

MAGICAL TEXTS FROM BARCELONA (MONTSERRAT ABBEY AND PALAU RIBES COLLECTIONS)

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This paper presents the edition and commentary of three papyrus fragments from the collections preserved at the Abbey of Montserrat and the Archive of the Jesuits in Barcelona. They have in common that they might be interpreted as connected to magical or divinatory practice.

Keywords: magical papyri; divination; magical drawings; papyrology; ancient magic; *voces magicæ*; word-lists

In this contribution we publish three papyrus fragments from the collections Roca-Puig at the Abbey of Montserrat, and Palau Ribes in the Archive of the Jesuits of Barcelona. Their fragmentary state does not allow a clear identification of their contents, but we have good reasons to believe that all of them may be taken into the realm of magic and divination.

The first fragment (P.Monts.Roca inv. 980) is the most clearly magical, since it can be interpreted as an activated text; the second one (P.PalauRib. inv. 49) contains a drawing of a scarab comparable to similar drawings in magical papyri and gemstones; the third one is a list of mysterious words, difficult to interpret; we have connected it to divination and magic, using some parallels in other magical texts.

Other magical (*vel sim.*) materials from Montserrat have been published previously: P.Monts.Roca inv. 239, an amulet probably against fever;¹ P.Monts.Roca inv. 742, a Christian amulet against some type of disease;² P.Monts.Roca inv. 223a, a Greek horoscope;³ and O.Monts.Roca inv. 1472, an aggressive magical procedure, probably a separation spell.⁴

The papyrus in both collections were acquired in Cairo in the 50s and 60s of the 20th century by Father Ramon Roca-Puig and Father Josep

O’Callaghan respectively, through intermediaries in the market of antiquities. They were not bought individually, but in lots and there is no specific documentation about their purchase beyond the general references to payments for the said lots. For this reason, it is very difficult to know the exact provenance of these papyri beyond the fact that they come from Egypt.⁵

1. *P.Monts.Roca inv. 980: activated magical text*

TM 983692

Provenance: Unknown

Date: Late Roman period?⁶

H 4.6 × W 15.3 cm

This small ticket of papyrus features a combination of text and image typical of magical texts. This combination is written and drawn across the papyrus fibers, in a format known from the production of receipts, namely, small size sheets cut from a papyrus roll. The procedure is typical for serial production of small format documents. However, the small size of the papyrus and the lack of a *kollesis* make this just a hypothetical reconstruction of its production.

It features two inscriptions, one to the left of the central human figure and the other in its garment or body. The hand is a crude upright majuscule, very difficult to date, since it is an example of a non-educated hand. It could be classified as an evolving hand according to Criore (1996, 112). The other side presents traces of ink.

The central figure is the representation of a standing human being in frontal position featuring a rectangular body.⁷ Its head is either not preserved or was never drawn (an *acephalus*?).⁸ Only its left hand is visible, and it seems to be holding a branch or scepter (there are only some traces of ink). It has two legs filled with horizontal lines,⁹ with its bare feet turned outwards. Its body, or garment, is inscribed with the powerful names *Iaō Sabaōth Adōnai* (and maybe an ω at the end of the text, as part of the *alpha-omega*). The inscription of *charaktēres*, magical names or sequence of vowels inside the body of powerful creatures appears widely in Graeco-Egyptian and Coptic magic, and they are usually understood as gods or demons.

The figure is flanked by two partially open loops, whose openings are facing the central figure. The disposition of the figures reminds of more developed parallels in procedures of attraction and separation. Dosoo

(2018) has demonstrated that when the marginal figures are facing each other, the procedure is for attraction, while when they are facing in the opposite direction, the procedure is for separation. The loops seem to be opened towards the central figure. This suggests that this papyrus is an attraction procedure.¹⁰

To the right there is a set of two double loops or circles with a cross in the middle and surrounded by a frame of strokes of which only the top part is preserved. On top of it there is a fragmentary *charaktēr*, perhaps in the shape of a star or a fragmentary branch.¹¹

Since these kinds of drawings start appearing in magical texts at a later period, we are inclined to date this papyrus to the 5th century at the earliest.¹² The paleography and the text are not helpful in this respect.



