the stone engrave Psyche and Eros embracing/one another and beneath Eros’ feet these letters: ‘SSSSSSS’, and beneath Psyche’s feet: ‘ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ’.⁶⁴

Parallels: Vitellozzi 2010, 419–420, no. 518; Mouterde 1930, 53 (See above figs. 3–4).

1.3 PGM IV.2125–2139: A restraining seal for skulls that are not satisfactory

[...] Taking iron from a leg fetter, work it cold and make a ring on which have a headless lion engraved. Let him have, instead of his head, a crown of Isis, and let him trample with his feet a skeleton (the right foot should trample the skull of the skeleton. In the middle of these should be an owl-eyed cat with its paw on a Gorgon’s head; in a circle around [all of them?], these names: IADŌR INBA NICHAIOPLĒX BRITH.⁶⁵

Though none of the published gems corresponds exactly to this description, there are amulets showing a lion treading over a skeleton (the right foot of the lion always on the skull): see e.g. Neverov 1978, 840, no. 20; Michel 2004, 354, pl. 43,1 (307, 37A.3.a).

1.4 PGM IV.2622–2707: Slander Spell to Selene

Take a magnet (μάγνης) that is breathing and fashion it in the form of a heart, and let there be engraved on it Hekate lying about the heart, like a little crescent. Then carve the twenty lettered spell that is all vowels,/and wear it around your body. The following name is what is written ‘AEYŌ ĒIE ŌA EŌĒ EŌA ŌI EŌI’.⁶⁶

Direct parallels of the type are unknown to me.

1.5 PGM IV.2622–2707: Slander Spell to Selene

[...] Make pills and stamp with a completely iron ring, completely tempered, with a Hekate and the name BARZOU PHERBA.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Translation E. N. O’Neil (GMPT).

⁶⁵ Translation E. N. O’Neil (GMPT).

⁶⁶ PGM IV.2631–2637.

⁶⁷ PGM IV.2690–2693; Translation E. N. O’Neil (GMPT).

I am currently not aware of direct parallels, but Hekate is often represented on magical gems (see Michel 2004, 277–278, no. 21).

1.6 PGM IV.2785–2890: Prayer to Selene for any spell

Take a lodestone (σδηρίτης) and on it have carved a three-faced Hekate. And let the middle face be that of a maiden wearing horns, and the left face that of a dog, and the one on the right that of a goat. After the carving is done, clean with natron and water, and dip in the blood of one who has died a violent death.⁶⁸

I cannot find any direct parallels, but see Bonner 1950, 278–279 no. 156; Dimitrova Milčeva 1980, 96 n. 266 (Hekate with three animal heads). See also Nagy 2002b, 178, no. 6. On Hekate see, in general, Johnston 1990.

1.7 PGM IV.2943–2966: Love-spell of attraction through wakefulness

[...] and seal it with your own ring which has crocodiles with the backs of their head attached.⁶⁹

For this passage, Nagy poses the problem of translation (Nagy 2002b, 178, no. 7): in fact, the Greek expression κορκοδειλους ἀντικεφάλους of PGM IV.2954 could also be translated as “crocodiles with confronting heads”. Though I cannot find any direct parallels for this motif, a gem in the Skoluda collection (Michel 2004, 304, no. 34.2) shows a crocodile with a uraeus coming out of its mouth.

1.8 PGM V.213–303: Ring of Hermes

Carve a scarab in costly green stone (σμάραγδος) and, having pierced [the stone], thread it with gold [wire?]. On the counterside of the scarab engrave holy Isis.⁷⁰

Parallels: AGD I.1, 69, no. 346, pl. 40 (fig. 10), carnelian instead of a green stone: see Nagy 2002b, 178, no. 8. Compare also below no. 2.17.

⁶⁸ Translation E. N. O’Neil (GMPT).

⁶⁹ Translation E. N. O’Neil (GMPT).

⁷⁰ PGM V.240–243.



Fig. 10: München, Staatliche Münzsammlung. Carnelian scarab showing Isis (AGD I.1, no. 346, pl. 40). The photograph is reproduced by courtesy of the Staatliche Münzsammlung, München.

1.9 PGM V.447–458

On a jasperlike agate (ἰασπαχάτης) engrave Sarapis seated, facing forwards (?), holding an Egyptian royal sceptre and on the sceptre an ibis, and on the back of the stone the [magical] name [of Sarapis?].⁷¹

Direct parallels: Bonner 1950, 314, nos. 356 (fig. 11) and 357; Zwierlein-Diehl 1992, 33, pl. 30.15–16 (See Nagy 2002b, 178, no. 9).



Fig. 11a–b: NYC, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. no. 10.130.1390). Green jasper showing an enthroned Sarapis. Cbd no. 1130. Digital images reproduced by courtesy of the OASC initiative of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (www.metmuseum.org).

⁷¹ Translation E. N. O’Neil (GMPT).

1.10 PGM VII.628–642

Then Engrave [the image] of the Asklepios [worshipped] in Memphis on a ring of iron from a leg fetter.⁷²

This imagery does not seem to have any direct parallels, but, if the Asklepios of Memphis is the Egyptian god Imhotep (see GMPT, 136, fn. 139), the British Museum agate Inv. G 21, EA 56021 (Michel 2001, 203, pl. 47, no. 319) showing a bald, beardless Asklepios with Hygieia (fig. 12), can be related to this tradition.



Fig. 12: London, British Museum (inv. no. G 21, EA 56021). Dark brown agate: obv. Chnoubis/rev. Asklepios-Imhotep and Hygieia (Michel 2001, 203, pl. 47, no. 319). CBd no. 705. The photograph, sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

1.11 PGM XII.201–269: Placing (a) ring

Taking an air-colored jasper (ἰασπις ἀερίζων), engrave on it a snake in a circle with its tail in its mouth, and also in the middle of the [circle formed by] the snake [Selene] having two stars on the two horns, and above these, Helios, beside whom ABRASAX should be inscribed; and on the opposite side of the stone from this inscription, the same name ABRASAX, and around the border you will write the great and holy and omnicompetent [spell], the name IAΘ SABAΘH.⁷³

I am currently not aware of direct parallels for this design, but Helios and Selene are sometimes seen together on magical gems: see Michel 2004, 330, no. 49.2.a.

⁷² Translation E. N. O’Neil (GMPT).

⁷³ Translation E. N. O’Neil (GMPT).

1.12 PGM XII.270–350: A little ring for success, favour and victory

Helios is to be engraved on a heliotrope stone (ἡλιοτρόπιος) as follows: a thick-bodied snake in the shape of a wreath should be [shown] having its tail in its mouth. Inside [the circle formed by] the snake let there be a sacred scarab. On the reverse side of the stone you are to inscribe the name in hieroglyphics, as the prophets pronounce it.⁷⁴

According to Nagy (Nagy 2002b, 179, no. 12), the name that is to be written in hieroglyphics (ἱερογλυφικῶς) on the reverse of the gem could be a magical formula or a sequence of *charakteres*. In fact, the closest parallel we have on gems (Philipp 1986, 84, no. 118, pl. 28 = SGG I, pl. 6) is a green jasper bearing the Iarbatha-Logos (fig. 13) (See Michel 2004, 484, s. v. Iarbatha-Logos).



Fig. 13: ÄM 9876 © Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – PK, Photo: Sandra Steiß. Green jasper, obv. Helios as a scarab, rev. Iarbatha-Logos (Philipp 1986, 84, no. 118, pl. 28 = SGG I, pl. 6).

1.13 PDM XII.6–20: A ring to cause praise

You bring a ring of iron and you bring a white stone which is in the shape of a grape which grows as a fresh plant in the water, there being [a] daimon with the face of a falcon...together with his snake tail, there being a nemes headdress (?) in (?) the...eye whose face goes to the ... Write/this name on it ... saying, 'ABRAXAM PHILEN...CHNI...' [...].⁷⁵

Direct parallels are unknown to me, but the description recalls the well-known hawk-headed Horus type (See Michel 2004, 267, no. 16.2.b)

⁷⁴ Translation E. N. O'Neil (GMPT).

⁷⁵ Translation Janet H. Johnson.

1.14 PGM LXI.1–38: Commendable love charm


And whenever you perform this spell, have an iron ring with yourself, on which has been engraved Harpokrates sitting on a lotus, and his name is ABRASAX.⁷⁶

Though these instructions refer to an iron ring, the motif is widely attested on stones (see Michel 2004, 269–276, no. 19). In two cases, the reverse of the gem shows the vox ABPACAΞ alone: M. Whiting in Henig 1994, 223–224, no. 495; Vitellozzi 2010, 413, no. 512 (= SGG II, 105, no. Pe 5, pl. 30) (fig. 14).



Fig. 14: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria (inv. no. 1502). Heliotrope, obv. Harpokrates on lotus, rev. ABPACAΞ (Vitellozzi 2010, 413, no. 512). The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria.

1.15 PGM LXII.24–46

[...] and will carve these characters on a magnet that is breathing. These are the characters to be made .⁷⁷

Although many magnetite amulets bear *charakteres*, the sequence reported in the papyrus seems to be unattested.

⁷⁶ Translation E. N. O'Neil (GMPT).

⁷⁷ Translation E. N. O'Neil (GMPT).

1.16 PGM XCIV.12–29

Make a ‘gothic’ [ring?] and then carve [on it the] following [?] and [with the ?] hand, in the middle...: ‘CHACH’.

