

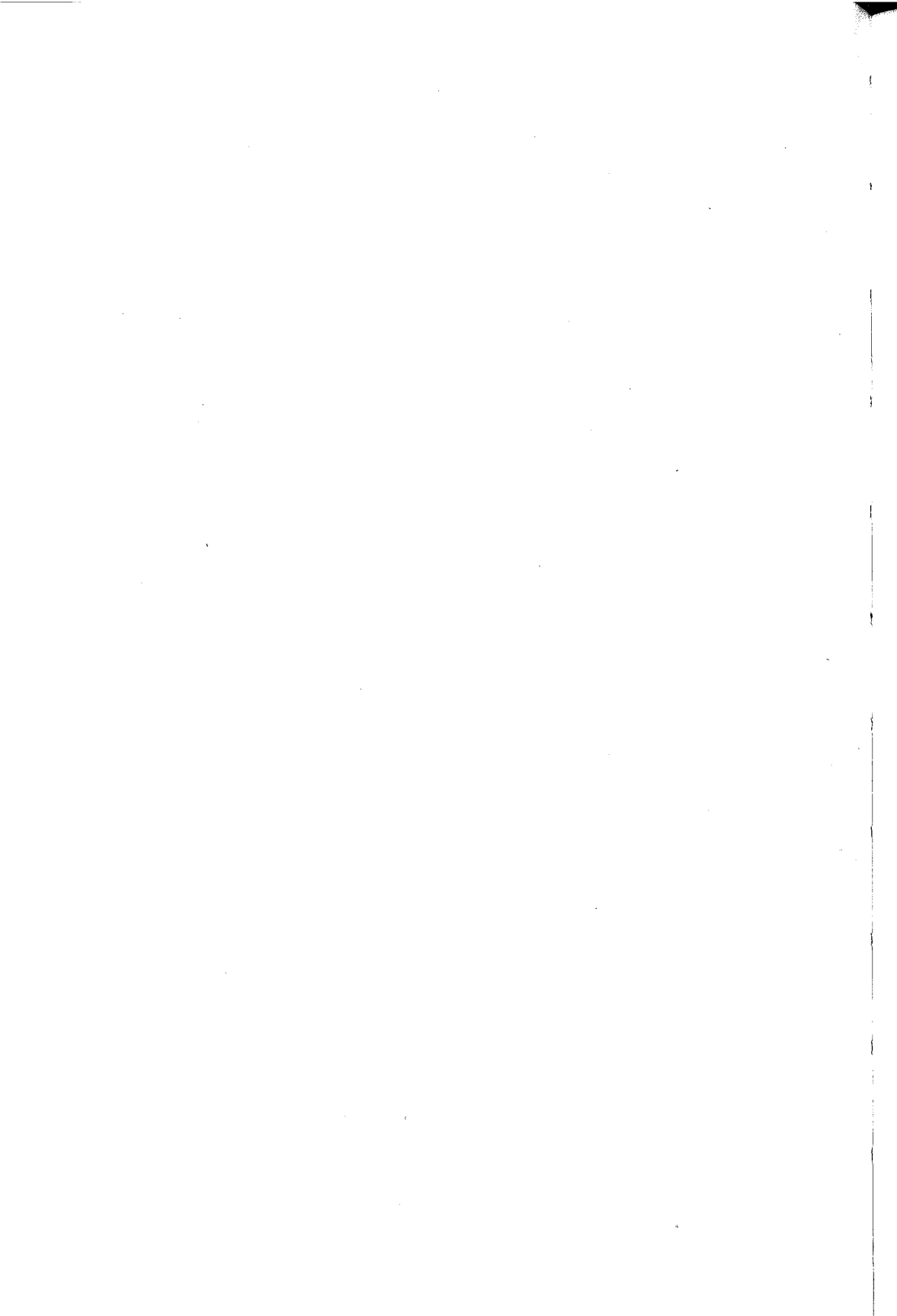
HANS DIETER BETZ

# The "Mithras Liturgy"

*Studien und Texte zu  
Antike und Christentum*  
11

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Mohr Siebeck



Hans Dieter Betz

# The “Mithras Liturgy”

Text, Translation, and Commentary

Mohr Siebeck

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Verzeiht! es ist ein groß Ergetzen,  
Sich in den Geist der Zeiten zu versetzen,  
Zu schauen wie vor uns ein weiser Mann gedacht,  
Und wie wir's dann zuletzt so herrlich weit gebracht.

GOETHE, *Faust I*, ll. 570–73

## Preface

The Preface to Albrecht Dieterich's *Eine Mithrasliturgie* is dated Heidelberg, May 2, 1903. The present commentary appearing a century later is deeply indebted to this ground breaking work which has remained in print through several re-editions with updated notes. Dieterich's main achievement was to elevate a seemingly obscure papyrus text to one of the most important original documents reflecting an insider's perspective of Graeco-Egyptian religion in the late Hellenistic period. Dieterich's work, however, has remained unfinished and his achievements have been recognized only partly. Responding to the challenge of carrying further Dieterich's investigations in the light of new evidence, and making the text and its interpretation accessible to an English-speaking readership has been the aim of the present writer.

Interest and encouragement by many colleagues and students in several countries helped speed up the completion of the commentary. Special acknowledgements are due to the participants of seminars at Claremont, Chicago, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature. It is simply impossible to sort out the generous contributions made by so many colleagues and students who attended seminars and lectures over a good number of years.

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Last but not least, I am exceedingly grateful to Georg Siebeck, my publisher, for making it possible that such a specialized study can see the light of day; to the editors of the series "Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity" for accepting the volume; and to the team of Mohr Siebeck, especially Henning Ziebritzki and Matthias Spitzner, for their pleasant and efficient cooperation.

Chicago, May 2003

Hans Dieter Betz

## Abbreviations and Short Titles

ABG	<i>Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte</i>
Abt, <i>Die Apologie</i>	Adam Abt, <i>Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura</i>
ACSt	American Classical Studies
ADAI.Ä	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Abteilung
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
AHAWPH	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
AlVi	Albae Vigiliae
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
APFB	Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
ARWB	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, Beiheft
ARWAW.PC	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia
ASAW.PH	Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse
Assmann, <i>Liturgische Lieder</i>	Jan Assmann, <i>Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott</i>
AuC	<i>Antike und Christentum</i>
Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i>	Auguste Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i>
Aune, <i>Prophecy</i>	David Aune, <i>Prophecy in Early Christianity</i>
Aune, <i>Revelation</i>	David Aune, <i>Revelation</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
Bagnall, <i>Egypt</i>	Roger Bagnall, <i>Egypt in Late Antiquity</i>
BAK	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BCNH.T	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section textes
BDAG	Walter Bauer, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (3rd ed., 2000)
BDF	Friedrich Blaß & Albert Debrunner, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament</i>
BDR	Friedrich Blaß, Albert Debrunner & Friedrich Rehkopf, <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i>
BEAT	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
Beck, <i>Planetary Gods</i>	Roger Beck, <i>Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders</i>

- Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*  
 Betz, *Lukian*
- Betz, *Galatians*  
 Betz, *GMPT*  
 Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*  
 Betz, *Paulinische Studien*  
 Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*  
 Betz, *Antike und Christentum*  
 Betz, *Gottesbegegnung*  
 BHTh  
 BiTeu  
 BJ  
 BKP  
 Boll, *Sphaera*  
 Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*  
 Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Sternglaube*  
 Boll, *Kleine Schriften*  
 Bolls  
 Bonner, *Studies*  
 Bonnet, *RÄRG*  
 Borgen, *Philo Index*  
 Bousset, *Himmelsreise der Seele*  
 Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*  
 Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*  
 Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*  
 Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri"  
 Budé  
 Bultmann, *HST*  
 Burkert, *Greek Religion*  
 Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*  
 ByZ  
 BzA  
 BZNW  
 CChr.SA  
 CCTC  
 CEg  
 CH  
 Chadwick, *Origen*  
 CIL  
 Clauss, *Mithras*  
 CIR  
 CMG
- R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*  
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament*  
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians*  
 Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*  
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*  
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Paulinische Studien*  
 Hans Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*  
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Antike und Christentum*  
 Hans Dieter Betz, *Gottesbegegnung und Menschwerdung*  
 Beiträge zur historischen Theologie  
 Bibliotheca Teubneriana  
 Bonner Jahrbücher  
 Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie  
 Franz Boll, *Sphaera*  
 Franz Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*  
 Franz Boll, Carl Bezold, Wilhelm Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*  
 Franz Boll, *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums*  
 Bollingen Series  
 Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*  
 Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*  
 Peder Borgen, *The Philo Index*  
 Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Himmelsreise der Seele*  
 Wilhelm Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*  
 Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (5th ed.)  
 Wilhelm Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*  
 William Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri"  
 Collection des Universités de France, publiée sous la patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé  
 Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*  
 Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*  
 Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*  
 Byzantinische Zeitschrift  
 Beiträge zur Altertumskunde  
 Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Beihefte  
 Corpus Christianorum, Series apocryphorum  
 Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries  
 Chronique d'Égypte  
 Corpus Hermeticum  
 Henry Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum*  
 Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum  
 Manfred Clauss, *The Roman Cult of Mithras*  
 The Classical Review  
 Corpus Medicorum Graecorum

- Collins & Fishbane, *Death* John J. Collins & Michael Fishbane, eds., *Death, Ecstasy and Other Worldly Journeys*
- Copenhagen, *Hermetica* Brian Copenhagen, *Hermetica*  
 CRAI *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
- CSLP Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum
- Cumont, *Textes et Monuments* Franz Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*
- Cumont, *After Life* Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*
- Cumont, *Lux Perpetua* Franz Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*
- Daniel & Maltomini, Robert Daniel & Franco Maltomini, eds.,  
*Supplementum Magicum*  
 DDD Karel van der Toorn et al., eds., *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*
- Deines & Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogenamen* Hildegard von Deines and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogenamen*
- Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* Adolf Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*
- Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*
- Delatte, *Herbarius* Armand Delatte, *Herbarius*
- Delatte & Derchain, Armand Delattes & Philippe Derchain, *Les Intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*  
*Les Intailles*
- Denniston, *Greek Particles* John D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*
- Diels, *Doxographi* Hermann Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*
- D.-K. Hermann Diels & Walther Kranz, eds., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*
- Dieterich, *Abraxas* Albrecht Dieterich, *Abraxas*
- Dieterich, *Nekyia* Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekyia*
- Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* Albrecht Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*
- Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* Albrecht Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften*
- Dieterich, *Untersuchungen* Karl Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*  
*Der Neue Pauly*
- DNP *Der Neue Pauly*
- Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* Eric R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*
- DÖAWPH Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse
- Dölger, *Sol Salutis* Franz Joseph Dölger, *Sol Salutis*
- Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* Franz Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*
- ed.(eds.) editor (editors)
- EKK Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
- EPRO Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
- Eranos* *Eranos*
- ERE *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*
- ErJB *Eranos-Jahrbuch*
- Erman & Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* Adolf Erman & Hermann Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*
- EVO *Egitto e vicino oriente*

- Faraone & Obbink, *Magika Hiera* Christopher A. Faraone & Dirk Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera*
- Fauth, *Helios Megistos* Wolfgang Fauth, *Helios Megistos*
- Festugière, *La Révélation* André-Jean Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*
- FGH Felix Jacoby, ed., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
- Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*
- Frankfurter, *Religion* David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*
- Friedrich, *Thessalos* Hans-Veit Friedrich, *Thessalos von Tralles*
- FRLANT Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
- Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns* William D. Furley & Jan Maarten Bremer, *Greek Hymns*
- FZPhTh *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*
- Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie* Viktor E. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
- GGA *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*
- Gignac, *Grammar* Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*
- GMPT Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*
- Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale* Fritz Graf, ed., *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*
- Graf, *Gottesnähe* Fritz Graf, *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber*
- Graf, *Magic* Fritz Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World*
- Griffith & Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri* F. Ll. Griffith & Herbert Thompson, eds., *The Demotic Magical Papyri of London and Leiden*
- Griffith & Thompson, *The Leiden Papyrus* F. Ll. Griffith & Herbert Thompson, *The Leiden Papyrus*
- Griffiths, *Plutarch* John Gwyn Griffiths, ed., *Plutarch: De Iside et Osiride*
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- Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism* Ithamar Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism*
- Gundel, *Dekane* Wilhelm Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansterbilder*
- Gundel, *Astrologumena* Wilhelm & Hans Georg Gundel, *Astrologumena*
- Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie* Hans Georg Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri*
- Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy* W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*
- Harrauer, *Meliouchos* Christine Harrauer, *Meliouchos*
- HAW Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
- HBVK *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*
- Helbing, *Grammatik Hesp.* Robert Helbing, *Grammatik der LXX Hesperia*
- Hinnells, *Studies* John R. Hinnells, ed., *Studies in Mithraism*
- HLV Hans Lietzmann-Vorlesungen
- HNT Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
- Holzhausen, *Das Corpus Hermeticum* Jens Holzhausen, *Das Corpus Hermeticum Deutsch*



- Hopfner, OZ  
 Theodor Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*
- Hornung, *Conceptions*  
 Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God*
- Hornung, *Ägypten*  
 Erik Hornung, *Das esoterische Ägypten*
- HRWG  
 Hubert Cancik et al., eds., *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*
- HThR  
*Harvard Theological Review*
- HThSt  
 Harvard Theological Studies
- HUTH  
 Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
- IGSI  
*Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et infimae Italiae*
- JAC  
*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
- JAC.E  
 Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband
- Jaeger, *Theology*  
 Werner Jaeger, *Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*
- JCPH  
*Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*
- JCPH.S  
 Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband
- JEA  
*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JMiS  
*Journal of Mithraic Studies*
- Jordan  
 David Jordan, comments by letter
- Jordan, *The World of Ancient Magic*  
 David R. Jordan, et al., eds., *The World of Ancient Magic*
- JRS  
*Journal of Roman Studies*
- JSHRZ  
 Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
- Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*  
 Dimitris Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*
- Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy*  
 Peter Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery and Magic*
- Kirk & Raven  
 G. S. Kirk & J. E. Raven, eds., *The Presocratic Philosophers*
- Klauser & Rüdiger, *Pisciculi*  
 Theodor Klauser & Adolf Rüdiger, eds., *Pisciculi*
- Kotansky, *Amulets*  
 Roy D. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*
- Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*  
 Angelicus Kropp, et al., *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*
- LÄ  
*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*
- LCL  
 Loeb Classical Library
- Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles*  
 Hans Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy*
- LIMC  
*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*
- Löhr, *Verherrlichung*  
 Gebhard Löhr, *Verherrlichung Gottes durch Philosophie*
- Long & Sedley  
 Anthony A. Long & David N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*
- LSJ  
 Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stewart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*
- Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien Engelglaubens*  
 Michael Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens*
- Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte*  
 Jean-Pierre Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte*
- Mandilaras, *The Verb*  
 Basil G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in Greek Non-Literary Papyri*
- Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*  
 David G. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*
- Martinez, *Baptized*  
 David G. Martinez, *Baptized for Our Sakes*
- Martinez  
 David G. Martinez, by communication
- MBPF  
 Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte
- Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*  
 Reinhold Merkelbach, *Weihegrade und Seelenlehre der Mithrasmysterien*
- Merkelbach, *Mithras*  
 Reinhold Merkelbach, *Mithras*
- Merkelbach, *Isis Regina*  
 Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis*

- Merkelbach & Totti, *Abrasax* Reinhold Merkelbach & Maria Totti, eds., *Abrasax*  
 Meyer, "Mithras Liturgy" Marvin Meyer, "Mithras Liturgy"  
 Meyer & Smith, *Ancient* Marvin Meyer & Richard Smith, eds.,  
*Christian Magic* *Ancient Christian Magic*  
 MH *Museum Helveticum*  
 Michel, *Gemmen* Simone Michel, *Die magischen Gemmen*  
 Moulton, *Grammar* James H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*  
 Müller, *Ägypten* Dieter Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Arealogien*  
 Naveh & Shaked, *Amulets* Joseph Naveh & Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls;*  
*Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*  
 Naveh & Shaked, *Magic Spells* Joseph Naveh & Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*  
 Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (post Eberhard et Erwin  
 Nestle ed. Barbara et Kurt Aland, et al.; 27th ed. rev.;  
 Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993)  
 NF Neue Folge  
 Nilsson, *GGR* Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*  
 NHC Nag Hammadi Codex  
 NHS Nag Hammadi Studies  
*NJKPH* *Neue Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie*  
 Nock, *Essays* Arthur Darby Nock, *Essays on Religion and the*  
*Ancient World*  
 Nock & Festugière Arthur Darby Nock & André-Jean Festugière, eds.,  
*Hermès Trismégiste*  
 Norden, *Agnostos Theos* Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos*  
*NovT* *Novum Testamentum*  
 NovTS *Novum Testamentum, Supplements*  
 NRSV *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments,*  
*New Revised Standard Version* (Oxford: Oxford University  
 Press, 1989)  
*NTApoc* Edgar Hennecke et al., eds. *New Testament Apocrypha*  
*NTApok* Edgar Hennecke & Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds.,  
*Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*  
*NTFi* *Nordisk Tijdskrift for Filologi*  
 OCT Oxford Classical Texts  
 OEAE *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*  
*Orph. Frag.* *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, ed. Otto Kern  
 OTL Old Testament Library  
 OTP James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament*  
*Pseudepigrapha*  
 Pap. Papyrus  
 Parker, *Miasma* Robert Parker, *Miasma*  
 PDM Papyri Demoticae Magicae  
 Pease, *Cicero* Arthur Stanley Pease, ed., *M. Tulli Ciceronis De natura*  
*deorum*  
 PG Patrologia Graeca  
 PGL *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe  
 PGM Papyri Graecae Magicae  
 Ph. *Philologus*  
 PhAnt *Philosophia antiqua*

Phoe.	<i>Phoenix</i> . Bulletin uitg. door het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex oriente lux'
Phron.	<i>Phronesis</i>
PL	Patrologia Latina
Pohlenz, <i>Die Stoa</i>	Max Pohlenz, <i>Die Stoa</i>
Pradel, <i>Gebete</i>	Fritz Pradel, ed., <i>Griechische und süditalienische Gebete</i>
PRE	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
PRE.S	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Supplementband
Preisendanz & Henrichs	Karl Preisendanz & Albert Henrichs, eds., <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i>
Preisendanz, vol. 3 (index)	Karl Preisendanz, ed., <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , vol. 3 (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1941 [unpublished galleyproofs])
Preisigke, <i>Wörterbuch</i>	Friedrich Preisigke & Emil Kießling, eds., <i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden</i>
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RAC.S	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Supplementband
Radermacher, <i>Grammatik</i>	Ludwig Radermacher, <i>Neutestamentliche Grammatik</i>
RAr	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
Reitzenstein, <i>Poimandres</i>	Richard Reitzenstein, <i>Poimandres</i>
Reitzenstein, <i>Erlösungs-mysterium</i>	Richard Reitzenstein, <i>Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium</i>
Reitzenstein, <i>HMR</i>	Richard Reitzenstein, <i>Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen</i>
RGG	Hans Dieter Betz, et al., eds., <i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998-)
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
Ritner, <i>Mechanics</i>	Robert K. Ritner, <i>The Mechanics of Egyptian Magical Practice</i>
RhM	<i>Rheinische Museum für Philologie</i>
Robinson, <i>Library</i>	James Robinson, ed., <i>The Nag Hammadi Library in English</i>
Roeder, <i>Kulte</i>	Günther Roeder, <i>Kulte</i>
Rohde, <i>Psyche</i>	Erwin Rohde, <i>Psyche</i>
Roscher, <i>Lexikon</i>	Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i>
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SAWW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft
SBL.TT	Society of Biblical Literature: Texts and Translations
SBW	Studien der Bibliothek Warburg
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Schäfer, <i>Übersetzung</i>	Peter Schäfer, ed., <i>Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur</i>
Schäfer & Kippenberg, <i>Envisioning Magic</i>	Peter Schäfer & Hans Kippenberg, eds., <i>Envisioning Magic</i>

- Schäfer & Shaked, *Magische Texte* Peter Schäfer & Shaul Shaked, eds., *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*
- Schenke, *Nag Hammadi Deutsch* Hans-Martin Schenke, *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*
- Schmekel, *Die Philosophie* August Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa*
- Schreckenberg, *Ananke* Heinz Schreckenberg, *Ananke*
- Schröder, *Plutarchs Schrift* Stephan Schröder, *Plutarchs Schrift De Pythiae Oraculis*
- Schürer, *History* Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*
- Schweitzer, *Geschichte* Albert Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*
- Schwyzler, *Grammatik* Eduard Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*
- Scott, *Hermetica* Walter Scott, ed., *Hermetica*
- Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* Kurt Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*
- Sethe, *Übersetzung* Kurt Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*
- SGAM Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und Naturwissenschaft
- SGKA Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums
- SGRR Studies in Greek and Roman Religion
- SHAW.PH Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
- Smith, *Studies* Morton Smith, *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*
- SO *Symbolae Osloenses*
- Speyer, *Frühes Christentum* Wolfgang Speyer, *Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld*
- SSIA Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen
- Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer* Paul Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*
- StPP Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde
- SubEpi Subsidia Epigraphica
- SVF Hans von Arnim, ed., *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*
- TDNT *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
- TDSA Testi e documenti per lo studio dell' antichità
- Theiler, *Poseidonios* Willy Theiler, *Poseidonios: Die Fragmente*
- ThWAT *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
- ThWNT *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*
- TK Texte und Kommentare
- TLC *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*
- Totti, *Texte* Maria Totti, ed., *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapisreligion*
- Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai* Vincent Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*
- TRE *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
- TSAJ Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
- TU Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
- UMS.H University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series
- Velde, *Seth* Henk de Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*
- Vermaseren, *CIMRM* Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*
- Vermaseren, *Mithriaca I* Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca I: The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere*
- Vermaseren, *Mithriaca II* Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca II: The Mithraeum at Ponza*

Vermaseren, <i>Mithriaca III</i>	Maarten J. Vermaseren, <i>Mithriaca III: The Mithraeum at Marino</i>
Vermaseren, <i>Mithriaca IV</i> .	Maarten J. Vermaseren, <i>Mithriaca IV: Le monument d'Ottaviano Zeno et le culte de Mithra sur le Célius</i>
Vermaseren & Van Essen, <i>The Excavations</i>	Maarten J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, <i>The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome</i>
Versnel, <i>Inconsistencies</i>	Henk S. Versnel, <i>Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion</i>
<i>VisRel</i>	<i>Visible Religion</i>
de Vogel, <i>Greek Philosophy</i>	Cornelia J. de Vogel, <i>Greek Philosophy</i>
Volz, <i>Eschatologie</i>	Paul Volz, <i>Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde</i>
Wächter, <i>Reinheitsvorschriften</i>	Theodor Wächter, <i>Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult</i>
Weinreich, <i>Studien</i>	Otto Weinreich, <i>Religionsgeschichtliche Studien</i>
Wessely, <i>Zauberpapyrus</i>	Carl Wessely, <i>Griechische Zauberpapyrus</i>
Wessely, "Zu den griechischen Papyri"	Karl Wessely, "Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre"
Wiedemann, <i>Herodot</i>	Alfred Wiedemann, <i>Herodots zweites Buch</i>
<i>WJA</i>	<i>Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>WKP</i>	<i>Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie</i>
<i>WSt</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>WSt.B</i>	Wiener Studien, Beiheft
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
Zuntz, <i>Persephone</i>	Günther Zuntz, <i>Persephone</i>

## Critical Signs used in the Papyrus Text

[ ]	Lacuna
< >	Omission in the original
[ ]	Deletion in the original
( )	Resolution of a symbol or abbreviation
{ }	Cancelled by the editor of the text
˘	Interlinear addition
αβγδ	Uncertain letters
....	Illegible letters

## Introduction

### I. The "Mithras Liturgy": A Provocative Title

The title of the present book is borrowed from Albrecht Dieterich's *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, which calls for explanation. The title announces two basic assumptions. First of all, the approach to the text is indirectly through Dieterich's commentary. Secondly, we thus recognize that it was Dieterich who, after considerable preparatory work had been done, decided to call the segment of text taken from the long magical papyrus of Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. grec 574) by the name *Eine Mithrasliturgie*.<sup>1</sup> He intended this title to be provocative, a fact proved subsequently by the reception of the book. The provocation turned out to be greater than Dieterich had anticipated.

Dieterich realized that a different descriptive title is found in the text itself, so he made that title, ΑΠΛΘΑΝΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ ([Ritual of] Immortalization),<sup>2</sup> the subtitle of his work (p. XI), followed by *Text und Übersetzung der Mithrasliturgie* ("Text and Translation of the Mithras Liturgy"). After publication, the provocative title "Mithras Liturgy" (which of course does not occur in the papyrus itself) became a kind of trigger to evoke controversies going straight to the heart and substance of classical scholarship.

Moreover, Dieterich dedicated his book to Franz Cumont (1868–1947), the famous Belgian scholar on Mithraism,<sup>3</sup> whom he greatly admired but whose fundamental theories about Mithras he wished to challenge.<sup>4</sup> Instead of Cumont's attribution of the text to an Egyptian magician engaged with Hermeticism, Dieterich's proposed to take the text's reference to Mithras

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<sup>1</sup> Albrecht Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1903; 2nd ed. 1910, by Richard Wünsch; 3rd ed. 1923, by Otto Weinreich; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966).

<sup>2</sup> See the commentary *infra*, at lines 477, 647–48, 741, 747, 771.

<sup>3</sup> On Cumont see Robert Turcan, "Franz Cumont, Fondateur," *Hieros* 2 (1997) 11–20; Corinne Bonnet, "Cumont, Franz," *RGG* (4th ed.), 2 (1999) 504–5.

<sup>4</sup> On this point, see Albrecht Dieterich, "Die Religion des Mithras," *BJ* 108–9 (1902) 26–41; reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* (ed. Richard Wünsch; Leipzig & Berlin, 1911), 252–71.

seriously and to interpret it in the context of syncretistic forms of Mithraism.<sup>5</sup> Cumont's basic objections are the following:

"Among the learned researches which we cannot enumerate here, the most important is that of Albrecht Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 1903. He has endeavored with some ingenuity to show that a mystical passage inserted in a magical papyrus preserved at Paris is in reality a fragment of a Mithraic liturgy, but here I share the skepticism of Reitzenstein (*Neue Jahrb. f. das class. Altertum*, 1904, p. 192) and I have given my reasons in *Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belg.*, XLVII, 1904, pp. 1ff. Dieterich answered briefly in *Archiv f. Religionswis.* VIII, 1905, p. 502, but without convincing me. The author of the passage in question may have been more or less accurate in giving his god the external appearance of Mithra, but he certainly did not know the eschatology of the Persian mysteries. We know, for instance, through positive testimony that they taught the dogma of the passage of the soul through the seven planetary spheres, and that Mithra acted as a guide to his votaries in their ascension to the realm of the blessed. Neither the former nor the latter doctrine, however, is found in the fantastic uranography of the magician. The name of Mithra, as elsewhere that of the magi Zoroaster and Hostanes, helped to circulate an Egyptian forgery ...."<sup>6</sup>

Cumont based his views regarding Mithraism on the evidence of inscriptions and literary texts, which, as he correctly pointed out, contained nothing comparable to Dieterich's Mithras Liturgy.<sup>7</sup> He did not take the name Mithras that occurs in the text seriously, but attributed it to the stereotypical cleverness with which Egyptian magicians dressed up their forgeries. Dieterich's other suggestion, according to which the text contained a "liturgy," was equally unacceptable to Cumont. Besides the problem of defining the term "liturgy," Cumont found it utterly incredible that an Egyptian magician should have had access to a Mithraic liturgy; such an esoteric text, had it existed, would have been highly secret, but no trace of it has survived. These objections are, however, speculative in view of the fact that the Paris Magical Papyrus is meant to be just such an esoteric text.

While these issues will have to be discussed further in the present commentary, it should be understood that Dieterich had walked into another highly

<sup>5</sup> Cumont's major review of Dieterich is entitled, "Un livre nouveau sur la liturgie païenne," *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 46 (1904) 1-10; see also his *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (Paris: Leroux, 1906), 300. Dieterich advanced further arguments to persuade Cumont (in *Mithrasliturgie*, 234-36), but Cumont remained unconvinced and repeated his criticism in the 4th edition (Paris: Geuthner, 1929), 272; see also the German edition, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum* (trans. August Burckhardt-Brandenberg; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1959), 279-80.

