

Cultural Plurality in Ancient Magical Texts and Practices

Edited by
LJUBA MERLINA BORTOLANI,
WILLIAM D. FURLEY,
SVENJA NAGEL,
and JOACHIM FRIEDRICH QUACK

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in der Antike*

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Graeco-Egyptian Handbooks and Related Traditions

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and Joachim Friedrich Quack

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List of General Abbreviations Used Throughout the Volume

ANRW	H. TEMPORINI, W. HAASE (eds.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , I–XXXVII, Berlin/New York 1972–1996.
AP	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i> .
BAM	F. KÖCHER <i>et al.</i> , <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i> , Berlin 1963–.
BM	British Museum, London (Museum Signature).
BoD	Book of the Dead. For the hieroglyphic text cf. the philologically unsatisfactory (but un-superseded) edition of E.A.W. BUDGE, <i>The Book of the Dead: the Chapters of Coming Forth by Day: the Egyptian Text According to the Theban Recension in Hieroglyphic Edited from Numerous Papyri, with a Translation, Vocabulary, etc.</i> , I–III, London 1898. In general, for translations see R.O. Faulkner, <i>The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead</i> , London 1985; C. CARRIER, <i>Le Livre des morts de l'Égypte ancienne</i> , Paris 2009; for the papyrus of Ani, including images see E. VON DASSOW, J. WASSERMAN (eds.), <i>The Egyptian Book of the Dead: the Book of Going Forth by Day</i> , San Francisco 1994.
BRM	<i>Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan</i> , I–IV, New Haven <i>et al.</i> 1912–1923.
CAD	A.L. OPPENHEIM, E. REINER <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i> , Chicago 1956–.
CCAG	<i>Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum</i> , I–XII, Brussels 1898–1953.
CDD	J.H. JOHNSON (ed.), <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , Chicago 2001.
CG	<i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> , Cairo <i>et al.</i> 1901–.
CIA	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum</i> , 1825–.
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> , 1863–.
CMAwR	<i>Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals (Ancient Magic and Divination 8.1–2)</i> , I–II, Leiden/Boston 2011 and 2016. I: T. ABUSCH, D. SCHWEMER; II: T. ABUSCH, D. SCHWEMER, M. LUUKKO, G. VAN BUYLAERE.
CT	Coffin Texts. Synoptic edition of the hieroglyphic texts: A. DE BUCK, <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> , I–VII, Chicago 1935–1961. An English translation is provided by R.O. FAULKNER, <i>The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> , I–III, Warminster 1973–1978.
CT (BM)	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i> , London 1896–.
Dend.	<i>Le temple de Dendara</i> , I–XV, Cairo 1934–2008. I–V: É. CHASSINAT; VI: É. CHASSINAT, F. DAUMAS; VII–IX: F. DAUMAS; X–XV: S. CAUVILLE.
Edfou	<i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> , I–XV. I–II: S. CAUVILLE, D. DEVAUCHELLE [Deuxième édition revue et corrigée], Cairo 1984–1987; III: É. CHASSINAT, M. DE ROCHMONTEIX, Cairo 1928; IV–XIV: É. CHASSINAT, Cairo 1929–1934; XV: S. CAUVILLE, D. DEVAUCHELLE, Cairo 1985.
FGrH	F. JACOBY (ed.), <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 2 nd edn, Leiden 1954–1969.

GMPT	H.D. BETZ, (ed.), <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation – Including the Demotic Spells</i> , 2 nd edn, Chicago/London 1992 [1 st edn, Chicago 1986].
IG	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i> , Berlin 1873–.
KAR	E. EBELING, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts</i> , I–II (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 28 and 34), Leipzig 1919, 1920/23.
LBAT	T.G. PINCHES, J.N. STRASSMAIER, A.J. SACHS, <i>Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts</i> , Providence 1955.
LdÄ	W. HELCK, E. OTTO (eds.), <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , I–VII, Wiesbaden 1972–1992.
LGG	C. LEITZ, <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> , I–VIII (<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta</i> 110–16, 129), Leuven 2002–2003.
LIMC	H.C. ACKERMANN, <i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> , Zürich/Munich 1981–2009.
LKA	E. EBELING, <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur</i> , Berlin 1953.
LSJ	H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H.S. JONES, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9 th edn, Oxford 1996.
NP	H. CANKIK, H. SCHNEIDER (eds.), <i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> , I–XVI, Stuttgart 1996–2003.
OED	Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford 2001–.
PDM	<i>Papyri Demoticae Magicae</i> according to the edition of H.D. BETZ (ed.), <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation – Including the Demotic Spells</i> , 2 nd edn, Chicago/London 1992 [1 st edn, Chicago 1986].
PGM	K. PREISENDANZ, A. HENRICHs, (eds.), <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> . Die griechischen Zauberpapyri, I–II [III], 2 nd edn, Stuttgart 1973–1974 [1941].
PRE	A. PAULY, G. WISSOWA (eds.) <i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , I–XXIV, Stuttgart 1894–1963; 2 nd Series I–X, Stuttgart/Munich 1920–1972; Suppl. I–XV, Stuttgart/Munich 1903–1978.
PT	K. SETHE, <i>Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums</i> , I–IV, Leipzig 1908–1922; trans. R.O. FAULKNER, <i>The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts</i> , Oxford 1969; J.P. ALLEN, <i>The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (Writings from the Ancient World 23)</i> , Leiden/Boston 2005.
RAC	T. KLAUSER <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , I–, Stuttgart 1950–.
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden 1923–71, then Amsterdam 1979–.
SGG	A. MASTROCINQUE (ed.), <i>Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum</i> , I–II (Bollettino di numismatica, monografia 8.2.1, 2), Rome 2003–2008.
Sm	Smith (British Museum, London), Museum signature.
SM	R.W. DANIEL, F. MALTOMINI, <i>Supplementum Magicum</i> , I–II (<i>Papyrologica Coloniensia</i> 16.1–2), Opladen 1990–1992.
SMA	C. BONNER, <i>Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian</i> (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 4), Ann Arbor 1950.
Sp	Spartoli (British Museum), Museum signature.
SpTU	Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, I–V. I: H. HUNGER (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 9), Berlin 1976; II–III: E. VON WEIHER (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 10, 12), Berlin 1983, 1988; IV–V: E. VON WEIHER (Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte 12, 13), Mainz 1993, 1998.

STT	The Sultantepe Tablets, I–II. I: O.R. GURNEY, J.J. FINKELSTEIN; II: O.R. GURNEY, P. HULIN (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 3 and 7), London 1957, 1964.
TLA	<i>Thesaurus linguae Aegyptiae</i> (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla).
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae, editus auctoritate et consilio academiarum quinque Germanicarum Berolinensis, Gottingensis, Lipsiensis, Monacensis, Vindobonensis</i> , I–XI, Leipzig <i>et al.</i> 1900–.
Urk. IV	K. SETHE, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> (= <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV</i>), Leipzig 1906–1958.

Throughout the volume, Greek spelling is generally used for the names of Greek deities, divine entities and persons. On the other hand, according to customary practice, Latinate forms are used for the names of ancient authors (abbreviated references mostly follow the LSJ but are sometimes slightly expanded to avoid ambiguity).

Introduction

LJUBA MERLINA BORTOLANI/SVENJA NAGEL

With the second half of the twentieth century and the reawakening of the scholarly interest in ancient magic the amount of valuable publications on the subject has been greatly increasing until today. They encompass editions of magical texts and objects, overarching studies of magic in the ancient world,¹ as well as monographs on more specific topics.² In particular, scholars had many opportunities to meet and exchange ideas thanks to various international conferences that resulted in significant volumes of Proceedings.³ However, despite this growing enthusiasm, the subject is vast and can be explored from numerous different perspectives, so that many aspects have not yet received the attention they deserve and more detailed research still awaits to be conducted.

In particular, as far as the ancient Mediterranean is concerned, the protracted political, cultural and trade contacts between different areas, especially increasing from the Hellenistic Period onwards, inevitably influenced also the religious-magical tradition. Accordingly, magical texts and objects from the ancient Mediterranean often appear to display a gradual rise in the incorporation of ‘foreign’ elements, i.e. elements of different cultural origin, whether limited to ‘foreign’ magical words or including ‘foreign’ deities, mythological references, ritual allusions, etc. Therefore, the final result

¹ Just to mention some of the more renowned books, e.g. mainly on Graeco-Roman magic GRAF, *Gottesnähe*; FLINT *et al.* (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic*; DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians*; M. MARTIN, *Magie et magiciens*; DE. COLLINS, *Magic in the Ancient*; on ancient Egyptian magic, e.g. RITNER, *Mechanics*; KOENIG, *Magie et magiciens*; on Jewish magic, e.g. BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic*; HARARI, *Jewish Magic*; on Mesopotamian magic, e.g. SCHWEMER, *Abwehrzauber und Behexung*; ABUSCH/VAN DER TOORN (eds.), *Mesopotamian Magic*.

² E.g. MERKELBACH/TOTTI (eds.), *Abrasax*; DIELEMAN, *Priests*; FAUTH, *Helios Megistos*; FAUTH, *Hekate Polymorphos*; FAUTH, *Jao-Jahwe*; ZAGO, *Tebe magica*; MARTINEZ, *Greek Love Charm*; FARAONE, *Vanishing Acts*; FARAONE, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*; PACHOUMI, *Concepts of the Divine*; LOVE, *Code-Switching*; DOSOO, *Rituals of Apparition*.

³ E.g. ROCCATI/SILIOTTI (eds.), *Magia in Egitto*; FARAONE/OBBINK (eds.), *Magika Hiera*; MEYER/MIRECKI (eds.), *Ancient Magic*; SCHÄFER/KIPPENBERG (eds.), *Envisioning Magic*; JORDAN/MONTGOMERY/THOMASSEN (eds.), *World of Ancient Magic*; MIRECKI/MEYER (eds.), *Magic and Ritual*; KOENIG (ed.), *Magie en Égypte*; CIRAOLO/SEIDEL (eds.), *Magic and Divination*; NOEGEL/WALKER/WHEELER (eds.), *Prayer, Magic*; BOHAK/HARARI/SHAKED (eds.), *Continuity and Innovation*; DE HARO SANCHEZ (ed.), *Écrire la magie*; SUÁREZ/BLANCO/CHRONOPOULOU (eds.), *Papiros mágicos griegos*; ASIRVATHAM/PACHE/WATROUS (eds.), *Between Magic and Religion*; PIRANO-MONTE/SIMÓN (eds.), *Contesti magici*; GORDON (ed.), *Magical Practice*; BOSCHUNG/BREMMER (eds.), *Materiality of Magic*; cf. also (though not the result of a conference) JÖRDENS (ed.), *Ägyptische Magie*; KAMLAH/SCHÄFER/WITTE (eds.), *Zauber und Magie*.

can often look like a cultural amalgam, product of the late Mediterranean melting pot (as it was often considered by early research on the subject).

