

# Cultural Plurality in Ancient Magical Texts and Practices

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

*Orientalische Religionen  
in der Antike*

32

---

**Mohr Siebeck**

# Orientalische Religionen in der Antike

Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient

## Oriental Religions in Antiquity

Egypt, Israel, Ancient Near East

(ORA)

Herausgegeben von / Edited by

Angelika Berlejung (Leipzig)

Joachim Friedrich Quack (Heidelberg)

Annette Zgoll (Göttingen)

Beirat / Advisory Board

Uri Gabbay (Jerusalem)

Michael Blömer (Aarhus)

Christopher Rollston (Washington, D.C.)

Rita Lucarelli (Berkeley)

32





# Cultural Plurality in Ancient Magical Texts and Practices

Graeco-Egyptian Handbooks and Related Traditions

Edited by

Ljuba Merlina Bortolani, William D. Furley, Svenja Nagel,  
and Joachim Friedrich Quack

Mohr Siebeck

LJUBA MERLINA BORTOLANI, born 1980; studied Classics and Egyptology; 2012 PhD; since 2017 post-doc researcher at the department of Classical Philology at the University of Heidelberg.

WILLIAM D. FURLEY, born 1953; 1979 PhD; since 2003 Associate Professor of Classics, University of Heidelberg; Senior Research Fellow of the Institute of Classical Studies (School of Advanced Studies), London.

SVENJA NAGEL, born 1984; studied Egyptology and Classical Archaeology; 2015 PhD; since 2017 post-doc researcher at the Institute of Egyptology at the University of Heidelberg.

JOACHIM FRIEDRICH QUACK, born 1966; studied Egyptology, Semitics and Biblical Archaeology; 1993 PhD; 2003 Habilitation; since 2005 Professor for Egyptology at the University of Heidelberg.

ISBN 978-3-16-156478-9 / eISBN 978-3-16-156479-6

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-156479-6

ISSN 1869-0513 / eISSN 2568-7492 (Orientalische Religionen in der Antike)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2019 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. [www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com)

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed on non-aging paper by Gulde Druck in Tübingen, and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

## Table of Contents

List of General Abbreviations Used Throughout the Volume.....	VII
Ljuba Merlina Bortolani/Svenja Nagel Introduction .....	1
Acknowledgements.....	23
Part I: Egyptian, Greek and Mesopotamian Traditions of Magic: Different Genres, Perception of the ‘Other’ and Possible Transcultural Exchange .....	25
Franziska Naether Magical Practices in Egyptian Literary Texts: in Quest of Cultural Plurality .....	27
William D. Furley Magic and Mystery at Selinus: Another Look at the Getty Hexameters .....	42
Daniel Schwemer Beyond Ereškigal? Mesopotamian Magic Traditions in the Papyri Graecae Magicae .....	62
Part II: Cultural Plurality and Fusion in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri (PGM/PDM) .....	87
<i>Single Handbooks and Magical Techniques</i> .....	89
Richard Gordon Compiling P. Lond. I 121 = PGM VII in a Transcultural Context .....	91
Svenja Nagel Illuminating Encounters: Reflections on Cultural Plurality in Lamp Divination Rituals.....	124
Ljuba Merlina Bortolani ‘We Are Such Stuff as Dream Oracles Are Made on’: Greek and Egyptian Traditions and Divine Personae in the Dream Divination Spells of the	

## VI

Magical Papyri.....	149
Christopher A. Faraone Cultural Plurality in Greek Magical Recipes for Oracular and Protective Statues ....	171
<i>Specific Spells and Deities</i> .....	189
Joachim Friedrich Quack The Heliopolitan Ennead and Geb as a Scrofulous Boar in the PGM: Two Case Studies on Cultural Interaction in Late-Antique Magic.....	191
Richard Phillips Traditions of Transformation and Shape-Shifting in PGM XIII 270–77 .....	208
Adria Haluszka Crowns of Hermanubis: Semiotic Fusion and Spells for Better Business in the Magical Papyri.....	227
Marcela Ristorto Love Spell and Hymn to Aphrodite in PGM IV (2891–941) .....	238
<b>Part III: Integration and Transformation of Graeco-Egyptian Magic in Jewish and Byzantine Spells.....</b>	<b>257</b>
Gideon Bohak/Alessia Bellusci The Greek Prayer to Helios in <i>Sefer ha-Razim</i> , in Light of New Textual Evidence .....	259
Michael Zellmann-Rohrer Incantations in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Greek: Change and Continuity .....	276
Bibliography .....	297
List of Contributors.....	341
Index of Sources .....	345
Index of Names.....	364
Index of Subjects .....	370
Plates	

## 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.	Le temple de Dendara, I–XV, Cairo 1934–2008. I–V: É. CHASSINAT; VI: É. CHASSINAT, F. DAUMAS; VII–IX: F. DAUMAS; X–XV: S. CAUVILLE.
Edfou	Le temple d'Edfou, 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 <sup>nd</sup> edn, Leiden 1954–1969.



- GMPT H.D. BETZ, (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation – Including the Demotic Spells*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Chicago/London 1992 [1<sup>st</sup> edn, Chicago 1986].
- IG *Inscriptiones graecae*, Berlin 1873–.
- KAR E. EBELING, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, 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, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*, Providence 1955.
- LdÄ W. HELCK, E. OTTO (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I–VII, Wiesbaden 1972–1992.
- LGG C. LEITZ, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, I–VIII (*Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta* 110–16, 129), Leuven 2002–2003.
- LIMC H.C. ACKERMANN, *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, Zürich/Munich 1981–2009.
- LKA E. EBELING, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, Berlin 1953.
- LSJ H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H.S. JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9<sup>th</sup> edn, Oxford 1996.
- NP H. CANCIK, H. SCHNEIDER (eds.), *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, I–XVI, Stuttgart 1996–2003.
- OED Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford 2001–.
- PDM *Papyri Demoticae Magicae* according to the edition of H.D. BETZ (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation – Including the Demotic Spells*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Chicago/London 1992 [1<sup>st</sup> edn, Chicago 1986].
- PGM K. PREISENDANZ, A. HENRICHs, (eds.), *Papyri Graecae Magicae*. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri, I–II [III], 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Stuttgart 1973–1974 [1941].
- PRE A. PAULY, G. WISSOWA (eds.) *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, I–XXIV, Stuttgart 1894–1963; 2<sup>nd</sup> Series I–X, Stuttgart/Munich 1920–1972; Suppl. I–XV, Stuttgart/Munich 1903–1978.
- PT K. SETHE, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, I–IV, Leipzig 1908–1922; trans. R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford 1969; J.P. ALLEN, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (Writings from the Ancient World 23)*, Leiden/Boston 2005.
- RAC T. KLAUSER *et al.* (eds.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I–, Stuttgart 1950–.
- SEG *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923–71, then Amsterdam 1979–.
- SGG A. MASTROCINQUE (ed.), *Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum*, 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, *Supplementum Magicum*, I–II (*Papyrologica Coloniensia* 16.1–2), Opladen 1990–1992.
- SMA C. BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (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> ( <a href="http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla">http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla</a> ).
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,<sup>1</sup> as well as monographs on more specific topics.<sup>2</sup> In particular, scholars had many opportunities to meet and exchange ideas thanks to various international conferences that resulted in significant volumes of Proceedings.<sup>3</sup> 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

---

<sup>1</sup> 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*.

<sup>2</sup> 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*.

<sup>3</sup> 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*; CIRAULO/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*; PIRANOMONTE/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 expertise<sup>4</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> 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

---

<sup>4</sup> 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?<sup>5</sup> 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).<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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?

---

<sup>5</sup> 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. BELUSCI in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> 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*.

<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

However, diverse foreign deities and other elements were actually integrated more freely and frequently within ritual and magical texts of various nature.<sup>13</sup> 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,<sup>14</sup> but one of them is also written in foreign language, possibly Minoan.<sup>15</sup> Spells incorporating Semitic, and more precisely Canaanite, incantations appear also in other papyri of this era.<sup>16</sup> At the same time,

<sup>8</sup> For cultural appropriation in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt in general, cf. SCHNEIDER, Foreign Egypt.

<sup>9</sup> 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.

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

<sup>11</sup> Cf. ZIVIE-COCHE, Dieux autres, 70.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. QUACK, Importing, 264–6.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. KOENIG, Image of the Foreigner; KOENIG, Nubie; QUACK, Importing, 262–3 and 266.

<sup>14</sup> See the detailed study by S. BECK, Sāmānu, esp. 171–252.

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

<sup>16</sup> 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,<sup>17</sup> since they were appropriated even for official temple ritual<sup>18</sup> and in the Book of the Dead.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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 fiction<sup>22</sup> 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-

<sup>17</sup> Cf. KOENIG, Nubie; KOENIG, Image of the Foreigner, 227; QUACK, Nubisch-meroïtische Lexeme.

<sup>18</sup> 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.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

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

<sup>22</sup> 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 (21<sup>st</sup>–22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasties).<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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 Aea) 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

---

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

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

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

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

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. Hes. *Th.* 411–52; *h.Hom.* 2.

the term ‘magic’ from *magos*, originally just a Persian religious specialist,<sup>28</sup> and also by famous literary characters such as Medea from Kolchis. Likewise, Egypt and Egyptian priests became especially renowned for their magical lore<sup>29</sup> 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,<sup>30</sup> the notion of magic appears to have emerged in Greece specifically as a ‘third-person attribution’<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> Despite the different theories proposed by recent scholarship to explain the emergence of magic as an autonomous category in fifth century Greece,<sup>33</sup> 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-

<sup>28</sup> 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.

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

<sup>30</sup> In Egypt the native equivalent term for magic, *hkꜥ*, 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, *ꜥh.w* (akhu) and *hkꜥ.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.

<sup>31</sup> J.Z. SMITH, Trading Places, 18.

<sup>32</sup> 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.

<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> Similarly in Classical literature, while of course we keep finding examples of foreigners engaging with magic,<sup>35</sup> it is hardly possible to find any clear sign of cultural plurality in the descriptions of magical rituals performed by Greeks.<sup>36</sup> 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*,<sup>37</sup> 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).<sup>38</sup> 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.

---

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 607–93.

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

<sup>37</sup> 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*.

<sup>38</sup> 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,<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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,<sup>41</sup> 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*,<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> Similar problems surround the supposed ‘Mesopotamian’ influences, names and other elements within the magical texts from Roman Egypt.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> 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.

<sup>40</sup> 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 Nechepsos, 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.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. DIELEMAN, Priests, 276–80.

<sup>42</sup> 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*.

<sup>43</sup> 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, *Alltestamentliche Motive*. For more details, cf. also below, part III of this Introduction.

