

<p>Place Date Language Material Number of texts Type Collections Find/Acquisition</p>	<p>Theban Magical Library</p> <p style="text-align: right;">ArchID 363. Version I (2018) Elien Zoete</p>
	<p>Thebes 3rd-4th century AD Greek and Demotic Papyrus 10 certain, 7 uncertain Library of magical texts Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum; Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities; London, British Library; London, British Museum; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; Paris, Louvre; Uppsala, Victoria Museum Found in Thebes by local antiquity dealers, 14 bought by Anastasy and sold or presented as a gift to several collections in the period 1828-1839; afterwards relocated. 3 other papyri were bought by Wallis Budge in 1888, another one was acquired by Jean-François Mimaut in 1837 and a last one by Samson Eitrem in 1920.</p>
<p>Bibliography</p>	<p>H.D. BETZ, <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: including the Demotic spells</i>, Chicago, 1986, p. xlii-xliii and lv-lvi.</p> <p>K. PREISENDANZ, <i>Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung</i>, Leipzig, 1993, p. 91-95.</p> <p>W.J. TAIT, 'Theban Magic', in S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), <i>Hundred-gated Thebes: acts of a colloquium on Thebes and the Theban area in Graeco-Roman period</i> (Pap. Lugd. Bat. 27), Leiden, 1995, p. 169-182.</p> <p>W.M. BRASHEAR, 'The Greek and Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994)', <i>ANRW</i> II 18.5 (1995), p. 3401-3405.</p> <p>R.K. RITNER, 'Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic Spells and their Religious Context', <i>ANRW</i> II 18.5 (1995), p. 3335-3342.</p> <p>J. DIELEMAN, <i>Priests, tongues, and rites</i>, Leiden, 2005, p. 11-21.</p> <p>M. DE HARO SANCHEZ, 'Les papyrus iatromagiques grecs et la region thébaine', in A. DELATTRE/ P. HEILPORN (eds.), <i>Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages... " Thèbes et sa region aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 2 et 3 décembre 2005</i>, Bruxelles, 2008, p. 97-102.</p> <p>R. S. BAGNALL, <i>Early Christian books in Egypt</i>, Princeton, 2009, p. 83-86.</p> <p>M. ZAGO, <i>Tebe magica e alchemica: l'idea di biblioteca nell'Egitto romano: la collezione Anastasi</i>, Padova, 2010.</p> <p>K. DOSOO, <i>Rituals of Apparition in the Theban Magical Library</i>, Unpublished PhD, Macquarie University Sydney, department of Ancient History, 2014. (http://hdl.handle.net/1959.14/1067351)</p> <p>K. DOSOO, 'A history of the Theban Magical Library', <i>BASP</i> 53 (2016), p. 251-274.</p>

Description

In the 19th century, Giovanni Anastasy (Johann d'Anastasi), the Swedish-Norwegian Consul-General in Egypt (1828-1857), acquired a vast collection of Egyptian antiquities through local dealers. Unfortunately, nothing is known about their archeological context. Among the papyri obtained by Anastasy approximately 14 may be part of the Theban Magical Library dating to the third and fourth century AD. These 14 texts were, alongside the other papyri, divided among museums and institutions on various occasions.¹

The first part of the Anastasy collection was up for sale in 1828. At that time, The Dutch government purchased about 5600 items for the National Museum of Antiquities (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden) in Leiden. The museum owned a large amount of manuscripts, among which *PDM 12/PGM 12*, *PGM 13*, *P. Leid I 396*, *P. Leid I 397* and *P. Leid I 398* from the Theban Magical Library. The British Museum bought another part of the collection at the second auction in London in 1839. With this new acquisition, the museum acquired a Greek magical codex (*PGM 5*), which was probably part of the Library. *PGM 6* was sold alongside *PGM 5*. In 1973 *PGM 5* was moved to the British Library. After Anastasy's death in 1857, the remaining part of the collection was sold at a public auction in Paris. *PGM 1* and *PGM 2* went to the Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *PGM 4* was bought by the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, *PDM Suppl.* was kept at the Louvre in Paris, one half of *PDM 14/PGM 14* was acquired by the British Museum and the other half of *PDM 14/PGM 14* by the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. Thus, all these museums and institutions collected magical handbooks that are attributed with varying degrees of certainty to the Theban Magical Library.²

