

The Iconography of the Images in the Magical Papyri

By

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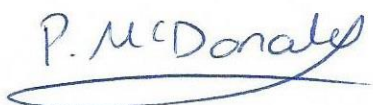
October 2015

Declaration

I, Peta Louise McDonald, certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Date: 8th October 2015

Signature:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'P. McDonald', with a large, sweeping underline.

Abstract

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The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that the figural depictions in the magical papyri formed part of a conceptualised system of magical imagery. Rather than being haphazard sketches, it will be argued that the figural depictions were meaningful images, whose execution and use in rites and spells reflect considered ritualistic actions. Using PGM XXXVI as a case study, it will be established that the depictions were governed by a strict set of iconographic regulations. Specific terminology, uniform compositional placement, a desire to execute the depictions accurately, as well as reoccurring pictorial motifs, suggest that the images existed within a pre-established iconographic system. In addition, the depictions appear to have retained specific functions within the magical papyri. These functions were accordingly fluid and changed relative to the context of the depictions' use (whether in applied magic or magical handbooks). As such, the depictions were utilised as part of the materiality of magic *praxis*. Finally, it will be demonstrated that the figural depictions were considered significant in the belief and practice of Graeco-Egyptian magic. This is indicated by the images' complex relationship with magical practitioners, wherein they acted as intermediaries between the mundane and supernatural worlds. Moreover, the ritual act of drawing the depictions in magical *praxis* suggests that they were fundamental elements in the enactment of particular rites and spells.

Acknowledgments

As anyone who has ever undertaken any form of higher degree research knows, the result of such an extensive investigation is not the product of an isolated individual. Numerous persons contributed to the preparation, development, and outcome of this thesis.

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List of Abbreviations

ACM = Meyer, Marvin., & Smith, Richard., (eds.), 1994, *Ancient Christian Magic. Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*, (San Francisco).

AEMT = Borghouts, J. F., 1978, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, (Leiden).

CT = Gager, John G., (ed.), 1992, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*, (New York).

IPP = Horak, Ulrike., (ed.), 1992, *Illuminierte Papyri Pergamente und Papiere I*, (Vienna).

MSF = Naveh, Joseph & Shaked, Shaul (eds.), 1993b, *Magic Spells and Formulae. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, (Jerusalem).

PDM = *Papyri Demoticae Magicae*. PDM references Demotic spells in the magical papyri.
Cf. Betz 1986.

PGM = Betz, Hans Dieter., (ed), 1986, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including the Demotic Spells*, (London).

Suppl. Mag = Daniel, Robert W., & Maltomini, Franco., (eds.), 1990a, *Supplementum Magicum Vol. I*, (Lengerich).

Introduction

The inhabitants of Roman Egypt experienced the world in a manner decidedly different to those of modern society. For such individuals, the mundane world of human incentives and the alternate reality of the supernatural sphere were intimately connected to the point that both could tangibly influence the other, whether positively or negatively. Magic, as construed by ancient practitioners, was a means by which an individual could interact or react against the supernatural sphere. The use of images in magical *praxis* (practices) was one such means at the disposal of practitioners and much magical paraphernalia, including κατάδεσμοι (curse tablets), magical incantation bowls and gem amulets, bear magical images. However, while the iconographic bearing of such artefacts have received academic treatment (some more than others), the images in the magical papyri have been relatively neglected¹. This thesis aims to rectify this, in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the iconographic nature of the images in the magical papyri and their bearing in Graeco-Egyptian magic².

The magical papyri form one of the most coherent sources of data regarding magical imagery³. Thus, in order to gain a broader understanding of magical images, their nature within the papyri, as well as their use in magical *praxis*, the magical papyri will form the chief source-base of this thesis. The papyri consist of a collection (or fragments) of spells, hymns, prescriptions and rites, which were used in antiquity in applied magic or were compiled as

¹ Martín Hernández 2012: 491; Gager 1992; Viložng 2013; Naveh & Shaked 1998b; Bonner 1950; Brady 1999. See Chapter One for a detailed discussion on the academic treatment of the images in the magical papyri.

² Rather than the phrase ‘Graeco-Roman magic’, ‘Graeco-Egyptian magic’ will be used throughout this thesis to refer to the belief-system and ritual practices of magical practitioners in Roman Egypt. Despite the Romans being in control of Egypt during the periods in which the majority of the surviving magical papyri were composed, the papyri exhibit more Graeco-Egyptian syncretism than Graeco-Roman. Moreover, ancient Greek religion provided the foundation for many of the rituals in the magical papyri and Egyptian religious beliefs were by far their greatest contributor. Betz 1986: xlvi; Hull 1974: 27; Braavig 1999: 51.

³ Weitzmann 1970: 51.

magical handbooks⁴. Papyri used in applied magic typically bore only singular texts and were either utilised by solitary magical practitioners, or written out by ritual specialists for individuals who came to them for aid⁵. In contrast to this, magical handbooks functioned as the working manuals of such ritual specialists. The texts themselves are primarily written on papyrus (though few do occur on cloth, parchment, ostraca and wood) in Greek, Demotic and Coptic and date paleographically between the second century BC and the fifth century AD⁶. Despite evidence indicating that the magical papyri were used elsewhere in the Mediterranean, due to climatic conditions (among a number of reasons), the majority have only survived for us from Egypt⁷.

The magical papyri reflect a synthesis of ritual approaches to the various issues of daily-life in antiquity from various Mediterranean cultures. In fact, the majority of magical texts appear to be copies of copies, including PGM V. 304-369, which stem from earlier manuscripts and hence reflect earlier material. In spite of this, Frankfurter astutely observes that the dominant linguistic and mythological inheritance of the magical papyri denote Graeco-Egyptian cultural traditions⁸. As such, the magical texts cater to a variety of purposes. These include love spells of attraction and separation, prescriptions for athletic and mercantile success, protection charms against demons, illness and general misfortune, malign spells to triumph over enemies (especially in the law courts), as well as spells to obtain information about the future⁹. Also included are instructions on how to invoke specific deities, demons or

⁴ See '*Images used in applied magic: I. Mythic images; II. Performative images; III. Talismanic images*' in Chapter Three for a discussion on applied magic and the use of magical imagery in such instances. Johnston 2008b: 149.

⁵ PGM V. 304-369; Luck 1985a: 17.

⁶ Luck 1985a: 16; Betz 1986: xli.

⁷ For example, among the papyri are a number of texts which stem from a single library found in Thebes, the so-called Anastasi collection named after the modern collector Jean d'Anastasi (1780?-1857), which were written by various scribes. Frankfurter 1997c: 6; Betz 1987: xlii; Hull 1974; Gager 1992.

⁸ Frankfurter 1994a: 199.

⁹ Kenyon 1893: 62.

other supernatural beings to accomplish ones aims, or to act as personal assistants called *paredroi*¹⁰. Amidst a large number of these spells are images, whose iconographic elements, functions and relative significance will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

Since the magical papyri provide us with primary data on magical *praxis*, they are our principal source on magic during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as well as late antiquity¹¹. However, due to the sporadic yet thorough destruction of numerous magical manuscripts, it is likely that only a fraction of the material circulating in antiquity has survived¹². The various find spots and spread of dates assigned to individual papyri likewise suggest that the magical texts were ubiquitous in antiquity¹³. Betz is therefore justified in his claim that the magical papyri are “as important for Greco-Roman religions as is the discovery of the Qumran texts for Judaism or the Nag Hammadi library for Gnosticism”¹⁴. The magical papyri consequently prove to be an invaluable source for studying magical iconography. The intra-textual material on magical *praxis* that the papyri provide, allows for a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the depictions and how they were experienced in the beliefs and practices of Graeco-Egyptian magic.

A detailed study of the images in the magical papyri is evidently long overdue. In order to obtain data on ancient magical *praxis*, scholars have either relied heavily on ancient literary evidence or focused on magical texts¹⁵. The depictions in the magical papyri have therefore been essentially neglected in academic discourse or at least not studied in sufficient detail¹⁶. In

¹⁰ See ‘*Magical image archetypes*’ in Chapter Two for a brief discussion on *paredroi*.

¹¹ Hull 1974: 5.

¹² Suet, *Aug*, 31.1; Acts 19: 18-20; Betz 1986: xli; Luck 1985a: 17.

¹³ Fowler 2000: 318.

¹⁴ Betz 1986: xlii.

¹⁵ Key literary sources used by scholars in the field of ancient magic include Apuleius’ *Apology* which was written in the second century AD, Iamblichus’ early fourth century AD *De Mysteriis*, Pliny’s *Natural History*, compiled in first century AD, and most predominantly the works of Lucian of Samosata (born c. 120 AD). Hull 1974: 5.

¹⁶ Martín Hernández 2012: 491.

fact, the presence of images in magical *praxis*, as well as the interplay between the decorative aspects of magical images and their utility in the papyri, have yet to be addressed¹⁷. The images have traditionally been regarded as incomprehensible sketches which were ornamental in nature. Their primary purpose was understood to merely increase the overall awe and appeal of the magical papyri to those seeking aid from specialists¹⁸. Nevertheless, the striking visual uniformity of the images, the reoccurring presence of specific artistic motifs, their apparent roles within magical texts, as well as their relative significance in Graeco-Egyptian magic (as construed by magical practitioners), suggest that the inclusion of the images in the magical papyri were deliberate actions. This is likely due to their inclusion being considered by practitioners to have been necessary for the successful enactment of particular rites and spells.

Therefore during the course of this thesis, I aim to demonstrate that the figural depictions in the magical papyri formed part of a broader iconographic system of magical imagery¹⁹. Rather than being haphazard sketches, it will be argued that the figural depictions were meaningful images, whose execution and use in rites and spells reflect considered ritualistic actions. The practitioners of Graeco-Egyptian magic clearly established a complex belief-system which comprised what they understood to be magic, as well as the manner in which it was to be practiced. The figural depictions, existing within a conceptualised system of magical imagery, were prominent elements of this framework. Their visual form and utility appear markedly entrenched within its system of spiritual beliefs and they appear to be part of the materiality which were utilised in its practice.

The first chapter of this thesis will accordingly provide a methodological analysis of previous academic investigations regarding the images in the magical papyri, as well as the

¹⁷ Swartz 2005: 195.

¹⁸ Martín Hernández 2012: 491.

¹⁹ Due to the scope of this study, the figural depictions will form the primary focus of this thesis. See '*Typology of the images in the magical papyri*' in Chapter One for a detailed discussion on the various image types in the magical papyri.

methodologies used to examine the depictions in this study. Moreover, this thesis will take an art historical approach towards interpreting the depictions in the magical papyri, with a particular focus on iconography²⁰. Hence, Chapter Two will be devoted to a pre-iconographic description of the figural depictions. It will be demonstrated that the figural depictions were governed by a strict set of iconographic regulations. Specific terminology, uniform compositional placement, as well as a desire on part of the practitioner to depict the images accurately, suggest that the depictions existed within a pre-established iconographic system. This is further highlighted by the identification of several reoccurring motifs, their associated articles, and their specific visual elements as artistic archetypes within the papyri²¹. Chapter Three will be devoted to a formal iconographic analysis of the depictions and thus focus on their functions in the magical papyri²². It will be argued that the figural depictions served specific roles within the papyri. This will be established with particular reference to the relationship between the artistic design elements of the magical images and their use in magical *praxis*. It is evident that depending on the context of their use (whether in applied magic or magical handbooks), the functions of the depictions appear to have been fluid. This indicates that it was the stage in the cycle of ritual activity, as well as the specific rituals in which they were utilised, which determined the relative roles of the images. It is due to this that we should interpret magical images as artefacts, since they retained specific roles within magical *praxis* comparable to other magical paraphernalia. Finally, Chapter Four will be devoted to an iconographic interpretation of the images within the milieu of the belief and practices of magic in Roman Egypt. As such, the chapter will discuss the significance of the figural depictions in Graeco-Egyptian magic. This will involve ascertaining the symbolic value of the depictions as understood by magical practitioners. The relationship between the images and magical

²⁰ Iconography is a branch of art history concerned with the meaning behind representations, as opposed to solely the manner in which they are visually represented. Panofsky 1982b: 17.

²¹ Panofsky 1962a: 4, 9-11; Gombrich 1972: 6.

²² Panofsky 1982b: 17.

practitioners accordingly indicates that the depictions acted as intermediaries between the mundane and supernatural worlds. Moreover, the underlying principles which governed the use of images in magical *praxis* will be addressed²³. Namely, the ritualistic act of drawing the depictions appears to have been considered an important element in magical *praxis*.

As will be established, one of the leading arguments of this thesis is that the magical images were meaningful depictions whose execution indicates considered ritualistic actions. That is, it is hypothesised that the images were deliberately drawn to include specific iconographic elements and were executed with an aspiration for accuracy. This hypothesis is supported by the overall homogenous appearance of the images. In this way, the images are comparable to the hymns and invocations in the magical papyri, particularly in regards to their desire to be recorded faithfully. Explicit instructions are frequently provided on the features of individual depictions. One of the primary reasons for this is likely due to the images themselves being required to be drawn in a formulaic way. This is clearly evident in PGM XXXVI. 178-187. This text instructs the practitioner to draw on a sheet of lead a figure holding a torch in its right hand, a knife in its left hand, three falcons on its head, a scarab under its legs and an ouroboros under the scarab²⁴. Nonetheless, there is evidence of discrepancies in the papyri. For instance, situations do arise where an image is instructed to be drawn yet none are present in the papyrus²⁵. However, it appears that the inclusion of the correct visual elements (for instance pertaining to specific supernatural beings), as well as these elements being drawn in a precise manner, were viewed by practitioners as integral to the successful functioning of various rites and spells. The precision used to execute the depictions will therefore be one of the salient points of investigation in this study.

²³ Panofsky 1982b: 17.

²⁴ PGM XXXVI. 178-187; Betz 1986: 273; Eitrem 1925: 27.

²⁵ PGM VII. 249 (the figure to be drawn is said to be at the beginning of the book), 477, 918 (a blank space has been left for the figure to be drawn), XXXVI. 264-274.

Furthermore, this study will utilise a novel conceptual model to interpret the depictions in the magical papyri. This includes understanding them as meaningful illustrations which existed within an established iconographic system and likewise approaching the images as part of the materiality of magical *praxis*. This theoretical framework will provide a broader understanding of the images within the growing field of ancient magic. In particular, this study will address the diverse image types in the magical papyri, the manner in which they were depicted, how they were utilised, the fluid nature of their use, as well as how the depictions relate to the various beliefs and practice of Graeco-Egyptian magic. In addition, it is hoped that this conceptual model will provide future avenues of research. Due to the limited scope of this study, this thesis will focus on the figural depictions in the magical papyri. However, there is the possibility of applying this model to the other image types in the papyri: namely shapes and *characteres*²⁶. Correspondingly, this same model can be applied to the wider genre of magical images preserved on diverse magical mediums: including κατάδεσμοί, gems amulets and magical incantation bowls.

It is likewise expected that this thesis will result in providing an insight into the lived experience of magical practitioners in Roman Egypt. Through the magical papyri, we are able to gain a first-hand account of the daily concerns pervading life in antiquity. It is evident that the persons who utilised the papyri shared similar apprehensions to those of modern society. For instance, the magical papyri clearly display the universal desires for wealth, fame, love, the ability to protect oneself and others, as well as the desire for justice and good fortune. These universal concerns are constructive to contemporary discourse since, despite existing in vastly divergent milieus, they allow us to approach ancient magic and its practitioners with impartiality and a degree of open-mindedness. This is significant as the ability to interact with

²⁶ See ‘*Typology of the images in the magical papyri*’ in Chapter One for a discussion on the image types in the magical papyri.

and understand diverse cultures is a fundamental requirement for modern society, just as much as it is for academic research.

Finally, it is hoped that this thesis will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of magical imagery and its bearing in Graeco-Egyptian magic. Establishing that the images in the magical papyri existed within a conceptualised system of magical imagery suggests that the images held greater prominence in the beliefs and practices of ancient magic than previously construed. This is significant, since identifying images as prominent elements of Graeco-Egyptian magic provides us with a more complete understanding of its beliefs and practices. This understanding is appropriately based on the inclusion of the magical images as a source-base on ancient magic, as opposed to previous studies which have solely utilised ancient literature or magical texts²⁷. The data obtained from the detailed analysis of the magical images during the course of this study, will hence provide supplementary evidence to future research endeavours regarding magical imagery, as well as Graeco-Egyptian magic as a whole.

²⁷ Ankarloo & Clark 1999; Collins 2008; Luck 1985a; Faraone & Obbink 1991.

Chapter One

Methodologies and Sources

The study of the images in the magical papyri has been severely hindered by their academic treatment. This is clearly evident in the publication history of the images. In addition to suffering initial neglect, as well as study of magical texts being prioritised over that of the images, the depictions in the magical papyri were not even included in early publications. Moreover, when the images were included in later publications, they were represented using inadequate line-drawings. Secondly, the early scholarly attitudes of derision towards the magical papyri has contributed to the insufficient study of the images. Though this early attitude has changed (primarily from the 1980s onwards), with interest in magical manuscripts and materials increasing, magical images have continued to be largely neglected in academia, particularly by papyrologists and art historians. Lastly, an increased interest in magical images in recent decades has resulted in a number of notable publications. However, these are decidedly brief. The works attributed to Hopfner and Martín Hernández generally provide the only substantial contribution to discourse on magical imagery¹. In light of such treatment, further study of the images in the magical papyri is required, in order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of their nature and bearing in Graeco-Egyptian magic.

Publication history of the magical papyri and their images

The magical papyri which came to light from the early nineteenth century onwards initially suffered from neglect and academic derision. Most examples were kept in museums as mere curiosities, while others were essentially ignored in academia². One of the most notable cases

¹ Hopfner 1913-1921; Martín Hernández 2012.

² Betz 1986: xliii.

of such inattention involves the “Curse of Artemisia”. Despite being immediately published upon its discovery in 1826, this magical papyrus held little prominence within the study of the classical world³. This was unfortunate since the papyrus, which dated to the middle of the fourth century BC, was one of the earliest documents bearing ancient Greek. Like most papyri in the nineteenth century, the manuscript was initially overlooked and only emerged from obscurity with its republication by Friedrich Blass in 1882⁴.

Towards the later decades of the nineteenth century, the majority of the magical papyri began to be published. This publication phase was typically sporadic, as early papyrus publications were generally produced with one or two examples at a time. However, these publications explicitly lacked any of the images in the magical papyri. In 1925, PGM XXXVI was published with a detailed commentary by the Norwegian scholar Samson Eitrem⁵. PGM XXXVI is described by Betz as a “valuable magical scroll”, primarily due to its seven clear depictions⁶. Nevertheless, Eitrem merely notes the occurrence of these images in his transcription as “Figura magica” (magical figure). They are not reproduced alongside the magical texts, nor do they receive any detailed description or analysis. The images themselves do receive some commentary and plates of the papyrus are provided which bear them. However, these photographs lack sufficient clarity for satisfactory use in any study attempting to research magical images in detail⁷. The inattention towards the images in such a ‘valuable magical scroll’, serves to illustrate the lack of attention which was afforded to the images in magical papyri as a whole.

In spite of this inattention, these early publications fostered the gradual increase in academic interest towards magical manuscripts. *Papyri Graecae Magicae* was at the forefront

³ PGM XL. 1-18; Betz 1986: 280; Brashear 1996b: 372.

⁴ Brashear 1996b: 372.

⁵ Eitrem 1925: 4.

⁶ Betz 1986: xliii.

⁷ Eitrem 1925: 5-11, 13.

of this growing interest. The text provided the first substantial collation of magical papyri in a single corpus. It was edited by Karl Preisendanz and first published in 1928. A second volume soon appeared in 1931 with Preisendanz re-editing the then known 147 magical texts, including the “Curse of Artemisia”⁸. A third volume with additional material, a catalogue of hymns, as well as indices was planned and in production, though never appeared due to its printing plates being destroyed in the 1943 air raid of Leipzig⁹. *Papyri Graecae Magicae* was later revised by Albert Henrichs in two volumes in 1973 and 1974¹⁰. As the first substantial collation of magical papyri which provided the primary sources to scholars and upper-level students, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* became the basic tool for research in the growing field of studies on ancient magic¹¹.

Despite the utility of *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, the corpus exhibits disciplinary divisions which, to a large extent, still characterise the contemporary study of the magical papyri. The first notable division is based primarily on linguistic grounds and has essentially been shaped by the academic training of scholars in the field of papyrology¹². This is evident through classicists focusing primarily on Greek spells to the exclusion of the Demotic. Preisendanz excluded all Demotic material from his editions despite a number of magical papyri exhibiting bilingual texts. Secondly, Preisendanz excluded κατάδεσμοι from his corpus. This exemplifies the division between papyrology and epigraphy. It is important to consider that Preisendanz’s corpus is dedicated to the magical papyri rather than the gemstones, ostraca, parchment and other related material which bear magical texts. However, the exclusion of κατάδεσμοι remains questionable considering the strong relationship the curse tablets bear to the magical papyri. Finally, the lack of images in *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, as well as any

⁸ Preisendanz 1973a; Preisendanz 1973b.

⁹ Betz 1986: xlv.

¹⁰ Preisendanz 1973a; Preisendanz 1973b; Betz 1986: xlv.

¹¹ Dieleman 2005: 16.

¹² Dieleman 2005: 11.

relevant commentary or analysis, demonstrates the academic preference given to the study of the texts in the papyri over the images¹³. This is irrespective of the fact that they occur alongside one another. Dieleman aptly observes that Preisendanz's corpus fixed these parameters for future research on magical papyri. For instance, Dieleman argues that this linguistic division is "the current still prevailing paradigm" in the study of the magical papyri¹⁴. This is likewise applicable to the images, since succeeding publications lack sufficient depictions¹⁵.

Betz's 1986 English edition of *The Greek Magical Papyri in translation* also forms something of a continuation to Preisendanz's corpus. It incorporates newly discovered magical texts found since 1941 and appears to correct some of these early scholarly prejudices¹⁶. For instance, along with the Demotic magical papyri, Betz includes the images in the corpus alongside their relevant magical texts. Nevertheless, Betz merely provides line-drawings of the images with no additional plates (though this may of course have been due to publication costs). The use of line-drawings is an ineluctable necessity, yet a problematic tool for presenting the images in papyri. Line-drawings generally reflect the biases and interpretive whims of the scholar attempting to decipher and reproduce the original image¹⁷. Plates prove more advantages, since photos generally provide clarity and show the images in context alongside the text. Nevertheless, the use of line-drawings is also seen in Meyer and Smith's *Ancient Christian Magic, Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. The corpus provides such representations of the images in some of the 135 selected Coptic magical texts which date from the first to the eleventh century AD¹⁸. Moreover, Meyer and Smith explicitly state that only a few samples of illustrative

¹³ See Preisendanz 1973b: 160-162. Busts are noted for PGM XXXV, though no depiction or plate bearing the image is provided. The crosses which appear on the papyrus are likewise excluded. However, Preisendanz does make reference to them in the commentary. Dijkstra 2015: 272.

¹⁴ Dieleman 2005: 11.

¹⁵ Dieleman 2005: 17.

¹⁶ Betz 1986: ix.

¹⁷ Brashear 1996b: 376.

¹⁸ Meyer & Smith 1994: 1, 6.

papyri have been included in the corpus. This indicates the continuing preference given to the texts in the magical papyri in lieu of the images.

In comparison to Betz, a much more admirable successor to Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae* is *Supplementum Magicum*. The corpus was edited and published by Daniel and Maltomini in 1990. Daniel and Maltomini meticulously re-edited the numerous magical texts that had thus far accumulated, including the page proofs from the material originally intended for Preisendanz's third volume¹⁹. Unlike both Preisendanz and Betz, *Supplementum Magicum* includes κατάδεσμοι, as well as ostraca, cloth and parchment bearing magical texts²⁰. Likewise, the corpus provides interpretations of the images in the commentary of the edited magical texts. While *Supplementum Magicum* seems to break through some of the traditional paradigms of studying the magical papyri, line-drawings are again the sole means of rendering the images in the magical texts. Daniel and Maltomini appear to have missed an opportunity in their use of plates. Unlike Betz who notably lacks any photographs or Preisendanz who provides selected sections of individual papyri, Daniel and Maltomini provide a number of plates dedicated to whole papyrus texts. If such photographs were utilised to publish magical images, in addition to the use of line-drawings, the reader would be provided with a means of deciphering the image. This would result from the assisting interpretations of the publishing scholar, which would aid in deciphering the often crudely drawn depictions, as well as the means of furthering the inquiring scholar's own research through the use of the original material. While publishers play a determinative role in the formats of publications, such deliberations need to be considered if the study of magical imagery is to advance.

¹⁹ Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: ix; Brashear 1996: 373.

²⁰ Jewellery and gemstones are omitted from *Supplementum Magicum* however, with the exception of *Suppl. Mag.* 6. *Suppl. Mag.* 6 is a hematite falcon bearing a magical inscription. See Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 17-19. Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: ix.

In addition to this unfavourable publication history, the early scholarly attitudes of derision towards the images in the magical papyri has severely contributed to their lack of examination. The magical papyri were originally shunned due to their association with magical *praxis*. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century academic conception of magic resulted from early anthropological studies, particularly by the Victorian writers Edward Tylor and James Frazer. They described the beliefs of tribal societies as an early stage in the history of humanity. The beliefs of such societies in magic, according to Tylor and Frazer, were the forerunners to religion, the precursors to science, and hence irrational. The outcome of such studies is that “even in the scholarly literature the term ‘magic’ is used with the same rhetorical force as it was in antiquity”²¹. That is, primarily a term of distinction which emphasises a cultural self-image of sagacity²².

This approach can clearly be seen in the early study of the magical papyri. Ulrich von Wilsmowitz-Moellendorff severely repudiated Hermann Usener and his student Albert Dieterich as "Verehrer des Aberglaubens" (admirer of superstition). Their research was also dismissed as “Botokudenphilologie”²³. Likewise, in 1905 Dieterich taught a seminar on the magical papyri at the University of Heidelberg called “Selected Pieces from the Greek Papyri”. The term magic was so abhorrent to historians and philologists that it was excluded from the seminar’s title²⁴. Moreover, this attitude of derision towards magical material is potently reinforced in Eitrem’s commentary on PGM XXXVI. In the preface, Eitrem states that he hopes his commentary proves useful in promoting a more detailed study “of these interesting relics of

²¹ Meyer & Smith 1994: 3.

²² Meyer & Smith 1994: 3.

²³ “Botokudenphilologie” refers to an extinct Eastern Brazil tribe. Their name represented notions of foreign, barbaric and repugnance in early twentieth century Germany. Brashear 1996b: 373.

²⁴ Betz 1986: xliii.

degenerate religions and of the human mind gone astray”²⁵. Such early attitudes set the foundation for the majority of classical scholars in the field of ancient magic for many years.

Fortunately greater awareness in recent decades of the value of the magical papyri has overturned the initial perspectives of early scholars. This second wave of interest which began in the 1980s has largely resulted from the increased accessibility of the material due to corpora including that of Preisendanz and Betz²⁶. In quite a short period numerous transcriptions, monographs, proceedings of conferences, journal articles, as well as books on ancient magic began appearing in increasing quantities²⁷. While this increased interest is certainly laudable, the same cannot be argued for the images in the magical papyri. These studies primarily concentrated on magical texts and their categorisation²⁸. However, the magical images have essentially been overlooked in contemporary research. This has particularly occurred within the fields of papyrology and art history. For example, art historians have never analysed the iconography of the images in the magical papyri in their entirety²⁹. This discrepancy in study was initially highlighted by Nock in 1929 with a short survey of the Greek Magical Papyri, particularly in terms of the corpus’ philological characteristics³⁰. Indeed, Nock’s observation appears justified. For instance, Weitzmann is blatant in his disregard of the value afforded by critically studying the magical images from an art historical approach. He argues that the images are “artistically utterly insignificant” and as such it should not come as a shock that papyrologists and art historians have ignored them³¹. Despite this, Weitzmann’s thesis appears inconsistent. He argues for the advantages of using pictorial criticism as a methodology.

²⁵ Eitrem 1925: 4.

²⁶ Bremmer 2015: 7.

²⁷ Segal 1981: 349-376; Kotansky 1991: 107-137; Graf 1991a: 188-213; Frankfurter 1997c: 115-136; Frankfurter 2002d: 159-178; Gordon 1999a: 159-276; Faraone 2002e: 400-426.