<sup>44</sup> 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-

## Index of Sources

### PGM/PDM/SM

<p>PGM I (P. Berl. inv. 5025)</p> <p>117–19            209</p> <p>164                143</p> <p>222–31            222</p> <p>232–47            231</p> <p>247–62            222</p> <p>262–347           125, 127–9, 133,                          145–6</p> <p>315–25            102</p> <p>PGM II (P. Berl. inv. 5026), <i>cf.</i> also PGM VI</p> <p>                         14, 92, 107–8,                          127</p> <p>2–4                161</p> <p>5–7                161</p> <p>33                 67</p> <p>64–183            124, 126–129,                          141, 146, 151,                          162, 164, 166,                          173</p> <p>101                141</p> <p>107                141</p> <p>121                268</p> <p>150–54            69</p> <p>158                68</p> <p>PGM III (P. Mimaüt; P. Louvre N 2391)</p> <p>                         14, 92, 94, 102,                          106–7, 185</p> <p>1–164 (III.1)     10, 97, 122</p> <p>144 (III.1)        143</p> <p>187–262 (III.2)   233</p> <p>264–75 (III.2)    99</p> <p>275–81 (III.2)    118</p> <p>291 (III.2)        129</p> <p>292–310 (III.2)   16, 172</p> <p>328–31 (III.2)    99</p> <p>410–23 (III.2)    145</p> <p>494–611 (III.1)   163, 233</p> <p>551 (III.1)        142</p> <p>699 (III.1)        129</p>	<p>PGM IV (Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574)</p> <p>                         15, 94, 104, 107,                          113, 116, 127,                          147, 180, 185</p> <p>1–85               130</p> <p>86–7              130, 145</p> <p>154–285           145</p> <p>154–466           96</p> <p>180                142</p> <p>218                142</p> <p>296–466           101, 235</p> <p>337                66</p> <p>348–56            279</p> <p>436–61            102, 158</p> <p>438–63            267</p> <p>475–829 (‘Mithras Liturgy’)</p> <p>                         122, 145, 231</p> <p>604–18            231</p> <p>641                142</p> <p>779–92            231</p> <p>850–929           10, 129, 145</p> <p>930–1114           16–17, 124, 126–                          48</p> <p>939–48            92</p> <p>940                219, 221</p> <p>1115–66           129</p> <p>1146–7            142–143</p> <p>1167–226           129</p> <p>1195               143</p> <p>1200               143</p> <p>1227–64           129</p> <p>1275–322           133</p> <p>1331–89           145–6</p> <p>1350–76           119</p> <p>1390–495           70</p> <p>1416               67</p> <p>1496–595           70</p> <p>1596–716           163</p> <p>1643               143</p> <p>1684               141</p> <p>1716–870           10</p>
---	--

1722	69	96-172	10, 21
1724-5	233	256-66	99
1762	268	291-7	99
1801	268	304-69	70
1957-89	102, 158	340	67
2005-144	145	370-439	150-51, 155,
2140-44	10, 104		160-61, 164-66,
2217-26	71		168-70
2359-72	16, 19, 180, 228- 9, 232-4, 236	370-446	150, 175
2365-6	231	400-420	102
2365-7	289	426	67
2373-440	16, 19, 234	440-46	175, 177
2396	177	440-58	16, 150, 153,
2441-621	145		155, 168-70
2469	250	459-89	10
2473	250	466-7	143
2484	250	PGM Va (P. Holm., p. 42)	107
2524	267	3	129
2531	46		
2574-610	102	PGM VI (P. Lond. 47)	14, 108
2599	222	1-47+II 1-64	133, 142, 145,
2601-6	250		150-51, 153-55,
2622-707	145		158, 161-2, 164-
2643-74	102		70
2661	222	22-38	108
2663-9	250		
2708-84	67	PGM VII (P. Lond. I 121)	12, 15, 17, 91-
2749	250		123, 127, 132
2749-50	66-67	1-148	276
2819-20	267	149-54	111, 116
2846-7	48	169	111
2891-941	16, 19, 238-55	196	115
2913-14	67	204-6	115
3007-86	10	208	115
3020	21	217	116
3086-124	16, 18, 145, 201- 7	220	115
		222-49	102, 108, 117,
3125-71	16, 19, 177-8, 232, 235		145, 150-51,
			153-5, 158, 168-
3149	236		70
3153-64	231	224	111
3165-9	233	249	111
3172-208	136, 150, 154-5, 168-70	250-54	150, 152
		250-59	116-17
		255-9	150, 152
PGM V (P. Lond. 46)	102, 107, 112, 185	260-64	119
1-53	68, 143	260-71	117
8	143	272-83	115
54	129	284-99	71, 74, 115, 118
		299	116

301	120	590	116
311-17	117	591-2	111
316	115	593-619	120
317	67	598	111
319	129	601	111
319-34	71, 118	604-5	111
323	111	605-9	119
335	129	619-22	222
335-6	118	619-27	10
336	111	620-27	114
348-58	117	628-31	120
359-63	117	628-36	120
359-69	150, 154-6, 168-70	628-42	117, 150, 155-6, 165, 168-70
381	119	632-3	118
385	115	643	101, 115
392	115	645-6	120
399	115	649	119
407-10	117	652-4	120
411-16	117	664-85	117, 150-51, 153, 155, 160-61, 164-6, 168-70
415-16	115		
421-2	115		
439-40	69		
452-3	120	668-80	102
459-61	111	686-702	71, 117-18
461	115	690	111
462-6	111	695-6	266
464-5	115	700	269
466	118	703-21	117
467-504	115	703-26	150, 153, 155, 168-70
468	120		
478-90	117, 118, 145, 150, 153, 155-6, 168-70	715	115
		715-25	119
		727	129, 172
479	115	727-39	121
490-91	120	740-55	117, 150, 155, 168-70
494-5	118		
505-28	117, 120	756	111
508	287	756-94	117
510	119	766-79	111
516	265	780-85	111
528-39	121, 133	795	115
537	115	795-845	114, 117, 121, 150, 155, 168-70
539	120		
540-78	117, 121, 126-9, 132, 136-8, 145, 148	810-21	115, 118
		846-61	145
		860-61	115
542	120	862-918	118, 121
559-60	111	896	67
579-90	117, 145	898-907	115
588	115	919	115



924–5	115	144–51	150, 155, 159, 168–70
930–39	119	153–60	139
931–60	116	175	269
940–60	119	190–92	21, 150, 152
973–80	110	201–69	10, 18, 70, 197– 201, 269
981–1026	110	232–5	16, 192–201
984–5	67	244–52	92
993–1009	151	430	204
1009–16	150, 155, 168–70	438	69
cols. I*–III	110	cols. I*–III*	104
cols. I*–IV	111	cols. I–IV	104
col. IV	113		
col. XXIII	114		
col. XXVII	110, 116		
col. XXVIII	115		
col. XXIX	110		
		PGM XIII (P. Leid. J 395) ('Eighth Book of Moses')	94, 103, 106–8, 199
PGM VIII (P. Lond. 122)	108, 127	1–343	224
1–63	10, 16, 19, 233, 235	1–646	10
7–8	231	38–9	103
11	220	69–71	222
21–2	231	109–10	68
36–8	198	194–5	68
42–4	231	206–9	68
59–60	236	250–52	70
60–62	231	267–70	222
64–110	102, 108, 124, 126–8, 145, 150–51, 154–5, 158, 168–70	270–77	16, 19, 208–26
74–81	102	343	103
85	129	666	68
		734–1077	145
		760–823	199
		788–9	192
		795–6	198
		823–41	69
PGM X (P. Lond. 124)		925	67
36–50	68	942	142
PGM XIa (P. Lond. I 125 rt.)	108, 221	(PDM xiv/PGM XIV) P. Mag. LL	13–16, 97, 103, 106–8, 127, 135– 8, 147–8, 153, 280
1–40	209	cols. 1–10	127
		1, 1 (= xiv 1)	102
PGM XII/PDM xii (P. Leid. J 384)	13–14, 92, 94, 106–8, 201	1, 1–3, 35 (= xiv 1–92)	137, 142, 145
14–95	156	4, 1–22 (= xiv 93–114)	146, 150, 155–6, 168–70
21–49	151	4, 9–19 (= XIVa 1–11)	97
47 (= col. I*, 26)	102	4, 10 (= XIVa 2)	243
87	141	5, 1–33 (= xiv 117–49)	21, 124, 126–8, 132, 136–8, 150,
87–93	164		
96–106	236		
121–43	10		

	153–55, 157, 166, 168–70	23, 9–20 (= XIVc 16–27)	97
5, 7	141	23, 10 (= XIVc 16)	142
5, 12–13	143–4	23, 13 (= XIVc 19)	268
5, 17	138, 143	23, 16 (= XIVc 23)	67
5, 18	144	23, 27–31 (= xiv 701–5)	146
6, 1–8, 11 (= xiv 150–231)	126–8, 132, 134– 8, 150, 153–5, 157, 166, 168–70	25, 1–22 (= xiv 750–71)	126, 128, 136, 144
6, 6–7	141	cols. 27–9	127
6, 18–19	196	27, 1–12 (= xiv 805–16)	127, 142, 145
7, 8–10	143	27, 13–36 (= xiv 817–40)	124, 126–8, 132, 136, 153
7, 13	143	27, 17	141
7, 13–14	142, 144	28, 11–15 (= xiv 851–5)	143
7, 20	143	29, 1–20 (= xiv 856–75)	125, 139
7, 26	67	29, 20–30 (= xiv 875–85)	125
8, 12–18 (= xiv 232–8)	151	vs., 17, 1–8 (= xiv 1070–77)	150, 152
10, 22–35 (= xiv 295–308)	127, 142, 145	vs., 20, 1–7 (= xiv 1097–103)	10
11, 1–26 (= xiv 309–34)	10	vs., 24, 1–13 (= xiv 1141–54)	151
11, 8	133	vs., 26, 1–27, 8 (= xiv 1163–79)	137
11, 12	138	vs., 31, 1–7 (= xiv 1199–205)	126, 138
14, 1–34 (= xiv 395–427)	133	PGM XVI	96
15, 25–8 (= XIVb 12–15)	97	PGM XVIIb	102, 151
cols. 16–18	127	PGM XIXa 7	67
16, 1–17 (= xiv 459–75)	125–6, 128, 137– 8	PGM XX (Philinna papyrus)	13, 53, 96–7
16, 15–16	135	4–12	10, 71
16, 18–30 (= xiv 476–88)	125–6, 128, 136	12–18	280
16, 19–22	135	13–19	10
17, 1–3	144	PGM XXI	1–28
17, 1–26 (= xiv 489–515)	125–6, 128, 136, 137–8, 141, 145– 6	19	192
17, 6	138, 143–4	PGM XXIIb	1–26
17, 13–14	142	20–21	143
17, 23–6	135	27–35	150, 152
17, 26–18, 6 (= xiv 515–27)	125–6, 128, 137– 8	PGM XXXVI (P. Oslo 1)	92, 101, 107
17, 27–8	144		
17, 31	138, 143–4		
18, 7–33 (= xiv 528–53)	142–3, 146		
18,7 (= xiv 528)	102		
18, 13–14	144		
21, 2–3	104		