Anastasy also made gifts of various items in his collection. Thus, *P. Holm.* and *PGM 5a* were presented to the Swedish Royal Academy in 1832 and preserved at the Statens historiska museum in Stockholm, and are since 2013 kept at the Kungliga Bibliotek. Another papyrus that did not derive from Anastasy's sales is *PDM 61/PGM 61*. Unfortunately, no information about the acquisition is accessible. This manuscript could be an unrecorded gift to the British Museum.³

Five papyri were not part of Anastasy's collection. *PGM 3* was purchased by Musée du Louvre from consul Jean-François Mimaut in Paris in 1837.⁴ Wallis Budge acquired *PGM 7*, *PGM 8* and *PGM 11a* in 1888 for the British Museum.⁵ Samson Eitrem bought *PGM 36* for the University of Oslo in 1920.⁶

¹ Dosoo 2016, p. 253; see also Betz 1986, p. xlii; Preisendanz 1993, p. 91, 93; Brashear 1995, p. 3401; Ritner 1995, p. 3335; Tait 1995, p. 169-171; Dieleman 2005, p. 12; de Haro Sanchez 2008, p. 97-98; Bagnall 2009, p. 83; R. Gordon, 'Memory and Authority in the Magical Papyri', in B. Dignas/ R.R.R. Smith (eds.), *Historical and Religious memory in the Ancient World*, 2012, p. 148, 150; E. Pachoumi, *The Concepts of the Divine in the Greek Magical Papyri* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 102), Tübingen, 2017, p. 2.

² Dosoo 2016, p. 252-253, 255-258; see also Betz 1986, p. xlii; Brashear 1995, p. 3402-3403; Ritner 1995, p. 3337-3342; Dieleman 2005, p. 12-13; Gordon 2012, p. 148-149.

³ Dosoo 2016, p. 252, 256-257; see also Brashear 1995, p. 3403; Dieleman 2005, p. 13; Gordon 2012, p. 149.

⁴ Dosoo 2016, p. 263.

⁵ Dosoo 2014, p. 485.

⁶ Dosoo 2016, p. 267.

PAPYRI BELONGING TO THE ARCHIVE (see App.)

Certain texts

It is generally accepted that ten papyri belong to the Theban magical Library: *PGM 1*, *PGM 2*, *PGM 4*, *PGM 5*, *PGM 5a + P. Holm*, *PDM/PGM 12*, *PGM 13*, *PDM/PGM 14*, *PDM Suppl.* and *P. Leid. I 397*. For several reasons these ten texts are considered a single archive. All ten papyri derive from Anastasy's collection, which suggests a connection. Secondly, they share a Theban provenance. Furthermore, the texts from the 'Alchemical Group' (*PGM 5a + P. Holm*, *PGM 13* and *P. Leid. I 397*) are written in identical or near-identical hands and the texts from the 'Leiden Demotic Group' (*PDM/PGM 12* and *PDM/PGM 14*) are written in identical or near-identical hands. Additionally, *PDM/PGM 12* from the 'Alchemical Group' was found together with *P. Leid. I 397* from the 'Leiden Demotic Group'. This shows that they derive from the same source. Finally, the papyri were also sold in two lots, with the exception of *PGM 5* (see above). As noted by Bagnall and Dosoo, the papyri can be divided into two groups: codices (*PGM 4*, *PGM 5*, *PGM 5a + P. Holm*, *PGM 13* and *P. Leid. I 397*) and rolls (*PGM 1*, *PGM 2*, *PDM/PGM 12*, *PDM/PGM 14* and *PDM Suppl.*). Remarkably, the rolls are paleographically dated to the third and the codices to the fourth century.⁷

Uncertain texts

There is a discussion among scholars whether some other papyri belong to the Library or not. Only *P. Leid. I 396* and *398* did certainly not belong to the archive. The other texts discussed here are labeled as 'uncertain'.

