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MAGICA GRAECA PARVULA

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For J. G. J.

1. “The 365 Members”

P. Colon. inv. T. 4, first published in 1968 by D. Wortmann (1968:108f., no. 12) and in 1992 reedited by F. Maltomini as *SupplMag* II 53, is an inscribed lead tablet, possibly of the 4th century of our era, said to come from Oxyrhynchos, with a curse directed against two athletes. I reproduce Maltomini’s text of a passage in lines 12-15.

12 δῆσον, κα-
 13 τάδεσον τὰ ν[εῦ]ρα, τὰ μέλη, τὸν νοῦν, τὰς φρένας,
 14 τὴν διάνοιαν, τὰ τριακόσια ἑξήκοντα πέ[ν]-
 15 τε μέλη

“Bind, bind

down the sinews, the members, the mind, the wits,
 the intellect, the three hundred sixty-five

members” (translated after Maltomini)

Wortmann remarked that the mention of the 365 members was elsewhere uninstanced, but Maltomini has adduced several examples, not only in Coptic from the Great Paris Magical Papyrus (*PGM* IV 149f.) and but also in Greek on a lead curse tablet from Attica (Ziebarth 1934: 1042-45, no. 24, III^P?) and in three exorcistic charms in late manuscripts, cod. Paris. 2316 (ed. Reitzenstein 1904:295), cod. Bibl. Nat. Athen. 355, and cod. Harl. 5596 (ed. Delatte 1927:246, 429), and he has been able to point to its background in the cosmology of Basilides.

Here I offer a further parallel, not in order to augment Maltomini’s already impressive evidence but rather to direct the reader to a badly edited text that needs more attention. Ziebarth, in his edition of the Attic tablet with the phrase, compared an obscure expression, τῶν τξ̄ε νελιουα.τι..., on a lead curse tablet in the Louvre, inv. MND 406 = *DefixTabAud.* 15 (Aphaka, late Roman), directed against a dancer for the Blue faction. No illustration of this latter tablet has been published, apparently no drawing, tracing, or photograph was ever made, the inscribed lead is now presumably corroded beyond any hope of examination,¹ and for our knowledge of this evidently very difficult inscription² we must depend on Audollent’s readings; these last, sad to say, are unreliable, as L. Robert (1938:99-102) and A. Maricq (1952:360-68; cf. *SEG* 15.846) have recognized. Typical of mistakes in the edition is the meaningless ε[ι] τις οιασδυςποτφ in line 10; ε[ι] τις οιασδήποτε (for οιοσδ-) “if any-

¹M. Braemer *apud* Maricq 1952:360: “L’oxydation et les tribulations de la guerre ont réduit en poussière les minces feuilles de plomb.”

²Audollent *ad loc.*: “Tabella ... mutila, minutissimis ac paene laevigatis litteris scariphata...,” “... diu nec sine multo labore examinaveram ac pro mea virili parte descripseram...”

one whoever” is the obvious correction.³ The curse itself has phrases that refer to a cosmic order, *e.g.* in one of its passages (here with Audollent’s readings)

8 τῶν λζ δεκανῶν ... τοῦ ὑπεκκρατεριτωρ γουντων ἢ τῶν
9 [τῶ]ν ε̄ πλανητῶν ἢ τῶν β̄ φοστήρων,

with its 36 decans, five planets, and the sun and the moon.⁴ As for τῶν τξ̄ε̄ νελιουα.τι . . . , Audollent printed its context (line 18) as

θλίψιν διὰ κανωρε.ιν τῶν τξ̄ε̄ νελιουα.τι . . .

ΔΙΑΚΑΝΩΡΕ.ΙΝ no doubt conceals either a prepositional phrase, as Audollent has assumed, or a compound noun in apposition to θλίψιν and with a similar meaning; in a recent note to me, R. D. Kotansky has conjectured διὰ ἀναίρεσιν or διαναίρεσιν. The letters τῶν τξ̄ε̄ νελιουα.τι . . . invite the conjecture τῶν τξ̄ε̄ μελῶν αὐτοῦ. The whole phrase would run “affliction through destruction of his 365 members” or “affliction, destruction of his 365 members.”

2. An Erotic Spell from Alexandria

One of the first lead curse tablets to be published and still, as far as I am aware, the only such inscription yet known from Alexandria is now in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Its text, written probably in the 3rd century of our era, has appeared in print several times, but only the *editio princeps* (Lenormant 1854) seems to have been based on its editor’s autopsy—unless Audollent’s “contuli” in his edition (*DefixTabAud* 38) means that he reexamined the tablet himself, for his printed text is different from the *editio princeps* in a few details. The spell consists of an invocation of chthonians, and it concerns two men. Neither Lenormant nor Audollent expressed himself as to the purpose of the spell,⁵ but that the purpose is to be accomplished by means of erotic conquest has been recognized by several scholars, *e.g.* Pomyalovski (1873:25), Kagarow (1929:25), and Moraux (1960:48 n.1). Recently, Chr. Harrauer (1987:53-57) as an illustration of the references to the erotic in its text, has cited

22 ἵνα κατατήξητε αὐ-
23 τοῦ τὰς σάρκες, τὰ νεῦρα, τὰ μέλη, τὴν ψυχὴν
“in order that you will melt
his flesh, sinews, members, soul.”