According to Suppl. Mag. II, 216–218, it is highly probable that the object mentioned is a ring, but the text is fragmentary and the identification seems impossible.

2 Gem engravings described in the ancient lapidaries⁷⁸

2.1 Jupiter seated on an eagle

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 234, no. 7) “*erbosa*”.

According to (Nagy 2002b, 171, no. 1), this description can be related to gems showing a Serapis head with an eagle above, but the text indicates rather a Jupiter seated on the back of an eagle (*Iovem sedentem aquilam*). This motif is attested on Roman gems (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 234, no. 2): see e.g. Walters 1926, 265, no. 2718 (glass); Richter 1956, 121–122, pl. 56, no. 604 (sardonyx cameo); Dembski 2005, 57, pl. 5, no. 41; AGD IV Han, 292–293, pl. 212, no. 1596 (carnelian).

2.2 Head of Helios with radiate crown

DAMIG. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 3) “*eliotropios*”.

Parallels on magical gems: Michel 2004, 279, no. 22. See esp. Delatte/Derchain 1964, 220, no. 301 = Mastrocinque 2014, 145, no. 380 (jasper); Michel 2001, 148–149, pl. 35, no. 243 (heliotrope) (fig. 15); SGG II, 59, pl. 16, no. Fi 64 (heliotrope); *ibid.* 122, pl. 35, nos. Ra 8–10 (heliotropes). See also (“non-magical” gems) Dembski 2005, 91, pl. 39, no. 399 (heliotrope).

⁷⁸ See Nagy 2002b; Nagy 2012. See also Quack 2001; Perea Yébenes 2010.



Fig. 15: London, British Museum (inv. no. G 259, EA 56259). Heliotrope: obv. Helios/rev. inscription (Michel 2001, 148–149, no. 243, pl. 35). CBd no. 641. The photograph, sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

2.3 Head of Helios

DAMIG. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 3) “*eliotropios*”.

Parallels on magical gems: M. Whiting in Henig 1994, 230, no. 506 (heliotrope). For parallels on “non-magical” gems see e.g. AGWien II, 166, pl. 113, no. 1264 (heliotrope); Tomaselli 1993, 146, pl. 18, no. 360 (heliotrope); Vitellozzi 2010, 247, no. 269 (fig. 16) (green jasper).



Fig. 16: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria (inv. no. 1338). Green jasper: Head of Helios (Vitellozzi 2010, 247, no. 269). The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria.

2.4 Sol and Luna

Damig. *Lapid.* 25.4 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 264) “*obsianus*”; see also Plin. *Nat.* 37.40 (124) “*amethystus*”.

The description may refer to Helios and Selene: see e.g. Philipp 1986, 44, pl. 8, no. 34 (magnetite).

2.5 Poseidon on his chariot, holding ears of wheat in his right hand, in the left hand holding reins; Amphitrite at his side

Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 8.9 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 151) “*τοπάριος*”.

This description has been paralleled to an intaglio in the Archaeological Museum of Tarragona (Perea Yébenes 2010, 465–466). I am suspicious about the antiquity of that intaglio and, in my opinion, the figure depicted (Ricomá i Vallhonrat 1982, no. 2 = Canós/Villena 2002, 156–157, no. 70, pl. 69) is not Poseidon, but a winged male figure (Eros?) driving a sea chariot.

2.6 Poseidon on a two-horses chariot

Lapidarius nauticus 3 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 188) “*βήρυλλος*”; Damig. *Lapid.* 60.4 (p. 286 Halleux/Schamp) “*alcinio*”.

Parallels on “non-magical” gems: AGD Nürnberg, 77, no. 111 (see Nagy 2002b, 171, no. 5).

2.7 Poseidon with trident, his right foot on a dolphin

Socr. et Dion. 27.1 (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 27.1, Halleux/Schamp 1985, 166) “*ὐάκινθος*”.

A good parallel (on “non-magical” gems) is an unpublished yellow glass gem in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria, Perugia (Inv. Bellucci 209–211: Poseidon with dolphin under his foot) (fig. 17). A significant variation of the type has been found by the scholars (Perea Yébenes 2010, 476, pl. 28) on a magical gem from the antiquities market. According to Sabino Perea Yébenes, the intaglio, showing Eros on the back of a dolphin, is influenced by the story of Poseidon and Amphitrite as it is recorded by Eratosthenes (Perea Yébenes 2010, 476, fn. 82).



Fig. 17: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria (inv. no. 209–211). Yellow glass: Poseidon with trident, his right foot on a dolphin. The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria.

2.8 Mars with trophy (*tropaeum ferentem*)

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 5) “*sardio*”. See also Socr. et Dion 30.9 (= *Orphei lithica kerygmata* 30.9, Halleux/Schamp 1985, 168) “βαβυλώνιος”, “σάρδιον” (Γλύφεται δὲ καὶ Ἄρης).

A good example of the type is furnished by an unpublished red carnelian in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria, Perugia (fig. 18). See also SGG I, 340, no. 297.



Fig. 18: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria. Red carnelian: Mars with trophy, inscr. IAW. The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria.

2.9 Mars in arms (*arma ferentem*)

DAMIG. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 5) “*sardio*”; *ibid.* 374 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 266) “*chalconius*” (*martem armatum*)

Mars standing, alone (*Mars ultor* type) on magical gems: Michel 2001, 244–245, pl. 57, nos. 385–386 (haematites). See also Mastrocinque 2014, 133, no. 252 (red jasper amulet showing the *Mars ultor* type, probably made for love purposes). For the *Mars ultor* type on red carnelians (*sardio*) see e.g. AGD III G, 213–214, pl. 93, nos. 69–70; Henig 1974, II, 17–18, pl. 27, nos. 81–82; AGWien II, 168, pl. 116, nos. 1276–1277; Dembski 2005, 66–67, pl. 13, nos. 125–128; Gesztelyi 1998, 138, no. 22 (fig. 19). On this type in ancient lapidaries see recently Perea Yébenes 2010, 461–462.



Fig. 19: Debrecen, Déri Múzeum (inv. no. R.XI.53). Red carnelian: Mars Ultor (Gesztelyi 1998, 138, no. 22) Cbd no. 78. Photo: Marianna Dági, reproduced by courtesy of the Déri Múzeum, Debrecen.

2.10 Weapons of Mars (*arma Martis*).

DAMIG. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, no. 5) “*sardio*”.

The description may refer either to the representations of a *tropaion* (see Nagy 2002b, 172, no. 9 for bibliography) occurring frequently on magical gems (see esp. Michel 2001, 155–156, pl. 36, no. 252, *tropaion* with head of Mars), or to the motif of the *panoplion* (see Nagy 2002b, 172, no. 9). The *panoplion* is often seen on red carnelians (*sardio*): see e.g. Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, no. 242 (= SGG II, 27, pl. 6, no. Bo 11); AGD I.3, 115, pl. 273, no. 2876; AGD IV Han, 252, pl. 185, no. 1341; *ibid.* 303, pl. 219, no. 1659; AGD Nürnberg, 162, no. 466; Glittica Santarelli, 178, no. 281.

2.11 Mercury seated on a rock.

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 234 no. 6) “*emathitis*”.

Parallels on magical gems: Maaskant Kleibrink 1978, 170, pl. 352, nos. 1105–1106 (heliotrope and jasper): see also Nagy 2002b, 172, no. 10. Hermes on magical gems: Michel 2004, 282–283, no. 24.

2.12 Apollo and Artemis.

Socr. et Dion. 33.2 (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 33.2 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 169, no. 6) “ὄνυκίτης”.

Direct parallels are unknown to me (compare Nagy 2002b, 172, no. 11).

2.13 Athena, holding a heron (or bittern) in her right hand: in her left hand, helmet.

Socr. et Dion. = *Orphei Lithica kerygmata* 29.3 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 167) “χαλκηδόνιος”.

Direct parallels of the type are unknown to me. On this type in the ancient lapidaries: Perea Yébenes 2010, 462. Athena on magical gems: Michel 2004, 253–254, no. 8.

2.14 Aphrodite showing an apple in her left hand, and holding a man’s cloak with the right

Orphei lithica kerygmata 11.10 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 154) “μάγνης”.

This description seems not to have any direct parallels, but Aphrodite holding an apple (or pomegranate) is widely attested on Roman gems. See e.g. a red jasper in Perugia: Vitellozzi 2010, 213, no. 220 (with updated bibliography).

2.15 *Venus victrix*

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 234, no. 8), “*egyptilla*”.

Venus victrix on magical gems: Henig/McGregor 2004, 124, no. 13.14. The *egyptilla* stone is described by Pliny as follows (Plin. *Nat.* 37.148): *Aegyptillam Iacchus intellegit per album sardae nigraque venis transeuntibus, volgus autem nigra radice, caerulea facie. Nomen a loco.* Though the identification of the mineral is uncertain (see Halleux/Schamp 1985, 336, fn. 1), the phrase *nigra radice, caerulea facie* could well

describe the *nicolo* stones. Indeed, there are several *nicolo* gems showing the *Venus victrix* type: see e.g. AGWien III, 311–312, pl. 227, nos. 2801, 2803; Boardman/Wagner 2003, 44, pl. 43, no. 276; SGG II 190, pl. 55, no. Vr 13; Vitellozzi 2010, 212, no. 219 (fig. 20). See also AGD I.3, 64, pl. 227, no. 2491 (lapis lazuli).