<sup>6</sup> Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1911; reprinted New York: Dover, 1956), 260-61.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. idem, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (2 vols.; Bruxelles: Maertin, 1899, 1896), 1.41.



contentious territory, that of the methodological debate between the two most influential schools of classical scholarship at the time, the schools of Hermann Usener (1834–1905) in Bonn<sup>8</sup> and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in Berlin (1848–1931).<sup>9</sup> Dieterich represented the methodological approaches developed by Usener, his father-in-law and close collaborator. In Berlin, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff was deeply divided about the Usener school's extension of classical scholarship into the areas of popular religion ("Volksreligion"), folklore ("Volkskunde"), superstition ("Aberglaube"), and magic. On the one hand, Wilamowitz confirmed that the study of antiquity must include all of antiquity;<sup>10</sup> on the other hand, he sensed the danger that classical philology could be neglecting the great Hellenic tradition by bogging down in what he contemptuously named "Botokudenphilologie."<sup>11</sup> Although he respected Usener, he saw in Dieterich's scholarship a tendency toward disintegration of the discipline of classical philology.<sup>12</sup> As a result, Wilamowitz and

<sup>8</sup> Instructive is the correspondence between Usener and Wilamowitz; see William M. Calder III, ed., *Usener und Wilamowitz: Ein Briefwechsel 1870–1905* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart & Leipzig: Teubner, 1994), especially 55–58, where both articulate their basic premises regarding ancient religion. On the Usener school see Hans Joachim Mette, "Nekrolog einer Epoche: Hermann Usener und seine Schule: Ein wirkungsgeschichtlicher Rückblick auf die Jahre 1856–1979," *Lustrum* 22 (1979–1980) 5–106; Arnaldo Momigliano, "Hermann Usener," in *New Paths of Classicism in the Nineteenth Century* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University, 1982), 33–48.

<sup>9</sup> See, especially, Albert Henrichs, "'Der Glaube der Hellenen': Religionsgeschichte als Glaubensbekenntnis und Kulturkritik," in *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (eds. William M. Calder III, Hellmut Flashar, Theodor Lindken; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 263–305, esp. 280, 283–84, 287–88; Friedrich Pfister, "Albrecht Dieterichs Wirken in der Religionswissenschaft," *ARW* 35 (1938) 180–85.

<sup>10</sup> See the remarkable conclusion of his lecture, given 1893 at Göttingen, entitled "Aus ägyptischen Gräbern" (*Reden und Vorträge* [2nd ed.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1902], 224–55), 254–55: "Ich habe einmal gehört, wie ein bedeutender Gelehrter beklagte, daß die Papyri gefunden wären, weil sie dem Altertum den vornehmen Schimmer der Klassizität nehmen. Daß sie das tun, ist unbestreitbar, aber ich freue mich dessen. Denn ich will meine Hellenen nicht bewundern, sondern verstehn, damit ich sie gerecht beurteilen kann. Und selbst Mahadöh, der Herr der Erden, – soll er strafen, soll er schonen, muß den Menschen menschlich sehn." The final sentence reflects Goethe's ballad of 1797, "Der Gott und die Bajadere: Indische Legende," in *Goethes Werke* (Hamburger Ausgabe, ed. Erich Trunz; München: Beck, 1989), 1.273–76, with the commentary, 664–66.

<sup>11</sup> Reported by Pfister, "Albrecht Dieterichs Wirken," 183.

<sup>12</sup> Dieterich made known his future plans that seem to confirm Wilamowitz's suspicions: a multi-volume work, entitled *Volksreligion: Versuche über die Grundformen religiösen Denkens*. In Part IV he wished to treat the subject of "Formen der Vereinigung des Menschen mit Gott," and in it he planned to complete the commentary work on the second part of the Mithras Liturgy. Only Part I was published: *Mutter Erde: Ein Versuch über Volksreligion* (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1905). See Richard Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," in Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften*, ix–xlii, esp. xxx, xxxvi; Pfister, "Albrecht Dieterichs Wirken," 182–83.

his school consistently treated Dieterich's work as marginal. The deeper reason, to be sure, had to do not so much with differences in philological method but with deeper competing conceptions of what constitutes the discipline of "classical philology."<sup>13</sup>

Dieterich was aware of the kind of risks he was taking. As correspondence with Usener reveals, he discussed matters beforehand with him, in particular the title of the book.<sup>14</sup> He also gave lectures about his work before publication; he mentions his previous lectures on the Mithras Liturgy in the Preface. Thanking his friends Siegfried Sudhaus, Paul Wendland, and Richard Wünsch for their suggestions and warnings means that he shared manuscripts and galley-proofs with friends. Therefore, whatever the risks were, he took them knowingly and courageously, although he may have got more than he had bargained for.

Although even present-day scholars repeat Cumont's rejection of the title and the major hypothesis of Dieterich's book,<sup>15</sup> these responses did not diminish the continuous stimulation exerted by it. The ongoing role Dieterich's book played in scholarship has been documented by the editors in the successive editions. From early on, scholars distinguished between Dieterich's provocative claim that the Mithras Liturgy actually came from the liturgy of the cult of Mithras and the plethora of materials and suggestive ideas assembled in the book. In his authoritative work, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (vol. 2, 1961), Martin P. Nilsson summed up the common view about Dieterich's book in this way. Regarding the main thesis, he says that "it should now be

<sup>13</sup> See the studies included in *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (eds. William Calder III, Hellmut Flashar, Theodor Lindken; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), esp. 280–84.

<sup>14</sup> In his letter to Usener, dated May 3, 1901, he brings up the "Mithrasweihe" and raises the question of the title in a letter of October 29, 1901; replying to Usener's suggestions (non-extant) in the letter of December 8, 1901, he decides on "Eine Mithrasliturgie": "ἀπαθανατισμός hatte ich zuvorgesetzt, weil in dem Papyrus nachher diese Partie so genannt wird in einer Stelle, die ich noch anhangsweise herausgebe: es schien mir die Bezeichnung zu sein, die diese Leute für den Kultakt wirklich brauchten; der Zusatz sollte nur eben die Zugehörigkeit zum Mithraskult [sic] gleich vorn hervorheben. Ich ändere das. Würdest Du 'Mithrasliturgie' oder 'Mithrasweihe' auf die Seite drucken? Ich muß auch, da an einer Abbildung für den Titel (eben der Rindschulterzene) probirt wird, die Worte des Titels formulieren. Würde Dir gefallen: EINE MITHRASLITURGIE – Text Übersetzung Einleitung von ... oder die Mittelreihe weglassen? Die Fragen haben aber gar keine Eile!" Quoted with permission from the *Nachlaß* of Usener and Dieterich in the University Library in Bonn (Signature: S 2102.2).

<sup>15</sup> So also Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Egyptian Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 82, n. 33: "The section that mainly concerns us here (475–750) is what Dieterich misleadingly dubbed "eine Mithrasliturgie" in his book of that name."

given up." Yet, "The significance of Dieterich's book does not depend on this thesis, but on the more general ideas he presented, which in many ways have since become standard."<sup>16</sup> This evaluation, however, requires revision in the light of more recent research in the areas of hellenistic syncretism in Graeco-Egypt and in Mithraism. The two implications of Dieterich's title, therefore, still demand explanation: the appearance of the name of Mithras and the "liturgical" nature of the text.

The present assessment of Dieterich's work has been well stated by Walter Burkert: "The interest in magical papyri for the history of religion was initiated by Albrecht Dieterich in his books *Abraxas* and *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, the success of which was lasting and well-deserved. Yet the thesis implied in the title *Mithrasliturgie*, that the fantastic voyage to heaven, as contained in this magical book, was enacted in the mysteries of Mithras, was criticized immediately and can hardly be maintained. The text describes a private trip in a quest for oracular revelations, not a communal mystery rite, with special elaborations on a syncretistic background. There remain puzzling problems in explaining this and similar texts."<sup>17</sup> Indeed, this is the point where new investigations need to begin.

## II. *The Papyrus*

### 1. *Origin and Provenance*

The text of the Mithras Liturgy consists of a segment of what scholars call the "Great Magical Papyrus of Paris," now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Supplément grec #574, part of the Anastasi collection, #1073). According to Preisendanz,<sup>18</sup> the name derives from its great length of 36

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<sup>16</sup> Nilsson, *GGR*, 2.670, n. 2: "Diese These ... dürfte nunmehr aufgegeben sein.... Die Bedeutung des Dieterichschen Buches beruht nicht auf dieser These, sondern auf den von ihm vorgetragene[n] allgemeinen Gesichtspunkten, die vielfach maßgebend geworden sind...." For a more detailed discussion of Dieterich, see *ibid.*, 286–93. Cf. also Arthur Darby Nock who follows Cumont and Reitzenstein in his article of 1929 ("Greek Magical Papyri," *Essays*, 1.176–94, esp. 192): "We are here in the sphere of individualist religion. And this, as Reitzenstein has observed, is the key to the understanding of the so-called *Mithrasliturgie*. That document is neither a liturgy nor, properly speaking, Mithraic. It is an ἀπαθανατισμός, directions how one shall make oneself immortal and pass through the heavens...."

<sup>17</sup> Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 68.

<sup>18</sup> *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.64; he also explains the different description in Lenormant's auction catalogue (p. 87) as having 33 pages (see below, n. 20).

leaves containing 3274 lines, written on both sides and to be taken as the pages of a papyrus codex. Fol. 1 recto, 3 verso, 16 and 34 recto, and fol. 16 and 34 recto, verso are blank. The creator of the book had 18 double-leaves, which he folded in the middle like pages and on which he wrote from p. 2 recto onwards. Fol. 1 recto verso, together with fol. 36 recto verso, formed the book cover; the small Coptic piece in fol. 1 verso seems to have been written onto it as an addition.

The delimitation of the beginning and end of the Mithras Liturgy was made first by Dieterich on the basis of Wessely's edition. While Dieterich was right about the beginning, he remained undecided about its end. In his commentary, he divides the Mithras Liturgy into two parts, the ritual proper, called ἀπαθανατισμός, "Immortalization" (ll. 475–723), and the "Anweisung zu magischer Verwendung der Mithrasliturgie" ("Instruction for the magical application of the Mithras Liturgy," ll. 723–834). This division, however, is not based on a composition analysis and therefore creates more problems than it solves. While he includes the quotations from Homer at the end (ll. 821–34), he does not include those that stand before the beginning (ll. 467–74). More likely is that the Mithras Liturgy is, for whatever reason, sandwiched between the Homeric quotations. Moreover, his naming of the first part as "liturgy" ("Mithrasliturgie") and second part as "Anwendung" (Application) seems artificial, since he ignores the fact that both parts are "applications." Dieterich's reason follows from his assumption of a primary Mithraic source and its secondary magical application. The delimitation of the text segment, therefore, needs reconsideration in the light of a thoroughgoing compositional analysis.

#### *a. Circumstances of Discovery*

Regarding the origin and provenance of the papyrus book not much is known, and what little information we have seems to have come from the collector, Giovanni Anastasi (1780–1857).<sup>19</sup> The man's original name may have been different, but he was known under the assumed name, written in Italian or French (Jean d'Anastasy). He was the son of an Armenian merchant from Damascus who had settled in Alexandria. This son became wealthy and gained the favor of the Pasha who appointed him in 1828 as Consul General in Egypt to the kingdoms of Norway and Sweden; he served in this capacity until his death. Besides business and politics, Mr. Anastasi enjoyed great

<sup>19</sup> See Warren R. Dawson, "Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri," *JEA* 35 (1949) 158–66, esp. 158–60.

success as an enthusiastic dilettant and collector of Egyptian antiquities. In the post-Napoleonic world a wave of interest in these antiquities developed on the part of European dealers, scholars, and museums. He was of course not the only collector, but the time was ripe for rich pickings. Most likely working through Egyptian agents, Anastasi was able to amass huge treasures, of which he sent several shipments to Europe for auctions in Paris and London. Among the materials were 60 papyrus manuscripts, one of which was the Great Magical Papyrus. At the widely publicized auction in Paris in 1857 this papyrus was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale (#1073), where it is until today.<sup>20</sup> As the printed auction catalogue reveals, little was known at the time about the content of the papyri, but all sources agree that they came from Thebes,<sup>21</sup> probably because Anastasi had said so.<sup>22</sup> However, there is no concrete evidence concerning the time, location and circumstances of the discovery. Because of the similarities between the pieces in the collection and the fact of their relatively good condition, it is conceivable indeed that all or most of them came from the library of a learned priest and magician that was placed with him in his grave, perhaps in a large box or terracotta vessel.<sup>23</sup>

If the "great magical papyrus of Paris," and together with it the Mithras Liturgy, was indeed found in Thebes, it does not necessarily imply that the papyrus was also written there. The collection, serving a practicing magician as a "handbook," was compiled from many sources. These sources may have existed in Theban temple libraries, but they could just as well have been excerpted at other places in Egypt, which would presuppose that the author travelled, visited temple libraries, and shared materials with other magicians.

<sup>20</sup> The sizable catalogue of 1129 items was compiled by François Lenormant, *Catalogue d'une collection Rassemblée par M. d'Anastasi, Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques Rue de Clichy, No. 76, les Mardi 23, Mercredi 24, Jeudi 25, Vendredi 26 & Samedi 27 Juin 1857, à une heure*. Etc. (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1857), especially pp. 84–88: "Papyrus."

<sup>21</sup> On this city in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see the essays and bibliographical materials in S. P. Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 27; Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995). For the PGM, see W. J. Tait, "Theban Magic," *ibid.*, 169–82.

<sup>22</sup> Lenormant's description is rather fanciful (p. 84): "M. Anastasi, dans ses fouilles à Thèbes avait découvert la bibliothèque d'un gnostique égyptien du second siècle...." Cf. Carl Wessely (*WSI* 8 [1886] 189) who opts for Heracleopolis at the time of Tertullian. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 169–71, speaks of the Anastasi collection as "the Thebes cache" and refers to a letter by Anastasi, dated March 18, 1828 (now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden), confirming the origin in Thebes (169, n. 48).

<sup>23</sup> This is Preisendanz' conclusion; see Karl Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1933), 91–95: "Bibliothek der Zauberpapyri von Theben." Cf. also Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 166–68: "Temples and priests."

The Mithras Liturgy explicitly refers to such sharing of ritual texts among magicians. This assumption could mean either that the handbook was filled not at once but over a period of time, or that the sections were successively assembled before they were copied together into the handbook, or that the final copy resulted from a combination of both these activities.

About the “great magical papyrus” the catalogue has this to say: “Manuscrit sur feuilles de papyrus pliées en livre, formant 33 feuillets écrits des deux côtés, à 60 lignes environ par page.... En tête sont trois pages de copte, qui débutant par l’histoire d’un fromage mystique pour la composition duquel s’associent Osiris, Sabaoth, Iao, Jésus et tous les autres éons. Ce fromage n’est autre que la *gnose*. – Ecriture du second siècle de notre ère.”<sup>24</sup>

Some general information about the milieu of these collectors can be gleaned from one of Anastasi’s acquaintances, Giovanni d’Athanasī, commonly known as “Yanni,” who was a resident for eighteen years at Thebes, engaged in hunting after objects of antiquity.<sup>25</sup> He was born on the island of Lemnos, and his father was a merchant in Cairo. At the suggestion of English travellers who met him in Thebes, where he worked as an interpreter to an English collector by the name of Henry Salt, he wrote up a personal account of his activities. This account was published in London in the year 1836, together with a catalogue of Mr. Salt’s collection of antiquities.<sup>26</sup> D’Athanasī’s own collection was auctioned off in London by Leigh Sotheby in 1837.<sup>27</sup> These collectors speak of the manuscript scrolls as having been found in terracotta urns in or near tombs.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Lenormant, 87 (Nr. 1073). Cf. on this passage Karl Preisendanz, “Zum Pariser Zauberpapyrus der bibl. nat. suppl. gr. 574” (*Ph.* 68 [1909] 575–77), 575–76: “Aus dem ganzen Passus geht hervor, daß man schon damals den Papyrus als eine Schicht von 33 (bzw. 36) Einzelblättern kannte. Das war natürlich die ursprüngliche Form des Buches nicht; denn von “Büchern”, die aus übereinandergelegten, unzusammenhängenden Blättern bestanden, wissen wir nichts. Papyrusbücher in *Codexform* dagegen kennen wir.”

<sup>25</sup> Giovanni d’Athanasī, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt*, made under the direction of Henry Salt, Esq., to which is added a detailed catalogue of Mr. Salt’s collection of Egyptian Antiquities; illustrated with twelve engravings of some of the most interesting objects, and an enumeration of those articles purchased for the British Museum (London: John Hearne, 1836), ix, 151.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, 151.

<sup>27</sup> *Catalogue of the Very Magnificent and Extraordinary Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of Giovanni d’Athanasī*, which will be sold by auction by Mr. Leigh Sotheby, at his house, 3, Wellington Street, Strand, on Monday, March 13th, 1837, and the Six following Days (Sunday excepted), at One o’Clock precisely (London: J. Davy, 1837).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 79, 151.

*b. Date*

The question of the date has been decided firmly on linguistic and palaeographical grounds by the Vienna papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860–1931), with whom all other papyrologists agree. They date the script to the early fourth century.<sup>29</sup> This, however, pertains to the written papyrus as extant: “Die Zeit Diokletians ist also terminus, ante quem das Papyrusbuch abgefaßt sein muß: auf alle Fälle ist die Liturgie in dieser Abschrift geschrieben zur Zeit hoher Blüte des Mithrasdienstes.”<sup>30</sup>

As Dieterich indicates, this date applies to the extant script, but the text presupposes a longer process of development. The fact that the text shows evidence of the interpretation of older traditions means that these traditions have a prehistory of their own. Considering the complexities, Dieterich suggests that the development of the composition took more than 200 years, the origin occurring in the years 100–150, followed by the ritual function of the original text in the Egyptian Mithras cult (150–200), the subsequent adaptation and development by the magicians (200–300), and concluded by the inclusion of the final copy in the papyrus book.

Dieterich’s hypothesis is, however, beset with problems. (1) He does not distinguish clearly enough between scribe and author; (2) because he has no detailed compositional analysis on hand, he cannot clearly identify the author’s contributions in distinction from sources; (3) Dieterich’s own hypothetical assumption of an earlier stage as a Mithraic cultic text and subsequent adaptation by magicians determines how he sees the development, but does not conform to the textual evidence.

These problems, however, do not render Dieterich’s time frame invalid. It seems reasonable to estimate that it took about 200 years for the composition and its parts to come together. Internal criteria point to some older and some younger sources. Externally, the text is thoroughly Hellenistic-Egyptian – without any traces of Christian, Christian-gnostic, or Neoplatonic influences –, although traditions of Middle Stoicism are apparent, as is a certain closeness to Hermeticism.

<sup>29</sup> See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 43–46; Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.64.

<sup>30</sup> Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 44 (emphasized). Preisendanz (1.64) also refers to Wilhelm Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin: Reimer, 1907; 3rd ed.: Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1962), who points out that the papyrus codex came into use just about this time.

c. *Authorship*

The question of authorship is also complicated. What we see on the papyrus pages is the work of a scribe who copied the text from a *Vorlage* into the codex. Redactional references in the text itself indicate that we must, at least in principle, distinguish the scribe from the author.

The redactional comments, if taken seriously, imply that the scribe or author had available more than one version of the *Vorlage*.<sup>31</sup> If the two were different persons, one of them had compared the versions and noted the textual variants; he would then be the author, while the scribe copied his autograph. If scribe and author were the same person, the final text is the author's own autograph that included all the insertions and supplements. Things get more complicated by the facts that the author's work is a highly developed redactional composition involving his own contributions, older sources adopted and adapted from tradition, and supplements added at various stages of the composition by subsequent copyists. Therefore, while source materials excerpted from other contexts had their own authors before inclusion in the final copy, that final copy has only one author and redactor; there is no evidence of multiple authorship at the final level.

While the final author remains anonymous, he speaks in the first person throughout. Even when he identifies himself by names in passages we call "self-presentations," he leaves the place vacant by using the symbol Δ or magical names. As one might expect, he was an expert in the handling of magical materials. What is surprising, however, is his expertise as a literary scholar and writer.<sup>32</sup> He has carefully examined other versions of the text and has noted textual variants: ἐν ἄλλῳ (l. 500) and φωτὸς κτίστα, οἱ δὲ συνκλεῖστα (l. 591).<sup>33</sup> He inserts a marginal comment (ll. 478–81) and cross-references to the supplements, and he corrects his own earlier practice (ll. 791–98).<sup>34</sup> He adds learned theological commentary with explanations of traditions (e.g., ll. 495–98, 529–32), or library research and consultation of herbalist sources for information on the plant *kenritis* (ll. 798–813). Finally, he begins his work with a fine literary preface (ll. 475–85), and he adds supplementary information before he ends with a note indicating completion (ll. 819–20).

<sup>31</sup> On the references to variants see below at n. 33.

<sup>32</sup> For the full evidence see the *Conspectus* of the literary analysis, below, pp. 60–87.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. also PGM II.50; IV.29, 1277; V.51; VII.204; XII.201; XIII.731; see also Graf, *Gottesnähe*, 211 n. 9; *Magic*, 236, n. 7).

<sup>34</sup> David Jordan's evaluation confirms this (letter of December 17, 2002): "Palaeographically, the papyrus is more interesting than I had thought. The scribe is clearly conscious of what he is doing: he leaves spaces within the line to mark punctuation and sometimes even to distinguish words. And there are several previously unnoticed lectional signs over some of the clusters of vowels." See below on ll. 610–17.



## 2. Editions

The first edition of the Paris Papyri was published by Wessely in 1888, based on his collation made in Paris in August of 1883;<sup>35</sup> in 1888 he checked the papyrus again and published his corrections in 1889.<sup>36</sup> All subsequent editions depend on Wessely, although several papyrologists examined the papyri and proposed different readings: Wilhelm Kroll,<sup>37</sup> N. Novossadsky,<sup>38</sup> Karl Preisendanz,<sup>39</sup> Richard Ganszyniec,<sup>40</sup> and others.<sup>41</sup>

In his own commentary *Eine Mithrasliturgie* of 1903, Dieterich relied on Kroll's collations and on the photographic plates, supplemented by other evidence.<sup>42</sup> This supplementary material was added in appendices to the second edition (1910) by Richard Wunsch, and the third edition (1923) by Otto Weinreich. These editors, however, did not change Dieterich's text.<sup>43</sup> In Dieterich's book, the Greek text, with apparatus and notes, includes PGM IV. 475–834, but his German translation ends at l. 723, because he did not regard ll. 723–834 as belonging to the original Mithras Liturgy. Greek text and notes, however, continue until the end.<sup>44</sup> Although he paid careful attention to the textual evidence, he himself was more interested in the religio-historical interpretation which comprises the main body of his book.

The edition of the *Papyri graecae magicae*, edited and published in 1928 by Karl Preisendanz (1883–1968), placed the Paris magical papyrus in the first volume. It includes the "Große Pariser Zauberpapyrus (P IV)", and as part of

<sup>35</sup> Carl Wessely, "Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London" (DÖAW.PH 36, 2. Abteilung; Wien: Tempsky, 1888), 27–208; the section containing the Mithras Liturgy is found on pp. 56–65.

<sup>36</sup> Idem, "Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque Nationale," in *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* (Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, 1889), 12–19.

<sup>37</sup> Wilhelm Kroll, "Adversaria graeca," *Ph.* 53 (1894) 416–28.

<sup>38</sup> N. Novossadsky, "Ad papyrus magicam bibliothecae parisinae adnotationes palaeographicae," *Journal of the Ministry of National Education*, Part 302, December 1895 (St. Petersburg: V. S. Balashev, 1895), 82–87.

<sup>39</sup> Karl Preisendanz, "Zum Pariser Zauberpapyrus der bibl. nat. suppl. gr. 574," *Ph.* 68 (1909) 575–77; idem, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 42 (1920) 24–33; idem, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.64.

<sup>40</sup> Collations of 1927, included in Preisendanz's edition of 1928 (1.65).

<sup>41</sup> See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.64–66; 2.v–xvii.

<sup>42</sup> See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 2, apparatus; Richard Wunsch also used the plates (see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, appendix to the 3rd ed., 129).

<sup>43</sup> So Weinreich, in the preface to the third edition, p. iv: "Dieterichs Text blieb selbstverständlich unverändert, ebenso die in der zweiten Auflage enthaltenen Nachträge" [scil. Dieterich's].

<sup>44</sup> See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 16, apparatus.

it the Mithras Liturgy.<sup>45</sup> Preisendanz uses the text of Wessely, modified according to the carefully noted suggestions made by earlier scholars, foremost among them Dieterich.<sup>46</sup> In addition, Preisendanz made use of photographic plates which Dieterich had procured and which his widow, Marie Dieterich, had made available to him.<sup>47</sup> One should realize that the edition was intended merely as a study edition, paving the way for a standard critical edition which has not yet materialized.<sup>48</sup> The second edition of Preisendanz prepared by Albert Henrichs was intended as an improved republication.<sup>49</sup>

Other study editions have been published more recently. Marvin W. Meyer contributed a fascicle entitled *The "Mithras Liturgy,"* which contains the text of Preisendanz and an English translation.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, a study edition was published in 1992 by Reinhold Merkelbach in the third of his four-volume collec-

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<sup>45</sup> *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz (1st ed.; 2 vols.; Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1928), 1.64–180; the Mithras Liturgy, 88–100; see also the citations in note 14 above, and Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSI* 41 (1919) 140–44; *ibid.* 42 (1920) 24–33.

<sup>46</sup> Preisendanz, a former student of Dieterich, dedicated his edition to the memory of his teacher, and to Richard Wünsch.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.64. The photographs were deposited at the University Library in Heidelberg, where Preisendanz had taught, until after World War II. They were used also by Albert Henrichs for the new Preisendanz edition of 1973 (1.12). Unfortunately, as Professor Ludwig Koenen reported, they were subsequently lost in the mail on the way to Ann Arbor, Michigan.

<sup>48</sup> Preisendanz's *Vorrede* (1.VI): "Auch dieses Corpus der griechischen Zauberpapyri geht auf Einfluß und Anregung ALBRECHT DIETERICHs zurück. Oft betonte er in jenen Heidelberger Seminarübungen des Sommers 1905 und im persönlichen Gespräch als Hauptgrund ihrer verächtlichen Behandlung durch die philologischen und theologischen Forscher das Fehlen einer leicht zugänglichen, allgemein lesbaren und verständlichen Ausgabe der verstreut publizierten und teilweise höchst mangelhaft bearbeiteten Texte."

<sup>49</sup> As Henrichs explains (1.XIII), his contributions consist of the inclusion of supplementary notes by Preisendanz and his own textual emendations (Zweite, verbesserte Auflage mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz, durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs [2 vols.; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973, 1974]). For his work Henrichs was able to use Preisendanz's *Nachlaß* in Heidelberg. Preisendanz's vol. 3 was not published because the printing plates were destroyed when the Teubner publishing house in Leipzig was bombed on December 4, 1943. Fortunately, a set of the galley-proofs was saved, photocopies of which have circulated among scholars. Preisendanz explains the contents in the *Vorrede* to vol. 3 (printed in the new edition, 2.VII–XVII). The new edition of vol. 2 includes those texts that were to be part of vol. 3, and also the reconstructed Hymns according to a new reconstruction by Ernst Heitsch. See Henrichs's *Vorwort zur Neuausgabe*, 1.XIII; also Betz, *GMPT*, xlv. The comprehensive indices were not reprinted because they are now outdated, although they are still useful in the absence of a newly compiled *index verborum*.

<sup>50</sup> Marvin M. Meyer, *The "Mithras Liturgy"* (SBL.TT.GRRS, 2; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976); Meyer's English translation was included in Betz, *GMPT*, 48–54.

tion, entitled *Abrasax*.<sup>51</sup> The Mithras Liturgy, which he renames "Pschai-Aion-Liturgie," is based on Preisendanz's edition for the text, and on Dieterich's notes for the commentary, to which Merkelbach adds his own textual readings, German translation, introduction, and interpretative notes.<sup>52</sup>

Partial texts, translations, and textual notes were contributed by Wilhelm Kroll,<sup>53</sup> Ernst Riess,<sup>54</sup> Ludwig Radermacher,<sup>55</sup> Wilhelm Crönert,<sup>56</sup> Sam Eitrem,<sup>57</sup> Theodor Hopfner,<sup>58</sup> Richard Reitzenstein,<sup>59</sup> Friedrich Zucker,<sup>60</sup> and André-Jean Festugière.<sup>61</sup> Somewhat idiosyncratic is the early translation and gnostic interpretation, based on his own readings of the Greek text, by Wolfgang Schultz.<sup>62</sup> Finally, an anonymous work, published in 1995 by a prestigious publishing house, presents a French translation of the Mithras Liturgy.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Reinhold Merkelbach, *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts*, Band 3: *Zwei griechisch-ägyptische Weihezeremonien (Die Leidener Weltschöpfung; Die Pschai-Aion-Liturgie)* (ARWAWPC 17.3; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992).

<sup>52</sup> For his own explanation of his work, see pp. vii, 155–57. Text and translation of PGM IV.475–824 are given on pp. 58–182, with notes pp. 233–49; an especially valuable contribution is his Introduction to both "Weihezeremonien" (PGM XIII.1–230, 343–71, and IV.475–824). He sees both the rituals as representative of an Alexandrian theology involving the main gods of the city, Sarapis–Aion–Iao–Abraxas and Pschai–Agathos Daimon (pp. 1–85).

<sup>53</sup> "Adversaria graeca," 421.

<sup>54</sup> "Notes, Critical and Explanatory, on the Magical Papyri," *CIR* 10 (1896) 409–13.

<sup>55</sup> "Griechischer Sprachbrauch," *Ph.* 63 (1904) 4–5.