The tablet did not figure in the collection of Greek love charms from Egypt in *SupplMag* I but is now included in vol. II (as no. 54) among curses of a general sort; R. Daniel, its editor in this latter volume, remains as agnostic as Lenormant and Audollent about its

³I take this opportunity to record two conjectures sent *per litteras* by R. Merkelbach: (16) μὴ κινούμενοι κέ ἐχθρὸς (χορὸς R. M.) αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῦ. (24) τῶ[ν] θεωρῶν τῶν αὐτῶν καλποφοροῦ (καλλαεινῶν R. M.).

⁴For the right-hand part of line 8, whose meaning is opaque as published, R. Ganszyniec (1905:728) proposed

τῶν παγκρατέρων λειτουργούντων ἢ τῶν

We might think of another ἢ for the unread bit just after δεκανῶν.

⁵Audollent: “Mercurium, Plutonem, Cererem, Proserpinam invocat Eonicus nescio quis ne sibi nocere possit Annianus.”

either corrupt on the tablets themselves or mistranscribed by Audollent. The word καρπός has two meanings, though, “fruit” and “wrist,” and I kept both possibilities open in my comments, finding no convincing Biblical parallels for either in association with Sodom and Gomorrah. I should, however, have looked into the extra-canonical *Wisdom of Solomon*: there (10.6-7) we learn that

(6) αὕτη δίκαιον ἔξαπολλυμένων ἀσεβῶν ἐρρύκατο φύγοντα καταβάσιον πῦρ Πενταπόλεως, (7) ἦς ἔτι μαρτύριον τῆς πονηρίας καπνιζομένη καθέστηκε χέρσος, καὶ ἀτελέσιν ὥραις καρποφοροῦντα φυτά, ἀπιστούσης ψυχῆς μνημεῖον ἐστηκυῖα στήλη ἀλός.

(6) [Wisdom] saved a good man from the destruction of the godless, and he escaped the fire that came down on the Five Cities, (7) cities whose wickedness is still attested by a smoking waste, by plants whose fruit can never ripen, and a pillar of salt standing there as a memorial of an unbelieving soul.

(transl. New English Bible)

Flavius Josephus, *Jewish War* 4.483, describes the results:

Γειτιῶ δ' ἡ Κοδομίτις αὐτῇ, πάλαι μὲν εὐδαίμων γῆ καρπῶν τε ἔνεκεν καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν περιουσίας, νῦν δὲ κεκαυμένη πάσα. φασι δ' ὡς δι' ἀσέβειαν οἰκητόρων κεραυνοῖς καταφλεγῆναι. ἔστι γοῦν ἔτι λείψανα τοῦ θείου πυρός, καὶ πέντε μὲν πόλεων ἰδεῖν σκιάς, ἔτι δὲ κὰν τοῖς καρποῖς σποδιὰν ἀναγεννωμένην, οἳ χροιάν μὲν ἔχουσι τῶν ἐδωδύμων ὁμοίαν, δρεψαμένων δὲ χερσὶν εἰς καπνὸν διαλύονται καὶ τέφραν. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν Κοδομίτιν μυθεύομενα τοιαύτην ἔχει πίστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως.

Adjacent to [the Dead Sea] is the land of Sodom, in days of old a country blest in its produce and in the wealth of its various cities, but now all burnt up. It is said that, owing to the impiety of its inhabitants, it was consumed by thunderbolts; and in fact vestiges of the divine fire and faint traces of five cities are still visible. Still, too, may one see ashes reproduced in the fruits, which from their outward appearance would be edible, but on being plucked with the hand dissolve into smoke and ashes. So far are the legends about the land of Sodom born out by ocular evidence.

(transl. H. St. J. Thackeray)

Whatever his source, the Venerable Bede in his *De locis sanctis* (Molinier and Tobler 1879: 228; cf. MacPherson 1895:65-87), written around the year 720, could refer to the same fruits:⁹

Servat adhuc regio speciem pene. Nascuntur enim ibi poma pulcherrima, que et edendi cupiditatem spectantibus generant; si carpas, fatiscunt ac resolvuntur in cinerem, fumumque excitant, quasi adhuc ardeant.

The district still retains the appearance of the punishment (of the Cities of the Plain); for very beautiful apples grow there, which excite among spectators a desire to eat them, but when plucked, they burst and are reduced to ashes, and give rise to smoke as if they were still burning.

(transl. J. R. MacPherson)

The Apples of Sodom, along with the Pillar of Salt that was once Lot's wife and the so-

⁹ Bede's essay is basically an abbreviation of the account, written by the late 7th-century Irish abbot Adamnan of the travels of the Gaulish bishop Arculf (*Relatio de locis sanctis scripta ab Adamnato*, ed. Molinier and Tobler 1879:139-210; cf. MacPherson 1895:1-64), but Adamnan does not mention the fruits.

called Jewish bitumen that is dissolved only by menstruous blood or urine, continue through the centuries to figure in accounts of pilgrims and others who visited the Dead Sea.¹⁰ Two 18th-century accounts are worth contrasting. The first is that of Charles de Ste-Maure ([Ste-Maure] 1724:152f.):

Je me suis rendu à l'endroit d'où l'on découvre, dit-on, quand la Mer est basse, quelques ruines de Gomore que j'ai aussi inutilement tenté de découvrir qu'un reste de la Statue de la femme de Lot: on m'assuroit pourtant que je trouverois vers un petit Promontoire à l'Occident de cette Mer un monument visible de cette ancienne Métamorphose; apparemment qu'il ne m'étoit pas plus permis ce jour-là que dans tous les autres de ma vie de voir des choses extraordinaires, & je n'ai pas plus trouvé des pommes de Sodome que les Arbres qui les portent: de la manière dont les Juifs m'ont parlé de ce fruit, je croirois assez avec eux que c'est purement l'invention de quelque bel Esprit pour fournir des matières ou des comparaisons à ceux qui jugent à propos de s'en servir.