Fig. 20: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria. Nicolo (Vitellozzi 2010, 212–213, no. 219): *Venus victrix* with Eros. The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria.

2.16 Aphrodite

Socr. et Dion. (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 37.3, s. Halleux/Schamp 1985, 171) “χρυσόλιθος” (Ἐπιχάρασσε οὖν Ἀφροδίτην).

This description is too generic to find close parallels on gems, but a bright yellow carnelian from Aquileia (SGG II, 18, pl. 3, no. Aq 17) showing on the obverse side an *anadyoméne* Aphrodite between a crescent moon and a star could well correspond to the description of the χρυσόλιθος stone.

2.17 Isis (engraved on a scarab).

Socr. et Dion. (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 26.5, s. Halleux/Schamp 1985, 166) “σμάραγδος”; Damig. *Lapid.* 6.5 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 241).

See above no. 1.8.

2.18 *Bovis illa cornua habente*

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 232, no. 4), “*afroselinus*”.

According to the scholars (see Nagy 2002b, 173, no. 16), *illa* could refer to Luna as well as to a horned Isis (compare Quack 2001, 339). If this is true, the description can be paralleled to a group of magical intaglios (see Michel 2004, 300, no. 30.6.e) showing a cow-headed feminine figure (Isis/Hathor/Hekate): most of these intaglios are cut in magnetites or haematites, which recall closely the features of the *afroselinus* stone. The best parallels seem to be Bonner 1950, 258, pl. 2, no. 27 = Michel 2004, 358, pl. 81,1 (magnetite) (fig. 21) and Delatte/Derchain 1964, 155–156, nos. 203–205 = Mastrocinque 2014, 143–144, nos. 374, 377–378 (haematites).



Fig. 21: Ann Arbor. Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan (inv. no. KM26055). Magnetite amulet showing a cow-headed feminine figure (Isis/Hathor/Hekate). Photograph courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.

2.19 *Seated Luna*

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233 no. 4), “*chrisolithus*”.

Direct parallels are unknown to me (compare Nagy 2002b, 173, no. 17).

2.20 Hekate (ζώδιον Ἡκάτης, *Hecates signum*)

Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 20.16 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 161), “κοράλιος”; Damig. *Lapid.* 7.3 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 242), “*corallius*”.

According to Nagy 2002b, 173, no. 18, the word ζώδιον (Lat. *signum*) has to be translated as “image” rather than as “animal” (see Perea Yébenes 2010, 468): this is confirmed by a series of red jaspers, red carnelians or corals (corresponding to the ancient definition of “κοράλιος”) showing Hekate (or one of her attributes) on the reverse, with a *gorgoneion* on the obverse (both the lapidaries indicate these two motifs as alternatives, see below no. 2.23). See Nagy 2002b, 168–170; Michel 2004, 268, no. 18.1.b. See also SGG II, 193–194, pls. 56–57, nos. Vr 25–26 (corals), both showing a *gorgoneion* on the obverse: Vr 26 (fig. 22) has Hekate on the reverse, while Vr 25 shows an object (Herakles’ club for the editors) that could be interpreted as Hekate’s torch. On this type in ancient lapidaries see recently Perea Yébenes 2010, 469.



Fig. 22: Verona, Musei Civici d’Arte: Museo di Castelvechio (inv. no. 26737). Pink coral: obv. Gorgon’s head/rev. Hekate. Photo: Attilio Mastrocinque, reproduced by courtesy of the Civici Musei d’Arte di Verona.

2.21 Seated Ops

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 2) “*achates*”.

The best parallels for this description can be found on a series of mottled jaspers (magical gems) showing an enthroned Ceres: Philipp 1986, 48–49, pl. 11, nos. 43–44; Vitellozzi 2010, 418, no. 517 (fig. 23); Mastrocinque 2014, 141, nos. 371–372. See also AGD III G, 89, pl. 38, no. 105 (yellow green mottled jasper).



Fig. 23: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria. Mottled jasper (Vitellozzi 2010, 418, no. 517): obv. enthroned Ceres/rev. *charakteres*. The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria.

2.22 Fides Publica

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 2), “*achates*”.

Though this motif is common on Roman intaglios (see S. De Angeli in LIMC IV 1988, s. v. Demeter/Ceres, 900, nos. 111–122), it seems to be unattested on magical gems. *Fides Publica* on ordinary gems: see e.g. Vitellozzi 2010, 232–234, nos. 248–251 (with further bibliography).

2.23 Virgo stolata tenens laurum

Damig. *Lapid.* 374 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 266), “*chalcedonius*”.

The best parallels for this description can be found on a series of magical gems (haematites and magnetites) showing a feminine figure holding a branch, usually accompanied by the inscription CΘENEXE COYΘIC: De Ridder 1911, no. 3485 = Mastrocinque 2014, 181, no. 493; Delatte/Derchain 1964, 300, no. 430 = Mastrocinque 2014, 181, no. 491; AGD III K, 89, pl. 110, no. 182; Philipp 1986, 50, pl. 12, no. 46; M. Whiting in Henig 1994, 221, no. 491 (fig. 24); Michel 2001, 299, pl. 73, no. 487; Michel 2004, 350, pl. 8,3; Vitellozzi 2010, 414, no. 513. On this series see Vitellozzi 2014. Scholars have also linked this description with the images of Victoria that we often see on Roman gems (Perea Yébenes 2010, 462, fn. 16): this is a possibility that should be taken into consideration.



Fig. 24: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Magnetite: obv. Woman holding a branch/rev. ΦΙΛΩΝΑC (Henig 1994, 221, no. 491). CBd no. 85. Photograph: Robert Wilkins and Charlotte Attwood. The photograph, sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

2.24 Gorgon's head

Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 20.16 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 161), “κοράλιος”; Damig. *Lapid.* 7.3 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 242), “corallius”.

This motif has several parallels on magical gems (red jaspers and corals especially in combination with Hekate): see Nagy 2002b, 168–170; Michel 2004, 268, no. 18.1.b; above no. 2.20. See esp. the corals SGG II, 193–194, pls. 56–57, nos. Vr 25–26 (corals), and Vitellozzi 2010, 422, no. 521 (fig. 25).



Fig. 25: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria. Coral (Vitelozzi 2010, 422, no. 521): obv. Gorgon’s head/rev. Helios bust. The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria.

2.25 Naked man holding a δίκηλλα (two-pronged fork): around him *charakteres* $\pi\lambda\delta\pi\delta\pi\delta\pi\delta\pi\delta$, behind him the magical name **APAM**

Socr. et Dion. (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 50.2, Halleux/Schamp 1985, 176) “χαλκηδόνιος”.

This motif seems to be unattested on gems.

2.26 Scarab (in the centre of an “egg”)

Socr. et Dion. (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 34. 2, Halleux/Schamp 1985, 170) “όνυχίτης”; Plinius, *Nat.* 37.40 (124) “*amethystus*”.

The description of a scarab in the centre of an “egg” (ὄν και μέσον τοῦ ὄου κίνθαρον) certainly refers to the well-known motif of a scarab inside an Ouroboros snake (or inscribed circle): see Michel 2004, 330–331, no. 50. The gem published by Philipp 1986, 45, pl. 9, no. 36 (banded agate) is an interesting parallel, since the stone is similar to that described in the lapidary.

2.27 *Capra comata* (long-haired goat)

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 6) “*ceraunius*”.

A good example of the type has been recognized by Attilio Mastrocinque on a jasper in Verona (Mastrocinque 2006; SGG II, 194–195, pl. 57, no. Vr 27; Mastrocinque 2008b): the gem shows a male figure and a lion-headed goat (fig. 26). The description in the lapidary was previously associated with the ram/goat as the animal of Amun (Quack 2001, 339–340) but, according to Mastrocinque 2008b, the iconography of the Verona gem could have been borrowed from that of the Near Eastern god Sandas.



Fig. 26: Verona, Musei Civici d’Arte: Museo di Castelvecchio (inv. no. 26738). Mottled jasper: obv. male figure with animal/rev. YOYO. Photo: Attilio Mastrocinque, reproduced by courtesy of the Civici Musei d’Arte di Verona.

2.28 Lion, recumbent

DAMIG. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 2) “*achates*”.

See esp. the British Museum carnelian Michel 2001, 158, no. 256 (lion, lying on the ground line: on the left, star). Examples of the type on ordinary gems: Fossing 1929, 186, pl. 15, no. 1292 (nicolo); *ibid.* 186, pl. 15, no. 1295 (glass imitating agate). See also Nagy 2002b, 174, no. 26.

2.29 Eagle flying above a river

Damig. *Lapid.* praef. (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 234 no. 7) “*erbosa*” Plinius, *Nat.* 37.40 (124) “*amethystus*”.

This motif seems to have no direct parallels, but see Nagy 2002b, 174, no. 27–28. If we look at the Latin text of Damigeron and Euax, we could even imagine that the phrase *aquilam supra flumen stantem* is a *lectio facilior* of a hypothetic original *aquilam supra fulmen stantem*. Though this is not supported by evidence, there are several Roman gems showing eagles holding thunderbolts.

2.30 Eagle holding a wreath in its claws

Damig. *Lapid.* praef. (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 234, no. 7) “*erbosa*”; Plinius, *Nat.* 37.40 (124) “*amethystus*”.

Though the motif of an eagle holding a wreath in its beak is common on Roman gems, direct parallels are rare: see Nagy 2002b, 174, no. 27–28.