Scholars should thus face the challenge not only of identifying the possible cultural origin of the single elements, but also of trying to discover which specific cultural background, if any, is hidden behind the multicultural components in order to eventually investigate the dynamics of exchange and shed light on how the mixture functions in context. Therefore, the study of the different facets of transcultural encounters remains fundamental for a deeper understanding of the source material, and thus of ancient magical practice itself. However, up to now, as a consequence of the traditional separation between modern research disciplines, the great majority of the publications have engaged with the subject mostly from one single cultural point of view. Only rarely have some studies attempted to overcome this impasse through the collaboration of scholars of different disciplines or with different expertise⁴ but, though representing an important step in the scholarly attitude and a reference point for future investigations, they were hardly exhaustive because of the vast scope of the material. Therefore, it remains fundamental to keep expanding our views beyond the borders of academic fields and to give to the transcultural perspective the importance it deserves in the study of ancient magic.

This spirit underlies two subsequent projects conducted at the University of Heidelberg: The Magic of Transculturality, which we undertook at the Cluster of Excellence Asia and Europe in a Global Context from 2012 to 2016; and *Sexual Dynamis* and *Dynamics* of Magical Practice in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Erotic Spells in the Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri (PGM and PDM) and their Cultural Traditions, funded by the DFG from 2017 until 2020. Through the detailed analysis of the divinatory and erotic rituals of the Greek and Demotic magical papyri from Roman Egypt (see below), the projects attempted to disentangle different cultural elements and to understand the interaction of these elements within the extant spells belonging to these specific genres. During the first project, in order to broaden our perspective, we organised a conference aimed at discussing examples of cultural plurality in ancient magical texts and practices from the Mediterranean and the Near East. This volume collects the papers delivered at this conference, which took place on the 12th–13th September 2014 in the Internationales Wissenschaftsforum of Heidelberg (IWH) and gathered international specialists in different areas of ancient magic who are often confronted with multicultural influences.

One of the key terms of our projects, and subsequently of the conference title, ‘plurality’, derives from the notion that discussions of cultural ‘hybridity’ have by now evolved beyond the naïve assumption that globalisation will result in increasing, and finally total, homogeneity. Still, the complex processes of partial integration of foreign elements clearly need more detailed attention. In principle, even within one culture, there can be a variety of responses to foreign components, depending on the specific discourse and factors such as public visibility or secrecy. Accordingly, different models may be used to describe and analyse these alterity experiences. Therefore, we

⁴ See e.g. BETZ (ed.), GMPT; MERKELBACH/TOTTI (eds.), *Abrasax*; A. DELATTE/DERCHAIN, *Intailles magiques*; MOYER/DIELEMAN, *Miniaturization*; CRIPPA/CIAMPINI (eds.), *Languages*.

chose to use the heuristic term ‘plurality’ complemented by the term ‘fusion’ (as different but often contemporaneous attitudes) since they are less loaded with previous theoretical models. The contemporary presence of elements of different cultural origin can thus be described as ‘plurality’, while instances in which these elements overlap to such an extent that it is almost impossible to disentangle them can be described as examples of ‘fusion’. In detail, cultural plurality and fusion can manifest themselves in a range of different dynamics: from phenomena such as simple borrowing, through advanced adaptation, up to complete assimilation or even distortion of origin and meaning.

As far as these transcultural influences are concerned, an especially rich field of investigation is the corpus of Greek and Demotic magical papyri from Roman Egypt in which, apart from the main Egyptian and Greek components, it is possible to recognise e.g. Jewish, Mesopotamian and Christian elements. Due to their particular textual history (see below), these texts, especially the longer handbooks, offer us the unique opportunity to conduct both a synchronic and diachronic analysis. In particular, the diverse cultural influences displayed in the extant papyri can provide information not only as the reflection of the multicultural society of the period, but also as the result of the employment of earlier ritual or textual sources (and more generally magico-religious traditions) during the different stages of compilation. Therefore, it is not surprising that the great bulk of contributions in this volume is dedicated, or refers, to this source material addressing many of the issues we set out to investigate. They include research questions such as: when elements originating in different religious traditions are found together, how do they interact among each other? Why were some elements from a specific culture chosen or preserved and others not? And how were they integrated in their new context? Is it possible to identify logical patterns? And how were the different cultural contributions conceived by the compilers of the magical texts? And what about the actual users of the spells? Were they still able to differentiate between various cultural influences? Or was this heterogeneous amalgam conceived as ‘mysterious’ in itself and thus inherent in the magical nature of these texts? Though often easier to analyse when considering an extensive corpus such as the magical papyri, these research questions apply also to other textual and material sources associated with ancient magic: other magical handbooks, remains of applied magic (see below page 11) and implements or material objects (such as amulets) produced and/or used in connection with magical practice.

The contributions devoted mainly to the rich source material of the magical papyri from Egypt are collected in the central part of this volume. They are framed by two complementary sections, which enrich the discussion by broadening the scope – geographically as well as chronologically – focussing on the analysis of other sources that are either directly or indirectly connected with ancient magic. The first section thus explores examples of different magical/ritual genres, the perception of foreigners and foreign rituals, and possible transcultural exchanges within the earlier magical traditions of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece. On the other hand, the essays assembled in the final part trace examples of integration and transformation of the Graeco-Egyptian magical lore in later Jewish and Byzantine formularies.

Part I

Egyptian, Greek and Mesopotamian traditions of magic:
different genres, perception of the ‘other’
and possible transcultural exchange

The first three contributions provide insight into three different specific cultural milieus – Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Greek – and their respective magical traditions, especially in correlation with each other or with foreign rituals in general. How was foreign ritual power conceived by the ancient people themselves, and which political, religious or other factors and prejudices played a role in its evaluation? Can the integration or exclusion of foreign practices as described in one culture’s own literary output, and thus presented from an emic point of view, be compared with the active admixture of specific foreign elements that appears to characterise religious and magical manuals such as the Greek and Demotic magical papyri from Roman Egypt?⁵ To what extent did earlier or contemporary indigenous apotropaic/magical traditions actually shape these Graeco-Egyptian handbooks? Can we talk of direct transmission or borrowing, or should we just assume looser cultural contacts naturally triggered by the circulation of ideas in the Mediterranean basin? In particular, a closely related phenomenon in Greek and Hellenistic (and later on, Roman) culture is the interplay between magic and mystery cults, which in their turn often incorporated Oriental traditions. This is evident in the famous cases of the cults of Isis and Mithras, which spread in the already quite globalised Hellenistic and Roman worlds, but Near Eastern influences have been hypothesised also for some earlier Greek cults (e.g. Dionysiac-Orphic mysteries).⁶ Apart from the (possible) inclusion of foreign religious concepts and practices, mystery cults share with magical rituals the relevance of the personal communication and involvement of the individual with the gods, as well as the central importance and subsequent instrumentalisation of their myths.⁷ However, to what extent did mystery cults influence the later or contemporary magical lore? In particular, is it possible to find traces of actual continuity between earlier Greek sources and Graeco-Egyptian magic?

⁵ See for the question of such foreign elements in the PGM and PDM, but also in earlier as well as later sources, e.g. THISSEN, Nubien; DIELEMAN, Priests, 138–43; WÜTHRICH, *Eléments*, 16–26 (Nubian elements); the contribution by D. SCHWEMER, in this volume (Mesopotamian elements); HOPFNER, *Orientalisch-Religionsgeschichtliches*; FARAONE, *Mystodokos*; QUACK, *Zauber ohne Grenzen* (various elements); in particular, for Jewish elements see below n. 43. Vice versa, on the inclusion of Greek magical texts into Jewish spells, cf. the contribution by G. BOHAK and A. BEL-LUSCI in this volume.

⁶ Cf. also the contribution by M. RISTORTO in this volume, 238–9, for the so-called ‘Oriental Cults’; for the problematic and various aspects of the cults subsumed under this designation see NAGEL/QUACK/WITSCHERL (eds.), *Entangled Worlds*.

⁷ On links between magic and mystery cults see e.g. GRAF, *Gottesnähe*, 96–107 (especially on initiation rites); BETZ, *Magic and Mystery*.

In order to better contextualise the contributions of this section in connection with the later developments embodied by the Greek and Demotic magical papyri, it is important to remind that in Egypt foreign cultural elements, language and deities were adapted and integrated into religious texts already in earlier periods. This is especially well attested in the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1070 BCE), in which the extension of Egyptian power as well as diplomatic and military contacts with other peoples reached a peak.⁸ During this period, the cults of the Northwest-Semitic deities Resheph, Astarte, Baal, Hauron, Anat and Qadesh were installed in Egypt, some of them through the official initiative of Pharaohs like Amenhotep II and Ramses II.⁹ Interestingly, not all of these deities were integrated in the same way: some of them were actually ‘needed’ to fill certain gaps in the pantheon, since their competences covered also domains that were originally foreign to Egyptian culture and thus not yet under the patronage of an Egyptian deity, e.g. horses and chariots, which were imported from the Levant and accordingly remained assigned to Astarte.¹⁰ On the other hand, in the case of the newly imported Baal, some parallels in character led to a perceived equivalency or even identity between him and the Egyptian Seth, who thus became, in spite of his Egyptian origins, a deity connected with foreigners and foreignness.¹¹ In contrast to the relatively great number of Near Eastern deities that were venerated in Egypt, gods from other neighbouring cultures, like Nubia or Libya, were hardly ever appropriated before the Ptolemaic Period.¹²

However, diverse foreign deities and other elements were actually integrated more freely and frequently within ritual and magical texts of various nature.¹³ This process was obviously relatively independent from the (official) installation of cults of imported deities described above, since also other gods, who did not have a temple cult in Egypt, could be included in these sources together with demons, myths and (at least the concept of) recitations in foreign languages. Thus, in New Kingdom papyri, not only do we find Egyptian magico-medical recipes against the Mesopotamian demon Samanu who was responsible for a skin disease,¹⁴ but one of them is also written in foreign language, possibly Minoan.¹⁵ Spells incorporating Semitic, and more precisely Canaanite, incantations appear also in other papyri of this era.¹⁶ At the same time,

⁸ For cultural appropriation in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt in general, cf. SCHNEIDER, *Foreign Egypt*.

⁹ See e.g. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Dieux autres*; QUACK, *Importing*; LIPÍŃSKI, *Syro-Canaanite Goddesses*; STADELMANN, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten*; TAZAWA, *Syro-Palestinian Deities*; MÜNNICH, *Resheph*, 80–115; LAHN, *Qedeschet*; WILSON-WRIGHT, *Athtart*, 27–71; BONNET, *Astarté*, 63–7; LILYQUIST, *Hauron*. The introduction of Resheph and Astarte was initiated by Amenhotep II, the cult of Anat was officially installed by Ramses II.

