

THE  
BULLETIN  
OF THE  
AMERICAN SOCIETY  
OF  
PAPYROLOGISTS



---

Volume 48  
ISSN 0003-1186

2011

---

The current editorial address for the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* is:

Peter van Minnen  
Department of Classics  
University of Cincinnati  
410 Blegen Library  
Cincinnati, OH 45221-0226  
USA  
peter.vanminnen@uc.edu

The editors invite submissions not only from North-American and other members of the Society but also from non-members throughout the world; contributions may be written in English, French, German, or Italian. Manuscripts submitted for publication should be sent to the editor at the address above. Submissions can be sent as an e-mail attachment (.doc and .pdf) with little or no formatting. We also ask contributors to provide a brief abstract of their article for inclusion in *L'Année philologique*, and to secure permission for any illustration they submit for publication.

The editors ask contributors to observe the stylesheet available at <http://papyrology.org/index.php/guidelines>. When reading proof, contributors should limit themselves to correcting typographical errors. Revisions and additions should be avoided; if necessary, they will be made at the author's expense. The primary author(s) of contributions published in *BASP* will receive a copy of the pdf used for publication.

Copies of books for review can be sent to:

AnneMarie Luijdenijk  
Department of Religion  
Princeton University  
1879 Hall, room 132  
Washington Road  
Princeton, NJ 08544

John Wallrodt, Andrew Connor, and Kyle Helms provided assistance with the production of this volume.

# Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets<sup>1</sup>

---

Theodore S. de Bruyn and Jitse H.F. Dijkstra *University of Ottawa*

## Abstract

In this article we present an up-to-date list of Greek (and Latin) amulets and formularies from Egypt that contain Christian elements. We first discuss the criteria whereby an item is identified as an amulet or formulary and as containing Christian elements; these criteria are used to classify items as having been certainly, probably, or possibly produced or used as an amulet. We then describe some of the main patterns observed in the corpus: the geographical and chronological distribution of the items, the language in which they were written (Greek versus Latin), the materials on which they were written, the purposes for which they were applied, and the dynamics of continuity and change as Christian forms and elements were introduced into the genre. We conclude with an appendix listing all the items included in the corpus and tabulating a basic set of characteristics for each item.

---

<sup>1</sup> This article originated in a project of Theodore de Bruyn funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to document the emergence of Christian formulae in Greek amulets and formularies in Late Antiquity. His investigations happily coincided with the arrival of Jitse Dijkstra at the University of Ottawa, who was able to bring his expertise in papyrology and religious transformation in Late Antique Egypt to bear on the project. De Bruyn wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Steven Scott and Stephen Quinlan in the project. He also thanks Robert Daniel (Papyrussammlung der Universität zu Köln), the late Traianos Gagos (University of Michigan Papyrus Collection), Fabian Reiter (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung), and Cornelia Römer (formerly Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek) for their gracious permission to view materials in their respective collections. While de Bruyn is responsible for the collection, analysis, and presentation of the data discussed in this article, the text was prepared jointly by both authors. They are grateful to Peter van Minnen and the anonymous reader for their helpful comments.

In the Graeco-Roman world amulets were commonly used to invoke divine power for healing from sickness, protection against harm, malediction of adversaries, and success in a variety of affairs. These amulets were prepared by specialists who often followed pre-existing models. They were rendered effective by writing, recitation, and other rituals, and were then worn on one's body or fixed, displayed, or deposited in some place. Numerous examples of such amulets have been preserved on papyrus, parchment, potsherds (ostraka), wood, metal, stone, and other materials.<sup>2</sup>

Not surprisingly, as Christian institutions, beliefs, and practices gained ground in the Mediterranean world in Late Antiquity, Christian elements began to appear in these amulets. While ecclesiastical authorities condemned the practice of using amulets or sought to modify it in accordance with Christian norms,<sup>3</sup> the habits of both producers and users of these remedies evidently guaranteed their continued production.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the ways in which amulets appeal to divine power in these texts starts to shift under the influence of the Christian church. Thus, amulets containing Christian elements afford us valuable insights into the dynamics of religious transformation in Late Antiquity; they challenge the normative discourse of ecclesiastical authorities.

It is now more than three decades since Joseph van Haelst published his catalogue of Jewish and Christian literary papyri,<sup>5</sup> which still serves as a point

---

<sup>2</sup> The main collections of these materials are: C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor 1950); K. Preisendanz, E. Heitsch, and A. Henrichs (eds.), *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1974), hereafter abbreviated as *PGM*; R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini (eds.), *Supplementum Magicum*, 2 vols. (Opladen 1991-1992), hereafter abbreviated as *Suppl. Mag.*; R. Kotansky (ed.), *Greek Magical Amulets: The Written Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae. Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance* (Opladen 1994). H.D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, 2nd ed. (Chicago and London 1992), provides English translations of many Greek texts. J.G. Gager (ed.), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York and Oxford 1992) presents *defixiones* from many regions and cultures of the ancient Mediterranean world.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of the attitudes of Christian authorities to the use of amulets by Christians, see H.F. Stander, "Amulets and the Church Fathers," *Eph* 75 (1993) 55-66. H. Leclercq, "Amulettes," in *DACL* 1.2 (1905) 1787-1790 conveniently summarizes much of the patristic evidence.

<sup>4</sup> For materials written in Greek containing Christian elements, see, e.g., K. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus I-II*, in *PO* 4.2 (1907) 95-210 and 18.3 (1924) 341-509 at 399-423, hereafter abbreviated as *AMC*; Bonner, *Studies*, 208-228; *PGM* 2, pp. 209-236; and *Suppl. Mag.* 1, pp. 55-112, 2, pp. 49-57. M. Meyer and R. Smith (eds.), *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco 1994) provides English translations of Greek and Coptic texts.

<sup>5</sup> J. van Haelst (ed.), *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris 1976).

of departure for studies of amulets containing Christian elements.<sup>6</sup> Editions and republications of many materials have appeared since then. In addition to the texts collected by Robert Daniel and Franco Maltomini in *Supplementum Magicum* – a companion to Karl Preisendanz’s prior collection of magical texts written in Greek, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*<sup>7</sup> – publications of relevant Christian materials have appeared in papyrological editions, corpora, series, and journals.<sup>8</sup> These have been noted, helpfully, in Kurt Treu’s and Cornelia Römer’s reviews of recently published Christian papyri from 1969 to the present.<sup>9</sup> Items published by 1994 were included in William Brashear’s magisterial survey of Greek magical texts,<sup>10</sup> and a sub-set of texts, Greek iatromagical amulets and

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., M.J. Kruger, “P. Oxy. 840: Amulet or Miniature Codex?” *JThS* N.S. 53 (2002) 81-94, incorporated with additions into M.J. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and Its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (Leiden 2005) 23-40.

<sup>7</sup> See n. 2 above.

<sup>8</sup> References to papyrological editions, corpora, and series are abbreviated according to J.F. Oates et al. (eds.), *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 5th ed. (Atlanta 2001); an updated version is available online at <http://scrip-torium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>. In the notes for conciseness we refer to individual papyri, parchments, ostraka, tablets, and *lamellae* by their main identifier in the following order of precedence: publication in a collection of magical papyri, a papyrological edition, a papyrological series, or a journal or book; the location of a given item in Tables 1, 2, or 3 is indicated by a bolded number in parentheses following the main identifier. In the tables we provide, in addition to the main identifier, the reference for the papyrological edition or the *editio princeps* (in that order of precedence) in parentheses only for items published in a collection of magical papyri, and any editions, republications, or revised readings subsequent to the publication of the main identifier for all items. Publications subsequent to the main identifier are indicated by the addition of “+” to the number of the item in the tables. When the *editio princeps* has been included in *SB*, preference is given to the latter. Thus e.g. *PGM* P2 (**16**) refers to *PGM* P2 (*P.Oxy.* 7.1060); *PGM* P12 (**29+**) refers to *PGM* P12 (*DAWW* 42, 1893, 68-69) = *ZPE* 160 (2007) 173 = *ZPE* 168 (2009) 209-212 (+ *P.Vindob.* G 29508); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.26 (**67+**) refers to *Suppl.Mag.* 1.26 (*SB* 14.11494) = *BKT* 9.206. These entries are found under nos. **16**, **29**, and **67** in the checklist.

<sup>9</sup> K. Treu, “Christliche Papyri ...,” *Archiv* 19 (1969) 169-206; 20 (1970) 145-152; 21 (1971) 207-214; 22 (1973) 367-395; 24/25 (1976) 253-261; 26 (1978) 149-159; 27 (1980) 251-258; 28 (1982) 91-98; 29 (1983) 107-110; 30 (1984) 121-128; 31 (1985) 59-71; 32 (1986) 87-95; 34 (1988) 69-78; 35 (1989) 107-116; 36 (1990) 95-98; 37 (1991) 93-98; C.E. Römer, “Christliche Texte ...,” *Archiv* 43 (1997) 107-145; 44 (1998) 129-139; 45 (1999) 138-148; 47 (2001) 368-376; 48 (2002) 349-350; 50 (2004) 275-283; 51 (2005) 334-340; 53 (2007) 250-255.

<sup>10</sup> W.M. Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey. Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994),” in *ANRW* 2.18.5 (1995) 3380-3684 at 3480-3482

formularies, has been recently catalogued by Magali de Haro Sanchez.<sup>11</sup> But no comprehensive and up-to-date list of published amulets and formularies containing Christian elements is yet available to scholars.

The usefulness of a current list of these materials is underscored by the fact that many of the texts are not classified as either literary or documentary texts. Thus, they are not consistently included in the *Sammelbuch* or *Berichtigungsliste*. In addition, few of them appear in the Corpus of Paraliterary Papyri (CPP).<sup>12</sup> Almost all, fortunately, are included in the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) and in TM-Magic, a recently developed online database of magical texts.<sup>13</sup> But the capacity of such databases for precise or refined classification of materials is limited; they cannot register, for instance, all the questions or uncertainties associated with the classification of an excerpt from a biblical text.

In this article we therefore hope to fulfill this need for precision by presenting an up-to-date list of amulets and formularies found in Egypt, written in Greek (and Latin) on papyrus, parchment, potsherds, wood, bone, and stone, and containing Christian elements.<sup>14</sup> We limit ourselves to materials found in Egypt, firstly, because most of the extant material has been preserved in Egypt and, secondly, because a regional focus permits a more exact study of relationships between Christian practices (such as liturgies, prayers, hymns, and confessions) and applied remedies. We are well aware that there is also a substantial number of amulets and formularies containing Christian elements written in Coptic from Late Antique Egypt. The identification and analysis of the Coptic material, however, fall outside the scope of the present study.<sup>15</sup> For

---

and 3492-3493.

<sup>11</sup> M. de Haro Sanchez, "Catalogue des papyrus iatromagiques grecs," in M. Capasso (ed.), *Papiri e ostraka greci* (Galatina 2004) 37-60.

<sup>12</sup> Now conveniently accessed through Trismegistos ([www.trismegistos.org](http://www.trismegistos.org)), under "Texts."

<sup>13</sup> Both may be accessed through Trismegistos. While these databases were used to check data gathered for this article, the collection and analysis of the data were conducted independently.

<sup>14</sup> There are also two Latin texts that we take into account, on which see below, p. 175.

<sup>15</sup> For a general overview of Coptic magical texts see, e.g., D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton 1998) 257-264. The most complete collection of Coptic magical texts, with excellent commentaries, remains A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, 3 vols. (Brussels 1930-1931). English translations with useful introductions can be found in Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*. For some recent work on Coptic amulets, see, e.g., J. van der Vliet, "The Amulet P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. Inv. 22: Some Addenda," *JCoptStud* 7 (2005) 141-145, and "A Coptic Charitesion (P. Gieben Copt. 1)," *ZPE* 153 (2005) 131-140.

*lamellae*, gems, armbands, medallions, pendants, and rings that convey divine power – many of which have been preserved elsewhere in the Mediterranean world because they are more durable than papyrus or parchment – we defer to several recent collections, catalogues, and studies.<sup>16</sup>

We begin by defining the criteria whereby an item is identified as an amulet or formulary and as containing Christian elements; this determines, within a margin of probability, the body of texts under review. We then describe some of the main patterns or characteristics that can be observed in the corpus: the geographical and chronological distribution of the items, the language in which they were written (Greek versus Latin), the materials on which the texts were written, the purposes for which they were applied, and the dynamics of continuity and change as Christian forms and elements were introduced into the genre. We conclude with an appendix which lists all the items included in the corpus and summarizes a basic set of characteristics of the items.

### Criteria

The preparation of a checklist necessarily entails a consideration of the types of texts to be included. Van Haelst's catalogue included under the heading "amulets" prayers, acclamations, and citations from the Bible or the Christian liturgy,<sup>17</sup> whereas these were excluded from *Supplementum Magicum* and

<sup>16</sup> For *lamellae* see Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*. We do include one *lamella* of Egyptian provenance that contains Christian elements: SB 26.16677 (56). For other *lamellae* of known, but not Egyptian, provenance which contain Christian elements, see Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, nos. 35, 45, 52 (l. 119 comm.), 53, 56 (? cf. n. 35 below), 65 (?), 66, 68. For gems and rings see now J. Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (Wiesbaden 2007), esp. ch. 7. There is no recent catalogue of pendants and medallions, but Bonner, *Studies*, includes many examples. G. Vikan surveys the amuletic use of armbands, medallions, and rings in "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium," *DOP* 38 (1984) 65-86, and describes the armbands in more detail in "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands and the Group to Which They Belong," *JWAG* 49/50 (1991-1992) 35-51; both articles are reprinted in G. Vikan, *Sacred Images and Sacred Power in Byzantium* (Aldershot 2003), chs. IX and XI. A complete list of armbands bearing the incipit of Ps. 90 LXX can be found in T.J. Kraus, "Fragmente eines Amulett-Armbands im British Museum (London) mit Septuaginta-Psalm 90 und der Huldigung der Magier," *JbAC* 48/49 (2005-2006) 114-127 at 120-127, to which one may add the medallions and rings listed in T.J. Kraus, "Septuaginta-Psalm 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung: Vorüberlegungen für eine kritische Edition und (bisheriges) Datenmaterial," *BN* 125 (2005) 39-73 at 57 = "Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Verwendung – erste Anmerkungen und Datenmaterial," in *Pap. Congr. XXIV*, 2 vols. (Helsinki 2007) 1:499-514 at 508.

<sup>17</sup> Van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 414 s.v. "amulette"; the entry does not, however, capture all items identified as amulets by van Haelst.

Brashear's survey.<sup>18</sup> Both approaches have their merits. While the latter focuses specifically on charms, spells, and formularies that manifest characteristics typically found in such texts, the former is more inclusive of the range of materials with Christian elements that were used for protection, healing, malediction, or similar purposes.

Because we are interested in continuity in function as well as change in form in the production and use of these materials, we have adopted a relatively inclusive approach, taking into account not only charms and spells but also texts that are not solely or explicitly charms and spells.<sup>19</sup> For these texts we use "amulet" as an umbrella term, while we use the term "formulary" for recipes for making charms and spells. Accordingly, in this survey we include all texts that were written to convey in and of themselves – as well as in association with incantation and other actions – supernatural power for protective, beneficial, or antagonistic effect, and that appear to have been or were meant to have been worn on one's body or fixed, displayed, or deposited at some place.<sup>20</sup> The resulting checklist thus includes texts comprising biblical passages or liturgical material along with (recipes for) explicit charms and spells.

The characteristics used to identify texts included in the checklist can be summarized in two categories: (a) elements that are typically found in charms and spells, and (b) elements that were or were likely to have been Christian. The former include adjurations or petitions, esoteric words (*voce magicae*) or signs (χαρακτῆρες), letters or words arranged in shapes, strings of vowels, short narratives that relate events associated with the divine world to the matter at hand (*historiolae*), and phraseology often found in charms and spells.<sup>21</sup> The latter include *nomina sacra* (abbreviations of certain names found in Chris-

<sup>18</sup> *Suppl. Mag.* 1, p. ix; Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3492-3493 and 3480 (n. 486).

<sup>19</sup> The term "charm" is used to refer to texts written to convey supernatural power for beneficial or protective effect (e.g. healing, protection from evil spirits, etc.); the term "spell" to refer to texts written to convey supernatural power for antagonistic effect (e.g. *defixiones*).

<sup>20</sup> This definition is indebted in part to the analysis of E. von Dobschütz, "Charms and Amulets (Christian)," in J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 12 vols. (New York 1908-1927) 3:413-430 at 416-421. For additional discussions of the definition of the material under consideration, see e.g. R. Wünsch, "Amuletum," *Glotta* 2 (1910) 219-230; Bonner, *Studies*, 2; R. Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Written Greek Amulets," in C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York 1991) 107-137 at 107-108.

<sup>21</sup> For an overview of these characteristics, see Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3429-3443.



tian manuscripts);<sup>22</sup> crosses, staurograms, or christograms;<sup>23</sup> letters or cryptograms often used in a Christian context (such as  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$  or  $\chi\rho\upsilon$ );<sup>24</sup> trinitarian, Christological, Mariological, and hagiographical references; acclamations or sequences from the Christian liturgy; quotations and allusions from Christian canonical and apocryphal scriptures; and Christian narratives or *historiolae*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Studies of the *nomina sacra* have continued unabated since the publication of L. Traube's seminal work, *Nomina Sacra. Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (Munich 1907). A.H.R.E. Paap's survey of the evidence, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.: The Sources and Some Deductions* (Leiden 1959), remains fundamental. Most subsequent investigations and interpretations of the evidence are noted in L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids 2006) 95-134. To these one may add S. Charlesworth, "Consensus Standardization in the Systematic Approach to *Nomina Sacra* in Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts," *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 37-68; M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnhout 2006) 119-125; A.M. Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge, MA, 2008) 57-78.