295–311	21	(PDM Suppl.) P. Louvre E 3229	
312–20	133		14, 97, 103, 107–8
PGM XXXVIII 15	143	5, 14–15	158
PGM LII (P. Lips. inv. 429) 96		5, 14–22 (= Suppl. 130–38)	150–51, 155, 157, 168–70
PGM LVII	96	6, 6–19 (= Suppl. 149–62)	150–51, 154–5, 161, 168–70
(PDM lxi/PGM LXI) P. BM EA 10588		6, 25–7, 16 (= Suppl. 168–84)	151
5, 1	159	SM 9 (= PGM XCI)	96
5, 1–15 (= lxi 63–78)	150–51, 153, 155, 159, 164–6, 168–70	SM 29 (= PGM LXXXIII)	13–14
7, 1–5 (= xiv 95–9)	10		101
vs., 1, 31–2 (= LXI 31–2)	142	SM 46–51	101
PGM LXII 12–16	70	SM 49.64–70	9
PGM LXIII 4–7	68	SM 71 (= PGM CXVII)	13, 96
PGM LXX		SM 72 (= PGM CXXII)	13, 96–7
5–11	66–7	5–15	70
12	9	SM 73 (= PGM CIII)	96
PGM LXXII	96	SM 79.12–18	151–2
PGM LXXVII 18	269	SM 85	151–2
PGM P2	290	SM 90 (= PGM CII)	102, 145, 151, 154–5, 158
PGM P2a	290	SM 96 (= PGM CXXIII a–f)	48–50
PGM P3	295	SM 97 (= PGM CXXIV)	70
PGM P7			
15–22	288		
23–9	289		

### Egyptian sources

<i>Astarte and the Sea</i>	31–2	<i>Book of the Dead</i>	163, 211–12
<i>Bentresh Stela</i>	33	Ch. 17	157
<i>Bes Story</i>	31, 34–5	Ch. 39	156
		Ch. 76–88	211
		Ch. 108	156

Ch. 125	165		
Ch. 130–36	142		
Ch. 137 A	136		
Ch. 151	164		
Ch. 162–5	6		
Ch. 177	133		
Ch. 182–3	160		
<i>Book of Fayum</i> 1030–38	205		
<i>Book of the Heavenly Cow</i> 180	139		
<i>Book of the Temple</i>	95		
<i>Book of Thoth</i>	220		
<i>Coffin Texts</i>	211		
I 2b	213		
III 144d	213		
III 204b	213		
V 399c	213		
VI 271h	213		
VI 296	213		
VI 338i	213		
VI 394d	213		
VII 152d	213		
VII 162m	213		
VII 173h	213		
VII 487d	213		
Spell 80	139–40		
<i>Delta Papyrus</i> (P. Brooklyn 47.218.84)			
col. 1	198		
6, 6–11	203		
x+12, 7	202		
x+13, 1	202		
Dendara			
II, 57, 11	193		
<i>Djoser and Imhotep</i>	39		
Edfou			
I, 147, 2	193		
II, 31, 4–5	132		
VII, 259, 1	133		
Elkab, Tomb of Paheri	211		
		<i>Fight for the Armor of Inaros</i>	
			33–4
		12, 22	36
		<i>Fight for the Prebend of Amun</i>	
			33–4, 37
		16, 6–11	36
		<i>Horus and Seth</i>	215–17, 226
		<i>Inaros-Petubastis-Cycle</i>	33, 35
		<i>Ipuwer</i> 3, 12–13	40
		<i>Krugtexte</i>	
		jar A, text 4	
		16–17	30
		22–3	30
		<i>Litany of Re</i> (PIANKOFF, Litany)	
		Papyrus of Ta-Udja-Re	
		84–97, 147–57	165
		<i>Meryre</i> (P. Vandier)	216
		3, 12–13	39
		<i>Mysteries of the Four Pellets Ritual</i>	165
		<i>Neferti</i>	
		47	40
		61–5	30–31
		O. Ashmolean Museum inv. 1945.40	
		see <i>Sinuhe</i>	
		O. Chicago OIC inv. 12074	34
		O. Hor 10	253
		O. IFAO inv. 2188	34
		O. Narmouthis 41, 4	193
		<i>Opening of the Mouth Ritual</i>	
			165
		scene 59C	201
		scene 59D	196–7
		<i>Oracular Amuletic Decrees</i> 6–7	

- P. Amherst, fragments m–q (B)  
see *Sinuhe*
- P. Berlin
- P. 3022, see *Sinuhe*
- P. 3048                   140
- P. 3049  
    (Text B2), 8, 2–3       140
- P. 10499, see *Sinuhe*
- P. 15660  
    11–12                   196  
    12                       194
- P. BM
- EA 9900                 97
- EA 10059               5
- EA 10477               97
- EA 10508, 3, x+13–15 30
- EA 10808               13
- P. Boulaq 6, rt. 4, 1       157
- P. Brooklyn
- 47.218.47 vs.           13, 151
- 47.218.84, see *Delta Papyrus*
- P. Cairo CG 58031  
    4, 3–5, 1               196
- P. Carlsberg
- 1                        204
- 284                     203–4
- 418                     203
- P. Deir el-Medina 36       204
- P. Hal. Kurth Inv. 33  
    vs. 3, x+7              204–5
- P. Hearst Medical (Berkeley, Bancroft  
Library, P. Hearst 1)  
    11, 12–15               290
- P. Heidelberg Dem. 5       13, 151
- P. Insinger, 31, 19–23      200
- P. Jumilhac                 215
- P. Louvre E 3452  
    1, 2                     212  
    col. 7                  213
- P. Michigan inv. 6124+6131  
    B x+2, 12               193
- P. Moscow  
    inv. 120, see *Wenamun*  
    inv. 4657, see *Sinuhe*
- P. Rhind
- I
- 5d4–5                196
- 5d6                  196
- 6d5                  196
- 10d6–7               196
- 5h8                  195–6
- 6h4                  196
- 6h6                  196
- 10h1–4               197
- 10h5–6               196
- Mathematical           194
- P. Tebtynis Tait 14  
    x+4                     194
- P. Vandier, see *Meryre*
- P. Vatican 38603  
    fragment a             197
- P. Vienna D 6920–22  
    rt. x+2, 7–8            194
- PSI
- Inv. D 90                126, 128, 132

5	139	43–50	29
6	138	148–9	30
Inv. I 72, 6, 5	202	182–3	30
		190–99	29
		224–6	35
<i>Pyramid Texts</i>			
246 (§ 252b)	133	P. Berlin P. 10499	
247 (§ 1150c)	156	65–6	35
302	211	67–74	29
521	211	87–8	29
537	211		
616	211	P. Moscow inv. 4657	
626–7	211	3, 1–4	29
655	211		
668	211	Statue Berlin 2293	160
682	211		
<i>Setna I</i>	208–9, 214	<i>The Swallow and the Sea</i>	30
<i>Setna II</i> (P. Brit.Mus. inv. 604)		<i>Tale of the Two Brothers</i>	31–2, 214–15, 217, 226
	36–9, 214, 216–17, 223, 226	8, 5–6	39
3, 13	216	11, 4–7	31
5, 5–15	37	12, 9–13, 2	39
5, 10–11	216	14, 5	214
5, 30–31	39	15, 1	214
6, 3–5	37	16, 10–17, 1	215
6, 16	216	<i>Teaching of Menena</i>	34
6, 21–3	217	Urk. IV	
6, 24–5	38	115	212
<i>Sinuhe</i>	28–31, 34–5	1344, 11–12 (Letter of Pharaoh Amenhotep II)	7
O. Ashmolean Museum inv. 1945.40		<i>Wenamun</i> (P. Moscow inv. 120)	32–3
24–5	35	1, 34 = 3, 12	32
32	29	1, 38–43 = 1, x+3–8	33
vs., 32	35		
P. Berlin P. 3022 + frg. P. Amherst m–q (B)			
42–3	30		

## Greek and Latin sources

## Aelianus

*De natura animalium*

10.27 121

## Aeschylus

*Choephoroi*

350 58

<i>Persae</i>		<i>Nubes</i>	
607–93	9	749–52	280
Aesopus (et Aesopica)		<i>Vespae</i>	
<i>Fabulae</i>		804	183
no. 301	294	Aratus	
Aetius of Amida		<i>Phaenomena</i>	
6.94	280	85	118
Alexander of Tralles		Aristoteles	
<i>Therapeutica</i>		<i>Metaphysica</i>	
12	284	1040a30	267
Antoninus Liberalis		Athenaeus	
10	220	<i>Deipnosophistae</i>	
21	220	12.2.16	245
<i>Antidotarium Bruxellense</i>		Athenaios? (FURLEY/BREMER, Greek Hymns)	
§ 147	294	<i>Paian and prosodion to Apollo</i>	173
<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>		Augustinus	
9.99 (Leonidas)	46, 59	<i>De civitate Dei</i>	
Apollodorus		7.35	147
<i>Bibliotheca</i>		18.18	224
1.9.9	220	Basiliius Caesariensis	
3.13.5	220	<i>Liturgia</i> (MIGNE)	
Appianus		XXXI, 1636	287
<i>Bellum Civile</i>		<i>Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας</i>	
3.4.28.15	241	f. 474v	280
Apuleius	227	Boeus	
<i>Apologia</i>		<i>Ornithogonia</i>	
63	227	2	220
<i>Metamorphoses</i>	238–9	Bolus of Mendes	74
2.1	220	Callimachus	61
2.12	136	<i>fragmenta</i>	
2.22	220	685	249
11.5.1–2	253	Cassianus Bassus	276
Aristophanes			
<i>Aves</i>	49		
<i>Equites</i>	49		