P. Leid. I 396 and *P. Leid. I 398* are sometimes attributed to the Theban Library. However, both papyri include scribal exercises by Apollonios, one of the residents of the Memphite Serapeum. These papyri do not belong to the Theban Magical Library, but to the archive of the *Katochoi of the Sarapieion* (ArchID 119).⁸

PDM/PGM 61 is a bilingual Greek-Demotic roll whose similarity to the Theban material was observed by the original editors of the papyrus. Bell, Nock and Thompson argued that it may belong to the well-known group of Anastasy manuscripts: *PDM/PGM 12*, *14* and *PDM Suppl.*⁹ Dosoo notices differences in the hand of the papyrus and its format. Also no information about the acquisition is available and the text did not derive from Anastasy's sales.¹⁰ Therefore, in his view, the text does not belong to the archive.

According to Eitrem, who purchased the papyrus, *PGM 36* originates from Theadelphia in the Fayum. It was acquired alongside *PGM 37* and *PGM 38* and these three papyri rather form a separate *Fayum Magical Archive*.¹¹ The three texts are paleographically dated to the fourth century AD.¹² Only one author suggested this papyrus belongs to the Theban Library.¹³

⁷ Bagnall 2009, p. 84; Dosoo 2014, p. 28-32, 83-88; Dosoo 2016, p. 255-258.

⁸ Dosoo 2016, p. 268.

⁹ H.I. Bell, A.D. Nock and H. Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum*, Oxford, 1931, p. 5; Ritner 1995, p. 3336-3337.

¹⁰ Dosoo 2016, p. 268.

¹¹ Dosoo 2016, p. 267.

¹² Dosoo 2014, p. 42; Dosoo 2016, p. 267; J. Gee, 'Abracadabra, Isaac and Jacob', *Review of Books on the Mormon 7*

PGM 7, *PGM 8* and *PGM 11a* were purchased together, which might identify these texts as (part of) a single archive. *PGM 7*, a Greek roll of the third or fourth century AD, is often associated with the Theban Library. This manuscript resembles those of the Library in length and in a pronounced interest in divination. *PGM 7* was acquired by Wallis Budge for the British Museum along with five other papyri, including *PGM 8* and *PGM 11a*, in 1888. That these papyri belong to the archive has first been suggested by Preisendanz, although he admits the provenance is unknown.¹⁴ *PGM 11a* is written on the back of an account for a large estate in Hermonthis, a city near Thebes, which might indicate a connection with the Theban Library. Dosoo, however, argues that the hand, form and content do not render a connection to the collection of Thebes likely. These texts were sold more than 40 years later than the last Library texts that were acquired by Anastasy. Dosoo attributes these texts to a *Hermonthis Magical Archive*.¹⁵ Zago was the only scholar who suggested that *PGM 11a* and *PGM 8* formed a part of the Theban Library based on their relationship to *PGM 7*.¹⁶

PGM 6 was acquired by the British Museum alongside *PGM 5* (which belongs to the archive). The first scholar to identify these papyri as part of the Theban archive is Legge, who claimed that all the papyri deriving from Anastasy's collection originated from Thebes.¹⁷ However, Anastasy assigns *PGM 6*, a Greek sheet, to Memphis and not Thebes.¹⁸ Most authors have excluded the *PGM 6* from the archive.¹⁹ Recently, however, the papyrus has been identified as a possible fragment of *PGM 2*, which almost certainly belongs to the archive.²⁰

Wessely²¹ was the first to suggest a possible connection between *PGM 3* and the Library in Thebes. It is a large Greek roll, dated to the third century AD, formed by four large fragments and roughly 29 smaller ones. However, the papyrus has no noticeable similarities to the certain texts from the archive. Preisendanz and Dosoo both exclude this text because there is no evidence connecting the papyrus to the Library.²²

Even though there is a discussion about whether some papyri do or do not belong to the archive, de Haro Sanchez points to the similarities in all the above-mentioned certain and uncertain texts: they all date to the third and fourth century AD and they all contain formulas and anthologies; they also share a multicultural character as appears from their linguistic and religious practices.²³

PROTAGONIST(S)

No consensus exists about the protagonist(s). Some scholars believe that these magical papyri belonged to one man who lived in Thebes, a centre of magic²⁴ in Roman times. This was based

(1995), p. 37, n. 76.