2.31 Lobster and raven

Damig. *Lapid.* 35.2 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 276) “*berillus*”.

Combinations of birds and fishes or crustaceans are often seen on Roman gems, but direct parallels of the type are unknown to me: compare Nagy 2002b, 174, no. 29–30.

2.32 Hoopoe and *glaucium* fish

Damig. *Lapid.* 66.1 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 288) “*epignathion*”.

Direct parallels seem to be unattested: see above no. 2.30.

2.33 Dove, standing (*columbam supra astantem*)

Damig. *Lapid.* Praef. (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 234, no. 8) “*aegyptilla*”.

On the *aegyptilla* stone (*nigra radice, caerulea facie*) see above no. 2.15. Parallels: Nestorović 2005, pl. 6, no. 59 (glass imitating *nicolo*).

2.34 Burning torch on an altar

Damig. *Lapid. Praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 3) “*eliotropios*”.

This description can be paralleled to a series of Roman gems: see esp. Vitellozzi 2010, 208–209, no. 214 (heliotrope) (fig. 27), AGD III B, 51, pl. 22, no. 178 (green jasper); Glitica Santarelli, 208, no. 320 (heliotrope). Also, Henig/McGregor 2004, 127, no. 13.26.



Fig. 27: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria. Heliotrope: altar with burning torch. On the right side heads of Hermes and Sarapis; on the left side head of Isis and crescent moon (Vitellozzi 2010, 208–209, no. 214). The photograph, taken by the author, appears courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria.

2.35 Crescent moon

Damig. *Lapid. Praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 4), “*chrisolithus*”.

The motif is common on Roman gems (e.g. Vitellozzi 2010, 368, no. 459), but see esp. AGD IV Han, 303, pl. 219, no. 1655 (yellow carnelian) and Weiss 2007, 311, pl. 84, no. 639 (citrine quartz). Crescent moon on magical gems (fig. 28): Michel 2004, 343, no. 55.6.



Fig. 28: London, British Museum (inv. no. G 573). Red jasper: obv. crescent moon, rev. inscription. (Michel 2001, 61, pl. 13, no. 92). Cbd no. 492. The photograph, sourced by the Cbd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

2.36 Vine and ivy (*Vinea et hedera involuta*)

Damig. *Lapid.* 50. 3 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 284, no. 3), “sardo”.

The motif has no direct parallels, but see AGD I.3, 45, pl. 212, no. 2368 (lapis lazuli), tree with ivy.

2.37 Hermes holding a scroll in his right hand, with the left hand holding a bag. On his side, a baboon with outstretched arms

Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 3.8 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 149), “εὐπέταλος ὁ καὶ δενδραχάτης”.

The best example of this type seems to be the reverse of a green, mottled jasper in Florence: see SGG II, 62, pl. 17, no. Fi 72 R (fig. 29), Hermes with *caduceus* in his left hand, right hand holding a ram head: on the left side, an ithyphallic baboon.



Fig. 29: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Mottled jasper: obv. Lion/rev. Hermes and baboon, (SGG II, 62, pl. 17, no. Fi 72). Photo: Attilio Mastrocinque, reproduced by courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Firenze.

2.38 Artemis and deer

Socr. et Dion. (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 30.6, Halleux/Schamp 1985, 168), “βαβυλώνιος”, “σάρδιον”.

The motif, which is common on Graeco-Roman intaglios (see L. Kahil in LIMC II 1984, s. v. Artemis, 647, nos. 292–295; E. Simon, *ibid.* s. v. Artemis/Diana, 827–828, nos. 246–253), is also attested on magical gems. See Michel 2001, 50, pl. 11, no. 75 (green jasper) (fig. 30).



Fig. 30: London, British Museum (inv. no. G 240, EA 56240). Green jasper: obv. Artemis with deer, rev. inscription. (Michel 2001, 50, pl. 11, no. 75). Cbd no. 475. The photograph, sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

2.39 Dog-headed snake

Socr. et Dion. (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 32.2, Halleux/Schamp 1985, 169), “όνυχίτης”.

Direct parallels: Philipp 1986, 108, pl. 44, no. 173, sard (see Nagy 2002b, 175, no. 37) (fig. 31). On the tables of Grand, Sothis appears as a dog-headed snake: this is the decan called Σωθειρ by the author of the *Holy Book of Hermes to Asklepios*. See below no. 4.4.1.



Fig. 31: ÄM 9870 © Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – PK, Photo: Sandra Steiß. Carnelian: obv. dog-headed snake/rev. Inscription.

2.40 Lion-headed snake (Chnoubis)

Socr. et Dion. (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 35.3, Halleux/Schamp 1985, 170), “όνυχίτης”.

Chnoubis on magical gems: SGG I, 78–82, 242–261; Michel 2004, 166–177, 255–263, no. 11; Dasen/Nagy 2012; Quack forthcoming, § 2.4.3. The lapidary describes a white translucent stone (λίθος όνυχίτης έτερος, λευκός και διαυγής διόλου καθάπερ άήρ) that should show a snake (Chnoubis is not mentioned explicitly) with the forepart or the head of a lion with rays (Επιχάρασσε ούν εις αυτόν σπείραμα όφρεως έχον προτομήν ήτοι κεφαλήν λέοντος και άκτίνας). In the large quantity of gems depicting Chnoubis, Christopher A. Faraone (Faraone 2011, 50–51, pls. 2a–c) has recently indicated a rock crystal that fits perfectly with the description (British Museum G 1986,5–1,19 = Michel 2001, 207, no. 325) (fig. 32).



Fig. 32: London, British Museum (inv. no. G 1986,5–1,19). Rock crystal: obv. Chnoubis, rev. inscription. (Michel 2001, 207, no. 325). Cbd no. 711. The photograph, sourced by the Cbd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

2.41 Three-headed Chnoubis

Socr. et Dion. (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 36.3, Halleux/Schamp 1985, 171), “ὄνουχίτης”.

Parallels on magical gems: Zwierlein-Diehl 1992, 79–80, no. 18 (white chalcedony), three headed snake, on the rev. inscr. AABEC/XNOVBI/BIENOΘ (fig. 33).



Fig. 33: Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität. White Chalcedony: obv. Three-headed snake, rev. inscription (Zwierlein-Diehl 1992, 79–80, no. 18) CBd no. 1892. The photograph, taken by Christopher A. Faraone and sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln.

2.42 Harpokrates and Latona: on the reverse three hawks

Damig. *Lapid.* 375 (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 278) “*panchrus*”.

Direct parallels for this description are still unattested, but we cannot exclude that the Latona mentioned in our text is an *interpretatio graeca* of an Egyptian deity such as Isis (see Nagy 2002b, 176, no. 40). In this case the text could be related to magical gems showing the two deities together.

2.43 Cynocephalus (“*khinokephallion*”)

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 8) “*arabicus*”.

The *Kynokephalos* is widely attested on magical gems (especially yellow jaspers) (fig. 34): see Michel 2004, 304–306, no. 36.



Fig. 34: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Greek and Roman Art (acc. no. 81.6.307). Yellow jasper: obv. Kynokephalos/rev. HNAMEPW (Michel 2004, 304, no. 36.1.a_3). CBd no. 1137. Digital image reproduced by courtesy of the OASC initiative of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (www.metmuseum.org).

2.44 Crocodile-headed man, with its legs and hips inscribed with magical formulas

Damig. *Lapid. praef.* (Halleux/Schamp 1985, 233, no. 9), “*ostrakitis*”.

The text probably refers to the representation of the Egyptian god Sobek: this figure, in close relation with that of Geb, is ultimately connected with the planet Saturn (see Quack 2001, 241). The description seems to have no parallels (Nagy 2002b, 176, no. 42), except for a gem in Naples (SGG II, pl. 23, no. Na 4 = Cbd no. 2196) showing an Egyptian god with animal head (the figure is not inscribed). Buonarroti’s drawing of the gem (SGG I, 204, no. 104) shows an ibis-headed figure (Thoth), and this interpretation is followed by modern editors but, if we look at the magnificent photo enlargement in SGG I, pl. 3, the figure seems to have a crocodile head. If this is true, then our text can be compared with this gem.

2.45 *Charakteres* +ΦΗΔΔΟΧΕΕΚΚΠΥ+

Socr. et Dion. (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 38.6, Halleux/Schamp 1985, 171: see *ibid.*, 331, no. 8)

Direct parallels are unattested, but see Nagy 2002b, 176, no. 43–45.

2.46 Magical name (ιάχω)

Socr. et Dion. (= Orph. *Lithica kerygmata* 39. 7, Halleux/Schamp 1985, 172: see *ibid.*, 331, no. 5, reference to PGM LVII.19–21) “ἀχάτηρ”.

Direct parallels are unattested.

3 Gem engravings described in the first book of Cyranides⁷⁹

A. Eagle

1.1.170–175: ἀετῖτης

Parallels on magical gems: Michel 2004, 237, no. 1.1 (see esp. Delatte/Derchain 1964, 278–279, no. 396; Philipp 1986, 54, pl. 14, no. 54; Nagy 1992.

B. Crow with lobster under its feet

1.2.20–26: βήρυλλος

See above no. 2.31.

Γ. Owl with *gnathios* fish under its feet

1.3.32–38: γνάθιος

Direct parallels are not attested, but see Eitrem 1939, 77, no. 8, owl.

⁷⁹ See Waegemann 1987; Mastrocinque 2005; Perea Yébenes 2014, 75–128.