Cassius Dio		Cod. Leiden, UB	
72.20.3	181	<i>VGF</i> 25, f. 5 vs.	296
CCAG		<i>VLQ</i> 50, f. 160 rt.	288
I, 60–72	284	Cod. London, BL	
IV, 74	280	Add. 17900, f. 54 vs.	285
VII, 245–6	295	Harley 5604	277
XII, 29	294	Royal 16 C. II	
CIA		ff. 47 vs.–48 vs.	291
I, 4	242	f. 49 vs.	290
III, 268	242	f. 66 rt.–vs.	286
CIL		Cod. Milan, BNA	
III, 5561	181	E 37 sup., f. 373 vs.	283
Clemens Alexandrinus	51–2	Cod. Mt. Athos, Mon. Meg. Lavras	
<i>Protrepticus</i>		Θ 20, f. 10 vs.	288
2.12.2	52	Cod. Munich, BSB	
2.13.2	52	gr. 105, f. 320 rt.	285
2.17–18	51	Cod. Naples, BN	
Cod. Athens, Bibl. Boul.		II C 33, f. 235 rt.	283
124, f. 275 vs.	295	Cod. Olympiotissa mon.	
Cod. Athens, Bibl. Soc. Hist.		97, p. 28	291
223, f. 66 rt.–vs.	286	Cod. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci	
Cod. Athens, EBE		88, f. 61 vs.	286
1265, f. 38r	279	216, f. 5 rt.	281
2492, f. 128 rt.–vs.	283	Cod. Paris, BnF	
Cod. Florence, BML, Plut.		gr. 2091	285
7.19, f. 195 rt.	285	ff. 51 vs.–52 rt.	285
28.34, f. 83 vs.	284	gr. 2219, f. 31 vs.	291
86.14, f. 28 vs.	280	gr. 2244, f. 116 rt.–vs.	281
89 sup. 83, f. 95 vs.	286	gr. 2286, f. 84 vs.	279



gr. 2294		Dioscorides	
ff. 73 vs.–95 vs.	283	<i>Materia medica</i>	
f. 79 rt.	282	3.38–9	121
		4.31	122
gr. 2316		Euripides	
f. 319 rt.–vs.	291	<i>Bacchae</i>	
f. 360 vs.	289	138–9	49
ff. 361 vs.–362 rt.	287	142–3	54
f. 372 rt.	287	426	58
ff. 429 rt.–431 vs.	296	565	245
		1019	220
gr. 2419, f. 199 rt.	296	<i>Helena</i>	
		375	245
gr. 2510, f. 23 rt.	282	<i>Hippolytus</i>	249, 251
		447–50	241
suppl. gr. 142		509–15	9
f. 158 rt.	295	1300	249
ff. 160 vs.–161 rt.	286	<i>Ion</i>	
ff. 161 vs.–162 rt.	291–2	126	58
		<i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i>	
suppl. gr. 2316		1211	45
f. 340 rt.	285	<i>Medea</i>	251
Cod. Vatican, BAV gr.		<i>Phaethon</i>	
299, f. 508 vs.	283	224–6	163
		<i>Rhesus</i>	
Cod. Venice, BNM, gr.		530–31	241
Z 524	277	<i>fragmenta</i>	
		1023	241
Cod. Vienna, ÖNB, med. gr.		Eustathius Thessalonicensis	
50, f. 59 vs.	285	<i>Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem</i>	
52, f. 88 vs.	293	4.226	295
<i>Corpus Hermeticum</i>	100	Firmicus Maternus	49, 51
Damigeron/Evax		<i>Matheseos</i>	
<i>De lapidibus</i>	184	2.11.10	
		8.13.1–3	118
Demetrius		<i>Geoponica</i>	276, 278
<i>Peri hermeneias/De elocutione</i>		7.31.2	277
71	182, 200		
Diodorus Siculus	49, 51, 194		
4.6	254		
Diogenes Laertius			
6.50	181		

10.83.1–2	286	5.387	284
10.87.6	284	5.426–30	251
<i>Getty hexameters</i>	9, 42–61	5.749 (= 8.393)	284
		8.170	277
		8.269	61
Herodas	50–51	10.139	284
		10.140	284
<i>Mimiambi</i>		11.366	162
8	49–51	14.233	296
8.16	51	14.236	296
8.40	50	17.339	162
8.67	50–51	19.161	46
8.69–70	50	22.13	221
		22.395–403	283
Herodotus		<i>Odyssea</i>	219, 221, 225
1.105	252	2.169	60
1.105.3	240	4	211
1.131.10–132.1	243	4.417–18	220
4.105	218	4.455	218
Hesiodus	251–2	4.456–8	220
<i>Theogonia</i>	51	4.458	219, 135
9–10	46	4.460	218
10	59	8.256–369	254
192	252	10.27	7
196–8	240	11	7
205	252	13.79	296
224	241	18.193	240
411–52	7	19.476–9	223
934	240		
1008	240	<i>Hymni Homerici</i>	
		2	7, 46
<i>Hippiatrica</i>	278, 290	2.101–3	209
		4	229
<i>Cantabrigiensia</i>		4.443	59
10.5	284	5	241, 251
		5.1	240
<i>Parisina</i>		5.1–5	241
22	281	5.34–7	251
		5.47–8	251
Homerus	7, 42, 58, 221, 269, 277, 283–4	5.81	251
		6	245
<i>Ilias</i>	53, 104	6.16–18	245
1.37–41	162	30	241
1.229	60		
2.22	161	IG	
2.952	284	IV <sup>2</sup> .1, 131 (Hymn to the Mother of the Gods from Epidauros)	241
4.196	61		
4.206	61		
5.330–31	252	X.2.1, 65	54

Isidorus			Lucretius	
<i>Hymn 1</i>	242, 253		<i>De rerum natura</i>	
Joannes Chrysostomus			1.1–28	241
<i>De incomprehensibili dei natura</i>			1.629	253
4.391	287		2.1117	253
<i>In epistulam ii ad Corinthios (homiliae 1-30)</i>			5.1362	253
2.5	287		Lydus	
Joel			<i>De mensibus</i>	
<i>Chronicle (Chronographia compendiaria)</i>			4.64	242
283			Macrobius	
John the Physician			<i>Saturnalia</i>	
<i>Therapeutics</i>	283		1.7.14–15	206
Leo Allatius	278, 286		Marcellus	279
<i>De Graecorum hodie quorundam opinionationibus epistola</i> <sup>1</sup>			<i>De medicamentis</i>	
175–6 (§ 26–7)	278		8.193	283
176–7 (§ 29)	278		28.74	282
Limenius (FURLEY/BREMER, Greek Hymns)			Menander	
<i>Paian and prosodion to Apollo</i>			<i>Misumenus</i>	
173			1–14	241
Lucanus			Nicolaus Cabasilas	
<i>Pharsalia</i>			<i>Explicatio divinae liturgiae</i>	
6	280		26.2	287
Lucianus	175, 185		Nonnus	
<i>De morte peregrini</i>			<i>Dionysiaca</i>	
1	220		13.36	241
<i>Dialogi Marini</i>			40.44–5	220
4	223		40.49	220
4.1	220		40.56	220
<i>Philopseudes</i>			<i>Oracula Sibyllina</i>	
12	291		<i>fragmenta</i>	
26	174		1.5	266
			Origenes	99
			<i>Contra Celsum</i>	
			1.24	99–100
			5.45	100

<sup>1</sup> Repr. in Leo Allatius, *De templis Graecorum*, Cologne 1645, 113–84.

<i>Orphica</i>		P. Holmiensis	107
<i>Hymni</i>		P. Oxy.	
Proem-hymn, 11	240	1011.218–80	162
3	241	1380.173–4	194
8.12	269	1381	156
10	241	3931	221
29	241	4468	13, 96
40	242		
49	242		
55.2	241		
55.16	245		
55.24	245		
71	242		
<i>Lithica</i>		P. Prag. I	
319–33	180	6.1–5	288
<i>Lithica Kerygmata</i>		Palladius of Galatia	
3.5–6	181	<i>Historia Lausiaca</i>	
10	180	17.6–9	223
20.12–16	184		
<i>fragmenta</i> (BERNABÉ)		Pausanias	
664	54	1.14.7	252
<i>Orphic-Bacchic lamellae</i>	45–47, 49, 53–4	2.30.2	182
Ovidius		2.35.4.9–11	242
<i>Ars Amatoria</i>		3.14.5.3	242
1.762	220	3.23.1	240, 252
<i>Fasti</i>	174	10.16	55
<i>Metamorphoses</i>		<i>Periplus maris magni</i>	
2.663	224	§ 57	292
8.730–31	224		
8.732	220	Philodemus	
8.735–7	220	<i>Περὶ ποιημάτων</i>	
11.244	220	1.181	49
15.356–60	224	Philostratus	
P. Gurôb I	51	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>	
4	49	1.4	218
7	49	8.5	221
10	49	Phlegon	
13–14	49	<i>De mirabilibus</i>	
18	49	10.520	164
22	55	<i>Physica Plinii</i>	
22–3	49	3.22	284
25	55		

Pindarus		<i>Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων</i>	
		3.32	241
<i>Pythian</i>			
4.213–19	9		
4.214–16	249	Ps.-Diogenes	
		<i>Epistulae</i>	
<i>Scholia in Pindarum, Nemean</i>		36	181
4.156a	249	Ps.-Galenus	
Plato		<i>De remediis parabilibus libri iii</i>	
<i>Ion</i>		14.495	279
534a	54	Ps.-Plinius Secundus Iunior	
<i>Leges</i>		<i>De Medicina</i>	
909a–d	8	3.15.8	286
<i>Respublica</i>		Ps.-Plutarchus	
364	48–9	<i>Apoththegmata Laconica</i>	
364b–e	8	224e	49
364e3–365a3	50	Quintus Smyrnaeus	
380d	218	3.619–20	220
Plinius	279	Romanus Melodus	
<i>Historia Naturalis</i>		<i>Cantica</i>	
27.57	78	36.13.2–3	294
	121–2	Sallustius	
Plutarchus	51, 194	<i>De diis et mundo</i>	
<i>Aetia Graeca et Romana</i>		4.10	54
290.D.3	241	SEG	
<i>Amatorius</i>		42.818	44, 46
764.D.3	242	3 (verse 5)	48
<i>De defectu oraculorum</i>		6 (verse 11)	47, 51
416.E.4	241	8 (verse 15)	48
<i>De Iside et Osiride</i>		49.1360	46–7
12 (355F–356A)	194	4	48
33 (364B)	194	50.1001	46
<i>De superstitione</i>		3	47
166.A.5	241	Servius	
Porphyrus	185–6	<i>Commentarii in Vergilium, Eclogae</i>	
<i>De abstinentia</i>		6.48	224
2.16.4–5	183		
<i>De philosophia ex oraculis</i>			
134	183		

Sophocles		ch. 266	285
<i>Trachiniae</i>	251		
Strabo		Theophrastus	
16.2.39.12–13	147	<i>Characteres</i>	
17.1.35, 809C	121	16.12	49
<i>Suda</i>		Theopompus of Chios	
s.v. Ἰῶγξ	249	<i>FGrH</i>	
Tacitus	174–5, 185	115F 344	183
<i>Annales</i>		Varro	
12.22	173	<i>ap. Augustinus, De Civ. Dei</i>	
Theocritus		7.35	147
<i>Idyllia</i>		Vergilius	284
2	9, 241, 249	<i>Aeneis</i>	
15.86	249	3.443–52	164
15.100–105	249	4.129 (= 11.1)	284
15.136–44	249	6.74	164
<i>Scholia in Theocritum, Idyllia</i>		<i>Eclogae</i>	
2.17	249	8.95–9	220
Theophanes Chrysobalantes (Nonnus)		<i>Georgica</i>	
<i>Epitome de curatione morborum</i> (BER-		1.35	118
NARD)		4.442	220

### The Bible (including apocrypha)

<i>Acts</i>		14:19–21	263
28:1–7	291	33:11	263
<i>Acts of John</i>		<i>Genesis</i>	
88–9	219	1	140
<i>Amos</i>		<i>Isaiah</i>	
5:19	282	37:16	120
<i>Apocalypse of John</i>		<i>Job</i>	
§ 36 (NAU)	287	38	200
<i>Canticles</i>		<i>John</i>	290
1:6	292	<i>Luke</i>	
<i>Exodus</i>	39	24:15–16	219