Figure 1. P. Monts.Roca inv. 980.

1.1. *Edition*

↓

- 1 ΔΟΥΚΙ
- 2 ΕΙΑ
- 3 ΧΘΝ Ν
- 4 ΚΙΥΑ Η
- 5 ΔΕΝΔΕ



1.2. *Commentary*

1. δούκ[. For parallels see δουανανου in *GEMF* 31/*PGM* I 150 (in a spell to Selene, within a ritual for acquiring an assistant); and δουναξ in *GEMF* 74.649/*PGM* VII 568 (ritual for lamp divination).

3. The second ν seems to be ornated with bullets, like *charaktēres*. For the use of Greek letters in the form of *charaktēres*, see Gordon (2011) and Sanzo (2015, 81–82).

5. For a parallel, see δενδενξου in *GEMF* 74.1091/*PGM* VII 933, in a stela for a subjection-procedure. Alternatively, this could be a corrupted form of ἦδε, ἦδε, if we read the Ν instead as a malformed Η, and we take the Η at the end of line 4 as the initial of the first instance of ἦδε.

2. *P.PalauRib. Lit. 40 (P.PalauRib. inv. 49). A magical drawing?*

TM 119326

Provenance: Unknown

Date: Roman period?

H. 6.3 × W. 4.2 cm

P.PalauRib. inv. 49 is a very small piece of papyrus, broken all around, which preserves the remains of a drawing. It was first edited in 1970 by Father Joseph O'Callaghan. In his *editio princeps* the papyrologist understood the drawing as a representation of a fish.¹³ However, he humbly

warned that given the scarce traces of ink, it was not easy to suggest further interpretations, nor attribute any biblical meaning to it. Papyri with images and drawings are relatively rare and vary greatly depending on their purpose. Drawings in papyri are commonly attested in school exercises, miscellaneous books, astrological papyri and, above all, books on magic and “activated texts”. We revisit here the edition of this papyrus to offer a new interpretation of the drawing based on a comparison of its design with other similar ones.

This is a rather small piece of papyrus that shows signs of having been folded to form a small square. The recto side features part of a drawing traced with black ink. A stain of red ink is visible in the upper margin. It is difficult to know whether it belongs to the drawing or not. The drawing is performed steadily and without vacillation. The verso side features small traces of ink that could be compatible with another drawing, but its identification is, for the moment, uncertain.

The dating of the papyrus cannot be achieved using the archaeological context or the paleographical hand. The *editor princeps* assigned the piece to the “Roman period” based on the range of dates of the lot in which it was acquired (p. 92). Our parallels confirm this date.

The remains of the drawing seem to be compatible with a drawing of a scarab, especially when compared to the drawing that appears in *GEMF* 30, col. iv (*PGM* II col. iii [see fig. 2]), as well as those appearing in *GEMF* 16, col. v (*PDM* XIV l. 126; as part of a string of pseudo-hieroglyphs).¹⁴ The resemblance of the drawing in P.PalauRib. inv. 49 with that appearing in *PGM* II, intended to be drawn on the lintel of a door for

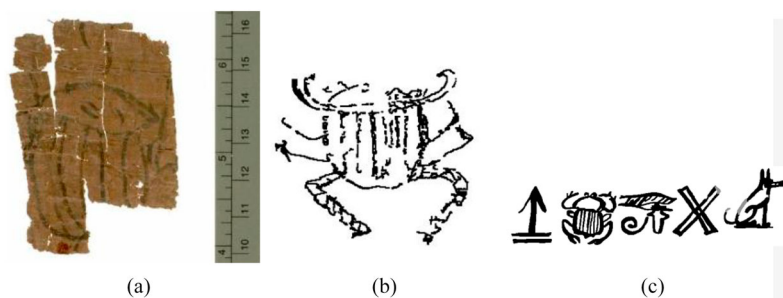


Figure 2. (a) P.PalauRib. inv. 43, photograph published by courtesy of the Historical Archive of the Jesuits in Catalonia; (b) Drawing of the scarab featured in *GEMF* 30, line 208; (c) Drawing of the pseudo-hieroglyphs in *GEMF* 16, col. v, line 126.