Δ. Woodpecker with weever-fish under its feet

1.4.45–51: δενδρίτης

I am currently not aware of direct parallels.

E. Aphrodite tying up her hair and locks on her head.

1.5.27–31: εὐάνθος

Aphrodite anadyomene on magical gems: Michel 2004, 250, no. 4.1.a. See below no. 3.K.

Z. Harpé (vulture) with murry under its feet

1.6.19–24: ζμάραγδος

I am currently not aware of direct parallels.

H. Flamingo with scorpion at its feet

1.7.17–21: ἡφαεπίτης

Parallels on magical gems: Bonner 1950, 270, pl. 5, no. 106; Michel 2004, 358, pl. 76,3 (haematites), phoenix (?) with scorpion (fig. 35). The bird shown on these gems is difficult to identify, but we cannot exclude that the bird was meant to be a flamingo (instead of the phoenix that we often find on such gems).



Fig. 35: Hamburg, Skoluda Collection (inv. no. M084) Haematite: obv. bird with scorpion/rev. CTOMAXOY (Michel 2004, 358, pl. 76,3) CBd no. 1241). The photograph, taken by Simone Michel and sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of Wolfgang and Beate Skoluda.

Θ. Dionysos holding the bird *thyr* in his hand

1.8.25–28: θυρσίτης

The manuscript tradition of the *Cyranides* presents variations concerning this iconography (Mastrocinque 2015, 49). Direct parallels of the type are unknown to me. Dionysus on magical gems: Delatte/Derchain 1964, 214, no. 292 (amethyst).

I. Kite tearing a snake to pieces

1.9.12–16: ἰασπις χλωρός

According to Maryse Waegeman (Waegeman 1987, 71–75), the design described by the author of *Cyranides* is an original creation combining the features of three different types of digestive amulets which he must have known from literary sources. The first type shows an ibis tied to an altar, the second one has birds (usually cranes) devouring snakes, while the third, recommended by Galen (*De simpl.* 10. 19), shows Chnoubis. The similarity between the design described in this passage (γλύψον ἰκτίνα διασπαράσσοντα ὄφιν) and Galen's description of the Chnoubis amulets (γλύφουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν τὰς ἀκτίνας ἔχοντα δράκοντα) has led Waegeman to suggest that the author of the *Cyranides* could have reinterpreted his sources in the light of his own competence, changing the word ἀκτίνας into ἰκτίνα: this could explain the mention of a kite (*Milvus milvus*), which is rare on our gems. Therefore, as Waegeman suggests, this text can be compared with the well-known series of heart-shaped, digestive amulets showing on one side an ibis tied to an altar and the Chnoubis serpent on the other (see Michel 2004, 287, no. 27.2.d).

However, the description that we read in the *Cyranides* has at least two parallels: one is in Kassel (AGD III K, 249, pl. 113, no. 199; see SGG I, 414), the other is an unpublished specimen in the Hermitage Museum (see Nagy 2011, 76, pls. 4a-b). Both the gems are (green) jaspers, showing an eagle (or kite) fighting with a snake.

K. Aphrodite

1.10.39–42: κινναίδιος (obsidian)

The picture of Aphrodite has to be engraved in a σάπφειρος (lapis lazuli), a stone which is frequently used for magical gems showing the *anadyomene* type (fig. 36): see Michel 2004, 250, no. 4.1.a. On this type see recently Faraone 2011, 54–55.



Fig. 36: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library. Lapis lazuli, *Aphrodite anadyomene*; rev. ΑΡΩΡΙΦΡΑCΙC (Bonner 1950, 262, no. 55) CBd no. 449. The photograph, taken by Christopher A. Faraone and sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

A. Vulture

1.11.20–22: λύγγουρον (amber)

I am currently not aware of direct parallels.

M. Sea-bream

1.12.38–44: μηδικός λίθος

I am currently not aware of direct parallels.

N. Nemesis standing with her foot on a wheel, holding a cubit-rule in her left hand and a wand in her right hand

1.13.16–29: νεμεσίτης (stone removed from a Nemesis altar)

Nemesis (with wheel) on magical gems: Michel 2004, 315–316, no. 40.1. See especially: Bonner 1950, 263, pl. 3, no. 57 (haematite), wand in the right hand; SGG II, 170, pl. 50, no. VeC 12 (green jasper) (fig. 37), cubit-rule in the right hand.



Fig. 37: Venice, Museo Civico Correr (inv. no. CL XXXIIIa 174). Green jasper: Standing Nemesis with wheel and cubit-rule, iscr. NEMECI BOHΘI (SGG II, 170, no. VeC 12, pl. 50). The photograph is reproduced by courtesy of Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia.

Ξ. Hawk with swordfish under its feet

1.14.23–28: ξίφιος

I am currently not aware of direct parallels.

Ο. Quail with seaperch under its feet

1.15.33–37: όνυχίτης

I am currently not aware of direct parallels.

Π. Bird *porphyrites* (purple gallinule) with shellfish at its feet

1.16.38–42: πορφυρίτης

I am currently not aware of direct parallels, but see e.g. Sena Chiesa 1966, 390, pl. 67, no. 1329 (red jasper), stork and shellfish.

P. Bat with garfish by its paws

1.17.15–18: ῥινοκέρως

I am currently not aware of direct parallels.

Σ. Ostrich holding a dreamfish in its bill

1.18.54–59: κάππειρος

Direct parallels seem to be unattested, but the motif has been related by Waegeman (Waegeman 1987) to a metal amulet (Bonner 1950, 303, pl. 15, no. 304) showing an ostrich attacking a snake (fig. 38).



Fig. 38: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library. Bronze pendant: ostrich attacking a snake. (Bonner 1950, 303, pl. 15, no. 304). CBd no. 1074. The photograph, sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

T. Peacock walking on a sting-ray: on the reverse αω

1.19.9–19: ταΐτης

This description has been correctly paralleled (Nagy 2011, 76, pls. 3a–b) to an amulet in the British Museum (fig. 39): Michel 2001, 291–292, pl. 71, no. 471 (“ferruginous sandstone with malachite veins”), on the rev. inscr. AIW. The presence of a branch beside the peacock is probably due to the instructions in this passage, which recommend the using of a plant.



Fig. 39: London, British Museum (inv. no. G 506, EA 56506). Sandstone: obv. peacock and fish/rev. AIW (Michel 2001, 291–292, pl. 71, no. 471). CBd no. 829. The photograph, sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Y. Eagle tearing a *hyllos* (octopus) into pieces

1.20.10–19: ὑέτιος

I am currently not aware of direct parallels.

Φ. Hawk with frog at its feet: under the stone ΜΑΛΛΕΝΕΚΑΑ (or variants: ΜΑΛΘΑΛΑ/ΜΑΜΑΛΛΑΙΝΑ/ΜΑΛΛΑΛΑ)

1.21.61–69, 90: φρῦνος (βατραχίτης)

I am currently not aware of direct parallels.

Χ. χρυσόπτερον bearing a quoit-shaped diadem; at its feet a *dora de* (*Chrysophrys aureata*)

1.22.23–31: χρυσίτης

The identification of the bird χρυσόπτερον (lit. gold-winged) with the golden oriole, proposed by the French translators and partially supported by Maryse Waegeman (Waegeman 1987, 176–177), is uncertain, as Waegeman herself has pointed out. We know that Aristotle's account on the oriole contains a suggestion of the phoenix myth, when the philosopher reports the story of its birth out of a pyre (*H.A.* 9. 609b 10), but the χρυσόπτερον, which is said to have a quoit-shaped diadem on its head in the *Cyranides*, clearly resembles the phoenix itself. Moreover, the *Cyranides* (1. 22. 4) say

explicitly that the χρυσόπτερον resembles a quail in size, and this could be enough to exclude the oriole from our options.

Though the identification is uncertain, a significant variation of the motif can be found on a rock crystal in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fig. 40) (Delatte/Derchain 1964, 70, no. 86 = Mastrocinque 2014, 103, no. 268; see also Mastrocinque 2015), the reverse of which shows a bird with spread wings standing on the back of a fish. The bird was initially identified as a phoenix by the first editors and this could lead one to think that the fish was meant to be a dorade, due to the solar nature of the two, which is also that of the stone. Indeed, Mastrocinque (2014, 103, no. 268 and 2015, 49) has recently suggested that the fish on the gem is either a dab (*Limanda limanda*) or a sort of sole (*Solea solea*), which is the Greek ψῆττα; therefore he links the motif with the letter Ψ (see below no. 3.Ψ), and identifies the bird as a parrot (Grk. Ψιττακός).

Whatever the bird on the Paris crystal is, this imagery can well be related to this passage (Mastrocinque 2015), and this is confirmed by the function of the gem: in fact, the obverse side shows Choubis, and this fits well with the purpose of the digestive amulet described in *Kyr.* 1.22.



Fig. 40: Paris, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques - Bibliothèque nationale de France – (reg. no. 4364). Rock crystal amulet from Sousse (*Hadrumetum*): obv. Chnoubis/rev. bird and fish. Photo: Attilio Mastrocinque, reproduced by courtesy of the Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Ψ. Three sea-fleas

1.23.24–48: ψωρίτης

Direct parallels for this description (γλύψον φύλλους θαλασσίους γ') are unknown to me, but the gem commented in Mastrocinque 2015 (see above no. 3.X) can well be related to this tradition.

Ω. Swallow: at its feet a scorpion sitting on a sprat

1.24.100–115: ὠκυτόκιος

I am currently not aware of direct parallels.

