

MAGICAL HYMNS FROM ROMAN EGYPT

A STUDY OF GREEK AND EGYPTIAN TRADITIONS OF DIVINITY

This interdisciplinary study investigates the divine personas in the so-called magical hymns of the Greek magical papyri which, in a corpus usually seen as a significant expression of religious syncretism with strong Egyptian influence, were long considered to be the ‘most authentically Greek’ contribution. Fifteen hymns receive a line-by-line commentary focusing on religious concepts, ritual practice, language and style. The overarching aim is to categorize the nature of divinity according to its Greek or Egyptian elements, examining earlier Greek and Egyptian sources and religious-magical traditions in order to find textual or conceptual parallels. Are the gods of the magical hymns Greek or Egyptian in nature? Did the magical hymns originate in a Greek or Egyptian cultural background? The book tries to answer these questions and to shed light on the religious plurality and/or fusion of the two cultures in the treatment of divinity in the Greek magical papyri.

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LJUBA MERLINA BORTOLANI



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Heidelberg, December 2014

NOTES ON THE TEXT

- | Marks line end in the papyrus (but it is omitted both when line end corresponds to verse end in an entire hymn and when more versions of the same hymn are presented together)
- Intro., I, I...** Boldface marks internal references both to the book's parts (**Intro., I, II, Concl.**) and to the single hymns (Arabic numerals from **I** to **15**): e.g. **I** p. 10 (**Part I**, page 10); **Intro.** n.4 (**Introduction**, footnote 4); **II** n.6 (**Part II**, footnote 6); **I.15** (**Hymn I**, line 15). The hymn number is omitted only when the reference is to lines of the same hymn under examination.
- Boldface is also used to identify the relevant metrical sections within the spells' description in the introduction to the single hymns (e.g. **hymn**), and to mark different subgroups of a special section of the commentary on hymn **11**.
- I.1, I.2...** References to lines in the hymns always point not only to the verses in the text, but also, and especially, to their commentary. Therefore, e.g. 'see **7.4**' means 'see **Hymn 7** line 4, text and commentary *ad loc.*'.

QUOTED EGYPTIAN HYMNS IN BD AND *ÄHG*

Berlin 6910	Berlin, Königliche Museen, 1913–24, II.63–71	<i>ÄHG</i> 169=BD 70
CGMC 42237	Legrain 1906, III.88–9	BD 85
DMamm. 31	Daumas 1959	BD 91
Hibis: hymns to Amun-Re from the temple of Hibis:		
Klotz 2006, I (Invocation hymn)	Davies 1953, pl. 31 (horizontal inscription)	<i>ÄHG</i> 128=BD 88
Klotz 2006, II (Hymn to the Ba's)	Davies 1953, pl. 31 (vertical inscription)	<i>ÄHG</i> 128=BD 88
Klotz 2006, III (Great Amun hymn)	Davies 1953, pl. 33	<i>ÄHG</i> 130=BD 90
Klotz 2006, IV (Creator hymn)	Davies 1953, pl. 32	<i>ÄHG</i> 129=BD 89
Hymn to the Nile	Helck 1972	<i>ÄHG</i> 242=BD 156
Kom-Ombo (hymn to Sobek)	Junker 1931, 54–5	BD 127
Medamud (hymn to Montu)	Drioton 1926, 38–40	BD 145
O. Cairo 25208	Erman 1900, 27–8	<i>ÄHG</i> 193=BD 37
O. Cairo 25209	Erman 1900, 30–3	BD 19
P. Berlin 3048	Wolf 1929	<i>ÄHG</i> 143=BD 118
P. Berlin 3049	Berlin, Königliche Museen, 1901–11, II pl. 10–26	<i>ÄHG</i> 127–127b=BD 81
P. Berlin 3050	Sauneron 1953	<i>ÄHG</i> 22 A–D=BD 82

QUOTED EGYPTIAN HYMNS IN BD AND *ÄHG*

P. Berlin 3055	Berlin, Königliche Museen 1901–11, I pl. 6–7, 13–19	<i>ÄHG</i> 119–26=BD 83
P. BM 9901	Budge 1898, I 8–10	<i>ÄHG</i> 42 A–B=BD 65
P. Cairo 58032	Golénischeff 1927, 169–96	<i>ÄHG</i> 131=BD 79
P. Cairo 58038	Luiselli 2004	<i>ÄHG</i> 87=BD 69
P. Chester Beatty IV	Gardiner 1935, II 31–5	<i>ÄHG</i> 195
P. Leiden I 350	Gardiner 1905	<i>ÄHG</i> 132–42, 194=BD 72
P. Louvre 3292, H	Nagel 1929	<i>ÄHG</i> 45
P. Ramesseum 6	Gardiner 1957	<i>ÄHG</i> 203 A–B=BD 126
Stele BM 551	Meyer 1877	<i>ÄHG</i> 58=BD 95
Stele BM 826	London, British Museum 1911–, VIII 22–5	<i>ÄHG</i> 89=BD 68
Stele BM 834	London, British Museum 1911–, VII 21	BD 153
‘Tura hymn’	Bakir 1943	<i>ÄHG</i> 88 = BD 74