¹⁰ Cf. QUACK, *Importing*, 264. For another, earlier case of adaptation of this kind (the Nubian god Dedun), *ibid.*, 257.

¹¹ Cf. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Dieux autres*, 70.

¹² Cf. QUACK, *Importing*, 264–6.

¹³ Cf. KOENIG, *Image of the Foreigner*; KOENIG, *Nubie*; QUACK, *Importing*, 262–3 and 266.

¹⁴ See the detailed study by S. BECK, *Sāmānu*, esp. 171–252.

¹⁵ In P. BM EA 10059, see S. BECK, *Sāmānu*, 248; E. KYRIAKIDES, *Language of the Keftiw*; HAIDER, *Minoische Sprachdenkmäler*.

¹⁶ See e.g. R.C. STEINER, *Northwest Semitic Incantations*; SCHNEIDER, *Mag pHarris XII*; LEITZ, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 49–50.

Nubian or even further South-East African, i.e. Puntite, ritual power and religious traditions seem to have been perceived as especially efficacious,¹⁷ since they were appropriated even for official temple ritual¹⁸ and in the Book of the Dead.¹⁹ In both cases, sections in the (purportedly) respective languages were also included. In addition to these direct sources, Egyptian (narrative) literature often includes vivid descriptions of foreigners as well as foreign rituals.

FRANZISKA NAETHER presents an overview of examples from this material in the first contribution. She analyses Egyptian literary production, in which tales of magic, divine intervention and supernatural wonders abound.²⁰ The focus of her paper on the emic, albeit highly stylised, presentation of Egyptian priest-magicians as well as religion and (magical) rituals of neighbouring cultures serves to uncover the ancient Egyptians' own perception of the 'magic of the other', as opposed to their own. Although the selected source material (narrative and instructive literature) certainly had an agenda of its own and represented the – presumably idealised and narratively embellished – views of only a small group of Egyptian society, namely the literate and educated priestly and scribal elite, it grants us valuable insights into the self-reflection and self-representation of this group and their engagement with foreign, possibly inimical or vying powers. However, even if the 'authors' (if we may even call them that) of the written versions of these narratives were certainly from the described social stratum, there is an important debate going on about the probable orally transmitted roots of such stories, which would re-position the attitudes reflected in them within a broader fraction of Egyptian society.²¹ NAETHER's study of literary descriptions of concrete foreign magical practices and ritual experts is embedded in a broader perspective on the representation of foreigners in these texts. The description alone of some of the respective practices demonstrates a certain interest in foreign, exotic and possibly equally effective rituals, even though some of them might have existed only in fiction²² and therefore are only examples of a projection of Egyptian ideas of what foreign magic was supposed to be like.

The literary treatment of these themes is not only informed by political and historical experiences, but in a way reflects and elaborates upon actual documentary evidence for the fear of malign influences of foreign magic, such as the 'Oracular Amu-

¹⁷ Cf. KOENIG, Nubie; KOENIG, Image of the Foreigner, 227; QUACK, Nubisch-meroitisches Lexeme.

¹⁸ During the Min festival, a ritual text is supposed to be recited by a 'negro of Punt', and some sections transcribe a non-Egyptian language, possibly 'Puntite', into hieroglyphs, see QUACK, Importing, 257; QUACK, Egyptian Writing.

¹⁹ In the 'supplementary chapters' BoD 162–5: WÜTHRICH, *Éléments*, esp. 16–26; WÜTHRICH, *Édition synoptique*; WÜTHRICH, *Abracadabras méroïtiques*. Cf. also the reviews by QUACK, Review of WÜTHRICH, *Éléments*; QUACK, Review of WÜTHRICH, *Édition synoptique*; and QUACK, Importing, 266.

²⁰ For the prominence of these themes in Egyptian narrative literature in general cf. HOLLIS, *Tales of Magic*; SÉRIDA, *Cultural Memory*; DIELEMAN, *Priests*, 221–38; QUACK, *Wer waren*. Cf. also the paper by R. PHILLIPS in this volume.

²¹ See especially the recent study on the Demotic tales by JAY, *Orality and Literacy*.

²² On magical practices (like transformation) as described in fiction versus actually applied magic cf. also the contribution by R. PHILLIPS in this volume; and LOVE, *Ritual Reality*.

letic Decrees' from the Libyan Period (21st–22nd Dynasties).²³ In some of the texts of this genre, magic of explicitly outlandish origin (Syrian, Bedouin, Libyan and Nubian magic) is warded off next to Egyptian magic. That such worries were shared by the state is demonstrated by a letter of Pharaoh Amenhotep II to his viceroy, cautioning him against Nubian magicians.²⁴

In Classical Greece the situation was somewhat similar but also very different. As far as the adoption of foreign deities is concerned, the most famous and certain examples involve Near Eastern female goddesses such as the Anatolian Kybele and the Thracian Bendis, who were first worshipped in Greece around the sixth/fifth century BCE and were perceived as similar and/or identified with the Greek Gaia/Rhea/Demeter and Artemis respectively.²⁵ At the same time, foreign origins and/or influences have been hypothesised for various other deities of the Greek pantheon, for example Hekate, who plays an important role in early apotropaic/magical ritual and later magic and for whom an Anatolian origin, more specifically Carian, has been posed.²⁶ However, in cases like this, the possible foreign influences are very hard to trace since the earliest Greek sources present the deity as already integrated into the pantheon.²⁷ More importantly, even if Hekate had a remote foreign origin, it is unlikely (and impossible for us to confirm) that she was still perceived as foreign by Greek people worshipping her, or invoking her in apotropaic/magical texts. Similarly, the god Hermes who, when providing Odysseus with the herb *moly* so that he can be immune from Kirke's spells, appears to be one of the first deities displaying 'magical' competences in literary sources (Hom. *Od.* 10.27), could have hardly had any foreign connotation at the time.

In Homer, as has often been underlined, the fact that e.g. a god can be skilled in the use of wondrous herbs, and that Odysseus himself can perform necromancy to consult with Tiresias (Hom. *Od.* 11), does not seem to imply any explicit foreign influence or, even more importantly, any negative overtones. As a matter of fact, in Homer these practices are not subsumed under one overarching term. However, it is Kirke (the great-aunt of Medea who lives in the mythical island of Aeaea) who, apart from being capable of powerful incantations herself, instructs Odysseus on how to perform necromancy. This detail might already underlie a later notion that will develop in Greece especially from the fifth century BCE onwards together with the concept of magic itself: the tendency to label foreign ritual practice as 'magic' and attribute great magical power to some 'barbarian' lands and people as clearly shown by the evolution of

²³ EDWARDS, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*; cf. e.g. LUCARELLI, *Popular Beliefs*. See FISCHER-ELFERT, *Magika Hieratika*, 82–95, 203–19, 250–52 for further examples.

²⁴ Urk. IV, 1344, 11–12; cf. KOENIG, *Nubie*, 105; RITNER, *Mechanics*, 140, n. 623; WÜTHRICH, *Eléments*, 22. For differing Egyptian attitudes towards different agents and aims of magic see also NAGEL, *Narrations*.

²⁵ See e.g. GARLAND, *Introducing New Gods*, especially 111–14; PACHE, *Barbarian Bond*; JANOUCHOVÁ, *Cult of Bendis*; ROLLER, *Search of God*, especially 119–86.

²⁶ And it is now generally accepted, see in particular KRAUS, *Hekate*, especially 54–64; BERG, *Hecate*; cf. e.g. STRAUSS CLAY, *Hecate*.

²⁷ See e.g. Hes. *Th.* 411–52; *h.Hom.* 2.

the term ‘magic’ from *magos*, originally just a Persian religious specialist,²⁸ and also by famous literary characters such as Medea from Kolchis. Likewise, Egypt and Egyptian priests became especially renowned for their magical lore²⁹ following an attitude partly comparable with what we saw in Egypt itself, e.g. for Nubian and Puntite ritual power.

However, in contrast with Egypt,³⁰ the notion of magic appears to have emerged in Greece specifically as a ‘third-person attribution’³¹ with derogatory undertones. For it was used for practices that, when not attributed to alien and potentially dangerous ‘barbarians’, were connected with specific groups of people (within Greek culture itself) whose activities acquired a nuance of illicitness owing e.g. to fluctuations in socio-cultural views or to displacements from a public to a more private sphere.³² Despite the different theories proposed by recent scholarship to explain the emergence of magic as an autonomous category in fifth century Greece,³³ there is general agreement the notion could be highly dependent on the individual point of view, and thus it often remained fluid and liable to variation. This strategy of self-definition through stigmatisation of the ‘Other’ might explain why, in early Greek evidence for autochthonous apotropaic/magical rituals, there are no clear traces of foreign influence, such as the adoption of foreign words or deities that we observe in New Kingdom Egypt.

For example, the earliest Greek *defixiones* (fifth century BCE) are very simple, do not include any foreign element and, when mentioning deities, they stick to the tradi-

²⁸ See e.g. NOCK, Paul and the Magus; GRAF, Gottesnähe, especially 24–31; BREMMER, Birth; OGDEN, Necromancy, 128–48; also HALL, Inventing, especially 143–54.

²⁹ See e.g. DIELEMAN, Priests, 239–54; LLOYD, Egyptian Magic, especially 99–105; cf. FRANKFURTER, Religion, 217–21.

³⁰ In Egypt the native equivalent term for magic, *ḥkꜣ*, did not have any negative connotation in itself, but embodied the performative force through which the transition from ideal (speech) to actual creation (matter) is achieved. This power, also personified by a deity (Heka), originally emanated from the creator god and it was supposed to be activated by priests as well during ritual performances. It was thus inherent in the creative process and it was not employed only by foreigners or a group of people outside official religion, but by gods and temple priests. See e.g. BORGHOUTS, *ḥ.w* (akhu) and *ḥkꜣ.w* (hekau); RITNER, Mechanics, 4–28, 217–20, 236–49; RITNER, Egyptian Magical Practice, 3353–5; RITNER, Religious, Social; KOENIG, *Magie Égyptienne*; cf. DICKIE, Magic and Magicians, 22.

³¹ J.Z. SMITH, Trading Places, 18.

³² See e.g. the famous examples of Plato, *Resp.* 364b–e, *Lg.* 909a–d, depicting ‘beggar priests and prophets’ offering every sort of spells as charlatans looking for profit; or Thessalian magicians and witches as a well-acknowledged group with special magical powers, see e.g. O. PHILLIPS, *Witches’ Thessaly*; also HILL, Thessalian Trick; DICKIE, Magic and Magicians, especially 32–3, 103; OGDEN, Necromancy, especially 142–7, 202–7.