The second is by the Swedish physician Fredrich Hasselquist who travelled in the Levant in the years 1749-52 and whose diaries were edited by the celebrated botanist C. Linnaeus (Hasselquist 1766:90):¹¹

Poma Sodomitica. La Pomme de Sodome est le fruit du *Solanum melongena* de Linnaeus, appellé par d'autres *Mala insana*. On en trouve quantité près de Jéricho, dans les vallées qui sont près du Jourdain dans le voisinage de la Mer Morte. Il est vrai qu'elles sont quelquefois remplies de poussiere; mais cela n'arrive que lorsque le fruit est attaqué par un insecte (*tenthredo*) qui convertit tout le dedans en poussiere, ne laissant que la peau entiere, sans lui rien faire perdre de sa couleur.¹²

In either case, the passage in the texts from Carthage should be translated: “Having bewitched the fruit” (not the wrist) “of Sodom and Gomorrah, bewitch ...”

4. A Curse on the Horses and Charioteers of the Blues

Slightly over sixty years ago, R. Mouterde published (1930f.:106-23; cf. *SEG* 7.213), with a drawing, a virtually intact lead curse tablet that had come to light in Beirut in 1929. The first line of its text, Κάτοχος ἵππων κὲ ἡμιόχων, shows that it is directed against horses and charioteers, and a later phrase, χρόακ καλαείνων (line 21) shows that they are of the Blue faction; indeed, the tablet has a crude drawing of presumably a horse, viewed from the front, bound, and at its side a head with an open beak, about to bite.¹³ Mouterde noted that

¹⁰E.g. the German Dominicans Burchard of Mount Zion (Stewart 1897), writing in the 13th century, and Felix Fabri (Stewart 1892), writing in the 15th.

¹¹I am grateful to Aliko Asvesta for alerting me to this passage. I have access only to the French translation; the Swedish original appeared in 1757. *Solanum melongena* is the eggplant.

¹²The latest handbook that I have been able to consult, Post and Dinsmore 1933, identifies the plant (192) as *Calotropis procera*.

¹³Mouterde interpreted the drawing somewhat differently (107): an “effigie ... d'un personnage de face, sans bras apparents, debout sur la jambe gauche, au travers de laquelle la jambe droite semble liée; au

the tablet was found in October 1929, no doubt in diggings for construction work at the eastern end of the rue du Maréchal Pétain in the city, just north of the so-called “Circus of Herodes Agrippa.” The mention of the circus faction gives the tablet a date in the 4th century of our era at earliest.¹⁴ Curse tablets directed against members of factions and discovered in circuses find ready parallels¹⁵ (above all at Carthage: see Jordan 1988:119), nor is the text itself remarkable in its structure—magical words, a command to the “holy angels” to impede the victims “through the power of” a force whose λόγος is given, a list of the victims’ names, and a final curse, “bind and do not release the hands, the feet, the sinews of the horses and charioteers of the ‘blue color.’” What is more interesting is that the text contains numerous mistakes, several of them the result of the scribe’s misunderstanding of the formula that he was using. The inscription thus provides another example of the use of such “magic books” and for this reason is worth reconsidering. Here I reproduce (FIG. 1) the published drawing of the tablet and offer a diplomatic transcript of the drawing (I have divided the text into words for the reader’s convenience), as well as some notes chiefly on what I believe stood in the model from which the inscription derives and on the list of horses and charioteers.¹⁶

1	ΚΑΤΟΧΟΣ	ΙΠΠΩΝ	ΚΕ	ΗΝΙΧΩΝ
2	ΦΡΙΞ		ΕΥΛΑΜΩ	
3	ΦΩΞ		ΕΥΛΑΩ	
4	ΒΕΙΔΒΟΥ		ΕΥΛΑ	
5	ΣΤΡΩΚΤΑΝΕΩΤΕΡ		ΕΥΛΑΜΩ	
6	ΙΤΕΠΟΧΘΩΝ		ΥΛΑΜΩ	
7	ΥΠΟΧΘΩΝ		ΔΜΩ	
8	ΛΑΜΝΩ		ΗΩ	
9	ΔΑΜΝΑ		Ω	
10	ΛΥΚΑΛΑΜΝΑ			
11	ΜΕΝΙΠΠΑ			
12	ΠΥΡΙΠΗΓΑΗΥΞ			
13	ΟΡΕΟΒΑΡΖΑΓΡΑΚΑΜΜΑΧΑΛΑΡΙ			
14	ΦΗΟΥΚΕΝΤΑΒΑΩ	ΘΩΒΑΡΑΒΑΥ		

sommet et sur les côtés de la tête clous sont enfoncés; le sac (?) qui enveloppe le corps comme une camisole de force est traversé de bandes obliques, marquées où l’on reconnaîtra sans doute des têtes de clous. Un serpent dont on ne voit que le cou et la tête s’apprête à mordre le flanc gauche de l’envoûté.”

¹⁴Mouterde referred the reader to the map “Béryte au VI^e siècle” at the end of Collinet 1925. For the circus, still unexcavated, and its identification, see Humphrey 1986:491f. Mouterde assigned the script to the 2nd or 3rd century, but Humphrey (439), following Cameron 1976:200 n.1, prefers a later date, on the good grounds that “circus factions are first attested in the eastern provinces only in AD 315 and at most centers they appear much later.”