<sup>56</sup> "Zur Kritik der Papyrustexte," *StPP* 4 (1905) 84–107, esp. 99–101.

<sup>57</sup> "Varia," *NTFi* 10 (1922) 102–16.

<sup>58</sup> *OZ*, II/1, §§ 116–19 (pp. 181–92). The commented German translation follows Dieterich.

<sup>59</sup> *HMR*, 169–76 (text, text-critical notes and commentary on the exordium); idem, "Eingang und Schluß der Mithrasliturgie," in *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte* (ed. by Edvard Lehmann and Hans Haas; Leipzig: Deichert; Erlangen: Scholl, 1922), 212–13 (German translation, following Dieterich).

<sup>60</sup> Review of Preisendanz's edition, *ByZ* 31 (1931) 355–63.

<sup>61</sup> *La Révélation*, 1.303–9, following mostly Dieterich, but contributing his own notes as well; 3.168–74.

<sup>62</sup> *Dokumente der Gnosis* (Jena: Diederichs, 1910), 83–95, 239–40.

<sup>63</sup> *Manuel de magie égyptienne: Le papyrus magique de Paris* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1995), 29–40, with notes, 131–33. There is no clarity about text or translator, although Preisendanz's edition and Meyer's translation in Betz, *GMPT* are known to the author.

### III. Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908): Life and Scholarship

Albrecht Dieterich's personal life was from the beginning destined to be that of a scholar.<sup>64</sup> He was born into a family of teachers and theologians on May 2, 1866 in Hersfeld (Hessen), where his father was a teacher at the local *Gymnasium* and married to Henriette Münscher, the daughter of the director who in turn was the son of a theology professor in Marburg. The oldest son, Albrecht, grew up in a home of liberal Protestant parents who were open to the delights of culture and the arts. Careful guidance by his father led to the baccalaureate (1884) and the beginning of his university studies in Leipzig. Having first taken up theology, he was soon drawn toward philosophy of religion and German literature, but then he turned toward classical philology (represented by Ernst Curtius, Otto Crusius, Justus Hermann Lipsius, Otto Ribbeck, and Rudolf Hirzel). In 1886 Dieterich went to Bonn, where the first lecture by Hermann Usener convinced him like by a strike of lightning that classical philology was to be his future: "Here lie the great problems, to which you must dedicate your life."<sup>65</sup> His main teachers were Franz Bücheler and Hermann Usener, but he also studied classical archaeology and art with Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz. What mostly interested him was the way Usener combined classical philology and history of religions, for instance in his book *Das Weihnachtsfest*.<sup>66</sup> Rather than letting him drift into "the great problems," however, his teachers trained him to prove himself as a philologist of the classical literature. Usener advised him to write a "Preisarbeit" (an essay competing for a prize) on Aeschylus, and after that Bücheler assigned to him the task of working up textual and commentary annotations to Papyrus Leiden J 384, published by Conrad Leemans in 1885.<sup>67</sup> Having won the two prizes, Dieterich expanded the second essay into his doctoral dissertation of 1888,<sup>68</sup> which ventures to explore on a purely

<sup>64</sup> For the following I am indebted to the essay "Albrecht Dieterich," based upon a variety of sources and personal witnesses, by Richard Wünsch, Dieterich's former student and editor of *Albrecht Dieterich, Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911), xi–xlii. For Dieterich's continued influence see the essay by Friedrich Pfister, written in memory of the 30th anniversary of Dieterich's death, "Albrecht Dieterichs Wirken in der Religionswissenschaft: Zu seinem 30. Todestag," *ARW* 35 (1938) 180–85.

<sup>65</sup> Cited from Wünsch's article, xii: "Hier liegen die großen Probleme, denen du dein Leben widmen muß."

<sup>66</sup> Hermann Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1888). Usener who died in 1905 entrusted the 2nd edition to Hans Lietzmann who published it in 1910; the 3rd edition of 1969 is a reprint from Usener's *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, part I.

<sup>67</sup> Conrad Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1843, 1885); J 384 and J 395 are in vol. 2. See also Betz, *GMPT*, I–II, n. 21.

<sup>68</sup> *Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi, quam C. Leemans edidit in papyrorum Graecarum tomo II (V)*, denuo edidit, commentario critico instruxit, prolegomena scripsit A. D., which

philological level the yet mostly unknown magical literature of Hellenistic Egypt.<sup>69</sup> The Leiden Papyri J 384 and J 395 became PGM XII and XIII in the collection of Preisendanz;<sup>70</sup> they were again investigated by the papyrologist Robert W. Daniel who published them together with photographs in 1991.<sup>71</sup>

After he passed the state examination in 1889 and completed the required year of teaching as an intern in a *Gymnasium*, he left teaching in a secondary school, although he liked it and returned to it much later. Instead he went back to the Leiden Papyri for his *Habilitationsschrift*, now on J 395. However, warned by the fact that the magical papyri, usually relegated to the area of magic and superstition, were generally not accepted as qualification for a chair in Classics, Dieterich selected the Orphic Hymns as topic. Especially because of the work of Gottfried Hermann, these hymns had come to be recognized as cultic poetry, but they also provided a way to show the link between “higher literature” and the magical papyri. After his *Habilitation* 1891 at Marburg,<sup>72</sup> he could use the other research material for his next work, an extensive commentary on J 395, which was published in the same year.<sup>73</sup> The work has two major parts. Part I deals with the text and religio-historical interpretation of J 395, focusing on the so-called “cosmopoiia of Leiden.” Importantly, he identifies it as a syncretistic text containing elements from ancient Egyptian religion, astrological mysticism, Greek religion and Stoicism. Part II focuses on the “Eighth Book of Moses” and explores the literary environment of “Jewish-Orphic-Gnostic” cults and the magical literature. Highly suggestive, this work raises a host of new questions and provides impetus for further investigations. The work was presented to Usener at the celebration of his 25th anniversary as a professor in Bonn. Indeed, it is an exemplary fruit of the close cooperation between Dieterich and Usener, whose daughter Marie he married in 1898. It is interesting, however, that Dieterich spent several weeks

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appeared in JCPH.S 16 (1888) 749–830. The Prolegomena were reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 1–47.

<sup>69</sup> As a good philologist would, he insisted undertaking a trip to Leiden personally to collate the papyrus.

<sup>70</sup> See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 2.57–131, esp. 57; Idem, “Die griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *APF* 8 (1927) 120–23.

<sup>71</sup> Robert W. Daniel, *Two Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: A Photographic Edition of J 384 and J 395 (= PGM XII and XIII)* (ARWAW.PC 19; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1991).

<sup>72</sup> *De Hymnis Orphicis capitula quinque* (Marburg: Elwert, 1891).

<sup>73</sup> *Abraxas: Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums*. Festschrift Hermann Usener zur Feier seiner 25jährigen Lehrtätigkeit an der Bonner Universität, dargebracht vom Klassisch-philologischen Verein zu Bonn (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891). The title “Abraxas” comes from Goethe, *Westöstlicher Diwan*: “Sag’ ich euch absurde Dinge, Denkt, daß ich Abraxas bringe.” For a new publication of J 395 by Robert W. Daniel see above, n. 71.

at Göttingen, in order to meet the great philologists representing a competing approach to classical studies: Carl Dilthey, Friedrich Leo, and especially Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, whose edition and commentary of *Euripides, Herakles*<sup>74</sup> had greatly impressed Dieterich.

In his teaching as a Privatdozent in Marburg<sup>75</sup> Dieterich treated a wide range of subjects pertaining to Greek language and literature, but he also lectured on Greek mythology and history of religion, going as far as the decline of ancient religions and the rise of Christianity. These explorations came to the fore in his next book dealing with the discovery of what became known as the Apocalypse of Peter.<sup>76</sup> This fragmentary parchment codex was discovered in a tomb at Akhmim. While Christian in provenance, it also draws together sources from Jewish and Greek traditions about the netherworld.<sup>77</sup> Besides a critical examination of the text and a German translation, Dieterich's work has three major chapters, the first of which outlines what he terms "Greek folk-religion concerning the realm of the dead" ("Griechischer Volksglaube vom Totenreich"); the second chapter on "Mystery cult teachings concerning blessedness and condemnation" ("Mysterienlehren über Seligkeit und Unseligkeit") demonstrates how old elements of folkreligion emerge in official literature and religion; the third chapter deals with "Orphic-Pythagorean Books on Hades" ("Orphisch-pythagoreische Hadesbücher"). Understandably, these topics quickly became controversial, but through the debates they also began profoundly to change scholars' perception of the field. In many ways, Eduard Norden (1868–1941),<sup>78</sup> Richard Reitzenstein

<sup>74</sup> Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides, Herakles* (3 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1889; 2nd ed. 1895; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959).

<sup>75</sup> His colleague and friend at Marburg was Georg Wissowa, who authored the magisterial *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (HAW 4:5, 1902; 2nd ed. 1912; repr. München: Beck, 1971). See Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," xvi–xvii.

<sup>76</sup> *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893). A second edition was prepared and provided with additions by Richard Wünsch (1913; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969). In the Preface Dieterich thanks Hermann Usener and Adolf Jülicher for their cooperation.

<sup>77</sup> For the editions, translations, and the present state of research, see C. Detlef G. Müller, *NTApoc* 2.562–78, *NTApoc* 2.620–38.

<sup>78</sup> See, especially, his *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1913; 4th ed.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956); *Die Geburt des Kindes: Geschichte einer religiösen Idee* (SBW 3; Leipzig: Teubner, 1924; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1958). On Norden see the essays and bibliographies in *Eduard Norden (1868–1941): Ein deutscher Gelehrter jüdischer Herkunft* (eds. Bernhard Kytzler, Kurt Rudolph and Jörg Rüpke; Palingenesia 49; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), including my own: "Eduard Norden und die frühchristliche Literatur," 107–27; Wilt Aden Schröder, *Der Altertumswissenschaftler Eduard Norden (1868–1941): Das Schicksal eines deutschen Gelehrten jüdischer Abkunft. Mit den Briefen Eduard*

(1862–1931),<sup>79</sup> Eric Robertson Dodds (1893–1979),<sup>80</sup> Arthur Darby Nock (1902–1963),<sup>81</sup> and André-Jean Festugière (1898–1982)<sup>82</sup> became indicators of the new direction of classical studies. From a present perspective, it is impressive to see how many of Dieterich's suggestive and provocative ideas have later been confirmed or at least gained in probability. New discoveries of texts and archaeological remains such as the Orphic-Dionysiac gold tablets and the Derveni Papyrus<sup>83</sup> have moved classical studies in directions that would have delighted him. The most impressive symbol of Dieterich's continuing influence was the collaboration of many scholars in producing the collection of the Greek Magical Papyri. Like many other projects, Dieterich had originally suggested this work,<sup>84</sup> and its main editor, Karl Preisendanz who was one of Dieterich's former students dedicated it to his memory.

To continue with Dieterich's life, in March of 1894 he set out on his long desired grand tour to Greece and Italy. By the middle of the 19th century, travelling to the historical sites and monuments had become much easier than it had been for previous generations, but they were still far from what modern tourists tend to take for granted. Dieterich travelled to Trieste, where a boat took him to Korfu, and from there through the Corinthian Gulf to Athens. In and around Athens he benefitted from resident scholars like Wilhelm Dörpfeld and Paul Wolters at the German Archaeological Institute. He took advantage

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*Nordens an seinen Lehrer Hermann Usener aus den Jahren 1891–1902* (Spudasmata 73; Hildesheim: Olms, 1999).

<sup>79</sup> On Reitzenstein, see Karl Prümm, "Reitzenstein (Richard)," *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Suppl.* 10 (1985) 200–10; Wolfgang Fauth, "Richard Reitzenstein, Professor der klassischen Philologie (1914–1928)," in *Die Klassische Altertumswissenschaft an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen* (ed. Carl Joachim Classen; Göttinger Universitätschriften, Serie A, Band 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 178–96; Carsten Koch, "Richard Reitzensteins Beiträge zur Mandäerforschung," *Zeitschrift für Religionsgeschichte* 3 (1995) 49–80.

<sup>80</sup> See, especially, his Sather Lectures for 1951, *The Greeks and the Irrational*. On Dodds, his autobiography is instructive, *Missing Persons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); also Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Blood for the Ghosts: Classical Influences in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Duckworth, 1982), 287–94; Giuseppe Cambiano, "Dodds, Eric Robertson," *RGG* (4th ed., 1999) 2.892–93.

<sup>81</sup> See his main works, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933; reprinted 1961); idem, *Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background* (New York: Harper, 1964); idem, *Essays*. See also, Helmut Koester, *RGG* (4th ed., 2003), 6, s.v.

<sup>82</sup> On Festugière, see *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière: Antiquité païenne et chrétienne; vingt-cinq études réunies et publiées* (eds. Enzo Lucchesi & Henri D. Saffrey; Cahiers d'Orientalisme 10; Genève: Cramer, 1984), with a bibliography pp. xvii–xxxiv.

<sup>83</sup> For the present state of research, see the texts, articles, and bibliographies in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*.

<sup>84</sup> See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.vi.

of the Institute's guided tours to the Peloponnesos, visiting Corinth, the Argolis, Arcadia, and Olympia. Riding on a mule toward Olympia, he unfortunately hit against a branch of a tree, which threw him down onto the stony road where he lay unconscious. His travel companions were terrified and suspected internal or head wounds. Dieterich himself lost hope that he would survive, but after he was transported to Olympia he recovered sufficiently and could continue on the journey. Another boat trip took him to Delos, where he was received and shown around by Théophile Homolle. At the end of May, Dieterich travelled to Smyrna and from there to Pergamon, Sardes, Ephesus, and Magnesia. In Troja he met again with Dörpfeld during one of the excavation seasons; in Constantinople he admired such treasures as the Alexander Sarcophagus and the colorful life of the Bazaars. From Constantinople he travelled to Naples, visited Pompei guided by August Mau. Then he headed south to Sicily. In Palermo his search for ancient manuscripts was rewarded by the discovery of the Apokalypse of Anastasia, which he entrusted for an edition to his friend Rudolf Homburg.<sup>85</sup>

The month of September saw Dieterich in Rome, whose immense treasures and rich life overwhelmed him. The scholars at the German Archaeological Institute, Eugen Petersen and Christian Hülsen, as well as August Mau and Wilhelm Helbig made sure he fully enjoyed his Roman days. After Rome and a visit to Tuscany he returned to Marburg in the spring of 1895, completing an enormously enriching tour that was not to be his last.

After his appointment to "außerordentlicher professor" (associate professor) at Marburg in the summer semester of 1895 his academic responsibilities changed and increased. His next publications reflected findings and impressions in Italy. His edition of and commentary on the mysterious inscription of Aberkios in the Lateran Museum brought into discussion this fragment of a third century CE tomb inscription by a Phrygian bishop. He showed that this inscription provides evidence of pagan and Christian syncretism in Asia Minor.<sup>86</sup> His studies of the Pompeian wall paintings and the comic figure of Pulcinella were helpful for understanding the important role of cult paintings, although they generated severe criticism by leading scholars, in particular Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.<sup>87</sup> Those who knew him well could not but notice

<sup>85</sup> *Apokalypsis Anastasiae* (ed. Rudolf Homburg; BiTeu; Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1903).

<sup>86</sup> *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1896). For the present state of research, see Guntram Koch, "Aberkiosinschrift," *RGG* (4th ed., 1998) 1.62–63; Eckhard Wirbelauer, "Aberkios, der Schüler des reinen Hirten im Römischen Reich des 2. Jahrhunderts," *Historia* 51 (2002) 359–82 (bibl.).

<sup>87</sup> *Pulcinella: Pompeianische Wandbilder und römische Satyrspiele* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897). Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's stinging review appeared in *GGA* 159 (1897) 505–15. Cf. Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," xxi–xxii; Pfister, "Albrecht Dieterich's Wirken," 182–83.



his anger and disappointment, so much so that he took the unusual step of responding firmly to these critics in the introduction to his next book, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*. Anticipating further hostile reactions, he made the point that he understood very well how to separate valid criticism from personal insult.<sup>88</sup>

In 1897 Dieterich accepted a call to the University of Gießen, where he became a professor ordinarius and the successor of Eduard Schwartz. The fact that Gießen had only two classicists meant that his lectures had to appeal to a wider audience of students, but he enjoyed having a great deal of freedom in developing lecture courses. Also, he was supplied with a new but still rare slide projector (“Lichtbilderapparat”) that enabled him to show photographic pictures during lectures. During his years in Gießen he also moved closer to the developing field of ethnography and folklore (“Volkskunde”), especially of his home province of Hessen. He became involved in the “Hessische Vereinigung für Volkskunde” and published articles in the “Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde.” These fields of scholarship, however, were not as far removed from classical studies as it seemed at the time. On the contrary, other scholars had also recognized the value of folklore in bringing classics out of its cultural isolation by showing its connection with the social context of what people considered to be their own culture. However, Dieterich understood that the contextual interpretation of ancient religion would require long-term commitments by others as well. He laid the groundwork by training an amazing number of creative students and by helping to establish two publishing ventures, the journal *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*<sup>89</sup> and the monograph series *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* (1903–), in which many of the dissertations written under him appeared. Moreover, it is noteworthy that about the same time the field of New Testament studies changed in similar ways, indicated by the creation in 1900 of the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*. Expressing his long-standing interest in the origins of Christianity, he even published an article in the first volume of the new journal.<sup>90</sup>

Dieterich’s interest in the religion of Mithras originated with Cumont’s monumental work. Two important articles appeared in 1902 that express Dieterich’s new interest. The article “Die Weisen aus dem Morgenlande”

<sup>88</sup> *Mithrasliturgie*, vi: “Aber rechtfertigen, was verfehlt ward, kann kein Vorwort; und allen Tadel der verdient ist, nehme ich umso lieber auf mich, je mehr die Sache dabei gewinnt. Denn ich weiß den Tadel, der erzieht und fördert, sehr wohl von dem zu unterscheiden, der beleidigt und im innersten verletzt.”

<sup>89</sup> The journal *ARW* began in 1898; its founder was Thomas Achelis. From volume 7 (1904) onwards, Dieterich served as co-editor.

<sup>90</sup> “Εὐαγγελιστής,” *ZNW* 1 (1900) 336–38; reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 193–95.

connects the legend of the Magi from the East paying homage to the child Jesus with the visit of the Parthian king Tiridates to Rome in 66 CE, where he worshiped Nero *ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν* (Cassius Dio 63.1–7); he suggests that the three Magi are priests of the Mithras religion.<sup>91</sup> A later article on “Die Religion des Mithras” sums up his admiration for Cumont’s work,<sup>92</sup> but he differed from Cumont for the first time in seeing in a section of the Paris Magical Papyrus a remnant of a Mithraic ritual. This suggestion then led to the main thesis of his book of 1903 (*Eine Mithrasliturgie*); in an appendix of this book he collected other remnants of liturgical fragments, a collection that is still valuable today.<sup>93</sup>

The work contains two major parts: first, a critical edition of the Greek text (PGM IV.475–834) and a German translation which, however, stops after what Dieterich took to be the end of the Mithras Liturgy proper (μυστήριον, l. 723). As we mentioned above, he regarded the following section (ll. 723–834) as “directions for the magical application of the Mithras Liturgy” (*Anweisung zu magischer Verwendung der Mithrasliturgie*). He thus separated the non-magical Mithraic liturgy from its secondary reworking as a magical ritual. This division derives from his thesis of the section’s origin as a ritual of the cult of Mithras and the other as its later appropriation by a magician. From our present perspective, however, such a division makes little sense. In fact, Dieterich himself seems to have changed his mind later because in his future project (see above, n. 12) he had planned to complete the translation. At any rate, the learned apparatus of the text continues to the end, even after the German translation was concluded. Second, a large section containing “Interpretations” (*Erläuterungen*), which include a brief Introduction (pp. 25–30) and topically arranged chapters (pp. 30–212). Chapter I deals with the “Origin and the Sources of the Papyrus Text” (*Herkunft und Quellen des Papyrus-textes*, pp. 30–92). In fact, the chapter includes a step by step review of the entire text, richly documented by references and discussion. Chapter II (92–212) investigates “The Liturgical Images of the Mithras Liturgy” (*Die liturgischen Bilder des Mithrasmysteriums*) in five thematic studies, showing Dieterich’s systematic interests. After a discussion of the terms “liturgy,” μυστήριον, and sacramentum as effecting a cultic unification with the deity, the first study investigates the theme of “The Human Being in God and God in the Human Being; the Eating of the Deity” (*Der Mensch in Gott und Gott im Menschen; das Essen des Gottes*, pp. 95–121). The second study specifies more narrowly, “The

<sup>91</sup> “Die Weisen aus dem Morgenlande: Ein Versuch,” *ZNW* 3 (1902) 1–14; reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 272–86.

<sup>92</sup> *BJ* 108–109 (1902) 26–41; reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 252–71.

<sup>93</sup> “Reste antiker Liturgien,” *Mithrasliturgie*, 213–18; with additions, 225–26, 256–58.

Erotic Union of the Human Being with the God" (*Die Liebesvereinigung des Menschen mit dem Gotte*, pp. 121–34), followed by a third on "Being a Child of God" (*Die Gotteskindschaft*, pp. 134–56). The fourth study is on "Rebirth" (*Die Wiedergeburt*, pp. 157–79), and the final, fifth on "The Soul's Ascension to Heaven" (*Die Himmelfahrt der Seele zu Gott*, pp. 179–212).

The appendix on "Remains of Ancient Liturgies" (*Reste antiker Liturgien*, pp. 213–18) has already been mentioned.<sup>94</sup> It is followed by rather confusing sets of additional notes in the second and third editions of Dieterich's work (*Nachträge*, pp. 219–58), including his own additions gathered from his papers by Richard Wunsch, Wunsch's additions, and Weinreich's additions. These additions provide corrections, references to ancient texts and secondary literature, as well as arguments against critical reviews. The volume concludes with valuable indices.

Understandably, the work was received with great anticipation. Apart from Cumont, several other reviewers took issue with the title of the book. Indeed, the reviews focused on the title to the extent that little else was discussed. However, several reviews took up the issues with profound seriousness because they understood that not only the title and text of the Mithras Liturgy but also the methodology of interpretation were at stake. The ensuing controversy shows admiration as well as substantial criticism. While Cumont's negative critique seemed to sway many in his direction, some important scholars came to Dieterich's defense. In fact, the debates of the next ten years coincided with the formation of the "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule." Moreover, his appointment at Heidelberg attracted a growing number of excellent students, so that his scholarly reputation, in spite of the negative reactions, was greatly enhanced by the debate. At least two reviews were substantial and are still worth reading.

In his book *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*, Albert Schweitzer places Dieterich's work in the context of chapter VII, "Die religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung," in which he analyses critically the methodology of the early "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule."<sup>95</sup> His presentation of Dieterich's thesis and method is remarkably positive and to the point.<sup>96</sup> According to Schweitzer, Dieterich approaches the text "directly" as a "Mithras Liturgy,"<sup>97</sup> and thinks the prayers were to be recited in the course of the ascension, which carries the

<sup>94</sup> See above, n. 93.

<sup>95</sup> *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1911), 141–84.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 146–60.

<sup>97</sup> Schweitzer also questions the title: "Jedenfalls wäre es besser gewesen, wenn Dieterich dem Buche den unnötigen und umstrittenen Titel nicht gegeben hätte" (146, n. 1).

initiate out of this world of the four elements through the stars to the region of the gods. Guided by the sun god through the heaven of the fixed stars he reaches the supreme deity. The ancient initiates ritually performed this ascension in the Mithraic grottos. In fact, archeological findings could point to such scenarios. If the ritual was performed as a sacramental drama, the aim of the ascension to heaven was that the soul would attain immortality. The question remains whether this was the supreme mystery of this religion, which the devotees experienced only once, or whether it took its regular place in the cult.<sup>98</sup>

The main points of Schweitzer's criticism concern Dieterich's methodology of comparing the Mithras Liturgy with the theology of Paul and John's Gospel, in order to explain the origins of their theologies as derivatives of mystery cults. In the course of that comparison Dieterich employs concepts such as "sacramental," "redeemer god," or "mystical union with the deity," which fit neither Paul's nor John's theology. In fact, Dieterich's apparent goal is to get beyond the individual texts and develop a conceptuality for all ancient religion. In order to document such a conceptuality, collecting as many parallels and analogies as possible seems necessary, but Dieterich himself warns against this kind of "Analogienwut."<sup>99</sup> Schweitzer's discussion reaches beyond Dieterich and is directed at the often unguarded assumptions of the early "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule." One must not forget, however, that in all this Schweitzer has also his own axe to grind.

Other substantial reviews came from Richard Reitzenstein who was more sympathetic to Dieterich than Schweitzer was;<sup>100</sup> a second review in 1912 also benefited from Schweitzer's of 1911. Reitzenstein agrees with Cumont that the Mithras Liturgy does not provide any information about the Mithras cult as Cumont conceived of it. The Mithras Liturgy "is not a liturgy in the narrower sense of the term, nor can it be used to reconstruct any kind of official Mithras religion; indeed, for Cumont's aims it is unusable and totally irrelevant. And yet, in Dieterich's hands and for his purposes the papyrus segment he calls 'Mithras Liturgy' has proven to be an immensely precious treasure."<sup>101</sup> Reitzenstein,

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 146–47.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 152.

<sup>100</sup> Richard Reitzenstein, "Hellenistische Theologie in Ägypten," *NJKA* 7 (1904) 177–94 (192–94 on Dieterich); idem, "Religionsgeschichte und Eschatologie," *ZNW* 13 (1912) 1–28 (12–16 on Dieterich).

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 12: "... sie ist weder eine Liturgie im engeren Sinne, noch kann sie zur Rekonstruktion irgendeiner anerkannten Form der Mithrasreligion verwertet werden; sie ist für Cumonts Zwecke wirklich unbenutzbar und vollkommen gleichgültig. Und doch hat sie sich in Dieterichs Hand und für seine Zwecke als unschätzbares Kleinod erwiesen. Freilich der Seltsamkeit und Bedeutsamkeit der Tatsache, daß wir hier eine religiöse

however, claims that Dieterich did not fully realize that we have here a religious document of large size, full of individual life and deep intensity, which simply does not conform to any religion known to us. In fact, “Cumont’s way of looking at the evidence, justified as it is in and of itself..., cannot be the only one admissible, because it leaves out of consideration the numerous monuments of *individual* religious life that are extant from the period of syncretism.”<sup>102</sup> In other words, Dieterich did recognize the unique as well as syncretistic character of the Mithras Liturgy, but he did not make enough use of it in his defense against Cumont’s view that there is only one kind of Mithraism. “Dieterich took over from his teacher Usener the great task of studying the formal language of religious thinking; he transposed it from the formation of the notion of deity or myth to the deepest ground of all religion, to the longing of humans for unification with the divine.”<sup>103</sup>

Today, because of the large increase in data, Mithraism has been shown to be a religion which experienced several reconfigurations in its history. As it spread over the Roman empire through the military and the administration, in particular in Rome, but also in Egypt, local adaptations were a normal phenomenon. Conceivably, Egyptian learned priests such as the author of the Mithras liturgy became devoted to Mithras, even while they served as priests in the Egyptian temples. The author’s intense devotion to Mithras should not be denied its own integrity. That the author was a member of a Mithraic community is less likely, but he did have some valid information about the cult of Mithras. Given the syncretistic aura of Hellenistic Egypt, there was plenty of room in the Egyptian temples for Egyptian as well as Greek deities, so why not Mithras? If the priests were charged with developing the liturgies appropriate for worshipping so many other deities, why not for Mithras?

Therefore, contrary to the early criticisms, the book remained in discussion, evidenced by the two further editions of 1910 and 1923. Each time Dieterich’s former students, Richard Wünsch (1869–1915) and Otto Weinreich (1886–1972), edited and expanded the notes while leaving the main text intact, until it was reprinted without change in 1966. Today, because of the newly devel-

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Urkunde von größtem Umfang, individuellstem Leben und tiefster Innerlichkeit haben, die sich doch keiner uns bekannten Religionsform eingliedern läßt, ist Dieterich sich nie klar bewußt geworden....”

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 13: “... daß Cumonts Betrachtungsweise, so berechtigt sie an sich ist..., nicht die einzig zulässige sein kann, weil sie die Fülle der Denkmäler *individuellen* religiösen Lebens unerklärt beiseite lassen muß, die uns aus der Zeit des Synkretismus erhalten sind.”

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 13: “Die Formensprache religiösen Denkens zu erkennen, das war die große Aufgabe, die er von Usener übernommen hatte; er übertrug sie von der Bildung des Götterbegriffes oder Mythos auf das tiefste Innere aller Religion, auf die Sehnsucht des Menschen nach Vereinigung mit Gott.”

oping interest in the phenomena and literature of magic as well as Mithraism, the book has moved from the margins into the mainstream of the increasing study of Hellenistic religious syncretism. The older positions, however, in modified forms still have present-day representatives.