¹³ Zago 2010, p. 58, 74.

¹⁴ Preisendanz 1993, p. 91-95, n.15; Brashear 1995, p. 3403.

¹⁵ Dosoo 2016, p. 265-266.

¹⁶ Zago 2010, p. 61-75, n.37.

¹⁷ F. Legge, 'The names of demons in the Magical Papyri', *PSBA* 23 (1901), p. 41-42.

¹⁸ Dosoo 2016, p. 263.

¹⁹ Dosoo 2016, p. 264.

²⁰ Dosoo 2016, p. 264, n. 44a.

²¹ C. Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London*, Wenen, 1888, p. 12.

²² Dosoo 2016, p. 263-264; Preisendanz 1993, p. 94.

²³ de Haro Sanchez 2008, p. 99.

²⁴ Tait 1995, p. 181.

on the information Anastasy received from the antique dealers. The material is not systematically arranged and is rather a collection originating from different sources.²⁵ Thus, the man from Thebes would have travelled around Egypt to collect all kinds of magical recipes for plausible emergencies and preserved them in his library. At the end of his life, his manuscripts were buried alongside him in a wooden chest or a jar, which would explain the good conservation.²⁶ Dufault suggested that the owner was an educated individual who sold his knowledge to local aristocrats.²⁷ Dosoo, however, argues that there is no reason to think there was only one magical specialist in Thebes who was the owner of every text found in this region. According to him, it is possible that the papyri have been collected by more than one person.²⁸ The collection could also be a product of a temple library formed by a community of Egyptian priests in Thebes.²⁹

LANGUAGE AND CONTENT

The magical papyri were written in Demotic and Greek. Greek words occur in the Demotic fragments and vice versa. A few brief spells were added in “mysterious” scripts: Hieratic, Nubian and Old Coptic glosses. Some magical names derive from Semitic and Egyptian sources. The Theban Magical Library represents material collected from distinct writing sources. This multiculturalism is an important characteristic of magical texts in general. However, language is not the only indicator of this multiculturalism. The gods mentioned in the formulas are of Egyptian, Greek, Semitic and Persian origin. This offers a unique opportunity to study aspects of religion, language and acculturation in Roman-period Thebes.³⁰

The Theban Magical Library consists of roughly 420 recipes. Rituals like divination and gaining superhuman knowledge are most common. Vessel, lamp and celestial divination are the most frequent forms of divination. Love spells, healing rituals, curses and dream-sending rituals are also attested. Less frequent are: a rite for acquiring favour, rituals for controlling behaviour (restraining anger, causing separation of couples and dealing with social superiors), rituals of protection, exorcism, purification, for breaking bonds and opening doors, catching thieves, initiation, gathering plants, for acquiring *paredroi* or familiar *daimons* and the *anagoge* ritual (*Mithras Liturgy*).³¹

Although this archive has been labelled as magical, the Theban Library also has non-magical contents: apart from literary (e.g., *The Myth of the Sun's Eye*, PDM/PGM 12) and astrological (PGM 4 835-849) texts, three papyri contain alchemical recipes focused on precious and semi-precious stone and metal-working (PGM 12, *P. Holm* and *P. Leid I 397*).³²

²⁵ Tait 1995, p. 177.

²⁶ ; Betz 1986, p. xlii-xliii; Preisendanz 1993, p. 91, 94; Brashear 1995, p. 3405; Gordon 2012, p. 148; Dosoo 2014, p. 33, 149; Pachoumi 2017, p. 3-4.

²⁷ O. Dufault, *The Sources of Greek Alchemical Inquiry*, published PhD, University of California, department of History, 2011, p. 224.

²⁸ Dosoo 2016, p. 258, 266

²⁹ Ritner, in Tait 1995, p. 173-174; Dosoo 2014, p. 150; see, however, Tait 1995, p. 174: “it must be seen as decidedly problematic to suppose that temple communities and temple libraries were then [third-fourth century] flourishing”.

³⁰ Tait 1995, p. 169, 176-177; Dieleman 2005, p. 11; de Haro Sanchez 2008, p. 99; Gordon 2012, p. 148; Pachoumi 2017, p. 3-4.