APPENDIX to 3: The κεστὸς ἱμάς of Aphrodite (*Kyranides* 1.10.49–100)⁸⁰

I. κιναίδιος (obsidian)

Castrated man with his genitals lying on the ground at his feet, his hands down, while he is looking down at his genitals; behind the man, Aphrodite looking back at him.

The only gem that can be paralleled to this description (Mastrocinque 2002, 104–108; Mastrocinque 2005, 225) is a haematite in Wien (AGWien III, 163–164, no. 221); indeed, the gem is different from our model, since it shows a naked man on his knees in front of a draped female figure (Aphrodite), and I cannot see the genitals mentioned in the *Cyranides*. However, the gem, evidently made for love purposes, is probably influenced by this archetype.

II. λυχνίτης ἢ κεραυνίτης (garnet?)

“Ares in arms.”

See above, no. 2.9: see also Mastrocinque 2005, 226.

III. 1–2 ἀδαμάντας (haematites?)

Wild rose of Aphrodite/Aphrodite pulling a rose thorn out of her foot (?).

The passage describing this engraving is quite unclear. Maryse Waegeman, following Dimitris Kaimakis’ reading of *Kyr.* 1.10.76 (ἀδάμαντας δύο ἔχοντας Ἀφροδίτης ἀκάνθην ἦγουν ῥοδωνιὰν ἐκ τοῦ ποδός) correctly translates “two *adamantes* are sewed with a wild rose of Aphrodite, out of her foot” (Waegeman 1987, 207–208). But, according to Mastrocinque 2005, 226–227, the gems mentioned in this passage (haematites in Wae-

⁸⁰ See Mastrocinque 2005.

geman's opinion) should represent Aphrodite pulling a rose thorn out of her foot. If we follow this interpretation, we are forced to admit that the readings transmitted by the manuscripts are corrupted, and in fact the Latin version (Delatte 1942, 60, ll. 7–8) has: *hinc inde adamantes lapides sunt insuti, habentes Venerem cum spina circa pedes*.

If we look at the variants (see Kaimakis 1976, 66), we will see that some of them show the reading Ἀφροδίτην instead of Ἀφροδίτης, while two of them have ἔλκον instead of ἤγουν. Now, if we consider the possibility that ἔλκον and ἤγουν are both corrupted variants, we might conjecture that our scribes followed a copy with an alternative reading: such a reading could be ἀδαμάντας δύο ἔχοντας Ἀφροδίτην ἀκάνθην ἔλκουσαν* ῥόδωνιαν ἐκ τοῦ ποδός (two *adamantes* showing Aphrodite pulling a rose thorn out of her foot). Mastrocinque's interpretation, supported by the Latin version of the *Cyranides*, makes good sense for two other reasons: first, the presence of Aphrodite herself, instead of one of her attributes, fits better with the other types mentioned in the description of the *kestos himas*, all of them being deities. Second, though this motif is still unattested on magical gems, there are some intaglios showing Eros pulling a thorn out of a lion's paw (see e.g. Philipp 1986, 47, pl. 10, no. 41): the magical meaning of this scene could explain the presence of an analogous motif in Aphrodite's *kestos himas*.

IV. 1–2 σαπφείρους (lapis lazuli)

“Aphrodite binding up her hair: Eros standing at her side.”

Parallels on magical gems: Michel 2004, 250, no. 4.1.c. (no lapis lazuli): see esp. Michel 2001, 54, pl. 12, no. 82 (fig. 41). See also above, no. 3.K.



Fig. 41: London, British Museum (inv. no. G 1986, 5–1, 130). Chalcedony: Aphrodite *anadyomene* and Eros/rev. inscription (Michel 2001, 54, pl. 12, no. 82). CBd no. 482. The photograph, sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

V. ὁμοσάρδια (sards)

1. Helios on his four-horse chariot.
2. Selene on two bulls.

These two engravings, clearly separate in the description, are intended to work as a pair: this is demonstrated by a famous gem showing both the gods driving chariots (Michel 2001, 244–245, pl. 35, no. 244; Mastrocinque 2005, 228–229). Though there are many magical gems showing Helios on his quadriga (Michel 2004, 280, no. 22.4), Selene driving her chariot is seen exclusively on ordinary intaglios: besides the famous cameo in the British Museum (Möbius 1968), see e.g. Guiraud 1988, 94, pl. 5, no. 72 (rock crystal).

VI. 1–2 ἀγάτας (agates)

Hermes with *kerykeion* in his right hand.

This motif is widely attested on Roman gems as well as on magical amulets (Michel 2004, 282, no. 24.1.a). See esp. AGWien III, 288–289, pl. 209, 2697 (agate).

VIII. 1–2 νεμεσίτας (Nemesis-stones)

Nemesis with her foot on a wheel and holding a wand.

See above no. 3.N. Compare also Delatte/Derchain, 193–194, no. 256.

IX. 1–2 μαργαρίτας (pearls)

No engraving.

4 Decans and gems in the Holy Book of Hermes to Asklepios⁸¹

4.1 ARIES

4.1.1 Κενλαχωρί (child bearing a sceptre above its head), “βαβυλώνιος” (5)

I cannot find any parallels for this description. The tables of Grand show a dressed figure with upraised arms, holding an object that, according to the Latin treatise *de triginta sex decanis*, can be identified as a double axe.

4.1.2 Χονταρέτ, Καύ (Dog-headed man with sceptre in his right hand: in his left hand *diskos*), σιδηρίτης (6)

The author of the *Holy Book of Hermes* probably misunderstood this imagery, since the tables of Grand show this decan, called KAT, as a falcon-headed figure (Abry 1993, 86). Indeed, the Latin treatise *de triginta sex decanis* (1. 5) describes him as follows:

Nomen est ei Sabaoth, habens faciem ancipitris [...] tenet in dextra hydriam, quae vocatur vita, in sinistra vero sceptrum, in cuius extremitate stat ancipiter. Decanus vero ipse est linteis indutus et sub utrisque pedibus calcat testudinem totam indutam rete.

As Simone Michel has pointed out (Michel 2004, 170), this description can be paralleled to a falcon-headed Horus on a yellow jasper in the British Museum: see Michel 2001, 90–91, pl. 20, no. 139 (fig. 42). Other good examples of the type are Michel 2001, 90–92, pl. 20, nos. 140–142 (compare Quack, forthcoming § 2.4.2).

4.1.3 Σικέτ (woman with a tambourine on her head: sceptre in her right hand, *hydríske* in the left), βοστρυχίτης (7)

Direct parallels are unknown to me. The tables of Grand show a male figure holding a sceptre and an *ankh*, while the Tabula Bianchini has a draped (probably female) figure. The male figure shown on the tables of Grand is probably represented on a yellow jasper in Paris (fig. 43) (Mastrocinque 2014, 174, no. 473) bearing the inscription CONTO/XOP/ACI: CONTOXOP could well be *Sentacher*, the name reported by Firmicus Maternus. See Quack, forthcoming § 2.4.2.

⁸¹ On the iconography of the decans see in general Abry 1993; von Lieven 2000. A complete, detailed discussion of the astrological tradition connected with the Egyptian decans is given in Quack, forthcoming. On magical gems and astrology see also Evans 2004; Michel-von Dungern 2011.



Fig. 42: London, British Museum (inv. no. G 1986,5–1,99). Yellow jasper: falcon headed Horus, inscr. ABPACA[.] [.]ABAWΘ (Michel 2001, 90–91, pl. 20, no. 139). CBd no. 539. The photograph, sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 43: Paris, Cabinet des Médailles (coll. Froehner 2845). Yellow jasper: obv. The decan Sontochor/ rev. ΚΟΝΤΟ/ΧΟΡ/ΑΣΙ. Photo: Attilio Mastrocinque, reproduced by courtesy of the Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

4.2 TAURUS

4.2.1 Σώου (ram-headed man, with Syrian dress: two sceptres lying on his shoulders), σεληνίτης (8)

The treatise *De tringinta sex decanis* describes a bull-headed figure instead of the ram-headed one that we find in the *Holy Book*, but neither of these types has good parallels on gems.

4.2.2 Ἄρῶν (woman holding a sceptre with both hands, swathed like Osiris), ἀφροδισιακός (9)

According to Joachim F. Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2), a combination of this type and the following can be found on a haematite cylinder in the British Museum (EA 56166 = Michel 2001, 337–338, pl. 84, no. 585) and on a gem in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BN Lu 170 = Delatte/Derchain 1964, 101–102, no. 126).

4.2.3 ῥωμενῶς (dog-headed man with long hair, holding sceptre with the right hand), ὑάκινθος (10)

Two good examples of the type have been found by Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2) in the British Museum. These are: BM G 553, EA 54028 (Michel 2001, 28, pl. 6, no. 43) and EA 56091 (Michel 2001, 329, pl. 82, no. 566).

4.3 GEMINI

4.3.1 Ξοχά (donkey-headed figure, with short dress and key in his right hand: left hand down), ἀδάμας (11)

For this passage, Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2) poses the problem of the translation. In his view, the Greek word κλειδίον (key) in the *Holy Book of Hermes* is to be intended as a misinterpretation of the Latin *gladium* (dagger) that we find in the Latin *Hermes: Homo est habens faciem asini, armatus, in dextra tenens gladium*. In fact, the tables of Grand show a donkey-headed figure holding an object that could be interpreted as a dagger. These features have much in common with the traditional iconography of Seth: such a figure, accompanied by a star, is seen on the reverse of a British Museum haematite (G 556 EA 48954 = Michel 2001, 241, no. 381).