<sup>23</sup> On the staurogram and christogram, see K. Aland, "Bemerkungen zum Alter und zur Entstehung des Christogrammes anhand von Beobachtungen bei  $\text{P}66$  und  $\text{P}75$ ," in K. Aland (ed.), *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (Berlin 1967) 173-179; M. Black, "The Chi-Rho Sign – Christogram and/or Staurogram?" in W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin (eds.), *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F.F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday* (Grand Rapids 1970) 319-327; M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto: Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II-IV* (Florence 1968) 23-27; L.W. Hurtado, "The Staurogram in Early Christian Manuscripts: The Earliest Visual Reference to the Crucified Jesus?" in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Text and Their World* (Leiden 2006) 207-226; Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 135-154.

<sup>24</sup> The considerable literature on  $\chi\rho\upsilon$  is conveniently noted at *CPR* 24.34.1 comm., to which one may add N. Lewis, "Notationes Legentis," *BASP* 13 (1976) 157-173 at 158-159; S.R. Llewelyn, "The Christian Symbol  $\text{XMI}$ , an Acrostic or an Iosephism?" in *New Docs.* 8 (1998) no. 14; and B. Nongbri, "The Lord's Prayer and  $\text{XMI}$ : Two Christian Papyrus Amulets in Yale's Beinecke Library," *HThR* 104 (2011) 59-68 at 64-68 (6). Llewelyn reviews much of the literature.

<sup>25</sup> This list of Christian elements refers to aspects of the text prepared by the producer. It does not include putatively Christian names of clients. Although some personal names, such as John and Thekla, are strongly associated with Christian tradition, one must be cautious about inferring that in every instance such a name belonged to a Christian. For texts where the persons named are the only possibly Christian aspect, see, e.g., R. Kotansky, J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum," *Muséon* 105 (1992) 5-24 at 21 (John and Benenata); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.14.3 comm. (John); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.43 intro. (Leontia, Eva, and Thekla). These items have been left out of the checklist below. On the use of onomastics to identify Christians, see the debate between R.S. Bagnall and E. Wipszycka, summarised in R.S.

These criteria are not without their limitations. One set of limitations has to do with identifying elements as Christian; the other, with identifying texts as amulets. We begin with the former.

In a context of religious plurality, where producers of amulets and formularies drew on a mixture of Egyptian, Greek, and Jewish traditions,<sup>26</sup> and a context of religious transformation, where one form of religious affiliation was interacting with another, it can be problematic to isolate Christian elements. One inevitably excludes texts that occupy the space that was shared by two or more traditions. For example, it is possible that texts that display Jewish elements were produced in a Jewish Christian milieu, but the indeterminacy of the milieu and the ambiguity of the evidence make it difficult to be certain.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, some types of amulets, such as ΒουϚ-amulets or amulets against scorpion stings,<sup>28</sup> evidently derive from a common tradition. Only some of

---

Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 280-281. See, in addition, G.H.R. Horsley, "Name Change as an Indication of Religious Conversion in Antiquity," *Numen* 34 (1987) 1-17 at 10-13, P. van Minnen, "The Roots of Egyptian Christianity," *Archiv* 40 (1994) 71-85 at 73-74; Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 51-56; J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)* (Leuven 2008) 47, 58-60; Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord*, 40-55.

<sup>26</sup> See, in general, Bonner, *Studies*, 22-44, 208-228; H.D. Betz, "Introduction to the Greek Magical Papyri," in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, xlv-xlviii; G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge 2008) 247-257 and 277-278; L. LiDonnici, "According to the Jews': Identified (and Identifying) 'Jewish' Elements in the *Greek Magical Papyri*," in L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber (eds.), *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden 2007) 87-108.

<sup>27</sup> For the following examples, the assigned date is listed in parenthesis after the item, followed by suggestions as to milieu: PGM XVIIIa (III-IV), cf. U. Wilcken, "Heidnisches und christliches aus Ägypten," *Archiv* 1 (1901) 396-436 at 427 (not possible to ascertain milieu); PGM LXXVII (*P.Harr.* 1.55) = D. Jordan, "Two Papyri with Formulae for Divination," in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden 2002) 25-36 at 28-36 (II), cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 1076 (Jewish-Christian influences), C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London 1979) 83 (Jewish); P. Benoit, "Fragment d'une prière contre les esprits impurs?" *RBi* 58 (1951) 549-565 (I-II), cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 911 (Jewish), Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3492 (Christian), T. Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* (Stockholm 2006) 67-68 (undecided), P.W. van der Horst and J.H. Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek* (Berlin 2008) 125-126 (Jewish); *SEG* 31.1569 (V-VI) (undetermined); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.19 (*P.IFAO* 3.50) (IV-V), cf. Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3481, 3493 (Christian; Jewish elements), *Suppl.Mag.* 1.19 (pagan), de Haro Sanchez, "Catalogue," 50 (pagan).

<sup>28</sup> On ΒουϚ-amulets see T.J. Kraus, "ΒουϚ, Βαιϋχωϋχ und Septuaginta-Psalm 90? Überlegungen zu den sogenannten 'Bous'-Amuletten und dem beliebtesten Bibeltext

them display Christian elements and are captured by the above criteria.<sup>29</sup> But their production and use should not be disassociated from similar texts that lack Christian elements.

These limitations are felt most acutely when the only putatively Christian element in a text is, say, a *nomen sacrum* or a cross.<sup>30</sup> Most scholars agree that the use of *nomina sacra* was a Christian scribal practice, if not in its inception, then certainly in its later prevalence.<sup>31</sup> But κύριος and θεός abbreviated as *nomina sacra* appear in syncretistic magical texts.<sup>32</sup> Likewise, the placement of crosses and staurograms before and after texts or at the beginning of lines was a Christian scribal practice.<sup>33</sup> But crosses also appear on amulets that could be Jewish or “pagan.”<sup>34</sup>

Such problems are not easily resolved. While in many cases one can be reasonably confident about the milieu in which an amulet or formulary was produced, in other cases one is forced to be agnostic. We therefore hold in abeyance the question of the cultural provenance of the material under consideration. The tables below simply include all texts that display Christian elements; when the elements are few or indistinct or uncertain, this is noted. The presence of Christian elements does not necessarily entail that the producer, user, or milieu of the text was Christian; such a determination should be based on a consideration of all aspects of the text.<sup>35</sup>

---

für apotropäische Zwecke,” *ZAC* 11 (2007-2008) 479-491. For amulets against scorpions see *PGM* XXVIIIa-c, the last of which (15) is preceded by four crosses.

<sup>29</sup> Thus only seven of the twelve ΒΟΥÇ-amulets listed by Kraus are included in Table 1 below: *PGM* T2a (42+); *PGM* T2b (43+); *REAC* 4 (2002) 93-94 (51+); *SB* 1.3573 (52+); *SEG* 31.1571 (57+); *SEG* 47.2153 (58+); *ZPE* 159 (2007) 249-252 (85+).

<sup>30</sup> *Nomen sacrum*: *P.Mich.* 18.768.5 comm. (47); *Suppl.Mag.* 2.84.1 intro. (81). Cross: *PGM* XXVc (108); *P.Prag.* 2.119 (49); *SB* 18.13746 (55).

<sup>31</sup> On the origin of the *nomina sacra*, see Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 95-134. On their later use, see Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 119-125, esp. 124.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *PGM* 2, index, p. 270, and *Suppl.Mag.* 2.93.3, where the supralinear stroke is absent. On the vagaries of scribal practice, see Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 120-124.

<sup>33</sup> Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 116-117. In *Suppl.Mag.* 2, indices, p. 338, crosses and staurograms appear only in items classified as Christian.

<sup>34</sup> *PGM* XXVc (108) (Jewish?); *PGM* XXVIIIc (15) (pagan?); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.1 (60) (pagan?). Cf. Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 116-118.

<sup>35</sup> The occasional presence of Christian elements in Jewish incantation bowls and amulets produced in Palestine and Babylonia offers an instructive parallel: see e.g. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, no. 56.4, with C. Dauphin, *La Palestine byzantine: Peuplement et populations*, 3 vols. (Oxford 1998) 1:220-221 and Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 277 (christogram?); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem 1987) no. A4.8 comm. and p. 22

The second limitation of the criteria mentioned is that there are texts that may have been produced or used as amulets, but that manifest few or none of the elements typically found in charms and spells, as in the case of texts that consist mainly or only of biblical passages. Their classification as amulets may be tentative or disputed.<sup>36</sup> It is relatively easy to identify texts incorporating biblical material that were certainly produced or used as amulets. These texts usually include an adjuration or a petition.<sup>37</sup> The biblical passages are often ones that are frequently invoked for their protective or beneficial value, such as Ps. 90 LXX or the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9-13).<sup>38</sup> The passages may be quoted in an abbreviated form as a cipher for an entire work, as in the incipits of the gospels or the opening words of verses in a psalm.<sup>39</sup> Often several passages are juxtaposed one with another, and sometimes they are quoted in an incomplete or confused manner. Frequently they are also accompanied by doxologies, acclamations, crosses, and other Christian symbols.<sup>40</sup> And almost always the material on which the text is written was rolled or folded into a format that could be easily worn.<sup>41</sup>

More difficult to classify are texts that comprise mainly or only biblical or liturgical material and that lack many of the characteristics summarized

---

(staurogram); D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* (London 2003) no. M163.29 comm., with S. Shaked, "Jesus in the Magic Bowls. Apropos Dan Levene's '... and by the Name of Jesus...,'" *JSQ* 6 (1999) 309-319, which also adduces Schøyen Collection MS 2054/124.27 (trinitarian formulae).

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed discussion of what follows, see T. de Bruyn, "Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets Written with Biblical Texts in Greek and Used as Amulets: A Preliminary List," in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds.), *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach* (Leiden 2010) 145-189.

<sup>37</sup> Adjurations: *PGM* P17 (36+); *P.Oxy.* 65.4469 (48); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29 (70+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.36 (77). Petitions: *BKT* 6.7.1 (4); *MPER* N.S. 17.10 (8); *PGM* P5b (21+); *PGM* P5c (22); *PGM* P9 (26+); *P.Köln* 8.340 (45); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.26 (67+).

<sup>38</sup> Ps. 90 LXX: *BASP* 41 (2004) 93-113 (1); *BKT* 6.7.1 (4); *PGM* P17 (36+); *PGM* P19 (38+); *PGM* T2a (42+); *PGM* T2b (43+); *P.Leid.Inst.* 10 (46); *P.Schøyen* 1.16 (50); *SB* 1.3573 (52+); *SPP* 20.294 (59+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.26 (67+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29 (70+); *VChr* 37 (1983) 400-404 (84). The Lord's Prayer: *BASP* 41 (2004) 93-113 (1); *PGM* P9 (26+); *PGM* P17 (36+); *PGM* P19 (38+); *P.Köln* 4.171 (44); *P.Schøyen* 1.16 (50); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29 (70+). Cf. Kraus, "Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Verwendung"; idem, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer – They Are More Than Simply Witnesses to That Text Itself," in Kraus and Nicklas, *New Testament Manuscripts*, 227-266.

<sup>39</sup> Incipits of the gospels: *BKT* 6.7.1 (4); *PGM* P5b (21+); *PGM* P5c (22); *PGM* P9 (26+); *PGM* P19 (38+); *VChr* 37 (1983) 400-404 (84).

<sup>40</sup> E.g. *BASP* 41 (2004) 93-113 (1); *BKT* 6.7.1 (4); *PGM* P19 (38+); *P.Köln* 4.171 (44); *SPP* 20.294 (59+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.36 (77).

<sup>41</sup> See de Bruyn, "Papyri," 153, n. 36.

above. One can distinguish between texts that were probably used as amulets and those that were possibly used as amulets. Items that were probably amulets are similar to items that were certainly amulets in the character of their biblical or liturgical text, which has a protective or beneficial value; in the addition of some further element, such as a cross; and in that they often (but not always) appear to have been folded or strung in order to be worn (though there may be other explanations for the presence of folds or holes).<sup>42</sup> Among the possible uses of the item, that of an amulet is the most likely, even if other uses cannot be ruled out. Items that were possibly amulets lack even these characteristics, thus leaving open the possibility of uses other than or as well as that of an amulet (e.g. an *aide-mémoire*, a writing exercise, a devotional text).<sup>43</sup> Evidently, there will still be indeterminate or disputed cases, and scholars may not agree on the purpose or use of an item even after due consideration of its textual, scribal, and material characteristics. The distinction between probable and possible amulets does not dispense with these problems; rather, it is intended to draw attention to them, especially in the case of items we judge to be possibly amulets, where we often note diverging opinions as to the purpose or use of the item.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> For caveats about drawing inferences from folding or fragmentation of papyri and parchments and from holes in tablets, see Bruyn, "Papyri," 154-164.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. S. Bucking, "A Sahidic Coptic Manuscript in the Private Collection of Lloyd E. Cotsen (P. Cotsen 1) and the Limits of Papyrological Interpretation," *JCOpts* 8 (2006) 55-78; Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 232-254; T.J. Kraus, "P.Oxy. V 840 – Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms," in T.J. Kraus (ed.), *Ad fontes. Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity* (Leiden 2007) 47-67, an English translation of T.J. Kraus, "P.Oxy. V 840-Amulett oder Miniaturkodex? Grundsätzliche und ergänzende Anmerkungen zu zwei Termini," *ZAC* 8 (2005) 485-497.

<sup>44</sup> Several items identified as (possibly) amulets or formularies by van Haelst are not included in the appendix either because they contain no Christian elements or because their identification as an amulet is now doubtful: van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 105 (*P.Rain.Cent.* 24); no. 255 (*P.Mich.* 3.154; cf. A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, vol. 1.1: *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, ed. D. Fraenkel [Göttingen 2004] 7); no. 275 (*BKT* 8.17; cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 29-31); no. 482 (*P.Yale* 1.3; cf. J.G. Cook, "ϣ<sup>50</sup> and the Question of Its Function," in Kraus and Nicklas, *Early Christian Manuscripts*, 115-128; no. 490 (*P.Oxy.* 2.209; cf. A. Luijendijk, "A New Testament Papyrus and Its Documentary Context: An Early Christian Writing Exercise from the Archive of Leonides [*P.Oxy* II 209/210]," *JBL* 129 [2010] 575-596); no. 721 (*PGM* XVIIIa [*BGU* 3.955]; cf. n. 27 above); no. 911 (*RBi* 58, 1951, 549-565; cf. n. 27 above); no. 948 (*Suppl.Mag.* 2.92 [*P.Mil.* 1.20]); no. 968 (*Suppl. Mag.* 1.11 [*P.Princ.* 3.159]); no. 1138 (*P.Giss.Lit.* 5.7); no. 1141 (*P.Giss.Lit.* 5.8).

*Patterns in the Evidence*

While the transformation of the production and use of amulets in Late Antiquity requires us to recognize the changing repertoire of texts used for protection, healing, or other purposes, and thus to consider biblical or liturgical texts that were probably or possibly amulets, it is still preferable to rely upon texts that were certainly or probably amulets when describing the salient features of these texts and their material form. In the remainder of this article, therefore, we limit our observations on patterns in the evidence to texts that were certainly or probably amulets or formularies and that include Christian elements (Tables 1 and 2).

To start with provenance, the material does not show any noteworthy patterns as compared with the general geographical distribution of papyri for this period.<sup>45</sup> With regard to the chronological distribution of the material, our findings are consistent with prior observations of Edwin Judge.<sup>46</sup> Most of the texts have been assigned on paleographical grounds to the fourth, fifth, or sixth centuries, with relatively more being assigned to the fifth and/or sixth centuries.<sup>47</sup> Only a few have been assigned to the third century or earlier, and their date or their religious character is uncertain.<sup>48</sup> This temporal pattern does not appear to be related to the chronological distribution of Greek papyri from Egypt in Late Antiquity,<sup>49</sup> but reflects the integration of Christianity in all segments of Egyptian society, the endpoint of a gradual process which becomes most visible in the papyri from the second half of the fifth century onwards.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 6-7.

<sup>46</sup> E.A. Judge, "The Magical Use of Scripture in the Papyri," in E.W. Conrad and E.G. Newing (eds.), *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday, July 28, 1985* (Winona Lake 1987) 339-349, esp. 346.

<sup>47</sup> Number of items with undisputed assigned dates in Table 1: 1 (III), 12 (IV), 5 (IV-V), 10 (V), 12 (V-VI), 14 (VI), 5 (VI-VII), 3 (VII). Number of items with undisputed assigned dates in Table 2: 2 (III-IV), 2 (IV), 2 (IV-V), 6 (V), 5 (V-VI), 9 (VI), 6 (VI-VII), 4 (VII), 6 (VII-VIII).

<sup>48</sup> In chronological order, with assigned dates in parentheses: PGM XII.190-192 (12) (II/III; IV); PGM XII.376-396 (13) (II/III; IV); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.1 (60) (III); *Suppl.Mag.* 2.84 (81) (III; III-IV).

<sup>49</sup> As a crude indicator of the chronological distribution of Greek textual remains in Egypt in Late Antiquity, a search on 12 August 2009 of Greek items in Trismegistos by century yielded the following results (number of items followed by century in parentheses): 7809 (III), 4413 (IV), 1430 (V), 3280 (VI), 3077 (VII), 899 (VIII); or 13798 (III-IV), 5672 (V-VI), 4756 (VII-VIII).

<sup>50</sup> See Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 278-309, esp. 293 for Egypt in general, and Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 45-122 for this process illustrated within a regional context.