³³ For example it has been suggested that it was a spontaneous phenomenon (DICKIE, Magic and Magicians, 18–46). On the other hand, the rise of the notion of ‘magic’ has also been explained as the consequence of the development of philosophical theology and medical science, and of the subsequent separation of the natural and divine realms (GRAF, Excluding the Charming; GRAF, Gottesnähe; GRAF, How to Cope, especially 109–14); on the whole subject see also e.g. BRAARVIG, Magic, 37–40; GORDON, Imagining; JOHNSTON, Greek Divination, especially 145–53, also stressing that often the differences between magic and mainstream religion are just in details; cf. e.g. SEGAL, Hellenistic Magic; VERSNEL, Some Reflections; HOFFMAN, *Fiat Magia*; FRANKFURTER, Dynamics.

tional chthonic pantheon.³⁴ Similarly in Classical literature, while of course we keep finding examples of foreigners engaging with magic,³⁵ it is hardly possible to find any clear sign of cultural plurality in the descriptions of magical rituals performed by Greeks.³⁶ In fact, as far as Greek documentary, archaeological and literary sources testifying to magical practices are concerned, the clearly recognisable addition and integration of elements from different magico-religious traditions appears to be a later phenomenon, which seemingly started to develop from Hellenistic times onwards.

WILLIAM D. FURLEY, in the second contribution, offers an example of the early Greek attitude, focusing on a piece of evidence from Greek apotropaic-magical tradition that does not display any clear sign of transcultural influences: the so-called Getty Hexameters. The author provides a new edition and analysis of this apotropaic Greek metrical text (written on a lead tablet from the fifth century BCE Selinus), whose interpretation is still highly controversial. Thanks to original insights and new parallels, FURLEY reinforces the hypothesis that the text originated in connection with Dionysos' mysteries, in particular with the Orphic-Bacchic myth about the birth and childhood of the god. He also demonstrates how a passage in the text, which was previously interpreted as a Greek adaptation of an Egyptian mythical narrative, can be completely explained within the Greek religious framework and without assuming any foreign influence. Therefore, on the one hand FURLEY's contribution sets the base for comparison with later material, also highlighting some significant characteristics of early Greek apotropaic texts, such as their frequent connection with the mystery cults' milieu and their civic versus private connotation. On the other hand, it reminds us of various aspects of continuity between this early Greek tradition and the later Graeco-Egyptian magical texts, such as the use of the so-called *Ephesia Grammata*,³⁷ of specific epithets of Hekate and Apollo, and the prominent role attributed to these deities.

In particular, some verses of the Getty Hexameters are paralleled in two seven/eight hundred years later magical papyri (PGM LXX and SM 49).³⁸ This demonstrates not only that the compilers of the later Graeco-Egyptian magical literature had access to much earlier ritual texts that originated in a Greek cultural environment, but also that these texts, with their long history of transmission, though apparently originally belonging to the ritual sphere of the mysteries, were still considered powerful enough to be integrated in the newer, redesigned magical scenario. The persistence of the Getty Hexameters testifies thus to the authoritative power given to earlier ritual texts by Graeco-Egyptian magical literature and provides an example of its possible compositional methods.

³⁴ See e.g. GAGER (ed.), *Curse Tablets*, 5–9, 12–13, cf. 26–7, 76–7 (no. 17), 86 (no. 19), 90 (no. 22), 124–30 (nos. 37–42), 138–42 (nos. 49–51), etc.; OGDEN, *Binding Spells*, 6–10, cf. 44–6.

³⁵ See e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 607–93.

³⁶ See e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.213–19; Eur. *Hipp.* 509–15; cf. also the later *Idyll* 2 by Theocritus.

³⁷ A string of magical words that belongs to Greek tradition; apart from W.D. FURLEY's contribution in this volume, see e.g. MCCOWN, *Ephesia Grammata*; BERNABÉ, *Las Ephesia Grammata*; BERNABÉ, *The Ephesia Grammata*.

³⁸ Col. 1, 8 is paralleled in PGM LXX 12 (third/fourth century CE) and col. 1, 8–14 is paralleled in SM 49.64–70 (third/fourth century CE).

This literature could attribute authoritative power not only to ancient sources but, as already mentioned, also to foreign traditions, especially when they belonged to lands already renowned for their magical lore or when they could strengthen the efficacy of a spell with the addition of an element considered powerful in another culture and/or apt to provide an extra halo of mystery. In fact, some spells of the PDM and especially the PGM do actually in themselves claim to use purportedly Nubian, Persian/Parthian, Jewish or other foreign language for single recitations and divine names,³⁹ or attribute the origin of a specific prescription to the established repertoire of ‘famous’ (or not so famous) magicians of Hebrew, Persian, Syrian, Trojan and Thessalian origin, next to Egyptian and Greek ones.⁴⁰ Thus the texts reflect an international or transcultural self-perception claimed by their authors and/or possibly desired by their users/clients. While these references to foreign magical traditions and ritual power are clearly employed for the purpose of giving additional authority to the spells,⁴¹ to what extent did the composers have knowledge of foreign practices and mythology? There have already been several studies on the actual presence, quality and meaning of the Jewish elements, *voces magicae*,⁴² etc. Even if they are generally perceived as being rather abundant in the PGM and PDM, more detailed analyses demonstrate that they are used more superficially than previously thought, since they mainly concern divine names or single words.⁴³ Similar problems surround the supposed ‘Mesopotamian’ influences, names and other elements within the magical texts from Roman Egypt.⁴⁴

³⁹ Nubian: PDM xiv 1097–103 (= P. Mag. LL, vs., 20, 1–7); PDM lxi 95–9 (= P. BM EA 10588, 7, 1–5); see DIELEMAN, Priests, 138–43; THISSEN, Nubien. Hebrew/Jewish: PGM III 1–164 (now PGM III.1, see LOVE, ‘PGM III’ Archive); PGM V 96–172 (mysteries and true divine name transmitted to Israel). Hebrew and Syrian: PGM V 459–89. Divine name as spoken in various languages: PGM XII 201–69; PGM XIII 1–343 and 343–646 (including animal languages); cf. DIELEMAN, Priests, 165–70.

⁴⁰ Solomon (PGM IV 850–929); Moses (PGM VII 619–27); Jacob (PGM XXIIb 1–26); Ostanos (PGM XII 121–43); Astrampsouchos (PGM VIII 1–63); Pharaoh Nehepsos, i.e. Necho II (PDM xiv 309–34 = P. Mag. LL, 11, 1–26; for the identification see RYHOLT, New Light, esp. 62); Syrian woman of Gadara (PGM XX 4–12); Dardanos (PGM IV 1716–870); Pitys the Thessalian (PGM IV 2140–44); Philinna the Thessalian woman (PGM XX 13–19); cf. DIELEMAN, Priests, 260–69. PGM IV 3007–86 simply states in the end ‘this charm is Hebraic’. The tradition of the powerful ‘Thessalian witch’ still continues in a Byzantine spell, see the contribution by M. ZELLMANN-ROHRER in this volume.

⁴¹ Cf. DIELEMAN, Priests, 276–80.

⁴² I.e. sequences of letters apparently without meaning but with a special sound or visual impact whose origin is often to be found in ‘foreign’ words or divine names, see e.g. BRASHEAR, Greek Magical Papyri, 3429–38 with rich bibliography; TARDIEU/VAN DEN KERCHOVE/ZAGO (eds.), Noms barbares; QUACK, Griechische und andere Dämonen.

⁴³ BOHAK, Linguistic Contacts, esp. 250–51; BOHAK, Hebrew, Hebrew Everywhere?; FAUTH, Jao-Jahwe; LIDONNICI, ‘According to the Jews’; MO. SMITH, Jewish Elements; MARCOS, Motivos judíos; LEONAS, Septuagint; QUACK, Alttestamentliche Motive. For more details, cf. also below, part III of this Introduction.

⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. for divination techniques, BEERDEN, ‘Dismiss Me’; FARAONE, Necromancy, esp. 275–7; VERGOTE, Joseph, 172–5; for specific magical spells/practices and structural elements FARAONE, *Mystodokos*; DICKIE, Learned Magician, esp. 183–9; GRAF, Gottesnähe, 154–7. See also the contribu-

DANIEL SCHWEMER, in his essay, calls for a precise framework of criteria in order to evaluate the import of Mesopotamian traditions in these sources, to be applied also to other cases of supposed cultural borrowing: specificity, exceptionality and unexpectedness, and co-occurrence of several instances.⁴⁵ In order to better understand the possible ways of transmission of Mesopotamian religious elements and magical lore, he provides a thorough survey of the history and range of *āšipūtu* (incantation) texts in the ancient Near East. The instructive example of the Hittite royal court in the thirteenth century BCE demonstrates that alongside the adaptation, and sometimes even translation, of Mesopotamian texts into Hittite, original Anatolian magical rituals still continued to be in use and remained unchanged by these prestigious influences:⁴⁶ cultural plurality without actual fusion. Chronologically closer to the PGM and PDM are the latest copies of cuneiform exorcism texts, the *Graeco-Babyloniaca*, which also contain Greek transcriptions of *āšipūtu*-incantations. Together with traces of Babylonian traditions in Aramaic and Mandaic magical texts and in the Babylonian Talmud, they attest to a solid base of contact zones that could have permitted the transmission of such material also into the Graeco-Egyptian magical corpus. However, in the majority of cases, elements of clear Mesopotamian origin are employed in an isolated way in the PGM. They lack further epithets or motives that would show a deeper knowledge of, or real interest in, this religious tradition and, stripped as they are from their original context, they bear witness to an already very distant relationship with their cultural roots.

Part II

Cultural plurality and fusion in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri (PGM/PDM)

The central part of this book focuses on the corpus of documents commonly referred to as the Greek and Demotic magical papyri from Roman Egypt (PGM and PDM) and the evidence for cultural plurality and fusion that can or cannot be found therein.

Up to now, this corpus consists of about 240 papyri of very different length and about 40 other documents on ostraka, wooden and metal tablets containing ritual spells mainly dated from the first to the fifth century CE.⁴⁷ However, these numbers are not fixed since, apart from possible new finds, there are already further documents awaiting publication. The contents of the magical papyri can be divided into two main cate-

tion by S. NAGEL in this volume. For the various suggestions to identify *voces magicae* see the list in BRASHEAR, Greek Magical Papyri, 3576–603.

⁴⁵ For a similar set of criteria to be applied when trying to ascertain parallels between cultural and religious traditions see e.g. MA. SMITH, *Primaevae Ocean*, 207–9.

⁴⁶ Cf. SCHWEMER, *Gauging*, 145–8.

⁴⁷ For the history of studies, relative bibliography and all the following see e.g. the detailed introductions by BRASHEAR, Greek Magical Papyri (for the Greek papyri) and RITNER, *Egyptian Magical Practice* (for the Demotic papyri).

gories: proper magical handbooks to be consulted when needed (ranging from one or a couple of spells to extensive collections), which assemble rituals for many different purposes, and examples of so-called ‘applied magic’, or ‘finished products’, i.e. incantations and/or formulae and/or symbols and drawings that had to be written on different supports as part of the magical procedure: they often include the personal names of the parties involved and, as remains of rituals that were actually performed, testify to the individual use of a specific spell by a specific person.