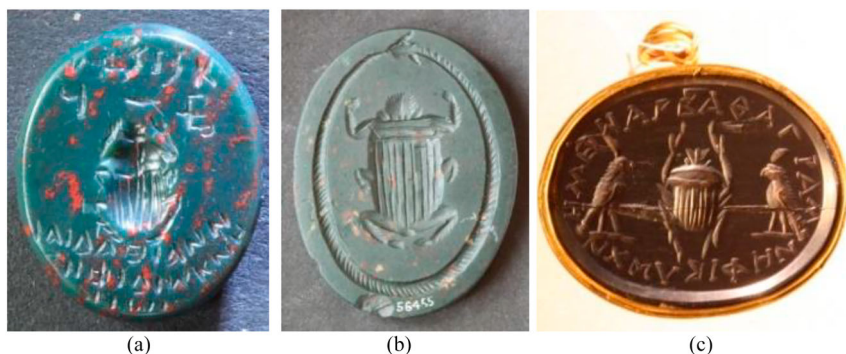


Figure 3. (a) Heliotrope. British Museum inv. EA 56491 (CBd-501). Photo: Christopher A. Faraone. © Trustees of the British Museum; (b) Heliotrope. British Museum inv. EA 56455 (CBd-1008). Photo: Christopher A. Faraone. © Trustees of the British Museum; (c) Haematite. Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor (CBd-1401). Photo: Christopher A. Faraone. © Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.

protection, and the folding marks that our papyrus features, allow us to suggest a possible amuletic use for the papyrus.

Images of scarabs have been used as amulets in the ancient Egyptian religious imagery associated with renewal and rebirth. Scarab amulets made of different materials (faience, gemstones) appear in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom onwards.¹⁵ In the Roman period, the representation of the scarabs is very popular in gemstones.¹⁶ A search in the Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database¹⁷ provides a total of 211 gemstones with a scarab in their iconography. It usually appears alone or in association with Horus-Harpocrates, who is seated on the lotus. In these cases, three scarabs appear as part of the Harpocrates' triads of animals: scarabs, crowned falcons, crocodiles, uraeus snakes, ibises, and goats.

Although the complexity and shape of the scarab varies among the different amulets in which it appears, the most common way of representing it is the one preserved in the papyrus examples mentioned above. Its head appears as an oval in which, on occasions, the eyes seem to be represented, and a more rounded body in which vertical lines running from its head to its feet are arranged more or less in parallel.

Apart from a more natural representation, the scarab in magical gemstones is sometimes depicted as having wings,¹⁸ with human head,¹⁹ and when alone it sometimes appears encircled by an ouroboros.²⁰

3. *P.Monts.Roca inv. 317: List of literary words or magical epithets?*

TM 144228

Provenance: Unknown

Second century AD

H 11.7 × W 16 cm

P.Monts.Roca inv. 317 is a sheet of papyrus, written along the fibers, only on one side, with a list of words in two columns. Column i has been written close to the left-hand side edge of the papyrus. The first and the last words in the column seem to be also the beginning and end of it since margins of ca 1 cm and of ca 3 cm are preserved on the top and the bottom respectively. There seems to be no traces of writing above the first word, so we are also lacking a possible heading or title. From column ii there are only remains of the beginning of a few words on the right-hand margin, that we assume it is a similar list as in column i. The arrangement of the two columns is puzzling; the scribe left a large space between col. i and col. ii, perhaps planning to insert some explanation to the words to the left at a later moment. For a parallel with much empty space left, perhaps for additional notes, see the list of literary words, albeit several centuries earlier, P.Cair.Zen. IV 59534 (TM 1170). For columnar setup in papyri, see Ammirati and Fressura (2017), and Dickey (2015).

The text is written in a somewhat careful mostly upright hand, with some letters slightly slanted to the right. The individual letters are kept separate in most places, with just the odd extra stroke connecting two letters (τ in l. 10). Some letter shapes are close to those of the cursive elongated writing common in the second and third centuries AD. See especially δ, ν, ρ and υ in *SB XIV 12105* (TM 14544), dated to 129 AD and *P.Mich. IX 526* (TM 12022), dated to 155 AD, written in a similarly careful manner, and, much more quickly executed and tending to rounded forms, *BGU I 153* (TM 8921), dated to 152 AD.