²⁸ Bremmer 2015: 8.

²⁹ Smith 2000: 1.

³⁰ Nock 1929: 219-235.

³¹ Weitzmann 1970: 7.

Pictorial criticism is akin to textual criticism in regards to its aim of obtaining the purest version of the text. In this case, the aim of pictorial criticism is to obtain the iconographically purest version of the pictorial motif³². This approach appears credible, yet Weitzmann expressly states that the earliest version of the motif is not necessarily the most aesthetically pleasing³³. Though technically being iconographic corruptions, often images can be artistically improved with continual use. Images can be altered, enhanced or changed as they are copied through the process of manuscript transmission. Hence, scholars should not neglect the magical images based on their crudeness. The images may in fact be closer to their original pictorial motifs and their crude nature may indicate that their value lay in their utility as opposed to their aesthetics³⁴.

The neglect of the images in the magical papyri based primarily on aesthetic value, has resulted in previous research simply recording them alongside magical papyri. This is apparent in the compilations by Preisendanz, Betz, Daniel and Maltomini, as well as Meyer and Smith. As a result, Nock states towards the end of his survey that three tasks are still awaiting completion. Namely, the proper study of the *voces magicae*, a corpus of the so-called Abraxas gems, and lastly the making of a corpus of images in the magical papyri, as well as an accompanying study of their iconographic bearings³⁵. These tasks are still awaiting completion. This is significant particularly in regards to the images. As will be made apparent throughout this thesis, the images in the magical papyri form a fundamental part of the belief-system and practice of Graeco-Egyptian magic. Their neglect is therefore academically unprofitable. The images are laden with valuable data regarding magical *praxis* in Roman Egypt and as such require a more detailed examination than previously attempted.

³² Weitzmann 1970: 183.

³³ Weitzmann 1970: 183.

³⁴ See Chapter Three for a discussion on the crude appearance of the images suggesting that their value was primarily functionality rather than aesthetic.

³⁵ *Voces magicae* are words which appear to have no meaning in Greek or other languages. They are often transliterated as small capitals. Nock 1929: 233.

Increasing interest in the images in the magical papyri

While the attitudes of early scholars have hindered the sufficient study of the images in the magical papyri, such challenges as posed by Nock have resulted in increased interest towards them in recent decades. Works which include noteworthy sections on magical depictions include Gordon's 2002, 'Shaping the Text: Innovation and Authority in Graeco-Egyptian Malign Magic', Ogden's 'Binding Spells: Curse Tablets and Voodoo Dolls in the Greek and Roman worlds', as well as Horak's chapter on magical papyri with images in her *Illuminerte Papyri Pergamente und Papiere I*³⁶. Unfortunately the commonality between these works is that each examines magical images either in brief, or not from an interpretive approach conducive to sufficiently investigate the images themselves. Namely, investigating individual images in terms of their iconographic implications or as a part of a larger tradition of magical *praxis*. This can be seen in Dieleman's examination of the London-Leiden magical manuscripts. Dieleman examines the use of *characteres*, their function within ritual and their role in reinforcing the secrecy of magical *praxis* which ritual specialists emphasised. However, Dieleman's analysis is distinctly brief³⁷. Moreover, Dieleman approaches *characteres* from a linguistic frame of interpretation which, while understandable considering his primary focus is on the Demotic and Greek text in the papyri, appears impractical. This is due to *characteres* being supposedly "unutterable, and presumably untranslatable"³⁸. Therefore, interpreting *characteres* as part of the papyri's magical imagery appears more credible, since they were likely intended to be appreciated visually not verbally.

³⁶ Gordon 2002b: 97-107; Ogden 1999: 46-51; Horak 1992: 150-184. See also Crippa 2010: 115-127 and Sfameni 2003: 43-45.

³⁷ See 'Typology of the images in the magical papyri', discussed in the following section on the methodology of this thesis, for a definition of *characteres*. Dieleman 2005: 96-101.

³⁸ Dieleman 2005: 97.

In fact, other than Hopfner's *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, the only research which can be argued to effectively treat magical images is Martín Hernández's 'Reading Magical Drawings in the Greek Magical Papyri'³⁹. Hernández reasserts the discrepancy in study initially highlighted by Nock: specifically that the magical images have either been neglected in academia or not discussed in sufficient enough detail. She equally asserts that there is a pressing need for an integrated investigation of the images alongside their magical texts⁴⁰. Martín Hernández's research provides a beneficial contribution to furthering the study on magical images. Notably, she provides a framework from which to categorise the various image types in the magical papyri⁴¹. While Martín Hernández's system of categorisation will not be used in this thesis (which will be discussed in greater detail below), it does provide the foundation for future avenues of research. Clearly the need for a more detailed study of the images in the magical papyri cannot be overstated. Therefore this thesis aims to contribute to meeting this need, so as to gain a more comprehensive understanding of their iconographic nature.

Terminology

In order to satisfactorily accomplish this, this thesis will approach the conception of magic as a phenomenon closely related to the broader cultural phenomenon we that call religion in Roman Egypt. Firstly, the term 'magic' has been a key concern in the field of ancient religions since the 1900s⁴². This is due to the numerous diverging theories on how to define the term, as well

³⁹ Hopfner 1913-1921; Martín Hernández 2012.

⁴⁰ Martín Hernández 2012: 491.

⁴¹ Martín Hernández's system of categorisation consists of a) images which represent the instruction in the text, b) images which set in motion the intention of the ritual, c) magical words written in diverse shapes, and d) *characteres*. Martín Hernández 2012: 491.

⁴² Kippenberg & Schafer 1997: ix.

as how to utilise it with any analytical connotations. For instance, the twentieth century conception of magic stemmed from the milieu of early anthropological studies. As mentioned previously, Taylor and Frazer were of particular influence concerning the academic reception of magic. Their conception of the term was based on the distinction of magic from religion⁴³. Using the notion of evolution in terms of advancement and progression, magic was understood to be the precursor to religion and science. As such, magic was considered to be primitive⁴⁴. Juxtaposed to this, the French sociologists Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss approached magic as a social phenomenon which was separate from religion. However, their theory of distinction was based on the diverging circumstances in which magic and religion occur⁴⁵. For Durkheim and Mauss, it was the context which determined the classification of ritual practices as either magical or religious⁴⁶.

Durkheim and Mauss' approach readily became popular in the study of ancient religions. This primarily occurred due to the fact that many ancient magical and religious practices retained no difference in their inherited ritual traditions⁴⁷. Indeed many prayers, hymns and ritual activities which are typically seen as 'religious', appear almost indistinguishable from parallel practices attested in texts characterised as magical. For instance, Graf observes that the formal tripartite arrangement of PGM IV. 2785 conforms to the general structure of Greek prayer such as evident in Sappho's prayer to Aphrodite⁴⁸. Moreover, the discovery and publication of the magical papyri served to further validate this theory in the eyes

⁴³ Frazer 1932; Hanegraaff 2012: 165.

⁴⁴ Frazer 1932; Hanegraaff 2012: 165; Pals 1996: 16; Herbert 1995: 133.

⁴⁵ Durkheim 1995: 39-44; Hanegraaff 2012: 165.

⁴⁶ According to Durkheim and Mauss, religion was understood as public and focused on social cohesiveness. Magic on the other hand, was private, mysterious and tended towards the forbidden. See Durkheim 1995: 39-44; Pals 1996: 88; Kippenberg & Schafer 1997: 14.

⁴⁷ Kippenberg & Schafer 1997: 14.

⁴⁸ PGM IV. 2785; Graf 1997b: 189; Betz 1986: 90.

of many scholars. This is due to the rites collected and prescribed in the papyri being closely related to the established cults and religious associations apparent in Roman Egypt⁴⁹.

Nevertheless debate continues regarding the use of magic as a term of classification. The likelihood of any universal consensus regarding its definition appearing in the near future seems slight⁵⁰. It has been questioned whether magic as a term has any explanatory or analytical value when applied to primary material⁵¹. Magic, in the commonly understood modern sense, is a value-laden word which developed primarily in relation to Christian notions of 'true religion', as well as those of the Enlightenment⁵². Enlightenment notions generally characterised magic as a primitive, superstitious belief which develop into higher forms of religiosity. Religion was also understood to be able to degenerate into magic⁵³. Segal accordingly argues that magic cannot and should not be construed as a scientific term. This is due to it having no universal definition. All relevant modern definitions either relate to a specific culture or sub-culture under discussion⁵⁴. This is corroborated by Dickie, who claims that the *μαγεία* (frequently translated as magic) of the ritual specialists who utilised the magical papyri is not compatible with the modern conception of magic. Rather *μαγεία* is embodied within a broader spectrum of religious phenomena⁵⁵. Such disagreements have resulted in some scholars going as far as removing the term from academic discussion as a means of negating any negative

⁴⁹ Kippenberg & Schafer 1997: 14.

⁵⁰ Aune 2007: 231; Segal 1981: 349.

⁵¹ Aune 2007: 231.

⁵² The Enlightenment was a period in modern history extending approximately from the mid seventeenth century to the eighteenth century. It was characterised primarily by Western thought and culture. The period is generally regarded to have resulted in the development of the modern Western world.

⁵³ Kippenberg & Schafer 1997: xi; Fowler 2000: 332.

⁵⁴ Segal 1981: 351.

⁵⁵ Dickie 2003c: 18-27.

connotations⁵⁶. However, Versnel is justified in his observation that “you cannot talk about magic without using the term magic”⁵⁷.

As such, this thesis will approach magic as a phenomenon closely related to religion. Magic can be understood as a part of the broader cultural phenomenon we call religion in Roman Egypt. This is supported by Faraone and Obbink’s observation that magic is “a type of religious deviance” whose practices are “nondichotomous variations in ritual procedure”⁵⁸. The contrast between magic and religion arbitrarily separates a continuous spectrum of interlocking religious phenomena⁵⁹. Magic was not compartmentalised in antiquity from the religious sphere and accordingly should not be in academic discourse. This is supported by the material in the magical papyri. The texts appear to be a melange of divergent social phenomena which were collected by persons who saw no distinction between magic and religion⁶⁰.

To assist in utilising the term ‘magic’ analytically, this thesis will also utilise the three-fold interpretive scheme coined by Braarvig⁶¹. This scheme approaches magic from the diverging perspectives in which it occurs within the historical record. The first category of interpretation involves understanding magic intra-textually. This refers to situations where magic is acknowledged as such by practitioners and is a self-definition of practice. The second category is an inter-textual understanding of magic. Such instances include when someone (often polemically) is said to be or accused of practicing magic. The third category is an extra-textual understanding of magic. Magic in this sense is described analytically from an historical, scientific perspective⁶². A similar scheme is also utilised by Czachezz and Aune, though both

⁵⁶ Kippenberg & Schafer 1997: x.

⁵⁷ Versnel 1991a: 181.

⁵⁸ Faraone & Obbink 1997: xi.

⁵⁹ Faraone & Obbink 1997: xi.

⁶⁰ Segal 1981: 352.

⁶¹ Braarvig 1999: 30.

⁶² Braarvig 1999: 30.

scholars use diverse terms of categorisation⁶³. Aune does highlight that an extra-textual understanding of magic is problematic due to the term's numerous definitions and the fact that magic is not a proper scientific classification⁶⁴. It is worth noting that there is always the temptation to view the extra-textual understanding of magic as identical to the *μαγεία* of ritual specialists⁶⁵. Nevertheless, Braarvig claims that we can remain somewhat impartial within the correct frame of an extra-textual interpretation: so long as we eschew Frazer's classification of magic, as well as magic's modern Christian and Enlightenment connotations⁶⁶. The use of Faraone and Obbink's classification of magic in conjunction with Braarvig's interpretive scheme proves advantageous for an analysis of the figural depictions in the magical papyri. This combined approach takes into consideration the ambiguous relationship between ancient magic and religion, as well as recognises that magic is not a simplistic term of classification.

Typology of the images in the magical papyri

Despite the crude and seemingly haphazard appearance of the images in the magical papyri, the depictions exhibit a striking stylistic uniformity. Indeed, just as the style of Egyptian paintings is easily recognisable due to their formal principles of artistic representation, the highly characteristic style of the images in the magical papyri notably distinguishes them from other illuminated papyri⁶⁷. It is due to this stylistic uniformity that a typology of magical images can be established.

⁶³ Czachezz 2007: 302-303; Aune 2007: 233.

⁶⁴ Aune 2007: 293-294.

⁶⁵ Aune 2007: 293-294.

⁶⁶ Braarvig 1999: 52.

⁶⁷ Brendel 1979: 8.

Martín Hernández is the first scholar to attempt any systemised categorisation of the images in the magical papyri. Martín Hernández's system is based upon the distinction of four main categories of magical depictions and their meaning relative to magical texts⁶⁸. These are:

- a) Magical drawings which are representations of the instructions given in the text
- b) Images which set in motion the intention of the magical *praxis*
- c) Magical words written in precise shapes
- d) *Characteres*

Martín Hernández notes that these categories can also be collated into two groups. Category a) and b) may be merged from a functional viewpoint. The second group may be formed from c) and d) from a design viewpoint⁶⁹.

Despite the advantages of this system, Martín Hernández's categorisation is unsuitable to fulfil the aim of this thesis. Martín Hernández's system, whether using four or two main categories, is based on two diverging characteristics of images in the magical papyri: meaning/function and appearance. The system fails to recognise that not all depictions are meant to be experienced or viewed aesthetically: especially in relation to the crude images in the magical papyri⁷⁰. Images can act solely as vehicles of communication intended to transmit a concept or as tools meant to serve a utilitarian function⁷¹. In fact, the function of the images in the magical papyri appears to be fluid between all four of Martín Hernández's proposed categories. For instance, rather than just being used as design elements, *characteres* appear to hold a utilitarian function in the magical papyri. This is apparent in *Suppl. Mag.* 21 which is a protective charm bearing three *characteres* above the text. The text incites the *characteres* to "heal Tiron, whom Palladia bore, from all shivering, tertian, quartan or every-other-day or

⁶⁸ Martín Hernández 2012: 491.

⁶⁹ Martín Hernández 2012: 491.

⁷⁰ Panifsky 1982b: 5.

⁷¹ Panifsky 1982b: 5, 12.

quotidiam...”⁷². Likewise *Suppl. Mag.* 19, another protective charm with eleven *characteres* drawn around the text, appeals to the *characteres* to “heal Amatis, daughter of Adone, from suffering, shivering, fever, tertian, quartan, every-other-day, for all of her life”⁷³. In both examples, the *characteres* function as one of the sources of the charms’ supernatural force. This is corroborated by Frankfurter who observes that *characteres* could be invoked to act as the source of a spell’s power⁷⁴. For instance, Frankfurter examines a third-fifth century AD curse-tablet from Hebron which states “I invoke you, *characteres*...”. A similar example is also seen on an early Byzantine theatre (in the city of Miletus in Asia Minor), which beseeches seven inscribed *characteres* as “Holy ones” to protect the city⁷⁵. In all these instances the *characteres*, which Martín Hernández separates into group c) can be assigned to group b). They likely functioned as the source of the magical text’s power and hence are images which set in motion the intention of the magical *praxis*.

The use of an image typology based on a single characteristic would prove more constructive for a comprehensive analyse of the images in the magical papyri. Consequently, this thesis will utilise its own categorisation of the magical images based on their visual form. Despite distinguishing the images based on their appearance, such categorisation also recognises that different image types can have the same, as well as different, functions within the magical papyri. This thesis recognises three distinct categorises of images within the magical papyri. These are:

- 1) Figural depictions
- 2) Shapes
- 3) *Characteres*

⁷² *Suppl. Mag.* 21; Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 58-60.

⁷³ *Suppl. Mag.* 19. Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 49-52.

⁷⁴ Frankfurter 1994a: 210.

⁷⁵ Cf. the fifth-sixth century AD curse-tablet from Apamea, also examined by Frankfurter, which beseeches the figures as “Lords, most holy *characteres*...”. See Frankfurter 1994a: 202, 210.

The first category includes images of full-bodied figures. That is, bipedal figures including human and anthropomorphic depictions, as well as their associated articles such as swords or whips. Also included are depictions of animals and any representation of an animal or human appendage: for instance, a human head. Lastly, this category encompasses images of inanimate objects such as boats, though these are relatively rare. The second category comprises the formal device of words written in specific (often geometric) shapes. These include lines of text arranged vertically in the form of a rectangle, palindromes arranged in the form of an isosceles triangle called a slope, as well as inverted isosceles triangles called a heart. Also ubiquitous are shapes called wings which appear as right-angled triangles⁷⁶. Other shapes such as the diagram in PGM XIII. 836-842 of a sequence of vowels to be recited in the six cardinal directions occasionally occur⁷⁷. The final category consist of *characteres*. *Characteres* resemble the letters in the Greek alphabet, though are more complex in design. They are small depictions which consist of asterisks and configurations of straight, as well as curved lines, and typically have small circles drawn at their ends⁷⁸. Due to the limited scope of this thesis, the figural depictions will be the primary focus of this research. However, this typology of magical images leaves open the possibility of future research endeavours.

Source body

In order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of magical images, this thesis will draw upon a catalogue of 157 magical depictions. This catalogue has been produced using the corpora of magical literature compiled by Preisendanz, Betz, Brashear, Daniel and Maltomini, Gager, Horak, Meyer and Smith, Naveh and Shaked, as well as other singular publications including

⁷⁶ Gordon 2002b: 85; See Faraone 2012f.

⁷⁷ PGM XIII. 836-842; Betz 1986: 191; Gordon 2002b: 85.

⁷⁸ Dieleman 2005: 97.

that of Choat and Gardner⁷⁹. Due to the scope of this study, my research will focus on the first category of the posed typology of magical images: figural depictions. However, images from category two and three will be used for comparative analysis. As such, this catalogue encompasses figural depictions, shapes and *characteres* preserved on papyrus, κατάδεσμοι, terracotta, cloth and parchment, so as to obtain a broader view of the images in the magical papyri. Figural depictions are the largest group in the catalogue, embodying 55 percent of the compiled magical depictions, and thus provide an apt focus for this thesis.

Furthermore, by way of focusing on the figural depictions in the magical papyri, this thesis will use PGM XXXVI as a case study⁸⁰. PGM XXXVI is a fourth century AD magical handbook preserved on a papyrus roll measuring 2.44 x 0.243 metres⁸¹. PGM XXXVI is clearly notable in terms of its compositional unity and visual strategy. It contains twenty spells written in Greek, each occupying one column, and seven figural depictions which appear at the bottom of particular columns. PGM XXXVI will primarily be used in Chapter Two as a means of analysing the reoccurring artistic motifs apparent in the magical papyri. The two chief motifs which will form the center of this discussion are the figures of Seth-Typhon and a demon holding a human head. These motifs are large in scale and form the dominant design strategy of PGM XXXVI. Shapes and *characteres*, while evident alongside some of the spells, are notably less regular⁸². The use of such an elaborately illustrated papyrus, in comparison to some of the lesser illuminated magical papyri, will provide a more in-depth and cohesive understanding of the figural depictions and their iconographic bearings.

⁷⁹ Preisendanz 1973a; Preisendanz 1973b; Betz 1986; Brashear 1991b; Daniel & Maltomini 1990a; Daniel & Maltomini 1990b; Gager 1992; Horak 1992; Meyer & Smith 1994; Naveh & Shaked 1993a; Choat & Gardner 2013.

⁸⁰ PGM XXXVI. 1-371; Eitrem 1925: 5-17; Betz 1986: 269-278.

⁸¹ PGM XXXVI; Eitrem 1925: 3, 31; Smith 2000: 37.

⁸² Smith 2000: 38.

Chapter Two

The boundaries of magical iconography

Figural depictions are abundant throughout the magical papyri and almost inevitably represent the supernatural beings invoked in the texts¹. This is reasonable, since the ancient Mediterranean culture believed in a cosmos of supernatural beings who were governed by a strict hierarchal system. Theologians attempted to sort this system into distinct categories, which included gods, angels, cherubim and demons, as well as physical entities such as planets and stars². It was also believed that the spirits or souls of the dead (especially those who died prematurely or violently) roamed freely and that such beings could be invoked to accomplish one's aims³. Magical practitioners reacted to this cosmos through the rites and spells evident in the magical papyri. Just as attempts were made to arrange this universe into clear and manageable categories, so too was it likely that similar tendencies were applied to the representations of these supernatural beings in the papyri.

These tendencies are manifest in the relationship between the figural depictions and the magical texts. The texts reveal a strict criteria governing the use of terminology in reference to the depictions. Likewise, the depictions uniform compositional placement in relation to the texts suggest the images adhered to set conventions. We also see such predispositions in the desire for accuracy tangible in the execution of the depictions. Lastly the reoccurring pictorial archetypes, which consistently exhibit the same iconographic elements, indicate the existence of an established system of magical imagery. In aggregation, the evidence indicates that the figural depictions in the magical papyri were bound by a strict set of codified formal devices.

¹ Swartz 2005: 195; Gordon 2002b: 97.

² Gager 1992: 12.

³ Frankfurter 2006e: 10; Luck 1985a: 165; Skinner 2014: 6, 8.

Figural depictions are frequently prescribed throughout the magical papyri using the same limited set of words and their associated cognates⁴. This uniformity in delineation suggests that the figural depictions were governed by an organized system of magical imagery. There appears to be a clear distinction in the magical papyri between references to engraved images, three-dimensional figurines, and figural depictions⁵. This distinction is often conflated by scholars despite the clearly divergent functions of the aforementioned figures⁶. The word-forms exclusively used to refer to the figural depictions in the papyri text indicate that magical practitioners viewed them as separate tools of magical materiality.

Figurines are generally denoted in papyri text as *πλάσμα*, meaning anything moulded such as an image, a figure or anything imitated⁷. Juxtaposed to this, drawn figures are most often indicated by the term *τὸ ζῶδιον*. Drawn figures are often introduced by *ἐστὶν οὗν/δὲ (τὸ) ζῶδιον (τὸδε)*, though *ζωγραφία* is also used in reference to them⁸. Occasionally adjectives govern a reference to a drawn figure, such as evident in PGM XII. 122 which instructs the drawing of an *ἀνθρωποειδὲς ζῶδιον* (a humanlike figure) on linen. Less concrete terms are also used. These include *τῷ εἰδῶλῳ σου* such as in PGM III. 90 and *τὸ ἱερὸν εἰδῶλον* in PGM III. 115⁹. Nevertheless, isolated instances of variants do occur. While all mentions of drawn figures in PGM VII are through the use of *τὸ ζῶδιον*, *τὸ cχῆμα* is used in lines 591-590. The referenced figure is a drawing of an ouroboros with *voces magicae* and *characteres* written within its

⁴ Smith 2000: 22.

⁵ Engraved images refer to depictions required to be etched on mediums external to the papyri. Three-dimensional figurines refer to figures which the practitioner was often instructed to make. Finally, figural depictions appear as actual sketches on magical papyri.

⁶ Haluszka 2008: 480.

⁷ PGM V. 379; Smith 2000: 22.

⁸ See PGM VII. 477, IV. 2119, 2114, VIII. 110, XII. 380, VII. 918 for *τὸ ζῶδιον ἐστί*. Also PGM II. 11-170, VIII. 110, XII. 2384, XXXVI. 1-4, 35-40, 70-75, 102-105, 179-180, 230-235. See PGM VII. 232 for *ζωγραφία*.

⁹ Smith 2000: 23.

center¹⁰. PGM VII appears further unique, since it also exhibits a figure denoted once as τὸ ζῶδιον and further on in the text as τὸ θεώρημα (meaning that which is looked at, a sight, or a spectacle)¹¹.

Despite the uniform technique of denoting drawn figures using the same system of terminology, not all instances refer to an actual image drawn in the papyri. PGM IV. 2006-2125 is a complex love spell of attraction ascribed to Pitys. It instructs the writing of three separate spells on the hide of an ass, on a leaf of flax and on a piece of papyrus, along with three separate figures to be drawn on each medium. Lines 2114-2115 states that “a lion-faced form of a man wearing a sash, holding in his right hand a staff, and on it let there be a serpent” is to be drawn on a piece of hide. Line 2119 instructs a figure of “Hekate with three heads and six hands, holding torches in her hands, on the right sides of her face having the head of a cow, and on the left sides the head of a dog” to be drawn on the leaf of flax¹². Finally Osiris “clothed as the Egyptians show him” is to be drawn on papyrus¹³. However, no images are present on PGM IV to act as a model. This is likewise evident in PGM VII. 467-477, another love spell of attraction, which instructs a drawing of Typhon to be made on a shell from the sea and states that the figure is below¹⁴. Again no image is apparent beneath the text.

Such ambivalent situations can be explained by each spell requiring different levels of detail. The first example, PGM IV, is evidently a very complex spell. Hence it provides very comprehensive and detailed descriptions of the figures required to be drawn. Each description clearly indicates the necessary elements required to be included in each representation in order for the spell to be effective. It may therefore be surmised that the ritual specialist who composed

¹⁰ See Figure 4.

¹¹ PGM VII. 467, 477; Smith 2000: 24.

¹² Cf. CT. 84. The description of Hekate in PGM IV. 2119 markedly parallels the depicted figure incised on CT. 84, a first century AD curse tablet from Athens.

¹³ Betz 1986: 75.

¹⁴ Betz 1986: 130.

PGM IV felt it unnecessary to include the actual representations. This is irrespective of the fact that the representations may or may not have occurred in the original text which was copied by the specialist. In contrast, PGM VII, provides no description of the figure to be drawn. The text merely states that the figure of Typhon is required. This may indicate that a representation of Typhon in any one of his iconographic variants was adequate¹⁵. Consequently, PGM VII. 467-477 appears to be a love spell which would be successful without the extensive detail clearly required in PGM IV. 2000-2125. Moreover, Typhon is a ubiquitous figure in the magical papyri. As such, it is highly plausible that his representation was commonly known among practitioners and did not require extensive description. This may also indicate why the third figure in Pitys' love spell is simply described as Osiris "clothed as the Egyptians represent him"¹⁶. Images of Osiris would likewise have been easily recognisable by practitioners within the milieu of fourth century AD Roman Egypt, the period in which Pitys' love spell was copied. This is supported by Gordon, who claims that the images were not provided in the PGM VII. 2006-2125 as the figures were likely ubiquitous archetypes in the Graeco-Egyptian iconographic system¹⁷. The hypothesis that differing levels of detail were required to successfully complete diverse spells, may thus aid in illuminating why some texts in the magical papyri, particularly those which refer to figures required to be drawn, do not retain actual sketches of the prescribed figures.

Finally, the uniformity in the compositional placement of the depictions drawn in relation to the texts, indicates that the figures' location followed a delineated set of regulations. When apparent in the magical papyri, the majority of the figural depictions appear towards the end of a text or directly beneath it¹⁸. This is apparent in PGM XXXVI whose seven figural

¹⁵ For instance, one of Seth-Typhon's common iconographic variants is his rendition with the head of an ass, due to his close association in the magical papyri with the Egyptian deity Seth. See PGM IV. 259-60, 2015, 2100, 2220.

¹⁶ PGM IV. 2125.

¹⁷ Gordon 2002b: 98.

¹⁸ Weitzmann 1970: 61.

depictions are frequent in their placement at the bottom of each column in which they appear: column I, II, III, IV, VII, VIII, X. Smith describes this consistent localisation as creating a rhythm throughout the roll¹⁹. Instances of depictions placed above the text however are virtually non-existent²⁰. More commonly the texts in the magical papyri are interrupted by sketches, with the results being images which are drawn in-between sections of text. For instance, in PGM II. 64-183 the spell is segregated towards the end via the inclusion of a drawing of a headless demon between lines 169 and 175²¹. Weitzmann states that this tendency is a Greek preference²². The older Egyptian system of using images in tandem with the text tended to place depictions in the side of a column, which, according to Frankfurter, had considerable antiquity in Egypt²³. Nevertheless we can see evidence of the older Egyptian system being retained within the magical papyri. This is notable in PGM XII. 365-375, wherein the representation of a seated deity holding what appears to be a sceptre is placed at the left side of the column. Though less frequent, instances of depictions placed alongside the text are apparent. For instance, PGM II. 155-165 depicts a scarab drawn on the left-hand side of the text. Likewise in PGM III. 415-419 a representation of the Eye-of-Ra is drawn on the left-hand side of the text. Moreover, it is a frequent tendency for the text to appear as part of the depiction. Often text can appear either on the torso or limbs of a figure, flanking a figure or between a figure's legs. A prominent example of this is the representation of Seth-Typhon in PGM XXXVI. 1-34. The figure is flanked on either side by text, which also appears between its legs, on both arms, both legs and on its torso²⁴. The headless demon at the end of PGM II also bears text on both arms, both legs and

¹⁹ Smith 2000: 38.