¹⁵See in general Pavis d’Escurac 1987. Instructions in a 16th-century manuscript, Cod. Vindob. phil. gr. 108, f. 79 (ed. Kroll 1903:61) evidently reflect earlier usages. I quote the passage in full because, as far as I am aware, it has not been cited as evidence for the depositing of magical writings in circuses: Εἰ δὲ βούλει ἐν σταδίῳ ἢ εἰς πραγματείαν ἔχειν πράσσειν, πωλεῖν καὶ ἀγοράζειν ὡς βούλει, γράψον τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ τοῦ συναλλάκτου σου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πραγματείας μεθ’ αἵματος δράκοντος καὶ καρμίας καὶ ῥοδοστάγματος καὶ τὴν ἀβ’ ἐν ἀγενήτῳ βοδὸς Σελήνης μειούσης· καὶ ἐνειλήσας ἐν κηρῶ χῶσον εἰς ἔμβασιν σταδίου καὶ θαυμάσεις.

¹⁶Unfortunately, today our only evidence for the text is the drawing that Mouterde published; it is not stated whether he himself produced it. In what follows, I assume that the drawing is correct except in two places: ζα/εσσ (lines 27/28, for Ζάης {c} according to Mouterde) in the drawing for the likelier ζα/θου (i.e. Ζαυθ/θός) and φωσφορυ (line 28) for -ου (i.e. φωσφουρ seen and drawn as γ).

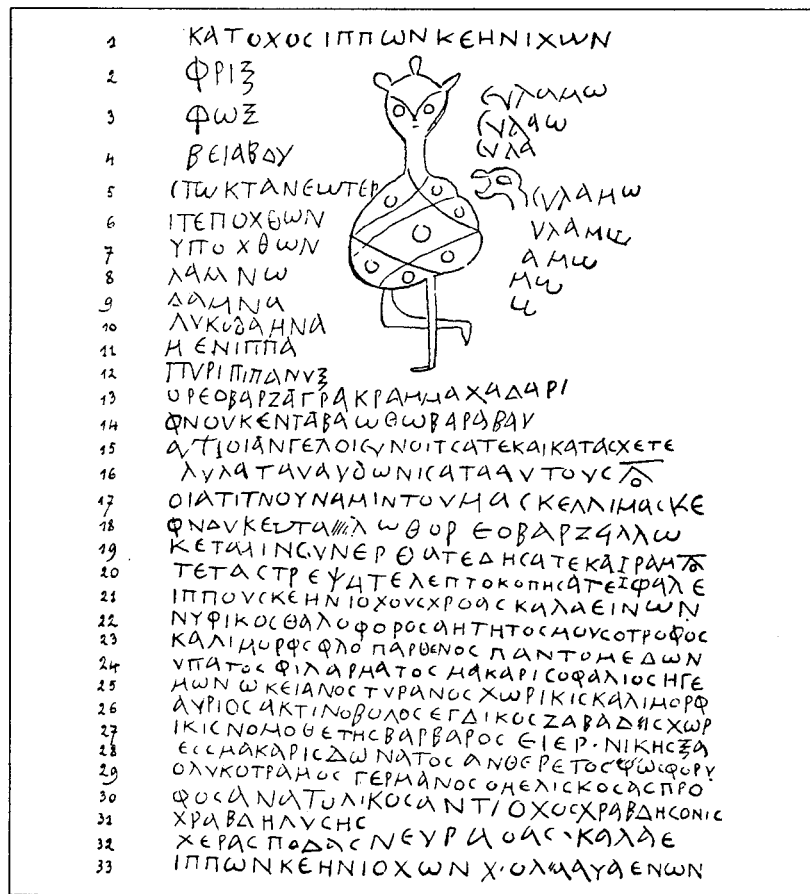


FIG. 1. Lead Tablet from Beirut. The Published Drawing.

15 ΑΓΙΟΙ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ ΣΥΝΗΘΕΣΑΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΧΕΤΕ
 16 [.]ΛΥ ΛΑΤΑΥΑΥΔΩΝΙΣΑΤΑ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ☩
 17 ΟΙΑ ΤΙΤΗ ΟΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΣΚΕΛΛΙ ΜΑΣΚΕ
 18 ΦΝΟΥΚΕΝΤΑ[.]ΛΩΘ ΟΡΕΟΒΑΡΖΑ ΛΛΩ
 19 ΚΕ ΤΑΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΕΡΘΑΤΕ ΔΗΣΑΤΕ ΚΑ ΙΡΑΝ ☩
 20 ΤΕ ΤΑΣΤΡΕΨΑΤΕ ΛΕΠΤΟΚΟΠΗΣΑΤΕ ΙΦΑΛΕ
 21 ΙΠΠΟΥΣ ΚΕ ΗΝΙΟΧΟΥΣ ΧΡΟΑΣ ΚΑΛΛΕΙΝΩΝ
 22 ΝΥΦΙΚΟΣ ΘΑΛΟΦΟΡΟΣ ΑΗΤΗΤΟΣ ΜΟΥΣΟΤΡΟΦΟΣ
 23 ΚΑΛΙΜΟΡΦΟΣ ΦΛΟΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΜΕΔΩΝ
 24 ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΦΙΛΑΡΜΑΤΟΣ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΣ ΟΦΑΛΙΟΣ ΗΓΕ
 25 ΜΩΝ ΩΚΕΙΑΝΟΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΟΣ ΧΩΡΙΚΙΣ ΚΑΛΙΜΟΡΦ
 26 ΑΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΚΤΙΝΟΒΟΛΟΣ ΕΓΔΙΚΟΣ ΖΑΒΑΔΗΣ ΧΩΡ
 27 ΙΚΙΣ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΕΙΕΡ[.]ΝΙΚΗΣ ΖΑ
 28 ΦΟΣ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΣ ΔΩΝΑΤΟΣ ΑΝΘΕΡΕΤΟΣ ΦΩΣΦΟΡΟΥ
 29 ΟΛΥΚΟΤΡΑΝΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ ΟΜΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ ΑΣΠΡΟ
 30 ΦΟΣ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΧΡΑ Β ΔΗΣΟΝ ΙΣ
 31 ΧΡΑ Β ΔΗ ΛΥΣΗΣ
 32 ΧΕΡΑΣ ΠΟΔΑΣ ΝΕΥΡΑ ΟΑΣ ΚΑΛΛΕ
 33 ΙΠΠΩΝ ΚΕ ΗΝΙΟΧΩΝ Χ[.]ΟΛΑΥΑΥΑΕΝΩΝ