4.3.2 Οὐαρί (goat-headed man, in his right hand stick), πάγχρουν (12)

The description in the *Holy Book* seems to have no direct parallels, but the Latin treatise on decans describes a falcon-headed archer (see Quack forthcoming, § 2.4.2). The tables of Grand depict the second decan of Gemini as a falcon-headed man holding a long sceptre and a *situla*. Such a figure is seen on a British Museum chrysoprase: see Michel 2001, 91, no. 140.

4.3.3 Πεπίσωθ (woman holding a thunderbolt in her right hand, in the left hand *hydríske*), ήλιοτρόπιος (13)

By comparing the *Holy Book* and the Latin list of the decans (*habens faciem Isidis, speciosam, crines habens quos hinc inde attrahit*), Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2) is able to parallel these texts to a group of gems showing Aphrodite (*anadyomene* type) accompanied by an isiac formula related to Sothis (see e.g. Michel 2001, 51, pl. 11, no. 76). But, as Quack points out, the tables of Grand show a very different type, as they probably represent the Egyptian god Tutu in the form of a lion. There is, then, a gem in the Getty Museum (Inv. no. AN.43745 = Michel-von Dungern 2011, 85, pls. 12a–b) showing a bearded male figure pouring water from a jug in his right hand onto a bundle of lightning bolts in his left. Since the third decan of Gemini is said to be connected with Aquarius and Saturn (compare Gundel 1936, 363), Simone Michel-von Dungern reads the gem as an interpretation of this type (Michel-von Dungern 2011, 86).

4.4 CANCER

4.4.1 Σωθείρ (dog-headed serpent), άρτεμισία (14)

See Philipp 1986, 108, pl. 44, no. 173, sard (see above no. 2.39). Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2) is suspicious about the anquity of the gem.

4.4.2 Ούφισίτ (bird with the face of a woman, spread wings, plaited hair), ίάσπις χλωρίζων (15)

The description clearly recalls the Egyptian type of Isis with wings instead of arms (Michel 2004, 298, no. 30.3.c). Indeed, the tables of Grand show an Egyptian *Ba* bird with human head: compare Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2.

4.4.3 Χνοῦφος (two feminine faces, back to back, one with hat, one with diadem, snakes around the neck, body on a plinth), εύχαίτης (16)

To my knowledge, the type is unattested on gems. The tables of Grand show a simplified version of the type: according to the Latin list of decans, a four headed serpent was represented between the female heads.

4.5 LEO

4.5.1 Χνουῖμος (Lion headed serpent, with rays around the head), ἀχάτης (17)

This is, obviously, Chnoubis. See SGG I, 78–82.242–261; Michel 2004, 166–177, 255–263, no. 11; Dasen/Nagy 2012. Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.3. See esp. the agate exemplars Michel 2001, 201, pl. 47, no. 316 (fig. 44); *ibid.* 206, pl. 48, no. 324.



Fig. 44: London, British Museum (Inv. G 20, EA 56020). Brown agate: obv. Chnoubis, inscr. XNOYBIC; rev. inscription (Michel 2001, 201, pl. 47, no. 316). CBd no. 702. The photograph, sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

4.5.2 Ἴπί (Naked man with crescent moon on his head, holding a sceptre in his right hand, a whip in the left), σεληνίτης (18)

Direct parallels seem to be unattested on gems, but the type we see on the tables of Grand (a monkey-headed man holding a bow) has been related by Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2) to the representation of Atum as an archer, in the form of a *kynokephalos*. According to Quack, this type can be compared with a gem showing a dog-headed deity holding a bow: see Petrie 1927, 21, pl. 16, no. 348.

4.5.3 Φάτιτι (man with a “wild” face, right hand waving, left hand holding a small *hydria*), ἡλίτης (19)

Direct parallels are unknown to me. The tables of Grand represent this decan as an animal-headed (dog, crocodile?) figure (see Abry 1993, 95 and *De triginta sex decanis*, 1. 18: *est autem homo ad speciem crocodili*). Compare above, no. 2.44.

4.6 VIRGO

4.6.1 Άτούμ (dog-headed figure, with *basíleion* on its head: its body looks like a flame burning on a low base), κοραλλίτης (20)

The description in the *Holy book of Hermes* is unclear: in fact, both the tables of Grand represent this decan as an erect cobra with a crescent moon instead of its head (see Abry 1993, 96 and *De triginta sex decanis*, 21: *serpens est perversus conglutinatus, caput eius est ad similitudinem lunae*). This iconography has at least one parallel on the reverse of the haematite published in Bonner 1950, 295–296, pl. 12, no. 255 (fig. 45).



Fig. 45: Ann Arbor. Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan (inv. no. KM26004). Jasper amulet. Obv. Pantheos/Rev. erect cobra. Photograph: Christopher A. Faraone (CBd no. 1433), reproduced by courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.

4.6.2 Βρυσούς (goat-headed figure, with horns, sceptre in its right hand, small *hydria* in the left), δενδρίτης (21)

Again, the description in the *Holy book of Hermes* does not correspond to the iconography: the tables from Grand show a double-headed figure with four ibis heads (see Abry 1993, 96–97 and *De triginta sex decanis*, 1. 20: *homo est stans, succinctus a medietate usque ad cavillam pedis, quattuor alas habens duas retrorsum et duas in pectore, habens quattuor capita ibeos habentis rostrum ferreum*). This iconography has been related (Abry 1993, 85, no. 2; Mastrocinque 2014, 173, nos. 470–471) to the

representations of a double-ibis-headed Thoth (on which see Michel 2004, 288, no. 274.c). According to Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2), this type can be connected with the Egyptian iconography of *Nhy*.

4.6.3 **Ἄμφαθάμ (standing man, his body swathed from his breast to his feet, holding a sceptre with both hands, hat on his head), εὐθλίζων (22)**

I am currently not aware of direct parallels. On this decan see Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2).

4.7 LIBRA

4.7.1 **Σφουχοῦ (aged man, wearing a belt, his left hand raised as if he is receiving something, his right hand lowered, holding a small *hydria*), ἰασπαχάτης (23)**

I cannot find any good parallels of the type, on which see Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2). The Latin list of the decans indicates here two figures (*sunt duae imagines rectae*), and in fact the tables of Grand have four figures in the area dedicated to the Libra decans. Even though the tables seem to indicate the first two figures with different names, Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2) demonstrates that both of them are to be related to the first decan, as we read in the Latin treatise.

4.7.2 **Νεφθίμης (standing man at a fountain which has two water jets ending as one; the man is fully clothed, his beard is curly, he holds a small *hydria*), σαρδών (24)**

I cannot find any parallels of the type, on which see Quack (forthcoming, § 2.4.2).

4.7.3 **Φοῦ (snake-headed man, *basileion* on its head, wears a *perizoma*), σμάραγδος (25)**

The Latin list of decans says that the third decan of Libra has the form of a snake (*totus est in speciem serpentis*), and in this position the tables of Grand have an erect serpent, called ΑΦΟΥΘ: this clearly shows (Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2) that this was the original form of the decan (for an alternative view: Mastrocinque 1998). It is also evident that the figure could be reinterpreted as in the *Holy Book*, and in fact Simone Michel (2004, 170–171) has found good examples of this second type on gems (Michel 2004, 328, no. 46.4): see esp. Michel 2001, 293–394, pls. 71–72, nos. 474–475. It is probable that the makers of these gems had been guided by instructions such as those in the *Holy Book*.



Fig. 46: London, British Museum (inv. no. G 494, EA 56494). Red-brown stone: Snake-headed figure. (Michel 2001, 293, pl. 72, no. 474). CBd no. 832. The photograph, sourced by the CBd, is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

4.8 SCORPIO

4.8.1 Βῶς (four-winged, bull-headed man: wears belt, holds sceptre and small *hydria*), αἱματίτης (26)

Also in this case, the imagery of the tables of Grand fits well with the description in the *Holy Book*, but the figure seems to be unattested on gems.

4.8.2 Οὔστιχος (man wearing a long dress, standing on a scorpion), πυρίτης (27)

The Greek text of the *Holy Book* can be compared with the imagery of the tables from Grand and seems to have no parallels on gems, but the description we find in the Latin *Hermes* clearly refers to the imagery of the Ophiouchos (*homo est stans iunctis pedibus super medietate scorpionis tenens utrisque manibus serpentem magnam ab utraque parte pectoris sui*). A gem in the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN 2184 = Delatte/ Derchain 1964, 268, no. 383) shows the Ophiouchos standing on a scorpion.

4.8.3 Ἄφηβις (ram-headed man, dressed from breast to ankles, holding reins with both hands), σάϋδιον αἰγύπτιον (28)

This description corresponds to the first decan of Sagittarius as he is seen in the second table of Grand (Abry 1993, 101; Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2). Direct parallels on gems are unknown to me, but the type recalls a well-known series of intaglios showing a ram-headed figure (see AGWien III, 161, pl. 96, no. 2203; Michel 2001, 215, pl. 50, no. 240; Vitellozzi 2010, 412, no. 511).