While the provenance of most papyri is unknown, some of the longest handbooks are part of the so-called ‘Theban Magical Library’, as they were allegedly found together in a tomb, in or around Thebes in Upper Egypt, sometime before 1828 (unfortunately, no details are known about the find): they represent the most impressive collection of magical texts ever discovered.⁴⁸ The main language and script of the magical papyri is Greek, but Egyptian language is also employed, mostly Demotic script, either in whole papyri or in passages or glosses.⁴⁹ To a smaller extent, the Egyptian Old Coptic⁵⁰ and Hieratic scripts can also be used for passages or glosses. In addition to the employment of different languages and scripts, as already mentioned the magical papyri appear to be a complex tangle of different religious traditions (obviously Egyptian and Greek, but to a lesser extent also Jewish, Christian, Babylonian and Mithraic), reflecting the complex socio-cultural setting of Roman Egypt.

Nevertheless, when the interest in ancient magic started to awaken and KARL PREISENDANZ and his collaborators in 1928–1931 published all the magical papyri known at the time,⁵¹ the Demotic (or Hieratic) texts, passages and glosses were not included in the edition. This unintentionally contributed to create a sort of confusion between Greek language and Greek cultural tradition. The multicultural religious influences were certainly recognised, but since the magical papyri appeared basically as Greek texts, they kept being studied mainly by classicists. The turning point came in the second half of the twentieth century, when the second edition of PREISENDANZ’s PGM revised by ALBERT HENRICHS appeared,⁵² and one hundred new Greek texts⁵³ and the most significant Demotic papyri were published.⁵⁴ Most importantly,

⁴⁸ As far as contents and conservation status are concerned; for details about the ‘Theban Magical Library’ and the story of its acquisition by European Museums see e.g. BRASHEAR, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 3400–405; ZAGO, *Tebe magica*, especially 31–71; TAIT, *Theban Magic*, especially 173–4, who discusses whether the ‘Library’ belonged to a private collector or to a temple library; DOSOO, *History*; see also the contribution of R. GORDON in this volume for PGM VII as not being part of the ‘Library’ as previously thought.

⁴⁹ It is important to note that the Demotic texts are earlier in date (the latest ones being from the first half of the third century) in comparison with many of the Greek ones (which can date also to the fourth/fifth centuries).

⁵⁰ Egyptian language written using the Greek alphabet plus some additional signs.

⁵¹ *Papyri Graecae Magicae* – Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri I–II–[III]. The third volume, which contained indices and explanations of magical words, is still available to scholars in photocopies since it reached only the stage of galley proofs (1941).

⁵² In 1973–1974.

⁵³ In DANIEL/MALTOMINI, *Supplementum Magicum* (SM).

⁵⁴ Two of them had already been published at the beginning of the twentieth century (GRIF-FITH/THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*; H.I. BELL/NOCK/THOMPSON [eds.], *Magical Texts*) but

the essential unity of Greek and Demotic magical texts was finally recognised as demonstrated by the work of HANS DIETER BETZ who, supervising a team of both classicists and Egyptologists, published in 1986 *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation – Including the Demotic spells*. Thanks to this new interdisciplinary debate it was possible to establish some fundamental characteristics of the corpus, such as the predominance of the Egyptian and Greek components⁵⁵ and the presence of many procedures and underlying conceptions that can be traced back to Egyptian religious tradition.⁵⁶ Moreover, internal evidence demonstrates that the magical handbooks are the result of a long process of collection and re-elaboration of earlier material⁵⁷ and, among other specific factors, the use of Demotic, Old Coptic and especially *ic*⁵⁸ proves that most of the compilation process must have been carried out within the Egyptian priestly milieu.⁵⁹ In particular, the compilers of the magical papyri, apart

were then complemented by the editions of JOHNSON (JOHNSON, Leiden I 384; JOHNSON, Louvre E 3229). For a fifth fragment of handbook (P. BM EA 10808) see now DIELEMAN, *Spätagyptisches magisches Handbuch*; SEDERHOLM, *Papyrus British Museum* (though problematic, see QUACK, Review of SEDERHOLM). New translations of many Demotic spells appeared in QUACK, *Demotische magische und divinatorische Texte*.

⁵⁵ Though e.g. Jewish, Mithraic, Babylonian, Christian and Gnostic elements are certainly present, they are often limited to divine names and *voces magicae*. Foreign influences at ritual or formulaic level are rarer, for a summary of the various cultural contributions in the PGM, see e.g. BRASHEAR, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 3422–9, with rich bibliography; in the PDM, see RITNER, *Egyptian Magical Practice*, 3351–2; also D. SCHWEMER's contribution in this volume.

⁵⁶ These include for example the fact that the ritual expert can identify himself with the gods or compel them with threats to do his bidding, or the power attributed to the knowledge of the 'true' secret name of divine entities, see e.g. BRASHEAR, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 3390–95; KÁKOSY, *Probleme der Religion*, 3028–43; SAUNERON, *Aspects et sort*; RITNER, *Egyptian Magical Practice*, 3345–55, 3362–71; RITNER, *Mechanics*, in particular 112–19, 157–9, 193–9; KOENIG, *Magie et magiciens*, 60–72, 156–65; cf. also QUACK, *From Ritual to Magic*.

⁵⁷ Their sources can almost always be placed at least one century earlier in comparison with the dating of the papyri. On this textual history see e.g. BRASHEAR, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 3414–16; DIELEMAN, *Scribal Practices*; for the example of the bilingual PGM XII/PDM xii and PDM xiv/PGM XIV see DIELEMAN, *Priests*, especially 47–101. Considering also that among the unpublished Demotic texts there are manuals from the Saite or Ptolemaic Periods (e.g. P. Brooklyn 47.218.47 vs. and P. Heidelberg Dem. 5 that will be published by J.F. QUACK), and that some rare examples of Greek handbooks date to the first century BCE/CE (e.g. PGM XX; SM 71, 72; P. Oxy. 4468), it clearly appears that this literature must have started to circulate and be copied at a much earlier date than that of most extant documents.

⁵⁸ Egyptian literacy had always been rooted in the temples (see e.g. BAINES, *Literacy*, especially 580–83; VLEEMING, *Some Notes*; TAIT, *Some Notes*, 190–92; CLARYSSE, *Egyptian Religion*, 565–8, 573) and, while in Graeco-Roman Egypt Greek was often used by literate Egyptians (see e.g. LEWIS, *Greeks*, 26–7; DEPAUW, *Companion*, 41–4; CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers*, 43–8; D.J. THOMPSON, *Literacy and Power*, 72–5), Hieratic had been confined to the temple scriptorium since about the seventh century BCE, and later the same happened to literary Demotic after the introduction of Greek as the language of the administration (see also e.g. DEPAUW, *Language Use*, 494–9; SAUNERON, *Conditions d'accès*, 55–7; TAIT, *Demotic Literature*; CRIBIORE, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 22–3; D.J. THOMPSON, *Literacy and Power*, especially 82–3).

⁵⁹ See e.g. DIELEMAN, *Priests*; DIELEMAN, *Scribal Practices*; RITNER, *Egyptian Magical Practice*, 3361–2; FRANKFURTER, *Consequences of Hellenism*; FRANKFURTER, *Dynamics*.

from being trained in the Egyptian scripts, must have had at a certain stage access to temple libraries. However, considering that the rituals described by the spells are not connected with an official religious institution since they are mostly performed by the magician alone and in a private setting, the compilers were probably ritual experts, maybe off-duty priests, whom a person in need of a specific spell could consult.⁶⁰ In particular, considering how the traditional Egyptian *ḥkꜣ* clashed with Greek and especially with Roman views,⁶¹ it is possible that with the gradual decline of the influence of the temple institution professional priests started to freelance more often at a local level shifting from official clergymen to ritual experts or ‘magicians’.⁶² They also had to acknowledge the existence of a new culturally mixed clientele and develop new strategies to appeal to it, such as ‘translating’ their own tradition and integrating it with other contemporary magico-religious or philosophical belief systems.

Taking into consideration these essential characteristics of the corpus, recent research has produced many valuable results.⁶³ At the same time, a new focus has been put on the importance of producing improved editions of the source material. On the Greek side, several scholars at different institutions decided to cooperate for the re-edition of the handbooks of the corpus under the direction of S. TORALLAS-TOVAR and C. FARAOONE (project of the Neubauer Collegium, Chicago University, called Greek Magical Papyri: Transmission of Magical Knowledge in Antiquity: the Papyrus Magical Handbooks in Context): their main aim is to provide a more up to date text edition (compared to PREISENDANZ’s) – possibly improving papyrus readings, translations and *apparatus* – as well as a better understanding of the extant manuscripts themselves.⁶⁴ On the Egyptian side, J.F. QUACK and K. DZWIZA are working on an edition of new Demotic fragments and a re-edition of PDM xii, xiv, lxi and Suppl. at the University of Heidelberg (project Corpus der demotischen magischen Texte).⁶⁵ Such updated editions will represent a fundamental tool for future studies, especially considering that research on the magical papyri is far from being exhausted. In particular, the coherent investigation of single elements, techniques, spells or papyri and their cultural history, or of the conceptualisation and supposed functioning of the rituals in their

⁶⁰ See e.g. QUACK, *Kontinuität und Wandel*, especially 85, 89; QUACK, *Postulated and Real Efficacy*; cf. QUACK, *Remarks on Egyptian Rituals*, 143–4.

⁶¹ See e.g. GRAF, *How to Cope*, 102–9; KIPPENBERG, *Magic*; GORDON, *Imagining*, especially 253–66.

⁶² See e.g. FRANKFURTER, *Religion*, 198–237; FRANKFURTER, *Ritual Expertise*; FRANKFURTER, *Consequences of Hellenism*; also KÁKOSY, *Probleme der Religion*, 3025–35. However, it should be kept in mind that some papyri that appear to come from Hermonthis (see DOSOO, *Rituals of Apparition*, 162–4; DOSOO, *History*, 265–6) are linked with accounts of a large estate and copies of the Psalms, so the last owner could have been a wealthy Christian without temple affiliation.

⁶³ See above n. 1–4.

⁶⁴ The latter point has already been demonstrated by the enlightening articles on PGM III and PGM VI/II: LOVE, ‘PGM III’ Archive; CHRONOPOULOU, PGM VI. For a summary of the history of research on the PGM/PDM and some glimpses into the most recent developments cf. also the paper by R. GORDON in this volume.

⁶⁵ See also the new edition of the Old Coptic (parts of) spells in PGM IV by LOVE, *Code-Switching*.

own time frame (Late Roman Egypt) still remains a major desideratum – especially if conducted from a transcultural perspective.