<i>Matthew</i>		41	296
6:9–11	138		
<i>Psalms</i>	14, 296	<i>1 Samuel</i>	
		4:4	120

## Other sources

<i>Babylonian Talmud</i>	11, 65	text 10.6.2 (= BAM 461)	76
BM		text 11.4	72, 75
36330 l. e. 27–30	77	CT (BM) 22, 1: 22	77
47457 obv. 15	73	Enheduana	253
64514 (82-9-18, 4494)	65	<i>Enmerkar and the En-suhgir-ana / Ensukeshdanna</i>	39
BRM		<i>Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta</i>	39
IV, 19	72–5, 77, 82–3	<i>Esoteric Commentary</i>	68
IV, 20	73–4, 84–5	14–15	68
Cairo Genizah	21, 120, 259– 75	<i>Exorcist's Almanac</i>	71–7
T(AYLOR)-S(CHECHTER) NS		<i>Gathas</i>	200
157.72	262	<i>Graeco-Babyloniaca</i>	11
J 594 (= G39 R-S)	260	nos. 10–11	65
JTSL ENA NS 12.5	260, 262	KAR 35 obv. 16	75
Jerusalem, NLI Heb. 4°577.5.30	261–4, 271	LBAT 1626 (BM 35537 = Sp 3, 43)	73
CMAwR		Library of Ashurbanipal	77
I		LKA 135 obv. 11–16	77
text 7.8, 3.: 17'–30'	70	<i>Maqlû</i>	70–71, 75
text 8.3, 1.: 23	75	I 91	75
text 10.1	71	III	65
text 10.2	71	IV 12	75
II		ritual tablet, 129'	69
text 3.4, 3.: 5–6	76	<i>Middle Assyrian Laws</i>	
text 7.12	75	A 19–20	76

<i>Prayer of Jacob</i>	267	8117 (832), fol. 29a–b	272–5
PARPOLA, Letters		Paris, Heb. 849, fol. 62b	272–5
300 obv. 4 <sup>r</sup>	76	Tel Aviv, Bill Gross, 42, fol. 170b	272–5
<i>Sefer ha-Razim</i>	20–21, 259–75		
1, 232	137, 142	<i>Sefer Raziel</i>	260
Budapest, Oriental Library, Kaufmann A		Sm 1379	77
244, fol. 59	272–5	SpTU	
245, fol. 42b–43a	272–5	II, 22 + III, 85 rev. IV 11–12	76
Florence, BML, Plut. 44.13, fol. 120a		II, 23 obv. 1–2	73
	272–5	V, 35–6	73
Moscow, Russian State Library,		V, 243	73
Günzburg		STT 300	72–85
248, fol. 298a	272–5	<i>Toledot Yeshu</i>	219
738, fol. 129a–b	272–5	<i>Uruanna III</i>	48
New York, JTS			70
1879 (163), fol. 45a	272–5		
8115 (829), fol. 27a	272–5		



## Index of Names

### Deities, Divine/Demonic Entities and Mythological creatures

- Abizion: 290  
Adonis: 248–50  
Agathos Daimon: 178–9, 186, 233, 235–6  
Agius: 220  
Aion: 143, 178–9, 186, 223, 233  
Akakallis: 55  
Amalthea: 47, 51–2  
Amphitrite: 46, 57  
Amun: 32–4, 96, 161, 193, 196  
– Amun-of-the-way: 32  
– Amun-the-bull-of-Meroë: 38  
Amun-Re: 159, 267  
Anahita: 243, 245  
Anat: 5  
Antaura: 288  
Anu: 71  
Anubis: 96, 118, 125, 142, 157, 206, 214, 248, 254  
Aphrodite: 19–20, 192–3, 195, 198, 238, 239–43, 245–55, *see also* Venus  
– Kythereia: 240–42, 252  
– Ourania: 121, 252  
Apis: 137, 155  
Apollo: 9, 18, 51–2, 55, 128–9, 141–2, 152, 155, 158, 161–6, 172–8, 185–6, 221, 229  
– Delphic: 172, 186  
– Hekatos: 46  
– Ieios: 162  
– Klarios: 162, 173–5  
– Lykeios: 121  
– Paian: 52, 162, 173, *see also* Paieon/Paian  
– Phoibos: 57, 161–2  
– Pythian: 172, 174–5  
Apollo-Helios: 164, 166  
Apophis: 142, 156  
Ares: 247  
Artemis: 7, 46, 57, 288, 295  
Artemis-Selene: 267  
Asalluḫi: 67  
Ash: 203  
Asklepios: 120, 155–6, 165–6, 173, 176, 183  
Astarte: 5, 31–2, 252  
Athena: 51, 223  
– Nike: 182  
Attis: 54  
Atum: 38, 159–60, 192–3, 196–7  
Baal: 5, 66  
Bastet: 29  
Bendis: 7  
Bes: 102, 108, 115–16, 150–51, 154–5, 158, 165, 178–9  
Brimo: 49, 185  
Chnoubis: 179  
creator god: 8, 100, 137, 140, 143, 200, 208, 222, 236, 266, *see also* solar creator god  
Daphne: 155, 162, 164–6  
Dedun: 5  
Demeter/Deo: 7, 44, 46–7, 49, 52, 57, 59, 209, 242, 253  
– Malophoros: 182  
Dionysos: 9, 49–54, 218, 220  
– Dionysos-Bakchos: 49, 52–4  
Dioskouroi: 96  
Ea: 67–8  
Echo: 249  
Ellil: 68  
Elpis: 54  
Ennead: 18, 31, 191–9, 201, 206  
Ereškigal: 62, 66–7, 77–8, 185, 243, 248, 250  
Eros: 155–6, 247  
Esenephthys: 192, 195  
Eumenides: 241, 243  
Gaia: 7, 241, 243  
Geb: 39, 140, 191, 193–4, 201–6  
God (Jewish/Christian): 143, 200, 262–4, 267, 283, 287–91, 294–6  
Gorgon: 184

- Graces: 241–2
- Hades: 96, 242, 248–9, 251
- Harpokrates/Horus the child: 131, 133–4, 141–2, 144, 156, 165, 175
- Hathor: 44, 47, 121, 193–4, 196, 239, 252, 254
- Hauron: 5
- Headless god: 102, 155, 158, 162, 164–6
- Heka: 8, 94
- Hekate: 7, 9, 18, 46–8, 52–3, 60, 67, 98, 182–6, 241–3, 249–50, 252
- Einodia: 46, 57
- Helios: 21, 92, 99, 102, 121–2, 141–2, 158–60, 162–3, 165, 192–5, 222, 233, 243, 247, 259–61, 263–7, 269–70, 272
- Helios-Apollo: 269
- Hera: 249
- Herakles: 46, 57, 61, 181, 289
- Kallinikos: 181
- Hermanubis: 177, 227, 232, 235
- Hermes: 7, 19, 102, 122, 150–51, 155, 159–61, 164–6, 176, 180, 182–3, 186, 228–9, 231–7, 254, 284, 289, *cf. also* Mercury
- Trismegistos: 182, 236
- Hermes-Thoth: 220
- Horus: 38, 131, 133, 141–2, 144, 158–60, 177–9, 193, 196, 203, 205, 213, 215, 231–2, 235, 253
- Horus-Thoth/Har-Thoth: 151, 155, 159, 166
- Hours: 245
- Hydra: 46, 57, 61
- Iao: 68, 119–20, 137, 185, 197
- Imhotep: 104, 120, 150–51, 156, 165–6
- Inanna: 39, 252–3
- Io: 249
- Ipet: 196
- Isis: 4, 35, 38, 47, 96, 133, 144, 155, 157–9, 177, 192–6, 202, 205, 215, 231–6, 238–9, 241–2, 248, 252–4, 267
- Isis-Hathor: 20, 248
- Ištar: 32, 252–3
- Lynx: 249
- Jam: 31–2
- Juno: 224
- Kerberos: 175–6
- Khepri: 197
- Khonsu: 33
- Kirke: 7, 280–81
- Kore: *see* Persephone/Kore
- Kouretes: 47, 49, 51
- Kronos: 18, 47, 144, 192, 194–5, 201–6
- Kybele: 7, 253, *see also* Magna Mater and Mother of the Gods
- Leto: 161, 162
- Maat: 160
- Magna Mater: 249, *see also* Mother of the Gods and Kybele
- Medusa: 292
- Mercury: 18, 177, 180–82, 185–7, 227–8, *cf. also* Hermes
- Meskhenet: 164–5
- Metis: 218
- Min: 6
- Mithras: 4, 122, 243
- Mnemosyne: 160–61
- Moirai/Fates: 282
- Mother of the Gods: 49, 241, 253, *see also* Magna Mater and Kybele
- Muses: 50
- Helikonian: 46, 59
- Nabû: 67, 249
- Nekhet: 220, 254
- Nemesis: 218
- Nemty: 215
- Nephtys: 96, 155, 157–8, 193–6, 209
- Nergal: 243
- Nut: 39, 140, 193–4, 196, 204
- Nyx: 241, 243
- Ogdoad: 191–2, 199, 205
- Orion: 295
- Osiris: 38, 96, 118, 120, 125, 134, 137, 142, 144–5, 151, 155, 157–9, 164–6, 177–8, 192–6, 198, 204, 206, 213–14, 217, 232, 234–6, 254
- Khentyamenti: 157
- Wennefer: 157–8
- Osiris-Apis: 155
- Osiris-Sarapis: 158
- Ouranos: 202, 240, 252
- Paieon/Paian: 43–6, 48, 52–3, 57–8, 162, *see also* Apollo, Paian
- Pan: 183, 185
- Pantheos: *see* polymorphic deities

- Peitho: 249  
 Persephone/Kore: 44, 46–7, 49, 51–3, 57–9,  
 66–7, 242–3, 252  
 Pleiades: 241  
 polymorphic deities: 18, 163–4, 176, 178–81,  
 185–7, 232, 236  
 Poseidon: 282  
 Proteus: 135, 211, 218–21, 223–5  
 Ptah: 32, 38, 137–40, 156, 211  
  
 Qadesh: 5  
  
 Re/Pre: 67, 99, 122, 134–6, 139, 142, 160,  
 196–7, 205, 214  
 Re-Harakhti/Pre-Harakhti: 31, 38, 213  
 Resheph: 5  
 Rhea: 7, 49, 52, 241, 243  
  
 Sabazios: 49  
 Sakhmet: 29, 138  
 Samanu: 5  
 Šamaš: 66–8  
 Sanghulhaza: 76  
 Sarapis: 68, 143, 155–6, 159, 172–3, 175–6,  
 178–9, 185–6, 206  
 Sasm: 285, 290  
 Saturn: 206  
 Selene: 50, 250  
 Seshat: 132  
 Seth: 5, 118, 153, 155–6, 158, 165, 193, 196,  
 203–4, 206, 215, 290  
 Seth-Typhon: 67, 203  
  