All but two of the texts were written in Greek. The two written in Latin are remarkable, for different reasons. One is certainly an amulet.<sup>51</sup> The papyrus is, regrettably, lost, but a transcription by Karl Preisendanz has survived. The text is a rare witness to spoken Latin in Late Antiquity.<sup>52</sup> The writer cites verses of Ps. 20 from a north Italian-African psalter in the invocation, and the ensuing adjuration of Christ the *medicus caelestis* (an epithet widely attested in Latin patristic literature) concludes with the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* of the Latin mass. Since the north Italian-African psalter was used at the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, the editors think it more likely that it originated from that milieu than that it was brought from the West by a traveller.<sup>53</sup> The other Latin text,<sup>54</sup> written on the back of a late Byzantine protocol (VI/VII),<sup>55</sup> presents several lines of the Lord's Prayer in Latin with an interlinear transcription in Greek characters, presumably added to assist someone unfamiliar with Latin pronunciation. Its purpose is less certain; recent discussions regard it as a writing exercise rather than an amulet.<sup>56</sup>

When we turn to the material on which amulets and formularies were written, the most readily available or preferred material throughout this period was, as can be expected, papyrus. Of the texts listed in Table 1, 67 were written on papyrus, 9 on wood, 5 on parchment, 3 on potsherds, 1 on bone, and 1 on silver. Of the texts listed in Table 2, 33 were written on papyrus, 12 on parchment, 3 on potsherds, and 1 on limestone. The use of parchment correlates with the use of biblical passages or prayers as amulets: the texts written on

<sup>51</sup> *Suppl. Mag.* 1.36 (77).

<sup>52</sup> J. Kramer, "A Linguistic Commentary on Heidelberg's Latin Papyrus Amulet," *ZPE* 74 (1988) 267-272.

<sup>53</sup> R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, "From the African Psalter and Liturgy," *ZPE* (1988) 253-265 at 257-259.

<sup>54</sup> *MPER* N.S. 15.184 (148).

<sup>55</sup> J. Gascou, "Sur la date du *Pater noster* de Vienne: *PRain. Unterricht* 184," in T. Gagos and R.S. Bagnall (eds.), *Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas* (Oakville 2001) 19-23.

<sup>56</sup> Amulet?: Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.2 (1981) no. 47; *New Docs.* 3 (1983) 104-105, no. 88. Devotional aid?: A. Martin, "*P. Vindob.* L. 91, un fragment du *Pater* latin," *Latomus* 42 (1983) 412-418 at 417-418. Writing exercise: *Codd. Lat. Ant.* 10.1533; *MPER* N.S. 15.184 intro.; J. Henner, "Der Unterricht im christlichen Ägypten," in J. Henner, H. Förster, and U. Horak (eds.), *Christliches mit Feder und Faden: Christliches in Texten, Textilien und Alltagsgegenständen aus Ägypten* (Vienna 1999) no. 43; H. Harrauer and C. Gastgeber, "Bibeltexte im Schulunterricht," in H. Froschauer, C. Gastgeber, and H. Harrauer (eds.), *Ein Buch verändert die Welt: Älteste Zeugnisse der Heiligen Schrift aus der Zeit des frühen Christentums in Ägypten* (Vienna 2003) 25-34 at 31; Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 247-248.

parchment in Table 1 consist of biblical passages or prayers,<sup>57</sup> not traditional charms or spells, and the frequency of parchment relative to papyrus is greater in Table 2, which lists mostly amulets comprising biblical passages, than in Table 1. Potsherds and wood, on the other hand, were used for both traditional charms and spells and for biblical excerpts. However, it is telling that in Table 1, with the exception of a few texts that were meant to be displayed or buried,<sup>58</sup> potsherds or wood were used for short – and thus portable – texts, such as the Βουϕ-amulets.<sup>59</sup> By contrast, the size of potsherds and wooden tablets in Table 3, where the purpose of the items is open to question, is often considerably greater. The format of the wooden tablets is such that they could have been gathered with other tablets into a notebook (they have holes along one side),<sup>60</sup> though this does not preclude the possibility that they were used or re-used singly for an amuletic purpose.

All of the papyri that were certainly amulets appear to have been written on a single piece or sheet of papyrus.<sup>61</sup> The use or re-use of a small codex – or, more accurately, small codex sheets – as an amulet is associated with biblical passages rather than with traditional charms or spells.<sup>62</sup> This evidence is consistent with remarks from ecclesiastical writers on the use of small gospels

<sup>57</sup> *BKT* 6.7.1 (4) (Ps. 90:1; John 1:1-2; Matt. 1:1; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; Ps. 117:6-7; Ps. 17:3; Matt. 4:23); *MPER* N.S. 17.10 (8) (John 1:5-6); *PGM* P4 (19) (Matt. 4:23-24); *P.Leid.Inst.* 10 (46) (Ps. 90:1-4, 7-9); *P.Ryl.* 3.465 (127+) (extract from the anaphora of St. Mark, followed by a prayer for the dead); *SB* 18.13602 (54+) (prayer).

<sup>58</sup> *BJ* 168 (1968) 107, no. 10 (3) (a house phylactery); *PGM* O1 (41) (a binding spell).

<sup>59</sup> Cf. n. 29 above; see also *SB* 16.12992 (53).

<sup>60</sup> *Aegyptus* 60 (1980) 107-109 (134); *P.Bad.* 4.60 (157); *P.Bad.* 4.65 + *P.Bad.* 5.127 (158+); *P.Kellis* 1.88 (166+); *SB* 18.13323 (179+); cf. *P.Gen.* 1<sup>2</sup>.6 (9) in Table 1.

<sup>61</sup> This is not the case, however, for formularies, which, given their length, were written on rolls or in codices. By way of example, *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden 2002) 3-24 (7), a formulary written on two sides of a sheet, may have come from a codex; see W. Brashear and R. Kotansky, "A New Magical Formulary," in Mirecki and Meyer, *Magic and Ritual*, 3-24 at 3. *Suppl. Mag.* 2.96A (83) is written on a roll *transversa charta*; see F. Maltomini, "I papiri greci," *SCO* 29 (1979) 55-124 at 58.

<sup>62</sup> Codex sheets or leaves that were part of a codex: *MPER* N.S. 4.19 (147+); *MPER* N.S. 17.1 (149); *P.Ant.* 2.54 (156+); *P.Beatty* XIV (159); *P.Bingen* 16 (160); *P.Col.* 11.293 (105); *P.Leid.Inst.* 10 (46); *P.Lond.Lit.* 239 (170); *P.Oxy.* 17.2065 (120); *P.Oxy.* 34.2684 (121+); *P.Oxy.* 64.4406 (122); *P.Oxy.* 73.4931 (123); *SO* 24 (1945) 121-140 (182). Single codex sheets or bifolia that appear not to have been part of a codex: *Archiv* 18 (1966) 36-37 (89); *MPER* N.S. 17.10 (8); *PGM* P21 (39); *ZNTW* 22 (1923) 153-154 (184). Further discussion by G.H.R. Horsley, "Reconstructing a Biblical Codex: The Prehistory of *MPER* n.s. XVII. 10 (P.Vindob. G 29831)," in *Pap. Congr. XXI*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) 1:473-481; Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 58 (n. 23); de Bruyn, "Papyri," 159-161; D. Barker, "The Reuse of Christian Texts: *P.Macquarie* inv. 360 + *P.Mil.Vogl.*



for apotropaic purposes,<sup>63</sup> a practice they preferred to the use of “pagan” phylacteries, which they regarded as diabolic.

From the lists in Table 1 and 2 it would seem that the producers of charms and spells preferred to use new material, as the manuals prescribed.<sup>64</sup> Occasionally, however, charms and spells were written on material that had been previously used for another document.<sup>65</sup> This appears also to have happened in the production of amulets comprising biblical passages or prayers.<sup>66</sup> The use of previously written material in the writing of an isolated biblical text, therefore, does not rule out the possibility that the text was intended to be used as an amulet.<sup>67</sup>

To turn to the purposes of the texts under consideration, in many instances these are identified in the adjuration or petition, or may be otherwise discerned from the text.<sup>68</sup> Most of the texts in Tables 1 and 2 whose purpose can be determined were meant to protect, deliver, or heal. In addition to charms that offer protection or deliverance (the distinction can blur) from harm and from evil spirits that were believed to work all manner of harm,<sup>69</sup> there are charms that seek protection against sickness,<sup>70</sup> scorpions,<sup>71</sup> and poisonous animals,<sup>72</sup>

---

inv. 1224 (P<sup>91</sup>) and P.Oxy. X 1229 (P<sup>23</sup>),” in Kraus and Nicklas, *Early Christian Manuscripts*, 129-143.

<sup>63</sup> Isid. Pel., *Epist.* 2.150 (PG 78, col. 604); εὐαγγέλια μικρά; Hier., *Comm. Matt.* 23.5-6 (PL 26, col. 168); in *parvulis evangelii*; cf. Chrys., *Hom. ad pop.* 19.4 (PG 49, col. 196); idem, *Hom. Matt.* 72.2 (PG 58, col. 669); idem, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 43.4 (PG 61, col. 373); Aug., *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 7.12 (PL 35, col. 1443).

<sup>64</sup> PGM XXXVI.102; T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1921-1924) no. 854.

<sup>65</sup> BJ 168 (1968) 106, no. 9 (2); SB 16.12658 (130); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.22 (63); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.34 (75); *Suppl. Mag.* 2.62 (80). Cf. C. Gallazzi, “O. Mil. Vogl. Inv. Provv. CE 2: amuleto coi nomi dei Martiri di Sebastia,” *ZPE* 75 (1988) 147-149 at 148-149.

<sup>66</sup> Certain amulets: PGM P6d (25+); PGM P19 (38+). Probable amulets: *Archiv* 20 (1970) 50 (90); *Biblos* 19 (1970) 72-75 (92); PGM P6c (110); PGM P20 (113+); PGM P22 (114); P.Oxy. 16.1928 (119); P.Oxy. 73.4932 (124).

<sup>67</sup> Pace H. Förster, “Heilige Namen in heiligen Texten,” *AW* 33 (2002) 321-324 at 321-322; *MPER* N.S. 15.184 intro. (148).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Brashear, “Greek Magical Papyri,” 3494-3505.

<sup>69</sup> Protection: BJ 168 (1968) 106, no. 9 (2); BKT 6.7.1 (4); *MPER* N.S. 17.10 (8); PGM 5d (23); PGM P10 (27); PGM P13 (30); PGM P13a (31+); PGM P17 (36+); PGM P23 (40); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.24 (65); *Suppl. Mag.* 2.84 (81); SB 18.13746 (55). Deliverance: PGM IV.1227-64 (10+); PGM IV.3007-86 (11+); PGM P5b (21+); PGM P6d (25+); PGM P9 (26+); SB 18.13602 (54+).

<sup>70</sup> PGM P5a (20); see also n. 75 below.

<sup>71</sup> PGM XXVIIIc (15); *Suppl. Mag.* 2.89 (82). Cf. also the house phylacteries PGM P2 (16) and PGM P3 (18+).

<sup>72</sup> PGM P12 (29+).

or that request deliverance from specific evil powers.<sup>73</sup> There are also several house phylacteries.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, in addition to charms for healing from an unspecified illness or from every illness,<sup>75</sup> there are charms that request healing from fever (a recurring concern in formularies and amulets),<sup>76</sup> headache,<sup>77</sup> eye ailments,<sup>78</sup> and other illnesses.<sup>79</sup> There is one charm to secure favour in one's affairs.<sup>80</sup> There are also a few curses or prayers for vengeance,<sup>81</sup> a binding spell that mentions, possibly, a Christian,<sup>82</sup> and a formulary to induce insomnia that includes Εἰσοῦς among the names of the god invoked.<sup>83</sup> But on the whole amatory charms and maleficent spells are rarer in texts with Christian elements than in texts without Christian elements.<sup>84</sup>

The presence of Christian elements in what is evidently a pre-existing genre (as the charms and spells for specific purposes attest) brings us, finally, to some remarks on the relationships between Christian and pre-Christian manifestations of the genre. David Frankfurter has recently called for a renewed but nuanced application of the term "syncretism" to the ways in which Christian prophets, exorcists, healers, and diviners, as local agents of religious transfor-

<sup>73</sup> PGM P15a (32) (headless beings); PGM P15b (33) (headless dog).

<sup>74</sup> BJ 168 (1968) 107, no. 10 (3); PGM P2 (16); PGM P2a (17); PGM P3 (18+); PGM P6a (24).

<sup>75</sup> Unspecified illness: PGM P18 (37+); P.Oxy. 65.4469 (48); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.20 (61); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.36 (77). Every illness: PGM P4 (19); PGM P5c (22); PGM P9 (26+); P.Köln 8.340 (45); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.22 (63); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.30 (71); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.31 (72+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.33 (74). The phraseology of many of the latter is influenced by the Christian belief, expressed in Matt. 4:23/9:35 and subsequent confessions, that Jesus healed "every illness and every infirmity" (πάσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν), on which see T. de Bruyn, "Appeals to Jesus as the One 'Who Heals Every Illness and Every Infirmity' (Matt. 4:23, 9:35) in Amulets in Late Antiquity," in L. DiTommaso and L. Turcescu (eds.), *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity* (Leiden 2008) 65-81.

<sup>76</sup> PGM P5b (21+); P.Mich. 18.768 (47); P.Prag. 2.119 (49); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.21 (62); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.22 (63); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.23 (64); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.25 (66); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.28 (69); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29 (70+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.31 (72+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.34 (75); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.35 (76).

<sup>77</sup> *Suppl.Mag.* 1.22 (63); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.31 (72+).

<sup>78</sup> *Suppl.Mag.* 1.26 (67+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.32 (73).

<sup>79</sup> Inflamed uvula: *Suppl.Mag.* 1.1 (60) (pagan?).

<sup>80</sup> PGM P21 (39).

<sup>81</sup> PGM P15c (34); PGM P16 (35+); *Suppl.Mag.* 2.59 (78) (cf. *Suppl.Mag.* 2.60); *Suppl.Mag.* 2.61 (79); *Suppl.Mag.* 2.62 (80).

<sup>82</sup> PGM O1 (41), with Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 209, no. 111.

<sup>83</sup> PGM XII.376-96 (13+).

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3502-3503.

mation in Late Antique Egypt, adapted existing cultural forms or practices, such as amulets, for new purposes.<sup>85</sup> Frankfurter characterizes “syncretism” as “the creative, synthetic process by which any idea, symbol, or idiom is appropriated and embraced in a culture”; it can result in idiosyncratic combinations of old and new, “an experimental assemblage, not a fixed and harmonious melding of ideas.”<sup>86</sup> The material we are considering evidently worked both with and within an existing practice, and thus can be regarded as “syncretistic.” It also displays varying degrees of continuity and change, which is to be expected in the larger context of religious transformation in Late Antique Egypt.<sup>87</sup> What combinations of old and new, what manifestations of continuity and change, do we find, then, in this material?

One sees, first of all, varying degrees of continuity and change in the form that the invocation takes. Several charms employ a traditional form of incantation whereby evil spirits are adjured (ὀρκίζω) to leave someone or to do something.<sup>88</sup> Others call upon God or Christ to heal as they once called upon the gods.<sup>89</sup> Magical signs (χαρακτήρες) are still enjoined to heal.<sup>90</sup> And charms against scorpions continue to employ traditional invocations.<sup>91</sup> But alongside pre-existing forms of incantation we also find petitions phrased as prayers. A few of these appear to be liturgical in formulation,<sup>92</sup> others are more informal or personal.<sup>93</sup> Occasionally it can be difficult to state categorically that such

---

<sup>85</sup> D. Frankfurter, “Syncretism and the Holy Man in Late Antique Egypt,” *J ECS* 11 (2003) 339-385, with pp. 378-379, 384 on amulets.

<sup>86</sup> Frankfurter, “Syncretism,” 344.

<sup>87</sup> See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 14-23 on religious transformation in Late Antique Egypt as a dynamic process of continuity and change. Cf. Frankfurter, *Religion* and “Syncretism,” e.g. at p. 342, who puts the emphasis more on continuity.

<sup>88</sup> *PGM* P10 *passim* (27); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.24, frg. A (65); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.29.3-9 (70+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.32.2-3, 5-6 (73); *Suppl. Mag.* 2.89.6-8 (82) (Christian?). On the language of adjuration, and its debt to Jewish exorcistic practices, see R. Kotansky, “Greek Exorcistic Amulets,” in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden 1995) 243-277; R. Leicht, “Mashbia’ Ani ‘Alekhā: Types and Patterns of Ancient Jewish and Christian Exorcism Formulae,” *JSQ* 13 (2006) 319-343.

<sup>89</sup> *Suppl. Mag.* 1.20.3-4 (61); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.22.1-5 (63); cf. *Suppl. Mag.* 1.3.3-5.

<sup>90</sup> *Suppl. Mag.* 1.20.6-7 (61); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.21.8-15 (62); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.23.10-17 (64); cf. *Suppl. Mag.* 1.19.14-21.

<sup>91</sup> *PGM* P2.3-5 (16); *PGM* P3.1-2 (18+); *PGM* P6a.1-5 (24); cf. *PGM* XXVIIIa-c.

<sup>92</sup> *PGM* P12 (29+); *PGM* P13 (30); *PGM* P20 (113+); *PGM* P23 (40).