The Model

With the exception of the specification of the team's color in lines 21 and again in lines 30ff. and of the names of the horses and charioteers in lines 22-30, there is nothing in the entire text that is obviously not formulaic.

The first line, Κάτοχος ἵππων κὲ ἡνίχων (for καὶ ἡνιόχων) "A Spell to Suppress Horses and Charioteers" is evidently copied from the title of the recipe itself.

At the right-hand ends of lines 16 and 19 stands the sign $\overline{\delta}$, the common abbreviation of λόγος, here used in the technical sense of a recognizable string of magical syllables. This word, thus abbreviated or written in full, often occurs in recipes, e.g. at *PGM* I 131f., ἔστιν / δὲ ὁ λό(γος) ὁ λεγόμενος ἐ[πτάκις ἐπ]τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἐξορκισμὸς / τοῦ παρέδρου; several lines of *voces magicae* follow, then (143f.) οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος πρὸς ἥλιον ἐπτάκις ἐπτά. Certain of these *logoi* recurred evidently so frequently in such ritual that in the recipes it was enough to refer to them by their opening words, e.g. at VII 301f. ἐξορκίζω σε, ὄστρακε, κατὰ τῆς πικρᾶς Ἀνάγκης, μασκελλι λόγος "I adjure you, shell, by bitter Necessity," (then add) the *maskelli* logos;" IV 2203f. τὸν δὲ <e.g. λόγον> / κατὰ τῆς Ἀνάγκης· μασκελλι λό(γος); III 90 ὅτι ἐξορκίζω σε μασκελλι μασκελλω λό(γος) "because I adjure you (in the name of) the *maskelli maskello* logos." The abbreviation $\bar{\alpha}$ in our text is enough to show that the text is copied from a recipe; if our writer gave the matter any thought, he no doubt assumed that it was a magical *charaktêr* of some kind.

The *maskelli* (or *maskelli maskello*) logos is one of the more frequent strings of magical vocables, occurring as it does in Greek, Latin, and demotic Egyptian texts; the list of instances that I give below, all of them from papyri and curse tablets of late Roman date, has as its core 18 examples collected by Zs. Ritoók (1978:437-42), who seems, however, not to have known the Beirut text.

PAPYRUS FORMULARIES

- a *PGM* III 456
- b *PGM* IV 2753
- c *PGM* IV 3175
- d *PGM* IX 10
- e *PGM* XIc 6
- f *PGM* XII 290
- g *PGM* XIXa 9
- h *PGM* XIXa 10
- i *PGM* XXXVI 154
- j *PGM* XXXVI 342
- k *PGM* LXXVIII 9
- l *DMP* 15^v2

"EFFECTIVE" PAPYRUS TEXTS

- m *SupplMag* 12
- n *SupplMag* 45

LEAD CURSE TABLETS

- o Attica: Ziebarth 1934:1046, no.25 B 12
Carthage:
- p *DefixTabAud* 234.28
- q *DefixTabAud* 242.46
- r *DefixTabAud* 250 B 1
- s *DefixTabAud* 251 II 4
- t Alexandria: *SupplMag* 54.27
- u Egypt?: *SupplMag* 57.3
Beisan: Youtie and Bonner 1937:52-72,
- v fr. 1, obv. 13
- w fr. 1, rev. 5
- x Damascus: *SEG* 7.234.9

The logos has a fairly standard form, which I give here with the variants, some of them trivial; for the meaning, if any, see Merkelbach and Totti 1991:26 and Thissen 1991:297f., the latter summarized by Daniel in his notes on *SupplMag* 54.27-29.

1. μασκελλι (λει **efpru**; κελι **m**)
2. μασκελλω (λωθ **f**; κελι **m**; om. **p**)
3. φνουκενταβαωθ (φμουκ- **d**; φ[α]ινουκ- **e**; φνουχ- **g**; φνουκ- **k**; φνουκεντατι **w**;
fnycentabaot s; βαω **ace**; -*bao l*)
4. ορεοβαζαγρα (αωριω- **a**; βαζαγρας **j**; βαβζαγρα before 1, **p**; βαρζαγρα **tw**;
βαρζαργρα **oq**; βαζαγαρ **m**; *zosagrac s*; *areobasagra* [alternatively *obasagra*]
after 7, **l**; φηλιζατα **x**; om. **ep**)
5. ρηξιχθων (ρηχιχθων **iw**; ρη<ι>χθων **a**; ρηξικθων **r**; ρηζιχθω **fm**; *hreksyktho l*;
om. **epqs**)
6. ιπποχθων (κτων **r**; υποχθων before 5, **f**; [ι]πιχθων **i**; ιπποκτων **r**; ιπποχθω **x**;
om. **eglopqs**)
7. πυριπηγανυξ (πυροσπαριπηγανυξ **a**; ορεοπηγανυξ **b**; πυριπηγανυξ ορεοπηγανυξ **h**;
πυριχθων πυριπηγανυξ **vw**; π. πυριπαγ- **j**; *perykthon perypeganex l*; λ.νχθων
νιανανυξ **x**; πυρκτων.... **r**; om. **egopqs**)