 Shiva: 184  
 Shu: 139, 193, 195, 197, 203, 213  
 Sobek/Souchos: 198, 204–6, 211  
 Sobek-Geb: 204  
 Sobek-Re: 205  
 Sokar: 137  
 solar creator god: 131, 136, 159  
 solar god: 31, 67–8, 125, 130, 133–5, 139,  
 141–3, 145, 147, 155–7, 159–60, 163–6,  
 193, 196–7, 203–5, 243, 260–61, 263,  
 266–9, 287  
  
 Tatenen: 159–60  
 Tayet: 29  
 Tefnut: 193, 197–8, 202  
 Thetis: 218, 220  
 Thoth: 19, 37–8, 132, 151, 155, 157, 159–61,  
 164–6, 180, 203–4, 208–9, 213, 220, 233–  
 4, 236  
 Titans: 51–2, 54  
 Tutu: 164  
 Tyche: 178–9, 233  
 Typhon: 142  
 Typhon-Seth: *see* Seth-Typhon  
  
 Venus: 241, 253, *see also* Aphrodite  
  
 Yahweh: 68, 120, 137, 262–4  
  
 Zeus: 47, 51–2, 57, 61, 152, 161, 179, 181,  
 202, 204, 249, 251–2, 277

## Persons (Including Heroes and Fictional and Mythological Characters)

- Abraham: 288, 290  
 Achilles: 221, 283  
 Agamemnon: 161  
 Agenor: 221  
 Agrippina: 173  
 Alexander the Great: 175  
 Alfonso the Wise: 260  
 Alkamenes: 182–3  
 Amenemhat I: 29–30  
 Amenhotep II: 5, 7  
 Ameni: 31  
 Amunnenshi: 29, 35  
 Anubis (Tale of the Two Brothers): 31–2,  
 214  
  
 Anu-ikšur: 65  
 Apollonius of Tyana: 209, 218, 221  
 Ashurbanipal: 77  
 Astrampsouchos: 10  
 Augustus: 35  
  
 Baqa', daughter of Aziza: 260  
 Bata (Tale of the Two Brothers): 31–2, 214–  
 15  
 Bēl-šumu-līšer: 65  
 Bentresh: 33  
 Bes (Story of Bes): 31, 35–6  
 Borsippa: 67  
 Bryaxis: 175

- Claudianus: 101, 115, 121  
 Claudius: 36  
 Clearchus of Methydrion: 183  
 Commodus: 181  
  
 Daniel: 288  
 Dardanos: 10, 233  
 Deianira: 251  
 Democritus: 101, 112, 114, 118, 121, 150,  
 281  
 Demodocus: 254  
 Diomedes: 252  
 Djoser: 156, 165  
 Domitian: 221  
  
 Elijah: 288  
 Elizabeth (mother of John the Baptist): 289,  
 291  
 Enmerkar: 39  
 Ensuhgir-ana: 39  
 Erichtho: 280  
 Eucrates: 174–6, 185  
 Eurykleia: 223  
  
 Gilgamesh: 39  
  
 Hannibal: 43  
 Haryothes: 35–6  
 Hektor: 283  
 Hippolytus: 251  
 Horus-son-of-Paneshe: 37–9, 216–17  
 Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman: 36–9,  
 216–17  
  
 Ieu: 101  
 Imhotep: *see under* Deities  
 Inaros: 36, 40  
 Iqīšā: 65, 73  
 Isaac: 288  
 Ištar-šumu-ēreš: 69–70  
 Itti-Marduk-balātu: 65  
 Ixion: 248–9  
  
 Jacob: 10, 200, 288  
 James (apostle): 219  
 Jesus Christ: 21, 218–19, 288–91, 296  
 John (apostle): 219  
 John the Baptist: 288–9, 290–91  
 Joshua: 288  
 Justinian I: 277  
  
 Kišir-Aššur: 65  
  
 Lazarus: 290–91  
 Leo the Mathematician of Thessalonike: 280  
 Leo VI ‘the Wise’: 280–81  
 Lollia Paulina: 173–6, 185  
 Longinus, St.: 290  
 Lucius: 220, 253  
 Lugalbanda: 39  
 Lykourgos: 53  
  
 Makarios, St.: 223  
 Mariam: 296  
 Mary/Mother of God: 288, 296  
 Mašliaḥ: 260  
 Medea: 7–8, 182, 251  
 Menelaos: 135, 223–4  
 Menena: 34  
 Merenptah: 31  
 Moeris: 220  
 Moses: 10, 101, 114, 116, 119, 199, 222, 263  
 Mousaios: 49–50  
  
 Nechepsos/Necho II: 10  
 Neferti: 30  
 Nestor: 284  
 Noah: 259  
  
 Ocyrhoē: 224  
 Odysseus: 7, 223, 284  
 Onchsheshonqi: 30  
 Orpheus: 45, 49–50, 281  
 Ostanēs: 10  
  
 Patapius, St.: 290  
 Paul (apostle)/St. Paul: 291  
 Pay-iry/Mery-Sakhmet: 34  
 Penelope: 223  
 Periklymenos: 218, 220  
 Phaedra: 249, 251  
 Philinna the Thessalian woman: 10, 280  
 Phokas, St.: 290  
 Phylakis and Phylandros: 55  
 Pibecheis: 101  
 Pitys the Thessalian: 10, 104  
 Pnouthis: 101  
 Proetus: 224  
 Ptolemy I Soter: 175  
 Pythagoras: 101, 114, 118, 121, 150, 224  
  
 Ramses II: 5, 36

- Ramses III: 34, 95  
 Ramses IV: 34  
 Ramses V: 215  
 Romulus and Remus: 55
- Sagburru: 39–40  
 Sarah: 288  
 Septimius Severus: 98  
 Setna Khaemwaset: 36–8, 209, 214, 216, 223  
 Simaetha: 249  
 Sinuhe: 29–30, 34–5  
 Siosiris: 36–8, 40, 214, 216–17, 223  
 Sisinnia: 289  
 Sisinnios: 288–90  
 Solomon: 10, 129–30, 259  
 Syrian woman of Gadara: 10, 71
- Tantalos: 216, 293  
 Tasis: 35–6  
 Tiresias: 7  
 Titus: 283  
 Tjekerbaal: 32  
 Trajan: 282–3
- Ur-ginuna: 39
- Vespasian: 283
- Wenamun: 32–3
- Zoroaster: 286

## Places

- Abusir el-Melek: 97  
 Abydos: 158  
 Acropolis: 182, 185  
 Aea: 7  
 Aidepsos: 283  
 Aitolia: 288  
 Aleppo: 206  
 Alexandria: 50, 98, 106–7, 122, 147, 175–6, 179  
 Amsterdam: 260  
 Anatolia: 64  
 Aphroditopolis (Atfih): 121  
 Arabia: 30  
 Aratta: 39–40  
 Ashkenaz: 264  
 Asia Minor: 166, 172, 174  
 Aššur: 65  
 Assyria: 63–4, 252  
 Athens: 101, 182, 242
- Babylon: 65, 73  
 Babylonia: 63–5, 74  
 Bakhtan: 33  
 Boeotia: 179  
 Byblos: 32, 34  
 Byzantium: 277, 284–5, 291–2, 295–6
- Cairo: 20, 259–60, 264  
 Carnuntum: 288  
 Castille: 260
- Chimara: 283  
 Chios: 278  
 Constantinople: 277–8, 295  
 Crete: 52, 288  
 Cyprus: 33, 240, 245, 252
- Dalmatia: 184  
 Delos: 180  
 Delphi: 51, 55, 173, 175, 185–6  
 Dendara: 242  
 Didyma: 172–3
- Ebla: 63  
 Elephantine: 35, 138  
 Eleusis: 242  
 Eleutherna (Crete): 54  
 El-Kab: 211  
 Elyrus: 55  
 Emmaus: 219  
 Ephesos: 179  
 Epidauros: 165, 241  
 Euphrates: 64
- Fayum: 97–8
- Gebelein: 216  
 Gela: 181  
 Gurôb: 49
- Hadrumetum: 101

- Hattuša: 64  
 Heliopolis: 192, 198, 203  
 Hermonthis: 14, 108, 119  
 Hermopolis: 37, 191  
 Himera: 46  
  
 Israel: 10  
 Italy: 264  
  
 Jerusalem: 130  
  
 Kaneš: 63  
 Karnak: 161  
 Kepoureio (Macedonia): 295  
 Kerkyra: 286  
 Klaros: 172–5, 185–6  
 Kolchis: 8  
 Kolophon (Ionia): 162, 173  
 Koptos: 204–5  
 Krokodilopolis: 216  
 Kulaba: 39  
 Kurdistan: 181  
 Kusai (El Quseyya): 121  
 Kush: 39  
 Kythera: 240  
 Kyzikos: 181  
  
 Levant: 5, 28, 31–2, 34–5  
 Libya: 5  
 Lokroi Epizephyrioi: 46–7  
 Luxor: 33  
  
 Magna Graecia: 52  
 Mari: 64  
 Media: 289  
 Mediterranean: 1, 2, 4, 46, 181, 239  
 – Eastern Mediterranean: 65, 78, 176, 183  
 Memphis: 108, 120, 137–8, 156, 166, 199  
 Meroë: 39  
 Mesopotamia: 3, 63–6, 70, 76, 149, 199, 243  
 Middle East: 78  
 Middle Egypt: 121  
 Mirgissa: 35  
 Mount Carmel: 219  
 Mount Ida: 242, 277  
 Mount Olympos: 245  
 Mount Ossa: 58  
 Mount Tmolos: 242  
  
 Namer (Syria): 290  
 Napata: 39  
  
 Nazareth: 218  
 Near East: 2, 11, 29, 39, 63, 70, 195, 238  
 Nile: 98, 120–21, 194, 209  
 Nile Delta: 28, 35, 133, 204  
 – Eastern Delta: 31, 33–4  
 Nineveh: 64, 65, 77  
 Nubia: 5, 28, 34–7, 40, 217, 223  
  
 Olympia: 152  
 Oxyrhynchus: 288–90  
  
 Palestine: 259  
 Paphos: 296  
 Pergamon: 165  
 Phalasarna (Crete): 46  
 Philae: 242  
 Pompeii: 172, 181, 289  
 Punt: 6  
  
 Ra-Sehui: 205  
 Red Sea: 163  
 Rhodes: 289  
 Rome: 54, 180, 286  
 Russia: 292  
  
 Salo (Dalmatia): 184  
 Selinus: 9, 42–3, 48, 182  
 Sicily: 43, 45, 53, 279  
 Sinai: 34  
 Skythia: 218  
 Spain: 293  
 Sri Lanka: 99  
 Sultantepe (Huzirīna): 64, 72  
 Syria: 64, 74, 78, 96, 286  
  
 Tebtynis: 95, 126, 132, 139, 147, 202, 204  
 Thebais: 121  
 Thebes (Egypt): 12, 33, 35, 102, 106, 108, 126, 135, 215, 219, 221, 224  
 Thebes (Greece): 152, 242  
 Thessaly: 54, 58, 96, 220, 280–81, 291, 356  
  