<sup>93</sup> *MPER* N.S. 17.10 (8); *PGM* P5c (22); *PGM* P6b (109); *PGM* P6c (110); *PGM* P6d (25+); *PGM* P9 (26+); *PGM* P15b (33); *PGM* P15c (34); *PGM* P16 (35+); *PGM* P18 (37+); *SB* 18.13602 (54+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.26 (67+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.31 (72+).

prayers were used as amulets.<sup>94</sup> In addition to the adaptation of prayers for apotropaic purposes, we see the writing of passages from scripture for protection or healing. As we have already discussed, the application of scripture for apotropaic purposes can be more or less formulaic. Certain passages are cited with an incantation or petition, perpetuating, adapting, and validating, as it were, a pre-existing practice: Ps. 90 LXX, the Lord's Prayer, the incipits of the gospels, the letter from Abgar to Jesus.<sup>95</sup> But, as with personal prayers, scripture is also cited independently for apotropaic purposes. When it extends beyond the customary repertoire of passages just noted, it introduces some ambiguity as to the intended purpose of the item. The boundary between an apotropaic practice and a devotional practice cannot always be clearly drawn.

In the process of perpetuating and adapting these means to obtain protection, healing, or other advantages, varying degrees of continuity and change can also be observed in elements within these forms. When we look, for example, at the influence of the liturgy of the church, sometimes amulets and formularies incorporate liturgical prayers, litanies, or acclamations in their entirety: prayers and litanies of exorcism,<sup>96</sup> credal acclamations that may have been used in exorcism,<sup>97</sup> an excerpt from the anaphora and the prayer for the dead,<sup>98</sup> a formula of anointing introduced into Eastern baptismal liturgies in

---

<sup>94</sup> E.g. *PGM* P6b (109); *PGM* P6c (110). Cf., in Table 3, *P.Col.* 11.294 (162); *P.Oxy.* 3.407 (173+); *SCO* 22 (1973) 27-29 (180+).

<sup>95</sup> For Ps. 90 LXX, the Lord's Prayer, and the incipits to the gospels, see n. 38 and 39 above. For the letter of Abgar to Jesus incorporating a healing incantation in Coptic, see *P.Oxy.* 65.4469 (48). More often it is the letter of Jesus to Abgar that is cited: see *VChr* 25 (1971) 289-301 (183); *P.Got.* 21 (115+); cf. *P.Ness.* 2.7 (found in Nessana, Palestine). The recitation of the correspondence in amulets is discussed further in T. de Bruyn, "Apocryphal and Canonical Christian Narratives in Greek Papyri Amulets in Late Antiquity," in P. Piovanelli (ed.), *Christian Apocryphal Texts for the New Millennium: Achievements, Prospects, and Challenges* (Leiden, forthcoming).

<sup>96</sup> *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden 2002) 3-24, ll. 1-21a (7); *PGM* P13 (30).

<sup>97</sup> *Suppl.Mag.* 1.23.1-6 (64); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.31.1 (72+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.35.1-7 (76). Cf. Horsley, in *New Docs.* 3 (1983) no. 93; R. Roca-Puig, *Anàfora de Barcelona i altres pregàries (Missa del segle IV)*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona 1996) 103-111 = R. Merkelbach, *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts*, 5 vols. (Opladen 1990-2001) 4:64-70; and T. de Bruyn, "Ancient Applied Christology: Appeals to Christ in Greek Amulets in Late Antiquity," in E.M. Leonard and K. Merriman (eds.), *From Logos to Christos: Essays in Christology in Honour of Joanne McWilliam* (Waterloo 2010) 3-18.

<sup>98</sup> *P.Ryl.* 3.465 (127+).

the latter half of the fourth century.<sup>99</sup> More often, however, the influence of the Christian liturgy is reflected indirectly in the phrasing of invocations, petitions, doxologies, and acclamations. God is addressed “through Jesus Christ” or “in the name of Jesus Christ” or as “the Father of our Lord (and Saviour) Jesus Christ,” following established patterns of Christian invocation.<sup>100</sup> Petitions incorporate *historiolae* that, like liturgical prayers for the anointing or healing of the sick, recall accounts in the gospels of healings performed by Jesus.<sup>101</sup> Doxologies that open or conclude prayers take a coordinate trinitarian form, invoking the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.<sup>102</sup> And the acclamations “Amen,”<sup>103</sup> “Alleluia,”<sup>104</sup> “Christ,”<sup>105</sup> and the *Sanctus*<sup>106</sup> – attested in liturgical and other settings<sup>107</sup> – appear with some frequency.

At the same time, however, traditional ways of invoking divine power continue to hold their value; the genre perpetuates pre-existing idioms while incorporating new ones. In a few incantations the Christian God and his saints are invoked alongside Graeco-Egyptian and Jewish powers, such as Hor, Iaô

<sup>99</sup> *P.Ryl.* 3.471 (128+), on which see T. de Bruyn, “P. Ryl. III.471: A Baptismal Anointing Formula Used As an Amulet,” *JThS* N.S. 57 (2006) 94-109.

<sup>100</sup> “Through” or “in the name of Jesus Christ”: *PGM* P5c.4-5 (22); *PGM* P21.7-8 (39); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.20.5-6 (61); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.36.5-6 (77). “Father of our Lord Jesus Christ”: *MPER* N.S. 17.10.3-5 (8); *PGM* P9.2-3 (26+); *P.Köln* 8.340.35-37 (45). Cf. de Bruyn, “Ancient Applied Christology,” 4-5.

<sup>101</sup> *PGM* P5b.25-27 (21+); *PGM* P18.6-12 (37+); *SB* 18.13602.1-3 (54+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.30.2-3 (71); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.31.2-3 (72+). Cf. de Bruyn, “Apocryphal and Canonical Christian Narratives,” forthcoming.

<sup>102</sup> *P.Bon.* 1.9.5-7 (104); *PGM* P5d.1-3 (23); *PGM* P19.5-6 (38+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.21.1-2 (62); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.31.4 (72+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.36.1 (77). Cf. *PGM* P10.41-42 (27); *PGM* P12.3-4 (29+); *PGM* P15a.16-22 (32).

<sup>103</sup> Three-fold “amen”: *P.Bon.* 1.9.8 (104); *PGM* P15a.29-31 (32); *PGM* P16.24 (35+); *P.Köln* 4.171.8 (44); *P.Köln* 8.340, frg. B, l. 1 (45).

<sup>104</sup> *BKT* 6.7.1.23 (4); *MPER* N.S. 4.20, hair, l. 12 (97); *PGM* P10.33 (27); *P.Oxy.* 16.1928.15 (119); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.34.12-13 (75).

<sup>105</sup> *BJ* 168 (1968) 106, no. 9, l. 9 (2); *PGM* P19.1, 6 (38+). Cf. *PGM* 5a.14-15 (20) (ἡ δύνναμις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.22.1 (63); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.25.1, 9-10 (66) (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ).

<sup>106</sup> *PGM* P13.7-8 (30); *PGM* P18.2-3 (37+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.25.5-7 (66); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.29.15-17 (70+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.32.6 (73); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.36.19-21 (77). Cf. T. de Bruyn, “The Use of the Sanctus in Christian Greek Papyrus Amulets,” in F. Young, M. Edwards, and P. Parvis (eds.), *Studia Patristica XL* (Leuven 2006) 15-20.

<sup>107</sup> See e.g. A. Stuibler, “Amen,” in *RAC Suppl.* 1 (2001) cols. 310-323 at 319-321; H. Engberding, “Alleluja,” in *RAC* 1 (1950) cols. 293-299; E. Peterson, Εἰς θεός; *epigraphische, formgeschichtliche, und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Göttingen 1926) 152-157, 232-233, 325.

Sabaôth Adonai, and Abrasax.<sup>108</sup> Traditional features of the genre are juxtaposed with Christian ones: the palindrome “Ablanathanalba” in diminishing shape is preceded by the acclamation “One Father, one Son, one Holy Spirit”;<sup>109</sup> a credal acclamation is followed by an appeal to χαρακτήρες;<sup>110</sup> an adjuration “in the name of Jesus Christ” appears in the midst of an array of magical elements.<sup>111</sup> In one charm we have, on either side of the name “Erichthonios” (the mythical king of Athens) in diminishing shape, parallel invocations of Jesus Christ and the white wolf (Horus-Apollo, according to the *editio princeps*) to heal a certain Joseph of his fever.<sup>112</sup> Such a mixture of traditional and Christian elements requires that we envisage a situation where the culture of the scribe, with its textual models and ritual reminiscences, is complex,<sup>113</sup> and where the process of religious transformation allows for variability with regards to both continuity and change.

### *Concluding Remarks*

Many of the characteristics we have described above have been noted in the literature in relation to individual items, especially by the most recent generation of editors of this material. Their editions afford detailed and discerning commentary on these texts – and on the questions they pose. Nevertheless, as we hope to have shown with the examples given, a systematic study of the corpus could yield further insights into the religious transformation of Late Antique Egypt. Although space does not allow us to discuss the possibilities in detail, a few lines of inquiry come to mind.

Firstly, a comparative study of the hands in which the texts are written, including a consideration of letter formation, orthography, and use of *nomina sacra*, may yield a greater understanding of the scribes who produced these texts and of their role as agents in the process of religious transformation in Late Antique Egypt. Secondly, a cursory review of the Coptic corpus of amulets and formularies containing Christian elements suggests that the combinations of traditional and Christian elements found there are richer and more

<sup>108</sup> PGM P2.3-4, 9 (16); PGM P5a.15-18 (20); PGM P6a.1-4 (24).

<sup>109</sup> *Suppl.Mag.* 1.21 (62).

<sup>110</sup> *Suppl.Mag.* 1.23 (64). Cf. *Suppl.Mag.* 1.21.10-2 (62).

<sup>111</sup> *Suppl.Mag.* 1.20 (61).

<sup>112</sup> *Philologus* 107 (1963) 157-161, l. 1 comm. = *Suppl.Mag.* 1.34 (75).

<sup>113</sup> For instances of garbled renderings of Christian litanies and scriptures, evidence of the scribe's illiteracy or unfamiliarity with Christian tradition, see PGM P17 (36+), and *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden 2002) 3-24, with intro. and ll. 1-12 comm. (7).

diverse than those in the corpus of Greek amulets and formularies containing Christian elements. A comparative study of the two corpora could contribute to a fuller understanding of the linguistic and cultural range of the producers of this material. Thirdly, there is now a greater sensitivity to and knowledge of the diversity of Christian culture in Late Antique Egypt. The material we have reviewed could both benefit from and contribute to this more nuanced perspective.<sup>114</sup> Fourthly, the material could contribute to our knowledge of the liturgy of the church at the local level, particularly, for example, rites of exorcism, with which some amulets and formularies are evidently associated.<sup>115</sup> Additional lines of inquiry can, no doubt, be proposed. It is hoped that all such investigations will be facilitated by the assembly of information provided in the checklist appended to this article.

### Checklist

TM no. = the number of the item in Trismegistos. For dates, V-VI = fifth or sixth century, V/VII = late fifth or early sixth century; while centuries are preferred, Byz. = Byzantine is used when so indicated by the editor. For materials, ostr. = ostrakon, pap. = papyrus, parch. = parchment. For sides of writing, t = the text listed in column 3 (i.e., incantation, prayer, hymn, biblical passage, etc.), ow = other writing (i.e., an unrelated document), b = blank, → = parallel to the fibres, ↓ = perpendicular to the fibres, F = flesh side, H = hair side, cv = concave, cx = convex, 1 = side one (when → ↓ or F H or cv cx are not known or not applicable), 2 = side two (when → ↓ or F H or cv cx are not known or not applicable), *tc* = *transversa charta*. Other abbreviations: chrgram = christogram, strgram = staurogram, sec. use = secondary use of a text written initially for some other purpose, Y = yes, N = no, N/A = not applicable, prob. = probably, poss. = possibly, doubt. = doubtful. Further bibliography on most items can be found in LDAB or TM-Magic, both of which may be accessed through <http://www.trismegistos.org>.

<sup>114</sup> For example, we need a more precise assessment of the presence or influence of Gnostic cosmology or ritual in amulets and formularies, since studies in the past have been quick to identify “syncretism” with “Gnosticism” (e.g. B.R. Rees, “Popular Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *JEA* 36, 1950, 86-100 at 88-89, nevertheless offering a valuable overview). Cf. e.g. *P.Mich.* 18.768 intro. (47); L.S.B. MacCoull “P. Cair. Masp. II 67188 Verso 1-5: The *Gnostica* of Dioscorus of Aphroditō,” *Tyche* 2 (1987) 95-97 (cf. 31+).

<sup>115</sup> See Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, 174-180; Brashear and Kotansky, “New Magical Formulary,” 10-13 (cf. 7); *P.Haun.* 3.51 intro. (cf. 64), *pace New Docs.* 3 (1983) 116, no. 93.

Table 1: *Certain Amulets and Formularies (Nos. 1-85)*

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
1	BASP 41 (2004) 93-113	Ps. 90; Ps. 91 heading; Matt. 6:9-13; doxology	61838	VI/VII
2	BJ 168 (1968) 106, no. 9	protective acclamation	65042	VI
3	BJ 168 (1968) 107, no. 10	protective acclamation (house)	65418	VII-VIII
4	BKT 6.7.1	protective incantation; Ps. 90:1; John 1:1-2; Matt. 1:1; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; Ps. 117:6-7; Ps. 17:3; Matt. 4:23	64853	VI; VI-VII <sup>116</sup>
5	<i>Comunicazioni Vitelli</i> 6 (2005) 81-85	fragmentary text; house phylactery? <sup>118</sup>	69066	IV
6	HThR 104 (2011) 64-68 <sup>119</sup>	χμϒ appearing four times in a single line	forthcoming	VI
7	<i>Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World</i> (Leiden 2002) 3-24	formulary	68620	IV
8	MPER N.S. 17.10	prayer for protection; John 1:5-6 <sup>121</sup>	61672	VI-VII
9	<i>P.Gen.</i> 1 <sup>3</sup> .6	Ps. 90:1-7, 10-13 <sup>123</sup>	62158	VI
10	PGM IV.1227-64 = <i>Abrasax</i> 4 (Opladen, 1996) 58-63 <sup>124</sup>	formulary (exorcism)	64343	IV
11	PGM IV.3007-86 = <i>Abrasax</i> 4 (Opladen, 1996) 29-43 <sup>125</sup>	formulary (exorcism)	64343	IV

<sup>116</sup> F. Krebs, "Altchristliche Texte im Berliner Museum," *NGWG* 4 (1892) 114-120 at 114: VI; *BKT* 6, p. 129: late; D. Limongi, "La diffusione dei Vangeli in Egitto (secc. I-VIII): osservazioni sul *Vangelo secondo Marco*," *AnalPap* (1995) 49-62 at 57: VI (first half); Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 21: VI-VII.

<sup>117</sup> Autopsy, de Bruyn, 17 December 2009.

<sup>118</sup> Given the fragmentary state of the papyrus, it is not possible to determine if it comes from an amulet or a formulary; cf. G. Lembi, "Formulario magico cristiano (?)," *Comunicazioni Vitelli* 6 (2005) 81-85 at 81.

<sup>119</sup> We wish to thank Brent Nongbri for providing us with a manuscript of his edition of P.CtYBR inv. 4710 in advance of its publication.

<sup>120</sup> Brashear and Kotansky, "A New Magical Formulary," 2 state that it is not possible to determine "[w]hether the sheet was originally a single looseleaf, one of several, or part of a complete codex."

<sup>121</sup> Horsley, "Reconstructing a Biblical Codex," argues that the amulet was written on a sheet intended for a codex of the gospel but discarded after a scribal error.



Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram
pap. fragments of a sheet	26.8 x 11.5 (recto)	Y	→ t → t	Y	crosses strgrams
pap. sheet	6-6.5 x 15	Y	→ ow → t	Y	crosses
wood tablet	9 x 5	N/A (two holes)	1 t 2 b	Y	cross
parch. sheet	8.5 x 13.6 <sup>117</sup>	Y	1 t 2 b	Y	crosses
pap. fragment	4.3 x 5.8		→ t ↓ ow	Y	
pap. sheet	33.2 x 5.9	Y	→ ow ↓ t	N/A	
pap. codex sheet (1 leaf) <sup>120</sup>	19 x 24.1		↓ t → t	Y	
parch. codex sheet	6.5 x 4.2	Y <sup>122</sup> (holes along fold)	H t F t	Y	
wood tablet with wax coating	17 x 24	N/A (holes along side)	1 ow 2 ow, t	Y	cross strgram
pap. 36 codex leaves	13-9.5 x 30.5-27		→ t ↓ t	N	
pap. 36 codex leaves	13-9.5 x 30.5-27		→ t ↓ t	Y	

<sup>122</sup> Folded to form two leaves.

<sup>123</sup> *P.Gen.* 1<sup>2</sup>.6 comm. suggests that the verses of the psalm were appended to an account for their protective value, and in support of this view notes that on the bottom border of side 1 of the tablet, which bears an account, the invocation κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον, preceded by a staurogram, is etched into the wood.

<sup>124</sup> The exorcism begins with a Christian invocation written in Coptic; on Ἰησοῦς πικρηστός cf. *PGM* XIII.290 (14) and M.J. Edwards, “Χρηστός in a Magical Papyrus,” *ZPE* 85 (1991) 232-236.