³¹ Dosoo 2014, p. 126-131.

³² Dosoo 2014, p. 138, 141, 143; Dieleman 2005, 29-31.

Archive texts

PGM 1; PGM 2; PGM 4, PGM 5, PGM 5a + P. Holm; PDM/PGM 12; PGM 13; PDM/PGM 14; PDM Suppl.; P. Leid I 397.

Uncertain: PGM 3; PGM 6; PGM 7; PGM 8; PGM 11a; PDM/PGM 36; PDM/PGM 61.

Not belonging to the archive: P. Leid. I 396; P. Leid I 398.

Text types

Magical recipes, rituals, hymns, invocations, prayers and formulas, astrological and alchemical texts. See in more detail Dosoo 2016, p. 128-129, 143, providing tables about the rituals by type, divinatory practices and the alchemical practices in the Theban Magical Library.

Appendix Contents of the Theban Magical Library according to modern authors.³⁴

	PGM 1	PGM 2	PGM 3	PGM 4	PGM 5	PGM 5a +P. Holm.	PGM 6	PGM 7	PGM 8	PGM 11a	PDM/PGM 12	PGM 13	PDM/PGM 14	PGM 36	PGM 61	PDM Suppl.	P.Leid I 396	P.Leid I 397	P.Leid I 398
Century	III CE	III CE	III CE	IV CE	IV CE	IV CE	II-III CE	III CE	IV - V CE	IV - V CE	Ca. 200-225	IV CE	Ca. 200-225	IV CE	III CE	III CE	Mid – II BC	IV CE	After 162-161 BC
Language*	G	G	G	G + C	G	G	G	G	G	G	D + G + H + OC	G	D + G + H + OC + N	G	G + D + OC	H + D + OC	G	G	G
Bookform	Roll	Roll	Roll	Codex	Codex	Codex	Sheet	Roll	Roll	Sheet	Roll	Codex	Roll	Roll	Roll	Roll	Codex	Codex	
Reuvens (1830)											Y	Y	Y				Y	Y	
Goodwin (1852)				?							Y	Y	Y				Y?	Y	
Lenormant (1857)	Y	Y		Y							Y	Y	Y				Y?	Y	
Wessely (1888)	Y		Y	Y	Y														
Legge (1901)	Y	Y		Y	Y		Y				Y	Y							
Preisendanz (1933)	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y		?			Y	Y	Y		?			Y	
Gorissen (1934-5)	Y	Y		Y	Y		Y				Y	Y	Y						Y
Smith (1979)					Y?						Y	Y	Y			Y?		Y?	
Fowden (1993)	Y	Y	?	Y		Y					Y	Y	Y					Y	
Gee (1995)	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y					Y	Y	Y		Y	Y		Y	Y
Brashear (1995)	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y		?			Y	Y	Y		Y?	Y?		Y	
Dieleman (2005)	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y		?			Y	Y	Y		?	?		Y	
De Haro Sanchez (2008)	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y		?			Y	Y	Y		?	?		Y	
Bagnall (2009)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y			Y	Y	Y		Y	Y		Y	
Zago (2010)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	
Dufault (2011)						Y					Y	Y	Y		Y	Y		Y	
Gordon (2012)			Y	Y	Y						Y	Y	Y		Y	Y		Y	
Dosoo (2014/2016)	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y					Y	Y	Y			Y		Y	
Pachoumi (2017)	Y	Y	?	Y	Y			?			Y		Y		?	Y			

Legend

Bold Texts labeled in TM Archives as ‘certain’

Y Accepted by an individual author as probably belonging to the Theban Library

? Uncertain according to an individual author whether the text belongs to the Theban Library

* G: Greek; D: Demotic; OC: Old-Coptic; C: Coptic; N: Nubian; H: Hieratic.

³⁴ Based on the tables given by Dosoo 2014, p. 36, and 2016, p. 270, to which have been added: de Haro Sanchez 2008 and Pachoumi 2017. Century, language and bookform added from Bagnall 2009, p.84, de Haro Sanchez 2008, p. 98, Dieleman 2005, p. 21, and data from Trismegistos.