 Ugarit: 64  
 Upper Egypt: 12, 102, 171, 209, 211–12, 214, 216, 220, 224, 247  
 Upper Retjenu (Canaan): 29, 35  
 Urfa: 64  
 Uruk: 39–40, 65, 69–70, 72–3  
  
 Yemen: 264

## Index of Subjects

- acquatic animals and crustaceans: 146, 184, 210, 281–2, 294–5
- agency: 229–30, 232–3, 237
- aggressive magic: 74–7, 94, 117–18, 260, 277, *see also* curses and erotic magic
- alchemical texts: 107
- amulets: 3, 21–2, 32, 37, 44, 72, 94, 98–9, 101, 103, 144–5, 148, 171, 177–9, 184–6, 200, 203–4, 222–3, 248, 276–8, 280, 283–5, 288–90, 292, 294–6, *see also* phylacteries
- angels/archangels: 20–21, 100, 114–15, 119–20, 122, 137, 141, 155–6, 178–9, 186, 233, 259–60, 262–4, 288–9, 291–2
- Gabriel: 155
- Michael: 119–20, 155, 262, 288
- Raphael: 155
- animal material: 29, 44, 46–7, 49–55, 57, 65, 69, 99, 104, 118, 120–21, 133–4, 145–6, 161, 177, 202, 204, 215, 222, 236, 246–7, 255, 279, 281, 286–7
- anti-witchcraft rituals: 65, 70–71, 75–6
- apotropaic magic: *see* protective magic
- applied magic: 3, 6, 12, 21, 93–4, 96, 101, 103, 260, 262, 276
- appropriation: 5–6, 95, 100–102, 120–22, 187, 237, 239
- Aramaic magic and elements: 11, 65, 120, 198
- assimilation: 3, 100, 121, 163, 179, 181, 186, 194, 243, 252–3, 290
- astral bodies: 71, 73–4, 109, 114–15, 118, 132, 134, 136, 141, 156, 159–60, 163, 176, 182–3, 196–7, 199–200, 203, 205, 213, 222, 240, 243–6, 248, 253–4, 266–9, 280, 283–4, 286–7, 295, *see also* Ursa Major/Great Bear/Foreleg, Saturn (planet) and Venus (planet)
- astrology and astral magic: 71–74, 77–8, 82–85, 98, 115, 118, 121, 150, 163, 174, 199, 205, 284
- Bacchants: 54
- binding (magical): 96, 223, 235, 248, 250, 280, 286–7, 295
- birds: 30, 38, 48, 99, 104, 122, 145, 155, 159, 161, 163, 175–81, 197, 203, 208, 210–13, 215, 217, 219–20, 222–3, 232, 246–7, 249, 253–5, 278, 286–7
- blame-shifting: *see* slander/δίαβολή
- borrowing: 3–4, 11, 20, 22, 28, 62–3, 66, 77, 96, 225, 285, 292
- boy medium: *see* divination, divination with (boy) medium
- burning (magical): 38, 157, 245, 250, 283, 291
- business spells: 15, 18–19, 69, 96, 117, 177–82, 185–7, 227–37, 289
- Byzantine literature: 283
- Byzantine magic and ritual: 3, 10, 22, 276–96
- charakteres*: 96, 99, 115–17, 230, 285–6
- charitesia*: 69–70, 73, 75, 77, 98, 117, 122, 138, 197
- Christian tradition (and Christian elements): 3, 12–14, 20–22, 48, 92, 100, 103, 122, 130, 219, 223, 279–81, 283, 287–91, 296
- clientele: 10, 14, 17–19, 42, 96, 98–9, 101, 105, 113, 117–19, 122, 186–7, 223, 230, 235–7, 249
- coercive formulae: *see* compulsions
- compilation process (of magical handbooks): 3, 9, 13, 15–18, 20–22, 95–105, 113–19, 127–8, 130, 135, 138, 147–8, 192, 199–201, 207, 261, 263–5, 269–70
- compulsions: 13, 117, 131–2, 134, 150–51, 154, 243, 245–51, 255
- consecration rituals: 19, 175, 177–8, 184, 186, 201, 233, 269
- cosmogony/cosmology: 70, 103, 119–20, 132–3, 139–41, 192–3, 236, 253, 296
- cultural fusion: 2–3, 11, 16, 18–19, 23, 100, 152, 159, 161, 166–7, 228, 234–6, 247
- cultural plurality: 2–3, 9, 11, 16, 18–19, 22, 27, 32, 41, 63–4, 124, 146, 152, 166–7, 171, 176, 181, 184–7, 201
- Cumaean Sibyl: 164
- curse tablets: *see defixiones*

- curses: 35, 37, 96, 250–51, 260, 279–80
- defensive magic: *see* protective magic
- defixiones*: 8, 43, 66, 92, 97, 138, 250, 278
- demon/daimon: 5, 33, 41, 46, 69, 76, 98, 100, 117, 119–20, 124, 128–30, 146, 183, 185, 187, 222, 244, 246, 262–3, 280, 288, 294
- of the dead: 70, 76, 117, 125, 142, 144, 227, 262
- Demotic literature: 6, 30, 33–9, 199–200, 203, 208–9, 211, 214, 216–17, 223, 225, *see also* Egyptian literature
- dismissals: 131–2, 137–8, 144, 146, 148, 261
- divination: 2, 10, 18, 21, 32–3, 35, 69, 71, 96, 99–100, 102, 107, 112, 115, 117, 125, 127–30, 132, 135, 144–5, 151–2, 162, 164, 171–2, 174–5, 185, 205–6, 218, 220, 260, 262–3, 280
- bowl divination, 99, 103, 118, 125, 127, 129, 137, 142–3, 145, 147
  - deductive divination/omina: 42, 77, 147, 152
  - direct vision: 99, 117, 121, 139, 172, 186, 201, 219
  - divination with (boy) medium: 33, 103, 117, 119, 121, 125–6, 128–9, 137–9, 141, 145–6, 153
  - dream interpretation: 35, 38, 99, 137
  - dream oracles: 15, 17–18, 33, 99, 103, 114–18, 121, 124, 126–9, 133, 136–7, 142, 149–70, 173, 175–7, 185–6, 262–4, *cf. also* incubation
  - ecstatic divination: 32, 33, 173, 218, *cf. also* oracles (institutional), Greek
  - lamp divination: 15, 17–18, 99, 103, 121, 124–48, 151–5, 157, 165–6
  - necromancy: 7, 142, 171, 280
  - sunlight divination: 125, 139
- divine epithets: 9, 11, 16, 19–20, 44, 52, 67, 98, 120, 134, 138–9, 141–4, 147, 153, 155–63, 172, 178–9, 182, 186–7, 191, 193–6, 198, 200, 239–43, 245, 249–50, 252–4, 265–70
- divine iconography: 16, 18–19, 102, 141–2, 144, 155, 158–61, 163–4, 175–86, 202, 204–6, 229, 231, 235, 227–37, 247, 254, 292
- Djed-pillar: 137
- drawings (magical): 12, 16, 102, 104, 111–12, 115–17, 119–20, 145, 155, 158–9, 162, 184
- dream requests: *see* divination, dream oracles
- dream-sending spells: 116–17, 150
- efficacy: 6, 10, 28, 45, 58, 94, 224, 228, 230–35, 246, 251, 278, 283–4
- Egyptian literature: 6, 19, 27–35, 37, 40–41, 97, 139, 194, 202–3, 205, 209, 211, 214–16, 220, 224–5, 290, *see also* Demotic literature and hymns, Egyptian
- funerary literature: 6, 19, 133, 136, 139–40, 142, 146, 156, 164–5, 195–7, 201, 209, 211–14, 224
- Egyptian magic, ritual and religion: 1, 3–8, 12–14, 17–20, 29, 31–9, 47, 64, 93–100, 103, 117, 120, 122, 128–9, 132–48, 152–3, 155–61, 163–7, 171, 177–8, 181–2, 186–7, 191–207, 209–17, 220, 224–5, 230–31, 234, 236, 238–9, 241, 245, 247–8, 253–5, 266–7, 290
- Egyptian priests: 6, 8, 13–14, 18, 29, 36, 39, 94–5, 97–8, 134, 144–6, 187, 200, 202, 210, 221
- Egyptian temples: 6, 12–14, 17, 37, 94–8, 104, 113, 120–22, 132–3, 144, 152, 161, 164, 187, 199, 242
- Ephesia Grammata*: *see voces magicae*, magical *logoi*
- epiphany: 125, 128–9, 133, 140–41, 146, 201
- erotic magic: 2, 19, 22, 69–70, 75–7, 96, 98, 101, 103, 112, 114, 116–18, 121, 127, 179, 223, 235, 238–55, 277, 279, 296
- exorcisms/exorcists: 11, 21, 63–5, 67, 69–70, 73–5, 77–8, 129–30, 280, 288, 291
- eye-paint: *see* ointments
- figurines: 15, 18–19, 32, 70, 161, 171–87, 227–37, 289
- Greek literature: 7–9, 19–20, 42, 46, 48–54, 58–9, 119, 147, 161–2, 174, 182–3, 194, 209, 211, 218–21, 223–5, 240–42, 245, 249, 251–2, 254, 280, 291, *see also* hymns, Greek, and Homeric verses/references used for magical purposes/in magical hymns
- Greek magic, ritual and religion: 3–4, 7–9, 12–13, 17–20, 42–61, 63, 69, 75, 95–8, 100, 121–2, 128–9, 145, 152, 155–6, 159–67, 171–6, 179–84, 186–7, 201–2, 205–7, 218, 221, 228–30, 240–43, 245, 247–55, 269, 277, 280, 283, 289, 295