<sup>125</sup> The only Christian element in this formulary, which contains many Jewish elements, is a reference to “the god of the Hebrews, Jesus” at l. 3019-3020. Many, but not all, scholars think “Jesus” is a later addition; cf. *PGM* XXIIb.18 and see K. Preisendanz, “Zur synkretistischen Magie im römischen Ägypten,” in *Pap. Congr. VIII* (Vienna 1956) 111-125 at 118-119; Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 95, n. 388; Merkelbach, *Abrasax* 4:29-30, 36-37; L. LiDonnici, “According to the Jews”, 87-108 at 96.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
12	PGM XII.190-192 ( <i>P.Leid.</i> 2.V) = <i>Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden</i> (Opladen 1991) 2-29 at 12	formulary (for an oracle)	55954	II/III; IV <sup>125a</sup>
13	PGM XII.376-396 ( <i>P.Leid.</i> 2.V) = <i>Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden</i> (Opladen 1991) 2-29 at 22-24	formulary (to induce insomnia)	55954	IV
14	PGM XIII.288-292 ( <i>P.Leid.</i> 2.W) = <i>Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden</i> (Opladen 1991) 32-81 at 44 <sup>129</sup>	formulary (release from bonds)	64446	IV
15	PGM XXVIIIc ( <i>P.Oxy.</i> 16.2063) <sup>131</sup>	protective incantation (scorpion)	65088	VI
16	PGM P2 ( <i>P.Oxy.</i> 7.1060)	protective incantation (house)	64461	VI
17	PGM P2a ( <i>AMC</i> 2, p. 440)	protective incantation (house)	65118	?
18	PGM P3 ( <i>P.Osl.</i> 1.5), with <i>ZPE</i> 25 (1977) 150-153	protective incantation (house)	64592	IV
19	PGM P4 ( <i>P.Oxy.</i> 8.1077)	Matt. 4:23-24 (healing)	61805	VI
20	PGM P5a ( <i>P.Oxy.</i> 6.924)	protective incantation (fever)	64394	IV
21	PGM P5b ( <i>P.Oxy.</i> 8.1151), with <i>ZPE</i> 145 (2003) 224-226	incantation; John 1:1-3; prayer for healing (fever)	61652	V
22	PGM P5c ( <i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10696)	prayer for protection and healing; Luke 1:1; Matt. 1:1; John 1:1; cf. Ps. 21:20-23	64858	V-VI
23	PGM P5d ( <i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 231)	protective incantation	65329	VII
24	PGM P6a ( <i>P.Oxy.</i> 8.1152)	protective incantation (house)	64911	V-VI

<sup>125a</sup> PGM XII intro.: IV; R.W. Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: A Photographic Edition of J384 and J395 (=PGM XII and XIII)* (Opladen 1991) x: IV; J. Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)* (Leiden 2005) 41-44: II-III, probably II/III.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. n. 128 below.

<sup>127</sup> Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri*, 8 at l. 138 (another formulary in the same roll); on its interpretation cf. PGM XII.138 apparatus.

Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram
pap. roll	360 x 22-23		→ ow ↓ t	Y <sup>126</sup>	chrgram <sup>127</sup>
pap. roll	360 x 22-23		→ ow ↓ t	Y <sup>128</sup>	
pap. 8 codex sheets	15-15.5 x 26.5 per leaf	Y <sup>130</sup>	↓ t → t	N	
pap. sheet	5.2 x 7.7		→ t 2 b	N/A	crosses
pap. sheet	6.3 x 9.2		1 t 2 b	N/A	cross
pap. sheet	9 x 16	Y	→ t ↓ t	Y	crosses strgram
pap. sheet	16 x 10	Y	1 t 2 b	N	crosses strgram
parch. sheet	11.1 x 6	Y	1 t 2 b	Y	crosses
pap. sheet	7.6 x 9		1 t 2 Arias	Y	cross
pap. sheet	4.4 x 23.4	Y (cord)	→ t 2 b	Y	crosses strgram?
pap. sheet	26.4 x 6.4		↓ t 2 b	Y	crosses
pap. fragment	17.5 x 21.6		→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	6.1 x 4.2		↓ t 2 b	N	

<sup>128</sup> Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri*, 22 at l. 377: ὄν.

<sup>129</sup> The significance of ὁ χριστός at l. 289 is disputed; cf. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 180, n. 68; Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri*, xxv; Edwards, “Χριστός”; W. Shandruk, “The Interchange of ι and η in Spelling χριστ- in Documentary Papyri,” *BASP* 47 (2010) 205-219 at 207-208, n. 8.

<sup>130</sup> Folded to form sixteen leaves.

<sup>131</sup> The only element that might be considered Christian in this charm, distinguishing *PGM* XXVIIIc from *PGM* XXVIIIa and XXVIIIb, is the presence of four crosses.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
25	<i>PGM P6d (AMC 2, p. 441), with Magica Varia (Brussels 1991) 66-67</i>	prayer for deliverance from evil	63045	VI? <sup>132</sup>
26	<i>PGM P9 (BGU 3.954), with BL 5:14 = SSCQ 4 (2008) 32-33</i>	prayer for deliverance; Matt. 6:9-13; John 1:1; Matt. 1:1	64990	VI
27	<i>PGM P10 (DAWW 42, 1893, 65-67)</i>	protective incantation	64526	IV; VI <sup>133</sup>
28	<i>PGM P11 (DAWW 42, 1893, 68)</i>	incantation	63046	?
29	<i>PGM P12 (DAWW 42, 1893, 68-69) = ZPE 160 (2007) 173 = ZPE 168 (2009) 209-212 (+ P. Vindob. G 29508)</i>	prayer and incantation against poisonous animals	65256	VI; VI-VII; VII or later <sup>134</sup>
30	<i>PGM P13 (P.Cair.Cat. 10263)</i>	prayer for protection	64558	IV-V
31	<i>PGM P13a (P.Cair.Masp. 2.67188.v.1-5), with Tyche 2 (1987) 95-97 and 16 (2001) 82-90</i>	protective incantation	65000	VI
32	<i>PGM P15a (P.Ross.Georg. 1.24)</i>	prayer for deliverance	65106	VI
33	<i>PGM P15b (Academy 1128, 1893, 550)</i>	prayer for protection and healing of a woman	64884	V-VI
34	<i>PGM P15c (AMC 2, pp. 440-441)</i>	prayer for vengeance	65123	VI
35	<i>PGM P16 (P.Ross.Georg. 1.23), with BL 3:155 and 7:170</i>	prayer for vengeance	64513	IV
36	<i>PGM P17 (P.Iand. 1.6) = P.Giss.Lit. 5.4</i>	protective incantation; Ps. 90:13; Matt. 6:9-13; Luke 11:1-2	64868	V-VI
37	<i>PGM P18 (BSAA 23, 1928, 300-301), with SCO 32 (1982) 239 and ZPE 52 (1982) 246</i>	prayer for healing	64866	V-VI
38	<i>PGM P19 (PSI 6.719), with AnalPap 2 (1990) 27-28</i>	John 1:1; Matt. 1:1; John 1:24; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; Ps. 90:1; Matt. 6:9; doxology	61617	VI

<sup>132</sup> The *verso* has traces of a protocol or *Stempelschrift* (autopsy, de Bruyn, 23 May 2008). R. Pintaudi, "Per la datazione di PSI VI 719," *AnalPap 2* (1990) 27-28 at 27 argues for a date of the sixth century or later for *PGM P19* (38+) on the basis of a protocol on the *verso*, but cf. H.I. Bell, "The Greek Papyrus Protocol," *JHS* 37 (1917) 56-58 at 56. Byzantine protocols are also found on *MPER N.S. 15.184.v* (cf. 148), with Gascou, "Sur la date"; *P.Oxy.* 16.1928.r (cf. 119), with *BL 7:142, 8:252, 9:192, 10.145, 11.156 = SB 22.15581* (5 October 533); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.22.v (cf. 63). An Arabic protocol is found on *MPER N.S. 18.4*, overwritten with a psalm text.

Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram
pap. fragment of a sheet	10.2 x 2	Y	→ t ↓ ow	Y	
pap. fragments of a sheet	unspecified	Y (cord)	1 t 2 b	Y	cross
pap. sheet	13.4 x 30.5	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	11.7 x 4.8	Y	↓ → t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	23.2 x 13.4	Y	→ t ↓ t	Y	cross strgram
pap. sheet	33 x 18.7		1 t 2 b	N	
pap. sheet	28.5 x 49.6		→ ow ↓ t; poem <sup>135</sup>	Y	strgram
pap. sheet	4-5 x 24		↓ t 2 b	Y	crosses
pap. sheet	unspecified	Y	1 t 2 design	N	crosses
pap. sheet	10.7 x 11.7	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	cross
pap. sheet	8.8 x 16	Y	↓ t 2 b	Y	cross strgrams
pap. sheet	30 x 15.5	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	cross
pap. sheet	9.5 x 21.5	Y	→ t 2 b	N	cross
pap. sheet cut from a roll	25 x 5.5	Y	→ t ↓ ow	Y	cross strgram?

<sup>133</sup> K. Wessely, "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *DAWW* 42 (1893) 1-96 at 65, and H. Förster, "Alltag und Kirche," in Henner et al., *Christliches mit Feder und Faden*, no. 36: IV; *PGM* P10: VI.

<sup>134</sup> Wessely, "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," 69: VI; *PGM* P12, F. Maltomini, "Un 'utero errante' di troppo? *PGM* 12 riconsiderato," *ZPE* 160 (2007) 167-174 at 166: VI-VII; C.E. Römer, "Gebet und Bannzauber des Severus von Antiochia gegen den Biss giftiger Tiere, oder: Maltomini hatte recht," *ZPE* 168 (2009) 209-212 at 209: VII or later.

<sup>135</sup> The direction of the writing is presumed; the several editions refer only to *recto* and *verso*.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
39	PGM P21 ( <i>ArOr</i> 7, 1935, 355-366)	prayer for good fortune	64512	ca. 300; V-VI <sup>136</sup>
40	PGM P23 ( <i>Aegyptus</i> 13, 1933, 225-228)	prayer for protection (at sea?)	63017	?
41	PGM O1 ( <i>O.Crum</i> 522) <sup>138</sup>	binding incantation	64315	after III/ IV; IV; VII <sup>139</sup>
42	PGM T2a ( <i>SB</i> 1.2021), with <i>ZPE</i> 50 (1983) 101 = <i>REAC</i> 4 (2002) 95, no. 6 = <i>ZAC</i> 11 (2007-2008) 483, no. 11	Bovç-formula; Ps. 90:1	62288	?
43	PGM T2b ( <i>SB</i> 1.970), with <i>ZPE</i> 50 (1983) 101 = <i>REAC</i> 4 (2002) 96, no. 8 = <i>ZAC</i> 11 (2007-2008) 483, no. 12	Bovç-formula; Ps. 90:1	62302	?
44	<i>P.Köln</i> 4.171	Matt. 6:12-13	64737	V
45	<i>P.Köln</i> 8.340	John 1:1-11; heal- ing incantation	61663	V-VI
46	<i>P.Leid.Inst.</i> 10	Ps. 90:1-4, 7-9	62081	V
47	<i>P.Mich.</i> 18.768	healing incantation (fever)	64466	IV
48	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 65.4469	healing incantation; letter of Abgar to Jesus; Ps. 28:7	58906	V
49	<i>P.Prag.</i> 2.119 <sup>141</sup>	healing incantation (fever)	65246	VI-VII
50	<i>P.Schøyen</i> 1.16	Matt. 6:9-13; 2 Cor. 13:13; Ps. 90:1-13	61840	IV-V
51	<i>REAC</i> 4 (2002) 93-94 = <i>ZAC</i> 11 (2007-2008) 482, no. 8	Bovç-formula	N/A	VII
52	<i>SB</i> 1.3573, with <i>ZPE</i> 50 (1983) 102 = <i>REAC</i> 4 (2002) 96, no. 7 = <i>ZAC</i> 11 (2007-2008) 483, no. 10	Bovç-formula; Ps. 90:1	62282	VII-IX

<sup>136</sup> *AMC* 1, p. 191, T. Hopfner, "Ein neuer griechischer Zauberpapyrus," *ArOr* 7 (1935) 355-366 at 355, and *PGM* P21: ca. 300; *P.Kramer* 2 intro. (n. 3): V-VI.

<sup>137</sup> Folded to form two leaves.

<sup>138</sup> The formulary, which invokes the Greek god Kronos to restrain a certain Horus, son of Maria, has no definitively Christian elements. Nevertheless, Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 209, no. 111, believes that the immediate milieu of the formulary was Christian, arguing that the combination of Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, and possibly Christian elements was

Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram
pap. sheet	28.3 x 24	Y <sup>137</sup>	→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	7-6.3 x 15.3	Y	→ t ↓ t	Y	cross
ostr.	9 x 9	N/A	1 t 2 b	N	
wood tablet	3.5 x 5.5	N/A (handle)	1 t 2 t	N/A	
wood tablet	3 x 3.8	N/A (handle)	1 t 2 t	N/A	
pap. fragment of a sheet	8.5 x 5.5		→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	frg. a: 3.5 x 15.8; frg. b: 3.4 x 5.1	Y	1 ↓ → t 2 ↓ t	Y	crosses strgrams
parch. 2 codex sheets	sheet I: 8 x 5.5; sheet II: 10.3 x 6	Y	1 b 2-4, 7-10 t	Y	strgram
pap. sheet	10 x 7.5	Y	↓ t 2 b	Y <sup>140</sup>	
pap. sheet	5.3 x 15	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	crosses strgram
pap. sheet	14.5 x 6.8		↓ t 2 b	N/A	crosses
pap. fragments of a sheet	frg. a: 3.9 x 11.7; frg. b: 7.7 x 13 cm; frg. c: 9 x 9.7	Y	↓ t (tc) 2 b	Y	cross
wood tablet	3.6 x 2.9	N/A (two holes)	1 t 2 t	N/A	crosses
wood tablet	2.3 x 4.1 x 0.4 (depth)	N/A (handle)	1 t 2 t	N/A	

characteristic of Christianity in Egypt at this time.

<sup>139</sup> *O.Crum.* 522: VII; *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.3: IV; Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 209, no. 111: no earlier than III/IV.

<sup>140</sup> *P.Mich.* 18.768.4-5 comm. notes evidence of erasure and suggests that the *nomen sacrum* θ̄ν replaced an earlier entry θεοῦ.

<sup>141</sup> The only element that might be considered Christian in this charm is the presence of crosses.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
53	SB 16.12992	acclamation	32605	IV-V
54	SB 18.13602 = <i>Magica Varia</i> (Brussels 1991) 63-70	prayer for deliverance	38750	VII
55	SB 18.13746 <sup>142</sup>	protective incantation	35154	V
56	SB 26.16677	acclamation	97290	V
57	SEG 31.1571 = REAC 4 (2002) 95, no. 5 = ZAC 11 (2007-2008) 481, no. 6	Bovç-formula	104941	VI-VII
58	SEG 47.2153 = REAC 4 (2002) 97, no. 9 = ZAC 11 (2007-2008) 482, no. 7	Bovç-formula	N/A	?
59	SPP 20.294 = <i>Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts</i> (Atlanta 1999) 121-141	Ps. 90:1-2; Rom. 12:1- 2; John 2:1-2	62325	IV; VI-VII <sup>143</sup>
60	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.1 ( <i>P.Laur.</i> 3.58) <sup>145</sup>	healing incantation (inflamed uvula)	60804	III
61	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.20 ( <i>BJ</i> 168, 1968, 102-104)	healing incantation	64875	IV/V; V/ VI <sup>146</sup>
62	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.21 ( <i>P.Köln</i> 6.257)	healing incantation (fever)	64571	IV/V
63	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.22 ( <i>P.Amst.</i> 1.26)	healing incantation	64534	IV-V
64	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.23 ( <i>P.Haun.</i> 3.51)	healing incantation (fever)	64740	V
65	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.24 ( <i>Studia Florentina Alexandro Ronconi sexagenario oblata</i> [Rome 1970] 281-287)	protective incantation	64726	V
66	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.25 ( <i>P.Prag.</i> 1.6)	healing incantation (fever)	64770	V
67	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.26 (SB 14.11494) = BKT 9.206	prayer for healing (eye disease); Ps. 90:1	64703	V
68	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.27 (SB 18.13795)	protective (?) incantation	35155	V
69	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.28 (SB 18.13728)	healing incantation (fever)	69044	V

<sup>142</sup> The only element that might be considered Christian in this charm is a cross.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 393.

<sup>144</sup> Autopsy, de Bruyn, 11 May 2009.



Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram
wood disk	3.3 diameter	N/A (handle with cord)	1 t 2 t	Y	
parch. sheet	6.4-7.2 x 11.7-9.5		F t H b	Y	crosses strgram
pap. sheet	7.7 x 4.2		→ ↓ t 2 b	N/A	cross
silver lamella	2.2 x 5.3	Y	1 t 2 b	Y	
bone tablet	4.6 x 3	N/A (one hole)	1 t 2 t	N/A	crosses
wood tablet	3.8 x 2.8	N/A (two holes)	1 t 2 t	N/A	crosses
pap. sheet	14.9 x 6	Y	↓ t <sup>144</sup> 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	7 x 14.1	Y	→ t 2 b	N/A	crosses
pap. sheet	18.5 x 12	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	5 x 12.2	Y	↓ t 2 b	N	crosses
pap. sheet	9.7 x 5.7	Y	→ amulet 2 ow	N	strgrams
pap. sheet	8.5 x 10	Y	→ t 2 b	N	cross
pap. fragments of a sheet	frg. A: 5.7 x 5.6; frg. B: 9.3 x 6.3	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	9.9 x 13		→ t 2 b	Y	strgram
pap. sheet	5.2 x 4.2	Y	↓ t 2 b	N	strgram
pap. sheet	9 x 10.7	Y	→ t 2 b	N	
pap. sheet	9 x 6.3	Y	→ t → ow	Y	

<sup>145</sup> The only element that might be considered Christian in this charm is the presence of three crosses, *pace de Haro Sanchez*, "Catalogue," 55, no. 6039.