Frequently the logos is preceded or followed by other *voces magicae*; among those that follow, λεπεταν (**c**), λεπεταν λεπεταν **djmvw**), and λεπεταν λεπεταν φριξ φρωξ (**hx**¹⁷) recur.

The scribe no doubt found $\overline{\delta}$ in his exemplar and then ignorantly incorporated it into the body of the text at the ends of lines 16 and 19. Here $\overline{\delta}$ would have referred to the *maskelli maskello* logos in lines 17ff. I have assumed elsewhere (Jordan 1988:127) that the text of the model ran ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι, συνδήσατε(σγνηοιτσατε tab.) καὶ κατὰσχετε καὶ κατακλυδωνίσατε (*add. lex.*, [.]λγ λαταγαδαωνιςατα tab.) αὐτούς, διὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ μασκελλι μασκελλω φνουκενταβαωθ ορεοβαρζαγραμ, which would have been followed by the abbreviation λό(γος) that now stands in line 19 of the tablet: “holy angels, bind and control and utterly confuse them, through the power of *maskelli maskello phnoukentabaoth oreobarzagra*.”

The λλω of μασκελλω (line 17) has dropped to the end of the next line (18), but the logos continues, from the beginning of line 18: φνουκεντα[β]αωθ ορεοβαρζα/γραμ, with the γραμ crowded down to the end of line 19, ousted from its normal place by λλω.. (Ορεοβαρζαγρα, without μ, is the usual spelling; the ending μ is apparently new here, but cf. the additional letters at the ends of ορεοβαζαγρας in **j** and *zosagrac* in **s**). As in **epqs**, the elements ρηξιχθων, ιπποχθων, and πυριπηγανυξ do not appear.

Once the logos is ended (hence the repetition of the sign $\overline{\delta}$ here, as if the closing of a quotation?), Greek returns, beginning from the left-hand end of line 19: κέ (for καὶ) πάλιν (κεταλιν tablet, κέ τὰ νῖν for νῦν Mouterde) συνέρθατε, δήσατε, κα/(20)ταστρέψατε, λεπτοκοπήσατε, ςφάλε/(20)τε / (21) ἵππους κέ ἡνιόχους χροάσ καλαείνων “and again, drive together, bind, overturn, chop into bits, lead astray the horses and charioteers of the blue color.” The scribe’s mark ι before ςραμ in this word must be a misunderstanding of the γ of Ορεοβαρζαγρα. Virtually the same mark occurs immediately below, in line 20; in interpreting it as a misunderstanding of c I follow Mouterde (“à lire [c]φάλλ(λ)ετε, ‘faites tomber’”) but prefer to assume an aorist (with a single λ), parallel to the other aorists in the phrase. The γ of γραμ (end of 19) and the ς of ςφαλε- (end of 20) are virtually identical in

¹⁷δεῖτε τῶν λεπ(ε)τῶν φριξ φρωξ ed. of **x**.

the drawing. By way of summary, I offer a hypothetical reconstruction of the model for lines 15-21. If the reconstruction is right, presumably the scribe was careful to keep the letters of $\mu\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$ and of $\omicron\rho\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\mu$ clustered together, for some reason. In order to explain the $\tau\epsilon$ at the beginning of line 20 of our tablet, I have assumed a supralinear correction in the model. I have again separated the letters into words for the reader's convenience:

$\overline{\lambda}$
 ΑΓΙΟΙ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ ΣΥΝΔΗΣΑΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΣΧΕΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΚΛΥΔΩΝΗΣΑΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ
 $\overline{\lambda}$
 ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΣΚΕΛΛΙ ΜΑΣΚΕΛΛΩ
 ΦΗΟΥΚΕΝΤΑΒΑΘ $\overline{\lambda}$ $\overline{\delta}$ $\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\omicron}$ $\overline{\upsilon}$ $\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\gamma}$ $\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\mu}$
 ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΕΡΘΑΤΕ ΔΗΣΑΤΕ ΚΑ
 ΤΑΣΤΡΕΨΑΤΕ ΛΕΠΤΟΚΟΠΗΣΑΤΕ ΣΦΑΛΛΕ^{τε}
 ΙΠΠΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΝΙΟΧΟΥΣ, etc.

The logos occurs earlier on the tablet, rather out of order and with mistakes and intrusions, in a column beginning at the left of the drawing (lines 2-14): $\phi\rho\iota\zeta$ / $\phi\omega\zeta$ / $\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon$ / $\zeta\tau\omega\kappa\tau\alpha\eta\omega\tau\epsilon\rho$ / $\iota\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\chi\theta\omega\eta$ / $\gamma\pi\omicron\chi\theta\omega\eta$ / $\lambda\alpha\mu\eta\omega$ / $\lambda\alpha\mu\eta\alpha$ / $\lambda\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\eta\alpha$ / $\mu\epsilon\eta\iota\pi\pi\alpha$ / $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\pi\eta\gamma\alpha\eta\chi$ / $\omicron\rho\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha$ / $\phi\eta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\theta$. The first two syllables (read $\phi\rho\omega\zeta$ here?) are evidently the same as those in the phrase $\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu$ $\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu$ $\phi\rho\iota\zeta$ $\phi\rho\omega\zeta$ in **hx**. To $\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon$ we may compare $\beta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\omicron\beta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, which follows the logos in **p**; in the $\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon$ of $\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon$ Mouterde saw, perhaps rightly, $\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon$, a spelling of the Tetragrammaton that occurs at *PGM* V 340 ($\iota\alpha\beta\omega$ occurs also just before the logos in **e**). $\iota\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\chi\theta\omega\eta$ looks very much like a miswriting of $\iota\pi\pi\omicron\chi\theta\omega\eta$. I have not found $\zeta\tau\omega\kappa\tau\epsilon\eta\omega\tau\epsilon\rho$ (so Mouterde; ζ or ι , $\tau\omega$ or $\pi\omicron$), $\lambda\alpha\mu\eta\omega$, $\lambda\alpha\mu\eta\alpha$, $\lambda\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\eta\alpha$, or $\mu\epsilon\eta\iota\pi\pi\alpha$ (cf. $\delta\alpha\mu\eta\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$?) in connection with the *maskelli* logos. Just to the right of the drawing, a “wing-form” ($\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$) $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\omega$ is written, imperfectly; if the model showed each repetition, perhaps $\lambda\alpha\mu\omega$, which should have followed the $\gamma\lambda\alpha\mu\omega$ of line 6, found its way into the left-hand column as $\lambda\alpha\mu\eta\omega$. Farther down, at the right-hand ends of lines 13f., we have two vocables perhaps intended to be written in a column under the repetitions of $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\omega$, the first usually spelled $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota$ (e.g. *PGM* XII 184), and the second, $\theta\omega\beta\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\beta\alpha\upsilon$ (e.g. VII 977).

Lines 30ff. are obviously corrupt. Mouterde printed

30 χραβ δῆσον ις
 31 χραβ δηλύσης
 32 χέρας πόδας νεύρα ῥας / καλαέ-
 33 ἵππων κὲ ἡνιόχων χ[ρ]όλ ααναένων

and explained (1930f.:116), “Χραβ, aux lignes 30 et 31, précédant les mots δῆσον et δηλύσης (pour δηλήσης ou δηλήσαις), ‘lie’ et ‘perce’, semble faire corps avec eux; comme, par ailleurs, c’est un terme nouveau dans les textes magiques, il semble indiqué d’y voir un mot sémitique, en relation avec l’idée de blesser à mort. Or la racine כרַח , dont le sens général est ‘détruire’, a donné à l’hébreu et à l’araméen de tous les âges le mot ‘glaive’; כרַח en hébreu, כרַח en araméen. Nous aurions donc ici la transcription du mot ‘glaive’ dans l’araméen parlé en Syrie au III^e.” (the date to which Mouterde had assigned the tablet) “le magicien évoquerait la μάχαιρα qui trace le cercle magique, mais qui perce aussi le cœurs ou les membres

des envoûtés: ‘glaive, lie’, ‘glaive, perce’.” Mouterde also (112) explained the letters at the right-hand ends of lines 32 and 33 as (33)χ[ρ]όλ(32)όας καλαέ(33)ααυαένων (“certains mots sont partagés entre deux lignes”), *i.e.* a poor attempt at a repetition of the χρόας καλαείνων of line 21. Using this last suggestion as a clue, I would take (1) the χρα of Mouterde’s first χραβ with the όας καλαε/ααυαένων of lines 32 and 33, *i.e.* (30)χρ(α)(33)όας καλαε(34)ένων and (2) the ρ’s of both χραβ’s to be the scribe’s misunderstanding of the abbreviation κ(αί) (Ϝ vel sim.) in his model, and for these lines would offer a tentative guess that is at least less far-fetched than Mouterde’s explanation:

30		κ(αί) δησον ιε-
31	χ<υ>ρά κ(αί) μη λύσης	
32	χῆρας, πόδας, νεύρα	
33	ἵππων κὲ ἡμιόχων.	
	32 χῆρας; read χεῖρας	33 κέ: καί

“... and bind securely and do not release the hands, the feet, the sinews of the horses and charioteers.”

In lines 30f., ιε/χ<υ>ρα, if my explanation is right, shows the late adverbial ending in -α, well attested by the time of our tablet (Hatzidakis 1892:52, Jannaris 1897:149f.).¹⁸

The Horses and Charioteers

“Personalized” here rather than copied from a formulary would be the references to the Blue faction in lines 21 and 30 and 32f. and the names of the “horses and charioteers” in lines 22-30.

As for the names, they show common informal phonetic spellings of the period, and an omission in one of them, the second ο of καλιμορφ<ο>ς in line 23 (haplography, -φ<ο> for -φ<ο>ς), probably argues that the writer was clumsily copying from a list, presumably supplied by his client.

ολυκοτραμος in line 29 is problematical; Mouterde articulated ο Λυκότραμος, leaving the ο unexplained and interpreting the remainder as a *hapax*, Λυ(γ)κότρα(ν)ος “qui a des yeux de lynx.” I am tempted to assume a scribal omission and to read <Δ>ολυκοτράμος for Δολιχοδρομος “long-distance runner,” a good name for a horse. As a suffix, -τραμος is apparently unproductive (there are no examples in Dornseiff and Hansen 1957 or in Kretschmer and Locker 1977), but the spelling may be a perversion of -δρομος, with τρ for δρ (cf. Gignac 1976:80).