Cumont's basic position is maintained emphatically by Reinhold Merkelbach and Robert Turcan. Merkelbach's commentary<sup>104</sup> is based on Dieterich's work, but he rejects Dieterich's title and proposes his own: "Die Pschai-Aion-Liturgie," which he groups together with the Leiden Papyrus (PGM XIII), calling them by various terms: "Weihezeremonien,"<sup>105</sup> "Einweihungszereemonien,"<sup>106</sup> or "Die Pariser Unsterblichkeits-Liturgie."<sup>107</sup> Thus, while retaining the term "liturgy," he simply equates it with "ceremony." Turcan continues Cumont's denial that the Mithras liturgy has anything to do with Mithraism; he sees it marginally related to theurgical Neoplatonism.<sup>108</sup>

New developments, however, have arisen in recent years that fundamentally challenge both Merkelbach's and Turcan's position.<sup>109</sup> Discoveries of fresco paintings, mosaics, inscriptions, and other archaeological findings have increased the evidence pointing to syncretistic forms of Mithraism.<sup>110</sup> Important in this respect is a newly discovered fresco painting from a mithraeum in Ponza (Italy), showing clearly Mithras' raising up of the shoulder of a bull which is mentioned also in the Mithras Liturgy as a ritual act of central importance.<sup>111</sup> As Dieterich mentioned in his letters to Usener (October 29

<sup>104</sup> Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, vol. 3: *Zwei griechisch-ägyptische Weihezeremonien (Die Leidener Welterschöpfung; Die Pschai-Aion-Liturgie)*. See above, p. 13 n. 51.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 1.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 6–7.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>108</sup> Robert Turcan, "Initiation," *RAC* 18 (1998) 87–159, esp. 119–20, 126–27: "Am Rande des theurgischen Neuplatonismus stehend, doch vom gleichen Geist durchtränkt, kennzeichnet das 'Rezept der Unsterblichkeit' (PGM IV 475–732; Festugière, *La Révélation* 1, 303/8; 3, 169/74), das Dieterich, Mithr. unpassend 'Mithrasliturgie' genannt hat, das geistige Milieu aE. des 3. Jh. nC., in dem der Vollzug innerer Mysterien empfohlen wurde." Consequently, Turcan does not mention the ML in his work, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain* (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1989; 2nd ed. 1992); ET: *The Cults of the Roman Empire* (trans. Antonia Nevill; Oxford: Blackwell, 1996). See also Graf, *Gottesnähe*, 17, 90–91, 95, 193.

<sup>109</sup> For surveys of the history of research, see Roger Beck, "Mithraism since Franz Cumont," *ANRW* II. 17:4 (1984) 2002–2115, esp. 2050–51; *idem*, "Merkelbach's Mithras," *Phoe.* 41 (1987) 294–316; *idem*, "The Mysteries of Mithras: A New Account of Their Genesis," *JRS* 88 (1998) 115–28; Manfred Clauss, *The Roman Cult of Mithras: The God and His Mysteries* (trans. Richard Gordon; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 105–8, 126.

<sup>110</sup> For further discussion, see below, section V of this Introduction.

<sup>111</sup> For discussion, see the commentary *infra*, on l. 699.

and December 8, 1901), it was this point that caused him to attribute the PGM text to Mithraism. As a result, there are many scholars today who insist that the Mithras Liturgy rightly carries the provocative name given it by Dieterich and that it should be attributed to syncretistic developments of Mithraic mysteries in Hellenistic Egypt. Therefore, today Cumont's criticism of Dieterich has become far less impressive than it first sounded and should not stand in the way of a positive assessment of the latter's accomplishments.<sup>112</sup>

To return to Dieterich's biography, the year 1903 brought another major event: the move to Heidelberg where he accepted the prestigious chair formerly occupied by Erwin Rohde and Otto Crusius. In Heidelberg, his activities shifted by necessity to lecturing, traveling as well as editorial and administrative tasks. One book appeared, on the subject of Mother Earth,<sup>113</sup> but the ever increasing commitments that come with success and authority collided with the sudden death of Hermann Usener (October 1905) which hit him especially hard and disrupted his plans. He began working on a biography of Usener which he never completed. During a journey to Hamburg to lecture on "The End of Ancient Religion"<sup>114</sup> he contracted influenza but refused to take time out for recovery. He had reached the peak of his career when on May 5 he went into the lecture hall to begin a new semester, but after the first few sentences he suddenly stumbled and collapsed because of a fatal stroke. He died without regaining consciousness on May 6, 1908.

As far as his legacy is concerned, his wife and his former students took the necessary steps to secure it. Marie Dieterich contributed his papers and research materials to the Usener-Archiv at the University Library in Bonn, where it still is today.<sup>115</sup> His essays were collected in *Kleine Schriften*, published by Richard Wünsch.<sup>116</sup> Dieterich's major books were reprinted after World War II by the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

To sum up, Dieterich's "Mithras Liturgy" became known as a landmark of the "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule."<sup>117</sup> His commentary demonstrated his five major discoveries: (1) that the text segment in question differs significantly from the other segments of the larger Paris Magical Papyrus; (2) that one must

<sup>112</sup> This was recognized already by Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 170, n. 1): "Ich bedauere, daß ein so feinsinniger Gelehrter wie Cumont bis in seine neusten Veröffentlichungen hinein Dieterichs Verdienst verkennt."

<sup>113</sup> *Mutter Erde* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905).

<sup>114</sup> "Der Untergang der antiken Religion," in his *Kleine Schriften*, 449–539.

<sup>115</sup> See above, p. 4 n. 14.

<sup>116</sup> See above, p. 1 n. 4.

<sup>117</sup> See the forthcoming article by Friedhelm Hartenstein and Hans Dieter Betz, "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule," *RGG* (4th ed., 2004).

interpret this segment in the syncretistic context of the mystery cults of Hellenistic Egypt and beyond; (3) that the text is influenced by Stoic philosophy and is close to Hermeticism; (4) that this text involves a kind of “liturgy”; (5) that cultic images play a significant role in the procedures.<sup>118</sup> As a result of new discoveries and more refined methodologies of interpretation, today these five discoveries can be far better appreciated than in Dieterich’s own days. Dieterich’s book thus in no way resembles an outdated experiment, but rather continues to stimulate the discussion about this fascinating text and the larger issues of the interpretation of ancient religion.

#### IV. Genre and Composition

##### 1. Delimitation

As stated before, the section of the Paris Magical Papyrus we call Mithras Liturgy is sandwiched between a series of Homeric verses which have been interrupted by this insertion (ll. 468–74, 821–34).<sup>119</sup> These Homeric verses have section titles designating their function as charms. The charm ll. 468–69 is called *θυμοκάτοχον* (“Charm to restrain anger”), followed by ll. 470–74, called *Πρὸς φίλους* (“To get friends”). After the conclusion of the Mithras Liturgy, ll. 821–24 contain four more lines of Homer verses without a separate section title, followed by a *historiola*, an untitled short story serving magical functions (ll. 825–29), and another Homeric verse (l. 830). At this point, l. 831 suprisingly repeats the *θυμοκάτοχον* of ll. 468–69, and the first Homer verse of the section (ll. 469–70), entitling it again *Πρὸς φίλους* (ll. 833–34). After this, the papyrus continues in ll. 835–49 with an untitled section on favorable and unfavorable times attributed to the Greek planetary deities.

<sup>118</sup> This discovery by Dieterich can be newly appreciated in the light of current studies on the significance of images; see Burckhardt Gladigow, “Präsenz der Bilder – Präsenz der Götter,” *VisRel* 4–5 (1985–86) 114–33; idem, “Epiphanie, Statuette, Kultbild,” *VisRel* 7 (1990) 98–121; Stephen R. Zwirn, “The Intention of Biographical Narration on Mithraic Cult Images,” *Word & Image* 5 (1989) 2–18; Richard Gordon, *Image and Value in the Graeco-Roman World: Studies in Mithraism and the Religious Art* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1996); Burckhardt Gladigow, “Kultbild,” *HRWG* 4 (1998) 9–14; idem, “Bild,” *RGG* (4th ed., 1998) 1.1560; idem et al., “Bilderkult,” *ibid.*, 1562–74; Jan Assmann & Albert I. Baumgarten, eds. *Representation in Religion: Studies in Honor of Moshe Barasch* (Numen Book Series: Studies in the History of Religions, 89; Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2001), with bibl.

<sup>119</sup> So Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 20–21: “Es scheint, daß zwischen die Homerverse der große Wahrsagezauber eingeschoben ist, so daß vor und nach ihm noch deren gesprengte Stücke erscheinen.”



Since there are no detectable reasons for breaking up the sequence of Homeric verses and sandwiching the Mithras Liturgy between the parts, some kind of confusion on the part of the copyist must have occurred. The repetition of ll. 468–70, including the section titles, in ll. 831–34 must then also be the result of that confusion. Moreover, the *θυμοκάτοχον* of ll. 468–69 reappears not only in l. 831 but also at the end of the sequence in ll. 821–24, while the isolated Homer verse in l. 830 occurs previously at the end of the sequence ll. 469–74. The papyrus has paragraphos signs between the Homeric verses; after l. 820 there is a vacant space. By contrast, there seems to be no paragraphos sign before the beginning of the Mithras Liturgy; it does, however, begin with a new line (l. 475).

The following conclusions can be drawn from this evidence:<sup>120</sup> (1) The Mithras Liturgy is originally independent from the Homer verses, which are therefore not part of its internal composition.<sup>121</sup> (2) For no detectable reason, the copyist interrupted the charms containing the Homeric verses, inserted the Mithras Liturgy in its entirety (ll. 475–820), and resumed the Homer charms afterwards (ll. 821–34). (3) The problem remains unresolved. Perhaps, the copyist became confused about what he had copied already and what he still had to do. However, no such confusion appears elsewhere in the papyrus.

## 2. The literary genre

### a. External genre designations

Since there is no external designation of the literary genre of the Mithras Liturgy, the question of its genre requires a complex answer. Apparently, the *Vorlage* had no section title, and neither the author/redactor nor the copyist inserted one. Whereas the PGM corpus contains many spells without section titles, in most cases a section title can be supplied on the basis of parallels. The Mithras Liturgy has no parallel in the PGM or anywhere else from which an external title could be derived.

<sup>120</sup> See the explanations given by Hubert Martin and Marvin Meyer (Betz, *GMPT*, 47, 54); Martin also points to the parallel in PGM IV.2145–2240, which does carry a section title indicating function (*Τριστιχηρος Ὁμήρου πάρεδρος*, “Divine assistance from three Homeric verses.” The three Homer verses in ll. 2145–51 correspond to ll. 471–73 and 821–23.

<sup>121</sup> Differently, Dieterich (*Mithrasliturgie*, 20–21) regards ll. 821–34 to be a part of the Mithras Liturgy. He does not give a reason why he omits the Homer verses preceding the beginning (ll. 468–74). Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.182, 249) follows Dieterich; Preisendanz (1.100–1 [apparatus]) reports on the problem as unresolved.

### b. Internal genre designations

The text of the Mithras Liturgy uses several terms of literary self-reference. Most important is ἀπαθανατισμός, the name for “the ritual of immortalization.” This name, however, occurs only in the supplemental rituals of Part III (ll. 741, 747, 771), describing the function of the main body, Part II (ll. 485–732) as “becoming immortalized” (ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι [ll. 647–48]). There is no evidence, however, that this name at one time served as the head title and was omitted by the redaction.<sup>122</sup>

The terms σύνταγμα (ll. 481–82) and ὑπόμνημα (l. 820) are technical, and both refer to the text as a whole. The term σύνταγμα points to the text as a “composition” out of subordinate parts; ὑπόμνημα (“memorandum”) comes from legal language and states the completion of the document which, as the insertion of ll. 479–82 leads us to conclude, was sent to a “daughter.”<sup>123</sup>

Subsidiary parts are also marked by appropriate terms. Prayers are called λόγοι, beginning with “the invocational prayer” (ll. 485–537), τοῦ λόγου ἡδε ἡ κλησις (l. 486), also called πρῶτος λόγος (“first prayer” in ll. 741–42). Second (ὁ β΄ λόγος) and third (ὁ γ΄ λόγος) prayers are enumerated in ll. 577 and 587, but it is unclear how these three are to be related to the citations of the σιγή-*logos* (ll. 558–59, 573, 577–78, 623). A greeting prayer can be named in l. 638 ἀσπαστικός (λόγος?). The section title of διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως (l. 750) points to “instruction pertaining to the ritual” as the purpose of the composition. These linguistic markers are important for the determination of the compositional parts. None of these terms, however, serves as the head title expressing the literary genre of the whole composition. In modern descriptive terminology we might label it a “Ritual to obtain an ascension and consultation with the god Mithras.”

### 3. Composition

In spite of its complexity, the literary composition of the Mithras Liturgy is clear and well executed. Considerable agreement exists in the scholarly literature about the separate sections. The contributions by Dieterich as well as Merkelbach represent significant steps, but so far a detailed literary analysis has

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Merkelbach's suggestion (*Abrasax*, 3.249) that some portion at the beginning of the *Vorlage* may have been omitted.

<sup>123</sup> See the commentary on ll. 479–82 and 820.

not been undertaken.<sup>124</sup> Our own literary analysis<sup>125</sup> shows four distinguishable parts.

Part I (ll. 475–85) contains a well-constructed exordium which takes the form of a prayer to the divinity of Providence and World-Soul. This prayer involves a petition for pardon in view of what is described as risky and potentially inappropriate transmission in writing of the secret tradition of mysteries to a fellow-initiate. Merkelbach calls the exordium “secondary,”<sup>126</sup> which he means not only in the literary sense that every introduction is secondary to whatever is being introduced, but also in the sense of replacement. He assumes that a text segment containing preparatory rituals, which need to be performed prior to the ascension ritual, has been excised and replaced by the present exordium. Merkelbach is certainly right about the necessity of preparatory rituals, especially because they are required for the magician and the fellow-initiate (ll. 733–36). Therefore, the fact that no such preparatory rituals are found at the beginning of the Mithras Liturgy needs to be explained. If such rituals appeared in the source material (*Vorlage*), the redactor may have excised them for several reasons: (1) The Paris Magical Papyrus (IV.26–51, 52–85) begins with preparatory rituals which may suffice for the following rituals. (2) The author presupposes that he and his addressee are already initiated (*μύσται*) and have thus learned to observe the preparations. (3) The author may regard the performance of the preparations as self-evident and adds only matters that are not self-evident (see, especially, the insertion of ll. 479–81).<sup>127</sup> (4) For the philosophically-minded author purification by the spirit, as it takes place in the ascension ritual itself, may have greater importance than the conventional purification rituals.<sup>128</sup>

While separately or in combination any of these reasons could have caused the omission, no evidence exists for an excision of a text segment from the *Vorlage* which would have the present exordium as its replacement.

<sup>124</sup> Merkelbach describes sections by way of their content, but he does not provide a detailed literary analysis (*Abrasax*, 3.28–40, 159–83, 233–49).

<sup>125</sup> See the Conspectus, below pp. 60–87; for detailed discussions, see the respective sections of the commentary.

<sup>126</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.155–59), especially 155–56: “Die Einleitung zu dem Text ist sekundär. Diese Einleitung gehört nicht zum ursprünglichen Text, sondern ist hinzugefügt worden, als man die Zeremonien auch an andere Personen weitergegeben und zu anderen Zwecken als den ursprünglichen verwendet hat.”

<sup>127</sup> Not self-evident are the insertions of ll. 479–81, 651–55, and the supplemental rituals of Part III (ll. 732–819). This applies also to the preparation of the special amulets (ll. 813–19, mentioned before at ll. 659–61, 708).

<sup>128</sup> Terms designating purity are relatively infrequent in ML; see *καθαρός* l. 569; *καθαρείως* ll. 760, 771; *ἀγιάζω* 522; *ἀγίασμα* 522; *ἅγιος* ll. 522, 668–69; *ἀγνέω* l. 784. By contrast, the notion of “spirit” (*πνεῦμα*) in association with fire (*πῦρ κτλ.*) is central.

Part II (ll. 485–732) includes the main body of the ritual, which carries the name ἀπαθανατισμός (“ritual of immortalization”). This part subdivides into four subsections which deal with the major phases of the ritual. The subsections are partly prescriptive recitations, partly narrative descriptions of the ritual process.

Subsection A (ll. 485–537) sets forth for recitation a long, well-composed and highly complex prayer of invocation of the four elements which constitute the universe as well as the creation and recreation of the human body.

Subsection B (ll. 537–38) prescribes a breathing ritual for inhaling “spirit” (πνεῦμα) carried downwards by the rays of the sun.

Subsection C (ll. 539–44) provides religio-philosophical explanations of the concept of ascension through the spirit.

Subsection D (544–731) narrates in carefully described scenarios the seven stages of the ascension culminating at the seventh stage in an encounter with the god Mithras. Included in the narrative are prayers of invocation and greetings of the deities encountered as well as ritual acts to be performed at critical moments of the ascension. While the ascension takes place in the mind of the acting magician, it is both “realistic” in terms of the performance of ritual acts, and imaginary in terms of a journey through the seven spheres of the universe. Merkelbach considers the possibility that the “realism” would consist of a kind of theatrical production, including special effects. He points as evidence to Graeco-Roman authors who describe the use of “Sacred Theater” in a cultic context. “One may imagine a dark room, in which one corner is illuminated by a light reflecting the sun disk. The candidate stands on a pedestal that at some point can be lifted by ropes or by hydraulic machinery into the air.”<sup>129</sup> But of course one can also imagine that for a spirit-inspired Stoic machine-made “virtual reality” would be redundant.<sup>130</sup>

- (1) First scenario (ll. 544–55): encounter with the planetary deities;
- (2) Second scenario (ll. 556–69): overcoming the threat by the planetary deities;
- (3) Third scenario (ll. 569–85): vision of the sun-disk;
- (4) Fourth scenario (ll. 585–628): vision of the opening of the doors to the world of the gods;
- (5) Fifth scenario (ll. 628–61): encounter with Helios;

<sup>129</sup> Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.28–40, especially 32: “Man stelle sich ein dunkles Zimmer vor, in welchem an einer Stelle ein helles Licht leuchtet, das die Sonnenscheibe repräsentiert. Der Kandidat steht auf einem Podest, das später entweder durch Seile oder durch eine hydraulische Konstruktion in die Luft gehoben wird.”

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 34: “Man kann sich auch vorstellen, daß dieses Podest gar nicht erforderlich war und daß der Initiand sich die Reise in die Luft nur meditierend suggerieren sollte.” See also *ibid.*, 39.

- (6) Sixth scenario (ll. 661–92): encounter with the deities of the Bear constellations;
- (7) Seventh scenario (ll. 693–732): encounter with Mithras.

Part III (ll. 732–819) contains supplemental rituals. These rituals need to be performed in conjunction with the preceding formula, as indicated by cross-references. They include the following:

Subsection A (ll. 732–50) provides three optional rituals for including an associate:

- (1) Consultation by using a medium (ll. 732–35);
- (2) Consultation without a medium (ll. 736–38);
- (3) Consultation working with showing of symbols (ll. 738–46);
- (4) Additional stipulations (ll. 746–50).

Subsection B (ll. 750–819): contains additional instructions:

- (1) Two preparatory rituals (ll. 750–92):
  - (a) Preparation of the sun-scarab ointment (ll. 751–78);
  - (b) Preparation of the plant *kenrītis* (ll. 778–92).
- (2) Three items of information (ll. 792–813):
  - (a) Change of the ritual of the ointment (ll. 792–96);
  - (b) Change of the ritual concerning times of performance (ll. 796–98);
  - (c) Botanical information about the plant *kenrītis* (ll. 798–813);
- (3) Third preparatory ritual: the phylacteries (ll. 813–19).

Part IV (ll. 819–20): concluding epilogue

#### 4. Redaction

Regarding redaction, the Mithras Liturgy in its entirety is the result of redaction on the part of the author/redactor. However, several levels of redaction need to be distinguished.

Firstly, the composition as a whole involves redaction with regard to the traditions that have been included, perhaps modified, and arranged in the way shown by the document. These redactional activities presuppose literary skills, which enable the author to determine what is appropriate in literary terms.

Secondly, knowledge of rituals determines the required components as well as the sequence of the ritual acts. In other words, ritual knowledge that is primarily unwritten determines what is to be inserted at which place and in which order in the written account. This knowledge is also presupposed in Part III which contains supplemental information. What is supplemented are procedures considered necessary, desirable or optional within the parameters of ritual competence (e.g., ll. 487–81). This competence lies also behind the internal cross-references (e.g., ll. 750–819).

Thirdly, the author/redactor has compared his *Vorlage* with one or more other versions, and he has annotated textual variants (ll. 500, 591; cf. also II.49; IV.29; 1277; V.51; VII.204; XII.201; XIII.731).

Fourthly, there are a few redactional flaws that may be attributed to the copyist rather than the author (e.g., the omissions in ll. 660–61, 814–19).<sup>131</sup>

### V. *The Religio-historical Context*

Determining in a more precise way the place where the Mithras Liturgy fits in its religio-historical context requires careful methodological considerations. Clearly, the point of departure should be the text as we have it, even though what we have before us is anything but self-evident. We may approach the question from several angles.

The immediate context is the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, a magical handbook in which the Mithras Liturgy appears along with many other texts. Within certain parameters these texts display a considerable degree of diversity. Seen in this context, the Mithras Liturgy is not like any of the other texts even in the larger corpus called *Papyri Graecae Magicae*; in fact, it stands out like an intruder from a different world, which has been inserted into a section using Homeric verses. To obtain valid comparisons, therefore, it is necessary for the interpretation to go beyond its immediate context.

As Cumont and others have seen, the Mithras Liturgy does not seem to fit in the context of Mithraism as we know it. However, what we know about the liturgy of the Mithraic mysteries is very limited. The inscriptions painted on walls of the mithraeum of Santa Prisca in Rome are equally puzzling; they certainly played some role in the ritual, but which role it was is unknown.<sup>132</sup> Evidence of syncretistic Mithraism is increasing as a result of archaeological discoveries.<sup>133</sup> A Mithras sanctuary existed in Alexan-

<sup>131</sup> For further discussion, see the commentary *ad loc.*

<sup>132</sup> See Maarten J. Vermaseren & C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca on the Aventine* (Leiden: Brill 1965); Hans Dieter Betz, "The Mithras Inscriptions of Santa Prisca and the New Testament," *NovT* 10 (1968) 62–80; reprinted in Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 72–91; Roger Beck, "The Mysteries of Mithras: A New Account of Their Mysteries," *JRS* 88 (1998) 115–28, esp. 127–28; idem, "Ritual, Myth, Doctrine, and Initiation in the Mysteries of Mithras: New Evidence from a Cult Vessel," *JRS* 90 (2000) 145–80; Anke Schütte-Maischatz and Engelbert Winter, "Kultstätten der Mithrasmysterien in Doliche," in *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (ed. Jörg Wagner; München: Von Zabern, 2000), 93–99.

<sup>133</sup> It is hard to keep track of the discoveries; for the association of Helios and Mithras, see N. P. Milner, "New Votive Reliefs from Oinoanda," *Anatolian Studies* 44 (1994) 65–76;

dria.<sup>134</sup> What does it mean that the initiating priest in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* has the name Mithras?<sup>135</sup> If William Brashear is right, a fragmentary Graeco-Egyptian papyrus could be a Mithraic catechism in dialogue form.<sup>136</sup>

The wider context of Hellenistic mystery cults poses similar problems because the Mithras Liturgy, while using mystery-cult language and concepts, is not as such a mystery-cult text. To be sure, however, there are no agreed definitions of what qualifies as a mystery-cult text. On its own terms at least, the Mithras Liturgy wishes to be taken as a secret mystery-cult text.<sup>137</sup> It would be misleading to call it an "initiation ritual," if this refers to a first initiation.<sup>138</sup> Yet the practitioners claim to be initiated *μύσταται*,<sup>139</sup> and among the formulae are some that seem like quotations of a preceding ritual; thus, an initiation ritual is assumed as a precondition for the present ritual. However, there is no indication which mystery initiation is assumed.<sup>140</sup>

The best way to proceed, therefore, is to examine the religio-historical presuppositions internal to the text as well as close analogies elsewhere in contemporary ancient literature.<sup>141</sup> Already Dieterich had noted the syncre-

Albert De Jong, "A New Syrian Mithraic *Tauroctony*," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New series, 11 (1997) 53–63; Michal Gawlikowski, "Hawarti: Preliminary Report," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 10 (1999) 197–204. For the later solar cult of Christ, see Franz Joseph Dölger, *Sol Salutis. Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ostung in Gebet und Liturgie* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen 4–5; 2nd ed.; Münster: Aschendorff, 1925); Fauth, *Helios Megistos*; Martin Wallraff, *Christus Versus Sol: Sonnenverehrung und Christentum in der Spätantike* (JAC.E 32; Münster: Aschendorff, 2001).

<sup>134</sup> See the collection of evidence by Manfred Claus, *Cultores Mithrae: Die Anhängerschaft des Mithraskultes* (Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 10; Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 243, 245–52; idem, *The Roman Cult of Mithras*, 105–8, 126; Ingeborg Huld-Zetsche, "Die Stiertötung als Sternenkunde: Astral-mythologische Hintergründe im Mithraskult," *Antike Welt* 30 (1999) 97–104.

<sup>135</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.* XI.22: *ipsumque Mithram illum suum sacerdotem principuum*; cf. XI.25: *complexus Mithram sacerdotem et meum iam parentem*. See Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 281–82.

<sup>136</sup> William M. Brashear, *A Mithraic Catechism from Egypt (P. Berol. 21196)* (Wien: Holzhausens, 1992). Cf. the review by Roger Beck, *Gnomon* 67 (1995) 260–62.

<sup>137</sup> For the evidence see my essay, "Magic and Mystery in the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 209–29; also Graf, "Magie und Mysterienkulte," in *Gottesnähe*, 89–107 (ET: "Magic and Mystery Cults," in *Magic*, 96–117).

<sup>138</sup> Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.6–7, 84–85) speaks of "Einweihung," "Weihezeremonie" and "Initiation," but without clearly defining these terms. "Initiation" should be used for a first introduction into a mystery-cult, while further procedures could be called "rituals" with specifications, e.g., "rituals of sanctification" or "rituals of oracular consultation."

<sup>139</sup> See the commentary below on ll. 475–84.

<sup>140</sup> No other traditional names of gods are mentioned in the ML, except Helios-Aion-Mithras. See the commentary below, on l. 482.

<sup>141</sup> For the following, see also my Hans Lietzmann Lecture of 2000, published under the title *Gottesbegegnung und Menschwerdung: Zur religionsgeschichtlichen und theologischen*

tistic character of the Mithras Liturgy and identified main contributors. That the text as a whole is situated in Hellenistic Egypt is evident especially from the final Supplemental Rituals (ll. 732–820).<sup>142</sup> The names of the ingredients are Greek, although they refer to Egyptian places, animals, plants, and minerals. Although the non-Greek *voces magicae* may be intended to be “Egyptian” in Greek transcription, whether the author knew Egyptian script or language cannot be determined. The author’s handling of the *voces magicae* does not provide evidence for his knowledge of that language to the extent he understands and writes Greek.<sup>143</sup> What is astonishing, however, is that not much appears in the Mithras Liturgy regarding Egyptian religion. None of the traditional Egyptian deities are mentioned by name, and the same is true of Greek gods.

Given its monotheistic tendency, Helios-Mithras-Aion is the only deity named, but in addition there are deified abstracts such as Πρῶσις, Ψυχή, Τύχη, etc., and various astral divinities and powers. If, as is assumed,<sup>144</sup> the author was a learned priest/magician serving in a temple in Thebes,<sup>145</sup> it is

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*Bedeutung der ‘Mithrasliturgie’ (PGMIV/475–820)* (HLV 6; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001); idem, “Mithrasreligion,” *RGG* (2002) 5.1344–47.

<sup>142</sup> Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt was diversified. The country was strongly influenced by Greek language and the religious ideas coming with it, but these influences differed from place to place. Overall there was a growing tendency toward syncretism, involving older Egyptian, Greek, and then Roman traditions. How to assess these religious developments is the subject of present scholarly discussions. See, especially, László Kákosy, “Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten,” *ANRW* II.18:5 (1995) 2894–3049 (3023–49: on magic, 3044: on the Mithras Liturgy); Bagnall, *Egypt*; Ritner, *Mechanics*; idem, “Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context,” *ANRW* II.18:5 (1995) 3333–79; idem, “Magic,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* 3 (2001) 321–36; Jan Assmann, “Magic and Theology in Ancient Egypt,” in Schäfer & Kippenberg, *Envisioning Magic*, 1–18; idem, *Weisheit und Mysterium: Das Bild der Griechen von Ägypten* (München: Beck, 2000); David Frankfurter, “Ritual Expertise in Roman Egypt and the Problem of the Category ‘Magician,’” *ibid.*, 115–35; idem, *Religion in Roman Egypt*; Hornung, *Ägypten*, 62–98.

<sup>143</sup> On the vanishing ability to understand the hieroglyphs in Graeco-Egypt, see Erich Winter, “Hieroglyphen,” *RAC* 15 (1989) 83–103; H. Sternberg-El Hatabi, “Der Untergang der Hieroglyphenschrift: Schriftverfall und Schrifttod im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit,” *CEg* 69 (1994) 218–45.