<sup>146</sup> D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *BJ* 168 (1968) 56-111 at 102: V/VI; *Suppl. Mag.* 1.20: IV/V.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
70	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.29 ( <i>P.Princ.</i> 2.107) = <i>New Testament Manuscripts</i> (Leiden 2006) 254-266	healing incantation (fever); Ps. 90:1-2; Matt. 6:9-11	64605	IV-V; V-VI <sup>147</sup>
71	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.30 ( <i>P.Coll.Youtie</i> 2.91)	healing incantation	69042	V-VI
72	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.31 ( <i>P.Turner</i> 49) = <i>BKT</i> 9.134	prayer for healing (fever)	64846	V/VI
73	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.32 ( <i>SB</i> 16.12719)	healing incantation (eye disease)	64870	V-VI
74	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.33 ( <i>BJ</i> 168, 1968, 105)	healing acclamation	64874	V-VI
75	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.34 ( <i>Philologus</i> 107, 1963, 157-161)	healing incantation (fever)	65318	VI; VII <sup>148</sup>
76	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.35 ( <i>P.Batav.</i> 20)	healing incantation (fever)	65047	VI
77	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.36 ( <i>ZPE</i> 74, 1988, 253-265)	healing incantation; Ps. 15:10; Ps. 20:2-7; John 1:1	63029	V or V/ VI
78	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.59 ( <i>P.Ups.</i> 8)	curse	65108	VI
79	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.61 ( <i>BIFAO</i> 6, 1908, 61-63)	curse	64397	IV; VI <sup>149</sup>
80	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.62 ( <i>SB</i> 14.12184)	curse	35141	V-VI
81	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.84 ( <i>P.Yale</i> 2.130) <sup>150</sup>	protective incantation	64257	III; III-IV <sup>151</sup>
82	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.89 ( <i>O.Ashm.</i> <i>Shelt.</i> 194) <sup>152</sup>	formulary	69046	IV
83	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.96A ( <i>SCO</i> 29, 1979, 55-124)	formulary	65847	V-VI
84	<i>VChr</i> 37 (1983) 400-404	Matt. 1:1; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; John 1:1; Ps. 90 com- plete except for vv. 7c, 8	62319	VI-VII
85	<i>ZPE</i> 159 (2007) 249-252 = <i>ZAC</i> 11 (2007-2008) 482, no. 9	Bovç-formula	N/A	VI-VIII

<sup>147</sup> *P.Princ.* II 107: IV-V; *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29: V-VI.

<sup>148</sup> D. Wortmann, "Der weisse Wolf. Ein christliches Fieberamulett der Kölner Papyrussammlung," *Philologus* 107 (1963) 157-161 at 158: VII; *Suppl.Mag.* 1.34: VI.

<sup>149</sup> L. Barry, "Une adjuration chrétienne," *BIFAO* 6 (1908) 61-69 at 61: IV; *Suppl.Mag.* 1.61: VI.

<sup>150</sup> On the few possibly Christian indications in this charm or formulary, see R.W. Daniel, "Some  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha$ ," *ZPE* 25 (1977) 144-154 at 144-145, and *Suppl.Mag.* 2.84 intro.

Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram
pap. sheet	13 x 15.5	Y	↓ t 2b	Y	cross
pap. sheet	8 x 13		↓ t 2b	Y	
pap. fragment of a sheet	30.2 x 3		→ t 2b	Y	
pap. sheet	17.4 x 5.5	Y	↓ t 2b	Y	
pap. sheet	4 x 3.5	Y	↓ t ↓ life-sign	Y	
pap. sheet	5.5 x 6.5	Y	→ ow → t	Y	crosses
pap. sheet	10.7 x 5.5	Y	→ t 2b	Y	crosses strgrams
pap. sheet	19.1 x 10.2	papyrus lost	1 t 2b	N/A	cross
pap. sheet	32.5 x 16	Y	→ t → t	N	strgrams
pap. sheet	31 x 8.5	Y	↓ t 2b	N	crosses
pap. sheet	4.9 x 5.9		→ ow ↓ t	N/A	strgram
pap. fragment of a sheet	7 x 12.8		→ t 2b	Y	
ostr. fragment	10 x 9	N/A	cv t cx b	N	
pap. roll	14 x 86	N/A	↓ t (tc) 2b	N	
pap. sheet	7.5 x 12; originally 8.5-9 x 12	? <sup>153</sup>	↓ t 2b	Y	
wood tablet	4.2 x 2.6 x 0.3 (depth)	N/A (five holes)	1 t 2 t	N/A	crosses

<sup>151</sup> *P.Yale 2.130: III*; P. Proulx and J. O'Callaghan, "Papiro mágico cristiano (PYale inv. 5)," *StudPap 13* (1974) 83-88 at 83-84 and *Suppl.Mag.* 1.84: III-IV.

<sup>152</sup> The reference to τοῦ ἀγίου θεοῦ at l. 4 is not decisively Christian; cf. e.g. *PGM IV.2086-7, XIII.281-2; Suppl.Mag.* 1.6.2.

<sup>153</sup> It is possible that the papyrus was rolled; there are vertical indentations and breaks (autopsy, de Bruyn, 11 May 2009).

Table 2: *Probable Amulets (Nos. 86-133)*

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
86	<i>Aegyptus</i> 81 (2001) 37-46	Ps. 30:3-4	69005	IV-V
87	<i>AMC</i> 2, p. 435	litany to the blood of Christ	64787	V
88	<i>AMC</i> 2, pp. 436-437	prayer <sup>156</sup>	63043	?
89	<i>Archiv</i> 18 (1966) 36-37	I Tim. 1:15-16	61904	VII
90	<i>Archiv</i> 20 (1970) 50	Exod. 15:1-2 = Ode 1:1-2	62198	VI-VII
91	<i>ASNP</i> 26 (1957) 176-178	Ps. 1:1-2	62109	V-VI
92	<i>Biblos</i> 19 (1970) 72-75	2 Cor. 10:4; 1 Thess. 5:8; Eph. 6:16	61894	VI
93	<i>BKT</i> 8.12	Ps. 90:1-6	62257	VII- VIII
94	<i>BKT</i> 8.13	Ps. 90:1-7, 10-13	62258	VII- VIII
95	<i>HThR</i> 104 (2011) 59-64 <sup>165</sup>	Matt. 6:9-13	forth- coming	VI-VII

<sup>154</sup> The papyrus was folded from side to side, then top to bottom, then side to side; there are two gaps and several smaller holes (autopsy, de Bruyn, 12 May 2009).

<sup>155</sup> The *editio princeps* overlooked the fact that the text continues on the *verso* (autopsy, de Bruyn, 25 May 2008); a new edition of the papyrus is being prepared.

<sup>156</sup> The text, which is hard to decipher, concludes with a petition to Michael to obtain forgiveness of sins.

<sup>157</sup> There are traces of ink on the *recto* (autopsy, de Bruyn, 19 May 2008).

<sup>158</sup> Folded to form two leaves.

<sup>159</sup> From the plate at V. Bartoletti, "Papiri inediti della raccolta Fiorentina," *ASNP* 26 (1957) 176-189 after 176 there appear to be traces of a fold between columns 1 and 2; the fragmentary state of the papyrus could be due to folding.

<sup>160</sup> Bartoletti, "Papiri inediti," 176 does not rule out that all the writing on the papyrus is by the same hand.

<sup>161</sup> The two fragments, measuring 16.5 x 19 cm when reunited, show traces of three vertical creases (one at the centre 8 cm from the left edge, one 3.5 cm from the left edge, one 2.5 cm from the right edge) and one horizontal crease 8 cm from the top edge (autopsy, de Bruyn, 21 May 2008). The bottom half of the area bordered by the right vertical

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram	Amulet?
pap. fragment of a sheet	10.1 x 7.1	Y	→ t 2 b	N/A		prob.
pap. sheet	14.8 x 6.2	Y (holes) <sup>154</sup>	→ t ↓ t <sup>155</sup>	Y	cross	prob.
pap. sheet	9.6 x 15	Y	→ ow <sup>157</sup> ↓ t	Y		prob.
parch. sheet	11.5 x 7.5	Y <sup>158</sup> (one hole)	1 t 2 b	Y	cross	prob.
pap. sheet	13.3 x 9	Y	→ t ↓ ow	Y		prob.
pap. sheet	15 x 14	? <sup>159</sup>	→ t, ow 2 ow <sup>160</sup>	N		prob.
pap. fragments of a sheet	16.5 x 19 (both fragments)	Y <sup>161</sup>	1 ow <sup>162</sup> ↓ t	? <sup>163</sup>	cross	prob.
parch. fragment of a sheet	13.2 x 5 (originally 33 x 20)		1 t 2 b	Y		prob.
parch. fragments of a sheet	(originally 8 x 32) <sup>164</sup>		1 t 2 b	Y		prob.
pap. sheet	9.1 x 15.5	Y	→ t 2 b	N		prob. <sup>166</sup>

crease and the horizontal crease is missing. Cf. the plate in H. Hunger, "Ergänzungen zu zwei neutestamentlichen Papyrusfragmenten der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," *Biblos* 19 (1970) 71-75 at 73, where, however, the image is upside down; the bottom right-hand corner of the photo is in fact the top left-hand corner of the sheet.

<sup>162</sup> H. Hunger, "Zwei unbekannte neutestamentliche Papyrusfragmente der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," *Biblos* 8 (1959) 7-12 at 11 reports traces of writing on the left edge of the *recto*.

<sup>163</sup> Hunger, "Ergänzungen," 74-5 reads a κ at l. 5 as a *nomen sacrum* for κ(ύριε), even though a supralinear stroke is absent.

<sup>164</sup> P.Berl. inv. 3642 is 7 x 13; P.Berl. inv. 3639 comprises many fragments.

<sup>165</sup> We wish to thank Brent Nongbri for providing us with a manuscript of his edition of P.CtYBR inv. 4600 in advance of its publication.

<sup>166</sup> Nongbri, "Lord's Prayer and XMI," 62 notes several indications that this papyrus probably served as an amulet. The final line of the text, which breaks off, is enigmatic; cf. *P.Köln* 4.171 (44), which concludes the text of the Lord's Prayer with a doxology and follows it with ἀμήν and ἄγιος, each repeated three times.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
96	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 4.11	Ps. 62:2-3; Ps. 3:5-6	62131	V-VI
97	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 4.20	Ps. 118:155-160; Ps. 3:2-4	62132	V-VI
98	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 4.23	Ps. 2:7; Ps. 109:3; Ps. 86:2; Ps. 86:5; Ps. 64:2	62190	VI
99	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 17.3	Ps. 53	62231	VI-VII
100	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 18.196	Ps. 117:19-20 (Greek); Ps. 118:10-11 (Coptic)	62028	IV
101	Ὅδοι διζήσιος: <i>Le vie della ricerca</i> (Florence 1996) 53-55 = <i>ZPE</i> 114 (1996) 56	Ps. 40:3-6	62222	VI; VI-VII <sup>167</sup>
102	<i>P.Amst.</i> 1.22	appeal to saints Cosmas and Damian	65163	VI-VII
103	<i>Papiri letterari greci</i> (Pisa 1978) 149-153	Hab. 3:8-10 = Ode 4	62252	VII
104	<i>P.Bon.</i> 1.9	conclusion of a prayer	64280	III-IV; IV-V <sup>169</sup>
105	<i>P.Col.</i> 11.293	Matt. 6:4-6, 8-12	65860	V
106	<i>P.Genova</i> 1.41 = <i>ZPE</i> 55 (1984) 146-153	list of the martyrs of Sebaste	65412	VII-VIII
107	<i>P.Giss.Univ.</i> 4.34 = <i>P.Giss.Lit.</i> 5.5	Ps. 111:1; Ps. 73:2	62007	IV

<sup>167</sup> R. Pintaudi, “Κ(ύριο)ς διαφυλάξει α[ (P.Vindob G 14289),” in M.S. Funghi (ed.), Ὅδοι διζήσιος: *Le vie della ricerca* (Florence 1996) 53-55 at 53: VI; C.E. Römer, “Psalm 40, 3-6 auf einem Wiener Papyrus (P. Vindob. G 14289),” *ZPE* 114 (1996) 56: VI/VII.

<sup>168</sup> In addition to the three horizontal creases mentioned by A. Carlini, “P.Vindob.G. 36114: Septuaginta, Habacuc 3, 8-10,” in A. Carlini et al. (eds.), *Papiri letterari greci* (Pisa 1978) 149-153 at 150, there are vertical creases at intervals of approximately 2 cm (autopsy, de Bruyn, 19 May 2008).

<sup>169</sup> A. Vogliano, “Papiri Bolognesi,” *Acme* 1 (1948) 195-231 at 229: III-IV; *P.Bon.* 1.9 intro.: IV-V.

<sup>170</sup> The parchment is wrinkled and has a small hole at the centre (*P.Col.* 11, plate 1). The hole may not have been used to string a cord, but may have been caused by the wrinkling or other damage.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram	Amulet?
pap. sheet	9 x 8	Y (one hole)	↓ t ↓ t	Y	crosses	prob.
parch. sheet in two leaves	10.5 x 6.5 (sheet)	Y	F t H t	Y		prob.
pap. sheet	4.5 x 9.5	Y	→ t ↓ t	Y	chr-gram	prob.
pap. fragments	11.3 x 7.6 (originally approx. 34 cm wide)		↓ t 2 b	Y		prob.
limestone shard	5.2 x 4	N/A	1 t 2 t	Y	cross	prob.
pap. fragment of a sheet	8 x 8.5 (originally four times as wide)		→ t 2 b	Y	strgram	prob.
parch. sheet	7.6 x 5	Y	F t H b	N/A	str-grams	prob.
pap. fragment of a sheet	13.8 x 6.7 (originally approx. twice as wide)	Y <sup>168</sup>	↓ t 2 b	N/A		prob.
pap. sheet	5 x 6.5		1 t 2 b	N		prob.
parch. fragment of a codex sheet (1 leaf)	7.1 x 6.2	? (one hole) <sup>170</sup>	H t F t	N <sup>171</sup>		prob. <sup>172</sup> (sec. use)
pap. fragment of a sheet	12.5 x 9		→ t ↓ ow	N/A		prob. <sup>173</sup>
pap. fragment of a roll	10 x 9		→ t 2 b	Y	crosses	prob. <sup>174</sup>

<sup>171</sup> Cf. *P.Col.* 11.293.9 comm., and P. Mirecki, review of *P.Col.* 11 in *BASP* 38 (2001) 135-145 at 137.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. *P.Col.* 11.293 intro., and Mirecki, review of *P.Col.* 11.135-136. It is more plausible that this badly damaged leaf from a parchment codex written with Matt. 6:4-6 (the introduction to the Lord's Prayer) and Matt. 6:8-12 (some verses of the Lord's Prayer) was preserved (and possibly worn) because it contained the Lord's Prayer than that it is a "random fragment of a damaged book, perhaps a deliberately destroyed book" (Mirecki, 136).

<sup>173</sup> On the probable use as amulets of Greek and/or Coptic lists of the names of the martyrs of Sebaste, and on their linguistic context, see *P.Leid.Inst.* 12 intro (cf. 129+). Cf. also *ZPE* 75 (1988) 147-149 (132), *ZPE* 146 (2004) 164 (133), and the postscript to this article on p. 216.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. *P.Giss.Lit.* 5.5 intro.; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 133.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
108	PGM XXVc ( <i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10434) <sup>175</sup>	acclamation	65022	VI
109	PGM P6b ( <i>P.Oxy.</i> 7.1058)	prayer for help	64603	IV-V
110	PGM P6c ( <i>P.Oxy.</i> 7.1059)	prayer for favour	64683	V
111	PGM P14 ( <i>P.Heid.</i> 1.5)	list of names and their explanations	64300	III-IV
112	PGM P16 ( <i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> 1.1)	Ps. 49:1-7	62183	VI
113	PGM P20 ( <i>BKT</i> 6.7.2) = <i>Aegyptus</i> 37 (1957) 23-27	1 prayer of inclination; 2 prayer for protection	64984	1: VI 2: VII
114	PGM P22 ( <i>P.Rein.</i> 2.61)	Ps. 140:1-6, 8, 10	62244	VII; VIII <sup>178</sup>
115	<i>P.Got.</i> 21 = <i>HThR</i> 23 (1930) 299-302	letter of Jesus to Abgar	58907	VI-VII
116	<i>P.Grenf.</i> 2.112 (a)	Ps. 1:3	62242	VII
117	<i>P.Köln</i> 8.336	Matt. 6:11-13	65041	VI
118	<i>P.Mich.</i> 15.685	Ps. 106:35	62271	VII- VIII
119	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 16.1928	Ps. 90:1-16; allusion to the four gospels	62124	VI <sup>183</sup>
120	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 17.2065	Ps. 90:5-10	62125	V-VI
121	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 34.2684, with <i>The Epistle of Jude</i> (Stockholm 2006) 51-72	Jude 4-5, 7-8	61695	III-IV

<sup>175</sup> PGM XXVc describes the amulet, which reads + Ἅγιος κύριος Ζαββαῶτ, as Jewish.

<sup>176</sup> Autopsy, de Bruyn, 15 December 2008.

<sup>177</sup> F. Pedretti, "Papiri cristiani liturgici II," *Aegyptus* 37 (1957) 23-31 at 25-27 identifies *BKT* 6.7.2.r as a excerpt of a personal copy of a liturgical prayer of inclination, on which *BKT* 6.7.2.v, a protective invocation, was later written; the latter alone served as an amulet, in his view.

<sup>178</sup> *P.Rein.* 2.61: VII; Treu, "Christliche Papyri I," *Archiv* 19 (1969) 178: VIII.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. de Bruyn, "Papyri," 155.

<sup>180</sup> *P.Köln* 8.336 intro. observes that the present fragmentary state of the papyrus could be the result of folding.



Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram	Amulet?
pap. sheet	6.6 x 5.1		1 t 2 b	N	cross	prob.
pap. sheet	11.9 x 9.2	Y	→ t ↓ ow	Y		prob.
pap. sheet	12.2 x 6.1		→ ow ↓ t	Y		prob.
pap. sheet	frg. a: 10.6 x 13.5; frg. b: 5.5 x 2.9	Y	→ t 2 b	Y		prob.
pap. fragment of a sheet	13 x 8.5	Y	↓ t 2 b	Y		prob.
parch. sheet	7.0 x 17.2 <sup>176</sup>	Y	1 prayer 2 t <sup>177</sup>	N		prob.
pap. sheet	12 x 9.2	Y (two holes)	→ ow ↓ t	Y		prob.
pap. fragment of a sheet	16.5 x 8.5		1 t 2 b?	Y		prob.
parch. sheet	5.7 x 7.6	Y	1 t 2 b	Y	crosses	prob. <sup>179</sup>
pap. fragment of a sheet	12 x 4	? <sup>180</sup>	→ t 2 b	N/A		prob. <sup>181</sup>
pap. sheet	9.5 x 4 <sup>182</sup>	Y	→ t 2 b	N/A		prob.
pap. sheet detached from a roll	30 x 21.5	Y <sup>184</sup>	→ ow ↓ t	Y	strgram	prob. <sup>185</sup>
parch. codex sheet (2 leaves)	5.7 x 4	Y <sup>186</sup>	H t F t	Y		prob.
pap. codex sheet (2 leaves)	10.6 x 2.9	Y <sup>187</sup> (two holes)	→ t ↓ t	Y		prob. (poss.) <sup>188</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Römer, "Christliche Texte III," *Archiv* 45 (1999) 140, no. 348a

<sup>182</sup> Autopsy, de Bruyn, 2 August 2007.

<sup>183</sup> Since *P.Oxy.* 16.1928.r is dated 5 October 533 (cf. n. 132 above), the *verso* must be assigned to the sixth century or later, *pace P.Oxy.* 16.1928.

<sup>184</sup> *P.Oxy.* 7.1058 intro. observes that a few words are written on the *verso*, apparently to try a pen; cf. the image at [www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk](http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk).

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 301.

<sup>186</sup> Folded to form two leaves.

<sup>187</sup> Folded to form two leaves.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 64-70.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
122	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 64.4406	Matt. 27:62-64; Matt. 28:2-5	61803	V-VI
123	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 73.4931	Ps. 90:3-8	117811	V
124	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 73.4932	Ps. 72:21-23	117812	V
125	<i>PRyl.</i> 3.461	Ps. 3:4-5, 7-8, 9, 6; Ps. 62:2, 4-5	62162	VI
126	<i>PRyl.</i> 3.462	Ps. 148:9-14; Ps. 149; Ps. 150	62213	VI-VII
127	<i>PRyl.</i> 3.465 = <i>Griechische Anaphorenfragmente aus Ägypten und Nubien</i> (Opladen 1999) 76-95	excerpt from the anaphora of St. Mark; prayer for the dead	65053/ 65054	VI
128	<i>PRyl.</i> 3.471, with <i>JThS</i> N.S. 57 (2006) 94-109	formula of anointing from the baptismal liturgy	64746	V
129	<i>PSelect.</i> 25 (III) = <i>PLeid.Inst.</i> 12	list of the martyrs of Sebaste	65420	VII- VIII
130	<i>SB</i> 16.12658 <sup>195</sup>	incantation (good luck)	32825	Byz.
131	<i>SB</i> 22.15234	fragmentary incantation	64982	VI
132	<i>ZPE</i> 75 (1988) 147-149	list of the martyrs of Sebaste	65450	VII- VIII
133	<i>ZPE</i> 146 (2004) 164	list of the martyrs of Sebaste	68822	Byz.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. *P.Oxy.* 73.4931 intro.

<sup>190</sup> *PRyl.* 3.461 intro. notes traces of stitching and remains of thread, an indication that the fragments may have been bound to form a roll or an indication that the papyrus was used as a binding sheet.

<sup>191</sup> *PRyl.* 3.461 intro. observes that the remains of writing on the hair side are in a later hand.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram	Amulet?
pap. fragment of a codex sheet	3.2 x 5.5 (originally 12 x 22)	(cord)	→ t ↓ t	N/A		prob. (sec. use)
pap. codex sheet (1 leaf)	5.8 x 8.5		→ t ↓ t	N/A		prob. <sup>189</sup>
pap. fragment of a sheet	14.1 x 6 (originally 30 x 6)	Y	→ ow → t	N/A		prob.
parch. fragments of a sheet	various	see note <sup>190</sup>	F t H ow <sup>191</sup>	Y		prob. <sup>192</sup>
parch. sheet	7 x 28		F t H ow <sup>193</sup>	Y	crosses chr-gram	prob. <sup>194</sup>
parch. sheet	11.9 x 22.6	Y (two holes)	H t F t	Y	crosses	prob.
pap. sheet	14.3 x 8.6	Y	↓ t 2 b	N/A	crosses	prob.
ostr. fragment	12.5 x 6	N/A	1 t 2 b	N/A		prob.
pap. sheet	5.9 x 15	Y	→ t → ow	N/A		prob.
pap. fragment	3 x 3.3		→ t 2 b	N/A	str-grams	prob.
ostr. fragment	8.5 x 7	N/A	cy ow cx ow; t	N/A	cross	prob. <sup>196</sup>
ostr. fragment	7 x 17.5	N/A	1 t 2 b	N/A		prob.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. *MPER* N.S. 4.11 (96), which also quotes Ps. 3 and Ps. 62.

<sup>193</sup> *PRyl.* 3.462 intro. provides no date for the scrawlings on the hair side.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. *PRyl.* 3.462 intro., and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 245.

<sup>195</sup> The only Christian element in this charm is χϒΥ in the first line.

<sup>196</sup> See now *P.Leid.Inst.* 12 intro, *pace* Treu, "Christliche Papyri XVI," *Archiv* 37 (1991) 95, no. 826a.

Table 3: *Possible Amulets (Nos. 134-86)*

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
134	<i>Aegyptus</i> 60 (1980) 107-109	Matt. 6:9; invocation	65348	VII
135	<i>Aegyptus</i> 77 (1997) 3-6	Ps. 148:7-8	65856	IV
136	<i>Archiv</i> 21 (1971) 62-65	hymn	64689	V-VI
137	<i>Archiv</i> 53 (2007) 201-203 ( <i>O.Crum VC 1 + JNES</i> 5, 1946, 181, 183-184 + Chicago, Haskell Oriental Institute MH 935)	Ps. 30:2-8 in Greek and Coptic	62207	VII-VIII
138	<i>BASP</i> 25 (1988) 149-152	Ps. 120:1-2, 5-7; Ps. 12:2-3, 5-6; Ps. 8:1, 3-4, 7-8	62127	V-VI
139	<i>Biblos</i> 43 (1994) 141-145	Ps. 9:39-10:3	62187	VI-VII
140	<i>BKT</i> 6.6.7	hymn	65170	VI
141	<i>BRL</i> 51 (1968) 138-142	Ps. 19:7-8	61983	III-IV
142	<i>BRL</i> 51 (1968) 142-148	Ps. 50:10-12	65061	VI
143	<i>Festgabe für Adolf Jülicher</i> (Tübingen 1927) 213-228	fragment of an anaphora	64693	V

<sup>197</sup> Cf. A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Frammenti inediti del Vangelo secondo Matteo," *Aegyptus* 60 (1980) 96-109 at 107; R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 252, no. 322; and Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 248.

<sup>198</sup> The invocation for help on the *verso* strengthens the probability that the board had an amuletic function, *pace* Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 248.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 871, and K. Treu, "Neue Berliner liturgische Papyri," *Archiv* 21 (1971) 57-81 at 62.

<sup>200</sup> R.G. Wurga, "A Christian Amulet on Wood," *BASP* 25 (1988) 149-152 at 149 observes that the two holes do not perforate the tablet.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. Förster, "Heilige Namen in heiligen Texten," 321-324.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-gram, christo-gram	Amulet?
wood fragment of a tablet	15.5 x 1.8	N/A (three holes) <sup>197</sup>	1 t 2 t	N	strgram	poss. (prob.?) <sup>198</sup>
pap. fragment	4 x 2.9		→ ow	Y		poss.
			↓ t			
pap. sheet	12 x 32.2	Y	→ hymn	Y		poss. <sup>199</sup>
			2 b			
ostr. fragments	20 x 23.5	N/A	cx t	Y	crosses	poss.
			cv b			
wood fragment of a tablet	33.5 x 6.5	N/A (two holes) <sup>200</sup>	1 t	Y		poss.
			2 t			
pap. fragment of a sheet	30.1 x 11.1	Y	↓ ow	Y		poss. <sup>201</sup>
			→ t			
parch. fragment of a sheet	9.7 x 5 <sup>202</sup>		1 t	N	crosses	poss. (doubt.?) <sup>203</sup>
			2 t			
pap. fragment of a roll or sheet	7 x 4		→ t			poss.
			→ ow <sup>204</sup> ? <sup>205</sup>			
pap. fragment of a roll	9.2 x 13.7	Y <sup>206</sup>	↓ t	Y	crosses	poss.
			2 b			
pap. sheet	29.5 x 20	Y	↓ t (tc)	N		poss. (sec. use.) <sup>207</sup>
			2 b			

<sup>202</sup> Autopsy, de Bruyn, 15 December 2008.

<sup>203</sup> Although *BKT* 6.6.7 intro. suggests that this fragment of a hymn probably served as an amulet, it is hard to see why.

<sup>204</sup> A single line of cursive writing by a different hand and of a later date; see R.A. Kraft and A. Tripolitis, "Some Uncatalogued Papyri of Theological and Other Interest in the John Rylands Library," *BJRL* 51 (1968) 137-163 at 138-139.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Kraft and Tripolitis, "Some Uncatalogued Papyri," 139-140, and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 237.

<sup>206</sup> Kraft and Tripolitis, "Some Uncatalogued Papyri," 143 observe that blots on both sides of the papyrus show that it was rolled up or folded from the bottom.

<sup>207</sup> K. Gamber, "Teile einer Anaphora auf einem ägyptischen Papyrus-Amulett des 5. Jahrhunderts," *OKS* 34 (1985) 178-182 at 178.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
	<i>In Memoriam Achillis Beltrami</i> (Genoa 1954) 236-237 = <i>Miscellanea Giulio Belvederi</i>			
144	(Vatican City 1954) 557-578	Ps. 1:1	62053	IV-V <sup>208</sup>
145	<i>JNES</i> 5 (1946) 181-182	Ps. 20:1-5	61973	VI-VII
146	<i>JÖByz</i> 14 (1965) 9-10	Ps. 21:19 = Matt. 27:35 = John 19:24	62191	VI
147	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 4.19, with <i>Tyche</i> 8 (1993) 38-39	Ps. 118:122-123, 130-132	62192	VI
148	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 15.184	Matt. 6:11-12	65156	V-VI; VI; VI/ VII <sup>210</sup>
149	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 17.1	Ps. 1:3-4; Ps. 4:2	62228	VI-VII
150	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 17.4	Ps. 91:13	62285	VIII
151	<i>O.Crum</i> 520	doxology with alphabet	65328	VII
152	<i>O.Eleph. Wagner</i> 165.r = <i>Tyche</i> 13 (1998) 249-252 = <i>CdÉ</i> 73 (1998) 119-120	Ps. 91:14-16	62101	V-VI
153	<i>O.Leid.</i> 335	fragment of a prayer or hymn	64877	V-VI
154	<i>OMRL</i> 44 (1963) 27-33	Ode 1:1-19 = Exod. 15:1-19	62216	V-VI

<sup>208</sup> Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 371.

<sup>209</sup> The remaining line of text has no obvious amuletic value, but cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 414.

<sup>210</sup> *Codd. Lat. Ant.* 10.1533: V-VI; Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.2 (1981), no. 47: VI; Martin, “*P.Vindob.* L. 91,” 412: (V/)VI; *MPER* N.S. 15.184: VI; Gascoü, “*Sur la date*,” 23: VI/VII.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. Kraus, “*Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer*,” 247-248, and the literature noted there.

<sup>212</sup> Folded to form two leaves.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. H. Harrauer and C. Gastgeber, “*Bibeltex te im Alltag: Schutzamulette*,” in Froschauer, Gastgeber, and Harrauer, *Ein Buch verändert die Welt*, 35-45 at 41.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, staurogram, christogram	Amulet?
pap. sheet	10.5 x 11.3		→ t 2 b	N/A	strgram	poss.
ostr. fragment	9.7 x 5.7	N/A	1 t 2 b	N/A		poss.
pap. fragment of a roll	1.5-2 x 9		→ t 2 b	N/A		poss. (doubt.?) <sup>209</sup>
parch. fragment of codex sheet (1 leaf)	5.3 x 4		H t F t	N		poss.
pap. fragment of a sheet	17.5 x 7.5		1 ow → t	N/A		poss. (doubt.?) <sup>211</sup>
parch. codex sheet (2 leaves)	7.3 x 5	Y <sup>212</sup>	F t H t	Y	cross	poss.
pap. fragment	14.7 x 6		→ ow, t ↓ ow	N/A		poss. <sup>213</sup>
ostr.	?	N/A	1 t 2 b	Y	strgram	poss. <sup>214</sup>
ostr. fragment	8.5 x 7.5	N/A	1 t 2 ow <sup>215</sup>	Y		poss. <sup>216</sup>
ostr. fragment	5.4 x 9.3	N/A	1 t 2 b	N/A		poss. <sup>217</sup>
limestone shard	21.6 x 30.3	N/A	1 t 2 t <sup>218</sup>	Y	cross	poss.

<sup>214</sup> Cf. U. Wilcken, "Bibliographische Notizen und Mitteilungen," *Archiv* 2 (1902) 160-180 at 173-174.

<sup>215</sup> The other writing is of a later date (LDAB, no. 3261).

<sup>216</sup> Cf. F. Winter, "Zum Psalmenzitat auf O.Eleph. 165," *Tyche* 13 (1998) 249-252 at 251-252, and G. Nachtergaele, "À propos d'un papyrus documentaire et d'un ostracon biblique d'Éléphantine," *CdÉ* 73 (1998) 116-120 at 120.

<sup>217</sup> The hymnic fragment includes the petitions βοήθησον με at l. 2 and βοήθησον με at l. 7.

<sup>218</sup> The *editio princeps* at 29-30 explains that side 2 was written with Exod. 15:11c-19 by a later copyist.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
155	<i>P.Amh.</i> 1.3 (c)	Gen. 1:1-5 LXX and Aquila	62312	IV
156	<i>P.Ant.</i> 2.4, with <i>Exp-Tim</i> 73 (1961) 54	Matt. 6:10-12	64206	III
157	<i>P.Bad.</i> 4.60	Matt. 6:9-13	65415	VII-VIII; VIII <sup>221</sup>
158	<i>P.Bad.</i> 4.65, with <i>BL</i> 2.2:182 + <i>P.Bad.</i> 5.127	prayer; Ps. 135:1-18, 21-26	62265	VII-VIII
159	<i>P.Beatty</i> XIV	Ps. 31:8-11; Ps. 26:1-6, 8-14; Ps. 2:1-8	62000	IV
160	<i>P.Bingen</i> 16	Ps. 43:21-24, 27; Ps. 44:1-2	66747	IV
161	<i>P.Bodl.</i> 1.4	Ps. 90:13-16	62177	V-VI; VI <sup>225</sup>
162	<i>P.Col.</i> 11.294	Ps. 150:3-6; litany	62313	IV; V-VI <sup>229</sup>

<sup>219</sup> Cf. M. Musurillo, "Early Christian Economy: A Reconsideration of P. Amherst 3 (a) (= Wilcken, Chrest. 126)," *CdÉ* 61 (1956) 124-134 at 126, and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 260.

<sup>220</sup> Folded to form two leaves.

<sup>221</sup> *P.Bad.* 4, pp. 48-9: VII-VIII; E. Feucht et al., *Vom Nil zum Neckar: Kunstschatze Ägyptens aus pharaonischer und koptischer Zeit an der Universität Heidelberg* (Berlin 1986) 214, no. 647, and Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 250: VIII.

<sup>222</sup> Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 250, observes that the reverse side has names supplemented by epithets.

<sup>223</sup> The board was found in a tomb (*P.Bad.* 4, p. 47), where it may have had a secondary use as an amulet, in addition to its probable original use as a school text.



Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauogram, christogram	Amulet?
pap. fragment of a sheet cut from a roll	23.5 x 20.9		→ ow ↓ t	Y		poss. (doubt.) <sup>219</sup>
pap. codex sheet (2 leaves)	5.2 x 4	Y <sup>220</sup>	pp. 1-3 t p. 4 b	N		poss.
wood tablet	16 x 42	N/A (two holes on the side)	1 t 2 ow <sup>222</sup>			poss. (sec. use) <sup>223</sup>
wood tablet	7.7 x 38	N/A (two holes on the side with cord)	1 prayer 2 psalm	Y	cross strgram	poss. (sec. use) <sup>224</sup>
pap. fragments of a codex sheet	frg. 1 approx. 2.5 x 4; frg. 2 approx. 4.5 x 12.5		→ t ↓ t	Y		poss.
parch. codex sheet	11.3 x 7.2 (originally 14 x 13)	Y	F t H t	Y		poss. (sec. use)
pap. fragment of a sheet (?), originally from a roll <sup>226</sup>	9.1 x 14		↓ t 2 b <sup>227</sup>	N/A		poss. (prob.) <sup>228</sup>
pap. fragment	6.5 x 10	Y	→ psalm ↓ litany <sup>230</sup>	Y		poss. <sup>231</sup>

<sup>224</sup> As with *P.Bad.* 4.60 (157), the board was found in a tomb, where it may have had a secondary use as an amulet, regardless of its original purpose.