- in modern Greece: 277–80, 282–3, 286, 288–9, 291–2, 295–6
- healing spells: *see* iatromagic
- hemerology: 71–77, 79–85, 115, 118
- historiolae*: 44, 47, 53, 96, 234–5, 245, 249, 281
- history of research: 11–15, 91–4, 106–9, 125, 210
- Hittite magic and ritual: 11, 64, 66
- hk̄i* (concept): 8, 14, 94, 215–16
- Homeric verses/references used for magical purposes/in magical hymns: 135, 147, 161–2, 219–21, 276–7, 283–4, 296, *see also* *Homeromanteion*
- Homeromanteion*: 109–11, 113, 115–17, 121, 276
- hymns:
  - Egyptian: 134–5, 140–41, 194, 242, 253
  - Greek: 20, 44, 46, 52–3, 59, 92, 98, 162, 172–3, 176, 229, 238–42, 245, 248, 251, 254, 269–70, 294
  - magical: 16, 19–20, 44, 92, 98, 102, 108, 129–30, 135–6, 141, 147, 151, 158–63, 166, 173, 199–201, 219–20, 238–55, 267, 270
  - Mesopotamian: 253
- iatromagic: 5, 22, 29, 33, 36, 53, 71, 75, 94, 98–9, 103, 115, 117, 119, 204, 218, 236, 277–84, 286–90, 292–6
- identification:
  - between different deities: 5, 7, 19–20, 67, 156, 158–9, 162–6, 179–80, 193–5, 204, 234, 236, 238–9, 243, 247, 252–4, 290
  - self-identification of the magician with divine entities: 13, 95, 133, 138, 143–4, 153, 158, 198–9, 201, 290–91
- incubation: 18, 35, 37, 99, 149, 165–6, 173, 176–7, 185
- insects and arachnids: 94, 98, 103, 111, 113, 116–17, 145, 156, 163, 176, 182, 211, 214, 285, 295
- invisibility spells: 19, 38, 103, 114, 217, 221–3
- Jewish magic and ritual (and Jewish elements): 3–4, 10, 12–13, 17, 20–21, 68, 99–100, 103, 119–20, 122, 130, 137–8, 142–3, 147–8, 153, 155, 157, 171, 186, 197, 200–201, 207, 222, 259–75, 277
- Adonai: 100, 119–20, 200
- Sabaoth: 100, 119–20, 155, 185, 197, 200
- lamellae: 45–7, 49, 53–4, 99, 116, 232, *cf. defixiones*
- lapidary handbooks: 18, 171, 181, 184–6, 205
- laurel: 18, 69, 121, 129, 151, 153, 161–2, 164, 166–7, 172–3, 175, 186, 283
- layout and structure of magical papyri: 15, 17, 101–5, 111–16, 125–7, 129–30, 132, 262
- lecanomanancy: *see* divination, bowl divination
- lectional signs: 15, 17, 96, 109–10, 112–14
  - *paragraphos*: 104, 109, 130, 150
- legal and ethical restrictions (of magic): 8, 75, 77, 173–4, 227, 276
- love spells: *see* erotic magic
- lycanthropy: 218
- lychnomanancy: *see* divination, lamp divination
- Maat (concept): 30, 160, 165
- magical gems: 15, 18, 66, 93, 97–8, 141, 164, 171, 175–9, 181–2, 184–6, 205–6, 278
- magical implements: 149, 152
  - bowls: 118, 125, 142, 145, 147, 172
  - bricks: 18, 133, 151, 164–5
  - inks: 151, 231, 293
  - knots: 70, 120
  - lamps: 17, 118, 120, 124–5, 128–30, 132–3, 135–6, 138–42, 144, 147, 149–54, 157, 175, 180
  - nails: 43, 118, 286
  - rings: 70, 149, 151, 155–6, 174–8, 185, 197, 201, 269
- magical words/names: *see voces magicae*
- magicians: *see* ritual experts/magicians
- mammals: 29, 44, 46–55, 57–61, 69, 98–9, 120–21, 133–4, 137, 142, 163, 177, 182, 186, 191, 201–4, 206, 208–15, 218–20, 222–4, 232–3, 235–6, 246–7, 254, 281–4, 286, 290, 293–5
- medical spells: *see* iatromagic
- Mesopotamian literature: 11, 39–40, 65, 68, 250
- Mesopotamian magic, ritual and religion (and Mesopotamian elements): 3–5, 10–13, 19, 21, 62–85, 147, 149, 185, 239, 243, 249–50, 253
- metals: 9, 11, 29, 43–5, 47, 49, 53–5, 57–8, 66, 93, 99, 118, 143–4, 151, 172–3, 177–

- 8, 184, 211, 215, 234, 248, 262, 284, 288, 290, 292–6
- minerals and stones: 29, 43–4, 48, 53, 57–8, 69, 78, 93, 99, 139, 144, 155, 175–80, 182, 184–5, 197, 229, 232–3, 281, 293, 296
- mummy/mummification: 29, 144, 177–8, 206, 248
- mystery cults: 4, 9, 44, 46, 48–55, 58, 98, 238–9
- myth: 1, 4–5, 9–10, 18–19, 44–5, 46–9, 51–5, 69–71, 142, 153, 157–8, 162, 202–4, 214–15, 217–18, 221, 229, 231, 234–7, 241–3, 245, 248–50, 254, 281–3, 293
- Netherworld: *see* Underworld
- Nubian magic and ritual (and Nubian elements): 4, 6–8, 10, 27–8, 34–40, 216–17, 223
- Nun: 141
- offerings (including sacrifice): 29, 32, 37, 45–6, 49–52, 57, 59, 98, 129, 133, 146, 151–2, 172–3, 177, 180, 197, 215, 233, 237, 245–8, 250–55
- ointments: 97, 111, 118, 146, 151, 222
- onomata barbara*: *see voces magicae*
- oracles (institutional):
- Egyptian: 158, 205
  - Greek: 18, 42, 128, 152, 162, 164–6, 172–5, 186, *cf. also* incubation
- Orion (constellation): 196
- ‘Other’, perception of the: 1–4, 6–8, 10, 27–41, 101, 146, 156
- ouroboros: 112, 145, 197
- palaeography: 17, 31, 65, 109–11, 206, 211, 262
- paredros* spells: 102, 156, 209–10
- phylacteries: 18, 45, 69, 115, 117–18, 130–32, 144–6, 151, 177, 179, 184, 202, 204, 206–7, 246, *see also* protective magic and amulets
- plants: 19, 69–70, 96, 114, 120–22, 132–3, 141, 145–6, 150, 154, 163, 172, 175, 177, 180, 205, 208, 211–12, 215, 219–20, 222, 231, 233, 246–7, 254, 276, 279, 281–4, 286–7, 289, 293, *cf. vegetal material, see also laurel*
- practitioners: *see* ritual experts/magicians
- primeval creation: *see* cosmogony/cosmology
- prosperity spells: *see* business spells
- protective magic: 4, 7–9, 15, 18, 22, 32, 37, 39, 42–61, 66, 69, 74–7, 94–5, 98, 101, 103, 117, 144–6, 164–5, 171, 175–7, 179, 181–7, 198, 204, 236, 246, 277–80, 284–6, 288–90, 295–6, *see also* phylacteries
- pseudepigraphy: 10, 97, 101, 156, 181
- Pythia: 164, 175
- reptiles: 29, 52, 94, 98, 103, 142, 156, 163, 176, 179, 183, 197–9, 204–5, 210–11, 214–15, 219–20, 234, 291–5
- restraining anger spells: 69, 75, 77
- ritual experts/magicians: 6–8, 10, 13–14, 17–19, 32, 36–42, 48, 64, 67, 94–9, 101–2, 105, 115–19, 122, 125, 128, 134, 138, 141, 145, 152, 171–4, 187, 198–200, 202, 206, 209, 216–18, 220–21, 223, 225, 229, 231–3, 235–7, 242, 244, 247–52, 254, 261, 264, 270, 280, 286, 290–91, 296, *see also* witches
- ritual purity: 69, 95, 97, 134, 172–3, 255
- sacrifice: *see* offerings (including sacrifice)
- Saturn (planet): 205
- secrecy: 2, 13, 19, 32, 69, 100, 114, 174–5, 177, 180–81, 186–7, 204, 209, 236, 244, 255
- separation spells: 75, 98
- shape-shifting: 6, 19, 38, 40, 135, 208–26
- slander/*διαβολή*: 30, 35, 75, 102, 118, 120
- statuettes: *see* figurines
- syncretism: 17, 62, 64, 92–4, 100, 105, 147, 166, 210, 236, 238–9, 241, 243, 247, 249, 252–4
- textiles: 99, 129, 144–5, 154, 157, 159, 172, 202, 280
- Theban Magical Library: 12, 102, 106–8, 187, 208, 210
- theogony: 51, 120, 192–3, 202
- theurgy: 100, 102
- threats (against divine entities): 13, 95, 153, 206, 248, 250, 255, 279–80, *cf. compulsions*
- translation (ancient) of/in magical/ritual texts: 11, 18, 64, 66, 74, 143, 187, 193–5, 207, 260
- translation (concept): 14, 18, 160, 171, 179, 186–7, 238

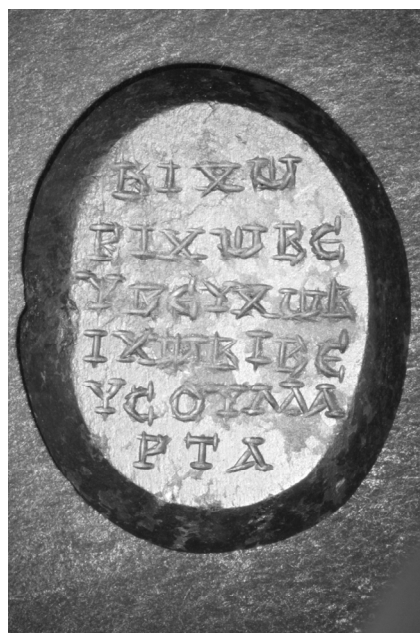
- transliteration (ancient) of words or magical/  
ritual texts: 6, 11, 18, 21, 65, 133, 137,  
139, 143, 178–9, 181, 191–3, 195, 197–8,  
200, 244, 260–61, 263–9, 277, 285
- tripod: 172–3, 175, 186
- Underworld: 20, 62, 66–7, 70, 156, 160, 165–  
6, 243
- Egyptian: 37–8, 142, 156–7, 159–60, 165,  
197, 212–13, 216, 248
  - Greek: 47, 52, 67, 160, 241–3, 252
- uraeus: 29–31, 157, 254
- Ursa Major/Great Bear/Foreleg: 71, 96, 118,  
132, 146
- vegetal material: 7, 65, 69–70, 93, 97, 118,  
120–21, 125, 132–3, 145–7, 151, 153–4,  
162, 172, 175, 177, 180–81, 183, 185–6,  
201, 228, 230–35, 246–7, 252, 254, 280–  
85, 289, 293, *cf.* plants, *see also* laurel
- Venus (planet): 253
- vocalic sequences: 62, 68–9, 99, 111, 179,  
182, 199–200, 231
- voces magicae*: 10–11, 13, 16–17, 19–22, 62,  
67–9, 91, 96, 99–100, 102–4, 106, 109,  
113–14, 119–21, 133–9, 141–3, 147, 150–  
51, 154, 156, 178–81, 184–5, 191, 197–8,  
228–35, 237, 243–4, 249–50, 252, 254,  
262–4, 285, *cf.* vocalic sequences
- magical *logoi*: 9, 47–8, 67, 119, 137–8,  
143, 176, 250, 285
  - palindromes: 96, 119
- wax: 37, 65, 70, 176–81, 183–7, 228–30,  
232, 234
- witches: 8, 10, 75, 182, 280

## Plates





*FIGURE 1: Sarapis enthroned with Kerberos (BM 30)*  
(Photo: CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE)



*FIGURE 2A–B: Triple-headed god (BM 173)*  
(Photo: CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE)



FIGURE 3: Pantheos on thunderstone from Roman Ephesos



FIGURE 4: Pantheos on protective amulet (BM 290)  
(Photo: CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE)



*FIGURE 5: Triple Hekate statuettes (Reinach)*



*FIGURE 6: Roman plaque of Hekate (Vienna)*





*FIGURE 7A–B: Hekate / ORARA (BM 69)*  
(Photo: CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE)