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NOTES ON THREE GREEK MAGICAL TEXTS

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1) Phoebe, who delights in arrows (Suppl. Mag. 49.72-73)

D. Jordan, "A Love Charm with Verses" ZPE 72 (1988) 245-59, greatly advanced the interpretation of this third-century A.D. erotic defixio when he pointed out that lines 64-73 are hexameters containing a mixture of divine names or epithets and a few magical words. The last two verses are as follows (Jordan's reconstructed text, followed by the editors of Suppl. Mag. pp. 203-204):

κεκτῇ ἄγαλλομένη Ἀφροδίτη, Περσεφονεία,
ΦΟΙΒΗ ἤθελαι ὈΙΩΑΙΛΩ πρόκοπε ἩΔΑΜΑΣΕΑ

Emending ΦΟΙΒΗ to ΦΟΙΒΗ at the beginning of the second hexameter, we get another goddess with an appropriate epithet: Φοιβή ὤθελαι, "Phoebe, who delights in arrows." Although there is a minor goddess Phoebe known to Hesiod (Th. 136 and 404, where the name appears in both instances at the beginning of the hexameter, as it does here) and Aeschylus (Eum. 7), it seems more likely that this Phoebe is the alternate, poetic name for Artemis/Diana popular among later Greek and Latin poets (e.g. Verg. G. 1.431, Oppian Cyn. 2.1, and Anth. Pal. 5.255.10). R. Merkelbach suggests (apud Suppl. Mag. p. 204) that ἩΔΑ- ΜΑΣΕΑ at the end of the same line conceals another epithet ἰοδἀμάςσα ("sagittis domans"). Such a reading would continue the image of archery, and, when combined with the emendation offered here, yield the following full hexameter (ignoring, of course, the extra metrum string of vowels that occurs at midline): Φοιβή ὤθελαι ὈΙΩΑΙΛΩ πρόκοπε ἩΔΑΜΑΣΣΑ.

2) The ιαλδα-Logos: Some Emendations of Preisendanz by Preisendanz (PGM 1 203-207; IV 1196-99 and XIII 971-74)

In the ill-fated third volume of his Papyri Graecae Magicae Preisendanz identified a magical formula which he called the ιαλδα-logos and listed in his index XI on page 240,
quoting the full texts of three examples: *PGM* I 203-207; IV 1196-99 and XIII 971-74. Although the realization of these parallels is often manifested in his *apparatus criticus*, Preissendanz failed to revise the texts themselves in volumes 1 and 2 of *PGM* to reflect his later understanding. The discrepancies primarily involve word division, and in one case, a restoration (*PGM* I 203: φριξα ηκ[...]/φυνι to φριξαη κε[ω]/η). Since the third volume of *PGM* is not widely available, I give here in parallel form the following texts: At, Bt and Ct are the texts of *PGM* I 203-207; IV 1196-99 and XIII 971-74 as they now appear in Preissendanz/Henrichs, *PGM*2, while Ai, Bi and Ci are the superior versions of the same texts which Preissendanz printed in index XI in volume 3:6

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\begin{align*}
A^i & \quad \text{'Αλδα ζαω} & \quad \text{βλαθαμμοτωθ} & \quad \text{φριξα} & \quad \text{ηκε[...]/φυνι} \\
A^i & \quad \text{ιαλδαζω} & \quad \text{βλαθαμ} & \quad \text{μαχωθ} & \quad \text{φριξαη} & \quad \text{κε[ω]/η} \\
B^i & \quad \text{ιαλδαζω} & \quad \text{βλαθαμ} & \quad \text{μαχωρ} & \quad \text{φριξαη} & \quad \text{κεωρ} & \quad \text{ενερ} \\
B^i & \quad \text{ιαλδαζω} & \quad \text{βλαθαμ} & \quad \text{μαχωρ} & \quad \text{φριξαη} & \quad \text{κεωρ} & \quad \text{ενερ} \\
C^i & \quad \text{ιαλδαζω} & \quad \text{βαθαμ} & \quad \text{μαχωρ} & \quad \text{ριξζαη} & \quad \text{ωκεων} & \quad \text{πνεδ} \\
C^i & \quad \text{ιαλδαζω} & \quad \text{βαθαμ} & \quad \text{μαχωρ} & \quad \text{ριξζαη} & \quad \text{ωκεων} & \quad \text{πνε}
\end{align*}
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4 For example, he used the text of *PGM* IV as a guide to the restoration of ρος Ἐρωθ and his emendation of τυληθε to ἵζηθο (both in line 205 of *PGM* I, see his *app. crit.*). Similarly, in his *app. crit. to PGM* IV 1196 he says generally "Zu den Zauberworte s. P. I 205ff."