<sup>144</sup> For assumptions regarding the author, see above, 10.

<sup>145</sup> For learned magicians see my essay, “The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 173–83; for the Hellenistic and Roman world, see Matthew W. Dickie, “The learned magician and the collection and transmission of magical lore,” in Jordan, *The World of Ancient Magic*, 163–93; for Egypt, see Serge Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l’ancienne Égypte* (Paris: Persea, 1988); ET: *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, 198–237.



surprising that he does not seem to be interested in utilizing the Egyptian pantheon and its concomitant myths. Rather, he articulates ideas of the philosophy of religion typical of Middle Stoicism.<sup>146</sup> These Stoic ideas were already discussed by Cumont and Dieterich.<sup>147</sup> As the author himself shows, his aim is to give interpretations of religious themes such as recreation/rebirth and ascension into heaven that are philosophical rather than mythico-theological. By comparison, the Mithras Liturgy does not show any evidence of Neoplatonic influence.<sup>148</sup>

Since Dieterich displays an enormous range of source materials in his *Mithrasliturgie*, it is puzzling that he does not point out the many parallels to the Hermetic literature. His *Abraxas* shows, however, that he is familiar with the Hermetica and refers to them.<sup>149</sup> The omission of the Hermetic literature in Dieterich's *Mithrasliturgie* may be caused by the fact that he is focused on Mithraism and that Hermeticism was brought first to the forefront by Richard Reitzenstein in his book *Poimandres*.<sup>150</sup> This book appeared in 1904 and shows no awareness yet of Dieterich's *Mithrasliturgie*. This fact and his concentration on the Hermetic literature may have prevented him from even considering the Mithras Liturgy passage.<sup>151</sup> This situation has changed radically in Reitzenstein's *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen*. Dedicated to the memory of Albrecht Dieterich, the work is deeply influenced by him.<sup>152</sup> The third edition of 1927 takes into account the

<sup>146</sup> A similar figure seems to have been the first century CE Isis priest and Stoic philosopher Chaeremon of Alexandria, who became Nero's teacher in 49 CE and who wrote a work called *Αἰγυπτιακὴ Ἱστορία* which described the Egyptian priest's life as a fulfilment of Stoic ideals. See Pieter W. van der Horst, *Chaeremon: Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher; The Fragments collected and translated, with explanatory notes* (EPRO 103; Leiden: Brill, 1984); Michael Frede, "Chairemon," ANRW II.36:3 (1989) 2067–2103.

<sup>147</sup> Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 55, 83–86; *Mithrasliturgie*, 55, 61, 80–82, 155–56.

<sup>148</sup> Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 208: "... ich habe in ihr, soweit ich erkennen konnte, nirgends eine Spur entdeckt, die eine direkte Einwirkung neuplatonischer Lehren und ihrer Formulierungen auch nur wahrscheinlich machen könnte." In a defensive footnote (n. 2) Dieterich emphasizes that it would make no difference to his argument, even if dependency on Neoplatonism or Christianity could be demonstrated. ("Ich will auch hier, durch Erfahrungen gewarnt, noch einmal betonen, daß es meinen Ausführungen gar nichts nehmen würde, wenn Abhängigkeit vom Neuplatonismus sich nachweisen ließe, so wenig wie ein etwaiger Nachweis der Abhängigkeit vom Christlichen.")

<sup>149</sup> Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 31, 44, 61, 67, 87, 134 (pointing out that Hermes Trismegistos is mentioned in PGM IV.886; VII.550; see Betz, *GMPT*, 133, n. 93).

<sup>150</sup> On Reitzenstein, see above, n. 79.

<sup>151</sup> Reitzenstein (*Poimandres*, 15) mentions "das von Anz erkannte Mithrasmysterium" without further comment. He does, of course, know Dieterich's *Abraxas* (2, n. 1; 15, n. 2, and *passim*).

<sup>152</sup> This work began as a lecture delivered in 1909 and published a year later (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1910).

controversies about Dieterich's "classic book *Eine Mithrasliturgie*,"<sup>153</sup> cautiously affirming his major hypotheses and expanding the study of oriental literature.<sup>154</sup> On the whole, Reitzenstein supports Dieterich's idea of the Mithraic character of the Mithras Liturgy.<sup>155</sup> He further integrates it into the orientally-hellenistic syncretism,<sup>156</sup> emphasizing its similarities with the Hermetic literature.<sup>157</sup> The differences between the Mithras Liturgy and the Hermetica are also clear: whereas the former maintains the actual practice of the ritual, the latter drop the ritual and fully internalize and spiritualize the religion.<sup>158</sup>

This turn to spiritualization enabled Festugière to interpret the entire Hermetic literature in terms of a mystical Platonism.<sup>159</sup> His important analysis of *CH XIII* carries the title "La mystique par introversion."<sup>160</sup> It is intended to distinguish sharply between the philosophical mysticism of the Hermetica and magical rituals.<sup>161</sup> Accordingly, his comparison of *CH XIII* and the Mithras Liturgy places the latter into the context of the former and points out the many close parallels. Agreeing with Dieterich's critics he calls the Mithras Liturgy a "pseudo-*Liturgie*." What does Festugière mean by this expression? It is a liturgy, but not in the strict sense of the term; its liturgy is rather an

<sup>153</sup> Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 81.

<sup>154</sup> In the third edition of 1927 Reitzenstein adds the name of Wilhelm Bousset to the dedication, a point he explains in the Preface (p. III): "Weg und Ziel haben jedem Forscher auf diesen Gebieten Hermann Usener und Albrecht Dieterich gewiesen, aber die engere Fühlung mit der Orientalistik blieb ihnen versagt, und doch ist das Christentum eine orientalische Religion. Wenn wir hier ergänzen und nacharbeiten, so geschieht es, wie ich von beiden weiß, in ihrem Sinn. Der Führer aber für diese Ergänzung ist Wilhelm Bousset gewesen. So zolle auch die neue Ausgabe dieses Büchleins den verstorbenen Freunden, dem Philologen und Theologen, meinen Dank."

<sup>155</sup> Idem, *HMR*, 81, 169–70, 191: "Dieterichs Hauptfund, daß es sich um die Schrift eines Mithrasgläubigen handelt, besteht also durchaus zu Recht. Nur dürfen wir sie mit dem *ἱερός λόγος* eines bestimmten Mysteriums so wenig identifizieren wie das poetische Gebet in dem Nephotes-Zauber oder bei Petosiris-Nechepso mit dem *ἱερός λόγος* eines ägyptischen Mysteriums."

<sup>156</sup> See the programmatic chapter "Orientalischer und hellenistischer Kult" (*ibid.*, 137–191).

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 46–53, 167–91, and *passim*. More recently, Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 82–87, 168–72, has rightly emphasized the connections between the Mithras Liturgy and the Hermetica as well as the Nag Hammadi texts.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 46–67. See on this point William C. Grese, *Corpus Hermeticum XIII and Early Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 47–58.

<sup>159</sup> On Festugière, see above, n. 82.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, *La révélation*, 4.200–57.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.203, n. 1: "Même distinction entre *λόγος* et *πράξις* dans la magie, entre *λεγόμενα* et *δρώμενα* dans les mystères, mais avec cette différence essentielle que l'opération de C. H. XIII consiste dans une expérience tout intérieure, sans l'aide d'aucun sacrement, rite ou représentation symbolique extérieure."

exercise in "virtual reality" comparable to apocalyptic narratives, so that the whole journey is merely "symbolic."<sup>162</sup>

However, Festugière overlooks that the ritual of the Mithras Liturgy is supposed to be performed realistically, as its persistent emphasis on magical procedures shows. Therefore, differently from the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the performance of the ritual magic in the Mithras Liturgy goes hand in hand with the imaginary journey to heaven. At stake is the entire complex of problems concerning immanence and transcendence.<sup>163</sup> The Hermetists separated the intellectual treatises from the ritual performances. In this way they created an intellectual religion, analogous to gnosticism, while magical procedures were relegated to the "scientific" areas of alchemy, astrology, and so forth.<sup>164</sup> Moreover, on the religious side there is no evidence of Jewish or Christian influences in the entire passage. The religion of the Mithras Liturgy is strictly pagan.

To sum up, the Mithras Liturgy occupies a precarious place between various ancient traditions. Clearly, its development took place in an Egyptian religious milieu under the influence of Hellenistic philosophy. That philosophy is Stoic, not Neoplatonic: the Mithras Liturgy originated in a milieu prior to Neoplatonism. Stoic ideas enabled the author to give "rational" explanations for magical practices. This approach implies a certain skepticism with regard to traditional Egyptian religion, because otherwise the author would not consider it necessary to provide apologetic explanations. He went as far as virtually ignoring the traditional Egyptian gods, substituting for them deified philosophical concepts. The entire ritual of rebirth is justified and believed effective because it is constituted in "natural" processes of generation and regeneration integrated in the cosmos. The cosmological worldview is Greek in origin, rather than old Egyptian. Given these contributing factors, the Mithras Liturgy seems to reflect an early or nascent Hermeticism of the first and second century CE. The fact that the composition separates the more philosophical main body (ll. 484–732) from the supplemental and mostly

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 170: "Il ne s'agit pas d'une liturgie: outre d'autre raisons, le style ne s'y prête aucunement. Il ne s'agit pas non plus, à mon sens, d'un 'livre de dévotion' d'une manière générique et vague, mais, plus précisément, d'un récit de montée au ciel comme la littérature apocalyptique... Il s'en rapproche aussi par la fait que la montée est symbolique: c'est en esprit que l'on s'élève, l'expérience est tout intérieure."

<sup>163</sup> See Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 1–2, who refers to Christian parallels in Origen and Augustine; Abraham P. Bos, "Immanenz und Transzendenz," *RAC* 17 (1996) 1041–92.

<sup>164</sup> See on this William C. Grese, "Magic in Hellenistic Hermeticism," in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (eds. Ingrid Merkel & Allen G. Debus; Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988), 45–58.

magical instructions (ll. 732–819) shows the way Hermeticism is going, but it has not yet reached the Gnostic stage of the Corpus Hermeticum.<sup>165</sup>

Other passages in the PGM, however, mention the name of Hermes Trismegistos. In the piece called “Charm of Solomon” (IV.850–929), a list of names for Egyptian divinities is introduced by the words: τὰ ὀνόματα, ἃ ἔγραψεν ἐν Ἡλιοπόλει ὁ τρισμαγίστος Ἑρμῆς ἱερογλυφικοῦς γράμμασι (“I speak your name which thrice-greatest Hermes wrote in Heliopolis with hieroglyphic letters” [ll. 895–96]). In a “Lamp divination” spell (VII.540–78), the god is called: φάνηθί μοι ἐν τῇ μαντεία, ὁ μεγαλόφρων θεός, τρισμαγας Ἑρμῆς (“Appear to me in the divination, O high-minded god, Hermes thrice-great” [l. 551]). A passage in XIII.15 quotes from an otherwise unattested “Hermetic” book: ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς βίβλου Ἑρμῆς κλέψας τὰ ἐπιθύματα ζ’ προσεφώνησεν <ἐν> ἑαυτοῦ ἱεραῖ βίβλω ἐπικαλουμένη Ἰπτέρυγι’ (“from this book Hermes plagiarized when he named the seven kinds of incense [in] his sacred book called *Wing*” [trans. Morton Smith]). Unfortunately, the reference to an Hermetic prayer in XIII.138 is textually dubious and the name Ἑρμαϊκός is Preisendanz’s conjecture. The papyrus reads EPMAI, with two tiny illegible letters written over it and vacant spaces before and after it.<sup>166</sup> In XIII.173, 179, 487–90, 495–500 Hermes is also given the magical name Semesilamps.

Besides the frequently occurring name of Hermes, who stands for the Egyptian Thot as well as for the Greek god,<sup>167</sup> there are a number of spells that are in many ways close to the Mithras Liturgy. The closeness is evidenced by terms and concepts found also in the Hermetica.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Several of my earlier articles on the Hermetica show that the writings reflect various stages of development and thus diversity within the Corpus Hermeticum. For these articles, see “Schöpfung und Erlösung im hermetischen Fragment ‘Kore Kosmou,’” in *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 22–51; “The Delphic Maxim ἸΝΩΘΙ ΣΑΥΤΟΝ in Hermetic Interpretation,” *ibid.*, 92–111; and “Hermeticism and Gnosticism: The Question of the *Poimandres*,” in *Antike und Christentum*, 206–21.

<sup>166</sup> See the photographic edition by Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri*, 38–39 (with apparatus, and a comment by A. Brinkmann, p. 92); Preisendanz, *ad loc.*, with apparatus; Morton Smith, in Betz, *GMPT*, 172 n. 6; 175, n. 25 (who notes the omission in the parallel version B, ll. 443ff.).

<sup>167</sup> See Preisendanz, 3.219–20 (index), s.v. Ἑρμῆς.

<sup>168</sup> See, e.g., Spell to establish a relationship with Helios (III.494–611, with parallel versions to ll. 591–609 in Ps.-Apuleius, *Asclepius* 41, and Nag Hammadi Codex VI; for the literature see Betz, *GMPT*, 33–34, with nn. 114–122); “Hidden Stele” (IV.1115–66); “Stele” (IV.1167–1226); “Consecration” addressed to Helios (IV.1596–1715); “Stele of Ieu” (V.96–171); “Hermes’ Ring” (V.212–302); “Ring” (XII.270–350); furthermore, the epistles of Pnouthis (I.42–195), to Nephotes (IV.154–205), and to Pity (IV.2006–2125); XIII, *passim*. For the interpretation, see also Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 174–80, 219–29.

## Greek Text\*

### f. 7 recto

475 Ἰλαθί μοι, Πρόνοια καὶ Ψυχὴ, τάδε γράφοντι  
 476 τὰ <ᾶ>πρατα, παραδοτὰ μυστήρια, μόνῳ δὲ τέκνω  
 477 ἀθανασίαν ἀξιῶ, μύστη τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνά-  
 478/9 μεως ταύτης – χορὴ οὖν σε, ὦ θύγατερ, λαμβά-  
 480 νειν χυλοὺς βοτανῶν καὶ εἰδῶν τῶν μ[ελ]-  
 481 λόντων σοι <μηνυθῆσθαι> ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ ἱεροῦ μου συντά-  
 482 γματος –, ἣν ὁ μέγας θ(εὸς) Ἥλιος Μίθρας ἐκέλευ-  
 483 σέν μοι μεταδοθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου  
 484 αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐγὼ μόνος αἰετός οὐρανὸν βαί-  
 485 νω καὶ κατοπτεύω πάντα. Ἔστιν δὲ τοῦ λόγου  
 486 ἦδε ἡ κλησις·  
 487 [Γ]ένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως· αειλιουω,  
 488 ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς <ς> πρώτη. Π(όπυσον τρίς), σ(ύρισον  
 τρίς), Φρ[·],

### f. 7 verso

489 πνεῦμα πνεύματος, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεύματος  
 490 πρῶτον – μ(ύκωσον τρίς) – πῦρ, τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν  
 491 ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδώρητον, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πυ-  
 492 ρὸς πρῶτον ηυ ηια εη, ὕδωρ ὕδατος, τοῦ ἐν  
 493 ἐμοὶ ὕδατος πρῶτον ωω αα εεε, οὐσία  
 494 γεώδης τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐσίας γεώδους πρώτης  
 495 υη ωη, σῶμα τέλειον ἐμοῦ τοῦ δ(ε)ἰ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ἰ(να), δια-  
 496 πεπλασμένον ὑπὸ βραχίονος ἐντίμου καὶ δε-

\* The text given here on the whole follows Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1.88–100, but different readings based on the photographic plates by David Jordan and David Martinez have been considered and adopted. For details see the commentary, *infra*.

497 ξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου ἐν ἀφωτίστῳ καὶ διαυγεῖ  
 498 κόσμῳ, ἐν τε ἀψύχῳ καὶ ἐψυχωμένῳ υἱ  
 499 αὶ ευωιε. Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξῃ μετετρα  
 500 φωθ· μεθαρθα φηριη – ἐν ἄλλῳ, ἱερεζαθ –  
 501 μεταπαραδῶναί με τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει  
 502 ἐχομένως τῇ ὑποκειμένη μου φύσει· ἵνα  
 503 μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπεί-  
 504 γουσαν με χρεῖαν ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθάνατον  
 505 ἀρχὴν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι ἀνχρε-  
 506 φρενεσουφιριγγ· τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι  
 507 ερονουῖ παρακουνηθ, τῷ στερεωτάτῳ  
 508 ἀέρι εἴοση ψεναβωθ· ἵνα νοήματι μετα-  
 509 γεν<v>ηθῶ κραοχραξ ρ οῖμ εναρχομαι  
 510 καὶ πνεύση ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα νεχθεν  
 511 αποτου νεχθιν αρπι ηθ, ἵνα θαυμάσω  
 512 τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ κυφε, ἵνα θεάσωμαι τὸ ἄβυσ-  
 513 σον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν ὕδωρ νυω  
 514 θεσω εχω ουχιεχωα, καὶ ἀκούση μου ὁ ζω-  
 515 γόνος καὶ περικεχυμένος αἰθῆρ ἀρονηθφ.  
 516 Ἐπεὶ μέλλω κατοπτεύειν σήμερον τοῖς ἀθα-  
 517 νάτοις ὄμμασι, θνητὸς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ θνη-  
 518 τῆς ὑστέρας, βεβελτιωμένος ὑπὸ κράτους  
 519 μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρ-  
 520 του, ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶ-  
 521 να καὶ δεσπότην τῶν πυρίνων διαδημά-  
 522 των, ἀγίοις ἀγιασθεὶς ἀγιάσμασι, ἀγίας  
 523 ὑφεστῶσης μου πρὸς ὀλίγον τῆς ἀνθρωπί-  
 524 νης μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως, ἦν ἐγὼ πάλιν  
 525 μεταπαραλήμψομαι μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν  
 526 καὶ κατεπείγουσαν με πικρὰν ἀνάγκην  
 527 ἀχρεοκόπητον. Ἐγὼ ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να), ὃν ἡ δ(ε)ῖ(να), κατὰ δόγμα  
 528 θεοῦ ἀμετάθετον ευη υἱα εηι αω εἶαυ  
 529 ἵα ἴεω. Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἐφικτὸν θνη-  
 530 τὸν γεγῶτα συνα<v>ιέναι χρυσοειδέσιν  
 531 μαρμαρυγαῖς τῆς ἀθανάτου λαμπηδό-  
 532 νος ωη αεω ησα εση υαε ωιαε,  
 533 ἔσταθι, φθαρτῇ βροτῶν φύσι, καὶ αὐτίκα <ἀνάλαβέ>  
 534 με ὑγιῆ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ κατεπε[ί]-  
 535 γουσαν χρεῖαν. Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ υἱὸς ψυχω[ν]  
 536 δεμου προχω πρωα, ἐγὼ εἰμι μαχαρφ[.v]

537 μου πρωψυχων πρωε.  
 "Ἐλκε ἀπὸ τῶν |  
 538 ἀκτίων πνεῦμα γ' ἀνασπῶν, ὃ δύνα[σ]αι,  
 539 καὶ ὄψη σεαυτὸν ἀνακουφιζόμενον [κ]αὶ  
 540 ὑπερβαίνοντα εἰς ὕψος, ὥστε σε δοκεῖ[ν μ]—  
 541 ἔσον τοῦ ἀέρος εἶναι. Οὐδενὸς δὲ ἀκούσει [ο]ὔτε  
 542 ἀνθρώπου οὔτε ζώου ἄλλ<ου>, οὐδὲ ὄψη οὐδὲν

## f. 8 recto

543 τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς θνητῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, πάν—  
 544 τα δὲ ὄψη ἀθάνατα. Ὁψη γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας  
 545 καὶ τῆς ὥρας θείαν θέσιν, τοὺς πολεούντας  
 546 ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεοῦς, ἄλλους  
 547 δὲ καταβαίνοντας. Ἡ δὲ πορεία τῶν ὁρμώ—  
 548 νων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρός μου, θεοῦ,  
 549 φανήσεται, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐ—  
 550 λός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργοῦντος ἀνέμου. Ὁψη  
 551 γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ὡς αὐλὸν κρεμάμενον εἰς  
 552 δὲ τὰ μέρη τὰ πρὸς λίβα ἀπέραντον οἶον ἀπη—  
 553 λιώτην, ἐὰν ᾗ κεκληρωμένοις εἰς τὰ μέρη  
 554 τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ὁμοίως εἰς τὰ μέ—  
 555 ρη τὰ ἐκείνου. ὄψη τὴν ἀποφορὰν τοῦ ὄραματος.  
 556 Ὁψη {σὺ} δὲ ἀτενίζοντάς σοι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ  
 557 σε ὁρμωμένους.  
 Σὺ δὲ εὐθέως ἐπίθες δεξιὸν  
 558 δάκτυλον ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ λέγε·  
 559 Σιγὴ, σιγὴ, | σιγὴ,  
 σύμβολον θεοῦ ζώντος ἀφθάρτου.  
 560 Φύλαξόν με, σιγὴ νεχθειρ θανμελου.  
 561 Ἐπειτα σύρισον μακρὸν σ(ύρισον δύο), ἔπειτα πόπτου—  
 562 σον λέγων·  
 Προπροφεγγῆ μοριος προ—  
 563 φυρ προφεγγῆ νεμεθιρε αρψεντεν  
 564 πιτητμι μεου εναρθ φυρκεχω ψυ—  
 565 ριδαριω τυρη φιλιβα.  
 Καὶ τότε ὄψη τοὺς  
 566 θεοὺς σοι εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέποντας καὶ μη—  
 567 κέτι ἐπὶ σε ὁρμωμένους, ἀλλὰ πορευομέ—

568 νους ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν τῶν πραγμάτων(ν).  
 569 Ὅταν οὖν ἴδῃς τὸν ἄνω κόσμον καθαρὸν  
 570 καὶ δονούμενον καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν  
 571 ἢ ἀγγέλων ὀρ<μ>ώμενον, προσδόκα βροντῆς  
 572 μεγάλης ἀκούσεσθαι κτύπον, ὥστε σε ἐκ-  
 573 πλαγήναι. Σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε·  
     Σιγή, σιγή λό(γος).  
 574 Ἐγὼ εἶμι <ὁ> σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστήρ, καὶ ἐκ  
 575 τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων ὁ Ξυ, ὁ Ξερθευθ.  
 576 Ταῦτά σοῦ εἶποντος εὐθέως ὁ δίσκος ἀπλω-  
 577 θήσεται. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν σε τὸν β' λόγον,  
 578 ὅπου σιγή β' καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα, σύρισον β'  
 579 καὶ π(όπυσον) β', καὶ εὐθέως ὄψη ἀπὸ τοῦ δί-  
 580 σκου ἀστέρας προσερχομένους (πεντα)δακτυ-  
 581 λιαίους πλείστους καὶ πιπλῶντας ὄλον  
 582 τὸν ἄερα. Σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· Σιγή, σιγή.  
 583 καὶ τοῦ δίσκου ἀνοιγέντος ὄψη ἄπειρον  
 584 κύκλωμα καὶ θύρας πυρίνας ἀποκε-  
 585 κλεισμένας. Σὺ δὲ εὐθέως δῖωκε τὸν ὑπο-  
 586 κείμενον λόγον καμμύων σου τοὺς ὀφθαλ-  
 587 μούς. Αὐγός γ'  
     ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἄκου-  
 588 σόν μου, τοῦ δ(ε)ἶ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ἶ(να),  
     κύριε, ὁ συνδήσας  
 589 πνεύματι τὰ πύρινα κληῖθρα τοῦ (τετρα)-  
 590 λιζώματος,  
     πυρίπολε πεντιτερουι,  
 591 φωτὸς κτίστα – οἱ δὲ· συγκλεῖστα – Σεμεσιλαμ,  
 592 πυρίπνοε ψυρινφευ,  
 593 πυρίθυμε | Ιαω, πνευματόφως ωαῖ  
 594 πυριχαρῆ | ελουρε,  
     καλλίφως αζαῖ,  
     Αἰών ακβα,  
 595 φωτοκράτωρ πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι,  
 596 πυ | ρισώματε φνουηνιοχ, φωτοδῶτα,  
 597 πυ | ρισπόρε αρει εἰκιτα,  
 598 πυρικλόνε | γαλλαβαλβα,



f. 8 verso

598 φωτοβία ιαιαιω,  
 599 πυριδῖνα πυριχι | βοοσημα,  
 φωτοκινῆτα σανχερωβ,  
 600 κεραυνο | κλόνε ιη ωη ιωηιω,  
 φωτὸς κλέος βεεγένητε,  
 601 αὐξησῖφως σουσινεφι,  
 602 ἐνπυρισχησίφως | σουσῖνεφι αρενβαραζει μαρμαρεντευ.  
 603 Ἄστροδάμα, ἀνοιζόν μοι, προπροφεγγή, εμε-  
 604 θειρε μβριομοτυρηφιλβα, ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦ-  
 605 μαι ἔνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης καὶ πικρᾶς καὶ  
 606 ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης τὰ μηδέπω χωρήσαντα  
 607 εἰς θνητὴν φύσιν μηδὲ φρασθέντα ἐν διαρ-  
 608 θρώσει ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης γλώσσης ἢ θνητοῦ  
 609 φθόγγου ἢ θνητῆς φωνῆς ἀθάνατα ζῶντα  
 610 καὶ ἔντιμα ὀνόματα·

ηεω σηηω ιωω

611 οη ηεω ηεω ση εω ιωω σηηε ωηε  
 612 ωση ιη ηω οω ση ιεω ση ωση ιεω ση ιεεω  
 613 εη ιω ση ιση ωηω εση οεω ωιη ωιη εω  
 614 οη ιιη ηση ωση ηωσηε εωηια αηαεηα  
 615 ηεση εση εση ιεω ηεω ὀηεεση ηεω  
 616 ηυω ση εῖω ηω ωη ωή εὐ ὀόο υιωη.

617 Ταῦτα πάντα λέγε μετὰ πυρὸς καὶ πνεῦμα-  
 618 τος τὸ πρῶτον ἀποτελῶν, εἶτα ὁμοίως τὸ  
 619 δεῦτερον ἀρχόμενος, ἕως ἐκτελέσης τοὺς  
 620 ζ' ἀθανάτους θεοὺς τοῦ κόσμου. Ταῦτά σου εἰ-  
 621 πόντος ἀκούσει βροντῆς καὶ κλόνου τοῦ περι-  
 622 έχοντος. Ὅμοίως δὲ σεαυτὸν αἰσθηθήσει τα-  
 623 ρασσόμενον. Σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε·

σιγὴ λό(γος).

624 Εἶτα | ἀνοιζον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὄψη ἀνεωγυῖ-  
 625 ας τὰς θύρας καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν θ(εῶ)ν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐν-  
 626 τὸς τῶν θυρῶν, ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεάματος ἡδο-  
 627 νῆς καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς τὸ πνεῦμά σου συντρέχειν  
 628 καὶ ἀναβαίνειν.

Στάς οὖν εὐθέως ἔλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 629 θείου ἀτενίζων εἰς σεαυτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα. Ὅταν  
 630 οὖν ἀποκατασταθῇ σου ἡ ψυχὴ, λέγε·

631 πρόσελθε, | κύριε, αρχανδαρα φωταζα πυριφωτα ζα-  
632 βυθιξ ετιμενμερο φοραθην εριη προ-  
633 θρι φοραθι.

Τοῦτό <σου> εἰπόντος στραφήσονται

634 ἐπὶ σε αἱ ἀκτῖνες· Ἐσειδε αὐτῶν μέσον. Ὅταν  
635 οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσης, ὄψη θεὸν νεώτερον, εὖει-  
636 δῆ, πυρινότριχα, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ <χ>λα-  
637 μύδι κοκκίνη ἔχοντα πύρινον στέφανον.