In order to reach an overarching understanding of ancient magic, research dedicated to material objects, especially the so-called magical gems, represents an important complement to the studies concerned with the written sources. The direct relationship between magical handbooks and gems is still controversial, since up to now only very few cases are known in which the design on an *intaglio* exactly corresponds to the one given in a handbook instruction. Nevertheless, even if we hypothesise different agents and places of production for manuals and gems, they clearly represent diverse but related outputs of the same mental landscape.⁶⁶ Current and future research is now facilitated by several recent editions and catalogues of gems stored in various museum collections.⁶⁷

The essays collected in this section of the volume contribute toward the above mentioned research topics by illuminating the often multi-layered and multicultural nature of magical texts and practices on several levels:

- Extant single papyrus manuals, in which a collection of spells, usually for various purposes, has been chosen and edited by one or several scribes who might (but need not!) have been identical with the (final?) owner/s and user/s of these handbooks.⁶⁸ Close examination of the original papyri, their layout and scribal treatment of scripts, signs, structuralising markers, corrections, glosses etc. allow for well-founded hypotheses about the collecting, writing and editing process of such manuals as well as about the individual scribes/collectors.
- ‘Genres’ of specific magical techniques, such as lamp divination, dream oracles or spells for fashioning divine images for oracular purposes, or for protection and prosperity.⁶⁹ When examining such spell types synoptically throughout the different manuals, the comparison between single rituals can provide valuable insights into the chronology of the development of these practices, into their cultural traditions, as well as into the editorial history of

⁶⁶ On some problems concerning the research on magical gems, see QUACK, *From Egyptian Traditions*.

⁶⁷ E.g. PHILIPP, *Mira et magica*; ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL, *Magische Amulette*; MICHEL, *Gemmen im Britischen Museum*; MICHEL, *Bunte Steine*; MASTROCINQUE (ed.), *SGG I-II*; MASTROCINQUE, *Intailles magiques* (a new edition of the gems originally published in A. DELATTE/DERCHAIN, *Intailles magiques*); ŠLIWA, *Magical Gems*; the Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database (http://classics.mfab.hu/talismans/visitatori_salutem) aimed at bringing online the entire corpus of magical gems. On the subject see also overarching studies such as MICHEL, *Bilder und Zauberformeln*; ENTWISTLE/ADAMS (eds.), ‘Gems of Heaven’.

⁶⁸ Cf. e.g. the thorough study of PGM IV by LiDONNICI, *Compositional Patterns*. Within the present volume, this level is dealt with especially in the contribution by R. GORDON on the example of the Greek handbook PGM VII. Cf. also the paper by S. NAGEL dealing with the handbooks PDM xiv (P. Mag. LL.) and PGM IV.

⁶⁹ These groups of spells are examined in the papers by S. NAGEL, L.M. BORTOLANI, and C.A. FARAONE and A. HALUSZKA respectively.

closely related spells (the latter is e.g. observable in the long handbook P. Mag. LL = PDM xiv).

- Single spells and sections of spells. The detailed discussion of one particular example as a case study can be very fruitful for detecting elements of cultural plurality and fusion and to find out if, and how, they interact together within the spell.⁷⁰ Especially within unusual, unique texts (the aim or certain elements of which do not have other parallels), a careful comparison with sources from the cultural traditions in question is fundamental for the understanding of the mechanics and ancient concepts behind the practice.
- The divine world invoked and its iconography, whether fashioned or drawn in the course of the magical practice, or even depicted within the manuals themselves.⁷¹ Epithets, magical names as well as descriptions of images abound in the PDM and PGM and try to capture the nature of the deities in order to gain control over them. In this area, religious plurality is often observable, especially in the *voces magicae*-strings. However, to what degree was this plurality perceived by the ancient composers/users? Detailed observations on the construction of divinity in the magical papyri lead to an evaluation of its cultural origin and of the degree of fusion among divine personas of various religious systems.⁷²
- The local, institutional or private environment of composition of these spells and the socio-cultural background of their compilers and users.⁷³ Although archaeological data about the finds of the papyri are in most cases uncertain or even completely lost, clues for the reconstruction of a wider context of production and use of both the manuals and the specific rituals contained in them might be provided by careful studies of specific aspects: the materiality of the manuscripts, their scripts and languages, the literary and religious traditions behind their rituals, and the way these are consciously or unconsciously stylised and presented, as well as additional external evidence.⁷⁴

Although most papers actually cover several of the aspects described above (cf. the footnotes), this section of the volume is further subdivided into two parts reflecting the main approach of the eight contributions contained in it. Thus, the first four papers are dedicated specifically to single handbooks and/or magical techniques, some of which

⁷⁰ Examples of single spells or spells' sections are discussed in some detail by S. NAGEL (PGM IV 930–1114), C.A. FARAONE (PGM III.2 292–310, V 447–58, IV 3125–71 and 2359–72), J.F. QUACK (PGM XII 232–5 and IV 3086–124), R. PHILLIPS (PGM XIII 270–77), A. HALUSZKA (PGM IV 2359–72, 3125–71, VIII 1–63 and IV 2373–440) and M. RISTORTO (PGM IV 2891–941).

⁷¹ Questions surrounding the nature and iconography of the deities involved are addressed by L.M. BORTOLANI, C.A. FARAONE, J.F. QUACK, A. HALUSZKA and M. RISTORTO.

⁷² Cf. also the monograph on this subject on the example of the Greek hymns in the PGM by BORTOLANI, *Magical Hymns*.

⁷³ Some of these aspects are considered especially in the papers by R. GORDON, S. NAGEL and C.A. FARAONE.

⁷⁴ Cf. also the thorough study of two bilingual manuscripts by DIELEMAN, *Priests*.

are also attested outside the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, thereby employing a wide focus and synoptic methodology.

RICHARD GORDON begins his contribution addressing some important questions about various characteristic features of Graeco-Egyptian magical texts. In particular, he investigates their relation to earlier Egyptian temple-practice and why they are written largely in Greek and display a strong syncretistic nature. The possible reasons behind these features appear to be the needs of the new culturally mixed clientele and the competition between ritual experts that operated at different levels, as also reflected by the different types of documents in the corpus of Graeco-Egyptian magical texts: from the ones consisting in a single magical procedure to ambitious collections of numerous complex rituals. GORDON considers the latter as especially relevant for investigating the compilers' 'view of the project of magic' and self-understanding, and thus the second part of his contribution focuses on one of these ambitious collections, PGM VII. The author analyses its palaeographical details, organisation of the text, lectional marks and, most importantly, some specific formal elements 'unconsciously' preserved by the copyists (such as different methods of indicating the *voces magicae*, the omission of headings or the use of non-standard abbreviations). The analysis confirms that at a certain stage of transmission the collection was assembled from four pre-existent manuals, which, according to GORDON, were in their turn compiled from roughly 33 smaller blocks. In its different stages, this collection process appears to have relied on the circulation of the material, for example through correspondence between fellow practitioners. In the final section, GORDON discusses the transcultural elements found in PGM VII (Jewish, Egyptian and Greek) and the content of the papyrus, especially underlining the importance of analysing magical handbooks in their entirety in order to try to reconstruct the practitioners' interests, competences and self-understanding and the demands of their clients.

SVENJA NAGEL and LJUBA M. BORTOLANI's contributions deal with the two interrelated divination techniques lychnomancy and dream divination. NAGEL first presents an overview of the extant lamp divination spells and analyses their general characteristics, commonalities and differences, concluding that two different types or traditions of lychnomancy rituals are present in the handbooks: an 'Egyptian' type and a 'Greek' or 'Apollonian' type. In the second part of the paper, a detailed case study on the example PGM IV 930–1114 throws light on the structure of this spell, the rationale of several elements of the ritual and their cultural background. Finally, the attempted reconstruction of a redactional history demonstrates the complex entanglement of various cultural elements and their successive editing in accord with the users' needs: although the case study spell can be counted among the 'Egyptian type' rituals, it has been given a structural framework and additional elements that testify to a careful editing aimed at users alien to the original Egyptian ritual tradition.

LJUBA M. BORTOLANI begins her contribution presenting an overview of the extant dream oracle spells. Considering that this divination technique is the most heterogeneous, the author tries to identify some common features that might help in distinguishing different subgroups of dream oracles and at the same time hint to a Greek or Egyptian cultural tradition. First, the use of lamps and the possible cultural backgrounds of the many deities invoked by the dream oracles are analysed. Second, BORTOLANI con-

siders the distribution of some features that are easily traceable to one or the other cultural tradition, namely the use of laurel (Greek), of bricks and the mention of the four cardinal points (Egyptian). This preliminary analysis suggests the existence of two separate lines of development for the dream oracle spells: one Egyptian, partly interrelated with the lamp divination technique, and one Greek, partly influenced by the high reputation of Apollonian divination but with no clear connection with the great tradition of Greek incubation oracles.

CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE investigates the PGM's recipes for the creation of statues and images on gems with oracular and protective function. In particular, he compares them with similar objects and their descriptions in contemporary or earlier lapidary handbooks and literary sources. First, the author focuses on the images of Apollo used to obtain oracles and how they actually functioned. Second, he concentrates on recipes for protection and/or prosperity that employ three iconographies that had a long tradition as protective/beneficial domestic images in Egyptian, Roman and Greek culture respectively: the so-called Pantheos, the god Mercury with his wand and purse⁷⁵ and the three-bodied Hekate. Throughout the analysis the author takes into consideration the presence of cultural pluralism and concludes that, outside the magical papyri, other traditions for creating oracular/protective statues/images show few or no signs of multicultural influences. At the same time, in the analysed recipes of the PGM, the integration of other cultural traditions is often achieved in ways that are e.g. superficial or meant to be known only by the magical practitioner. A traditional image, well-known in one culture, is adapted and transformed to better fit the Graeco-Egyptian users and their clientele through either simple additions/changes in nomenclature or small variations in function. These limited signs of cultural pluralism, and the fact that they were often not visible in the final product, suggest that these recipes were not always designed by Egyptian priests to repackage older Pharaonic rituals, but often represent their attempt 'to recast non-Egyptian magical objects or rituals in a form that they themselves could appreciate and understand'.

The second part consists of studies focussing on specific spells, in some cases without close parallels within the corpus (that we know of), and the deities addressed in them.

JOACHIM F. QUACK illuminates the divine world and religious concepts contained in the passages PGM XII 232–5 and PGM IV 3086–124. The first section features an enumeration of the members of the Heliopolitan Ennead, with the names of the Egyptian deities either transcribed into Greek or 'translated' into those of divine counterparts in the Greek pantheon. By analysing some noticeable details of the spell, in which this section appears (PGM XII 201–69), the copying and editing process is assessed and it becomes clear that in its final stages the compilers' understanding of the text was decreasing, which in its turn led to disintegration of meaning. The second case study concerns a spell called 'The Oracle of Kronos', especially a phylactery employed during the ritual. QUACK demonstrates that in this case, elements of two mythological traditions (Egyptian and Greek) have been fused in a meaningful way,

⁷⁵ For this iconography and related spells in the PGM see also A. HALUSZKA's contribution in this volume.

which means that the author(s) must have had a deeper understanding of them in order for the mechanics of the spell to work.