4.9 SAGITTARIUS

4.9.1 Σέβος (dressed like a man: holds a spear in his right hand, left hand lowered. Fully dressed, head covered), φρύγιος λίθος (29)

The description is that of the third decan of Scorpio shown on the tables of Grand (Abry 1993, 102; Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2. Compare the Latin *Hermes: est homo habens caput caninum extendens manum unam sinistram in inferiorem partem et tenet acida – est autem acis parvum telum – succinctus rete vario usque ad femora*). The motif seems not to have parallels on gems.

4.9.2 Τεῦχος (ichneumon-headed man: holds sceptre and a *hydriske*), ἀμέθυσος λίθος (30)

Both the tables of Grand and the glass plate from Douch (on which see Nenna 2003) show simply a man, but originally this decan could be represented with the head of an Egyptian mongoose (Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2). I cannot find any good examples of the type on gems.

4.9.3 Χθισάϋ (old man wearing a crown: holds sceptre and *hydriske*), ἀερίζων λίθος (31)

To my knowledge, the motif is unattested on gems (compare Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2).

4.10 CAPRICORNUS

4.10.1 Τάϊπ (headless man, dressed with a scarab skin, wearing a belt: holds a *hydriske*), ὀφίτης (32)

This figure has been paralleled to the *akephalos* occurring on magical gems (Delatte 1914; Abry 1993, 85, 104; see also Lancellotti 2003, 118; Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2). The gem BN 137 (Delatte/Derchain 1964, 42–50, no. 42) is probably a good example of the type shown on the tables of Grand; a headless figure, albeit different from that described in the *Holy Book*, also occurs on the reverse of a crimson jasper in the Metropolitan Museum, NYC (Bonner 1950, 278, pl. 7, no. 152). A brown-red jasper in the Sossidi collection shows the headless god sitting on the back of a lion (see Michel-von Dungern 2011, 85, pl. 10), and Simone Michel-von Dungern suggests that this motif, together with its variant showing a baboon, can be related to the astrological speculation on the decans.

4.10.2 Ἐπίτεκ (pig-headed man wearing belt, dressed like the first decan: holds a *hydriske* and a sword), χαρχεδόνιος λίθος (33)

Both the Grand tables show a goat-headed figure (see Abry 1993, 105), while the Latin list of the decans has a bull-headed decan (*habens faciem tauri, corpus hominis, indutus pellem scarabei*). According to Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2, the scarab skin mentioned in the sources must be related to the iconography of some composite figures such as that on the black magnet BM G 16 EA 56016 (Michel 2001, 112, no. 176 = CBd no. 574). A green jasper in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Delatte/Derchain 1964, 164, n. 213) shows a ram-headed figure with a scarab instead of its body, but this type seems far from that described in our texts.

4.10.3 Ἐπιχναῦς (has the appearance of a man: holds a *hydriske* and a spear), ἀναγκίτης (34)

Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2 poses the problem of the translation regarding the expression κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν that we find in the Greek text. Most probably, the sources mean that this decan is a human figure (*ad similitudinem hominis est*).

4.11 AQUARIUS

4.11.1 Ἰσού, or Θρώ (dog-headed man, apron from waist to calf), κνηκίτης (35)

This description has been related (Abry 1993, 106) to the egyptianizing representations of Anubis, which occurs frequently on magical gems. See esp. AGWien III, 161,

pl. 96, no. 2201 (red jasper); Mastrocinque 2014, 176, no. 478, obverse (green jasper). The tables of Grand have a jackal-headed figure.

4.11.2 Σοσομῶ (man with *basileion*, holding an ἀγκίαν), μαγνήτης (36)

This is the standard imagery of decans, as it is represented in the Tables of Grand, but the glass plate from Douch has a figure bandaged like a mummy. I cannot find any good parallels for this description, but see Philipp 1986, 96–97, pl. 38, no. 145.

4.11.3 Χονουμοῦς (man with *basileion*, holding a *hydríske* and sceptre), μηδικός λίθος (37)

The tables of Grand, as well as the glass plate from Douch, show a man holding an *ankh* and a sceptre. For parallels on gems, compare Bonner 1950, 317–318, pl. 21, no. 379.

4.12 PISCES

4.12.1 Τετιμῶ (man wearing a blue robe and a pig skin and holding a *hydríske*), βήρυλλος (38)

In this position, the tables of Grand show a dog-headed figure holding a sceptre, which has been related (Abry 1993, 85) to the Egyptian representations of Anubis. In turn, the glass plate of Douch has a mummy-bandaged figure with the head of a lion. Probably, the description in the Latin list of the decans (*homo est indutus vestes fuscas, habens faciem suis; cingitur simpliciter*) derives from a misunderstood imagery.

4.12.2 Σοπφί (naked man with cloak on his shoulders; holds a *hydríske* in his right hand, left hand raised to his lips), περιλεύκιος λίθος (39)

The description of the *Holy Book of Hermes* corresponds certainly to the third decan of the Pisces shown on the tables of Grand (Abry 1993, 109). This figure has been paralleled to the type of a standing Harpokrates, which is widely attested on Roman intaglios, but not so frequent on magical gems (see e.g. AGWien III, 157, pl. 93, no. 2193). In the position of the second decan, the tables of Grand show a man with headcloth holding a spear with both hands (one raised, one lowered): this is the typical gesture of Egyptian gods overwhelming enemies (see Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2). Hence the Latin description: *Mars est stans armatus*.

4.12.3 Συρῶ (said to be invisible, called coiled serpent, bearded, with diadem), ὑάκινθος (40)

This description, which has no counterpart in the Latin list of the decans, can be related to the iconography of the *Agathodaimon* as well as to that of Glykon. Another possibility is offered by the *tabula Bianchini*, showing in its inner circle the constellation of *Draco* between the two *Ursae*: here, the *Draco* is represented as a crested snake. A bearded, crowned serpent is also seen on a magical sphere from Athens (Delatte 1913, 260–263), as well as on the *Dodekaoros* of the Daressy Zodiac (see Quack, forthcoming, § 2.4.2). On gems, Sarapis is sometimes merged with *Agathodaimon* in the shape of a snake with the bearded head of the god: see e.g. Henig 1975, 61–62, no. 258.

5 Conclusion

At the end of this cursory look at the list provided, we have enough elements to conclude that the differences between the gems and the written sources are probably due to the adventures of transmission. It seems that the gems, being products of ritual practices, provide many different interpretations of the designs described in the texts; their great number, especially by comparison with the papyri, results not only from their durability and higher intrinsic value, but also from the creative mind of the gem-makers, who made variations on their fixed models according to the occasion and to their own cultural background. Consequently, for what this topic is concerned, arguments from the silence of the documentation should still be regarded with caution.

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Abbreviations

- Abrasax I = Merkelbach, Reinhold/Totti, Maria (1990), *Abrasax. Ausgewählte Papyri Religiösen und Magischen Inhalts 1. Gebete* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia XVII.1.), Opladen.
- AGD I.1 = Brandt, Elfriede (1968), *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen, I. Staatliche Münzsammlung München, Bd. 1: Griechische Gemmen bis zum späten Hellenismus*, Munich.
- AGD I.3 = Brandt, Elfriede/Krug, Antje/Gercke, Wendula/Schmidt, Evamaria (1972), *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen, I. Staatliche Münzsammlung München, Bd. 3: Gemmen und Glaspasten der römischen Kaiserzeit sowie Nachträge*, Munich.
- AGD III B,G,K = Scherf, Volker/Gerke, Peter/Zazoff, Peter (1970), *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen, III. Braunschweig, Göttingen, Kassel, Wiesbaden*.
- AGD IV Han, Ham = Schlüter, Margildis/Platz-Horster, Gertrud/Zazoff, Peter (1975), *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen, IV. Kestner-Museum Hannover, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Wiesbaden*.
- AGD Nürnberg = Weiß, Carina (1996), *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen. Die antiken Gemmen der Sammlung Friedrich Julius Rudolf Bergau im Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Nürnberg*.
- AGWien II = Zwierlein-Diehl, Erika (1979), *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien, II. Die Glasgemmen. Die Glaskameen. Nachträge zu Band 1, Die Gemmen der späteren römischen Kaiserzeit, 1. Götter*, Munich.
- AGWien III = Zwierlein-Diehl, Erika (1991), *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien, III. Die Gemmen der späteren römischen Kaiserzeit, 2. Masken, Masken-Kombinationen, Phantasie- und Märchentiere, Gemmen mit Inschriften, christliche Gemmen, magische Gemmen, sasanidische Siegel, Rundplastik aus Edelstein und verwandtem Material, Kameen*, Munich.
- CBD = The Campbell Bonner database: <http://classics.mfab.hu/talismans> (seen 21.10.2013).
- Glittica Santarelli = Gallottini, Angela (ed.) (2012), *La glittica Santarelli ai Musei Capitolini. Intagli, cammei e sigilli*, Rome.
- GMPT = Betz, Hans D. (ed.) (1986), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, Chicago/London.
- LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zurich/ Munich 1981–2009.
- PGM = Preisendanz, Karl (ed.) (1928 and 1931), *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri I–II*, Leipzig: 2nd edition by A. Henrichs, Stuttgart, 1973–1974.
- SGG I = Mastrocinque, Attilio (ed.) (2003), *Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum parte I* (Bollettino di Numismatica, Monografia 8.2.I), Rome.
- SGG II = Mastrocinque, Attilio (ed.) (2007), *Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum parte II* (Bollettino di Numismatica, Monografia 8.2.II), Rome.
- Suppl. Mag. II = Daniel, Robert W./Maltomini, Franco (1992), *Supplementum Magicum II* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia XVI.2), Opladen.

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