Εὐθέως ἄσπασαι αὐτὸν τῷ πυρίνῳ ἀσπαστικῷ·

639 Κύριε, χαῖρε, μεγαλοδύναμε, με<γα>λοκράτωρ,  
640 βασιλεῦ, μέγιστε θεῶν, Ἥλιε, ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρα-  
641 νοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, θεῖ' θεῶν, ἰσχύει σου ἡ πνοή,  
642 ἰσχύει σου ἡ δύναμις, κύριε. Ἐάν σοι δόξη, ἄγ-  
643 γειλὸν με τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, τῷ σε γεννήσαντι  
644 καὶ ποιήσαντι, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγὼ ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ῖ(να),  
645 γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας τῆς δεῖνα καὶ ἰχῶ-  
646 ρος σπερματικῆ καὶ, σήμερον τούτου ὑπὸ σου  
647 με<τα>γεννηθέντος, ἐκ τοσοῦτων μυριάδων ἀπα-  
648 θανατισθεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατὰ δόκησιν θ(εο)ῦ  
649 ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ προσκυνῆσαί σε  
650 ἀξιοῖ καὶ δέεται κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην  
651 — ἵνα συμπαραλάβῃς τὸν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας  
652 καὶ ὥρας ὠρονόμον, ᾧ ὄνομα Θραψιαρι·

#### f. 9 recto

653 μοριροκ, ἵνα φανεῖς χρηματίση ἐν ταῖς ἀγα-  
654 θαῖς ὥραις, ερω ρωρε ωριω ρωρ ρωι  
655 ωρ ρεωρωρι εωρ εωρ εωρ εωρε. —

Ταῦτά σου εἰ-

656 πόντος ἐλεύσεται εἰς τὸν πόλον, καὶ ὄψη αὐτὸν περι-  
657 πατοῦντα ὡς ἐν ὁδῷ. Σὺ δὲ ἀτενίζων καὶ μύκωμα  
658 μακρὸν κερατοειδῶς, ὄλον ἀποδιδούς τὸ πνεῦ-  
659 μα, βασανίζων τὴν λαγόνα, μυκῶ καὶ κατα-  
660 φίλει τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγε, πρῶτον εἰς τὸ δεξι-  
661 ὄν·

Φύλαξόν με προσυμηρι.

662 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὄψη | θύρας ἀνοιγομένας καὶ ἐρχομένας ἐκ τοῦ βᾶ-  
663 θους ζ' παρθένους ἐν βυσσίνους, ἀσπίδων

- 664 πρόσωπα ἐχούσας. Αὐταὶ καλοῦνται οὐρανοῦ  
 665 Τύχαι, κρατοῦσαι χρούσα βραβεῖα. Ταῦτα ἰδὼν  
 666 ἀσπάζου οὕτως·  
 Χαίρετε, αἱ ζ΄ Τύχαι τοῦ οὐρα-  
 667 νοῦ, σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι, ἱεραὶ καὶ  
 668 ὁμοδίαιτοι τοῦ μινιμιρροφορ, αἱ ἀγιώτα-  
 669 ται φυλάκισσαι τῶν τεσσάρων στυλίσκων.  
 670 Χαῖρε, ἡ πρώτη, χρεψενθαης.  
 671 Χαῖρε, ἡ β΄, | μενεσχεης.  
 Χαῖρε, ἡ γ΄, μεχραν.  
 672a Χαῖρε, ἡ δ΄, | αραρμαχης.  
 Χαῖρε, ἡ ε΄, εχομμιη.  
 672b Χαῖρε, ἡ ς΄, | τιχνονδαης.  
 Χαῖρε, ἡ ζ΄, ερουρομβριης.  
 673 Προέρχονται δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι ζ΄ θεοὶ ταύρων  
 674 μελάνων πρόσωπα ἔχοντες ἐν περιζώ-  
 675 μασιν λινοῖς κατέχοντες ζ΄ διαδήματα χρύ-  
 676 σεα. Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι πολοκράτορες  
 677 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὓς δεῖ σε ἀσπάσασθαι ὁμοίως ἕκα-  
 678 στον τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι·  
 Χαίρετε, οἱ κνωδα-  
 679 κοφύλακες, οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ ἄλκιμοι νεανίαί, οἱ στρέ-  
 680 φοντες ὑπὸ ἐν κέλευσμα τὸν περιδίγητον  
 681 τοῦ κύκλου ἄξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ βροντὰς καὶ  
 682 ἀστραπὰς καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν βολὰς ἀφι-  
 683 έντες εἰς δυσσεβῶν φύλα, ἐμοὶ δὲ εὐσεβεῖ  
 684 καὶ θεοσεβεῖ ὄντι ὑγείαν καὶ σώματος ὀλοκλη-  
 685 ρίαν, ἀκοῆς τε καὶ δράσεως εὐτονίαν, ἀταρα-  
 686 ξίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεστῶσαις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέ-  
 687 ρας ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις, οἱ κύριοί μου καὶ μεγα | λοκράτορες θεοί.  
 688 Χαῖρε, ὁ πρῶτος, αἰερωνθι.  
 689 Χαῖρε, ὁ β΄, μερχειμερος.  
 Χαῖρε, ὁ γ΄, αχριχιουρ.  
 690 Χαῖρε, ὁ δ΄, μεσαργιλτω.  
 691 Χαῖρε, ὁ ε΄, χιχρω | αλιθω.  
 Χαῖρε, ὁ ς΄, ερμιχθαθωψ.  
 692 Χαῖρε, | ὁ ζ΄, εορασιχη.  
 "Όταν δὲ ἐνστῶσιν ἔνθα  
 693 καὶ ἔνθα τῇ τάξει, ἀτένιζε τῷ ἀέρι καὶ ὄψη  
 694 κατερχομένας ἀστραπὰς καὶ φῶτα μαρ-

695 μαίροντα καὶ σειομένην τὴν γῆν καὶ  
 696 κατερχόμενον θ(εὸ)ν ὑπερμεγέθη, φωτι-  
 697 νὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄψιν, νεώτερον, χρυσοκόμαν,  
 698 ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ  
 699 ἀναξυρίσι, κατέχοντα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μόσχου  
 700 ὄμον χρύσειον, ὃς ἐστὶν Ἄρκτος ἢ κινουσα  
 701 καὶ ἀντιστρέφουσα τὸν οὐρανόν, κατὰ ὥραν  
 702 ἀναπολεύουσα καὶ καταπολεύουσα. Ἔπειτα ὄψη  
 703 αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀστραπᾶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ  
 704 σώματος ἀστέρας ἀλλομένους. Σὺ δὲ εὐθέως  
 705 <μυκῶ> μύκωμα μακρόν, βασανίζων τὴν γαστέρα,  
 706 ἵνα συνκινήσης τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις, μα-  
 707 κρόν εἰς ἀπόθεσιν μυκῶ, καταφιλῶν πάλιν  
 708 τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγων·  
 μοκριμο φεριμο-

## f. 9 verso

709 φερερι, ζω<ή> μου, τοῦ δεῖνα,  
 μένε σύ,  
 710 νέμε ἐν τῇ | ψυχῇ μου,  
 μή με καταλείψης,  
 ὅτι κελεύει σοι  
 711 ἐνθo φενεν θροπιωθ.  
 712 Καὶ ἀτένιζε τῷ θεῷ | μακρόν μυκώμενος καὶ ἀσπάζου οὕτως·  
 713 Κύριε, χαῖρε, δέσποτα ὕδατος,  
 714 χαῖρε, κατάρχα | γῆς,  
 χαῖρε, δυνάστα πνεύματος,  
 715 λαμπροφεγ | γῆ, προπροφεγγῆ, εμεθιρι αρτεντεπι.  
 716 θηθ. μιμεω υεναρω φυρχεχω ψηρι-  
 717 δαριω· Φρη Φρηλβα.  
 Χρημάτισον, κύριε,  
 718 περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος.  
 719 Κύριε, παλινγενόμε | νος ἀπογίγνομαι,  
 720 αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς | τελευτῶ,  
 721 ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωογόνου γενόμε | νος,  
 722 εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς πορεύο | μαι,  
 ὡς σὺ ἔκτισας,  
 ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας

- 723 καί | ἐποίησας μυστήριον.  
 724 Ἐγὼ εἰμι φερουρα | μουρι.  
 Ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρη-  
 725 σιμωθήσει. Ὑπέκλυτος δὲ ἔσει τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ  
 726 οὐκ ἐν σεαυτῷ ἔσει, ὅταν σοι ἀποκρίνηται.  
 727 Λέγει δέ σοι διὰ στίχων τὸν χρησμὸν καὶ εἰπῶ(ν)  
 728 ἀπελεύσεται, σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεός, ὡς ταῦ-  
 729 τα πάντα χωρήσεις αὐτομάτως, καὶ τότε  
 730 μνημονεύσεις ἀπαραβάτως τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 731 μεγάλου θεοῦ ῥηθέντα, κἄν ἦν μυρίων στί-  
 732 χων ὁ χρησμός.  
 Ἐάν δὲ θέλῃς καὶ συμμύ-  
 733 στη χρήσασθαι ὥστε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκεῖνον  
 734 μόνον σὺν σοι ἀκούειν, συναγνεύτω σοι <ζ'>  
 735 ἡμέρας καὶ ἀποσχέσθω ἐμφύχων καὶ βαλα-  
 736 νείου. Ἐάν δὲ καὶ μόνος ἦς καὶ ἐγχειρῆς τὰ  
 737 ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρημένα, λέγεις ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει  
 738 ἀποφοιβώμενος. Ἐάν δὲ καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ θέ-  
 739 λῃς, κρίνας, εἰ ἀξιός ἐστιν ἀσφαλῶς ὡς ἄν-  
 740 θρωπος, χρησάμενος τῷ τόπῳ, ὡς <σὺ> ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 741 κρινόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀπαθαν<ατ>ισμῷ, τὸν πρῶ-  
 742 τον ὑπόβαλε αὐτῷ λόγον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Γένε-  
 743 σις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως ασηιουα.  
 744 Τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς ὡς μύστης λέγε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 745 κεφαλῆς ἀ{υ}τόνω φθόγγῳ, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ,  
 746 χρίων αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν τῷ μυστηρίῳ. Γί-  
 747 γνεται δὲ ὁ ἀπαθανατισμὸς οὗτος τρεῖς τοῦ  
 748 ἐνιαυτοῦ. Ἐάν δὲ βουληθῇ τις, ὃ τέκνον,  
 749 μετὰ τὸ παράγγελμα {τω} παρακοῦσαι, <τῷ> οὐκέτι  
 750 ὑπάρξει.  
 Διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως·  
 751 Λαβῶν | κάνθαρον ἡλιακὸν τὸν τὰς ἰβ' ἀκτῖνας  
 752 ἔχοντα ποίησον εἰς βησίον καλλάϊνον  
 753 βαθὺ ἐν ἀρπαγῇ τῆς σελήνης βληθῆναι,  
 754 συνεμβάλων αὐτῷ λωτομήτρας σπέρμα  
 755 καὶ μέλι λειώσας ποίησον μαζῖον, καὶ εὐθέ-  
 756 ως αὐτὸν ὄψῃ προσερχόμενον καὶ ἐσθί-  
 757 οντα, καὶ ὅταν φάγῃ, εὐθέως θνήσκει. Τοῦ-  
 758 τον ἀνελθόμενος βάλε εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὑελοῦν  
 759 μύρου ῥοδίνου καλλίστου, ὅσον βούλει, καὶ

- 760 στρώσας καθαρίως ἄμμον ἱερὰν ἐπίθες  
 761 τὸ ἀγγεῖον καὶ λέγε τὸ (ὄνομα) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγγους ἐπὶ  
 762 ἡμέρας ζ' ἡλίου μεσουρανοῦντος·  
 763 Ἐγὼ | σε ἐτέλεσα,  
 ἵνα μοι ἢ σου οὐσία γένη χρήσι—

## f. 10 recto

- 764 μος, τῷ δ(ε)ῖ(να) μόνῳ  
 ιε ια η εη ου εια·  
 765 ἐμοὶ μόνῳ | χρησιμεύσης.  
 Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι φωρ φορ α  
 766 φως φοτιζαας  
 — οἱ δέ· φωρ φωρ οφοθει—  
 767 ζαας. —  
 Τῇ δὲ ζ' ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) βαστάξας τὸν κάρθαρ(ο)ν),  
 768 θάψας ζυμύρα καὶ οἶνω Μενδησίῳ καὶ βυσ—  
 769 σίνῳ ἀπόθου ἐν κυαμῶνι ζωοφυτοῦντι.  
 770 τὸ δὲ χρῖσμα ἐστιάσας καὶ συνευωχηθεὶς  
 771 ἀπόθου καθαρείως εἰς τὸν ἀπαθανατισμόν.  
 772 Ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ θέλης δεικνύειν, ἔχε τῆς κα—  
 773 λουμένης βοτάνης κεντρίτιδος χυλὸν πε—  
 774 ριχρίων τὴν ὄψιν, οὗ βούλει, μετὰ ῥοδίνου,  
 775 καὶ ὄψεται δηλαυγῶς ὥστε σε θαυμάζειν,  
 776 τούτου μείζον' οὐχ εὔρον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πρα—  
 777 γματεῖαν. Αἰτοῦ δέ, ἃ βούλει, τὸν θεόν, καὶ δώ—  
 778 σει σοι.  
 ἡ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασις ἐστὶν  
 779 ἡδε· Βαστάξας κεν' ἄρτι τὴν προκειμένην(ν)  
 780 βοτάνην τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ γενομένην λέοντι  
 781 ἄρον τὸν χυλὸν καὶ μίξας μέλιτι καὶ ζυμύ—  
 782 νη γράψον ἐπὶ φύλλου περσέας τὸ ὀκταγράμ—  
 783 ματον ὄνομα, ὡς ὑπόκειται, καὶ πρὸ γ' ἡμε—  
 784 ρῶν ἀγνεύσας ἐλθέ πρωίας πρὸς ἀνατολάς,  
 785 ἀπόλειχε τὸ φύλλον δεικνύων ἡλίῳ, καὶ  
 786 οὕτως ἐπακούσεται τελείως. Ἄρχου δὲ αὐτὸν  
 787 τελεῖν τῇ ἐν λέοντι κατὰ θεὸν νομηγία.  
 788 Τὸ δὲ ὄνομά ἐστὶν τοῦτο·  
 ἱ εε οο ἰαῖ.

789 Τοῦτο | ἔκλιχε, ἵνα φυλακτηριασθῆς, καὶ τὸ φύλλον  
 790 ἐλίξας ἔμβαλε εἰς τὸ βόδιον. Πολλάκις  
 791 δὲ τῇ πραγματεία χρησάμενος ὑπερεθαύ-  
 792 μασα.  
 Εἶπεν δέ μοι ὁ θεός·  
 793 Μηκέτι χρῶ | τῷ συγχρίσματι,  
 ἀλλὰ ρίψαντα εἰς ποταμὸν  
 794 <χρῆ> χρᾶσθαι φοροῦντα τὸ μέγα μυστήριον  
 795 τοῦ κανθάρου τοῦ ἀναζωπυρηθέντος  
 796 διὰ τῶν κε' ζῶων ὄρνεων, χρᾶσθαι  
 797 ἄπαξ τοῦ μηνός, – ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ ἔτος γ', κατὰ  
 798 πανσέληνον.  
 Ἦ δὲ κεντρῆτις βοτάνη φύ-  
 799 εται ἀπὸ μηνός Παῦνι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς  
 800 μελάνης γῆς, ὁμοία δὲ ἐστὶν τῷ ὀρθῷ  
 801 περιστερεῶνι. Ἦ δὲ γινῶσις αὐτῆς οὕτως  
 802 γίγνεται· Ἰβέως πτερόν χρίεται τὸ ἀκρο-  
 803 μέλαν χαλασθέν τῷ χυλῷ καὶ ἅμα τῷ θι-  
 804 γεῖν ἀποπίπτει τὰ πτερά. Τοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου  
 805 ὑποδείξαντος εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ Μενε-  
 806 λαίτη ἐν τῇ Φαλαγρυ πρὸς ταῖς ἀναβολαῖς  
 807 πλησίον <τῆς> τοῦ Βη<σα>σάδος βοτάνης.  
 808 Ἔστιν δὲ | μονόκλωνον καὶ πυρρὸν ἄχρι τῆς ρίζης  
 809 καὶ τὰ φύλλα οὐλότερα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν  
 810 ἔχοντα ὅμοιον τῷ κορύμβω ἀσπαράγω  
 811 ἄγριω. Ἔστιν δὲ παραπλήσιον τῷ  
 812 καλουμένῳ ταλάπη, ὡς τὸ ἄγριον σεῦ-  
 813 τλον.  
 Τὰ δε φυλακτήρια ἔχει τὸν τρόπον  
 814 τοῦτον· τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν γράψον εἰς ὑμέ-  
 815 να προβάτου μέλανος ζμυρνομέλανι,  
 816 τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ δῆσας νεύροις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζώου  
 817 περιάψαι, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον εἰς ὑμένα  
 818 λευκοῦ προβάτου καὶ χρῶ τῷ αὐτῷ

f. 10 verso

819 τρόπω. Εὐώνυμ<ον τ>οῦ προσθυμηρι. πληρέστα-  
 820 τον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει.

## Translation\*

475 Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche, who writes these  
mysteries handed down, not for gain,  
and for an only child I ask for immortality,  
for an initiate of this our power  
(furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daughter, to take  
480 | the juices of herbs and drugs, which will be [made known]  
to you at the end of my sacred treatise),  
which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be handed over to  
me by his archangel so that I alone may go to heaven as an  
485 “eagle” | and behold [the] all.

*This is the invocation of the prayer:*

“First origin of my origin, AEËIOYŌ,  
first beginning of my beginning, PPP SSS PHR [.] ,  
490 spirit of spirit, the first of the spirit | in me, MMM  
fire god-given for my mixture of the mixtures in me,  
the first of the fire in me, ĒY ĒIA EĒ,  
water of water, the first of the water in me,  
ŌŌŌ AAA EEE,  
earth material, the first of the earthy material in me |  
495 YĒ YŌĒ,  
a perfect body of me, NN, whose mother is NN,  
which, because of its fashioning by a noble arm and an  
incorruptible right hand in a world without light and yet  
radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul,  
YĒI AYI EYŌIE;  
500 now, if it seems right to you, METERTA | PHŌTH  
(METHARTHA PHĒRIĒ, in another place) ĪEREZATH,  
transfer me to the immortal birth and next, to my  
underlying nature, in order that, after the present and

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\* The translation is a revision of Marvin W. Meyer's in Betz, *GMPT* (1996), 48–54, based on the commentary *infra*.



505 exceedingly pressing need, I may envision the immortal |  
 beginning with the immortal spirit,  
 ANCHREPHRENESOUPHIRIGCH,  
 with the immortal water, ERONOYĪ PARAKOUNĒTH,  
 with the firmest air, EĪOAĒ PSENABŌTH;  
 in order that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX R  
 510 OĪM ENARCHOMAI | and the sacred spirit may breathe in  
 me, NECHTHEN APOTOY NECHTHIN ARPI ĒTH;  
 in order that I may marvel at the sacred fire, KYPHE;  
 in order that I may gaze upon the unfathomable, frightful  
 water of the dawn, NYŌ THESŌ ECHŌ OYCHIECHŌA,  
 515 and that the life-giving | and encompassing ether hear me,  
 ARNOMĒTHPH.

For today I am going to envision with immortal eyes –  
 I, a mortal born from a mortal womb, but improved through  
 the exceedingly powerful might and the imperishable  
 520 right hand | and with the immortal spirit, [to envision] the  
 immortal Aion and lord of the fiery diadems – I, sanctified  
 through holy consecrations – which holy [power] supports  
 for a short while my human soul-power, which I will again |  
 525 receive after the present bitter and relentless necessity  
 which is pressing down on me – I, NN, whom NN bore,  
 according to the immutable decree of god, EYĒ YĪA EĪI  
 AŌ EĪAY ĪYA ĪEŌ.

530 Since for me, being | mortal, it is out of reach to  
 ascend together with the golden radiances of the immortal  
 brilliance, ŌĒY AEŌ ĒUA EŌĒ YAE  
 ŌIAE, stand, O perishable nature of mortals,  
 and at once <take me back> safe after the inexorable  
 535 and pressing | need.

For I am the son PSYCHŌ[N] DEMOY PROCHŌ PRŌA,  
 I am MACHARPH [.]N MOY PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE.”

Draw in breath from the rays three times, drawing in as much as you can.  
 540 [Then] you will see yourself being lifted up and | ascending to  
 the height, so that you seem to be in midair. You will hear  
 nothing either of human or of another living being, nor in that  
 hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but  
 rather you will see all immortal things.

545 For you will see the divine constellation on that day | and hour,  
 the presiding gods arising into heaven, and others setting.

Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk  
of god, my father; and in a similar way the so-called pipe, |  
550 the origin of the ministering wind; for you will see it hanging  
from the sun-disk like a pipe. Toward the region of the west [it  
is the source of] the unending east wind, when it is assigned to  
theregion of the east, and in the same way the other [west wind  
going] toward the regions of that one [scil., the east]. Then you  
555 will see the turn-about of the image [scil., the pipe]. |  
And you will see the gods intently staring at you and rushing at you.  
But you at once put your right finger on your mouth and say:

“Silence! Silence! Silence!

Symbol of the living imperishable god |

560 Guard me, Silence! NECHTHEIR THANMELOU!”

Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound,  
and say:

“PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ  
NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PITĒTMI MEŌY ENARTH  
565 PHYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIŌ | TYRĒ PHILBA.”

And then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and  
no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own  
order of affairs.

570 Thus when you see that the world above is pure | but agitated,  
and that none of the gods or angels is threatening you,  
expect a great crash of thunder to be heard, with the result that  
you are shocked. But you say again:

“Silence! Silence! (the formula)

I am a star, wandering about with you,

575 and shining forth out of the | deep,  
the XY, the XERTHEUTH.”

Immediately after you have said this the sun-disk will be  
expanded. After you have said the second formula, where there is  
“Silence! Silence!” and what follows, make the hissing sound  
twice and the popping sound twice, and immediately you will  
580 see | a multitude of five-pronged stars proceeding from the  
sun-disk and filling all the air.

But you say again: “Silence! Silence!” And when the sun-disk  
has opened, you will see the boundless circle and its fiery  
doors shut tight. |

585 At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer.

*The third prayer:*

"Give ear to me, hearken to me, NN, whose mother is NN, O  
 lord, you who have bound together with your spirit the  
 590 fiery bars of the fourfold | root,  
 O Fire-burner, PENTITEROUNI,  
 Light-creator (others: Confiner), SEMESILAM,  
 Fire-breather, PSYRINPHEU,  
 Fire-spirited, IAŌ,  
 Spirit-light, ŌAI,  
 Fire-delighter, ELOURE,  
 Light-beauty, AZAIĭ,  
 Aion, AKBA, |  
 595 Light-ruler, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,  
 Fire-body, PHNOUĒNIOCH,  
 Light-giver, ...  
 Fire-sower, AREI EIKITA  
 Fire-thronger, GALLABALBA,  
 Light-forcer, AIŌ,  
 Fire-whirler, PYRICHIBOOSĒIA,  
 Light-mover, SANCHERŌB,  
 600 Lightning-shaker, | IĒ ŌĒ IŌĒIŌ,  
 Light-famous, BEEGENĒTE,  
 Light-increaser, SOUSINEPHI,  
 Fire-light-maintainer, SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI  
 MARMARENTEU.  
 Subduer of stars, open for me,  
 PROPROPHEGGE EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTYRĒPHILBA.  
 605 For I invoke, because | of the pressing and bitter and  
 inexorable necessity, the immortal names, living  
 and honored, which have not yet passed into mortal nature  
 nor declared in articulate speech by human tongue or  
 mortal speech or mortal sound: |  
 610 ĒĒŌ OĒĒŌ IŌŌ OĒ ĒĒŌ  
 ĒĒŌ EŌŌĒ EŌ IŌŌ OĒĒĒ  
 OĒĒ ŌOĒ IĒ ĒŌ OŌOĒ IEŌ  
 OĒ ŌOĒ IEŌ OĒ IEEŌ EĒ IŌ  
 OĒ IOĒ ŌĒŌ EOĒ OEŌ ŌIĒ  
 ŌIĒ EŌ OI III ĒOĒ ŌYĒ  
 ĒŌOĒĒ EŌ ĒIA AĒA EĒA |  
 615 E EĒ EEĒ EEĒ IEŌ ĒĒŌ OĒĒĒEOĒ

ĒEŌ ĒYŌ OĒ EIŌ ĒŌ  
ŌĒ ŌĒ EE OOO YIŌĒ.”

Recite all these things with fire and spirit, the first time performing to the end; then in the same way when you begin  
620 the second time, until you have gone through the | seven immortal gods of the universe. When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the surrounding realm; and in the same way you will experience yourself being shaken. But you say again: “Silence!” (the prayer).

625 Then open your eyes, and you will see the doors opened | and the world of the gods, which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends.

Now stand still and at once draw spirit from the divine  
630 into yourself, while you gaze intently. Then when | your soul has been restored, speak:

“Come forward, lord, ARCHANDARA PHŌTAZA  
PYRIPHŌTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO PHORATĒN  
ERIĒ PROTHRI PHORATI.”

When you have spoken this, the sun rays will turn themselves  
635 upon you; look into the center of them. Then, when | you do this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown.

At once great him with the fire greeting:

640 “Hail, O lord, great power, great might, | king, greatest of gods: mighty is your breath, mighty is your power, O lord.

If it be your will, announce me to the greatest god,  
the one who begat and made you: that a human being am I,  
645 NN, whose mother is NN, | who was born from the mortal womb of NN and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish  
650 of the exceedingly good god – requests to worship | you, and supplicates with as much power as a human being can have (in order that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MORIROK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EŌRŌ RŌRE

ŌRRI ŌRIŌR RŌR RŌI ŌR  
REŌRŌRI EŌR EŌR EŌRE).”

655 After you have said these things, | he will come to the  
celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road.  
Gaze intently, and make a strong bellowing sound, like with  
a horn, giving off your whole breath and squeezing your loins,  
660 bellow, and kiss | the phylacteries and say, first toward  
the right: “Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!”

After have said these things, you will see the doors opening  
and seven virgins coming from deep within, dressed  
in linen garments, and with the faces of asps. They are called  
665 the Fates | of heaven, and wield golden wands.

When you see these things, greet in this manner: |

670 “Hail, O seven Fates of heaven,  
O noble and good virgins,  
O sacred Ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR,  
O most holy guardians of the four pillars!  
Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAĒS!  
Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEĒS!  
Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN!  
Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHĒS!  
Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIĒ!  
Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAĒS!  
Hail to you, the seventh, EROU ROMBRIĒS!”

There also come forth another seven gods, who have the faces  
675 of black bulls, in linen | loincloths, and in possession  
of seven golden diadems. These are the so-called Pole Lords  
of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner,  
each of them with his own name:

“Hail, O warders of the pivot of the celestial sphere,  
O sacred and brave youths,  
680 who turn | at one command the revolving axis of the vault  
of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of  
earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious  
tribes, but to me, who am a religious and godfearing man,  
685 you [give] health and soundness of body | and acuteness of  
hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours  
of this day,  
O my lords and powerfully ruling gods!  
Hail to you, the first, AIERŌNTHI!

Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS!

Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR! |

690 Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTŌ!

Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRŌALITHŌ!

Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHŌPS!

Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHĒ!”

Now when they take their place, on the one side and the other,  
in their order, gaze in the air and you will see lightning  
695 bolts going down, and lights flashing, | and the earth shaking,  
and a god descending, immensely great, with a shining face,  
youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic  
and a golden crown and trousers, and holding in his right hand  
700 a golden | shoulder of a young calf.

This is the Bear which moves and turns the heavenly vault  
around, in the opposite direction, with its upward and downward  
seasonal revolutions. Then you will see lightning bolts  
leaping from his eyes and stars from his body.

705 And at once | make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly,  
that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until total  
exhalation, and again kiss the phylacteries, and say:

“MOKRIMO PHERIMO PHERERI, life of me, NN.

710 Stay! Dwell in my | soul! Do not abandon me!

For ENTHO PHENEN THROPIŌTH commands you.”

And gaze at the god while bellowing loudly; and greet in  
this manner:

“Hail, O lord, O master of the water!

Hail, O founder of the earth!

Hail, O ruler of the wind! O bright lightener! |

715 PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THĒTH MIMĒŌ  
YENARŌ PHYRCHECHŌ PSĒRI DARIĒ PHRĒ PHRĒLBA!

Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter, O lord.

Having been born again, I am passing away;

720 while growing and having grown, | I am dying;

Having been born from a life-generating birth,

I am passing on, released to death –

as you have founded,

as you have decreed

and authored (the) mystery.

I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

After you have said these things, he will immediately respond

725 with a revelation. | Now you will grow weak in your soul,  
and you will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He,  
however, pronounces the oracle to you in verses,  
and after speaking he will depart.

But you stand speechless, [wondering] how you will by yourself  
730 comprehend all these things; for at a later time | you will  
remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even  
if the oracle contains myriads of verses.

But if you want to consult the oracle by using a fellow initiate,  
so that he hears only the things spoken together with you,  
735 let him be pure together with you for [seven] | days, and  
abstain from meat and bath.

But if you are alone, and you are [directly] engaged with the  
pronouncements of the god, you speak as inspired in ecstasy.  
But again if you wish to show him, after you judge whether his  
740 worth as a man is secure, | handling the occasion as though in the  
immortalization ritual you yourself were being judged in his  
place, recite for him the first prayer, of which the beginning  
is "First origin of my origin, AEĒIOYŌ."

745 And say the successive things as an initiate, over | his head,  
in a soft voice, so that he may not hear, as you are anointing  
his face with the mystery.

This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if  
anyone, O child, after the instruction wishes to disobey,  
750 then for him it will no longer | be in effect.