RICHARD PHILLIPS unfolds the mingled religious and literary traditions behind the only spell for human shape-shifting in the corpus, PGM XIII 270–77. He points out that the transformation here is especially aimed at hiding the performer's identity and therefore belongs to the wider context of rituals for achieving anonymity, such as invisibility spells. The idea of human shape-shifters has precedents in Egyptian funerary and narrative texts as well as in Greek and Roman mythology and literature. In order to better contextualise this singular spell, PHILLIPS discusses several examples of both these traditions, paying special attention to transformations into animals, plants or other parts of nature parallel to the list of possible shapes given in the magical handbook. Similarly to SCHWEMER's call for clear-cut criteria for the evaluation of 'Mesopotamian' influences in the PGM/PDM, PHILLIPS asks himself what kind of similarities or connections can be considered significant enough when trying to ascertain if a passage in the magical papyri derives from a specific textual tradition. After careful comparisons with various examples of shape-shifting scenes, he concludes that the passage in question does not descend from one specific source but is likely influenced by a plurality of connected concepts in Greek and Egyptian mind-sets.

ADRIA HALUSZKA explores the complicated negotiation of meaning behind the study of sacred images analysing the PGM's recipes for achieving prosperity in business that involve the creation of three-dimensional statuettes. Making large use of CHARLES PEIRCE's theory of signs and especially of his concepts of 'icon' and 'index', the author underlines that, as *voces magicae* can serve as 'indices' to the designated divine powers, also three-dimensional images function as 'indices' to 'an amalgam of divine forces beyond the sum of their visual iconography'. HALUSZKA analyses first the statuettes created in PGM IV 2359–72 and 3125–71,⁷⁶ giving special attention to their hollowness, to the materials (often inscribed) that can be put inside them and to the consecration rituals that activate them. She then proceeds with PGM VIII 1–63 and IV 2373–440 that, though presenting some variations, follow the same main scheme according to which the statue is created using perceived iconographical associations and is provided with secret names that are somehow contained in it. The selected examples also stress the importance of Graeco-Roman Hermes (being the main deity in three of the rituals) as transcultural god of trade and commerce and his fusion with the Egyptian Thoth. Though culturally diverse clients and practitioners could be behind specific iconographical choices, it is important to remember that these statues do not function as simple iconographic representations, but can be ascribed a multiplicity of meanings as 'indices' pointing to the immediacy and presence of the divine forces during the rituals.

MARCELA RISTORTO concludes this section investigating the dynamics behind the love spell PGM IV 2891–941 and discussing the culturally diverse details of the ritual and of the hymn to Aphrodite it contains. First, the author analyses the hymn considering its structure, the epithets of the goddess, and other divine entities and *voces magi-*

⁷⁶ These two spells are discussed also in the contribution by C.A. FARAONE, but with a different focus.

cae employed in the composition. Through comparison with Greek literary sources it appears that, even if various aspects of the deity described belong to the Greek Aphrodite, many others were borrowed from other Greek goddesses, possibly because of the flexible nature of polytheism. At the same time, the hymn integrates elements from Near Eastern tradition, with which the figure of Aphrodite displayed associations already in the second millennium BCE. Even if some of the hymn's epithets may allude to Aphrodite's identification with Isis-Hathor, it is the analysis of the *praxis* and of its different subparts that reveals most of the Egyptian cultural elements. Structurally, the magical hymn to Aphrodite does not substantially differ from a 'religious' hymn, but the two can be distinguished thanks to their public versus private, magical context. Moreover, the hymn presents the goddess as an all-powerful deity with extended competence over the Underworld and integrates various cultural traditions, thus illuminating the evolution of Aphrodite's divine persona in Roman Egypt.

Part III

Integration and transformation of Graeco-Egyptian magic in Jewish and Byzantine spells

The final section of this volume is dedicated to the integration and later developments of the ritual lore known from the PGM and PDM in two other magical traditions. Apart from the Graeco-Egyptian magico-religious main stratum, Jewish religion and, to a lesser extent, emerging Christianity left some traces in the material assembled in the magical papyri.⁷⁷ Autochthonous Jewish magic developed especially between the third century BCE and the seventh century CE, producing collections of spells such as the well-known *Sefer ha-Razim*.⁷⁸ This book, that was probably written around the middle of the first millennium CE,⁷⁹ has been recently confirmed to have been actually used in medieval Cairo and can be considered as the most influential text of Jewish magic in the Middle Ages and beyond. Being in origin more or less contemporary to Graeco-Egyptian magical literature, the recipes of the *Sefer ha-Razim* display many similarities with the PGM/PDM, so that it has been suggested that its compiler(s) were intimately familiar with them and in some cases reworked this material, while framing it with distinctively Jewish ouranology and angelology.⁸⁰

On the other hand, the Jewish elements in Graeco-Egyptian magical literature do not necessarily seem to be connected specifically to Jewish magical tradition since they consist mainly in divine and angelic names that, as SCHWEMER demonstrates for

⁷⁷ See above n. 43 for bibliography on Jewish elements; furthermore, on Christian influences, e.g. VAN DER HORST, *Great Magical Papyrus*.

⁷⁸ See the recent edition by REBINGER/SCHÄFER, *Sefer ha-Razim*.

⁷⁹ Though only later copies (either fragments or manuscripts) are extant today, see e.g. MARGALITH, *Sefer ha-Razim*, 47–55; BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 170–75.

⁸⁰ See the paper by G. BOHAK and A. BELLUSCI in this volume; cf. also the contribution by S. NAGEL, 142, for a parallel between passages in the PDM/PGM and the *Sefer ha-Razim*.

the Mesopotamian elements (see above), appear to be mostly disconnected from their original religious context.⁸¹ In fact, as BOHAK states, apart from some standard names and short phrases that are repeated quite frequently, actual adoptions of Hebrew sentences or detailed thematic motives are relatively rare, and ‘Hebrew’ interpretations that have been suggested for various *voces magicae* in the past were often erroneous.⁸² On the other hand, there is a strong tendency in the magical tradition to independently develop, modify and combine words and elements once they have entered this sphere (e.g. angel names, which could be invented *ad hoc* by just adding the ending -ēl to any word). However, only in isolated cases does the employment of Hebrew elements really demonstrate a deeper knowledge and meaningful integration of them into the surrounding ritual practice or recitation.⁸³

GIDEON BOHAK and ALESSIA BELLUSCI’s contribution explores the opposite tendency, i.e. the integration and reworking of Greek recipes in the Jewish magical framework. They focus on a prayer to Helios that appears within a complex divination ritual in the *Sefer ha-Razim* (book that should originally be more or less contemporary to the Graeco-Egyptian manuals) and is especially relevant since it consists of a long set of Greek words transcribed in the Hebrew alphabet. Though already studied by various scholars, BOHAK and BELLUSCI provide new insights about it thanks to the publication of a new fragment from Cairo Genizah (from the twelfth/thirteenth century CE) that contains an applied spell, or ‘finished product’, including the up to now earliest known copy of the prayer to Helios. The authors provide a word by word analysis trying to reconstruct the Greek original and the various stages of textual corruption: the Greek meaning of the prayer was not understood anymore and the fragment does not preserve an accurate transliteration also because of the problems inherent in the differences between Greek and Hebrew alphabet and language. Nevertheless, some of the readings appear to be superior to the previously available textual witnesses. This allows BOHAK and BELLUSCI to present a more reliable reconstruction, which allows them to both identify some similarities/differences between this prayer and the PGM’s ones, and demonstrate that the prayer to Helios was a much simpler text than assumed by earlier scholars.

As far as Christian elements in the corpus of the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri are concerned, they are mainly limited to few names and applied spells, in which e.g. Jesus Christ is invoked instead of, or together with, the usual magical divine ties.⁸⁴ However, in Egypt, the emerging Christian belief started to adapt the existing magical lore to its own social and theological framework, producing Christian amulets

⁸¹ For the few exceptions demonstrating a more extensive and consistent Jewish background, see below n. 83.

⁸² BOHAK, *Hebrew, Hebrew Everywhere?*, 77.

⁸³ E.g. the ‘Stele of Jeu’ PGM V 96–172, PGM XXXVI 295–311, some exorcism spells and PDM xiv 117–49, cf. QUACK, *Alttestamentliche Motive* (especially for the latter); BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, especially 196–7, 201–7.

⁸⁴ There are only few references to Christian religion (i.e. to Jesus Christ) in the handbooks, e.g. PGM IV 3020 (cf. PGM XII 190–92); cf. on this subject e.g. PACHOUMI, *Concepts of the Divine*, 109–22.

and magical handbooks mainly in Coptic language that are studied today as separate corpora.⁸⁵ Moreover, the persistence of the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition can be traced even in later epochs and outside Egypt in the new social, political and cultural Christian environment. For example, as ZELLMANN-ROHRER demonstrates, magical rituals that still display a connection to earlier practices can be found in Byzantine manuscripts.

Scholarly interest in this field is still quite recent⁸⁶ and further investigations will be welcomed with great anticipation as they might throw new light on the mechanics of reshaping ancient magical lore in the Middle Ages and beyond.

MICHAEL ZELLMANN-ROHRER, in the final contribution, takes an important step in this direction tracing examples of the survival of practices known from the PGM in Byzantine and even later Greek magical texts. Not only the positive identification of such continued traditions but also the contemporaneous scribes and users' attitudes towards this ancient material are important objectives throughout this paper, which focuses specifically on healing and apotropaic incantations. The author considers three different ways in which earlier traditions can be treated: complete omission, direct and unmediated inclusion, and, most commonly, mediated adaptation. ZELLMANN-ROHRER lists seven structural features as direct survivals, among them the use of *voces magicae* and words in foreign languages, whether they consist of old formulas known from antiquity or are new borrowings and distortions from contemporary languages. Concerning the category of mediated survivals, one main mechanism of adaptation is the addition of a Christian frame to the magical practice; according to the author this was done with the aim of increasing the power, and not for 'sanitisation' of the rituals. In a final case study the author analyses the process of mediated survival through the example of the 'ὕστέρᾱ formula'.