The text consists of isolated words or groups of words without syntactical concordance between them. Two of them are introduced by the conjunction καί. Many of the words are compound terms and they seem to be related to

some divinity or space related to the afterlife or, at least, to a somewhat terrifying (literary?) environment. In some cases, the words have no natural Greek form, such as $\delta\rho\upsilon\mu\omicron\pi\tau\epsilon\tau$ (l. 6), which ends in tau, $\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\iota\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon$ (l. 7) or $\iota\pi\pi\omicron\delta\iota\omicron\xi$ (l. 10). Moreover, most terms could have been part of a hexametric line.

The character or textual genre of this papyrus is difficult to assess. At first glance, it seems to contain a list of artificial compounds meant to be epithets of goddesses, mostly previously unattested.²¹ All seem to refer to Hekate, the triple goddess (because she is conflated with Mene/Selene and Artemis/Diana). Some of the entries are combinations of words, but we have not been able to find a match in Greek literature. However, they could refer to the sphere of power of a goddess related to the Underworld. One of the few literary parallels we could find, containing some of the words of the list and related to Hekate, is *Oracula Chaldaica* fr. 146.²²

An alternative interpretation connects our text to magic. A particularly interesting parallel is provided by a Greek magical formula that presents a similar list: it is *GEMF 82/Suppl.Mag.* II 96A ll. 25–43, which contains a series of strange terms arranged in columns.²³ As in the Montserrat list, the words are not arranged in alphabetical order. They are in general Greek-sounding terms, although some of them, as in the Montserrat papyrus, do not present a Greek natural form (such as $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omega\rho$ or $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\lambda\alpha\theta$). The lexical components of the words in *GEMF 82/Suppl.Mag.* II 96A make them somewhat transparent in meaning. While all could be nominative, others ending in ϵ suggest a vocative form. That list does not have, on the other hand, strings of words equivalent to those observed in our text that could serve as a parallel for a comparison.

A third possible interpretation for the Montserrat list of terms is the practice of isopsephism, connected with both the sphere of education and the practice of divination.

We can provide as a parallel a contemporary list of words, P.Oxy. XLV 3239 (2nd cent. AD), first edited as an alphabetic glossary and later identified and characterized by Skeat (1978) as a list of isopsephisms, in which two terms or strings of words are connected based on their matching numerical value. Our papyrus, though not arranged in alphabetical order, could be an unfinished such list, in which the blank space in the center of the papyrus is waiting to be filled with isopsephic correspondences to the words to the left.²⁴

Last but not least, we have noticed a link between the terms of the list and the text of Virgil's *Aeneid*, in particular with verses from book 8 and

in two cases from book 4. If this is correct, our papyrus would be an exercise in glossing Latin to Greek, which would not be strange as a school text. For parallels, with the same columnar format, see Fressura (2017), although none of the papyri studied by him cover the Vergilian verses covered by the present papyrus. Below follows a list of the correspondences we have identified:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1 καὶ νύχιον | 8.407 <i>noctis</i> |
| 2 ρεῖθρον πυρί | 8.410 <i>cinerem et sopitos suscitāt ignis</i> |
| 3 θερμποπυρο | 8.421 <i>formacibus ignis</i> |
| 4 ἄκμονος | 8.425 <i>nudus membra Pyracmon</i> |
| 5 Δικτυναί | 4.73 <i>Dictaeos</i> |
| 6 δρυμποπέτ | 8.597 <i>ingens lucus</i> |
| 10 τριτογενὴν ὑποδιοξ | 4.511 <i>tergeminam Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae</i> |
| 11 αἰαγτος δ' ἀνδροφονογ θεῶν | 8.608 <i>dea candida</i> |
| 12 ἔμβροχα | 8.672 <i>fluctu spumabat</i> |



Figure 4. P.Monts.Roca inv. 317.