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ÄHG</i>	Assmann 1975
BD	Barucq and Daumas 1980
BG	Brashear 1995, Glossary (reference to the <i>vox magica/voces magicae</i> discussed in the text whenever not otherwise stated)
DD	Delatte and Derchain 1964
<i>HH</i>	<i>Homeric Hymns</i>
<i>LGG</i>	Leitz 2002–3
MeMi	Meyer and Mirecki 1995
MiMe	Mirecki and Meyer 2002
MT	Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 1991
<i>OH</i>	<i>Orphic Hymns</i>
Pr	Preisendanz and Henrichs 1973–4
<i>Suppl.</i>	Daniel and Maltomini 1990, 1992
<i>Wb</i>	Erman and Grapow 1926–63
<i>BoD</i>	<i>Book of the Dead</i> : as philological discussions are not in question and most of the quoted chapters are found in the papyrus of Ani, Von Dassow, Wasserman, Faulkner and Goelet 1994 here provides the framework for citation (the lack of transliterated text is compensated for by plates). For the hieroglyphic text see the philologically unsatisfactory (but un superseded) edition of

ABBREVIATIONS

- Budge 1898. Line-by-line transliteration from various papyri including Ani can be found in Carrier 2009
- CCAG* *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, Brussels, 1898–1953
- D* Chassinat 1934–2000; Cauville 1998–2001
- DMamm.* Daumas 1959
- DT* Audollent 1904
- E* De Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1897–1985
- FGrH* Jacoby, F. (ed.) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 2nd edn, Leiden 1954–69
- GDRK* Heitsch, E. (ed.) *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I–II, Göttingen 1961–4
- IG* *Inscriptiones graecae*, Berlin 1873–
- IGR* Cagnat, R. (ed.) *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, Paris 1901–27, repr. Chicago 1975
- IGUR* Moretti, L. (ed.) *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae*, Rome 1968–90
- LdÄ* Helck and Otto 1972–92
- LIMC* Ackermann, H. C. and Gisler, J.-R. (eds.) *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, Zürich 1981–
- LM* Roscher 1884–1937
- LSJ* Liddell, Scott, Jones and McKenzie 1996 (reference to the lemma discussed in the text whenever not otherwise stated; the numbers following LSJ refer to internal subdivisions within the single lemma)

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>NP</i>	Cancik and Schneider 1996–2003
<i>OGIS</i>	Dittenberger, W. (ed.) <i>Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> , Leipzig 1903–5
<i>PCG</i>	Kassel, R. and Austin, C. (eds.) <i>Poetae comici Graeci</i> , I–VIII, Berlin 1983–2001
<i>PMG</i>	Page, D. L. (ed.) <i>Poetae melici Graeci</i> , 2nd edn, Oxford 1967
Pyr.	Sethe 1908–22; Faulkner 1969; Allen 2005
<i>RAC</i>	Klauser 1950–
<i>RÄRG</i>	Bonnet 1971
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 1894–1963
<i>RICIS</i>	Bricault 2005
<i>SB</i>	Preisigke 1915–
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden 1923–71, then Amsterdam 1979 to date
<i>TrGF</i>	Snell, B. et al. (eds.) <i>Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta</i> , Göttingen 1971–2004
<i>AAASH</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>ABSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
ACS	American Classical Studies
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase, Berlin 1972–
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>AOrientHung</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>APf</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>ASAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology
BAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
<i>BMM</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>
<i>BMusHongr</i>	<i>Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts</i>
<i>BSFÉ</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CdÉ</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CÉNiM	Les Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne
CGMC	Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
<i>CJ</i>	<i>The Classical Journal</i>
<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CIW</i>	<i>The Classical Weekly</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>The Classical Review</i>
DE	Discussions in Egyptology
<i>DFIFAO</i>	<i>Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
ÉPRO	Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire romain
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
<i>GB</i>	<i>Grazer Beiträge</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece & Rome</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>J(K)DAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des (Kaiserlichen) Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JVEG</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i>
<i>LingAeg</i>	<i>Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies</i>
<i>MAI</i>	Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres
<i>MHNH</i>	<i>MHNH: Revista internacional de investigación sobre magia y astrología antiguas</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>MIFAO</i>	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
<i>MRE</i>	Monographies Reine Elisabeth
<i>NowClio</i>	<i>La Nouvelle Clio</i>
<i>OBO</i>	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>OC</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
<i>OLA</i>	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta

ABBREVIATIONS

OMRO	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
PÄe	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PIFAO	Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
PLB	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
QUCC	<i>Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica</i>
RBPH	<i>Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire</i>
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
RÉG	<i>Revue d'Études Grecques</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SEL	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico</i>
SMSR	<i>Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni</i>
SO	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
SWGS	Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg
TAPA	<i>Transactions (and Proceedings) of the American Philological Association</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ThZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UGAAe	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens
UNHAI	Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>WdO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WS	Wiener Studien
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>