These two last contributions, with their cultural and chronological depth, underline thus the persistence of Graeco-Egyptian magical lore. ZELLMANN-ROHRER even mentions some of its possible vestiges up to modern times, providing a befitting reminder of the extent of this tradition's reach, which has not been fully explored yet.⁸⁷

As a whole, the papers of this volume examine a plurality of magico-religious traditions and how they merged and culminated in Roman Egypt in the Greek and Demotic

⁸⁵ On Coptic Magic, see especially KROPP, *Koptische Zaubertexte I–III*; MEYER/SMITH (eds.), *Ancient Christian Magic*; CHOAT/GARDNER, *Coptic Handbook*. On Christian amulets see DE BRUYN/DIJKSTRA, *Greek Amulets*; DE BRUYN, *Making Amulets Christian*; cf. also WILLER, *Papyrusamulette*; LACERENZA, *Jewish Magicians*. Cf., more generally, MO. SMITH, *How Magic Was Changed*; SPIESER, *Christianisme et magie*. A new (doctoral) study on the survival of ancient Egyptian religious traditions in Coptic magical texts is now envisaged by K. HEVESI, Heidelberg. Furthermore, a new research project led by KORSHI DOSOO, called *The Coptic Magical Papyri: Vernacular Religion in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt*, started at the University of Würzburg in September 2018.

⁸⁶ Cf. MAGUIRE, *Introduction*, 7. See for some introductory bibliography e.g. n. 2 in M. ZELLMANN-ROHRER's contribution.

⁸⁷ For further examples of specific techniques known from the Graeco-Egyptian handbooks that persisted until (early) modern times, see QUACK, *Zauber ohne Grenzen*, 196–9 (for thief-catching spells) and NAGEL, *Liebesbann*, 271–2 (for erotic spells).

magical papyri, which in their turn hatched further developments in temporally and geographically diverse environments. In some cases these traditions actually reached a degree of mutual fusion, while in others they contributed with more scattered elements through simpler juxtaposition. At the same time, while the accumulation of different cultural elements generally increased in time, the awareness of their origins/original meaning gradually disappeared in a transcultural ‘language of magic’.

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PART I

EGYPTIAN, GREEK AND MESOPOTAMIAN TRADITIONS OF MAGIC: DIFFERENT GENRES,
PERCEPTION OF THE 'OTHER' AND POSSIBLE TRANSCULTURAL EXCHANGE

Magical Practices in Egyptian Literary Texts: in Quest of Cultural Plurality¹

FRANZISKA NAETHER

The aim of this paper is to examine selected passages from Egyptian literary texts (narratives, wisdom and discursive texts) pertaining to cultural plurality in Egyptian magical practices – a significant part of the overall corpus of ancient Egyptian literature.² These are drawn from my research project ‘Cult Practice in Ancient Egyptian Literature’ / ‘Kultpraxis in der altägyptischen Literatur’.³ The case studies taken from such sources and presented here contain magical elements to which cultural plurality is of immediate relevance: I will explore Egyptian views on foreigners, foreign protagonists and practices characterised as being from foreign countries.

1. Case studies: examples of cultural plurality in Egyptian literary texts

1.1. Foreign countries in general

With regard to cultural plurality in magical texts, the late HEINZ-JOSEF THISSEN’s contribution about Nubian elements in the magical papyri immediately comes to mind.⁴ There, he argues that spells which are said to be of ‘Nubian’ origin, which have to be recited in the ‘Nubian’ or ‘Ethiopian’ language are a *topos*, an element of exotic

¹ I wish to thank the organisers for the invitation and for having accepted a paper not about the plurality of magical practices themselves but rather on the reception of them in literary texts. Many thanks are also due to the speakers and guests of the workshop and two lectures in Leipzig who gave valuable input, hints and questions on the topic presented here and for further research. Furthermore, I am grateful for multiple suggestions by the editors as well as by GIL H. RENBERG for helpful suggestions to improve this contribution.

² In total: 104 narrative texts (e.g. stories, novels, tales); 90 instructive texts (basically wisdom texts); 13 discursive texts (e.g. complaints, prophecies). If not stated otherwise, all transliterations are taken from the TLA, accessed on December 31, 2014. Note that not all the stories have ancient or modern titles; some are cited by their inventory or publication number.

³ This is my Habilitation thesis, for which I collect and analyse all passages that contain cult practices to explore seven research questions: 1, The Setting of the Sources, 2, Cult Practices in the Literature, 3, The Presentation of the Divine, 4, Divine Justice – Sacred Jurisdiction, 5, Fate and Future Prospects, 6, Self-Reflection about Cult Practice, 7, The Untold and the Secret.

⁴ For the Greek and Demotic magical papyri (PGM and PDM), see now JÖRDENS (ed.), *Ägyptische Magie*, especially my contribution about the magical papyri (NAETHER, *Griechisch-ägyptische Magie*).

and foreign magic to make the spell more effective⁵ – though the possibility of loan-words cannot be excluded in times of cultural contact. Whether an ‘Urtext’ or etymologies can really be assigned to Nubia does not matter (and is most likely not correct), but what matters is their ritual power during performance. With that in mind, it was my hope to detect comparable phenomena in the literary texts and therefore I searched for ‘foreign’ elements in the description of cult practices, throughout the surviving body of Egyptian literature.

In general, it can be observed in their literature that the Egyptian view of foreign countries (‘Fremdländer’) is a rather pejorative one.⁶ Egypt shared frontiers with peoples in the Libyan desert in the West, with Nubians in the South and with Near Eastern peoples, simply called ‘Asiatics’, in the Northeast. During the course of history, these areas stood under command or influence of the Egyptian crown – or, from time to time, were lost to other rulers. Apart from locally based opponents, the Egyptians fought with enemies that were harder to tackle: mobile, non-stationary ethnic groups such as the sea peoples, bedouins or marauding shepherds in the Nile Delta. That being said, it is apparent that these groups served as basic symbols of opponents not only in the political ideology and as a powerful ‘Feindbild’ in the ruler cult, but also as representations of enemies in literary sources. Some examples of that are discussed below and they feature especially the ‘Asiatics’ and the ‘Nubians’.

1.2. Egypt and the Levant

According to Egyptian royal ideology, foreign countries should be under the control of the Pharaoh – after he has conquered these territories – and administrated by viceroys or ruled by crown princes who secure payments of tributes in kind. Additionally, the foreigners should at least be afraid of the Egyptian monarch, as mentioned in the Story of Sinuhe: there, the desirable amount of fear is described as being as big as the fear of

⁵ THISSEN, Nubien, 376. On language as means of distinction, see KOENIG, Image of the Foreigner, 225–6. Magical practices seemed to have been more inclined towards borrowing foreign elements than other cult practices; see QUACK, Importing, 262 and 268. FREDERIC KRUEGER brought to my attention the similar though not completely comparable phenomenon of the use of Old Coptic spells and the use of Coptic within Greek magical texts. For Greek, Demotic and Old-Coptic glosses, see DIELEMAN, Priests, 64–9; 71–2 and QUACK, How the Coptic Script (especially pp. 55–74) and LOVE, Code-Switching (*non vidi*).

⁶ LOPRIENO, Topos, 22–34. His methodology has been criticised by BUCHBERGER, Zum Ausländer, 10–25, who does not believe in a uniform concept of the topos of ‘foreigners’ in Egyptian culture: followed by MOERS, Auch der Feind, 225–7, who offers a more differentiated discussion of the term *rmꜥ* ‘man’. See also O’CONNOR, Egypt’s Views, 156–61. This view can differ from the perspective on foreigners living and being acculturated in Egypt; see VITTMANN, Zwischen Integration und Ausgrenzung, 562. Focussing on the Old, Middle and New Kingdom only, but nevertheless an important contribution, is MOERS, ‘Unter den Sohlen Pharaos’, differentiating between otherness (general pejorative views on all foreigners and considering them as enemies on a political level, pp. 88–101) and alteration (encounters on a personal level, pp. 137–45). In his communication-based approach, not all meetings of Egyptians and foreigners lead automatically to social exclusion – there are several levels of rejection but also examples of integration.

the goddess Sakhmet in the year of the pestilence.⁷ Sakhmet, a lion-headed goddess and the warlike pendant of the rather peaceful cat-headed goddess Bastet, is associated with fighting, but also with healing. Priests of Sakhmet had special knowledge in repelling diseases and were capable of performing magico-medical practices.⁸ In this example, the Egyptian king is compared to a fierce goddess who is capable of destroying humans by illnesses. A similar passage from the same story praises the king as being as powerful as the divine uraeus snake on the crown he wears on his forehead, which causes foreigners to flee from him.⁹

The Story of Sinuhe is one of the most famous works from ancient Egypt. Apart from its modern reception in the last century, already in antiquity we can distinguish two traditions of transmission – basically one in the Middle and one in the New Kingdom Periods (c. 12th–14th and 18th–20th Dynasty, c. 1991–1690 and 1292–945 BCE). The story is attested in ten papyri and ostraka, some of them being evidence from educational contexts of the given time. At the beginning of the narration, the Pharaoh Amenemhat I dies and the protagonist Sinuhe, an office holder of the retinue of the crown prince, flees to foreign countries. Sinuhe overhears news about the death of the king, but his role in this remains unclear over the whole course of the story. During this, he relocates to the Near East, to an area in Egyptian called Upper Retjenu. The hero survives several adventures and manages to become a high-ranking official abroad with family and property. However, the main conflict of the work is the flight of the protagonist and his eventual wish to return home to Egypt in order to receive a proper burial. The narration explains further on that it was supposedly the aim of every Egyptian not to die in a foreign country and to be buried with local rites, but to die in Egypt and receive a proper burial following mummification and the rituals meant to guarantee dwelling in the afterlife. Thus, Sinuhe wishes to avoid the Asiatic rites in Upper Retjenu. A letter from the Pharaoh invites the ‘lost son’ to return home reminding him of Egyptian cult practices involving death and burial:

Think about the day of burial, the passing over to an honored state. The night will be appointed for you with oils and poultices from the arms of Tayet (goddess of weaving). A procession will be made for you on the day of interment, the anthropoid sarcophagus (overlaid) with gold [leaf], the head with lapis lazuli, and the sky above you as you are placed in the outer coffin and drawn by teams of oxen preceded by singers. The dance of the Muu will be performed at your tomb, and the necessary offerings will be invoked for you. They will slaughter at the entrance of your tomb chapel, your pillars to be set up in limestone as is done for the royal children. You shall not die in a foreign land, and Asiatics will not escort you. You shall not be placed in a ram’s skin as they make your grave. All of this is too much for one who has roamed the earth. Take thought for your dead body and return.¹⁰

⁷ P. Berlin P. 10499, 67–74; P. Berlin P. 3022 & fragments P. Amherst m–q (B), 43–50 (attested in the Middle and the New Kingdom). See LOPRIENO, *Topos*, 50–55, who wants to see irony in this passage; MOERS, ‘Unter den Sohlen Pharaos’, 144–5 highlights the positive characterization of the foreign ruler Amunnenshi, Sinuhe’s master for his life abroad.

⁸ ENGELMANN/HALLOF, *Sachmetpriester*.

⁹ P. Berlin P. 10499, 87–8; parallels in O. Ashmolean Museum inv. 1945.40, 32 and P. Moscow inv. 4657, 3, 1–4.

¹⁰ P. Berlin P. 3022 and fragments P. Amherst m–q (B), 190–99, translation by SIMPSON (ed.), *Literature*, 62.