²⁰ See PGM VII. 940-68 and PGM XXXIX. 1-21 for instances of depictions which appear above the text.

²¹ See PGM III. 70-73 and PGM V. 356-360 for further instances of depictions which appear in-between sections of magical text.

²² Weitzmann 1970: 65.

²³ Frankfurter 1994a: 209.

²⁴ See Figure 1.

torso²⁵. The significance of text occurring as part of the composition of depictions will be discussed in detail later. However, it is worth mentioning that depicting a figure with its magical/secret names adorning its limbs was a technique used by ritual specialists to gain power over or appropriate the power of the represented being²⁶. As such, it is not surprising to find that the text on the torso and limbs of the figure in PGM XXXVI. 1-34, appears to be the repetition of Seth-Typhon's magical/secret names. Likewise in PGM II, the text on the limbs of the headless demon appears to be the repetition of one of the figure's magical/secret names: SABAOTH. This observation, along with the aforementioned formal layout of depictions in relation to the text, supports the thesis that the location of depictions was largely determined by a system of formal regulations.

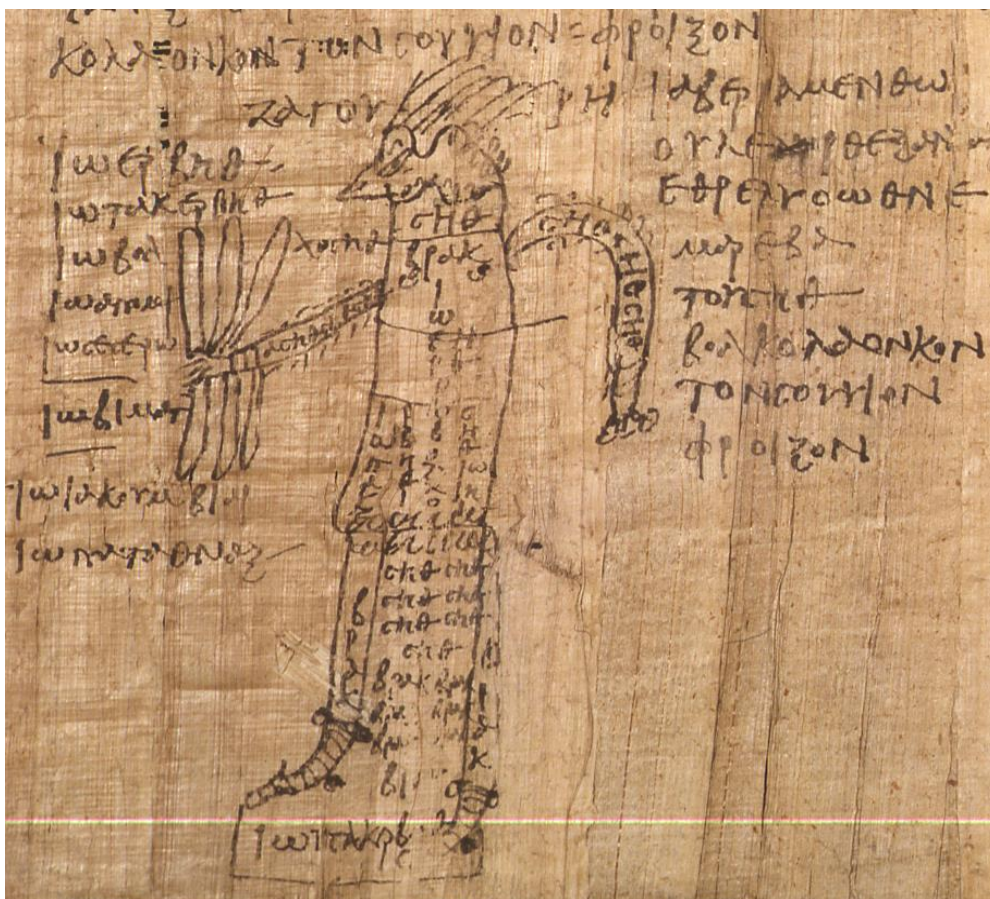


Figure 1. A drawing of Seth-Typhon. PGM XXXVI. 1-34.

²⁵ See Figure 15.

²⁶ Smith 2000: 26.

The figural depictions in the magical papyri are not haphazard sketches. Rather they appear to follow set conventions in terms of their overall accurate portrayal: specifically with regards to the inclusion of the correct iconographic elements in their representations. This observation is reinforced by the clear aspiration for accuracy, on the part of the practitioners utilising the magical papyri, which pervade the texts. We can initially view this desire in the assertions of the ritual specialists who likely copied the texts. PGM XIII is a fourth century AD handbook which begins with the so-called “Eighth Book of Moses”, then proceeds with a number of initiation rites and a collection of miscellaneous spells²⁷. At the very beginning of the handbook, the text asserts that “its content goes as follows”, then records a sequence of specific steps in a complex initiation rite, and finishes with the declaration that “the initiation called *The Monad* has been fully declared to you”²⁸. These assertions of accuracy are likely a boast on part of the specialist as a means of marketing: assuring potential clients that the rite within the handbook will be successful since its content has been faithfully preserved²⁹. Eitrem asserts that this was a common practice in the magical papyri, wherein specialists would often project their recipes confidently³⁰. Despite such techniques being used to market spells, it is likely that asserting the exactitude and purity of textual transmission was a major concern for specialists.

This aspiration for exactitude regarding the faithful rendering of spells is further reinforced by the present states of the texts, which visibly demonstrate numerous phases of

²⁷ Betz 1986: xv.

²⁸ PGM XIII. 1-343; Betz 1986: 172, 179.

²⁹ Cf. CT. 94, a third-fourth century AD curse tablet. The text asserts that “the written page has been fully copied out”, thereby indicating that the spell will be successful as it has been precisely copied from an authoritative source: most probably a magical handbook. Ogden 1999: 55.

³⁰ See PGM XXXVI. 1-34 which begins by stating the title of the spell, then declares εἰς πάντα ποιῶν (‘working for everything’). Similarly the beginning of the spells PGM XXVI. 35-68 and PGM XXVI. 69-101, using the same Greek, proclaim οὐ μῆζον οὐδέν (‘there is none better’). Eitrem 1925: 32.

editing³¹. Most notable is PGM V which exhibits a number of textual insertions. Such insertions, particularly those in lines 4-24, are most accurately described as helpful comments added by the specialist who composed PGM V. Their purpose was likely to aid in correct pronunciation and the accurate transmission of magical words. This is clear since a number of the insertions appear alongside the magical/secret names of the beings invoked in the text. It was a common belief in antiquity that through naming, one was able to gain power over the named. For instance, the text in PGM XIII. 55-60 claims that “unless you emphatically say in advance the [names of] the lord of the day and of the hour...the god will not listen but will refuse to receive you”³². The belief in the power of names and naming is especially apt in regards to cursing or apotropaic contexts, wherein it is common for texts to abound in lists of epithets³³. The commonly accepted explanation for this is the practitioner’s desire to be as inclusive as possible in specifying the desired being to be invoked³⁴. Such editing, as a means of ensuring the preservation of the correct text, is moreover supported by Frankfurter. He observes that when vowels entered Egyptian ritual texts with the advent of Coptic in the second century AD, magical words began to often appear glossed³⁵. This is apparent in the third century AD Demotic Magical Papyri of London and Leiden. The papyrus consistently switches to the Greek alphabet at points where nonsensical words begin in the text or the Demotic magical words are supplemented with Old Coptic glosses³⁶. Dieleman similarly observes that Greek invocations are often inserted into a Demotic text or that a spell in Old Coptic is accompanied by instructions in Greek³⁷. This is evident in PGM III. 633-731 and PGM IV. 1-25, 52-85, 88-93, 94-153. Dieleman claims that such bilingual insertions reflect a desire to copy, as well as

³¹ Dieleman 2005: 11.

³² PGM XIII. 55-60; Betz 1986: 173.

³³ Frankfurter 1994a: 197; Swartz 2005: 190

³⁴ Swartz 2005: 191.

³⁵ Frankfurter 1994a: 203.

³⁶ Frankfurter 1994a: 203

³⁷ Dieleman 2005: 11.

amalgamate, ritual texts from diverse cultural milieus³⁸. This is reasonable since, as Dieleman observes, the magical papyri bear evidence of redacting and editing. However, the desire to preserve content accurately also appears to have been prioritised: especially over the structure and aesthetics of the texts. Moreover, it is clear that vowels, as well as a phonetic alphabet, generally provided a degree of precision in the pronunciation of magical/secret words and names. This is significant considering that the first examples of Old Coptic consist almost entirely of magical texts, which evidently required consistent precision³⁹.

The magical papyri clearly display a want of exactitude in regards to the accurate rendering of spells. As such, it would be expected that the same attitude would be applied to the accurate portrayal of the figural depictions. As previously highlighted, a number of the depictions in the magical papyri are described in an excessive amount of detail, especially in terms of the rendering of correct depictions used in spells. For instance, PGM VIII. 64-110 instructs the preparation of a specific ink, made of the blood of a cow, a white dove, lumps of incense, myrrh, cinnabar, and mulberry tree sap, to name a few ingredients, which the practitioner is to use to draw a figure on his/her left hand. The figure to be drawn is described as “a naked man, standing, having a diadem on his head, and in his right hand a sword that by means of a bent [arm] rests on his neck, and in his left hand a wand”⁴⁰. Strikingly, the representation provided in the papyrus faithfully reproduces the description: down to the sword resting on the figures neck via a bent arm⁴¹. Nevertheless, Gordon problematises this image. He claims that the figure is doubtless a representation of the god Bes and that the depiction misrepresents the typical portrayal of the deity⁴². For instance, in figurines Bes usually wears

³⁸ Dieleman 2005: 11.

³⁹ Frankfurter 1994a: 94.

⁴⁰ PGM VIII. 64-110; Betz 1986: 147-148.

⁴¹ See Figure 2.

⁴² Bes was associated with the protection of childbirth and with power over the source of life in the late period. Gordon 2002b: 100.



Figure 2. A drawing of Bes. PGM VIII. 64-110. Betz 1986: 148.

a triple ostrich-feather crown, which is misrepresented in the drawing, as well as a round or oval shield which is typically held in the left hand of latter figurines of Bes as a warrior. In the shield's place in VIII. 64-110, the drawing substitutes a wand which, according to Gordon, most certainly is intended to be a *w's* or *d'm* sceptre⁴³. While Gordon may be justified in his assertion that the drawing is supposed to be a portrayal of Bes, the point remains that the depiction accurately and meticulously reproduces the complex description in the text. Thus, from the perspective of the practitioner, the rendering of the figure as shown in the papyrus would fulfil the requirements, ensuring the successful functioning of the spell. It is therefore reasonable to argue the same attitude applied to the correct rendering of spells in the magical papyri, was correspondingly applied to the correct rendering of depictions.

The inclusion of the correct iconographic elements appears to have been a key concern in portraying figural depictions. That is, in the same way that citing a supernatural being's epithets and magical/secret names allowed one to gain power over them, so too did depicting

⁴³ Gordon 2002b: 100.

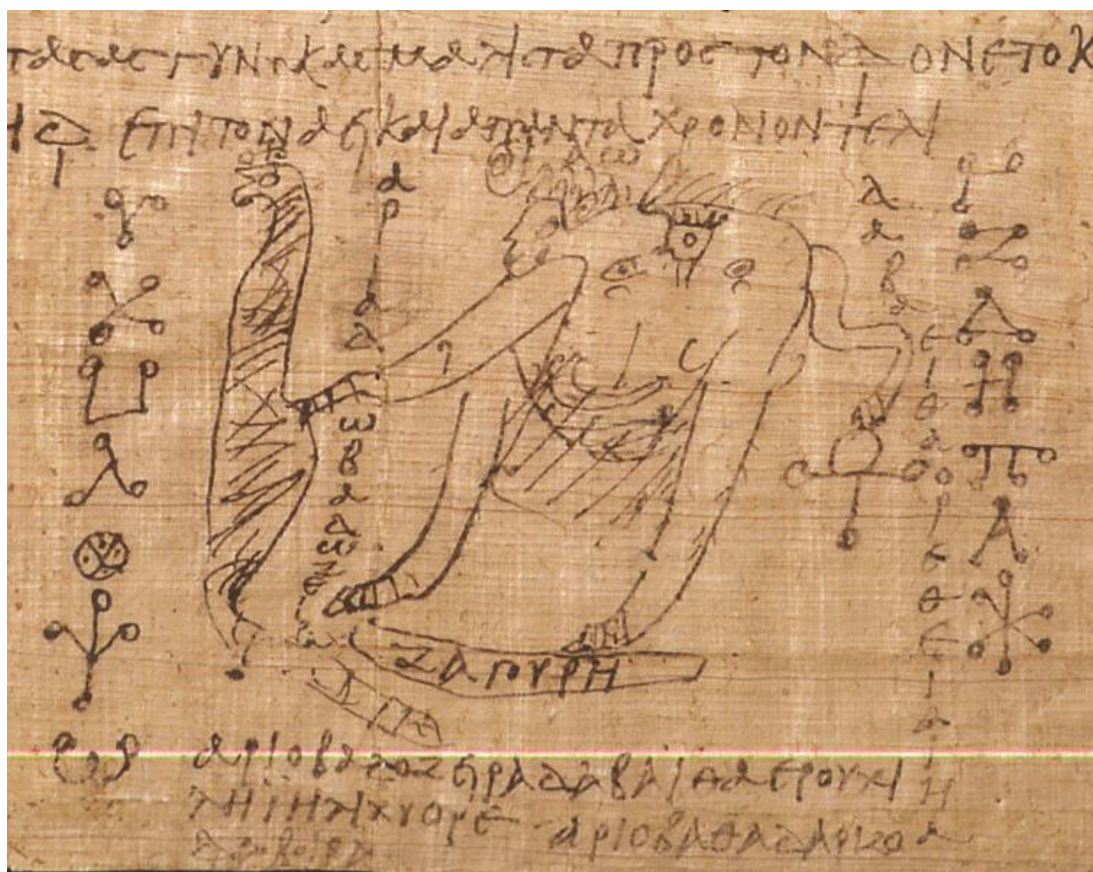


Figure 3. A drawing of the seal of the invoked figure. PGM XXXVI. 35-68.

supernatural beings with the correct iconographic features⁴⁴. PGM XXXVI. 35-68 provides a notable instance of this tendency. The spell, which is a charm to restrain anger, secure favour and gain victory in the courts, instructs the preparation of an amulet. It specifically incites the practitioner to take a silver lamella and inscribe on it “the following seal of the figure” along with its names⁴⁵. The depiction provided in the papyrus acts as a diagrammatic illustration of the figure’s seal, which the practitioner is intended to faithfully copy⁴⁶. This tendency can also be argued for PGM VII. 579-590. The text, which similarly instructs the preparation of a phylactery, likewise claims that the power of the spell stems from the incision of “the name of power of the great god and [his] seal” as follows⁴⁷. Again the depiction provided likely acts as

⁴⁴ Hunter 1998: 96; Porreca 2010: 17.

⁴⁵ Betz 1986: 269.

⁴⁶ See Figure 3.

⁴⁷ Betz 1986: 134.

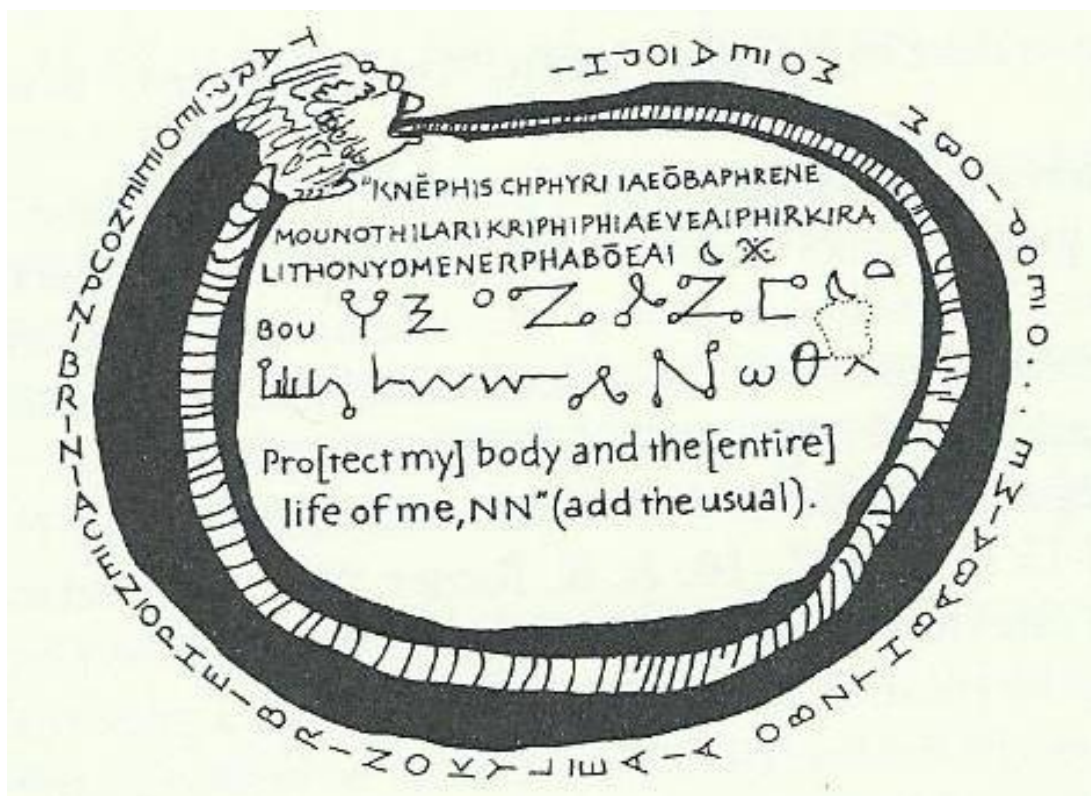


Figure 4. A drawing of the seal of the invoked figure. PGM VII. 579-590. Betz 1986: 134.

a diagram to ensure the correct elements of the seal are understood⁴⁸. This is further reinforced in the text itself. The text stresses that “the figure is like this: let the snake be biting its tail, the names being written inside [the circle made by] the snake, and the characters thus, as follows”⁴⁹. Accurately reproducing the seals of invoked beings appears to have been instrumental to successfully enacting the spell and appropriating the being’s power. If we surmise that specific beings retained their own individual seals, than the seals themselves may have acted as a way of pinpointing the desired being. We can see evidence of this elsewhere in the magical papyri. For instance, it appears that specific substances were cognate with specific deities⁵⁰. PGM XIII. 1-20 provides a list of gods along with specific incense associated with him/her. The proper incense of Kronos is “styrax...of Zeus, malabthron, of Ares, kostos, of Helios, frankincense, of

⁴⁸ See Figure 4.

⁴⁹ Betz 1986: 134.

⁵⁰ Haluszka 2008: 487.

Aphrodite, Indian nard, of Hermes, cassia, [and] of Selene, myrrh”⁵¹. The text goes on to list the things that are pleasing to each individual deity, as well as the things that are “born/associated with the gods (*syngenikos*)”⁵². Magical οὐσία likewise corroborates this⁵³. Graf argues that οὐσία acted as a pointer which established “a symbolic relationship between two points, of which one is the object referred to and the other is the sign”⁵⁴. The use of οὐσία in a spell thereby allowed the correct victim to be effected. Equally the tendency in the magical papyri to use matronymics, instead of the typical patronymics, is suggested by Ogden to be a means of more accurate identification of a victim⁵⁵. This suggests that a desire to accurately identify the subject of a spell (whether it be the correct deity or victim) was readily pursued. The rendering of depictions with the correct visual elements appears to have been a means of correct identification. As such, it appears to have been a standardised device used in magical texts.

Magical image archetypes

The figural depictions in the magical papyri display striking stylistic uniformity in terms of their execution and reoccurring pictorial motifs⁵⁶. This visual stability suggests that the depictions represent a particular genre of imagery: magical images⁵⁷. Hence it is possible to

⁵¹ Betz 1986: 172.

⁵² Haluszka 2008: 487.

⁵³ Magical οὐσία designates some material from a specific individual. This can include their hair or nails. Eitrem 1925: 51.

⁵⁴ Graf 1997b: 140.

⁵⁵ Ogden 1999: 61. It should be noted that some scholars believe that the use of matronymics may merely be an Egyptian custom. For data on the use of matronymics see Monserrat 1996: 188; Muller-Kessler 2005: 220; Ilan 2006: 239; Saunders 2010: 21; Depauw 2010.

⁵⁶ Ankarloo & Clark 1999a: xiii.

⁵⁷ Hunter 1998: 97.

trace visual archetypes within the magical papyri. These include the figure of Seth-Typhon and a demon holding a human head.

The figure of Seth-Typhon is a prominent subject in the magical papyri. Indeed, nine examples from the magical texts (which are by no means exhaustive) were compiled during this research. Firstly Seth is the Egyptian god of violence and confusion⁵⁸. During the later phases of pharaonic religion, he was restricted to representing the archetypical enemy of the ordered world, was viewed as the murderer of Osiris, contestor of Horus and was the ruler of the desert and of foreign countries. Subsequently Seth underwent a process of demonisation⁵⁹. As a result, he appears often in the magical papyri as a means by which practitioners were able to invoke his potentially dangerous powers and project his destructive force against their enemies. He was identified (at the latest) from the fifth century BC with the chthonic Greek deity Typhon, who was the malignant demon *par excellence* of magic⁶⁰.

Regarding the iconographic features of Seth-Typhon within the magical papyri, several features consistently appear across the corpus. The most notable is Seth-Typhon depicted as a bipedal figure with the head of an ass⁶¹. The regularity of Seth-Typhon depicted as such seems to suggest that it was an iconographic topos specific to the god, which parallels that of individual seals and substances being cognate to specific deities. Similarly, the rendering of Seth-Typhon's magical/secret names upon the figure's limbs consistently reoccurs. For instance, PGM XII. 449-452 [PDM XII. 62-75] has "SETH" across the depiction's chest⁶². It is pertinent to note that this figure is almost identical to the drawing in *Suppl. Mag.* 69, except for the weaponry held in each hand⁶³. In the former the figure holds two spears and appears in a

⁵⁸ Wilkinson 1994: 213.

⁵⁹ Dieleman 2005: 132.

⁶⁰ According to Plutarch, the northern region of the sky belonged to Typhon and as such he had the same claim to the throne of heaven as the Egyptian Seth. Plut. *De Is.* 21; Eitrem 1925: 33.

⁶¹ *Suppl. Mag.* 69; PGM XII. 449-452 [PDM XII. 62-75]; PGM VII. 940-968; CT. 13; CT. 14.

⁶² See Figure 5; Cf. Figure 1.

⁶³ See Figure 6.

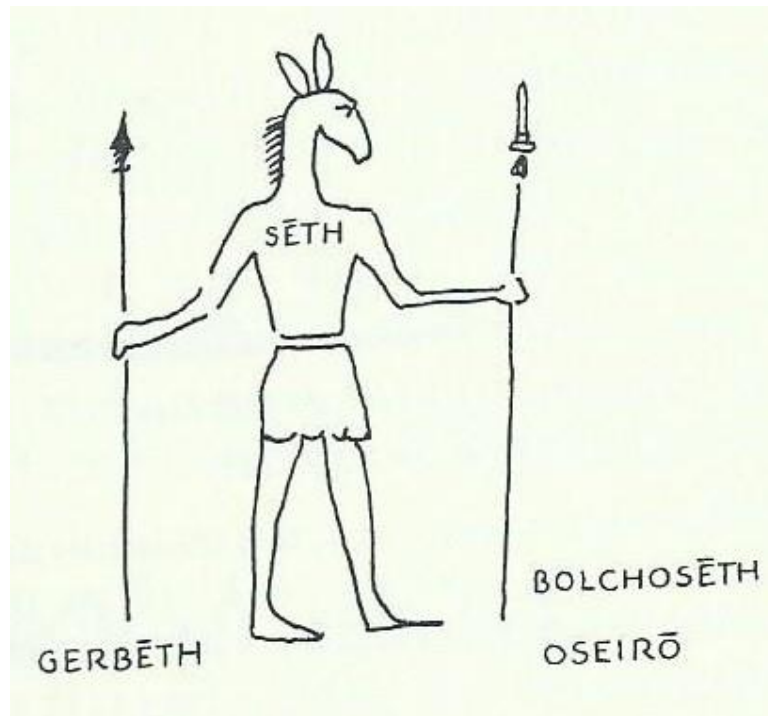


Figure 5. A drawing of Seth-Typhon holding a spear in each hand. PGM XII. 449-452 [PDM XII. 62-75]. Betz 1986: 440.



Figure 6. A drawing of Seth-Typhon holding a bow and arrow. *Suppl. Mag.* 69.

typical three-quarter view. However, in the latter the figure bears a bow and arrow⁶⁴. Despite these, one of the most notable depictions of Seth-Typhon is found in PGM XXXVI. 1-34⁶⁵. The figure dominates the visual strategy of the papyrus, taking up over half of the column, and is

flanked by Seth-Typhon's magical/secret names. In contrast to the aforementioned examples, this figure does not have an ass' head and instead of a weapon, holds what Eitrem describes as three folded recipes in its right hand⁶⁶. "SETH" is written across the figure's chest, as well as three times on each arm and seven times in the space between the figure's legs⁶⁷.

It is clear that the figure of Seth-Typhon is a consistent visual theme in the magical papyri. However, despite being the deity invoked in the spell, there is an isolated instance where Seth-Typhon does not appear to be the subject depicted. PGM XXXVI. 69-101 is a love spell of attraction. The text invokes Seth-Typhon using a list of his magical/secret names (which incidentally parallel those used in PGM XXXVI. 1-34). The fact that the spell instructs a figure to be drawn "with the blood of an ass" further supports Seth-Typhon as the figure being invoked. Nevertheless, the depiction which follows the spell is a cock-headed demon holding a human head in its left hand and a whip in its right hand⁶⁸. This can be explained by the fact that the text does not actually describe the figure as depicting Seth-Typhon or beseech the god to use the image as a vessel. In fact, Haluszka explicitly states that despite the ancient Greeks believing that certain divine images could act as vessels for divinities, there is little evidence in the magical papyri for formal animation rituals⁶⁹. Indeed, Haluszka appears justified in her claim since no spell in the magical papyri unequivocally beseeches a deity to use an image as a vessel⁷⁰. Moreover, while the power of Seth-Typhon appears to be invoked in order to enact the spell, the text merely incites the soul and heart of NN to be set alight "as you [Seth-Typhon] are in flames and on fire"⁷¹. The request for NN to come speeding to the practitioner can be

⁶⁴ See Wilkinson 1994: 200 for the iconographic value of the bow in antiquity. The bow was generally understood as a symbol of power and dominance, since it was one of the most powerful weapons in antiquity.

⁶⁵ See Figure 1.

⁶⁶ Eitrem 1925: 37.

⁶⁷ Smith 2000: 38.

⁶⁸ See Figure 7.

⁶⁹ Haluszka 2008: 479

⁷⁰ Haluszka 2008: 483.

⁷¹ Betz 1986: 270.

readily carried out by the depicted demon, which is incidentally drawn dragging the victim. Additionally, it was not uncommon for deities to utilise *paredroi* (assistant demons) in magical texts or even for the practitioner to invoke his own *paredroi*⁷². There are even incidents of invocations of Seth-Typhon appearing without any depiction⁷³. Nevertheless, it is evident that several reoccurring iconographic elements dominate the compositional portrayal of Seth-Typhon when it appears in the papyri. It is moreover interesting that this strict criteria seems to include this motif appearing in spells with similar purposes: namely love spells of attraction, spells to restrain and binding spells⁷⁴.

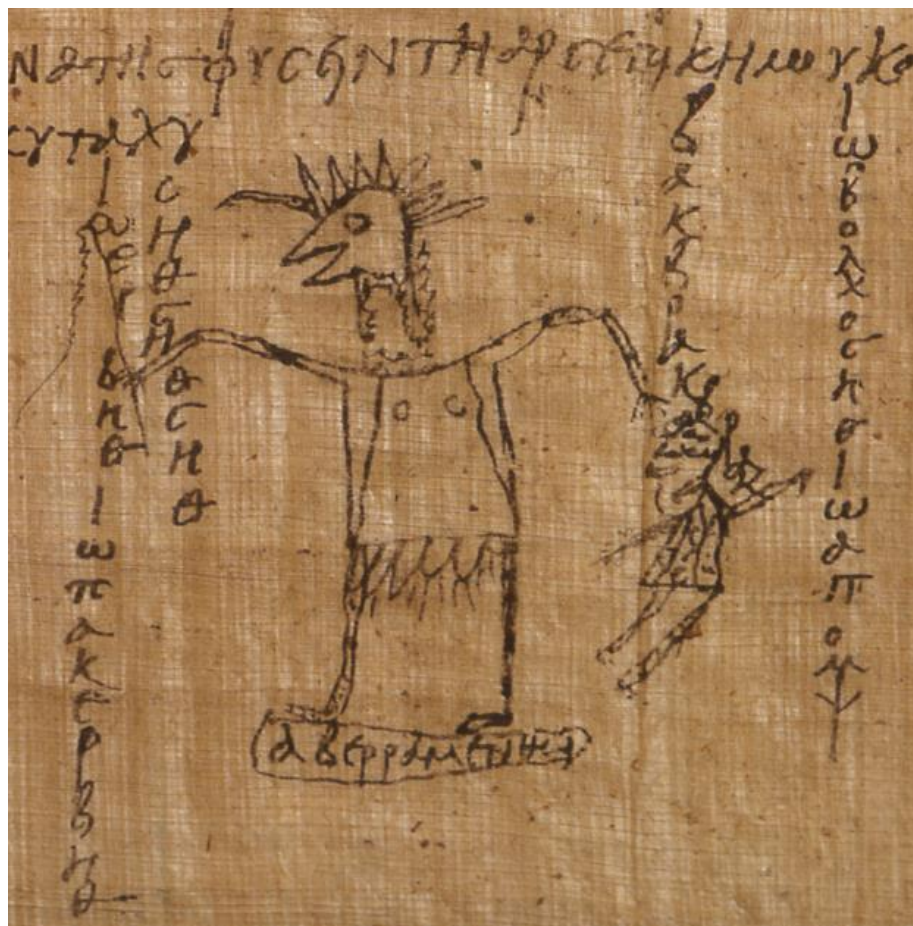


Figure 7. A cock-headed demon holding a human head. PGM XXXVI. 69-101.

⁷² CT. 13; CT. 14; PGM I. 1-42, 42-95; PGM IV. 2006-2125; PGM XII. 14-95; PGM LVII. 1-37; Gager 1999: 7.

⁷³ See PGM CXVI. 1-17 which invokes the power of Seth-Typhon, yet the only visual elements present in the papyrus is a heart shape and two wing formations. This also occurs twice in P. Leiden in PGM XII. 365-375 and PGM XII. 453-465 [PDM XII. 76-107]. See PGM XIVc. 15-27 [PDM XIV. 675-694] for a further example. Dieleman 2005: 136; Stratton-Kent 2012: 7.

⁷⁴ *Suppl. Mag.* 69; PGM XII. 449-452 [PDM XII. 62-75]; PGM VII. 940-68; PGM XXXVI. 1-34, 69-101; CT. 13; CT. 14; Weitzmann 1970: 66.

The motif of a demon holding a human head is an additional archetype common within the magical papyri. The existence of demons, spirits, angels, gods and other supernatural beings was believed to be a ubiquitous part of daily life in antiquity⁷⁵. Some of these were seen as benevolent and employable for the purposes of diverse rites. Others were viewed as vicious and bloodthirsty, still commonly utilised in malignant spells, though such beings posed some risk to the practitioner. This risk justifies the desire for exactitude expressed in the magical papyri through the accurate depiction of supernatural beings, as well as knowledge of their magical/secret names⁷⁶. The figure of a demon holding a human head is such a being which

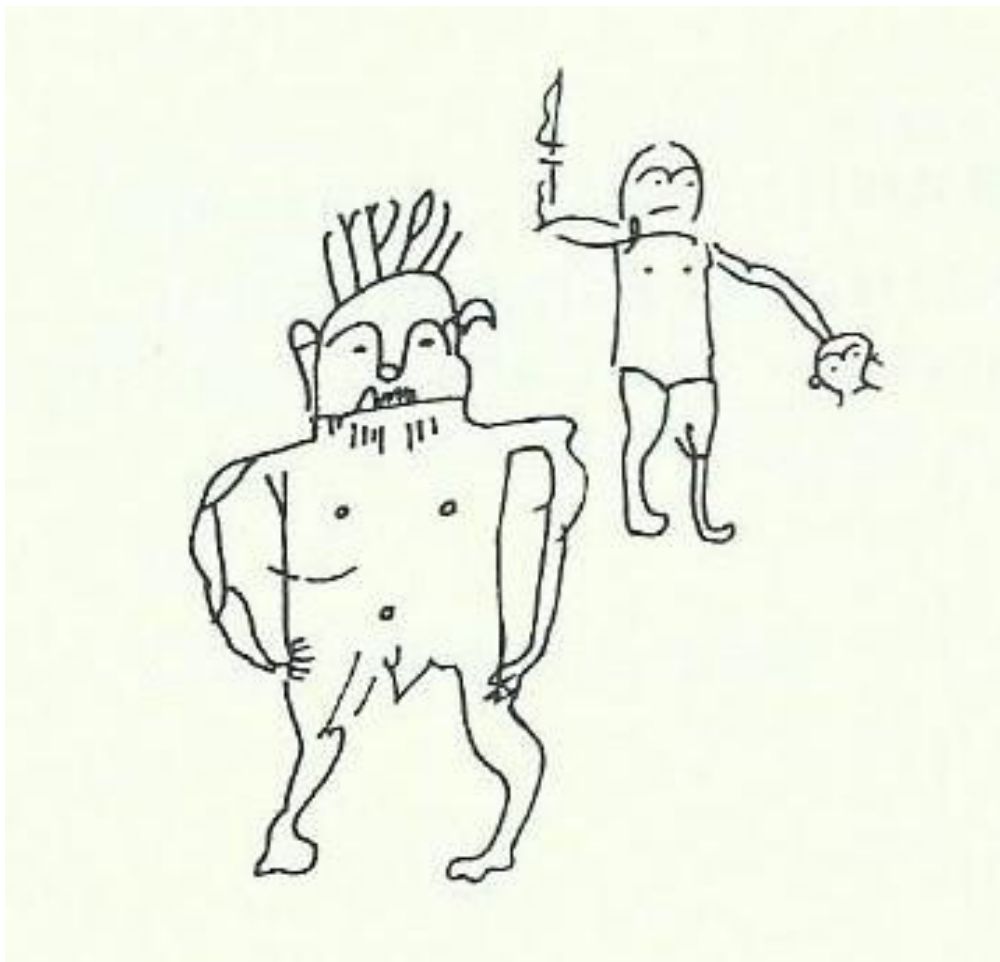


Figure 8. A human and a demon (appearing as a human) holding a human head and a sword. PGM XXXIX. 1-21. Betz 1986: 279.

⁷⁵ Skinner 2014: 6

⁷⁶ Such supernatural beings included *nekydaimones* (corpse demons) such as utilised in PGM IV. 2065, as well as *paredroi* (assistant demons) as seen in PGM IV. 2085.

holding swords as similar to that of late antique executioners: the source of the scene likely being inspired by public executions⁸¹. The demon itself is depicted with either an animal head, such as the cock-headed demon depicted beneath the invocation of Seth-Typhon in PGM XXXVI. 69-101, or with a human head as seen in PGM XXXVI. 178-187 and PGM XXXIX. 1-21⁸². This strong uniformity may be explained by four of the six discussed examples appearing within the same handbook: PGM XXXVI. Nevertheless, the occurrence of more than one example found elsewhere in the magical papyri suggests that this motif was a known topos. This is furthermore supported by the fact that all of the discussed samples, with two exceptions, appear in love spells of attraction. However, the first exception, PGM XXXVI. 178-187, is successfully argued by Martín Hernández to belong to the spell following it in the magical handbook, which incidentally is a love spell of attraction⁸³. The second exception, PGM



Figure 10. A demon holding a human head and a sword. PGM XXXVI. 231-255.

⁸¹ Gordon 2002b: 103.

⁸² See Figure 7.

⁸³ Martín Hernández 2012: 495.

CXXIIIa-f, appears within a fragmentary papyrus, with its state of preservation resulting in its content being of unknown purpose.

The demon holding a human head in PGM XXXVI. 178-187, which is a charm to break all spells, proves to be a unique example⁸⁴. Firstly, the figure bears marked similarities to bound figures frequently found in magical texts. For instance, the demon in PGM XXXVI. 178-187 resembles the iconographic features of bound figures typically found in κατάδεσμοι. The purpose of κατάδεσμοι is to incapacitate or weaken the victim, wherein he is unable to act on his own wishes, or to bind an enemy⁸⁵. Accordingly, in CT. 5 a human figure is depicted

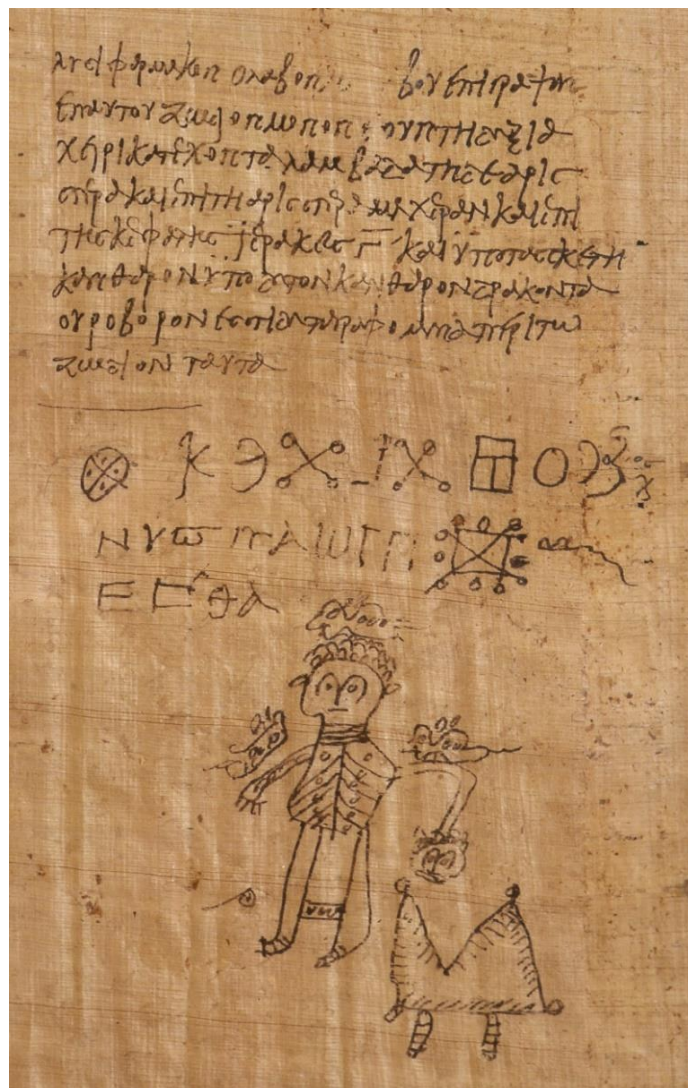


Figure 11. A demon (appearing as a human) holding a human head. PGM XXXVI. 178-187.

⁸⁴ See Figure 11.

⁸⁵ Marsten 2007: 122; Faraone 1991a: 166.

constrained (possibly by rope, shackles or chain) and with ten nails piercing its body⁸⁶. This is portrayed as interlocking, diagonal lines crossing the figure's torso, as well as ten circles covering its body. Correspondingly, the demon in PGM XXXVI. 178-187 is depicted with diagonal lines crossing its torso, though these extend from a central horizontal line, and with ten circles covering its body. Moreover, between the legs of the demon in PGM XXXVI. 178-187, we can see what appears to be a rod connecting its ankles. We see similar depictions of such demons with bound feet on magical incantation bowls⁸⁷. Such binding is typically portrayed as hands crossed over the demon's chest and either rope, shackles or chain connecting the demon's feet⁸⁸. Swartz argues that the function of this imagery is obviously effecting a binding on and incapacitating the depicted demon⁸⁹. We find further evidence for this in the *Life of Symeon Stylites the younger* which discusses an account of a black, ugly and headless demon whose limbs are bound by Symeon⁹⁰. Such texts confirm the ancient belief that demons would be rendered impotent by constraints imposing a bond on them⁹¹. It is hence suggested that the rod between the legs of the demon in PGM XXXVI. 178-187 may actually be a representation of shackles binding the demon. This observation appears reasonable since the demon is being compelled through the spell to fulfil the practitioner's aim.

Secondly, as discussed by Martín Hernández, the figure in PGM XXXVI. 178-187 likely belongs to the love spell of attraction following it in the papyrus, PGM XXXVI. 187-210⁹². This is due to the figure not matching the description in PGM XXXVI. 178-187, which instructs the practitioner to draw a figure holding in its left hand a knife, a torch in its right

⁸⁶ Gager 1992: 54.

⁸⁷ See CT. 109 and CT. 122. Cf. Naveh & Shaked 1993a for examples of magical incantation bowls from Mesopotamia: namely MSF. 14, 16, 18, 19 and 27.

⁸⁸ See figure 28 in Gager 1992: 227.

⁸⁹ Swartz 2005:201.

⁹⁰ *V. sym. Styl. J.* 231. Cf. *The Testament of Solomon* for parallel incidents. Namely *T. Sol.* 4.12, 5.12, 10.8, 15.7; See Dickie 2000b: 100-103.

⁹¹ Dickie 2000b: 99.

⁹² Martín Hernández 2012: 495.

hand, with three falcons on its head, as well as with a scarab and an ouroboros beneath its legs⁹³. Since all other examples of demons holding human heads in PGM XXXVI appear in association with love spells, Martín Hernández astutely suggests that the figure belongs to the love spell succeeding it. Evidence supporting this thesis can further be found within the text. PGMXXXVI. 187-210 invokes Hecate, who was the chthonic Greek goddess of magic, witchcraft and also associated with the night, with ghosts and with necromancy. As discussed previously, it was not uncommon for deities to make use of assistants in the magical papyri. In fact, demons were often associated with and used by such deities as Hecate in the same manner as *paradroi*. We can see this paralleled in PGM XXXVI. 178-187. Just as Seth-Typhon is invoked in the love spell despite a cock-headed demon holding a human head being depicted, so too is Hecate being invoked in this love spell with an accompanying depiction of a demon holding a human head. The association of the demon holding a human head from PGMXXXVI. 178-187 with PGMXXXVI. 187-210 accordingly appears justified⁹⁴. This suggests that the archetypical demon holding a human head could be utilised by invoked deities as a *paradros*. Based on these observations, it is evident that the figural depictions in the magical papyri were bound by a conceptualised system of iconographic regulations.

Conclusion

According to Luck, by the end of the last century BC, Hellenistic magic was fully formed as a system⁹⁵. Hence, it is reasonable to find an established system of magical imagery apparent in

⁹³ PGM XXXVI. 179-187.

⁹⁴ As further evidence supporting this thesis, not once does PGM XXXVI. 178-187 actually claim that the figure depicted beneath it belongs to the spell it prescribes. After describing the depiction required to be drawn, the text merely states that “the things to be written around the figure are these”. The text is then followed by a series of *characteres* in three horizontal rows. It is therefore likely that while the *characteres* may belong to PGM XXXVI. 178-187, drawn like a diagram for the practitioner to copy faithfully, the figure does not.

⁹⁵ Luck 1985a: 15.

the magical papyri. The evidence regarding the uniformity of the figural depictions in the papyri clearly indicate that the depictions were bound by a strict iconographic system. We can see this demonstrated through the relationship between the depictions and the text in the magical papyri. Restricted terminology was used to distinguish depictions drawn in the papyri from images instructed to be engraved on external mediums, as well as figurines. Likewise the depictions appear to follow conventional placement in the papyri. The desire to accurately portray the depictions by including the correct iconographic elements further reinforces this. Incidents of insufficient detail appear to typically occur only when a figure instructed to be drawn is commonplace within the ancient repertoire of imagery, such as figures of Osiris and Typhon, which would have been immediately comprehensible to practitioners⁹⁶. This aspiration for accuracy is understandable, since calling upon supernatural beings was risky and knowledge of their individual iconographic topoi, as well as magical/secret names, were measures held to keep a practitioner safe⁹⁷. Lastly, the consistent appearance of the motifs of Seth-Typhon and a demon holding a human head, exhibiting strong visual parallels, suggest that there existed a set criteria of imagery available for use to magical practitioners. The basic ideas regarding magic and demons thus appear to have been reflected widely and, according to Viložng, accepted widely⁹⁸. This suggests that the figural depictions in the magical papyri were not autonomous products of a select few practitioners⁹⁹. Rather they reflect a conceptualised system of imagery specific to magical texts. Weitzmann's observation that there was seldom a tendency to invent new pictorial archetypes, due to most texts originally being copied faithfully, supports this¹⁰⁰. This helps explain why we find only a limited number of motifs in the papyri which retain clear parallels save for stylistic variations. Such conservatism, in conjunction with the accumulated

⁹⁶ Gordon: 2002b: 98.

⁹⁷ Luck 1985a: 171.

⁹⁸ Viložng 2013:35.

⁹⁹ Viložng 2013: 35.

¹⁰⁰ Weitzmann 1970: 130.

data, corroborates the likelihood that the figural depictions in the magical papyri adhered to an established system of imagery. They were bound by their own system of rules regarding their composition, style, visual elements, and likewise governed by a set of beliefs in a universe abounding with supernatural beings¹⁰¹.

¹⁰¹ Dijkstra 2012: 271.

Chapter Three

The functions of the figural depictions in magical papyri

Images were believed in antiquity to have had the ability to tangibly influence their immediate environments. We can see this in Achilles Tatius' novel, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, composed around the third quarter of the second century AD. In numerous instances of ekphrasis, the efficacy of images is emphasised. For instance, the sight of an ill-omened image is understood to provoke an ominous future. The text states that "if such happen to meet our eyes as we set forth to our business, and to conclude that what is likely to happen to us will be of the same character as the event of the painted story"¹. The efficacy of images has reasonably formed one of the central issues of discussion in ancient art history. The roles of images in ancient magical *praxis* however, has yet to be fully analysed². This chapter aims to contribute to ameliorating this situation³.

The images in the magical papyri are more than decorative additions to magical texts. Their use in particular rites and spells indicates that they held prominent roles in magical *praxis*. It is apparent that the utility of the images was considerably valued by practitioners of Graeco-Egyptian magic. As highlighted in Chapter Two, the images in the magical papyri exhibit strong uniformity in their crude execution. Even if ritual specialists or practitioners possessed artistic knowledge, they evidently did not utilise it in constructing the images⁴. Their value system clearly did not emphasise aesthetics (so long as the images retained the correct iconographic elements), nor was skill in execution necessarily required⁵. This is supported by Panofsky, who

¹ Act. Tat. 5.4; Elsner 1996: 517.

² Swartz 2005: 195.

³ This chapter represents only a start on this theme: a greater amount of work is required in the future than can be undertaken within the scope of this thesis.

⁴ Viložng 2013: 36.

⁵ Schomburg-Sherff 2000: 193.

argues that not all art is meant to be viewed aesthetically⁶. Rather, the significance of the figural depictions in the magical papyri appears to have lain in their efficacious use in ritualistic practice. The value of the figural depictions lying outside the sphere of aesthetics is further emphasised by their contextual use. Magical images were not typically seen by the public. They were employed, for example, in κατάδεσμοι which were placed in locations where their power would be effective: buried in cemeteries, wells, or near springs⁷. Likewise papyri or metal amulets were commonly rolled up and worn in small canisters around a practitioner's neck, as seen in numerous mummy-portraits, or concealed under garments⁸. Such concealment was largely due to the practitioner's desire to hide their activities from their victims, as well as the belief that such texts were only understood and seen by their supernatural recipients. One of the characteristic roles of magical images was to solicit supernatural aid for magical practitioners and accordingly influence reality by appealing to such supernatural powers⁹. They were devices which functioned internally, aimed towards increasing the efficacy of magical *praxis*¹⁰.

As will be demonstrated here, the figural depictions in the magical papyri served specific roles in magical *praxis*. These roles were largely determined by the contextual use of the figural depictions in the relevant practice: namely, images utilised in applied magic and those which appear in magical handbooks¹¹. The images can be grouped according to the

⁶ Panofsky 1982b: 5.

⁷ Faraone & Obbink 1991: v; Page 2004: 29.

⁸ See Walker, Bierbier, Roberts & Taylor 1997 for a detailed catalogue of mummy portraits from the British Museum.

⁹ Viložng 2013: 37.

¹⁰ Gordon 2000b: 96.

¹¹ 'Applied magic' refers to instances where a rite or spell was used by a practitioner in a real-life setting, as opposed to a rite or spell appearing in a specialist's handbook. Examples of applied magic include the curses on κατάδεσμοι, as well as amulets made from papyrus or precious gemstones which were generally worn as armbands or jewellery. The use of figural depictions in instances of applied magic suggests that they functioned as one of the chief sources of the respective spell's efficacy. Faraone & Obbink 1991: v.

following typology: I. Mythic images; II. Performative images; III. Talismanic images; IV. Instructive images. Images which appear in applied magic comprise the first three categories and acted as one of the chief sources of a rite or spell's power. Instructive images, conversely, are those which appear in magical handbooks. The primary purpose of instructive images centred on the pragmatics of performing ritual activities. Indeed, these distinct roles indicate that the figural depictions were meaningful illustrations and that they played a significant part in the successful execution of magical *praxis*¹².

Images used in applied magic: I. Mythic images; II. Performative images; III. Talismanic images

I. Mythic images. Mythic images functioned as a means of enacting the magical text through the representation of *historiolae*. *Historiolae* are typically understood as textual descriptions or narrations of religious myths and legends¹³. The depiction of themes or scenes from such myths and legends in the magical papyri, reinforced the efficacious functioning of various rites and spells. This was achieved through 'sympathetic magic'. Ritual specialists and practitioners in Roman Egypt understood the universe in terms of the principle of cosmic sympathy: action and reaction¹⁴. All things were considered to be linked together by imperceptible bonds of sympathy¹⁵. If one bond was affected than another would also be affected, despite their distance or seeming disparity¹⁶. Sympathetic magic can more readily be understood through persuasive

¹² It should be noted that the examples used throughout this chapter for the argumentation of this typology are from magical papyri. Hence, the argument can be made that all these examples belong to the IV category. This is a significant point of consideration and will be explored further towards the end of this chapter.

¹³ See Frankfurter 1995b.

¹⁴ Luck 1985a: 3.

¹⁵ Hull 1974: 37.

¹⁶ This doctrine was held by Stoicists, Platonists, and Pythagoreans. For instance, the Neoplatonist Iamblicus (c. 250-325 AD) in his *On the Mysteries of Egypt* discusses the concept of theurgy (higher magic). Since theurgy

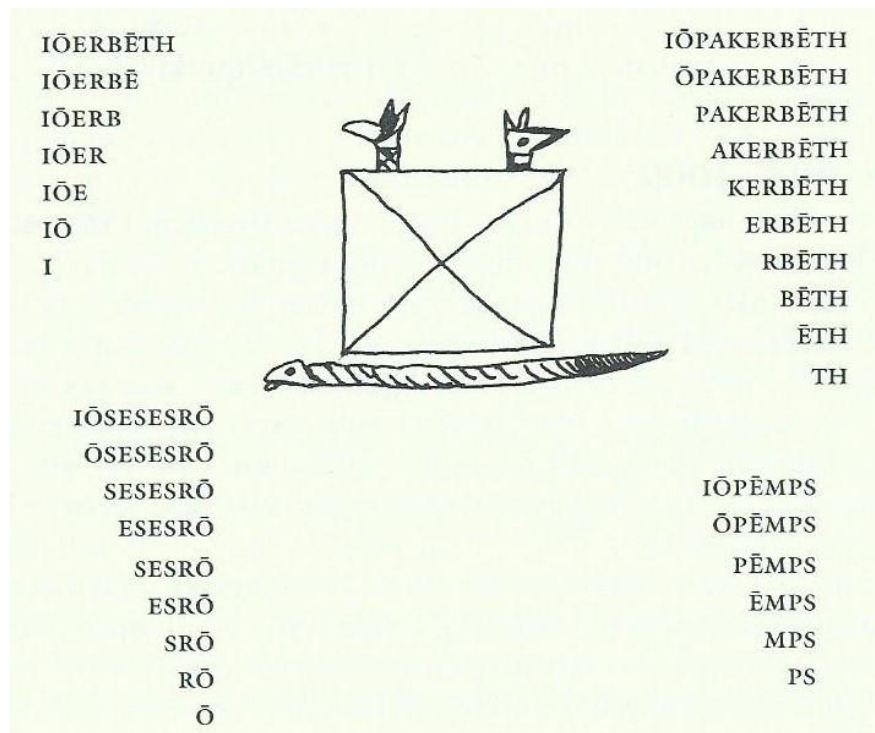


Figure 12. A *historiola* representing the coffin of Osiris, with Apophis appearing as a snake directly beneath. PGM VII. 940-968. Betz 1986: 143.

analogy. Tambiah astutely observes that rather than being based on the observance of empirical correspondences, such as in modern scientific research, persuasive analogy was utilised in ritual practices to influence the outcome of future events¹⁷. The representation of *historiolae* in the magical papyri can thus be understood as encouraging the future outcomes of ritual practices. Through this encouragement, such representations ensured the successful functioning of the rites and spells in the papyri.

PGM VII. 940-968 is notable in its use of a *historiola* to achieve its aim of restraining anger and subjecting another to one's will. The image depicts a rectangular box with a cross through its center which sits atop a snake. Two animal heads adorn the top of the box, which is flanked on either side by wing formations¹⁸. According to Gordon, the box almost certainly

was based on the use of mysterious symbols which were only comprehended by the gods, it was understood as surpassing the comprehension of mankind. Luck 1985a: 3-4

¹⁷ Tambiah 1973: 199; Dasen 2014: 183.

¹⁸ See Figure 12.

represents the coffin of Osiris¹⁹. The scene evidently evokes the legend of Seth killing Osiris, who later buries him in a coffin²⁰. Gordon moreover observes that the two animal heads are likely substitutes for Re, since he usually appears atop Egyptian depictions of the coffin. This is due to Osiris being the counterpart to Re (night/day)²¹. Re (from the New Kingdom at the latest) becomes an ally of Seth against the serpent Apophis. Apophis, who was the manifestation of darkness and chaos, was a threat to the sun on its daily course through the sky. Thus, the snake depicted beneath the box can be understood as a representation of Apophis. The scene thereby portrays the Egyptian tradition of assuaging the forces of darkness: namely by subjugating Apophis. In this way, the spell is sympathetically empowered. The enemy of the practitioner performing this spell is subjugated through the evocative representation of the subjugation of Apophis. This is further reinforced by the fact that one of the names of Apophis was *Nkw* (vanquished one)²².

We can see comparable instances of *historiolae* used elsewhere in magical texts to sympathetically ensure the successful outcome of the intended ritual practice. Gem amulets against disease or misfortune commonly depict *historiolae* alongside text²³. Analogous to the texts in the magical papyri, such as PGM VII. 940-968, and their prescriptions on creating such amulets, gem amulets rely on the sympathetic use of religious and mythic scenes to ensure their efficacy²⁴. Representations of mythic heroes are accordingly ubiquitous²⁵. A sardonyx gem in the Hermitage at St Petersburg depicts Perseus flying away with the severed head of the Gorgon

¹⁹ Gordon 2002b: 101.

²⁰ According to alternate versions of the myth, Isis found the coffin in Abydos. Plut. *De Iside* 8, 354a; 13, 356bc; 15, 357a; 18, 357f-358a; 39, 366d; Betz 1986: 143.

²¹ Gordon 2002b: 101.

²² Gordon 2002b: 101.

²³ Vikan 2008: 53.

²⁴ For instance, Old Testament salvation *historiolae* appear frequently in the gem amulet iconographic repertoire of magical imagery. The sacrifice of Isaac is accordingly a commonly depicted *historiola*. Vikan 2008: 54.

²⁵ Nagy 2008: 35.

in his hands²⁶. The text on the reverse of the amulet reinforces the efficacy of the image by stating “flee, *podagra*, Perseus is chasing you away”²⁷. *Podagra* (gout), just like most all diseases and ailments in antiquity, was considered to be a demon or at least considered to have been caused by a demon. The depiction accordingly evokes Perseus, as one of the heroes of Greek legend, to take away the malignant ailment²⁸. Through the use of such evocation, operating under the mechanism of magical sympathy, the representation of *historiolae* perpetually reinforced the rites and spells in the magical papyri, just as in amulets. Such depictions in magical texts highlight the importance of mythic images as formal devices. They served arguably vital functions within magical texts, as their mere presence sympathetically ensuring the successful outcome of the intended ritual practice.

II. Performative images. The role of performative images was to set in motion the intention of magical *praxis* or to anticipate their future outcome²⁹. They essentially depict the *enactment* of the magical *praxis*, what the invoked supernatural being is supposed to do, or prefigure its eventual results. Such rendering of figures appeals to the persuasive power of analogy³⁰. We can see numerous examples of depictions performing this function in the magical papyri. PGM V. 70-95, which is a spell for uncovering the identity of a thief, states that “as long as I strike the eye with a hammer, let the eye of the thief be struck, and let it swell up until it betrays

²⁶ Dasen 2014: 178.

²⁷ Marinatos 2008: 10; Nagy 2008: 35; Dasen 2014: 178.

²⁸ Cf. PGM XVIIIb. 1-7 for an analogous use of *historiola*: namely, Perseus as a mythic hero, in magical iconography. The papyrus is an amulet against shivering fits and fever, which bears the name “GORGOPHANAS” (‘the killer of the Gorgon’) in a heart shape. Martín Hernández claims that the role of the heart shape is to make something, such as a disease, disappear. As such, *Gorgophanas* (that is, Perseus) is evoked since the Gorgon is symbolically associated with avoiding diseases. Martín Hernández 2012: 495-496.

²⁹ Gordon 2002b: 103; Martín Hernández 2012: 494. See Martín Hernández 2012: 491 for a categorisation of magical images relative to magical texts, wherein images which set in motion the intention of the magical *praxis* make up Martín Hernández’s second category.

³⁰ Smith 2000: 29.

him”³¹. The spell is accompanied by a depiction of an eye flanked by two inverted heart shapes and instructs the practitioner to strike the eye with a hammer while incanting the spell³². Likewise PGM X. 36-50, which is a charm to subject, proclaims that “just as these scared names are being trampled, so let him, NN (add the usual), the trouble-maker, be trampled”³³. Below the text is a depiction of a foot atop four separate columns of magical/secret names³⁴. These visual analogies aim to produce the action itself³⁵. Such use of visual analogies in ritual practices, has led Faraone to argue that we can see two traditions in Greek religious art³⁶. Despite discussing the visual analogies in the context of religious art, Faraone’s thesis applies

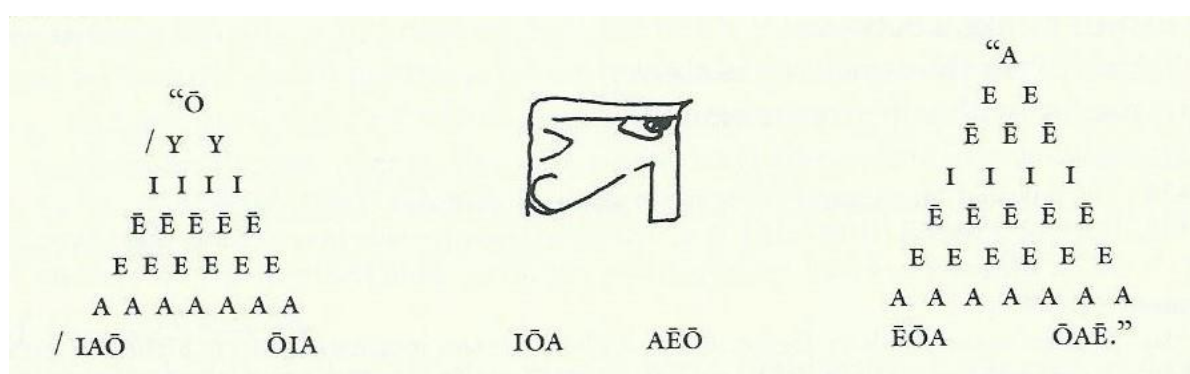


Figure 13. A drawing of an eye flanked by two inverted heart shapes. PGM V. 70-95. Betz 1986: 102.

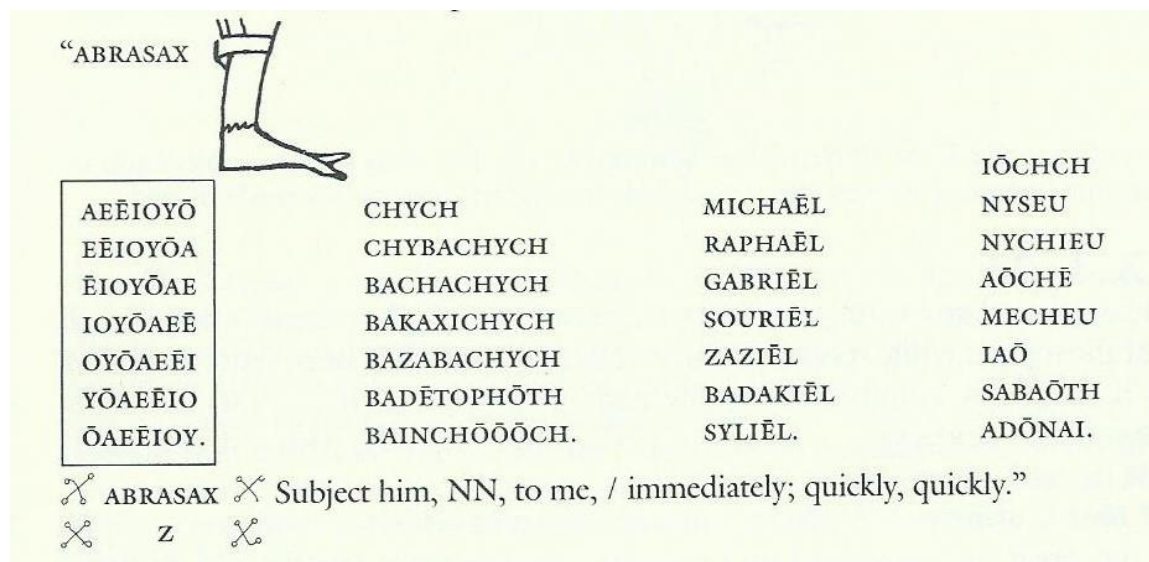


Figure 14. A drawing of a foot above four columns of magical/secret names. PGM X. 36-50. Betz 1986: 150.

³¹ Betz 1986: 102.

³² See Figure 13.

³³ Betz 1986: 150.

³⁴ See Figure 14.

³⁵ Smith 2000: 30.

³⁶ Faraone 1992b: 118.

to the figural depictions in the magical papyri. This is due to the corresponding relationship between religious and magical beliefs and practices, as well as the magical papyri stemming from Graeco-Egyptian tradition. The two art traditions which Faraone highlights are “representational” or “mimetic” and “persuasive”³⁷. Persuasive images fit into the wide spectrum of ritual activity which aim to influence the supernatural forces of the cosmos. If we view such manipulation as one of the chief objectives of the figural depictions, this may allow some insight into why certain figures are represented as they are³⁸. Our interpretation of such depictions would hence be altered if we understood them as prescriptive: meant to exploit or influence the depicted being to achieve the practitioner’s aims, rather than merely being descriptive representations³⁹.

Manipulation was a common trope used in the magical papyri. Comparable to performative images, we can see similar attempts at manipulation which aim to coerce supernatural beings to accomplish the practitioner’s goals. This is namely accomplished through the use of rhetoric strategies in magical texts. For instance, magical texts frequently exhibit aretology, which is generally an enumeration of the qualities, power or achievements of invoked deities: such as in the asyndetic style of the early Hellenistic praises of Osiris and Isis⁴⁰. We also find evidence of practitioners coercing or flattering the invoked deity, such as evident in PGM VII. 756-794 and PGM IV. 2785-2890. It is also a frequent characteristic of the magical papyri to blatantly threaten deities in order to gain their assistance⁴¹. Such manipulation strategies are readily used by practitioners throughout magical texts. As such, it is not too much

³⁷ “Representation/mimic” refers to images that merely depict how the supernatural being is envisaged to be. “Persuasive” refers to images that aim to change or imbue the practitioner’s will onto the immediate environment. Faraone 1992b: 118.

³⁸ Elsner 1996:527.

³⁹ Betz 1986: xlvii; Faraone 1992b: 120.

⁴⁰ PDM xiv. 1219-1227 Nock 1929: 224; Vikan 2008: 57.

⁴¹ PGM IV. 286-295, 1038-1050.

of a stretch to argue that the importance of the performative dimension, as an analogous means of manipulation, was also readily applied by practitioners to the images in the magical papyri⁴².

This performative dimension applied to the figural depictions is prominent in the magical papyri. Performative images characteristically appear in malign spells. Due to this, they commonly exhibit demons attacking their victims or victims represented as bound or constrained⁴³. The motif of a demon holding a human head, as well as that of the bound figure, frequently appear as performative images since they depict the outcome of the magical texts⁴⁴. PGM XXXVI provides four examples of the archetypal demon holding a human head⁴⁵. PGM XXXVI. 102-133 in particular is a love spell of attraction which depicts a large, squat, supposedly headless, demon holding a human head in its left hand and a sword in its right⁴⁶. The demon does not appear static, but rather is moving towards the left and is flanked on either side by two wing shapes. It is highly probable that a ritual analogy is understood through this depiction⁴⁷. Not only does the scene show the demon bringing the intended victim to the practitioner completing the spell, it also picks up elements from the text⁴⁸. The woman is to come to the practitioner ἀεροπετομένην ('flying through the air'), hungry, thirsty and sleepless⁴⁹. Indeed, the victim shown in the scene appears with large circular eyes and manifestly sleepless⁵⁰. In this way, performative images can supplement the text. By visually

⁴² Frankfurter 2006e: 7.

⁴³ Gordon 2002b: 103; Martín Hernández 2012: 494; See Faraone 1992b: 133-134 for a discussion on the persuasive analogy of the image of twisted feet as an apotropaic means of inhibiting a being's activities, as well as encouraging their confusion. It is interesting to note that this same imagery of twisted feet is also paralleled in depictions of bound figures evident on κατάδεσμοι and magical incantation bowls. See CT. 122, as well as MSF. 18 and 19.

⁴⁴ Gager 1992: 11.

⁴⁵ PGM XXXVI. 69-101, 102-133, 178-187, 231-255. See Figure 7, 9, 10 and 11.

⁴⁶ See Figure 9; Betz 1986:271-272.

⁴⁷ Martín Hernández 2012: 495.

⁴⁸ Gordon 2002b: 103.

⁴⁹ Betz 1986: 271-272.

⁵⁰ Gordon 2002b: 103.

perpetuating the state of the victim as described in the spell, the image appears to reinforce the text. The enactment of PGM XXXVI. 102-133, as visually demonstrated by the demon bringing the victim to the practitioner, is hence the means by which the spell is ensured to succeed. Clearly, performative images served an important functional element in the magical papyri by using persuasive analogy to encourage the desired outcome of magical *praxis*.

III. Talismanic images. The role of talismanic images is to act as visual manifestations of supernatural force: namely, the power of the supernatural beings invoked in the magical papyri⁵¹. Such images typically depict the being itself or visual elements which can iconographically be identified with the named being. Through their mere presence, typically once activated via incantations from magical texts, talismanic images acted as conduits for the practitioner to appropriate the power of the depicted figure and thereby ensure the respective rite or spell's efficacy⁵².

The conception of images acting as manifestations of supernatural force is not novel. For instance, the ancient Egyptians instilled concrete power into iconographic symbols. Humans and animal characters in mortuary prayers often appear neutralised through physical mutilation or by means of replacement⁵³. Moreover, similar to the conception of sympathetic magic, a continuum was believed to have existed between the signifier (the depiction) and the

⁵¹ The classification 'talismanic images' stems from the term *telesmenon* (the perfect, passive, participle of the verb *telein* meaning to complete or to consecrate), which is used by late antique authors to describe religiously protective images. The term generally denotes the concept of ritually consecrated items, such as amulets, which are imbued with some form of supernatural power. 'Talismanic' is used here in reference to the figural depictions which held a specific role in the magical papyri: that is, images which provided channels for supernatural force to be appropriated by practitioners. This allows for the conception of such images, as understood by practitioners, to have provided a fixed point for the regular dispersal of such supernatural force, as well as allowing for its continual access through the images tangibly present state. Faraone 1992b: 4; Frankfurter 1994a: 198.

⁵² Viložng 2013: 37; Page 2004: 35; Gager 1992: 12.

⁵³ Frankfurter 1994a: 192.

signified (the entity being depicted). This close relationship imbues the image with significance⁵⁴. Rather than being a mere representation of the supernatural being, the image itself channels the being's power and thus acts as one of the main sources of the ritual's efficacy. This is supported by Elsner who claims that "the represented is not just in the image, the represented is the image"⁵⁵. While Elsner's claim appears to be somewhat overstated in reference to the figural depictions in the magical papyri, it remains relevant. It is argued here that talismanic images should not be construed as the actual beings who are depicted. Instead, they should be interpreted as conduits of the supernatural force of the depicted being. Notwithstanding this, Elsner's assertion highlights that such depictions evoke a different level of *mimesis* than that typically discussed by ancient authors, such as in book ten of Plato's *Republic*. This is due to talismanic images representing a dynamic set of relations in contrast to a static state of imitation⁵⁶. This is evident in PGM VIII. 64-110⁵⁷. If we agree with Gordon's assessment (discussed in Chapter Two), that the figural depiction beneath the text is actually a representation of Bes, then the depiction clearly derives its force from its rendition of one of the principal deities in Roman Egypt⁵⁸. Gordon's thesis does appear credible, since the title of the spell is "Request for a dream oracle of Besa"⁵⁹. Moreover, Gordon highlights that the depiction is clearly related to the terracotta figurines of Bes as a warrior⁶⁰. Despite originating in the Ptolemaic period, Bes's rendition as a warrior presumably emerged from representations of the leonine dwarf (typically associated with the Middle Kingdom) which retained the epithet *w'w* (soldier)⁶¹. As such, the sword held in the depiction's hand in PGM VIII. 64-110 likely

⁵⁴ Elsner 1996: 527.

⁵⁵ Elsner 1996: 529.

⁵⁶ Elsner 1996: 527.

⁵⁷ Betz 1986: 147-148.

⁵⁸ See Figure 2; Gordon 2002b: 100.

⁵⁹ Betz 1986: 147.

⁶⁰ Gordon 2002b: 100.

⁶¹ Gordon 2002b: 100.

signifies power to ward off evil. It is this power of Bes embodied in the depiction, which the practitioner would have appropriated in order to perform the rite.

The inherent relationship between the depiction in PGM VIII. 64-110 and its prototype (Bes), suggests that the figure possesses magical and theological properties due to its rendition of the divinity. This highlights that a more dynamic interpretation of talismanic images and their referents are required. Just as established in the ancient practice of iconoclasm and *damnatio memoriae*, wherein the destruction of the image was understood to equate to the destruction of the personage, so too is the role of talismanic images to assert the actual presence of its prototype's supernatural force⁶². It is here, according to Elsner, that sacred art is distinct from the aesthetic discourse of ancient art history⁶³. The notions of imitation and absence which characterize the conception of *mimesis* are virtually impossible to reconcile with the fact that practitioners using the magical papyri may have experienced the figural depictions as manifestations of supernatural power⁶⁴.

In addition, talismanic images, such as the representation of Bes in PGM VIII. 64-110, typically act in aggregation with the magical text. As previously mentioned, talismanic images generally require activation by an incantation or the completion of a ritualistic act of consecration in order for their efficacy to be permeated. In PGM VIII. 64-110, the practitioner is instructed to draw the depicted figure on their left hand and to put around the hand a black cloth of Isis⁶⁵. This is then followed by a complex prayer requesting a dream oracle from the deity⁶⁶. In this way, both an incantation and a rite are performed in order to imbue the image

⁶² Elsner 1996: 528.

⁶³ Elsner 1996: 530.

⁶⁴ When the sophist Philostrates claims that the *ἀπάτη* ('deception') inherent in art is pleasurable and thus should not be subjected to reproach since it causes no harm, he is writing from a theoretical milieu radically divergent to that which typifies talismanic images as functioning as conduits of supernatural force. Philostr. *Im.* 4; Elsner 1996: 560.

⁶⁵ Cf. Plut. *De Iside* 39, 366e2; Cf. PGM VII. 300.

⁶⁶ Betz 1986: 147.

with power, thereby allowing for its efficacious use and the appropriation of its power by the practitioner⁶⁷. Moreover, it is a common stipulation in the magical papyri that the practitioner is to ingest such images by licking the figure off their hand, or by washing it off with water which is then consumed⁶⁸. This ritualistic act is likely an extension of the idea that the image is a visual manifestation of the depicted being's power. The text and images in the magical papyri hence maintain complimentary roles. While the text acts as a means of creating the force for the ritual's power, talismanic images (through their presence or physical consumption) act as a channel for such power to be appropriated⁶⁹.

Images in magical handbooks: IV. Instructive images

IV. Instructive images. In terms of their relative function, the figural depictions in magical handbooks deviate markedly in comparison to the depictions used in applied magic. This is due to magical handbooks acting as the working manuals of ritual specialists⁷⁰. Such handbooks were not employed to perform the rites or spells which they prescribed. Rather, they provided specialists with something akin to a working guide on how to cater to various supernatural related issues (such as exorcising demons) or the various whims of a client (ranging from cursing enemies to requiring a love spell)⁷¹.

⁶⁷ Gordon 2002b: 100.

⁶⁸ Gordon 2002b: 100. See '*The significance of the figural depictions in magic praxis*' in Chapter Four for a brief discussion on the ritualistic act of ingesting magical depictions.

⁶⁹ Viložng 2013: 37.

⁷⁰ Notable magical handbooks include PGM I, II, III, IV, V, VII, and of course PGM XXXVI. Frankfurter 1994a: 195.

⁷¹ PGM IV. 1227-1264, PGM V. 304-369, PGM XIc. 1-19. It is important to note that as working copies, used to ensure the correct preparation, enactment and completion of magical rites, these manuscripts needed to be useful. Hence, it is unsurprising to find evidence of modifications and incorporated suggestions proliferate throughout their texts. As discussed in Chapter Two, PGM V retains numerous parenthetical additions which acted as helpful comments to aid in the correct pronunciation of magical/secret names. Similarly, PGM V. 370-446 begins with the stipulation to use 28 leaves from a laurel tree, some earth, seed of wormwood, wheat meal and

The utility of handbooks stemmed from their ability to provide efficacious solutions in the form of rites or spells⁷². This utility was a key feature of the pragmatics of ritual practice and permeated the execution of the images in magical handbooks. Hence, Instructive images are depictions which functioned as diagrammatic illustrations for ritual specialists or clients to reproduce in applied magic. Instructive images represent exactly what is detailed in the magical text and are a rendition of the required figure. This is usually accompanied by an assertion in the papyrus that “this is the figure” or “this figure is to be drawn”⁷³. This is evident in PGM II. 64-183, which is a very complex spell aimed at obtaining an oracular vision. Towards the end of the spell is a drawing of a human figure with five heads shaped like flags, holding a branch in its left hand and a wand in its right⁷⁴. The figure is identified as Acephalus⁷⁵. As the final step in petitioning for an oracular vision, the text states that “this figure is to be inscribed on a piece of clothing belonging to one who has died violently, and is to be cast into a pure lamp”⁷⁶. The image itself proves unique its execution of visual elements. Firstly, the branch which the figure carries is claimed by Martín Hernández to be a bay branch⁷⁷. The inclusion of a bay branch is not a common element in the depiction of this demon in other magical texts. However, its inclusion is justified since the spell references the branch twice, as well as the plant being associated with Apollo (the god of divination)⁷⁸. Moreover, as noted by Delatte, the five heads are likely a schematic representation of blood rising from the shoulders of the figure⁷⁹. This is

the herb calf’s-snout, in preparations for a spell of revelation. Nonetheless, an alternative suggestion has been added to the text in parenthesis. The specialist who composed PGM V claims that “I have heard from a certain man in Herakleopolis that he takes 28 new sprouts from an olive tree” instead of from a laurel tree. See PGM V. 4-24; PGM XII. 401-444 for further evidence of the utility of magical handbooks. Nock 1929: 220.

⁷² Betz 1986: xlvii.

⁷³ PGM II. 64-183.

⁷⁴ See Figure 15.

⁷⁵ Martín Hernández 2012: 492.

⁷⁶ Betz 1986: 18.

⁷⁷ Martín Hernández 2012: 492.

⁷⁸ Martín Hernández 2012: 492.

⁷⁹ Delatte 1914: 217.

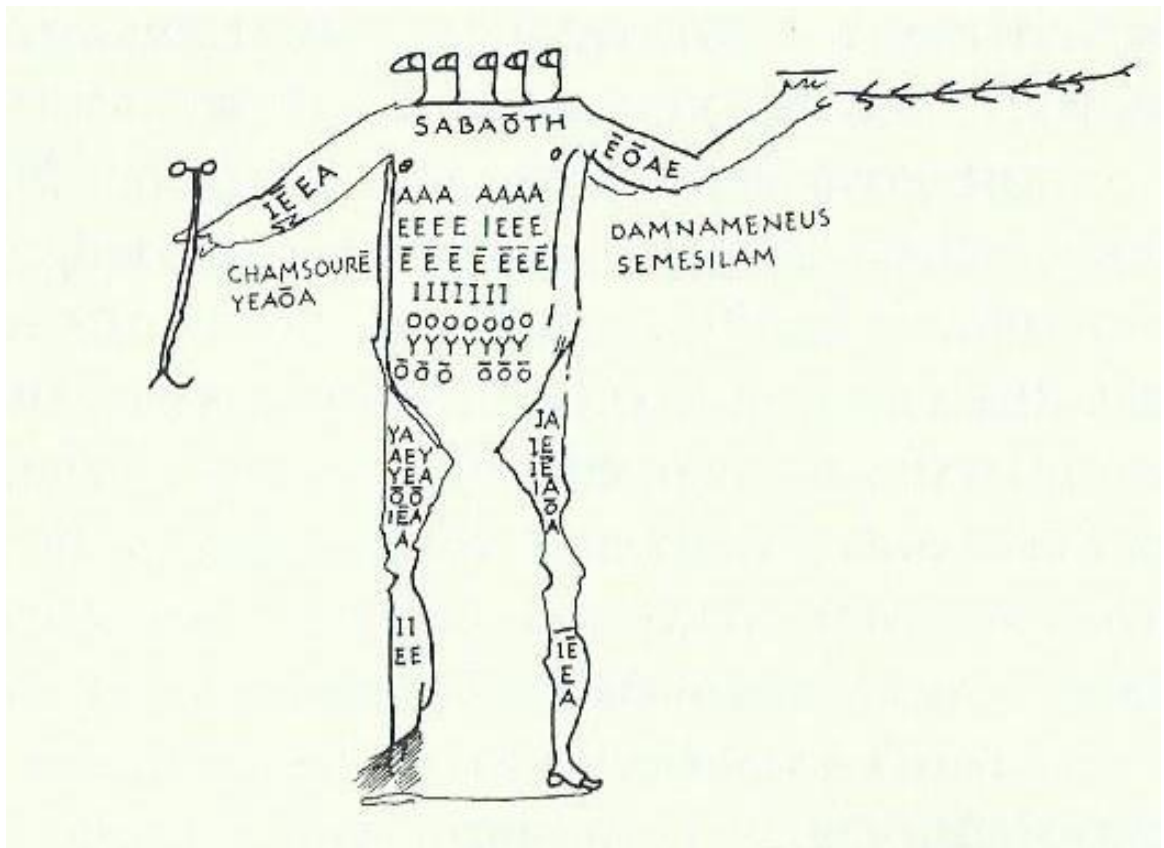


Figure 15. A drawing of a headless demon. PGM II. 64-183. Betz 1986: 18.

highly probable since the text itself describes the figure as “the Headless one” in lines 12-14⁸⁰. Through such distinctive visual representation, the figure in PGM II. 64-183 functions as an instructive image. Not only does the image associate itself with this exact magical *praxis*, through visually depicting what is described in the text and linking itself icongraphically with Apollo, the image itself proves instructive in providing a graphic sample of how the figure is to be rendered.

We can see a similar example in PGM VII. 579-590. The text, which provides the instructions on making a phylactery against demons and every illness, concludes by stating that “the whole figure is [drawn] thus, as given below, with [the spell]”⁸¹. The palpable stress relayed through the text, on the depicted image being the specific figure required to ensure the phylactery’s efficacy, is notable. The text unambiguously makes it clear that this image is to be

⁸⁰ Betz 1986: 12.

⁸¹ See Figure 4; Betz 1986: 134; Kotansky 1991: 107.

drawn as depicted beneath. Additionally, the image itself is a very complex sketch. It depicts a lion headed ouroboros whose body encircles the written spell. The body itself is completely shaded in with black ink, a feature which to my knowledge is unique to this depiction, except for a narrow strip of vertical lines which dissect the centre of figure's body. Additional text is also written around the circumference of the figure, further making it clear the exact manner in which the spell is to be written⁸². The multifarious nature of this image virtually necessitates the drawing of an instructive image as diagram. If the practitioner wished for the phylactery to be effective against demons and illness, than it was vital for a diagrammatic sample to be provided: since the composite nature of the figure would have almost guaranteed its inaccurate rendering with a mere description. Subsequently, it is highly likely that the specialists who acted as the editors and compilers of such handbooks attributed ritual significance to instructive images. This is due to spells requiring correct visual examples. Otherwise the spells were likely to fail⁸³. Indeed, the instructive nature of the figural depictions appears to have served as a link between specialists and their clients, especially regarding the pragmatics of ritual enactment⁸⁴.

As a final point, it is important to highlight the fluid nature of the depictions in the magical papyri in terms of their relative functions. Instructive images clearly abound throughout the magical papyri. We have seen this in PGM II. 64-183, as well as PGM VII. 579-590. However, mythic, performative and talismanic images, likely functioned as instructive images at some stage. In fact, the mythic image in PGM VII. 940-968, as well as the performative images from PGM V. 70-95 and PGM. XXXVI, are from magical handbooks. This is significant as the use of the figural depiction in the pragmatic cycle of ritual practice (whether being copied from a handbook by a specialist or actively used in applied magic by a practitioner) will accordingly determine how the function of the image is to be interpreted. Despite all images in

⁸² Betz 1986: 134.

⁸³ Dieleman 2002: 120.

⁸⁴ Versnel 2002: 154-156.

magical handbooks being classified as illustrative images, when copied out by a specialist or a practitioner to be used in a real-life situation their function relative to their contextual use changes. Once used in applied magic, such images can be classed as either mythic, performative or talismanic. It is highly probable that the rendition of the demon holding a human head which functioned as a performative image in PGM XXXIX. 1-21 (discussed in Chapter Two), originated from a specialist's handbook⁸⁵. Likewise, when used in a tangible setting, the role of the Headless figure from PGM II. 64-183 would change to that of a talismanic image (due to the appropriation of Apollo's power in order to receive an oracular vision). Thus if we are aware of how a specific image functioned in a spell, it may aid us in situations of haphazard papyrus preservation or if the form of the papyrus (whether as a handbook or a sample of applied magic) is in doubt. Knowing whether one is dealing with a handbook or an isolated magical text is important in terms of elucidating its purpose and overall interpretation. Therefore, the thesis that the figural depictions served specific roles in the magical papyri is significant. Knowing how an image functioned alongside its respective text, as well as how it was viewed by a specialist or practitioner, will drastically affect how the text and its accompanying depiction are interpreted.

Conclusion

Rather than being mere symbolic or schematic expressions of ideas in magical texts, the figural depictions in the magical papyri appear to have held specific roles in magical *praxis*⁸⁶. These roles appear to have varied depending on the contextual use of the depictions. Images used in applied magic, where the respective rite or spell was performed in a real-life setting, can be classified as mythic, performative and talismanic images. Mythic images typically depict scenes

⁸⁵ See Figure 8.

⁸⁶ Viložng 2013: 36.

from *historiolae* and worked through sympathetic magic in order to ensure the efficacy of a spell. Performative images set in motion the intention of magical *praxis* through the use of persuasive analogy. The role of talismanic images was to act as mediators of supernatural force, which is typically appropriated by a practitioner⁸⁷. Through such means, the figural depictions utilised in applied magic can best be understood as acting as one of the chief sources of a rite or spell's efficacy. In contrast, images that appear in magical handbooks can be classed as instructive images. Their role was to provide diagrammatic samples of how the images used in specific spells were supposed to look. Through this last category, the fluid nature of the roles of magical images is evident. At some stage, it is highly probable that all the images which were used in applied magic once functioned as instructive images in magical handbooks. It is only when they were copied out by a ritual specialist or a practitioner that their relative function changed according to the purpose of the spell (becoming mythic, performative or talismanic images). It is therefore the stage of the image in the cycle of ritual practice which largely determine its purpose. This is significant, as knowing the purpose of a text and the function of its image will radically affect their interpretation.

The apparent variance in functional strategies utilised in magical texts reflects the need for individual spells to operate distinctly based on their specific purpose⁸⁸. The interplay between this utility and the visual forms in the magical papyri clearly suggest that the figural depictions were significant elements of magical *praxis*⁸⁹. In light of this, when we approach the depictions in the magical papyri we would benefit from interpreting them as tools amongst the various apparatuses of ritualistic practice⁹⁰. Not only did they have specific and important roles

⁸⁷ Dieleman 1992: 11; Gager 1992: 12.

⁸⁸ Smith 2000: 41.

⁸⁹ Dijkstra 2015: 288; Swartz 2005: 196.

⁹⁰ Cf. *The Life of Severus*, written by Zachariah of Mytilene in 512 AD, which relates the existence of magical books containing images of demons with barbarous names. This further endorses the thesis that magical images were utilised in the context of magical *praxis* as part of the materiality of magic. Ambjorn 2008: 62.

in magical *praxis*, time was clearly taken by ritual specialists and practitioners to include them in their rites. The absence of such images, which generally increased or maintained the potency of magical operations, would have almost certainly ensured the failure of the rite or spell⁹¹. This subsequently elevates the role the figural depictions played in Graeco-Egyptian magic.

⁹¹ Page 2004: 33.

Chapter Four

The significance of the figural depictions in the belief and practice of Graeco-Egyptian magic

Semiotics dictates that images are more than just symbolic representations that depict someone or something. Rather, they are visual signs that have a material form (the representation) and are understood to also have a spiritual or otherworldly form (what is being represented)¹. As visual signs, images symbolise something other than themselves. That is to say, a signified entity or element from a spiritual or otherworldly sphere, which depends on the non-distinction of the representation with what is being represented². The figural depictions in the magical papyri were construed as such by magical practitioners and their efficacy resided in such practitioners' understanding of the universe³. When utilised in the specific context of magical *praxis*, the depictions were able to influence their immediate environs by providing the force required to successfully enact rites and spells. It is due to such proficiencies that the depictions in the magical papyri appear to have been considered significant elements in the belief and practice of Graeco-Egyptian magic.

The significance of the figural depictions in magical *praxis* is an important point of consideration. As well as revealing the manner in which Graeco-Egyptian magic was practiced in antiquity, the manner in which figural depictions were perceived provides an insight into the beliefs of magical practitioners regarding their spiritual world and the agents within it. Therefore, it will be argued that the relationship between the figural depictions and magical practitioners, indicates that the images themselves played a fundamental role in the complex belief-system of Graeco-Egyptian magic. The depictions, which were essentially understood by

¹ Schomburg-Sherff 2000: 197.

² Schomburg-Sherff 2000: 197.

³ Page 2004: 5.

practitioners as what they represented, acted as intermediaries which linked the mundane and supernatural worlds.

It will also be established that the very act of drawing the depictions was considered to be a significant element of ritualistic practice. Indeed, the process of depicting the figures in a ritualistic setting appears to have been an integral part of the successful enactment of diverse rites and spells. This further supports the thesis that magical images should be considered as part of the materiality of magic. The data clearly reflects that the depictions were practically employed in a similar manner to other magical paraphernalia, such as amulets and magical figurines. This emphasises the need for further study of the figural depictions. Understanding how they were perceived by practitioners from both a spiritual and a ritualistic perspective, will provide us with a broader understanding of the belief and practices of magic in Roman Egypt.

The relationship between the figural depictions and magical practitioners

The relationship between the figural depictions and magical practitioners indicates that the images themselves played an integral role in linking the mundane and supernatural worlds. This observation is supported by Versnel's argument that these depictions provided the magical papyri with more than an overall appearance of mystery, awe and power. Instead, they connected practitioners to the supernatural world via the use of symbols and concepts which existed outside the realms of conventional discourse⁴. As established in Chapter Three, the figural depictions were employed in applied magic and were accordingly placed in locations in which they would be most effective: such as on κατάδεσμοί in cemeteries, or on amulets worn on the body⁵. This is due to the belief that magical texts and images were only perceived and understood by their supernatural recipients. By placing the figural depictions in localities where

⁴ Versnel 2002b: 154-156.

⁵ Faraone & Obbink 1991: v; Page 2004: 29.

they would be viewed by such supernatural beings, they were thus able to communicate the aims or wishes of practitioners and thereby act as intermediaries⁶.

The conception of magical agents acting as intermediaries is not novel. We find parallel instances in κατάδεσμοι dating to the Classical period, of the dead imagined as messengers carrying the words of the tablets to the deities in the underworld⁷. It is likely for this reason that Hekate is so readily invoked in the magical papyri, since the chthonic goddess was believed to have held power over the restless dead⁸. This is made explicit in PGM IV. 2726-36. The text describes Hekate as rousing those who passed away in an untimely fashion, including “those heroes who died without a wife and children”, to do what the practitioner requests⁹. We likewise find parallel examples in Mesopotamian practice, wherein the dead were commonly offered meals in order that they might rise, accept the offerings, and carry inimical spirits back to the underworld¹⁰.

According to Gombrich, images are only able to perform their roles (in this case as agents linking the mundane and supernatural worlds) if their viewer is conscious of the respective social customs and conventions¹¹. The figural depictions employed in Graeco-Egyptian magic, particularly during the Roman period and Late Antiquity, appear to have been imbued with specific cultural meanings and functions¹². Rather than being experienced as mere visual representations, by being mediated into material form and placed in specific settings, the depictions were able to bridge the gap between the practitioner and the power they wished to appropriate¹³. As a result, the practitioners who perceived the depictions were motivated to

⁶ Johnston 2008c: 17.

⁷ Johnston 1999a: 85.

⁸ Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 569-70; Hippocr. *Morb. Sacr.* 4.362; Johnston 2008c: 17.

⁹ Betz 1986: 89; Johnston 1999a: 86.

¹⁰ Johnston 1999a: 85.

¹¹ Gombrich 1982b: 140.

¹² Schomburg-Sherff 2000: 191.

¹³ Bremmer 2015: 12.

specific actions in their use of them. By understanding the images to have held the roles of supernatural mediators, practitioners considered images as acting through their material form and contextual usage to have aided the enactment of ritual practices. This treatment of the figural depictions in magical *praxis* was key to their incorporation into the belief and spiritual life of magic in antiquity¹⁴.

The significance of the figural depictions in magical praxis

The figural depictions in the magical papyri were meaningful representations, whose execution and use in rites and spells reflect considered ritualistic actions. As we have seen in Chapters Two and Three, the depictions clearly exhibit a desire for accuracy in their execution, as well as retaining a number of specific functions in the magical texts. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that when analysing art used in ritual practices, it needs to be considered within the context of its ritualistic use¹⁵. In the same way that no spell can be detached from an accompanying magical action to which specific preliminary conditions pertain, so too can the

¹⁴ Additionally, a significant point of consideration regarding the relationship between magical images and practitioners is the cathartic effect of utilising depictions in magical *praxis*. According to Dasen, an analysis of pictorial elements (such as seen in the magical papyri) exposes various levels of therapeutic efficacy. Roman Egypt was a transitional culture characterised by competition, envy, and recrimination. The inevitable social conflicts of daily life understandably would involve elaborate cycles of accusation, consultation with specialists who acted as crisis managers, then covert ritual activity. This is particularly manifest in the commissioning and inscribing of *κατάδεσμοι* with magical texts and images. Such acts appear to have provided practitioners with assurance, as well as a feeling of additional power and efficacy, in their actions to ameliorate social crises. The cathartic relationship between magical images and practitioners would accordingly be a valuable point of consideration to pursue further in detail. See Dasen 2014:177; Frankfurter 2006f: 40ff; Graf 1999c: 113; Lesson 2014: 141; Plat. *Laws*. 2.933B; Plin. *Nat.* 28.19; P. Heid. Kopt. inv. 686 (ACM 135. 270ff); Elsner 1996: 518.

¹⁵ Elsner 1996: 515.

figural depictions not be detached from their ritualistic use¹⁶. This is markedly evident in the practical use of depictions in the magical papyri. In conjunction with the essential roles played by the figural depictions in the enactment of rites and spells, the very act of drawing the images appears to have been considered a fundamental part of magical *praxis*.

It is a common stipulation in the magical papyri that the practitioner *him/herself* is to draw an image on an exterior medium, the ground or on some part of their body. Despite the palpable complexity of some of the spells in the papyri, the sole act of drawing (along with the recitation of an incantation or hymn) is frequently all that is required to appropriate the power of the depiction and complete the spell¹⁷. This is expressly apparent in PGM VII. 300. The spell,

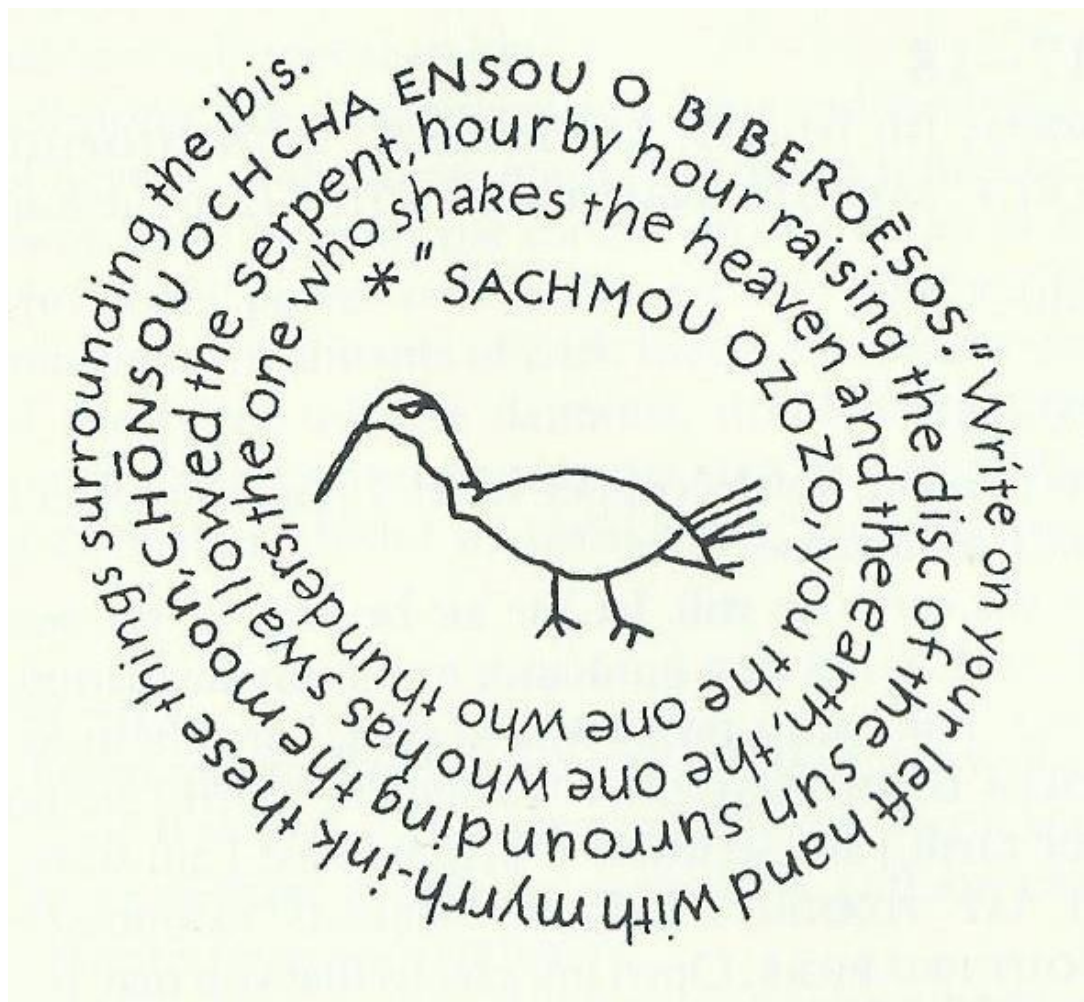


Figure 16. A drawing of an ibis at the centre of an incantation. PGM VII. 300. Betz 1986: 125.

¹⁶ Borghouts 1978: viii.

¹⁷ See PGM XIII. 646-734; Johnson 2008b: 157.

likely aimed at producing a prophetic dream, instructs the practitioner to “write on your left hand with myrrh ink these things surrounding the ibis”¹⁸. The layout of the incantation, which is provided in the papyrus, spirals outwards from an ibis at its centre¹⁹. The unfaltering execution of the image, in aggregation to the incantation and talismanic function of the ibis as a manifestation of supernatural force, would prospectively result in the efficacious enactment of the spell. This ritual act of drawing the figure highlights the significance of drawing in ritual practice.

We likewise find analogous instances of drawing as part of ritualistic practices in Middle and New Kingdom Egyptian magical texts. This is significant, as many of the ritualistic practices evident in the magical papyri originated in an exclusively Egyptian milieu²⁰. For instance, AEMT. 84 is a spell for rendering the effects of poisons null. The text states that “words are to be said over an image of Atum-Horus-Heknu, a woman’s figure of Isis and an image of Horus”, which are to be drawn on the hand of the sufferer. The text further stipulates that the image itself is to be licked off by the sufferer (a common trope in Egyptian magical practices) and also drawn on a piece of linen which is to be applied to the sufferer’s throat²¹. In this way, the depiction becomes an integral part of the ritual practice. Not only is the image required to be drawn for the incantation to be successfully executed, the image itself is also required to be consumed as part of the requisite ritualistic acts. This is moreover reinforced by the spell likewise requiring the sufferer to drink a concoction of beer/wine mixed with “scorpion’s herbs”²². This suggests that the ritualistic act of drawing and consuming the image was considered equally significant to the ritualistic act of concocting and consuming the beverage.

¹⁸ Betz 1986: 125; Gordon 2002b: 97.

¹⁹ See Figure 16.

²⁰ Nock 1929: 229. See PGM V. 250-304.

²¹ Borghouts 1978: 55.

²² Borghouts 1978: 55.

The importance of drawing in ritualistic settings is further highlighted by the execution of the figural depictions in magical *praxis*. The images utilised in magical *praxis* were not inconsequential additions which were provided as an afterthought to further enhance the aura of spells. Rather, the application of the images appears to have been premeditated. This is suggested by the fact that many of the images in the magical papyri are required to be drawn with special ink. We saw this in PGM VIII. 64-110 with the instructions to prepare a specific ink made of the blood of a cow, a white dove, lumps of incense, myrrh, cinnabar, and mulberry tree sap, to name a few ingredients, to draw the depiction. Frankfurter claims that the use of particular ingredients in rites and spells, which often appear to have some sort of spiritual or magical affiliation, was determined by the “type of performative efficacy (the practitioner) wished to convey”²³. It is for this reason, for example, that we find frequent instances of spells such as PGM XXXVI. 1-34, which require the figure of Seth-Typhon to be drawn “with the blood of an ass” for the invocation to be effective²⁴. Drawing the figural depictions was hence considered important enough to require intentional preparation and specific ritual instructions to create the correct concoction of ink. This validates the depictions as significant elements in the practical application of magic.

Despite the act of drawing appearing to have been a significant part of magical *praxis*, Gordon highlights that language was a major determinative element in ritual practice²⁵. That is, invocations used in magical *praxis* were the most important aspects of ritualistic enactment. Gordon argues that this is due to the conception that it is through language that the weight of mythical references can be accumulated, which accordingly provide the rite or spell with the force required to affect the immediate environment. Likewise, divine names were crucial to the efficacy of magic and their power could only be realised through utterance or the fixed written

²³ Frankfurter 2006f: 54.

²⁴ The use of an ass’ blood is likely the result of the ass being religiously associated with Seth-Typhon. Its use in magical *praxis* would therefore aid in appropriating the supernatural force of the deity.

²⁵ Gordon 2002b: 83.

word²⁶. While Gordon raises several salient points, he appears to somewhat overstate the claim of language as the primary element of ritual practice.

Firstly, as discussed in Chapter Three, the figural depictions appear to have played a fundamental role in the successful enactment of magical spells. For instance, mythic images acted sympathetically to encourage the desired future outcome of spells. Performative images provided additional force to spells by setting in motion the intention of magical *praxis* through persuasive analogy. Finally, talismanic images acted as one of the sources of a spell's power through its manifestation of supernatural force. Evidently, depictions could act as one of the chief sources of a spell's efficacy. Language appears to have been only one of the means by which a practitioner could provide a spell with the power required for its successful completion.

Secondly, as Gordon observed, the written word was a means by which a spell (whether it be an invocation or series of divine names) was able to enforce its power. This is an accurate observation. As such, it is worth noting the dynamic and complex relationship which is evident between magical texts and the figural depictions²⁷. The use of figural depictions intermingled with magical texts, wherein the texts forms part of the image's design, is a characteristic and ubiquitous feature in the magical papyri²⁸. In fact, this feature has considerable antiquity in Egypt. For instance, pictures acting as "super-hieroglyphs" were generally perceived as additional parts of ritual texts, as well as perpetual and visual reinforcements of supernatural force²⁹. We observed a similar example of this close relationship in PGM VII. 300, wherein the magical text and image work conjointly to enforce the efficacy of the spell³⁰. The spell's incantation spirals outwards from an ibis at its centre. As both the text and the image were the sole means by which the practitioner was able to enact the spell, both appear as equally vital to

²⁶ Gordon 2002b: 85.

²⁷ Smith 2000: 7.

²⁸ PGM III. 64-183; PGM VII. 579-590; PGM XXXVI. 1-34, 35-68, 69-101, 102-33, 231-255.

²⁹ Frankfurter 1994a: 209.

³⁰ See Figure 16.

its successful completion. Weitzmann subsequently appears justified in his observation that the close union of magical texts and images is most prominently demonstrated in the frequent instances when both are physically integrated on papyrus³¹. In such instances, as apparent in PGM VII. 300, images (which almost always appear without frames or backgrounds) and invocations share the same neutral ground. Magical images ostensibly operate through their form and likeness. Yet when intermingled with magical texts, both the image and the text equally appear as instrumental to the successful enactment of the ritualistic practice³². This suggests that both the images and the text were considered by practitioners to equate to the same ritualistic significance.

Nevertheless, there are of course numerous instances in the magical papyri where elaborate invocations or hymns are the sole means by which a spell is performed³³. Similarly, there are examples of figural depictions which appear anepigraphic: that is, without any text. For instance, the second-third century AD papyrus, P. Berol 21718 A, depicts a standing male deity carrying an *ankh* sign and a *w's* sceptre³⁴. Likewise, P. Berol 21718 B depicts an ibis analogous in form to PGM VII. 300³⁵. Brashear claims that these papyri were used as diagrams for either magical gems or handbooks. However, it is far more likely, according to Brashear, that the papyri functioned as amulets themselves rather than being used as diagrammatic illustrations³⁶. This is due to their small size and regularly quadratic format. Clearly, both magical text and images can act in isolation, as well as in tandem, in order to be effective in enacting a spell³⁷. It is indisputable that the relationship between magical texts and images is

³¹ Weitzmann 1970: 12

³² Smith 2000: 24.

³³ PGM I. 42-195, 195-222; PGM III. 282-409; PGM IV. 94-153, 154-285, 850-929, 930-1114; PGM V. 96-172, 370-446.

³⁴ See Figure 17. Brashear 1991a: 74.

³⁵ See Figure 17.

³⁶ Brashear 1991a: 74.

³⁷ Smith 2000: 43.

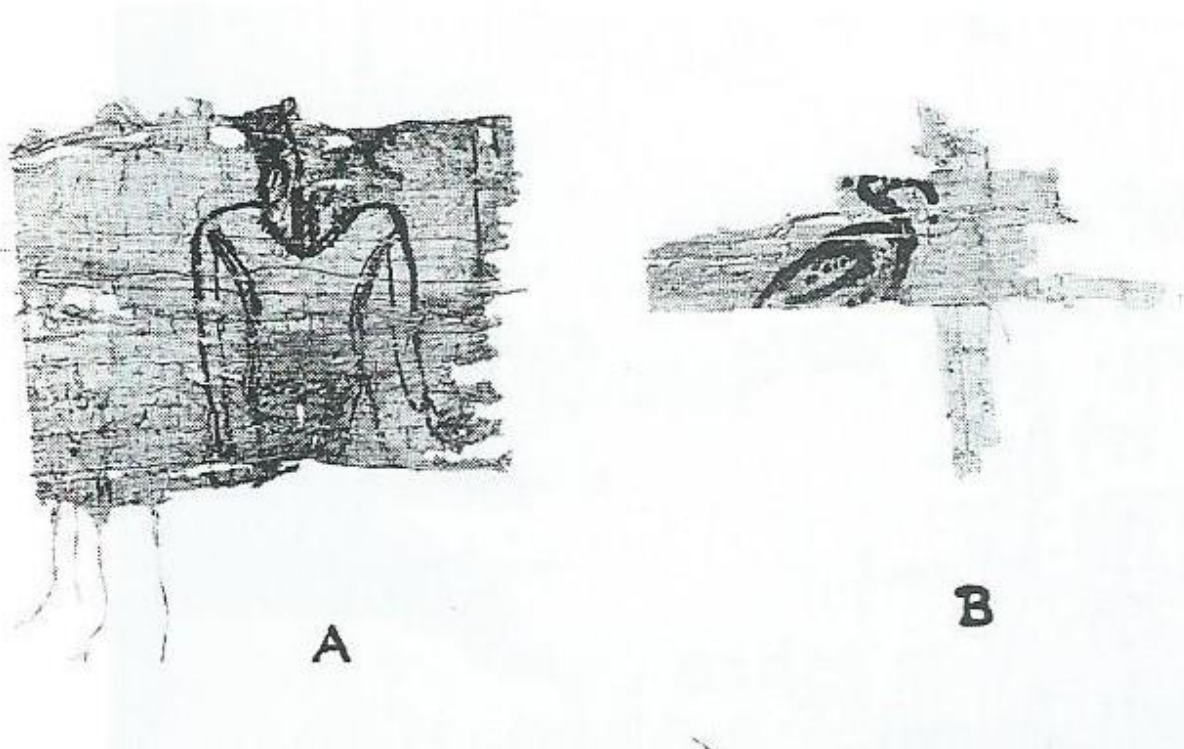


Figure 17. A drawing of a standing male carrying an *ankh* sign, as well as a *w*'s sceptre, and a drawing of freestanding ibis. P. Berol 21718 A; P. Berol 21718 B. Brashear 1991a: Plate 6.

complex. Hence, future study will be required in order to adequately understand the full implications of their supplementary relationship. All the same, the figural depictions appear to have held a prominent role in magical *praxis*. It is not claimed that the figural depictions were the single, most important part of ritualistic processes. As has been established, they held just as significant a role in the enactment of spells as other integral features of magical *praxis*: including invocations. Rather, the figural depictions appear to have been one of the fundamental elements utilised in the successful completion of various rites and spells.

Conclusion

The beliefs and practices of Graeco-Egyptian magic involve a number of dynamic features in regards to how ancient practitioners understood the world, as well as the ways in which they reacted against it. The universe was believed to be composed of a hierarchy of supernatural

beings who could perceptibly influence the mundane world: whether through their own prerogative or that of a skilled and knowledgeable magical practitioner³⁸. Moreover, diverse magical *praxis* provided a means to respond to the innumerable challenges of daily life in antiquity: whether they be of a mundane or supernatural nature. A number of these dynamic features of magic have reasonably formed the centre of academic interest. These include, for instance, the syncretic nature of Graeco-Egyptian magic, the use of hymns in magical texts, the nature of the so-called magician, as well as the gendered and status use of magic, to name a few³⁹. However, the figural depictions and their bearing in magical beliefs and practices have largely remained neglected in academia. This has resulted from a number of reasons. The crude nature of the depictions have led scholars to argue that they were mere marketing tools used by ritual specialists to increase the overall awe and appeal of the magical papyri⁴⁰. Scholarly preference has also centred on the texts of the papyri instead of the images, in order to ascertain an understanding of ritual practices⁴¹. Lastly, issues during the early publication history of the magical papyri, such as the explicit lack of published depictions, has discouraged serious attempts at research on magical images.

This neglect is academically unprofitable, since the figural depictions in the magical papyri appear to have been considered significant in the belief and practice of Graeco-Egyptian magic. This is apparent through the integral relationship between the figural depictions and magical practitioners. In the same way that restless spirits were utilised in κατάδεσμοι to act as messenger to the underworld, so too were the figural depictions perceived as intermediaries between practitioners and supernatural beings. This is notable, since it reveals fundamental features of the nature of supernatural beings in magical practice. For instance, while some

³⁸ Page 2004: 5.

³⁹ See Segal 1981: 349-376; Kotansky 1991: 107-137; Graf 1991a: 188-213; Frankfurter 1997c: 115-136; Frankfurter 2002d: 159-178; Gordon 1999a: 159-276; Dickie 1999a; Faraone 2002e: 400-426.

⁴⁰ Martín Hernández 2012: 491.

⁴¹ Martín Hernández 2012: 491.

demons could be coerced through their depiction to enforce a spell (such as apparent in love spells wherein demons are often visually shown dragging a victim to the practitioner), other demons could be utilised to act as mediators between practitioners and higher ranking beings (such as chthonic deities): likely since they would have more success in obtaining their aid compared to a practitioner⁴².

Moreover, the execution of the figural depictions appears to have been considered a significant element in magical *praxis*. Numerous spells in the magical papyri stipulate that an image is to be drawn by the practitioner in order for the rite or spell to be effective. This is notable, since the significance of drawing as one of the primary means of enacting magical spells has, to my knowledge, not been addressed in previous academic discourse on ritualistic practices. Additionally, images were one of the major determinative elements of ritualistic practice. For instance, the same status in ritualistic activity attributed to incantations, appears to have been applied equivalently by practitioners to that of images. While it is not argued here that the practical execution of the figural depictions supersedes all other ritualistic deeds in prominence, the act of drawing does appear to have been one of the fundamental means of successful enacting a spell. Finally, the supplementary relationship between magical texts and depictions, wherein both often appear intermingled in the papyri and work conjointly to enact a spell, suggests that images held more significance in magical *praxis* than previously observed.

⁴² Such instances are apparent, for example, in PGM XXXIX. 1-21, PGM XXXVI 102-133 and PGM XXXVI 231-255. Each text exhibits a drawing of a demon holding a human head, visually exemplifying the supernatural being dragging its victim to the practitioner. See Figure 8, 9 and 10. In contrast, PGM XXXVI. 69-101 and PGM XXXVI. 187-210 exhibit the use of demons acting as mediators between practitioners and higher ranking supernatural beings: namely, Seth-Typhon and Hekate. See Figure 7 and 11.

Conclusion

The images in the magical papyri present us with a fascinating body of data. Despite their crude nature and appearance, the images retain strong stylistic uniformity which exhibit elements of a broader doctrine of spiritual beliefs. Moreover, rather than being mere decorative elements which were used to increase the mysterious aura of the magical papyri, the images exhibit specific functions both in relation to magical texts, as well as to diverse magical *praxis*. Still most remarkable, the images appear to have been viewed by practitioners as prominent elements of Graceo-Egyptian magic. They were significant enough to have been entrenched within its doctrine of spiritual beliefs and likewise to have received intentional ritualistic treatment within its practices.

Utilising a new typology of magical images (consisting of 1. Figural depictions; 2. Shapes; 3. *Characteres*), a catalogue of 157 magical depictions gathered from the foundational corpora of magical literature, as well as utilising an art historical approach with particular emphasis on iconography, this study has demonstrated that the figural depictions in the magical papyri existed within a broader conceptualized system of magical imagery.

As we have seen in Chapter Two, the figural depictions appear to be rooted within a codified iconographic system. The interplay between the magical texts and the images confirms that a restricted set of terms were used to distinguish the depictions drawn in the papyri from figurines and engraved images. This suggests that the figural depictions existed within a pre-established system which distinguished image types in terms of their forms, as well as their individual uses. This is further reinforced by the uniformity in the compositional placement of the depictions, since it appears that their localisation in the papyri followed conventional traditions. The desire to accurately execute the depictions using the correct iconographic motifs moreover confirms that they existed within a codified system. Although seemingly schematic, the repertoire of the figural depictions included a restricted set of pictorial motifs which were

imbedded in the consciousness of magical practitioners¹. These included the reoccurring motifs of Seth-Typhon and a demon holding a human head. Such reoccurring motifs display standardisation in terms of their visual elements. Likewise, the depictions' strikingly consistent crude execution highlights that emphasis was not placed on aesthetics². Emphasis does however appear to have been placed on the *inclusion* of the correct iconographic elements, which were essential for practitioners to correctly interpret the depictions, for the successful functioning of the various rites and spells, as well as for the utility of the depictions³.

This apparent utility superseded the aesthetic execution of the figural depictions. As was highlighted in Chapter Three, the depictions clearly retained specific functions within the magical papyri⁴. When utilised in applied magic, the depictions could serve as mythic, performative or talismanic images. Through the use of sympathetic magic, performative analogy or by providing the channel for supernatural force to manifest, the figural depictions functioned as one of the chief sources of a rite or spell's efficacy⁵. In contrast, depictions which appear in magical handbooks functioned as instructive images. They provided diagrammatic instructions to ritual specialists and practitioners on the precise manner in which images were to be executed. Nevertheless, these roles appear to have been fluid. When utilised in a handbook, all figural depictions could be argued to be instructive. When copied out by a ritual specialist or practitioner to be utilised in a real-life setting, images change in terms of their relative function to either mythic, performative or talismanic. As such, it is the stage in the cycle of ritual activity, as well as the particular rite or spell they are utilised in, which determines the apparent function of the depictions.

¹ Viložng 2013: 36.

² Viložng 2013: 36.

³ Gombrich 1982b: 143.

⁴ Viložng 2013: 36.

⁵ Dieleman 1992: 11; Gager 1992: 12.

It is clear from the evidence presented in Chapter Two and Chapter Three that the figural depictions held an important place in the belief and practice of Graeco-Egyptian magic. This was further confirmed from the data presented in Chapter Four. The interpersonal relationship held between the figural depictions and magical practitioners suggests that the images were considered significant in Graeco-Egyptian magic. The figural depictions acted as mediators between the mundane and supernatural worlds. They bridged the gap between practitioners and supernatural beings, provided the means by which supernatural force could be appropriated and further encouraged aid to be provided by higher ranking beings. The significance of images in magical *praxis* is further reinforced by the prominence given to the ritual execution of the figural depictions. Many magical texts stipulate that the practitioner is to draw an image as part of the successful enactment of various rites and spells. This is almost always accompanied by preliminary instructions on the correct concoction of ink to use in the drawing, as well as a diagrammatic illustration of how the depiction is to look. The depictions likewise appear to have been given the same ritual status as incantations and ubiquitous ritual deeds (such as consuming ritually prepared beverages) by practitioners. For example, this is seen in the equal ritualistic status applied to magical texts and the figural depictions. Both typically share the same space and often appear intermingled in the magical papyri. Therefore, the ritual act of drawing appears to have been experienced, as well as considered, as an integral feature of magical *praxis*.

The significance of the figural depictions in Graeco-Egyptian magic is reinforced through their long history in magical *praxis*. They were readily utilised in magical texts alongside invocations, as well as in ritual practices. Yet despite these truths, the magical papyri have been approached by some academics (largely from early to mid-twenty century) with derision⁶. This academic trend has shifted with an increased interest in ancient magic, as demonstrated by the numerous journal articles, books and pamphlets published on the topic

⁶ Betz 1986: xliii.

from the late 60s onwards⁷. In conjunction to this, the increased accessibility of magical texts due to the publications of a number of key corpora has led the topic of magic to be seen as an increasingly viable subject of academic research⁸. Still, the images in the magical papyri have remained largely neglected in scholarship on ancient magic and have virtually been disregarded in ancient art history⁹. This trend is also starting to shift, with interest in magical depictions increasing, though further research is needed.

If we are to gain a more comprehensive understanding of ancient magic, its belief-system, and the manner in which it was practiced, we need to consider all of its facets in their entirety. This expressly applies to the images in the magical papyri since, as this thesis has argued, the figural depictions should be considered as part of the materiality of ancient magic. Moreover, it is hoped that this thesis has demonstrated the copious amount of data that we are able to gain on ancient magic through studying magical imagery. For instance, magical practitioners appear to have held a ritual-centered attitude to the figural depictions. This consequently influenced the way in which the depictions were viewed by practitioners within their belief-system, as well as the way in which they were approached in ritual practices¹⁰. An understanding of ancient magic based on the inclusion of the magical images, rather than solely on ancient literature and papyri text as a source-base, is therefore more comprehensive. Such understanding provides us with more accurate knowledge on how magical practitioners practiced their beliefs, as well as provide an insight into their lived experience¹¹.

⁷ See Hull 1974; Segal 1981: 349-376; Luck 1985a; Luck 1999b; Graf 1991a: 188-213; Faraone & Obbink 1997; Faraone 1999d; Dickie 1999a; Ankarloo & Clark 1999b; Fowler 2000: 317-343; Gordon 2002b: 62-112; Janowitz 2001a; Janowitz 2002b; Johnston 2008b; Skinner 2014; Bremmer 2015: 7-20.

⁸ Preisendanz 1973a; Preisendanz 1973b; Betz 1986; Daniel & Maltomini 1990a; Daniel & Maltomini 1990b; Meyer and Smith 1994.

⁹ Smith 2000: 1.

¹⁰ Elsner 1996:531.

¹¹ It is important to note that gaining an insight into the lived experience of practitioners is instructive for contemporary discourse. The historiography of magic encompasses the use of numerous texts which stem from Classical antiquity. These have generally come to us in the form of literature composed by social elites, which

In addition to such insights, this thesis has resulted in the creation of a conceptual framework from which the figural depictions in the magical papyri can be systematically addressed and interpreted. That is, the figural depictions are not non-sensical. They are governed by strict iconographic regulations, held specific functions within magical *praxis* and were considered by practitioners to be significant aspects of Graeco-Egyptian magic. As such, the figural depictions should be considered as artefacts which were used as part of the materiality of magic. It would be straightforward and advantageous to apply this same model to the analysis of the other image types in the magical papyri: namely, shapes and *characteres*. Correspondingly, avenues of future research may also encompass the analysis of the entire genre of magical imagery. This would include the depictions evident on κατάδεσμοι, gem amulets, as well as those drawn on magical incantation bowls¹².

As astutely observed by Finney in 1980, the challenge set by Nock in 1929 to create a corpus of the images in the magical papyri, as well as an accompanying iconographic analysis, has yet to be taken up¹³. Finney's observation still remains valid. What is currently required is a complete categorisation of the images in the magical papyri according to systematised and critical categories¹⁴. This is essential if we are to further our understanding of ancient magic.

have been transmitted indirectly or exhibit the philosophies of select groups. However, magical papyri provide us with firsthand data on the everyday practice of magic. For instance, there appears to be a divergence between the magic discussed in ancient literature, as opposed to the reality of magical practice. Ancient literature expounds the use of magic as largely a feminine tool, wherein women would use ἀγωγαί (love spells) predominantly against men, such as seen in PGM XV. 1-21. Conversely, Faraone astutely argues for a more complex situation of interpersonal gender relations. He observes that it is most often males instilling *eros* (erotic passion) in females in applied magic. When women targeted men, they tended to instil in them *philia* (affection or friendship)¹¹. Evidently, the reconstruction of the real-life experience of Graeco-Egyptian magic is a valuable point of consideration which requires further study in detail. Graf 1999c: 96; Frankfurter 1997c: 119; Faraone 2002e: 400-426; See Faraone 1999d.

¹² Naveh & Shaked 1993a; Naveh & Shaked 1998b.

¹³ Finney 1980: 450; Nock 1929: 233.

¹⁴ Martín Hernández 2012: 497.

As suggested by Finney, we should begin with securely dated magical papyri bearing images¹⁵. This will aid in dating other magical images, especially those found in small deposits which survive without their original contexts¹⁶. Moreover, if we are able to determine whether an image belongs to the rubric of magical iconography, this may assist in the correct identification of magical papyri in states of poor preservation. Once we have such a corpus, we will be able to further enrich our understanding of the depictions. Demonstrating that the figural depictions in the magical papyri formed part of a conceptualised system of magical iconography, accordingly aids in providing future avenues for such a corpus of magical images to be completed.

It is undeniably the case that the figural depictions are complex illustrations. They are embedded within a dynamic set of traditions which range from a set of standardised iconographic conventions to the collective conception of supernatural beings and how such beings were construed to act through representations. Likewise, the depictions were utilised as significant elements in magical *praxis*, which were governed by established conventions of ritual acts. This conforms with Sarah Iles Johnston's argument that the latter part of the imperial age and the early phase of late antiquity (approximately 100-500 AD) witnessed a more conscientious conceptualisation of religion than previously¹⁷. As a belief-system with accompanying ritual practices, Graeco-Egyptian magic appears to have formed set conventions during this period¹⁸. The figural depictions existed as part of this belief-system and practices, particularly as part of its complex iconographic system of imagery. As such, when we approach the figural depictions, as well as the other image types in the magical papyri, we should interpret them as part of the materiality of magical *praxis*. Not only were these images distinguished by

¹⁵ Finney 1980: 450.

¹⁶ Finney 1980: 450.

¹⁷ Johnston 2008c: 15.

¹⁸ See Skinner 2014 for a discussion on the systematic development of magical tools and techniques, whose ritual core remained relatively consistent.

practitioners from other forms of visual representations and mediums used in magical *praxis*, they held specific roles in such *praxis* and were utilised accordingly. Clearly, the images in the magical papyri reveal many features of magical belief and practice, both which have been discovered and previously unidentified. Therefore, their further examination will almost certainly reveal new insights into magical imagery, supplementary evidence integral to the future study of ancient magic and as this thesis has demonstrated contribute to our broader understanding of Graeco-Egyptian magic.

Appendix 1

Catalogue of magical images

The compiled catalogue of magical images consist of 157 samples. These have been extracted from the corpora of magical literature compiled by Preisendanz, Betz, Brashear, Daniel and Maltomini, Gager, Horak, Meyer and Smith, Naveh and Shaked, as well as singular publications including that of Choat and Gardner. The catalogue is based primarily on magical image type (as categorised in this thesis: 1. Figural depictions; 2. Shapes; 3. *Characteres*) and the rite/spell type of the associated magical text relative to the image. In instances where more than one type of magical image occurs on the same sample, each image type has been noted. The primary purpose of this catalogue is to provide a reference list of magical images, their associated rite/spell type, as well as their references to assist further investigations.

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Date (Century)</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Rite/Spell type</i>	<i>Magical image type</i>	<i>Source</i>
PGM I. 1-42	<i>P. Berol.</i> inv. 5025	IV/V AD	Papyrus	Spell for acquiring <i>a paredros</i>	Shapes	Betz 1986
PGM II. 65-183	<i>P. Berol.</i> inv. 5026	IV AD	Papyrus	Spell for revelation (handbook)	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM III. 1-164	P. Mimauf frgs. 1-4 (pap. no. 2396)	IV AD	Papyrus	Cat ritual for many purposes (handbook)	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM III. 187-262	P. Mimauf frgs. 1-4 (pap. no. 2396)	IV AD	Papyrus	Spell for revelation (handbook)	Figural depiction	Betz 1986

PGM III. 410-23	P. Mimauf frgs. 1-4 (pap. no. 2396)	IV AD	Papyrus	Memory Spell (handbook)	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM IV. 2622-2707	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr.</i> no. 574	IV AD	Papyrus	Slander spell to Selene (handbook)	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM V. 70-95	<i>P. Lond.</i> 46	IV AD?	Papyrus	Spell for catching a thief (handbook)	Figural depiction/shapes	Betz 1986
PGM V. 304-369	<i>P. Lond.</i> 46	IV AD?	Papyrus	Instruction for a curse tablet	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM VII. 215-18	<i>P. Lond.</i> 121	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Spell for favour (handbook)	Shapes	Betz 1986
PGM VII. 300	<i>P. Lond.</i> 121	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Spell of uncertain purpose (handbook)	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM VII. 396-404	<i>P. Lond.</i> 121	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Spell for silencing, subjecting and restraining (handbook)	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM VII. 411-416	<i>P. Lond.</i> 121	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Spell for causing talk while asleep (handbook)	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM VII. 579-590	<i>P. Lond.</i> 121	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Instructions for a phylactery (handbook)	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM VII. 795-845	<i>P. Lond.</i> 121	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination (handbook)	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM VII. 846-861	<i>P. Lond.</i> 121	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Spell for revelation (handbook)	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM VII.925-939	<i>P. Lond.</i> 121	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Charm to subject (handbook)	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986

PGM VII.940-968	<i>P. Lond.</i> 121	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Charm to restrain anger and to subject (handbook)	Figural depiction/shapes	Betz 1986
PGM VIII. 64-110	<i>P. Lond.</i> 122	IV or V AD	Papyrus	Request for a dream oracle of Besa	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM IX. 1-14	<i>P. Lond.</i> 123	IV or V AD	Papyrus	Spell to subjugate and silence	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM X. 24-35	<i>P. Lond.</i> 124	IV or V AD	Papyrus	Charm to restrain anger	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM X. 36-50	<i>P. Lond.</i> 124	IV or V AD	Papyrus	Apollo's charm to subject	Figural depiction/shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XII. 474-479 (PDMXII. 135-146)	<i>P. Lugd. Bat.</i> J 384 (V)	IV AD	Papyrus	Love spell of attraction (handbook)	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM XII. 499-452 (PDMXII. 62-75)	<i>P. Lugd. Bat.</i> J 384 (V)	IV AD	Papyrus	Love spell of separation (handbook)	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM XIII. 734-1077	<i>P. Lugd. Bat.</i> J 384 (V)	IV AD	Papyrus	A collection of miscellaneous spells (handbook)	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PDM XIV. 150-231	<i>P. Lugd. Bat.</i> J 383	III AD	Papyrus	A lamp inquiry (handbook)	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XVIIa. 1-25	<i>P. gr.</i> 1167	IV AD	Papyrus	Love spell of attraction	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XVIIc. 1-14	<i>P. gr.</i> 574	-	Papyrus	Instruction for an amulet	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XVIIIb. 1-7	<i>BGU</i> III 956	III/V AD	Papyrus	Instructions for a fever amulet	Shapes	Betz 1986
PGM XIXa. 1-54	<i>P. Berol.</i> inv. 9909	IV or V AD	Papyrus	Love spell of attraction	Shapes	Betz 1986

PGM XXXIII. 1-15	<i>P. Tebt. II 275</i>	III AD	Papyrus	Instructions for a fever amulet	Shapes	Betz 1986
PGM XXXV. 1-42	PSI I 29	V AD	Papyrus	Charm for favour and victory	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XXXVI. 1-34	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Charm to restrain (handbook)	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM XXXVI. 35-68	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Charm to restrain anger, secure favour and victory in courts (handbook)	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM XXXVI. 69-101	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Love spell of attraction (handbook)	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM XXXVI. 102-133	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Divination by fire (handbook)	Figural depiction/shapes	Betz 1986
PGM XXXVI. 178-187	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	A charm to break spells (handbook)	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XXXVI. 187-210	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Love spell of attraction (handbook)	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XXXVI. 231-255	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Love spell of attraction (handbook)	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM XXXVI. 256-264	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Charm to break enchantment (handbook)	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XXXVI. 275-283	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Charm for gaining favour (handbook)	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XXXIX. 1-21	<i>P. Osl. I, 4</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Love spell of attraction	Figural depiction/shapes	Betz 1986

PGM XLIX	<i>P. Rain. 7</i>	-	Papyrus	Instructions for amulet	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM LXIII. 21-24	<i>P. gr. 323</i>	II/III AD	Papyrus	Spell of uncertain purpose	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM LX. 1-5	<i>P. Brux. inv. E 6390, 6391</i>	VI AD	Papyrus	Instructions for amulet	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PDM LXI. 63-78	<i>P. Brit. Mus. inv 10588</i>	III AD	Papyrus	Spell for dream revelation	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PDM LXI. 79-94	<i>P. Brit. Mus. inv 10588</i>	III AD	Papyrus	Spell for finding a thief	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM LXII. 24-46	<i>P. Warren 21</i>	III AD	Papyrus	Saucer divination	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM LXII. 79-106	<i>P. Warren 21</i>	III AD	Papyrus	Spell (or two spells) to inflict harm	Spell (or two spells) to inflict harm	Betz 1986
PGM LXIV. 1-12	<i>P. gr. 29273</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Charm to inflict harm	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM LXV. 1-4	<i>P. gr. 29272</i>	VI/VII AD	Papyrus	Spell to prevent pregnancy	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM LXV. 4-7	<i>P. gr. 29272</i>	VI/VII AD	Papyrus	For migraine headache	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM LXVI. 1-11	<i>P. Cairo. 60139</i>	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Love spell of separation	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM LXXVIII. 1-14	<i>P. Heid. 2170</i>	III AD	Papyrus	Love spell of attraction	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM LXIII. 21-24	<i>P. gr. 323</i>	II/III AD	Papyrus	Spell of uncertain purpose	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM LXXXIV 1-21	<i>P. Princ. II 76</i>	III AD	Papyrus	Fetching charm	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM LXXXVIII. 1-19	<i>P. Princ. III 15</i>	III or IV AD	Papyrus	Fever amulet	Shapes	Betz 1986
PGM LXXXIX. 1-27	<i>P. Lund Univ. Bibl. IV 12 inv. no. 32</i>	IV AD	Papyrus	Phylactery for fever, phantoms, demons, etc	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986

PGM XC. 1-13	<i>P. Med.</i> inv. no. 32	IV/V AD	Papyrus	Rite or phylactery	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XC. 14-18	<i>P. Med.</i> inv. no. 32	IV/V AD	Papyrus	A salve for fever	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XCI. 1-14	<i>P. Michael.</i> 27	III or IV AD	Papyrus	Fever amulet	Shapes	Betz 1986
PGM XCVIII. 1-7	<i>P. Koln.</i> inv. 1982	III AD	Papyrus	Amulet	Shapes	Betz 1986
PGM XCIV. 10-16	<i>P. Ant.</i> II 66	V AD	Papyrus	A phylactery for a fever	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XCIV. 27-35	<i>P. Ant.</i> II 66	V AD	Papyrus	Spell for tumours	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM XCIV. 39-60	<i>P. Ant.</i> II 66	V AD	Papyrus	Spell for migraine headache	Shapes	Betz 1986
PGM XCIX. 1-3	<i>P. Koln.</i> inv. 2283	V/VI AD	Papyrus	Amulet	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM C. 1-7	<i>P. Koln.</i> inv. 2861	V/VI AD	Papyrus	Amulet	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM CVI. 1-10	<i>P. Berol.</i> 21165	III/IV AD	Papyrus	Amulet for fever with shivering fits	Figural depiction/shapes	Betz 1986
PGM CVII. 1-19	<i>P. Koln.</i> inv. 5512	III or IV AD	Papyrus	Fetching charm	<i>Characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM CXIII. 1-4	<i>P. Amst.</i> inv. 16	V AD	Papyrus	Amulet for scorpion sting	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM CXVI. 1-17	<i>P. Laur.</i> inv. 54	VI AD	Papyrus	Invocation of Typhon-Seth	Shapes	Betz 1986
PGM CXX. 1-13	<i>P. Laur.</i> III 58	III AD	Papyrus	Amulet (for inflammation of the uvula?)	Shapes	Betz 1986
PGM CXXIIIa-f. a1-70	<i>P. Cazzaniga.</i> nos. 1-6	V AD	Papyrus	Erotylos, for childbearing, sleep, strangury, a shivering fit, victory	Figural depiction/shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM CXXIIIa-f. e1-10	<i>P. Cazzaniga.</i> nos. 1-6	V AD	Papyrus	Erotylos	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
PGM CXXIIIa-f. f1-13	<i>P. Cazzaniga.</i> nos. 1-6	V AD	Papyrus	Erotylos	Figural depiction	Betz 1986
PGM CXXIV. 1-43	<i>P. Cazzaniga.</i> nos. 7	V AD	Papyrus	Charm to inflict harm	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986

PGM CXXX. 1-13	<i>P. Mich.</i> inv. 6666	III AD	Papyrus	Spell for a shivering fever	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Betz 1986
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 2178 A	I-II AD	Papyrus	Amulet	Figural depiction	Brashear 1991a
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 2178 B	I-II AD	Papyrus	Amulet	Figural depiction	Brashear 1991a
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 2178 C	I-II AD	Papyrus	Amulet	Figural depiction	Brashear 1991a
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 2178 D	I-II AD	Papyrus	Amulet	Figural depiction	Brashear 1991a
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 21719	I-II AD	Papyrus	Amulet	Figural depiction	Brashear 1991a
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 21720	III-IV AD	Papyrus	Amulet	Figural depiction	Brashear 1991a
	<i>P. Macq.</i> I. 1	-	Parchment	Various spells to cure possession, ailments, success in love and business (handbook)	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Choat & Gardner 2013
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 8	<i>P. Haun.</i> III 50	III-IV AD	Papyrus	Protective Charm	Shapes	Daniel & Maltomini 1990a
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 19	<i>P. IFAO</i> III 50	VI AD	Papyrus	Protective Charm	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Daniel & Maltomini 1990a
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 21	<i>P. Koln.</i> VI 257	IV/V AD	Papyrus	Protective Charm	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Daniel & Maltomini 1990a
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 23	<i>P. Haun.</i> III 51	V AD	Papyrus	Protective Charm	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Daniel & Maltomini 1990a

<i>Suppl. Mag. 27</i>	<i>P. Vindob. inv. G 42406</i>	V AD	Papyrus	Protective Charm	<i>Characteres</i>	Daniel & Maltomini 1990a
<i>Suppl. Mag. 34</i>	<i>P. Koln. inv. 851</i>	VI AD	Papyrus	Protective Charm	Shapes	Daniel & Maltomini 1990a
<i>Suppl. Mag. 37</i>	<i>T. Heid. Arch. Inst. inv. F429 a and b</i>	II AD	Curse Tablet	Love Spell of Attraction	Figural depiction	Daniel & Maltomini 1990a
<i>Suppl. Mag. 39</i>	<i>T. Berol. inv. 13412</i>	III AD	Curse Tablet	Love Spell of Attraction	Figural depiction	Daniel & Maltomini 1990a
<i>Suppl. Mag. 41</i>	<i>T. Leid. Demaree</i>	III-IV AD	Curse Tablet	Love Spell of Attraction	Shapes	Daniel & Maltomini 1990a
<i>Suppl. Mag. 48</i>	<i>P. Mich. inv. 6925</i>	II-III AD	Curse Tablet	Love Spell of Attraction	Shapes	Daniel & Maltomini 1990a
<i>Suppl. Mag. 55</i>	<i>T. Cairo Mus. JdE 36059</i>	III AD	Curse Tablet	Separation charm	Shapes	Daniel & Maltomini 1990b
<i>Suppl. Mag. 57</i>	<i>P. Reinach II 88</i>	IV AD	Curse Tablet	Charm to restrain anger	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Daniel & Maltomini 1990b
<i>Suppl. Mag. 65</i>	<i>Museo del Vicino Oriente, inv. 181/665</i>	III AD	Terracotta bowl sherd	Divination Charm	Shapes	Daniel & Maltomini 1990b
<i>Suppl. Mag. 66</i>	<i>T. Moen s.n.</i>	III/IV AD	Curse Tablet	Divination Charm	<i>Characteres</i>	Daniel & Maltomini 1990b

<i>Suppl. Mag. 67</i>	<i>O. Mil. Vogl. inv 85</i>	I/II AD	Ostrakon	Spell of uncertain nature	Shapes	Daniel & Maltomini 1990b
<i>Suppl. Mag. 69</i>	<i>P. Palau Rib. inv. 3</i>	II-V AD	Papyrus	Spell of uncertain nature	Figural depiction	Daniel & Maltomini 1990b
<i>Suppl. Mag. 98</i>	<i>P. Mil. Vogl. inv. 1258-1259-1260, 1262, 1261, 1254-1255, 1256, 1257</i>	V/VI AD	Papyrus	Formularies	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Daniel & Maltomini 1990b
CT. 5		late II/early III AD	Curse Tablet	Curse: Competition in Theatre and Circus	Figural depiction	Gager 1992
CT. 6		late V/early VI AD	Curse Tablet	Curse: Competition in Theatre and Circus	Shapes	Gager 1992
CT. 12		I-III AD	Curse Tablet	Curse: Competition in Theatre and Circus	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Gager 1992
CT. 13		IV AD	Curse Tablet	Curse: Competition in Theatre and Circus	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Gager 1992
CT. 14		IV AD	Curse Tablet	Curse: Competition in Theatre and Circus	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Gager 1992
CT. 32		-	Curse Tablet	Love spell of attraction	<i>Characteres</i>	Gager 1992
CT. 38		II or III AD	Curse Tablet	Love spell of attraction	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Gager 1992
CT. 78		IV AD	Curse Tablet	Curse: Business, Shops, Taverns	<i>Characteres</i>	Gager 1992

CT. 84		-	Curse Tablet	Curse: Plea for Justice and Revenge	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Gager 1992
CT. 109		-	Bowl	Curse	Figural depiction	Gager 1992
CT. 122		-	Bowl	Protective Charm	Figural depiction	Gager 1992
IPP. 48	<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 1302, 1303, 1329, 30.513	IV AD	Papyrus	Amulet	Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 49	<i>P. NYU</i> inv. 546	VI AD	Papyrus		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 50	<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 1306, 1336	V/VI AD	Papyrus		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 51	<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 1327	V AD	Papyrus		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 52	<i>P. Vindob.</i> K 21.150	VIII AD	Parchment		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 53	<i>P. Vindob.</i> Ach 25.588	X AD	Paper		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 54	<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 1325, G 1364a, b, c	VII AD	Papyrus		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 55	<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 30. 515	late VII/ early VIII AD	Papyrus		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 56	<i>P. Vindob.</i> AP. 10.032	VIII AD	Papyrus		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 57	<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 1357	VII/VIII AD	Parchment		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 58	<i>P. Vindob.</i> AP 17.435	VII AD	Papyrus		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 59	<i>P. Vindob.</i> K 19.378	VII AD	Papyrus		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
IPP. 60	<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 1316	VI-VIII AD	Papyrus		Figural depiction/shapes	Horak 1992
IPP. 61	<i>P. Vindob.</i> K 10.888	VI-VII AD	Papyrus		Figural depiction	Horak 1992
ACM. 7	Oxyrhynchus 1077	VI AD	Papyrus	Healing Spell	Figural depiction/shapes	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 11	Cologne 851	VII AD	Papyrus	Healing Spell	Shapes	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 25	Oxyrhynchus 1060	VII AD (?)	Papyrus	Protection Spell	Shapes	Meyer & Smith 1994

ACM. 38	Bruce Codex, Bodleia Library, Oxford; page 108, line 23 to page 112, line 6 (according to the edition of Carl Schmidt)	IV AD(?)	Papyrus	A Gnostic fire baptism	<i>Characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 39	Bruce Codex, Bodleia Library, Oxford; page 127, line 5 to page 128, line 20 (according to the edition of Carl Schmidt)	IV AD(?)	Papyrus	Spell for ascending through the heavens	<i>Characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 43	Michigan 136	-	Vellum leaves	Spells for medical issues (handbook)	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 45	Berlin 8324	-	Papyrus	Spell for various diseases	Shapes	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 48	Schmidt 1	-	Papyrus	Sleep spell	Shapes	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 61	Vienna K 8302	-	Parchment	Protection charm	Shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 64	London Oriental Manuscript 5525	-	Parchment	Spell for exorcism	Figural depiction/ shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 70	London Oriental Manuscript 5987		Papyrus	Protection spell	Figural depiction/ shapes	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 71	From the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin		Papyrus	Rossi's 'Gnostic' tractate against the powers of evil (handbook)	Figural depiction/ shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 72	Schmidt 2		Parchment	Spell for exorcism	Shapes	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 73	Heidelberg Kopt. 684	XI AD	Parchment	Spell for exorcism (handbook)	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994

ACM. 79	London Hay 10414	VI or VII AD	Leather	Love spell and for business	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 81	London Hay 10434	VI or VII AD	Leather	Spell for gathering (to a business?) and for menstrual flow	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 95	Berlin 8503	VIII AD	Parchment	Abdallah's curses to weaken Mouflehalpahapani	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 105	Heidelberg Kopt. 681	late X AD	Parchment	Curse	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 109	Louvre E. 14. 250	X AD	Parchment	Love spell of separation	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 110	Heidelberg Kopt. 679	XI AD	Paper	Curse	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 119	Coptic Museum 4959	-	Papyrus	Spell invoking Aknator the Ethiopian to perform every wish	<i>Characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 120	Coptic Museum	VI-VIII AD	Papyrus	Spell invoking the divine to accomplish whatever is requested	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 128	Cairo 45060		Papyrus	Various spells and recipes (handbook)	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 129	London Oriental Manuscript 6794	early VII AD	Papyrus	Spell to obtain a good singing voice (handbook)	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM. 130	London Oriental Manuscript 6795	early VII AD	Papyrus	Spell for good fishing (handbook)	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994

ACM. 131	London Oriental Manuscript 6796 [2], [3], [1]	early VII AD	Papyrus	A prayer made by Mary and a prayer for power, with additions (handbook)	Figural depiction/ shapes/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
ACM.132	London Oriental Manuscript 6796 [4], 6796	early VII AD	Papyrus	Spell for exorcism (handbook)	Figural depiction/ <i>characteres</i>	Meyer & Smith 1994
MSF. 14			Bowl	Protection charm	Figural depiction	Naveh & Shaked 1993b
MSF. 16			Bowl	Charm for expelling demons from a house	Figural depiction	Naveh & Shaked 1993b
MSF. 18			Bowl	Removing the tormentor from Panahurmiz son of Rasn-duk and his household	Figural depiction	Naveh & Shaked 1993b
MSF. 19			Bowl	Healing and protection charm	Figural depiction	Naveh & Shaked 1993b
MSF. 27			Bowl	Protection charm	Figural depiction	Naveh & Shaked 1993b

Appendix 2

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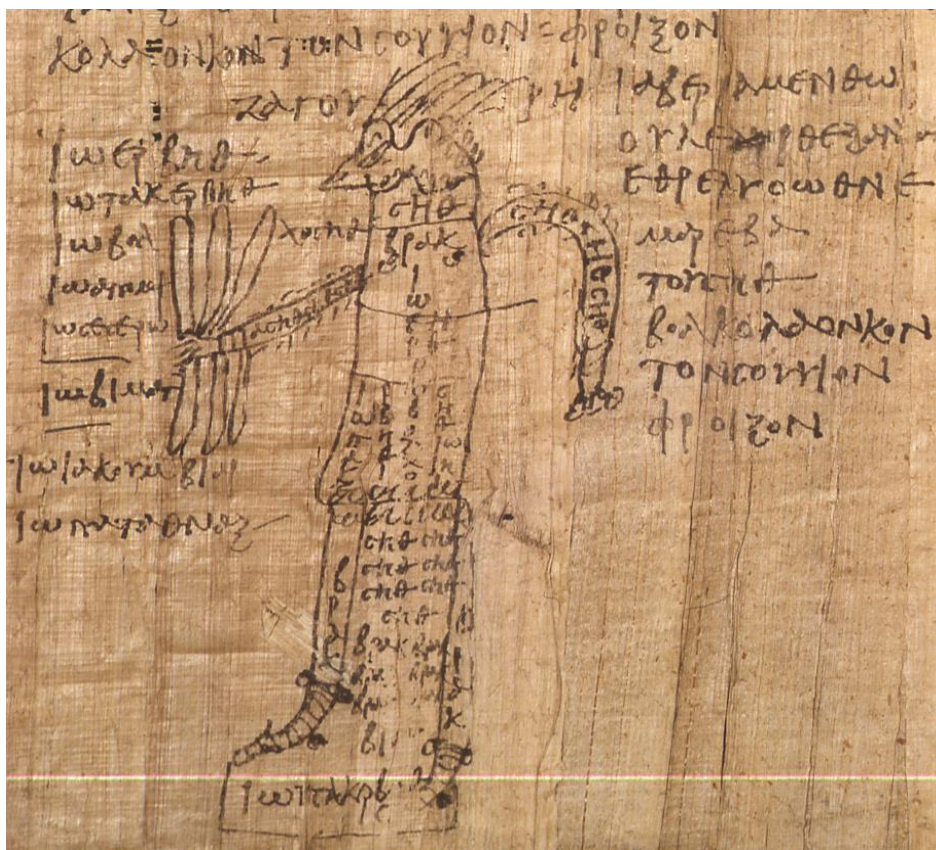


Figure 1. A drawing of Seth-Typhon. PGM XXXVI. 1-34. Pg. 32.



Figure 2. A drawing of Bes. PGM VIII. 64-110. Betz 1986: 148. Pg. 36.

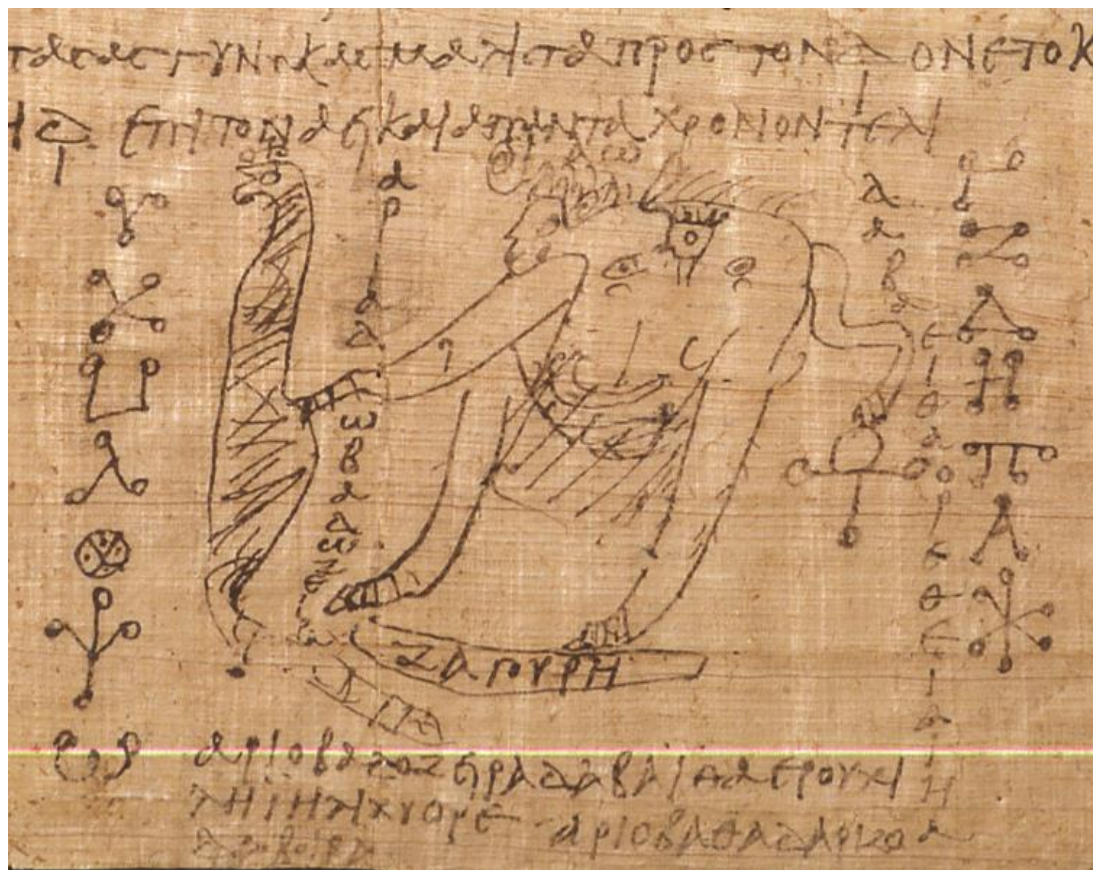


Figure 3. A drawing of the seal of the invoked figure. PGM XXXVI. 35-68. Pg. 37.

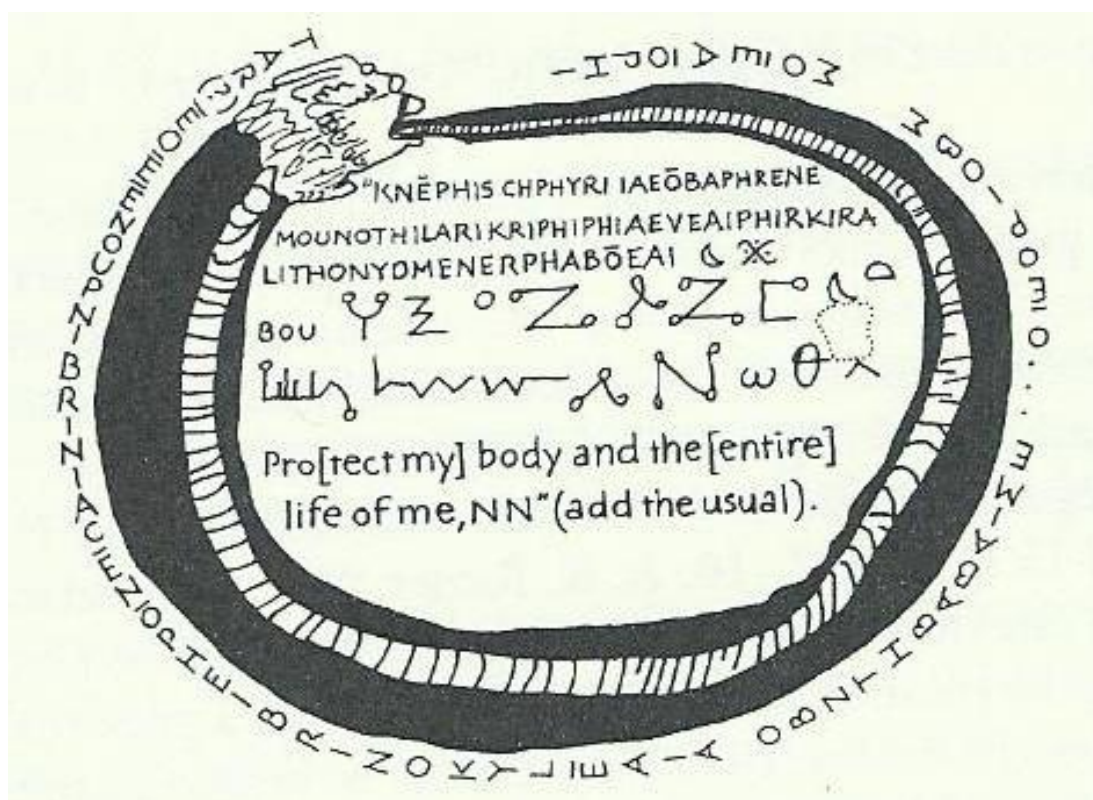


Figure 4. A drawing of the seal of the invoked figure. PGM VII. 579-590. Betz 1986: 134. Pg. 38.

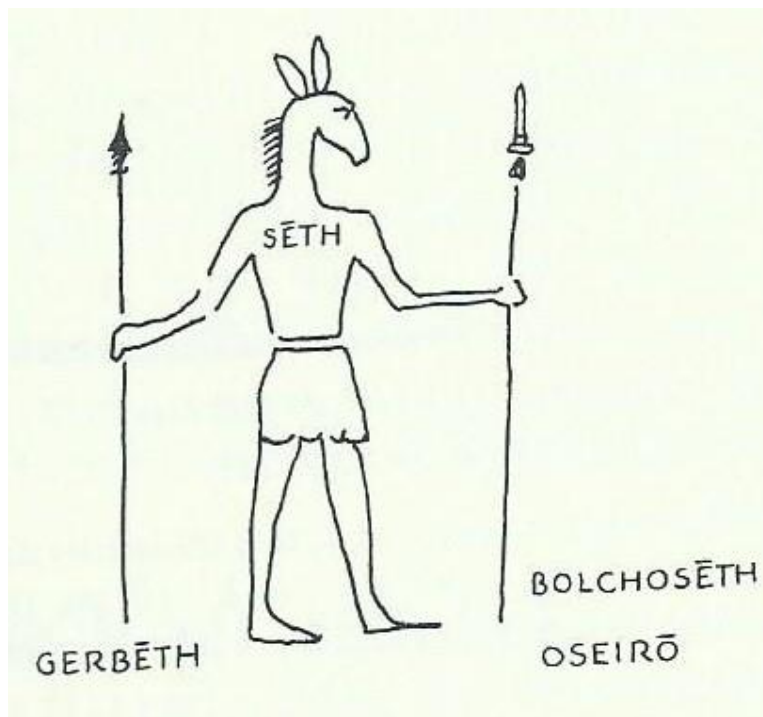


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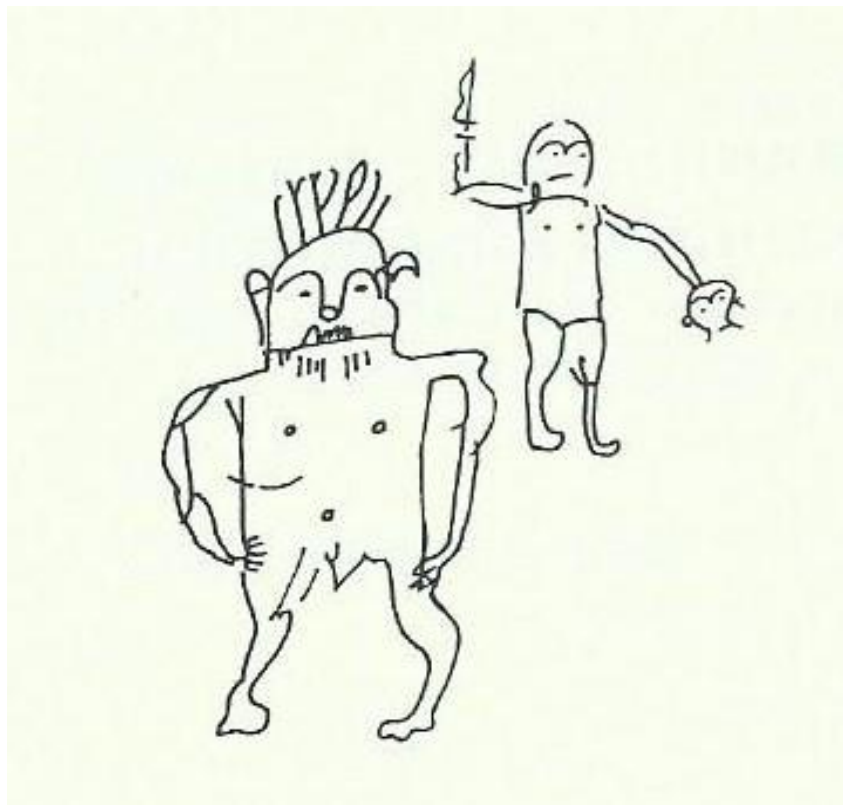


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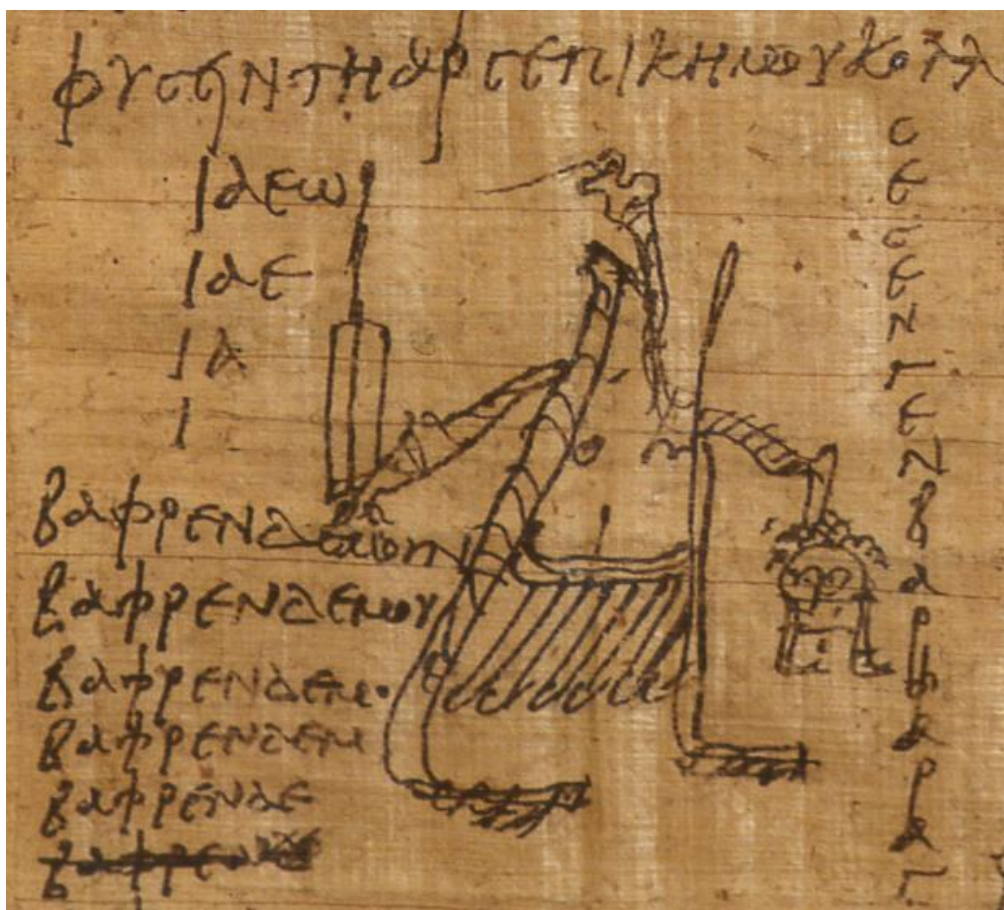


Figure 9. A demon holding a human head and an inverted sword. PGM XXXVI. 102-133. Pg. 45.



Figure 10. A demon holding a human head and a sword. PGM XXXVI. 231-255. Pg. 46.

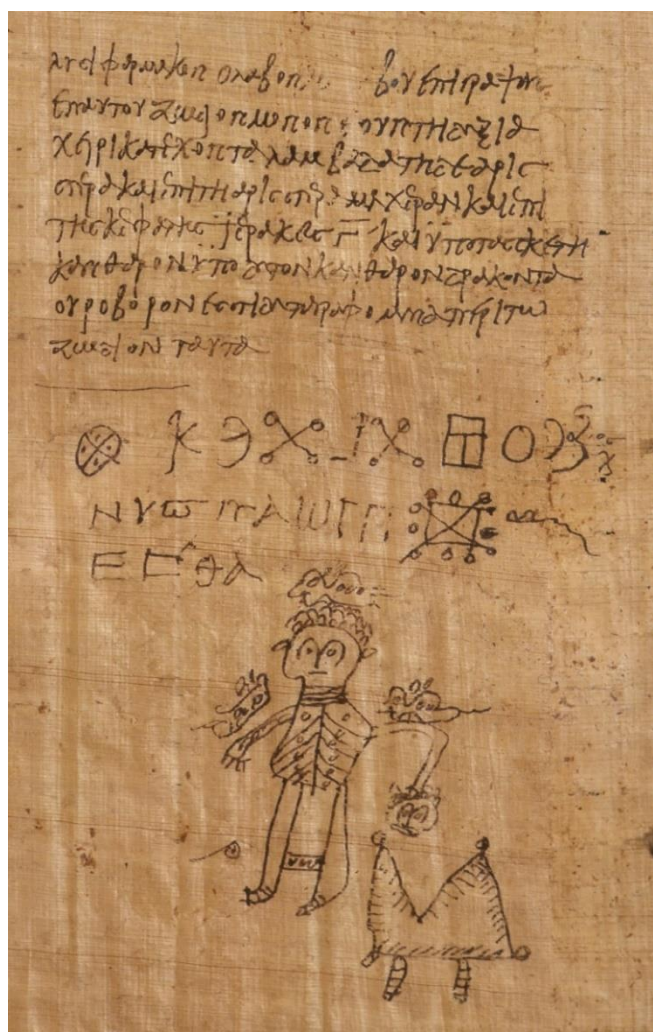


Figure 11. A demon (appearing as a human) holding a human head. PGM XXXVI. 178-187. Pg. 47.

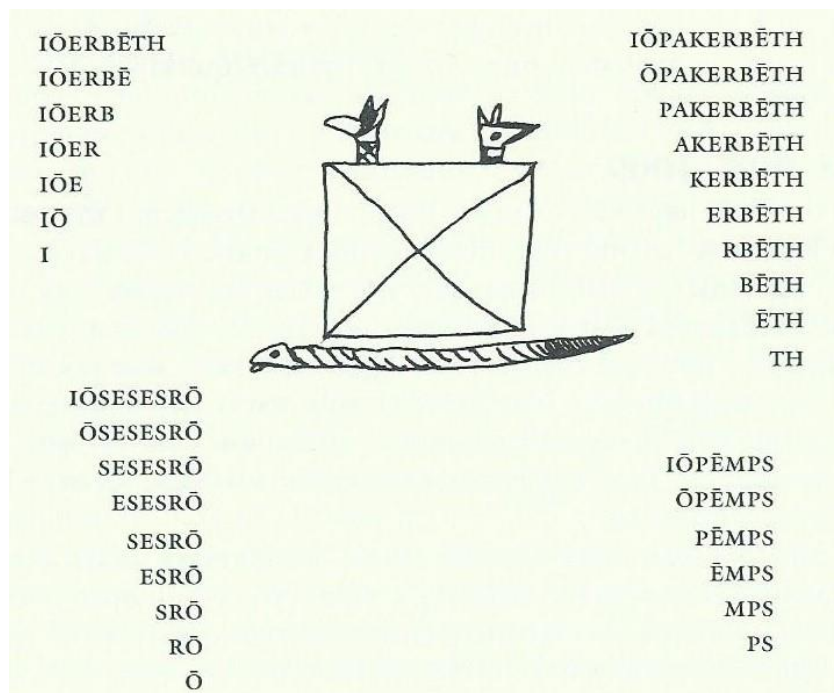


Figure 12. A historiola representing the coffin of Osiris, with Apophis appearing as a snake directly beneath. PGM VII. 940-968. Betz 1986: 143. Pg. 56.

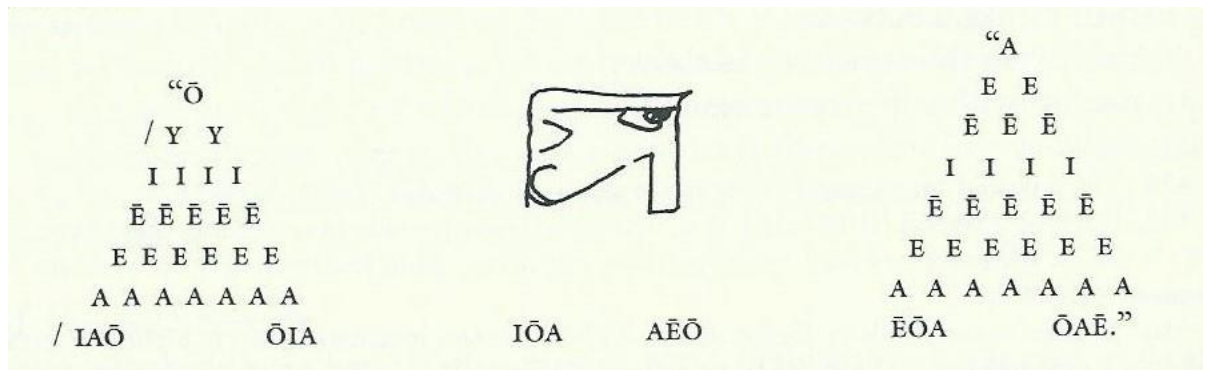


Figure 13. A drawing of an eye flanked by two inverted heart shapes. PGM V. 70-95. Betz 1986: 102. Pg. 59.

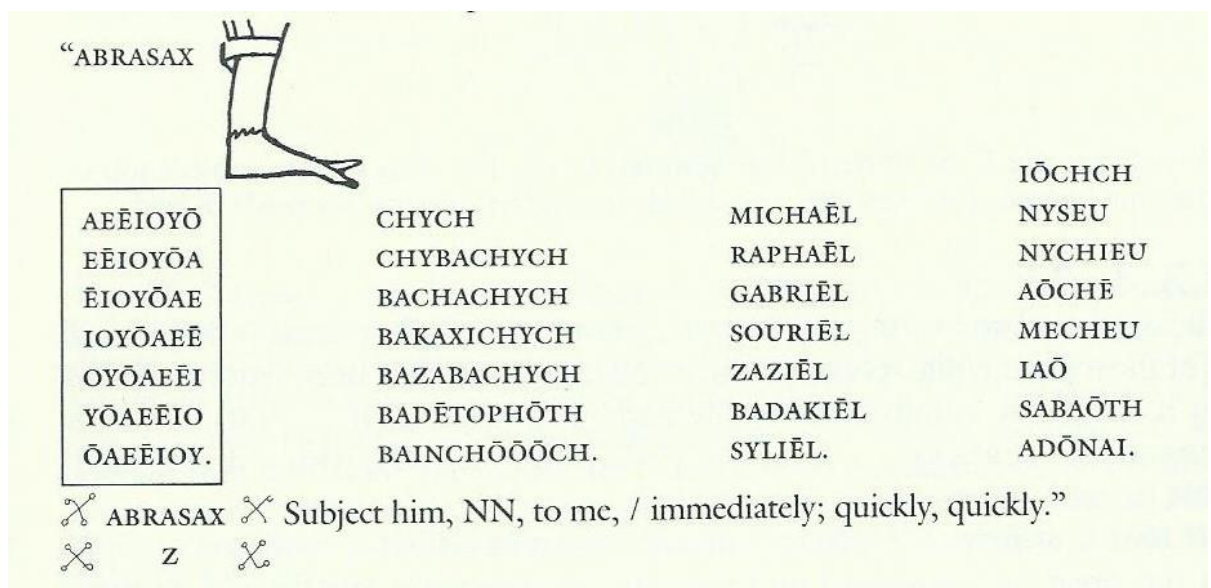


Figure 14. A drawing of a foot above four columns of magical/secret names. PGM X. 36-50. Betz 1986: 150. Pg. 59.

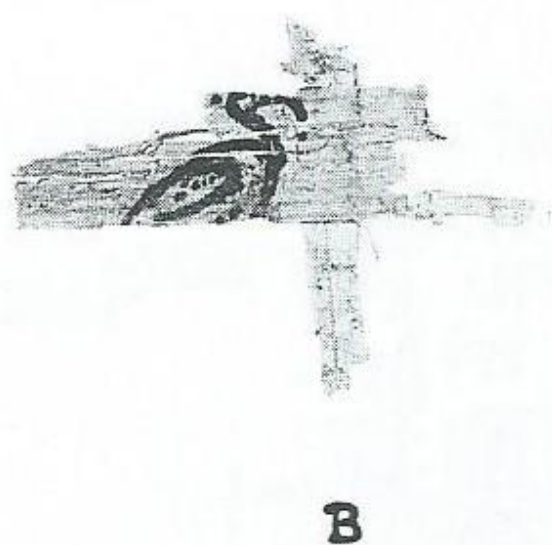


Figure 17. A drawing of a standing male carrying an *ankh* sign, as well as a *w*'s sceptre, and a drawing of freestanding ibis. P. Berol 21718 A; P. Berol 21718 B. Brashear 1991a: Plate 6. Pg. 82.

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