5 Word division of logoi of these type is a particularly tricky business. In the case of the ταληδα-logos, P. seems to have been guided by the indications in *PGM* IV. We have independent confirmation of P's ideas about word-division in the fact that he listed each of the sixteen words of the ταληδα-logos as individual magical words in his index XII. In two cases, there are discrepancies between the text in index XI (logoi) and the individual citations in index XII (magic words): 1) φριξαη in index XI (see below n. 7); and 2) the words πνε δεμο (PGM XIII) are separated in index XII (p. 128), but written as one word in index XI (p. 240). In both cases I have assumed that there are typesetting errors in index XI and I have written φριξαη and πνε δεμο, even though in the latter case (see the next note) the words are separated on the papyrus. I would question only one of Preisendanz' word-divisions, ρος Ἐρωθ, which is not indicated on any of the papyri and is independently based on his (in my view misguided) suspicion that Ἐρωθ is an alternate form of Ἀρωθ, an angel who appears frequently in magical texts. Preisendanz addressed the problem of word-division in his preface for the third volume, printed by Henrichs as second preface of the second volume (p. xvi): "Wenn im Register der Zauberworte (XII) manche Abtrennung der Voces nicht mit der des Textes übereinstimmt, so ergibt sich das aus unserem im Lauf der Jahre immerhin gewachsenen Verständnis für die Bildung vieler dieser Wort-Monstra, das den Schreibern und Redaktoren selbst fehlte; auf ihre, durch Interpunktion vollzogenen Worttrennungen kann kein Verlauf sein, da sie sich oft genug als willkürlich erweisen durch Vergleich der verschiedenen Niederschriften des gleichen Wortes oder Logos da und dort in den Papyri."

6 R. Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*, Papyrologica Coloniensia 19 (Cologne 1990) — a superb new photographic edition (with diplomatic transcription) of *PGM* XII and XIII — confirms (pp. 74-75) Preisendanz's revised word division (my version C*) for the ταληδα-logos in *PGM* XIII 971-74 (the most corrupt version), with one small exception: at the end of line 973, the scribe clearly divides the final two words as πνε δεμο whereas Preisendanz has corrected it (in index XII; see previous note) to πνε δεμο υψ in order to isolate δεμο, apparently using as his guide the isolated words δρωμυμο and δεμο in the two other versions.

7 Index XI actually reads φριξαη at this point, but the misplaced iota has all the markings of a typesetting error and has thus been ignored, especially since it does not appear in index XII (see above n. 5).

8 A variant for βαθαμ μαχωρ is recorded parenthetically in the text of *PGM* XIII at this point: η βαθαμ μαχωρ.
The ιαλδα-logos seems to be especially associated with the sun. In *PGM* I it appears in a prayer to "the eternal ruler of the sun's rays" and at the end of the prayer [line 223] we are instructed to say it ἡλιόφ, either "to the sun" (so Preisendanz, i.e. facing the sun) or "to Helios" (Betz). At *PGM* IV 1195-99 the entire logos seems to be the magical name of Helios (see line 1180: "... Listen Helios ..., I call you by your name"). Delatte, in his discussion of the magical name *φραινφρι*, suggested long ago that the syllable *φρι* found in the phrase *φρι* αχ κεφ, and elsewhere was a variant of *φρη*, the familiar Greek rendition of the name for the Egyptian sun-god Re,10 an insight that has been corroborated by a recent find from Nemea.11


In a fifth-century A.D. erotic *agogê*-spell on a papyrus from Assiut "the daimones who lie here" (i.e. in or near the grave in which the papyrus was deposited) are threatened and cajoled in a number of ways to perform the operation, including the following (lines 12-15):

ёαν δε αξηται (read αξητε) μοι Εύφημιαν——δοκεω υμιν "Οετριν Νορθιωθ, τον άδελφον της Ἡσίωδος, και ξερα (read αξερα) το ψυχρον ύδωρ και άναπαυ- 

cetαι υμον τας ψυχσι. ἐ[α]ν δε μοι μη τελέσητε α λεγω υμιν, κατακαυσσει υ- 


11 A lead disk from Nemea (soon to be published by J. Gager and R. Lamberton) appears to be inscribed with a solar orb (rendered as a circle) with spokes of light radiating from it (the individual rays being magical words). The three-line inscription in the center of the orb (τουω l φριζ l αηοι) lends further weight to Delatte's suggestion that φριζ αη is connected with the sun.

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9 I have tampered with the word order here by moving ψψψις φρος to the place after φερφρω ιασθω in order to create a closer parallel. Here too, I follow Preisendanz' lead, as he lists ψψψις as a possible variant of ψψψις (see *PGM* vol. 3 Index XII s.v. ψψψις [p.277]).
If you lead Euphemia to me... I will give to you Osiris Nophriôth, the brother of Isis, and he draws cold water for you and will relieve your souls. If you do not fulfill for me what I tell you, Eônebyôth will burn you up.

(trans. Daniel/Maltomini)

The basic purpose of the passage is not difficult to understand, as it employs a "votive formula" used occasionally in magical texts, e.g. the similarly phrased promise given to a daimon in another erotic spell (PGM IV 2094: téléesov, δεῖμον, τὰ ἐνθάδε γεγραμμένα· τελέσαντι δὲ θεύειν ἀποδόκω). As both the editors of Suppl. Mag. and the original editor Wortmann note, the soteriological role of Osiris in the underworld can also be paralleled in the so-called "Cool-Water" funerary inscriptions from late imperial Rome and Roman Egypt that contain a very similar plea on behalf of the dead: δοίη σοι ὁ Ὄσιρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὑδάρ.14

I suggest, however, that the precise nuance of δόκω ὑμῖν Ὄσιριν Νοφριῶθ has escaped previous commentators. How are we to imagine that the magician will "give" or "grant" a god to the daimones? In the other extant "votive formulae" some material object (e.g. a sacrifice or some other offering of value) is promised. Indeed, the "Cool-Water" inscriptions strongly suggest that Osiris himself is not the promised gift, but rather the water that he provides. I suspect that the author of the spell has combined two different types of Greek formula, the "votive formula" discussed above and another traditional wish that a god be well disposed to someone. The epithet Νοφριῶθ apparently means "benevolent", and I suggest that the full meaning of the passage emerges if we emphasize the epithet Νοφριῶθ almost as if it were a predicate adjective (with the infinitive εἶναι) and translate it as if the author of the spell knew the meaning of the Egyptian epithet: "I will grant that Osiris be benevolent to you."16

Obtaining a positive or negative attitude from the gods is, in fact, a frequent concern in Greek and Roman blessings and curses of the Roman and late-antique periods. H.S. Versnel,

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15 See Thissen apud Suppl. Mag. ad loc. J.G. Griffiths, Plutarch: De Iside et Osiride (Cambridge 1970) 460-61, discusses the epithet in detail and Plutarch’s apparent rendering of it as εὐεργήτης.

16 On the bilingual skills of the various scribes who composed most of the extant Greco-Egyptian magical handbooks, see G. Fowden, The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind (Cambridge 1986) 169-70.
"May he not be able to sacrifice ...: Concerning a Curious Formula in Greek and Latin Curses", *ZPE* 58 (1985) 258-62, collects numerous examples, e.g.: *Iuppiter tibi sit iratus; habeat Isidem iratum; habeat propiteos deos; ἐχθὴ τὴν Σελήνην κεχιλωμένην; εὐίλατον τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν; and μηδὲ ἱλάνως ὑπάγων Ὀκεράπιδος*. On gemstones we find similar expressions in the nominative, e.g. an invocation of "Fearless Zeth" (= Seth) followed by ἑλεωσ τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς τέκνοις or expressions like Ἀρποκράτῃς ἑυίλατος τῷ φοροῦντι, ἐκ Ζεὺς Σάραπις ἑλεως τῷ φοροῦντι,17 or ἑλεωσ ἐκται τῷ φορο[ὐν]τὶ καὶ τῇ φοροῦσῃ.18 Thus, in the case of *Supp. Mag.* 45.12-15, two common types of blessings (e.g. "May Osiris be benevolent to you" and "May Osiris grant you cool water") seem to have been collapsed into a votive formula: "If you lead Euphemia ... I will grant (that) Osiris (be) benevolent to you ... and he (will) draw cool water."

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17 All three are discussed C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Greco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor 1950) 168 and 175.