Mouterde took α<σπ>ρο/φος in lines 29f. to be a miswriting of Ἄστροφος “qui ne se retourne pas,” which is unattested; I assume that π is correctly formed but that the spelling is informally phonetic, *i.e.* an unattested name Ἄσπρόφως “shining whitely,” if such a compound is possible (cf. καλλίφως “shining beautifully,” πλησίφως “shining fully,”

¹⁸ After ἵππων κὲ ἡμιόχων in line 33 there remain a few letters, χ[.]ολλαγα, not accounted for in the proposal of (30)χρ(α)(33)όας καλαε(34)ένων above. Is χ[.]ολλαγα another attempt, soon abandoned, to reproduce the phrase χρόας καλαείνων of line 21?

αύξεισίφωσ “shining with increasing light,” etc.); ἄσπρος of course means “white” by the time of our tablet (cf. Psichari 1930:304-8; for further discussion Andriotis 1990:40 refers to Schwyzer 1931)

The list:

- 22 Νυφικός, Θαλοφόρος, Ἀητητός, Μουσοτρόφος,
 23 Καλίμορφ<ο>ς, Φλοπάρθενος, Παντομεδῶν,
 24 Ὑπατος, Φιλάρματος, Μακάρις, Ὀφάλιος, Ἠγέ-
 25 μων, Ὀκειανός, Τύρανος, Χωρίκις, Καλίμορφ[ος] (or -φ<ο>ς),
 26 Αὔριος, Ἀκτινοβόλος, Ἐγδικος, Ζαβαδης, Χωρ-
 27 ίκις, Νομοθέτης, Βάρβαρος, Εἰεροβίτικης, Ξα-
 28 θός, Μακάρις, Δωνᾶτος, Ἀνθερετός, Φωσφόρος,
 29 <Δ>ολυκοτράμος (?), Γερμανός, Ὀμελίσκος, Ἀσπρό-
 30 φος (?), Ἀνατολικός, Ἀντίοχος

22 Νυφικός: read Νυμφ- Θαλοφόρος: read Θαλλ- Ἀητητός: Ἀηττ- 23 Καλίμορφ<ο>ς,
 25 Καλίμορφ[ος]: Καλλ- 23 Φλοπάρθενος: Φιλ- 24, 28 Μακάρις: -ριος 24 Ὀφά-
 λιος: Ὀμφ- 25 Ὀκειανός: Ὀκειανός Τύρανος: -ννος 25, 26/27 Χωρίκις: κιος
 26 Ἐγδικος: Ἐκδ- 27 Εἰεροβίτικης: Ἰερ- 27/28 Ξα/θός: Ξανθός 28 Ἀνθερετός
 Ἀνθαιρ- 29 <Δ>ολυκοτράμος: Δολιχοδρόμος (?) Ὀμελίσκος: Ὀβ- 29/30 Ἀσπρό/
 φος: φως.

In all, there are 35 names. Three of them each occur twice, at intervals too regular to suggest accident:

Lines 22f.:	4 names +	Kallimorphos	
Lines 23f.:	4 names +	Makarios	
Lines 24f.:	4 names +	Chorikios	
Lines 25f.:		Kallimorphos	+ 4 names
Lines 26ff.:		Chorikios	+ 4 names
Lines 28f.:		Makarios	

Mouterde, not trying to account for the repetitions, assumed that all 35 names belonged to horses. A simpler explanation is that the three repeated names above are those of charioteers, and that each man had two teams of four horses at his disposal. In the first three instances the men's names are preceded by, in the second three, followed by, the names of the horses that drew the *quadrigae* that the men drove. In Preisigke 1932 and Foraboschi 1967-71 I have found two instances of Kallimorphos, one of Chorikios, as men's names (on a mosaic from the circus at Barcelona [Höhne and Henze 1981:93, pl. 59] one of the charioteers is in fact named *Calimorfus*); Makarios is frequent. There is a seventh team (lines 29f.), presumably listed as charioteer (Germanos) plus four horses, if the writer follows the order of his lists in 25f., 26ff., and 28f., but he may have reverted to the earlier order and listed the charioteer first (if so, Antiochos); both names are attested for men. In general, the horses' names may be compared with those listed at Toynbee 1948 and Salomonson 1965:81-89 and with those on two subsequently edited lead tablets from Carthage, Jordan 1988: nos. 1 (= 3 above) and 3 and on an unpublished tablet, reported to come from Oxyrhynchos, in the Papyrussammlung of the Institut für Altertumskunde.

The stable, therefore, of the Blues at Beirut sometime in the 4th century or later:

<i>Charioteers</i>	<i>Teams of Horses</i>
Kallimorphos	(22f.) Nymphikos, Thallophoros, Aettetos, Mousotrophos
	(25f.) Aurius, Aktinobolos, Ekdikos, Zabades
Makarinos	(23f.) Philoparthenos, Pantomedon, Hypatos, Philarmatos
	(28f.) Donatos, Anthairetos, Phosphoros, Dolichodromos (?)
Chorikios	(24f.) Omphalios, Hegemon, Okeanos, Tyrannos
	(26ff.) Nomothetes, Barbaros, Hieronikes, Xanthos
Germanos (or Antiochos)	(29f.) Obeliskos, Asprophos (?), Anatolikos, Antiochos (or Germanos)

Gennadius Library, Athens

D. R. Jordan

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