<sup>225</sup> *P.Bodl.* 1.4: VI; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 280: V-VI.

<sup>226</sup> Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 280.

<sup>227</sup> Römer, "Christliche Texte II," *Archiv* 44 (1998) 130.

<sup>228</sup> The dimensions of the papyrus and the absence of folds seem to preclude the papyrus having been worn, but it may have been displayed for protective purposes.

<sup>229</sup> *P.Col.* 11.294: IV; Römer, "Christliche Texte III," *Archiv* 45 (1999) 144: V-VI.

<sup>230</sup> The papyrus appears to have been saved for the sake of the prayer, which was written later (*P.Col.* 11.294 intro.).

<sup>231</sup> Cf. *P.Col.* 11.294 intro. and Mirecki, review of *P.Col.* 11, 138-139.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
163	<i>P.Genova</i> 1.2	Ps. 114:5-8	62112	V-VI
164	<i>PGM</i> O3 (CIG 4.9060)	troparion with trisagion	65457	VII-VIII
165	<i>P.Gron.</i> 22	sayings	64734	V
166	<i>P.Kellis</i> 1.88 = <i>ZPE</i> 119 (1997) 128-131 <sup>235</sup>	prayer for the laying on of hands of the sick	64435	IV
167	<i>P.Köln</i> 4.168	Ps. 16:6-7	62160	VI
168	<i>P.Köln</i> 10.405	Ps. 7:4-10	68809	VI
169	<i>P.Laur.</i> 4.141	Ps. 90:1-6	62075	V
170	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 239	hymn to the Nile; Nicene Constantinopolitan creed; Ps. 132:1-3	62209	VI-VII
171	<i>P.Mich.</i> 3.136	Ode 5:9 = Isa. 26:9-10	62270	VII-VIII
172	<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 591	fragment referring to Peter's mother-in-law	61616	VII

<sup>232</sup> Cf. A Traversa, "Alcuni papiri inediti della collezione genovese," in Traversa, *Serta Eusebiana, Miscellanea philologica* (Genoa 1958) 117-124 at 119-210, and Treu, "Christliche Papyri VI," *Archiv* 26 (1978) 153 with *P.Genova* 1.2 intro.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. S. Pétridès, "Un trotaire byzantin sur un fragment de poterie égyptienne," *EO* 3 (1900) 361-367 at 367, and L. Koenen, "Ein christlicher Prosahymnus des 4.Jhdts (O. Zucker 36)," in E. Boswinkel, B.A. van Groningen and P.W. Pestman (eds.), *Antidoron Martino David Oblatum Miscellanea Papyrologica (PL. Bat. XVII)* (Leiden 1968) 31-52 at 39.

<sup>234</sup> *P.Gron.* 22 intro. notes several suggestions as to the genre of this text – prayer or amulet (Preisendanz), catechism (Lietzmann) – but a definite determination is not possible.

<sup>235</sup> C.E. Römer, R.W. Daniel, and K.A. Worp, "Das Gebet zur Handauflegung bei Kranken in P. Barc. 155, 19 - 156, 5 und P. Kellis I 88," *ZPE* 119 (1997) 128-131 at 129 discuss the possibility that this Christian prayer was adapted for use by Manichaeans,

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, staurogram, christogram	Amulet?
pap. fragment of a sheet	12.5 x 8		↓ t 2 ow	Y		poss. (doubt.?) <sup>232</sup>
ostr.	38 x 18	N/A	1 t 2 b	Y	strgram	poss. (doubt.?) <sup>233</sup>
pap. fragment	5.5 x 6.5		→ t 2 b	N/A		poss. <sup>234</sup>
wood tablet	9.8 x 23.8	N/A (two holes on the side)	1 t 2 ow	Y		poss. <sup>236</sup>
pap. fragment of a sheet	9 x 4.5	Y	→ t 2 b	N/A		poss.
pap. fragment of a sheet	9 x 13		↓ t 2 b	Y		poss.
pap. fragment of a sheet	26.7 x 14.3		1 → ow, ↓ t <sup>237</sup> 2 → date	Y	cross strgrams <sup>238</sup>	poss.
parch. codex (9 leaves)	4.5 x 6.8 per leaf		see note <sup>239</sup>	Y	strgrams	poss.
pap. sheet	11.5 x 9.5	Y <sup>240</sup>	→ ow ↓ t	Y		poss.
pap. fragment	not specified		1 t 2 b	N/A		poss.

given the discovery of other Manichaean texts at Kellis.

<sup>236</sup> Römer, Daniel, and Worp, "Gebot," 128, with n. 4, favour the view that the tablet formed part of a liturgical book, though the possibility that it was used as an amulet cannot be ruled out.

<sup>237</sup> The psalm may have been appended to the document by the same hand for its protective or beneficial value; cf. R. Pintaudi, "PL III/501: LXX Ps. 90, 1-6," *ZPE* 35 (1979) 50-54 at 51 with *P.Gen.* 1<sup>2</sup>.6 (9).

<sup>238</sup> One staurogram appears at the beginning of the psalm; the other, at the beginning of the contract. The cross precedes the consular date.

<sup>239</sup> The first and last leaves are written on one side only, forming outer covers; the remaining leaves are written on both sides.

<sup>240</sup> There is a vertical break in the fibres down the centre of the papyrus, resulting in lost letters (autopsy, de Bruyn, 2 August 2007).

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
173	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 3.407 = <i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 230 = <i>Aegyptus</i> 36 (1956) 249-253	prayer	64310	III-IV
174	<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 25 = <i>P.Schøyen</i> 1.17	Ps. 117:26-27	62032	IV
175	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 1.3	Ps. 90:5-16	62119	V-VI
176	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 3.470, with <i>Muséon</i> 52 (1939) 229-233 = <i>ZKTh.</i> 74 (1952) 76-82 = <i>Marianum</i> 31 (1969) 327-331 = <i>Biblos</i> 44 (1995) 183-187	prayer to Mary	64320	III; IV; IV-VI, VI-VII, VIII- IX <sup>245</sup>
177	<i>PSI</i> 7.759.v, with <i>Biblica</i> 8 (1927) 96 = <i>ZATW</i> 78 (1966) 224, with <i>ZPE</i> 35 (1979) 54	Ps. 90:1-4	64718	V; VI <sup>247</sup>
178	<i>SB</i> 16.12535	fragmentary text	34882	V-VI
179	<i>SB</i> 18.13323, with <i>CdÉ</i> 21 (1936) 178-179	Ps. 28:3 (six times); Greek alphabet, Coptic let- ters, Greek vowels	62205	VI-VII

<sup>241</sup> *AMC* 1, p. 195, and F. Pedretti, "Papiri cristiani liturgici I," *Aegyptus* 36 (1956) 247-253 at 247 incorrectly measure the height as 4.5 cm; cf. *P.Oxy.* 3.470 with van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 952.

<sup>242</sup> Barker, "Reuse," 138-140.

<sup>243</sup> Cf. Pedretti, "Papiri cristiani liturgici I," 251-252 and Barker, "Reuse," 139.

<sup>244</sup> *P.Oxy.* 73.4931 intro. (123) classifies this papyrus as an amulet, and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 239 describes it as probably an amulet. If it was an amulet, it was written to be fixed or displayed rather than worn, given the size and the absence of reported traces of folding; cf. *P.Bodl.* 1.4 (161), which *P.Oxy.* 73.4931 intro. does not classify as an amulet.

<sup>245</sup> E. Lobel in *P.Ryl.* 3.470 intro. and G. Giamberardini, "Il 'Sub tuum praesidium' e il titolo 'Theotokos' nella tradizione egiziana," *Marianum* 31 (1969) 324-362 at 348-362: III; C.H. Roberts in *P.Ryl.* 3.470 intro.: IV?; O. Stegmüller, "Sub tuum praesidium: Bemerkungen zur ältesten Überlieferung," *ZKTh* 74 (1952) 76-82 at 78: IV-VI; H. Förster,

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, staurogram, christogram	Amulet?
pap. sheet	15.7 x 14.5 <sup>241</sup>	Y <sup>242</sup>	→ t ↓ “a prayer” and ow	N		poss. <sup>243</sup>
parch. fragment of a sheet	4.5 x 5		1 t 2 b	Y		poss.
pap. fragment of a sheet	10 x 10.4		1 t 2 b	Y	strgram/ chrgram	poss. (prob.?) <sup>244</sup>
pap. fragment of a sheet	9.4 x 18	Y <sup>246</sup>	→ t 2 b	N		poss.
pap. fragment	28 x 20.5		1 ow → ow, t	Y		poss.
pap. fragment	5.1-3.5 x 7.7-6.7	? <sup>248</sup>	→ t 2 b	N/A	cross	poss. <sup>249</sup>
wood tablet with white coating	30 x 12	N/A (two holes, cord)	1 psalm 2 ow	N	cross	poss. (doubt.?) <sup>250</sup>

“Zum ältesten Überlieferung der marianischen Antiphon ‘*Sub tuum praesidium*,’” *Biblos* 44 (1995) 183-192 at 186-187: VI-VII; H. Förster, “Die älteste marianische Antiphon ein Fehldatierung? Überlegungen zum ‘ältesten Beleg’ des *Sub tuum praesidium*,” *JCopt-Stud* 7 (2005) 99-109: VII-IX.

<sup>246</sup> Förster, “Zum ältesten Überlieferung,” 185.

<sup>247</sup> PSI 7.759: V; P. Degni, in G. Cavallo et al. (eds.), *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* (Florence 1998) 159, no. 78: VI.

<sup>248</sup> The fragment has a vertical crease or break approximately 2 cm from the left edge, and after a further 3 cm breaks off at the right edge; see the plate in J. O’Callaghan, “Papiro mágico cristiano? (PMatr. inv. 5),” *StudPap* 19 (1980) 61-63 after 62.

<sup>249</sup> See the cautionary comment of K. Treu reported by O’Callaghan, “Papiro mágico cristiano ?,” 62.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Criatore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 213, no. 169, and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 47.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
180	SCO 22 (1973) 27-29, with <i>Athenaeum</i> 52 (1974) 5 = <i>Papiri letterari greci</i> (Pisa 1978) 141-143, with <i>NewDocs</i> 3 (1983) no. 85	prayer of repentance	65129	VI
181	SEJG 31 (1989-1990) 357-358	Ps. 24:15; Ps. 49:1-2	62134	V/VI
182	SO 24 (1945) 121-140	Matt. 11:25-30; Dan. 3:50-55	61839	IV
183	VChr 25 (1971) 289-301	exchange between Abgar and Jesus	58909	VI-VII
184	ZNTW 22 (1923) 153-154	fragment from an un- known gospel	64970	VI-VII <sup>256</sup>
185	ZPE 116 (1997) 61-62	Ps. 80:1-4	62114	V-VI
186	ZPE 116 (1997) 62-63	Ps. 36:25-26	62115	V-VI

<sup>251</sup> There are traces of writing parallel to the fibres (autopsy, de Bruyn, 19 May 2008).

<sup>252</sup> R. Pintaudi, "LXX Ps. 24, 15; 49, 1-2 in un papiro di Vienna (P.Vindob. G. 29435)," *SEJG* 31 (1989-1990) 357-358 at 358 reports a few traces of writing on the upper vertical fibres of the reverse side.

<sup>253</sup> Except for the first leaf →, which served as a cover, the leaves are written on both sides.

<sup>254</sup> It is possible that this bilingual lectionary (Greek and Coptic) may have had secondary use as an amulet, but there is no evidence to exclude other uses; cf. L. Amundsen, "Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection," *SO* 24 (1945) 121-147 at 140.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, staurogram, christogram	Amulet?
pap. sheet	9.7 x 10.7	Y	→ ow <sup>251</sup> ↓ t	N		poss. (sec. use)
pap. fragment of a sheet	13.3 x 19.2		→ t 2 ow <sup>252</sup>	Y		poss.
pap. fragments of a codex (13 leaves)	6.6 x 5.6 (originally) per leaf		see note <sup>253</sup>	Y		poss. (sec. use) <sup>254</sup>
pap. fragments	column width originally about 32 cm		→ t ↓ ow	Y		poss. <sup>255</sup>
pap. codex sheet (2 leaves)	frg. A 6.5 x 7.5; frg. B 6 x 7.5	(two holes with cord) <sup>257</sup>	→ t ↓ t	Y	strgram	poss.
pap. fragments of a sheet	10.7 x 2.4		↓ t (tc) 2 b	Y		poss.
pap. fragment	2.4 x 4	Y	↓ t 2 b	N/A		poss.

<sup>255</sup> Cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 613, and *P.Oxy.* 65.4469 intro. (48).

<sup>256</sup> Cf. D.A. Bertrand, "Papyrus Berlin 11710," in F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens 1* (Paris 1997) 429.

<sup>257</sup> There are two holes along the right side of fragment A about 2 and 4.5 cm from the top edge; the top hole has remains of a thread (autopsy, de Bruyn, 16 December 2008).

*Postscript*

Just prior to the publication of this article, Alain Delattre has identified an additional Greek ostrakon with a list of the martyrs of Sebaste, initially published as *O. Eleph. Wagner 322* (VI?);<sup>258</sup> cf. n. 173 above. See Delattre's discussion at p. 365 on the script of these texts (Greek or Coptic) and the probability of them being amulets.

---

<sup>258</sup> A. Delattre, "Noms rares et noms fantômes dans trois ostraca grecs d'Éléphantine," *CdÉ* 85 (2010) 363-373 at 363-366 (no. 1).



Review Article

Byzantine Egypt Revisited

*Giuseppina Azzarello*..... 233

Reviews

Holger Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden* (Richard Jasnow) ..... 245

CPR 29 (Andrew Monson)..... 251

MPER N.S. 29-30 (Amphilochios Papathomas)..... 255

*O.Claud.* 4 (Amphilochios Papathomas)..... 259

*P.Oxy.* 73 (Athanasios Vergados) ..... 265

*P.Oxy.* 75 (Jennifer Sheridan Moss)..... 271

CPR 30 (James G. Keenan)..... 273

*P.Clackson* (L.S.B. MacCoull)..... 277

Francesca Schironi, *From Alexandria to Babylon: Near Eastern Languages and Hellenistic Erudition in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary (P.Oxy. 1802 + 4812)* (Sofía Torallas Tovar)..... 283

A. Magnani, *Il processo di Isidoro. Roma e Alessandria nel primo secolo* (Sandra Gambetti)..... 285

Richard L. Phillips, *In Pursuit of Invisibility: Ritual Texts from Late Roman Egypt* (Sarah L. Schwarz)..... 289

Franziska Naether, *Die Sortes Astrampsychi. Problemlösungsstrategien durch Orakel im römischen Ägypten* (Willy Clarysse) ..... 293

Jan Krzysztow Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbours: Foreign Population in Egypt in the First Millennium BC* (Günter Vittmann) ..... 297

J.G. Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt Under the Ptolemies, 305-30 BC* (Arthur Verhoogt)..... 305

Sitta von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt: From the Macedonian Conquest to the End of the Third Century BC* (Bart Van Beek) ..... 307

Heinz Heinen, *Kleopatra-Studien. Gesammelte Schriften zur ausgehenden Ptolemäerzeit* (Dorothy J. Thompson)..... 311

Inge Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village*, with an Appendix on the Pottery from Hawara by Sylvie Marchand (Eugene Cruz-Uribe) ..... 315

Gihane Zaki, *Le Premier Nome de Haute-Égypte du III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C. d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques des temples ptolémaïques et romains* (Jitse H.F. Dijkstra)..... 317

Leslie S.B. MacCoull, *Coptic Legal Documents: Law as Vernacular Text and Experience in Late Antique Egypt* (Michael Peppard)..... 321

Books Received..... 325

American Studies in Papyrology ..... 327

# Contents

Six Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchus at Columbia University <i>Charles Bartlett, Susan Boland, Lauren Carpenter, Stephen Kidd, Inger Kuin, and Melanie Subacus</i> .....	7
Two More Pages of Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193 <i>Albert Pietersma and Susan Comstock</i> .....	27
Apprenticeship Contract for Carpentry <i>Chris Eckerman</i> .....	47
Letter from Hermias to Apollon <i>Athanassios Vergados</i> .....	51
Petition to Appoint an <i>epitropos</i> <i>Ryan Boehm</i> .....	61
A Byzantine Loan of Money <i>Klaas A. Worp</i> .....	71
A Marriage-Gift of Part of a Monastery from Byzantine Egypt <i>Jason Robert Combs and Joseph G. Miller</i> .....	79
Receipt from the Holy Church of God at Hermopolis <i>Philip Venticinque</i> .....	89
The Dossier of Flavia Anastasia, Part One: Document Prescripts <i>T.M. Hickey and Brendan J. Haug</i> .....	99
Dreams in Bilingual Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period <i>Stephen Kidd</i> .....	113
Two Texts of the <i>dioiketes</i> Apollonius <i>Kent J. Rigsby</i> .....	131
Departure without Saying Goodbye: A Lexicographical Study <i>Willy Clarysse</i> .....	141
Grenfell and Hunt on the Dates of Early Christian Codices <i>Brent Nongbri</i> .....	149
Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements <i>Theodore S. de Bruyn and Jitse H.F. Dijkstra</i> .....	163
The Date of the Dendur Foundation Inscription Reconsidered <i>Grzegorz Ochala</i> .....	217
Notes on Papyri.....	225

---

Copyright © The American Society of Papyrologists 2011

Printed in the United States of America  
on acid-free paper

---