3.1. *Edition*

Column i

→

- 1 καὶ νύχιον
 2 ῥεῖθρον πυρί
 3 θερμοπυρο
 4 ἄκμονος
 5 Δικτυναί
 6 δρυμοπτετ
 7 θερμιανταυ
 8 συνθεσ..φαι
 []
 9 καὶ τέκνα φρικτολεῖ
 10 τριτογενῆν ἵπποδιοξ
 11 .αιαγτος δ. ἀνδροφόνου θεαν
 []
 12 ἔμβροχα

Column ii

- 1 πορ []
 2 πρῶ []
 3 . []
 4 . []
 5 σ []
 6 με []
 7 τον []

Translation

- 1 and nightly
 2 stream with fire (?)
 3 heating fire (?)
 4 thunderbolt
 5 to Diktyna (dative?)
 6 copse runner (?)

- 7 *hermiantau*
 8 *sunthes..phai*
 9 and children awful to see (?)
 10 Tritogenia, who guides the horses
 11 ... and the man-slaying goddess/gaze
 12 inundated

3.2. *Commentary*

1. *νόχιος* is often an epithet of Hekate, Semele and Selene. In magical papyri *νοχία* is an epithet of a goddess (Hekate?) in *GEMF 57/PGM IV 1402, 2539, 2852* and *74/VII 882* (Selene). If we consider our fourth interpretation, this line would correspond to Verg. *Aen.* 8.407 *noctis*.

2. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 21.365 *ῥέεθρα πυρὶ*.

2–3. Compound names with *πυρι-* and *θερμο-* are used in magical papyri for invocations. See for example in *GEMF 30/PGM II* (to Apollo) *πυρισθενές* (l. 90), *πυριτρεφέων* (l. 94). Different compounds appear in *GEMF 57/PGM IV* such as *πυρίπολε* (l. 590), *πυρίθυμε* (l. 592), *πυριχαρῆ* (l. 593), *πυρισώματε* (l. 596), *πυρισπόρε* (l. 597), *πυρικλόνε* (l. 597) (to Helios Mithras); *πυριδρακοντόζωνε* (l. 1405) (to Hekate); *πυρίπνοε* (l. 2724) (to Hekate); *ψυχ(ρ)οθερμοφύσησε* in *GEMF 57/PGM IV 183* (to Typhon). For images of fire in the revelations of Hekate, see Porph. *De Phil. Or.* II.151. 165–173 *αἰ(θήρα) μὲν πυρόεσσιν ἐειδομένη εἰδώλοισι*. See Pachoumi (2022, 261).

If we compare ll. 3–4 *θερμοπυρο|ακμονος* to Verg. *Aen.* 8.425 *nudus membra Pyracmon*, this would suggest that in the papyrus the word goes over from l. 3 to l. 4 *πυρο|ακμονος*

5. *Δίκτυννα* is an epithet of the goddess Artemis and it is normally written with double *v*. It is attested in Eur. *IT* 127 (*ὦ παῖ τᾶς Λατοῦς, Δίκτυνν' οὐρεῖα*), Callim. *Hymn* 3, 198 (to Artemis), Palaephatus, *de Incredibilibus*, 31, 24 and scholiasts. Artemis Dycinna appears in Paus. 3.24.9, 10.36.5. However, the epithet does not appear in the corpus of the magical papyri.

6. *δρυμοπτει* might also be understood as some kind of epithet for Artemis, goddess of the woods. It can be interpreted as a compound noun containing the noun *δρυμός* and a form of the verb *πέτομαι*. The only literary text partially echoing these ideas is *Anthologia Graeca* 9.562 (Beckby) *ψιττακὸς ὁ βροτόγηρυς ἀφείς λυγοτευχέα κύρτον /*

ἤλυθεν ἐς δρυμοὺς ἀνθοφυεῖ πτέρυγι· “The parrot that speaks with a mortal voice, leaving the cage made out of withes, flew to the woods on his particoloured wing”.

7. Θερμιανταυ. The θ at the beginning of the line is not clear and it is not aligned to the margin. If the θ is not part of the word, the term can be related to Hermes (the reading would be Ἐρμίαν τ’ αὐῖ). The word ending, however, reminds of *voces magicae*. See for example *GEMF 57/PGM IV 234–235* Ἀμοῦν αυανταυ λαίμουταυ ριπτου μανταυι μαντου λαντου.

9. The adjective φρικτός -ή, -όν (“to be shuddered at”, “awful”) is used to qualify gods in Greek religious and magical hymns, see *Orphic Hymn 14, 6* and *Callim. Aet. 3.1.6*. As adjective the term appears in *GEMF 57/PGM IV 222, 513; 58/V 175; 15/XII 171* etc., as epithet in *57/IV 2241* and *73/IX 10*. Φρικτο- is used in a compound epithet, φρικτοπαλάιμονας in *57/IV 1375* and *74/VII 354*, this time in a list. The string in this line could be read as τέκνα φρικτο(τε)λει (l. φρικτο(τε)λῆ), “children awful to see”. This word occurs in John Damascenus, *Hom. 5* (Migne, *PG 96.656D*) “filling with awe” (Lampe).

10. Τριτογένεια is an epithet of Athena. In Plutarch, *De proverbiis Alexandrinorum 8*, is an epiclesis of Hekate. The epithet is not used in Greek magical papyri. The form τριτογενην has been regularized to the first declension for τριτογενῆ, a common phenomenon in koiné Greek (Gignac 1981, II, 135–136).

ἰππόδιοξ seems to be a compound related to horses, meaning something like “the one who guides horses”. Compare ἰπποδιώκτης in Theocritus, *Idyll 14, 12*, glossed by Hesychius with ἡνίοχος and explained by *Scholia vet. in Theocritum ad loc.* ἰπποδιώκτας; ὁ ἵππικός. On the relationship of Hekate with horses in the Greek magical papyri, see Pachoumi (2022, 261), compare ἰπποπρόσωπε θεά, “horse-faced goddess” *GEMF 57/PGM IV 2549*; ἰπποκύων, “half-mare half-bitch” *GEMF 57/PGM IV 2614*; and ἰππόχθων, “earth mare” *GEMF 55/PGM III 548–549*, *GEMF 57/PGM IV 2755*, in the *maskelli maskello-logos*; see also *57/IV 3177, 73/IX 10, 15/XII 291–292, 68/XXXVI 344, LXXVIII.10, XIXa.10–11*).

11. γαιατος can be related to Ajax, but there are traces of ink at the beginning of the line, so it could be a different word. Perhaps γαιαν could be read here.

ἀνδροφόνος is widely used in Greek literature, qualifying heroes and gods (passim in Homer and Hesiod), especially for Ares and Hector and again with heart-rending tragic irony for Achilles hands who slew

Hector and his brothers as Priam is kissing them (*Il.* 24.724) also connected to the Cyclops (Quint. Smyrn. *Posthom.* 8.126) and Dionysus (Nonnus, *Dion.* 30.325). Homer uses it for φάρμακα and Pindar for women/wives. For goddesses there is only one clear example in Plut. *Mor.* 768a, 4, for Aphrodite, and for Nike, in Timon fr. 795, 2. As for the sequence θῆαν, depending on the accentuation, it may be interpreted as (man-killing) goddess (θεάν) or (man-killing) gaze (θέαν) (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12; Epiphanius *Pan.* 1.418.3).

12. ἔμβροχα would be the neuter plural of an adjective ἔμβροχος, -ον, meaning inundated. Perhaps it refers to land, in neuter plural, unless this is a Doric feminine ending in -α, which is unlikely. ὀμβροχαρής is only attested in *Hymn. Orph.* 26.8. Traces of a thick horizontal line are visible above the word which might be a *paragraphos*.

Notes

1. Martín Hernández (2010, 2014 = P.Monts.Roca IV 61).
2. Torallas Tovar and Worp (2014a = P.Monts.Roca IV 62).
3. Torallas Tovar and Worp (2014b = P.Monts.Roca IV 64).
4. Ed. pr. Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar (2014). The ostrakon has been studied by Dosoo (2018) and Love (2022). Currently Korshi Dosoo is working on the Coptic magical texts on parchment palimpsests.
5. On the provenance of these collections see Ortega Monasterio (2011, 2016), Gil and Torallas Tovar (2010, 24–31) (for the Roca-Puig collection), O’Callaghan (1984) (for the Palau-Ribes collection).
6. The paleography does not help dating this papyrus, since the letters are traced very clumsily. However, the parallels for the magical drawing are mostly Coptic. See below.
7. For parallels see P.Louvre inv. E 14.250 (TM 99997; KYP M367), P.Heid.Kopt. inv. 1030 (TM 113762; KYP T188), P.Bad. V 123 and London Hay 10414 and 10391 (TM 99562 and 100015; KYP M287 and M302). See a study of these figures in Dosoo (2018).
8. The image of the acephalus in *GEMF* 30 (*PGM* VI + II) can be adduced as a parallel. The body is also represented standing, with the sequence of the seven vowels, seven times each vowel forming a rectangle, written on its torso. However, the execution of the drawing is very different. While the *GEMF* 30 figure is carefully drawn, the one in this papyrus is schematic and clumsily executed.
9. Striped legs and arms and other body parts are a frequent pattern used for the representation of powerful creatures. See e.g. the legs of the demon of *GEMF* 68/*PGM* XXXVI cols. i, ii, iii, iv and vii and, in Coptic magical texts, the birds at the bottom of P.Heid.Kopt. inv. 685 p. 12, P.Bad. V 123 ll. 6–27 and ll. 85–102. For further examples see Dosoo (2018, 2022).

10. See e.g. Leiden F 1964/4.14 (TM 874124; KYP M21), a Coptic love spell with a drawing of a principal figure flanked on both sides by two snake-like figures, facing the principal figure and forming two semicircles. See Johnston and Gardner (2022, 236, Plate 31).
11. See for example P.Yale inv. 1791 (TM 100011; KYP M284), P.Heid.Kopt. inv. 1030v (TM 113762; KYP M366) or London Hay 10414 (TM 99562 and 100015), and Dosoo (2018, 30–33).
12. Similar drawings, although with significant variations, can be found in Coptic magic. Especially close are those in which a central image is flanked by two other figures, sometimes without human appearance. See e.g. P.Würzb. 42 recto (TM 99598; KYP M494), P.Stras.Copt. 550 recto (TM 874130; KYP M106) and P.Berl. inv. 20911 (TM 107307; KYP M219) studied by Dosoo (2022, 179–182).
13. O’Callaghan (1970, 92): “Casi con toda seguridad se advierte el diseño de un pez sobre un fondo más o menos circular que encierra un conjunto de rayas algo combadas, como queriendo producir la sensación de relieve. Por debajo del pez se observan otros trazos cortos que confirman la continuidad del dibujo y parecen dar un sentido de perspectiva.”
14. The same string of pseudo-hieroglyphs appears in col. vi and col. xxvii of this papyrus. In *GEMF 55/PGM III 94* there is a string of *charakēres*. One of them has been interpreted as a scarab (Betz 1986 [GMPT], 26, n. 67).
15. On the representation and meaning of scarab in Ancient Egypt see Cooney (2008).
16. See Faraone (2018, 149).
17. <http://cbd.mfab.hu/>
18. See e.g. CBd-499, 500, 570, 573, 774, 841, 922.
19. See e.g. CBd-502, 940, 994, 995.
20. See e.g. CBd-1008, 2089, 2090, 2091, 3307, 3308, 3309, 4174. On this combination see Moyer and Dieleman (2003).
21. For parallels of similar lists of divine epithets see P.Hib. II 172 = *Adespota papyracea*, Misc. fr. 991, col. 1, cf. Luppe and Poethke (1998, 209–213, n. 1) and P.Oxy. LXII 4306.
22. See Johnston (1990, 119–120).
23. ἡμοφυῆ / ἡμοχυῆ / ῥιζωπυέ / ἀνδρωγενῆ / ἀνδρωρ / ἡμογενῆ / κορκωβανη / χρυσοβελλῆ / χρυσοκωμε / κρομύλευκον / μενουλαθ / χαρβαθα / cθωμβαυλη / ζανξιμα / χωνουβα / μενουβα / βελερθι / ζαχθαηρ / χαλιουβη. For other parallels in the realm of magic see *GEMF 57/PGM IV 1348–1379* and *74/VII 350–357*. See the article by Faraone in this issue.
24. For other lists of isopsephisms see O.Claud. II 414 (2nd–3rd CE), and Ast and Lougovaya (2015, 93–95).

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