*Instruction for the performance:*

Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall  
into a deep, turquoise cup, at a time when the moon is  
invisible; put in together with it the seed of the fruit  
755 pulp of the lotus, | and after grinding it with honey,  
prepare a cake. And at once you will see it [viz., the scarab]  
moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it,  
it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a  
glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish;  
760 and | spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, and set the  
vessel on it, then say the name over the vessel for seven  
days, while the sun is in midheaven:

"It is I who have consecrated you, that your substance may be  
useful to me, NN alone, IE IA ĒĒĒ OY EIA, that you may  
765 prove useful to me | alone, for I am PHŌR PHOR A PHŌS

PHOTIZAAS" (others: "PHŌR PHŌR OPHOTHEIXAAS").

On the seventh day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine and fine linen; and deposit it in a  
770 flourishing bean field. | Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, deposit the ointment, in a pure way, for the immortalization.

If you want to show this to someone else, get the juice of the herb called Kentritis, and smear it, along with the rose  
775 oil, around the eyes of whomever you wish; | and he will see so clearly that you will be amazed.

I have not found a greater procedure than this in the world. Ask the god what you want, and he will give it to you. The encounter with the great god is like this:

780 Having acquired the above mentioned herb | Kentritis, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion, take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-letter name, as given below. And having kept yourself pure for three days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise, |  
785 lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun, and thus he [the sun god] will listen attentively. Begin to consecrate him on the new moon in the lion, according to the god[’s reckoning]. The name is: "I EE OO IAI." Lick this up,  
790 so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf, | throw it into the rose oil.

Many times I have used the spell, and have been absolutely amazed.

But the god spoke to me:

795 "Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river, [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery | of the scarab revitalized through the twenty-five living birds. Consult once a month, at full moon, instead of three times a year."

The Kentritis plant grows from the month of Pauni, in the  
800 regions of the | black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena. This is how to recognize it: the wing of an ibis is smeared, the black edge weakened by the juice, and when the feathers are touched, they fall off. As the lord |  
805 demonstrated to me, it [the plant] was found in the



Menelaitis area near Phalagry, at the river banks, near the Besas plant.

810 It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit | like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called Talapēs, like the wild beet.

815 Then the phylacteries are of this kind: Copy the [amulet] for the right [arm] onto the skin | of a black sheep, with myrrh ink, and after tying it with the sinews of the same animal, put it on; and [copy] that for the left [arm] onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same method. The [magical name] for the left [arm] is: "PROSTHYMĒRI". |

820 [With this] the memorandum has [finally] reached its completion.

## Literary Analysis (Conspectus)

- 475–85 I. Exordium: a prayer  
475 A. invocation of the deity by epithets
1. Providence
  2. Psyche (world-soul)
- B. presentation of petition
1. formula: ἴλαθί μοι
  2. category: petition for mercy in view of offense
  3. nature of offense
    - a. act constituting offense: putting into writing
    - b. object affected by offense
      - 1) regarding the text to follow (τάδε)
      - 2) regarding the content: sacred (oral) tradition
        - a) technical term: τὰ μυστήρια
        - b) specifications (play on words?)
          - (1) τὰ <ᾶ>πρατα
          - (2) παραδοτά
  4. transmission of the tradition
    - a. identification of the author
      - 1) as owner
      - 2) as mediator
      - 3) as writer (γράφοντι)
    - b. identification of the recipient
      - 1) as apprentice
        - a) status: “the only” (μόνῳ)
        - b) designation: “child” (τέκνῳ)
      - 2) as “initiate” (μύστη τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως)
    - c. statement of petition
      - 1) category: intercessory
      - 2) identity of the petitioner
        - a) the author (1st person sing.)
        - b) action: ἀξιούv

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- 478 3) identity of the recipient: the "initiate"
- 478-81 4) object: immortality (ἀθανασία)
- 478/79 5. secondary insertion by the author
- a. address of recipient
- 1) identity (2nd person sing., σε)
- 2) as apprentice (daughter, θυγάτηρ)
- b. instruction for ritual
- 1) need for application (χρή)
- 2) term for application (λαμβάνειν)
- 480 3) names of ingredients
- a) juices of plants
- b) other ingredients (εἶδη)
- 481-82 c. reference to full information
- 1) place: end of the present text (750-819)
- 2) name for the present composition (τό μου ἱερὸν σύνταγμα; cf. 820)
- 482 6. chain of tradition of the ritual
- a. authoritative hierarchy
- 1) the highest deity
- a) attribute: "the great god," ὁ μέγας θεός
- b) name: Helios Mithras
- 482-83 2) divine intermediary
- a) attribute: "archangel," ἀρχάγγελος
- b) name: unnamed
- 3) the author of the present writing
- a) 1st person sing.: μοι
- b) status: "alone," μόνος (cf. 476)
- c) position: grade of "eagle"
- b. method of transmission
- 1) command by Helios Mithras
- 2) technical term: μεταδοθῆναι
- 484-85 7. purpose and goal
- a. conjunction: ὅπως
- b. heavenly journey: οὐρανὸν βαίνειν
- c. vision of the universe: κατοπτεύειν πάντα
- 485-732 II. Main body of the ritual (ἀπαθανατισμός)
- 485-537 A. introductory prayer
- 485-86 1. identifying reference
- a. quotation formula: ἔστιν δέ

- b. terms identifying the genre
- 1) the composition as a whole: λόγος
  - 2) the prayer of invocation: κλήσις
- 487–537 2. recitation of the “first prayer” (cf. 741–42)
- 487–88 a. invocation of the primordial sources
- 1) address of γένεσις (γένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως)
  - 2) voces magicae
  - 3) address of ἀρχή (ἀρχή τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς πρώτη)
  - 4) magical sounds
    - a) pop-sound (ποππυσμός, 3 times)
    - b) whistle sound (συριγμός, 3 times)
  - 5) magical name (?)
- 489–95 b. invocation of the four elements
- 489–90 1) first element: spirit/breath (πνεῦμα)
- a) address: πνεῦμα πνεύματος
  - b) attribute: τοῦ ἐν ἐμοῦ πνεύματος πρώτον
  - c) magical sound: bellowing sound (μύκωμα, 3 times)
- 490–92 2) second element: fire (πῦρ)
- a) address: πῦρ
  - b) attributes, three
    - (1) τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων
    - (2) θεοδώρητον
    - (3) τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πυρὸς πρώτον
  - c) voces magicae
- 492–93 3) third element: water (ὕδωρ)
- a) address: ὕδωρ ὕδατος
  - b) attribute: τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὕδατος πρώτον
  - c) voces magicae
- 493–95 4) fourth element: earth (γῆ)
- a) address: οὐσία γεώδης
  - b) attribute: τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐσίας γεώδους πρώτη
  - c) voces magicae
- 495–98 c. anthropological consequences
- 1) concerning the body: “perfect body” (σῶμα τέλειον ἐμοῦ)
  - 2) concerning personal name: NN
  - 3) recourse to creation mythology
    - a) technical term for creation: “formed” (διαπεπλασμένον)
    - b) hymnic metaphors describing work of divine creator
- 496–97

- (1) the honored arm (ὑπὸ βραχίονος ἐντίμου)  
 (2) the imperishable right hand (ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου)
- 497–98 c) cosmic polarities  
 (1) light and darkness: ἐν ἀφωτίστῳ καὶ διαυγεῖ κόσμῳ  
 (2) soulless and ensouled: ἐν τε ἀψύχῳ καὶ ἐμψυχωμένῳ
- 498–99 4) voces magicae
- 499–537 d. petition
- 499–500 1) appeal to the divine will of the elements  
 (ἐὰν δὲ ὑμῶν δόξη)
- 2) voces magicae
- 3) secondary gloss citing a textual variant from another source
- 501–15 4) request
- 501–2 a) in general  
 (1) technical term: μεταπαραδίδομι (“hand over in return”)  
 (2) recipient: petitioner (με)  
 (3) main concern: rebirth  
 (4) sources  
 (a) immortal birth (τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει)  
 (b) restitution of primordial nature  
 (ἐχομένως τῇ ὑποκειμένη μου φύσει)
- 502–13 b) in detail: 4 ἴνα-clauses
- 502–8 (1) first ἴνα-clause: vision  
 (a) defective condition: Ananke formula  
 (μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπείγουσάν με χρεῖαν)  
 (b) restitution: ἐποπτεύω  
 (c) process: vision of the immortal beginning  
 (ἐποπτεύειν τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχὴν [cf. 487])  
 (d) sources of change  
 aa. immortal spirit (πνεῦμα)  
 bb. voces magicae  
 cc. immortal water (ὔδωρ)  
 dd. voces magicae  
 ee. firm air (ἀήρ)  
 ff. voces magicae
- 508–11 (2) second ἴνα-clause: thought  
 (a) defective condition

- (b) restitution: rebirth of thinking  
(νοήματι μεταγεννηᾶσθαι)
- (c) voces magicae
- (d) source of change: spirit  
(καὶ πνεύση ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα)
- (e) voces magicae
- 511–12 (3) third ἴνα-clause: amazement
- (a) defective condition
- (b) restitution: θαυμάζειν
- (c) source of change: fire (τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ)
- (d) vox magica
- 512–13 (4) fourth ἴνα-clause: vision
- (a) defective condition
- (b) restitution: θεᾶσθαι
- (c) source of change: water  
(τὸ ἄβυσσον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν ὕδωρ)
- (d) voces magicae
- 514–15 c) final petition
- (1) request to listen: ἀκούειν
- (2) address to ether: ὁ ζωγόνος καὶ περιεχυμένος  
αἰθήρ
- (3) voces magicae
- 516–37 e. self-presentation of the initiate
- 516 1) intention of the self-presentation
- a) recourse to the promise of salvation
- b) realisation of the promise
- c) reference to time: “today,” σήμερον
- d) aim: ecstatic vision
- (1) technical term: “envision,” κατοπτεῦειν
- (2) process: “with immortal eyes,” τοῖς ἀθανάτοις  
ὄμμασι
- 517–37 2) self-identification
- 517–20 a) according to human nature
- (1) condition of mortality by human  
birth
- (2) restitution: relative improvement
- (3) recourse to work of divine creator
- (4) divine attributes
- (a) ὑπὸ κράτους μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ
- (b) δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου

- 520–27
- b) according to initiation
- (1) condition of immortality
    - (a) source: immortal spirit (ἀθάνατον πνεῦμα)
    - (b) resultant vision
    - (c) object: the god
      - aa. Name: Aion
      - bb. attributes
        - (aa) ἀθάνατος
        - (bb) δεσπότης τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων
  - (2) condition of sanctity
    - (a) source: consecration rituals (ἀγίοις ἀγιάσμασι)
    - (b) resultant sanctity: ἁγιασθεῖς
  - (3) implications
    - (a) temporary strengthening of human soul-power (ψυχικὴ δύναμις)
    - (b) reference to eschatological restitution
      - aa. comparison: “again,” πάλιν
      - bb. technical term: μεταπαραλαμβάνειν
      - cc. reference to time: the Ananke formula (see 503–4)
      - dd. quality: “complete,” ἀχρεοκόπητον
- 527–29
- c) by name
- (1) formula of self-identity: I, NN, son of NN
  - (2) reference to divine law: κατὰ δόγμα ἀμετάθετον
  - (3) voces magicae
- 529–32
- d) didactic explanation regarding the relationship of the human and the divine
- (1) concerning human mortality: θνητὸν γεγωνότα
  - (2) citation of principle of incompatibility: οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἐφικτὸν...συνανιέναι
  - (3) poetic description of heavenly splendor: χρυσοειδέσιν μαρμαρυγαῖς τῆς ἀθανάτου λαμπηδόνας
  - (4) voces magicae
- 533–35
- e) resultant command
- (1) address of mortal nature: φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσις
  - (2) imperatives

- (a) concerning ascent: “stand” (ἕσταθι)  
 (b) concerning return: “take me back”  
 (ἀνάλαβέ με)  
 (c) condition: “healthy” (ὑγιῆ)
- (3) references to time  
 (a) “at once” (αὐτίκα)  
 (b) Ananke formula (see 503–4, 525–26)
- 535–37 f) concluding formulae of self-identity  
 (1) first formula: “I am the son... (ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ υἱός...)  
 (2) voces magicae  
 (3) second formula: “I am” (ἐγὼ εἰμι...)  
 (4) voces magicae
- 537–38 B. prescription of breathing ritual  
 1. address: 2nd person sing.  
 2. actions: inhalation (ἐλκειν, ἀνασπᾶν)  
 3. object: πνεῦμα  
 a. physical: πνεῦμα as breath  
 b. metaphysical: πνεῦμα as spirit  
 c. transmission: by the rays of the sun  
 4. medium: sun rays  
 5. repetition: 3 times  
 6. quantity: ὁ δύνασαι
- 539–44 C. explanatory introduction to the ascent ritual  
 539–40 1. address: 2nd person sing.: ὄψη  
 2. action: vision (“you will see”)  
 3. reality status: imaginative  
 4. type of narrative: vision report in the prophetic future tense  
 (ὄψη; cf. also 544, 549, 555, 565, 624, 635, 656, 693, 702)  
 5. terms for imagined actions  
 a. ἀνακουφίζεσθαι  
 b. ὑπερβαίνειν εἰς ὕψος  
 6. location: in midair
- 541 7. physical sense-perception during ascent  
 a. negative  
 1) hearing: no hearing of human or animal sounds  
 2) seeing: no seeing of anything earthly  
 b. reference to time: ἐν ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ  
 c. positive: seeing of things immortal (πάντα δὲ ὄψη ἀθάνατα)
- D. ascension narrative in seven scenarios  
 544–732 1. first scenario: encounter with the planetary deities  
 544–55



- 544 a. reference to location: in midair (540)  
 b. reference to time: ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ (543)  
 c. action: vision (ὄψη)  
 d. objects seen
- 544–45 1) planetary constellation  
 545–47 2) function: gods of days and hours  
 3) movements of the deities in heaven  
 a) ascending  
 b) descending
- 547–55 4) appearance of two pictures  
 547–49 a) first picture: the way of the planetary gods  
 (1) description: way of the gods shown by  
 the sun-disk  
 (2) explanations  
 (a) visibility of the gods  
 (b) illumination by Helios  
 aa. name: Helios  
 bb. attribute: father god (πατήρ θεός)
- 549–55 b) second picture (ὁμοίως): the windpipe  
 (1) action: ὄψη  
 (2) object  
 (a) name: ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός  
 (b) description  
 aa. turnable pipe hanging from the sun  
 bb. for winds from east to west  
 cc. for winds from west to east  
 (c) explanation: regulation of the winds
- 556–68 2. second scenario: threat by the planetary gods  
 556 a. conjunction: δέ  
 b. action: ὄψη  
 c. location: midair  
 d. objects seen  
 1) the planetary gods: οἱ θεοί  
 557 2) their hostile response  
 a) stare: ἀτενίζοντές σοι  
 b) aggressive approach: ἐπί σε ὀρμώμενοι
- e. prescription of protective ritual  
 1) address: σὺ δέ  
 558 2) performance of ritual

- a) reference to time: εὐθέως  
 b) ritual action: putting the right index-finger on the mouth
- 559–60 3) recitation of prayer  
 a) type of prayer: petition (“second prayer” [σιγή-logos?], cf. 573–75, 578, 582–85, 623)  
 b) invocation  
 (1) name: σιγή (three times)  
 (2) epithet: σύμβολον θεοῦ ζῶντος ἀφθάρτου
- 560 c) request for protection: φύλαξόν με  
 d) invocation  
 (1) name: σιγή  
 (2) voces magicae
- 561 4) performance of magical sounds  
 a) first sound  
 (1) reference to time: ἔπειτα  
 (2) name of sound: συριγμός  
 b) second sound  
 (1) reference to time: ἔπειτα  
 (2) name of sound: ποπυσμός
- 562–65 c) voces magicae
- 565–69 f. result
- 565 1) reference to time: τότε  
 2) action: ὄψη
- 566–69 3) object: the planetary gods  
 4) their response: now friendly  
 a) looks: εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέποντες  
 b) approach: μηκέτι ἐπί σε ὀρμωμένοι  
 c) conforming to cosmic order  
 d) each performing assigned function
- 569–85 3. third scenario: the sun disk
- 569 a. reference to time: ὅταν οὖν  
 b. action: “seeing,” ἴδης  
 c. objects  
 1) the cosmos καθαρὸς καὶ δονούμενος  
 2) none of the gods or angels threatening
- 570–73 d. forewarning  
 1) of hearing a loud thunder  
 2) of being terrified

- 573–75 e. command to recite protective formulae  
 1) the *σιγή σιγή*-logos (twice? cf. 559)  
 2) self-identification  
 a) formula *ἐγὼ εἰμι*  
 b) attributes  
 (1) *σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστήρ*  
 (2) *ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων*  
 c) voces magicae
- 576–85 f. appearance of three images  
 576 1) first image  
 a) time reference: *ταυτά σοι εἰπόντος*  
 b) description  
 (1) reference to time: *εὐθέως*  
 (2) the opening of the sun-disk:  
*ὁ δίσκος ἀπλωθήσεται*
- 577 2) second image  
 a) preliminary rituals  
 (1) time reference: *μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν σε*  
 (2) recitation of the “second prayer”: *τὸν β΄ λόγον*
- 578 (3) redactional comment, explaining that  
 the *σιγή*-logos is meant (573–75)
- 578–79 (4) performance of two sounds  
 (a) *συριγμός* twice  
 (b) *ποππυσμός* twice
- 579 b) description  
 (1) time reference: *εὐθέως*  
 (2) action: “seeing,” *ὄψη*
- 579–82 (3) emergence of many five-pronged stars  
 from the sun-disk and filling the air
- 582–85 3) third image  
 a) preliminary ritual  
 (1) reference to repetition  
 (2) recitation of the *σιγή*-logos (573–75)  
 (3) action: “seeing,” *ὄψη*  
 b) description of the open disk (cf. 576)  
 as a fireless circle with fiery doors closed
- 585–628 4. fourth scenario: the opening of the doors to the world  
 of the gods  
 a. time reference: *εὐθέως*
- 585–87 b. command to close the eyes (cf. 624)

- c. recitation of the following prayer
- 587 d. redactional reference to the liturgical order:  
the "third prayer" (λόγος γ', cf. 484–5, 559–60, 573–75, 577, 582, 623)
- 587–620 e. recitation of a prayer to Aion
- 587–88 1) invocation
- a) formula: ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἄκουσόν μου
- b) self-identification of the orant by name (NN)
- c) primary attribute of the god: κύριε
- 589–602 d) aretology of 21 attributes and voces magicae
- 589 (1) first, naming the primary function of the god:  
ὁ συνδήσας πνεύματι τὰ πυρικά κληῖθρα τοῦ  
τετραλιζώματος
- 590 (2) πυρίπολε πεντιπερουσι
- 591 (3) φωτὸς κτίστα (variant: συγκλεῖστα) Σεμεσιλαμ
- 592 (4) πυρίπνοε ψυρινφευ
- 593 (5) πυρίθυμε Ιαω
- (6) πνευματόφως ωαῖ
- 594 (7) πυριχαρῆ ελουρε
- (8) καλλίφως αζαῖ
- 595 (9) Αἰών ακβα
- (10) φωτοκράτωρ πεπεπερ πρεπεμπιπι
- 596 (11) πυρισώματε φνουηνιοχ
- (12) φωτοδῶτα
- 597 (13) πυρισπόρε αρει εἶκιτα
- 598 (14) πυρίκλονε γαλλαβαλβα
- (15) φωτοβία ιαιαιω
- 599 (16) πυριδῖνα πυριχι βοοσημα
- (17) φωτοκινῆτα σανχερωβ
- 600 (18) κεραυνόκλονε ιη ωη ιωηω
- (19) φωτὸς κλέος βεεγενητε
- 601 (20) αὐξήσιφως σουσινεφι
- 602 (21) ἐνπυρισχησίφως σουσινεφι αρενβαραζει  
μαρμαρεντευ
- 603–4 2) petition
- a) address: ἀστροδάμα
- b) request: ἄνοιξόν μοι
- c) voces magicae
- 605–6 d) reason for the petition: ὅτι

- (1) action: ἐπικαλοῦμαι  
 (2) Ananke formula: ἕνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης καὶ πικρᾶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης (cf. 503-504, 525-526, 534)
- 606-16 3) recitation of the secret names of the seven gods of the cosmos
- 606-10 a) description  
 (1) as by nature non-human  
 (2) as not pronounced in articulate speech  
 (3) as speaking a non-human language  
 (4) as divine: immortal, living, praiseworthy
- 610-16 b) list of 7 lines of vowel sequences
- 617-20 f. instruction concerning performance  
 1) reference to previous list: ταῦτα πάντα  
 2) kind of performance  
 a) μετὰ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος  
 b) line by line, twice from beginning to end  
 3) explanation: each line contains the name of one of "the seven immortal gods of the universe"
- 620-23 g. effect  
 1) reference to the recited prayer: ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος  
 2) announcement  
 a) in the cosmos: tremendous thunder  
 b) for the petitioner: experience of terror
- 623 h. command to recite the σιγή-logos (cf. 559, 573-75, 582-85)
- 624-28 i. appearance of the image  
 1) command to open the eyes (cf. 586-87)  
 2) action: ὄψη  
 3) object: the open doors  
 4) description of the image: the doors are open and behind them appears the world of the gods
- 626-28 5) response  
 a) experience of ἡδονὴ καὶ χαρὰ  
 b) the initiate's πνεῦμα running with the gods and moving upwards (συντρέχειν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν)
- 628-61 5. fifth scenario: encounter with Helios
- 628-30 a. command to perform rituals  
 1) time reference: εὐθέως  
 2) actions

- a) stand  
 b) draw in from the divine spirit  
 c) look intently: ἀτενίζειν
- b. command to issue an order  
 1) time reference: ὅταν  
 2) condition of the soul: ὅταν οὖν ἀποκατασταθῆ  
 σου ἡ ψυχὴ (cf. 622–23)
- 631–33 3) prayer formula  
 a) command: πρόσελθε (cf. 655)  
 b) address: κύριε  
 c) voces magicae
- 633–34 4) predicted result  
 a) time reference: τοῦτο εἰπόντος  
 b) focusing of the sun rays  
 5) response: look (ἀτενίζειν) into the sun rays
- 634–37 c. epiphany of Helios  
 1) time reference: ὅταν οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσης  
 2) action: ὄψη  
 3) object: Helios  
 4) iconographical description of Helios  
 a) age: θεὸς νεώτερος  
 b) beauty: εὐηδής  
 c) hair: πυρινότριξ  
 d) clothing  
 (1) white chiton  
 (2) scarlet chlamys  
 e) wreath: πύρινος στέφανος
- 638 d. performance of the ritual of greeting  
 1) reference to time: εὐθέως  
 2) type of greeting: πύρινος ἀσπαστικός
- 639–42 e. recitation of the greeting prayer (χαίρετισμός)
- 639 1) address  
 a) title: κύριε  
 b) appeal: χαῖρε  
 c) three attributes (using μέγας)  
 (1) μεγαλοδύναμε  
 (2) μεγαλωκράτωρ βασιλεῦ  
 (3) μέγιστε θεῶν
- 640 d) name: Helios  
 e) aretalogy

- (1) two attributes (titles)  
 (a) ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς  
 (b) θεὸς θεῶν
- (2) two attributes (verbs)  
 (a) ἰσχύει σου ἢ πνοή  
 (b) ἰσχύει σου ἢ δύναμις
- 642 (3) address: κύριε
- 642–55 2) presentation of petition
- 642–43 a) formalities of protocol  
 (1) submission to the divine will  
 (2) technical term for announcing the arrival of a visitor: ἀγγέλλειν
- 643 b) request for an audience  
 (1) person  
 (a) name: Mithras (not named)  
 (b) title: ὁ μέγιστος θεός  
 (2) kin relationship between Helios and Mithras:  
 τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι
- 644–49 c) self-identification of the petitioner  
 (1) rank (attribute): ἄνθρωπος  
 (2) person: ἐγώ  
 (3) name: NN  
 (4) recitation of *synthema* (cultic formula of self-definition  
 (a) concerning human birth  
 aa. mother  
 (aa) origin: mortal uterus  
 (bb) name: NN  
 bb. father  
 (aa) origin: sperm  
 (bb) no name  
 (b) concerning divine rebirth  
 aa. time reference: σήμερον  
 bb. reference to ritual  
 (aa) subject: god (Mithras)  
 (bb) term: μεταγεννησθαι  
 cc. election  
 dd. immortalisation: ἀπαθανατίζειν  
 (cf. 741, 747, 771)  
 ee. time reference: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ

- ff. authorisation  
 (aa) divine will: *κατὰ δόκησιν θεοῦ*  
 (bb) divine goodness
- 649–55 (5) expression of devotion  
 (a) proskynesis  
 (b) formulas of devotion  
 aa. attitude: *ἀξιοῦν καὶ δέεσθαι*  
 bb. expressing humility: *κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην*
- 651–55 d) secondary insertion  
 (1) command to keep at hand the horoscope for day and hour  
 (2) secret name of the regent  
 (3) purpose: identifying opportune times for epiphany and divination  
 (4) voces magicae (variations on vowels)
- 655–57 f. the departure of Helios  
 1) time reference: *ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος*  
 2) action: ὄψη  
 3) object: departure of the god  
 4) description of the image  
 a) motif: move to the pole (*ἐλεύσεται*)  
 b) image detail: wandering as on a road
- 657–61 g. performance of protective rituals  
 1) staring intently: *ἀτενίζειν*  
 2) doing the bellowing sound: *μύκωμα*  
 3) intensity  
 a) loud: *μακρόν*  
 b) as through a horn: *κερατοειδῶς*  
 c) special effort  
 (1) giving out all breath: *πνεῦμα*  
 (2) squeezing the stomach
- 659–60 4) kissing the phylacteries
- 660–61 5) recitation of formula  
 a) request: *φύλαξόν μοι*  
 b) vox magica  
 c) turning first to the right  
 [d) turning to the left side]
- 661–92 6. sixth scenario: encounter with the deities of the Bear constellations



- 661 a. time reference: ταῦτα εἰπὼν  
 b. action: ὄψη
- 662–72 c. description of the appearance of the seven virgins  
 (stars of the Great Bear)
- 662 1) location: the doors of the heaven are open  
 2) arrival: ἔρχεσθαι  
 3) origin: ἐκ τοῦ βάθους
- 663–65 4) iconography of the goddesses  
 a) figures: virgins (παρθένοι)  
 b) number: seven  
 c) dress: fine linen (ἐν βυσσίνοις)  
 d) face masks: asps  
 e) name: οὐρανοῦ Τύχαι  
 f) symbols: holding golden wands: χρυσέα βραβεῖα
- 665–92 d. performance of the greeting
- 665 1) time reference: ταῦτα ἰδὼν
- 666 2) recitation of greeting to all  
 a) appeal: χαίρετε  
 b) name: αἱ ζ' Τύχαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
- 667 c) three attributes  
 (1) first: σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι  
 (2) second: ἱεραὶ καὶ ὁμοδίαιτοι of NN (secret name)
- 668 (3) third: αἱ ἀγιωτάται φυλάκισσαι τῶν τεσσάρων  
 στυλίσκων
- 668–69
- 670–72 3) recitation of individual greetings
- 670 a) first greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ἡ πρώτη  
 (3) magical name
- 671 b) second greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ἡ β'  
 (3) magical name
- c) third greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ἡ γ'  
 (3) magical name
- 672 d) fourth greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ἡ δ'  
 (3) magical name

- e) fifth greetings  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ἦ ε΄  
 (3) magical name
- f) sixth greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ἦ ζ΄  
 (3) magical name
- g) seventh greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ἦ ζζ΄  
 (3) magical name
- 673 e. description of the appearance of the seven black bull-headed gods (stars of the Little Bear)  
 1) arrival: προέρχασθαι  
 2) iconography  
 a) figures: male gods (θεοί)  
 b) number: seven  
 c) dress: linen loincloths
- 674 d) face masks: black bulls
- 676 e) name: οἱ πολοκράτορες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
 f) symbols: golden diademes
- 677 f. prescription of performance of greeting
- 678–92 1) recitation of greeting to all
- 678 a) appeal: χαίρετε  
 b) name: οἱ κνωδακοφύλακες
- 679 c) three attributes  
 (1) first: οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ ἄλκιμοι νεανῖαι  
 (2) second: οἱ στρέφοντες ὑπὸ ἐν κέλευσμα τὸν περιδίνητον τοῦ κύκλου ἄξινα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
 (3) third: (οἱ)... ἀφιέντες  
 (a) cosmic phenomena: βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπάς καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν βολάς  
 (b) punishment of the godless aliens: εἰς δυσσεβῶν φῦλα  
 (c) reward for the pious orant: ἐμοὶ δὲ εὐσεβεῖ ὄντι <δότε> ὑγίαν...  
 (d) time reference: ἐν ταῖς ἐνεστώταις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις
- 681–87
- 688 d) address by title: κύριοί μου καὶ μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί

- 688–92 2) recitation of individual greetings
- 688 a) first greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ὁ πρῶτος  
 (3) vox magica
- 689 b) second greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ὁ β΄  
 (3) vox magica
- c) third greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ὁ γ΄  
 (3) vox magica
- 690 d) fourth greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ὁ δ΄  
 (3) vox magica
- 691 e) fifth greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ὁ ε΄  
 (3) vox magica
- f) sixth greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ὁ ς΄  
 (3) vox magica
- 692 g) seventh greeting  
 (1) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (2) address: ὁ ζ΄  
 (3) vox magica
- 692–732 7. seventh scenario: encounter with Mithras
- 692 a. time reference  
 1) completion of the gods' procession  
 2) arrangement in two groups on opposite sides
- b. performance of ritual: ἀτενίζειν τῷ ἀέρι
- c. action: ὄψη
- 694–95 d. description of cosmic phenomena  
 1) lightning bolts coming down  
 2) lights flashing  
 3) earth shaking

- 696–704 e. epiphany of Mithras  
 1) location: higher sphere
- 696 2) appearance by descent (κατέρχεσθαι)
- f. iconography
- 697 1) figure: θεός  
 2) size: ὑπερμεγέθης  
 3) face: φωτινὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄψιν  
 4) age: νεώτερος  
 5) hair: χρυσοκόμης
- 698 6) dress  
 a) white chiton  
 b) Persian-style trousers: ἀναξυρίδες  
 c) golden crown
- 699–702 7) insignia  
 a) mythological (Mithraic): κατέχων τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ  
 μόσχου ὄμιον χρύσεον  
 b) astrological  
 (1) identification of the bull's shoulder with the  
 Bear constellation  
 (2) function  
 (a) moving and turning the heavenly vault  
 (b) as moving upward and downward seasonal  
 revolutions
- 702–4 8) cosmic features  
 a) time reference: ἔπειτα  
 b) action: ὄψη  
 c) reference to eyes: giving off lightnings  
 d) reference to body: giving off shooting stars
- 704–11 g. performance of rituals
- 704 1) reference to time: εὐθέως
- 705–7 2) first ritual: bellowing sound  
 a) name: μύκωμα μακρόν  
 b) intensity  
 (1) long and loud  
 (2) straining the belly: βασανίζειν τὴν γαστέρα  
 (3) arousing the five senses  
 (4) until total exhalation: εἰς ἀπόθεσιν
- 707–11 3) second ritual: protective
- 707 a) kissing the phylacteria
- 708 b) recitation of a prayer

- (1) invocation  
 (a) voces magicae  
 709 (b) address: ζωή μου  
 (2) self-identification by name: NN  
 (3) requests (three)  
 (a) μένε σύ  
 710–11 (b) νέμε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου  
 (c) μή με καταλείψης  
 (4) appeal to divine authority  
 (a) command: ὅτι κελεύει σοι  
 (b) voces magicae  
 712–17 h. greeting of Mithras  
 712 1) preliminary rituals  
 a) intense look: ἀπενίζειν τῷ θεῷ  
 b) bellowing sound: μακρὸν μυκώμενος  
 713–17 2) recitation of the greeting prayer  
 713 a) address by title: κύριε  
 b) formula of three greetings  
 (1) first greeting  
 (a) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (b) address by attribute: δέσποτα ὕδατος  
 714 (2) second greeting  
 (a) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (b) address by attribute: κατάρχα γῆς  
 (3) third greeting  
 (a) appeal: χαῖρε  
 (b) address by attribute: δύναστα πνεύματος  
 715 (4) attributes/voces magicae: λαμπροφεγγη,  
 προπροφεγγη  
 715–17 3) voces magicae  
 717–24 i. presentation of petition  
 717 1) address by title: κύριε  
 2) request for an oracle response: χρηματίζειν  
 718 3) naming of the issue: NN  
 719–24 4) self-presentation of the petitioner  
 719 a) address by title: κύριε  
 719–24 b) recitation of the *synthema* of initiation, in three parts  
 719–22 (1) first part: rebirth and death (three statements  
 of polarity)  
 (a) first: παλιγγενόμενος ἀπογίγνομαι

- (b) second: ἀυξόμενος καὶ ἀυξηθεὶς τελευτῶ  
 (c) third: ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωογόνου εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς πορεύομαι
- 722–23 (2) second part: divine legitimacy (three statements concerning compliance)  
 (a) first: ὡς σὺ ἔκτισας  
 (b) second: ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας
- 723 (c) third: καὶ ἐποιήσας μυστήριον
- 724 (3) third part: self-identification  
 (a) formula: ἐγὼ εἰμι  
 (b) secret name
- 724–27 j. granting of oracular consultation
- 724 1) time references  
 a) end of previous ritual: ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος  
 b) continuation: εὐθέως
- 725 2) kind of audience: χρησμοφδεῖν
- 725–26 3) recipient's condition during the consultation  
 a) weakness of the soul: ὑπέκλυτος τῇ ψυχῇ  
 b) ecstasy: οὐκ ἐν σεαυτῷ ἔσει
- 727 4) form of response: in verses (διὰ στίχων)
- 727–28 k. end of the session  
 1) conclusion of the god's revelatory speech: εἰπὼν  
 2) the god's departure: ἀπελεύσεται
- 728 l. condition after the audience: standing speechless (σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεός)
- 728–32 m. promises concerning the revelation  
 1) concerning comprehension: at once (αὐτομάτως)  
 2) concerning memory: flawless (ἀπαραβάτως)
- 730–32 3) reliability  
 a) words of the god: τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ῥηθέντα  
 b) regardless of the size of the oracle: καὶ ἤν μυρίων ὁ χρησμός
- 732–819 III. Supplemental rituals
- 732–50 A. three optional rituals for including an associate
- 732–35 1. prophecy with medium  
 a. status: optional (ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς)  
 b. type: fellow-initiate (σύμμυστης) as medium  
 c. modus  
 1) role of associate as medium: συμμύστη χρήσασθαι  
 2) medium hears only what is spoken: τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκεῖνον μόνον σὺν σοὶ ἀκούειν

- d. ritual preconditions: prior sanctification
- 1) both together: συναγνεύειν
  - 2) duration: seven days
  - 3) abstentions
    - a) from meat: τὰ ἔμψυχα
    - b) from bath: βαλανεῖον
- 736–38 2. second option: prophecy without medium
- a. status: optional (ἐάν δὲ ...)
  - b. type: mystagogue alone: μόνος ἦς
  - c. modus
    - 1) direct handling of the god's response: ἐγχειρεῖν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρημένα
    - 2) as in ecstasy: ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει ἀποφοιβώμενος
- 738–46 3. third option: prophecy by showing cultic symbols
- a. status: optional (ἐάν δὲ ...)
  - b. type: fellow-initiate present, but not medium
  - c. modus
    - 1) showing of symbols: δεῖξαι (sc. τὰ δεικνύμενα)
    - 2) role of associate: interpreter of symbol
  - d. conditions
    - 1) evaluation by the mystagogue: κρίνας
    - 2) criteria
      - a) worthiness as initiate: εἰ ἄξιός ἐστιν
      - b) genuineness as human being: ἀσφαλῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος
    - 3) standard: same as applied in the immortalisation ritual (ἀπαθανατισμός, cf. 650, 747, 771)
- 741–46 e. ritual performance
- 1) prayer
    - a) recitation
      - b) name: “first origin of my origin” (486–537)
  - 2) other formulae: τὰ δὲ ἕξης
    - a) standard: ὡς μύστης
    - b) modus
      - (1) over the head: ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς
      - (2) sotto voce: ἀτόνω φθόγγω
      - (3) inaudible for the associate: ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ
  - 3) anointment
    - a) type: eye-salve (χρίειν τὴν ὄψιν)
    - b) name of the anointment: μυστήριον (see 751–78)

- 746–50 4. additional stipulations
- 746–48 a. name of the ritual: ἀπαθανατισμός  
(cf. 646–47, 650, 741, 771)
- b. frequency: three times a year
- 748–50 c. warning against misuse
- 1) address: ὦ τέκνον
- 2) situation envisaged
- a) time: after the instruction (μετὰ τὸ παράγγελμα)
- b) technical term: παρακούειν
- 3) solution: exclusion from the ritual, τῷ οὐκέτι ὑπάρξει
- 750–819 B. additional instruction
- 750 1. section title: διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως
- 751–819 2. two preparatory rituals
- 751–78 a. first ritual: the sun-scarab ointment
- 1) reference: χρίειν 746; cf. χρῖσμα 770;  
περιχρίειν 773–74; σύγχρισμα 793
- 751–57 2) first stage
- a) acquiring ingredients: λάβων
- (1) a sun-scarab: ἀνθάρος ἡλιακός
- (2) a deep turquoise cup: βησίον καλλαῖνον βαθύ
- (3) seed of the fruitpulp of the lotus:  
λωτομήτρας σπέρμα
- (4) honey
- 753–55 b) preparation
- (1) time: darkness, newmoon
- (2) dropping ingredients into cup
- (3) grinding it all up
- (4) making small cake: μαζιον
- 755–57 c) application
- (1) putting cake before scarab
- (2) feeding it
- (3) result: killing it instantly
- 757–71 3) second stage
- a) acquiring ingredients
- (1) dead scarab
- (2) glass vessel
- (3) quantity of excellent rose-oil
- (4) “sacred sand”
- b) preparation
- (1) picking up dead scarab



- (2) dropping into glass vessel  
 (3) spreading "sacred sand" "in a pure way"  
 (4) placing vessel on the sand
- 761-71 c) consecration
- 761-62 (1) time: high noon  
 (2) duration: seven days  
 (3) modus: pronouncing formula "over the vessel"
- 763-67 (4) recitation of formula
- (a) name: ὄνομα (761)  
 (b) addressing the scarab  
 (c) action: ἐγώ σε ἐτέλεσα  
 (d) purpose: ἵνα μοι ἦ σου οὐσία χρήσιμος  
 (e) self-identification: NN (τῷ δεῖνα μόνω)  
 (f) voces magicae  
 (g) purpose: ἐμοὶ μόνω χρησιμεύσης  
 (h) self-identification  
 aa. formula ἐγώ εἰμι  
 bb. secret name  
 cc. redactional comment noting  
 a variant reading
- 767-71 d) preservation
- (1) time: on the seventh day  
 (2) scarab
- (a) removal  
 (b) burial ritual  
 aa. embalming with myrrh and  
 Mendesian wine  
 bb. wrapping in linen  
 cc. deposition in field of blooming bean plants
- (3) ointment
- (a) time: after dining  
 (ἐστιάσας καὶ συνευωχηθεὶς, 756-57)  
 (b) deposition in pure manner:  
 ἀπόθου καθαρείως  
 (c) purpose: for use in the main ritual  
 (ἀπαθανατισμός)
- 772-75 4) supplemental ritual
- a) status: optional (ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλω θέλῃς...)  
 b) modus: to show it (δεικνύειν) to someone else  
 c) preparation of eye-salve

- (1) substance: juice of the plant *kentritis*  
(cf. 778–86, 798–810)
- (2) mixing it with rose oil (cf. 790)
- d) application: around the eyes (?)
- e) result: clear sight (ὄψεται δηλαυγῶς)
- f) amazement: ὥστε σε θαυμάζειν
- 776–78 5) conclusion
- 776–77 a) “commercial”: τούτου μετίζον’ οὐχ εὔρον ἐν τῷ  
κόσμῳ πραγματεῖαν
- 777–78 b) theological maxim: αἰτοῦ δέ, ἃ βούλει, τὸν θεόν,  
καὶ δώσει σοι
- 778–92 b. second ritual: the plant *kentritis*
- 778–79 1) section title: ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασις
- 2) acquisition of ingredient
- a) plant name: *kentritis*
- b) reference: τὴν προκειμένην (l. 773)
- 780 c) time: zodiac conjunction of sun and moon in Lion  
(cf. 786–87)
- 781–82 3) preparations
- a) ink
- (1) juice of *kentritis* plant
- (2) mixture with honey and myrrh
- 782–83 b) leaf of the *persea* plant
- (1) acquisition of a leaf
- (2) writing the eight-letter *vox magica* on it
- (3) reference: 788
- 783–85 4) application
- a) preliminary ritual
- (1) sanctification (ἀγνεύειν)
- (2) duration: three days
- b) time: early morning at sunrise
- c) action
- (1) licking off the *Persea*
- (2) showing the leaf to the sun (Helios)
- d) effect: the god (Helios) will listen attentively  
(καὶ οὕτως ἐπακούσεται τελείως)
- 786–92 5) additional instructions
- 786–87 a) time references
- (1) reference: 780
- (2) beginning of preparation

- (3) zodiacal conjunction of Helios in Lion:  
τελεῖν τῆ ἐν λέοντι
- (4) concerning the newmoon: ἐν νουμηγία
- (5) according to the divine will: κατὰ θεόν
- 788 b) concerning the ὄνομα  
(1) reference: ὄνομα (783)  
(2) citation formula: τὸ δὲ ὄνομά ἐστιν τοῦτο  
(3) the eight-letter formula
- 789–90 c) concerning the Persea leaf  
(1) reference: 785  
(2) action: licking off of the name  
(3) purpose: self-protection  
(4) disposal of the leaf after licking off  
(a) rolling it up  
(b) throwing it in with the rose-oil (cf. 774)
- 790–92 d) concluding testimony: a “commercial”  
(1) testifying to frequent usage  
(2) expressing great amazement
- 792–813 3. Further items of information
- 792–96 a. first item: change of ritual concerning the ointment  
1) reference: σύγχρισμα 751–78  
2) authorisation: personal revelation (εἶπεν δέ μοι ὁ θεός)  
3) instructions  
a) prohibition to keep the ointment for later usage  
(overruling 768–71)  
b) substitutional disposal: ointment to be cast into  
the Nile (before the consultation?)  
c) appropriate use of the scarab μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ  
κανθάρου  
(1) reference: 745, 751–78  
(2) name: μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ κανθάρου  
(3) reference to a ritual (?): τοῦ ἀναζωπυρηθέντος  
διὰ τῶν κέ ζώων ὄρνεων  
(4) wearing it during the consultation
- 796–98 b. second item: change of ritual concerning times  
for consultation  
1) reference: 746–48  
2) inappropriate: three times a year  
3) appropriate: once a month, at full moon

- 798–813 c. third item: botanical information about the *kenrītis* plant  
 1) reference: 773, 778–86
- 798–804 2) earlier data  
 a) seasonal growth: from the month of Pauni  
 b) geographical occurrence: region of the “black earth”  
 c) comparable other plant: erect *verbena*  
 d) identification  
 (1) formula: ἡ δὲ γνῶσις αὐτῆς οὕτως  
 (2) method: the wing of an ibis smeared with the black juice of the plant will, when touched, lose its feathers at once
- 804–13 3) new information  
 a) authorisation: divine revelation  
 (τοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου ὑποδείξαντος, cf. 792)  
 b) geographical occurrence: region of Menelaitis in Phalagry  
 c) environment: river banks, near the Besas plant  
 d) description in detail  
 (1) single stem  
 (2) reddish to the root  
 (3) leaves crinkled  
 (4) fruit looking like that of wild asparagus  
 (5) comparable other plant: *talapes*, a kind of wild beet
- 813–19 4. Third ritual: the phylacteries
- 813 a. reference: 659–61, 708  
 b. modus: τρόπος
- 814–17 c. for the right arm  
 1) material  
 a) skin of a black sheep  
 b) ink: black myrrh ink  
 2) preparation  
 a) inscription (?) (missing, cf. 661: προσθυμερι)  
 b) tying with sinews of the same sheep  
 c) to be worn on right arm
- 817–19 d. for the left arm  
 1) material  
 a) skin of the white sheep  
 b) ink: same as above (?)  
 2) preparation  
 a) inscription: προσθυμερι  
 b) to be worn on on left arm

- 819–20 IV. Epilogue: statements concerning the document
- A. technical name for the document: ὑπόμνημα  
(cf. σύνταγμα 480–81)
  - B. statement of completion: πληρέστατον
  - C. paragraphos sign after 820

## Commentary

### *I. The Exordium (ll. 475–85)*

Although not indicated by a line separator in the papyrus itself, the text of the “Mithras Liturgy” begins at l. 475 with an exordium comprising the ll. 475–85. Composed with some rhetorical care, the exordium shows evidence of the author’s literary interests and abilities as well as his religious sensitivities. Because there is a religious reason for it, he sets forth the exordium as a prayer of petition.<sup>1</sup> This exordium has a remarkably close parallel in the epistolary preface of the Apocryphon of James from Nag Hammadi:<sup>2</sup>

[James] writes to [...thos]: Peace [be with you from] Peace, [love from] Love, [grace from] Grace, [faith] from Faith, life from Holy Life! Since you asked that I send you a secret book which was revealed to me and Peter by the Lord, I could not turn you away or gainsay (?) you, but [I have written] it in the Hebrew alphabet and sent it to you, and you alone. But since you are a minister of the salvation of the saints, endeavor earnestly and take care not to rehearse this text to many – this that the Savior did not wish to tell to all of us, his twelve disciples. But blessed will they be who will be saved through the faith of this discourse.

#### *A. The Invocation (l. 475)*

Appropriately, the prayer begins with an invocation: “Ἰλαθί μοι, Πρόνοια καὶ Ψυχὴ” (“Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche”). This invocation,<sup>3</sup> however, poses several problems. (1) The second of the two divine names invoked is disputed textually. Wessely, followed by Dieterich, read Τύχη,<sup>4</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> For a text and commentary regarding this section, see Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 169–78.

<sup>2</sup> NHC I,2, 1,1–28 (according to the translation in Robinson, *Library*, 30); cf. the translations by Dankwart Kirchner, *NTApok* (5th ed.) 1.238 (with further parallels); Schenke, *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*, 1.18. The latter argue for the gnostic Cerinthus as addressee.

<sup>3</sup> For the invocation generally and further bibliography, see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.52–53.

<sup>4</sup> Wessely, *Zauberpapyrus*, 56; Dieterich (1; 219).

Preisendanz's reading of  $\Psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  has generally been accepted.<sup>5</sup> Although the first letter is somewhat uncertain, a decision in favor of  $\Psi$  is fairly secure; it is also supported by contextual evidence. Both names occur elsewhere in the PGM,<sup>6</sup> but none of the passages attest the two names together, so one will have to look for parallels outside the corpus. (2) If one opts for  $\Pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$  καὶ  $\Psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ , the question is whether the two names refer to two different deities, or to one deity identified by two epithets consisting of hypostatized abstractions. (3) The fact that at no other place the ML refers again to the two names raises the question how the author intended to relate the invocation to the rest of the ML.

These three problems can be solved in conjunction. The context, in which both  $\Pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$  and  $\Psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  play an important role, seems surprising only at first sight. Influences of Stoicism elsewhere in the beginning sections of the ML make it most likely that the author refers to the "world-soul."<sup>7</sup> Based on Plato's *Timaeus*,<sup>8</sup> the concept of the world-soul was developed especially by

<sup>5</sup> Preisendanz's edition, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; see also Richard Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche in der hellenistischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (SHAW.PH 10; Heidelberg: Winter, 1917); idem, *HMR*, 48–49, 170–74; Arthur Allgeier, "Ein syrischer Memrâ über die Seele in religionsgeschichtlichem Rahmen," *ARW* 21 (1922) 360–96; Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.158, 233.

<sup>6</sup> For  $\Pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$  see LVII.36: μεγαλόδοξε  $\Pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$  (Isis); cf. ll. 17 and 30, where a black  $\Upsilon\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$  may be mentioned.  $\Psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  occurs mostly together with Eros: IV.1724–25, 1730–31, 1733–34, 1738–39, 1741–43; XII.20; XIII.192. For  $\Upsilon\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$  see IV.665–66 (the seven Tychai are Hathors); elsewhere it is often identified with Isis, cf. IV.2601, 2665, 3000, 3167; VII.506; VIII.51; XII.254; XIII.781; XXI.16; LVII.18 (cf. 30); and Luther H. Martin, "Tyche," *DDD* 877–78 (Lit).

Mithras and Tyche are associated in Cassius Dio 62.5.2, where the Persian Tiridates on a visit in Rome presents himself to Nero with these words: ἐγὼ, δέσποτα, Ἀρσάκου μὲν ἔκγονος, Οὐολογαίου δὲ καὶ Πακόρου τῶν βασιλέων ἀδελφός, σὸς δὲ δοῦλος εἰμι. καὶ ἤλθον τε πρὸς σέ τὸν ἐμὸν θεόν, προσκυνήσων σε ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν, καὶ ἔσομαι τοῦτο ὃ τι ἂν σὺ ἐπικλώσῃς: σὺ γάρ μοι καὶ μοῖρα εἶ καὶ τύχη. ("Master, I am the descendent of Arsaces, brother of the kings Vologaesus and Pacorus, and thy slave. And I have come to thee, my god, to worship thee as I do Mithras. The destiny thou spinnest for me shall be mine; for thou art my Fortune and my Fate.") Cited according to the LCL edition by Earnest Cary (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1925), 8.142–43. In his diplomatically crafted statement Tiridates told Nero what tickled his ears, and he combined Roman and Persian imperial ideology.

<sup>7</sup> So following Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.158, 233): "Es ist die Weltseele gemeint, die alle beseelt."

<sup>8</sup> See Plato, *Phaedr.* 254c; *Tim.* 30b:... κατὰ λόγον τὸν εἰκότα δεῖ λέγειν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον ζῶον ἐμψυχον ἔννοον τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι πρόνοιαν. Cf. also 34a–36d; 41c,d: ἡ τοῦ παντὸς ψυχῆ. See Francis M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology: The Timaeus of Plato* (London: Routledge, 1935; repr. 1997), 57–97: "The World-Soul;" Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy*, 5.292–99. The tradition continues in later Platonism

Chrysippus and later Stoics, and it is here that the combination of the two concepts frequently occurs.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, if the invocation is influenced by Stoic ideas, it means that only one deity, the highest deity in fact, is addressed in this way. Already Chrysippus defined the deity thus: “Chrysippus asserts that Zeus, that is the universe, is like a human being, and his providence is like its soul” (ἐοικέναι τῷ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν κόσμον, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τὴν πρόνοιαν).<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the relationship between the invocation and the remainder of the ML can be explained with the help of Merkelbach’s observation that the exordium is a secondary feature prefixed to the received tradition.<sup>11</sup> The author makes the connection between the exordium and the main body of the ML through the element of fire/spirit, which is the substance of the world-soul.<sup>12</sup>

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(see e.g. Philo, *Aet.* 47 (with reference to Chrysippus): τῇ προνοίᾳ – ψυχῇ δ’ ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου; also 50–51, 84: ψυχῇ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου ... ὁ θεός); Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.16; 3.3.5; 4.4.9; etc.; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.31). See Heinz Robert Schlette, *Weltseele: Geschichte und Hermeneutik* (Frankfurt a.M.: Knecht, 1993); Mischa von Perger, *Die Allseele in Platons ‘Timaios’* (BAK 96; Leipzig: Teubner, 1997).

<sup>9</sup> See *SVF I* § 172 (44,19–21) about the association of *mens mundi*, *providentia*, *πρόνοια*; *SVF II*, § 613 (187,13); § 933 (268,13); § 1064 (312,35); Marcus Aurelius, 12.24; Philo, *Aet.* 47–48,50–51; *Prov.* 2.9. For the passages dealing with the world-soul see also Pease, *Cicero*, 2.686–87; Joseph Moreau, *L’Âme du monde de Platon à stoïciens* (Paris: “Les belles lettres,” 1939); Long & Sedley, 1.319–20; Albrecht Dihle, *TDNT* 9 (1973), s.v. ψυχῇ, section A.3–5; Hermann Dörrie, “Der Begriff ‘Pronoia’ in Stoa und Platonismus,” *FZPhTh* 24 (1977) 60–87; Michael Frede, “Chairemon,” *ANRW II.36:3* (1989) 2067–2103, esp. 2094–95; Robert T. C. Parker, “The Origins of Pronoia: A Mystery,” in *Apodosis: Essays Presented to Dr. W. W. Cruickshank* (London: St. Paul’s School, 1992), 84–94; Peter Steinmetz, “Die Stoa,” in *Die Philosophie der Antike* (Basel: Schwabe, 1994), 4.539, 606–8, 610, 950–51; Myrto Dragona-Monachou, “Divine Providence in the Philosophy of the Empire,” *ANRW II.36:7* (1994) 4417–90, esp. 4424; Peter Frick, *Divine Providence in Philo of Alexandria* (TSAJ 77; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); Richard L. Gordon, “Pronoia,” *DDD* 664–67.

<sup>10</sup> *SVF II* § 1064 (312,35), from Plutarch, *Comm. not.* 36 (1077D).

<sup>11</sup> Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.55.

<sup>12</sup> See Steinmetz (“Die Stoa,” 539): “Das aber, was die Welt beseelt, was als Logos, als Heimarmene, als Pronoia, als gestaltende Natur, kurz, was als aktives Prinzip nach Hervorbringung der Welt aus dem ‘Feuer’ als die ganze Welt durchdringendes ‘Feuer’ weiterwirkt, das ist die Weltseele (*mens mundi*, gelegentlich nennt Zenon diese feurige Weltseele auch πνεῦμα, Pneuma, lat. *spiritus*, ohne dass Pneuma schon ein fester Terminus wäre ...).”



## B. Presentation of a Petition (ll. 475–78)

The formula *ἔλαθί μοι* introduces the prayer. Since it occurs also elsewhere in the PGM,<sup>13</sup> it seems to be conventional even in its archaizing form.<sup>14</sup> The reason for the petition is that the author confesses the commission of a specific offense: *τάδε γράφοντι τὰ <ᾗ>πρατα, παραδοτὰ μυστήρια* (“as I write these mysteries handed down, not for gain”). As Merkelbach has noticed, the offense consists of having written down (*γράφοντι*) the text to follow (*τάδε*) because it contains the secret tradition.<sup>15</sup> This secret tradition is named by technical expressions, not all of which are textually beyond doubt: *τὰ <ᾗ>πρατα παράδοτα μυστήρια*. Dieterich recognized a discrepancy between “writing down” the mysteries, constituting a secondary act, and the original form of oral transmission.<sup>16</sup> However, he does not seem to realize that the act of writing down the sacred tradition is the offensive act precipitating the prayer, and that therefore the entire exordium cannot be part of the mystery ritual to be performed.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The expression *ἔλαθί μοι* occurs also I.341; II.165; IV.457, 948, 1988, 2826. Parallel is *ἔλεώς μοι γενεῶς*, see III.567; IV.3124; V.420; cf. *ἔλαος* I.304; III.206, 213; these parallels indicate that the god is asked to smile with kindness at the orant.

<sup>14</sup> See LSJ, s.v. *ἔλημι*, which mentions Theocritus 15.143; Lucian, *Epigr.* 41 [OCT; Jacobitz 22]; *Anthol. pal.* 12.158 [Meleager] (*ἔλαθ', ἀναξ, ἔληθι*); Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 1.357, 689. More common is the Attic *ἔλεως*, occurring also in the NT (Heb 8:12 [Jer 31:34 LXX]); cf. 2:17; Matt 16:22; cf. *ἔλασθητί μοι*, Luke 18:13). See Friedrich Büchsel, *TDNT* 3 (1938) 300–1; BDAG, s.v. *ἔλεως*; cf. *ἔλασκομαι*.

<sup>15</sup> The secret tradition is to be handed down orally, not in written form.

See, e.g., the opening questions in the emperor Julian's *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* (*Or.* V.169A): “And shall I write about things not to be spoken of and divulge what ought not to be divulged? Shall I utter the unutterable?” (*καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρρήτων γράψομεν καὶ τὰ ἀνέξοιστα ἐξοίσομεν καὶ τὰ ἀνεκλάλητα ἐκλαλήσομεν*; LCL edition and translation by W. C. Wright, 1.442–43). Julian summarizes main points of myths and festivals, but he explicitly observes the rule of secrecy regarding the mystery rituals known only to the “theurgists” (173A–B).

Cf. the apocalyptic literature, where in some texts the prophet is ordered to write the things down he has seen, while in others he is prohibited. Since the apocalyptic literature is on the whole not secret but intends to be public, the question of writing is a literary *topos*. See *1En.* 12:4; 13:6; 69:9–10; 82:1–3; 92:1–5; *2En.* 19:3–5; 22:1–23:6; 33:6–12; 35:2; 36:1; 48:6–8; 50:1; 53:2–3; 54:1; 68:1–2; *Test. Abr.* 10; and also Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 183; my *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 186 (on Pausanias 39.13–14). For a collection of passages from apocalyptic writings, see Siegbert Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ 5:6; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1984), 551 n., 667 n., 709 n.

<sup>16</sup> Dieterich (50): “... muß es für höchst wahrscheinlich gelten, daß die Worte *ἔλαθί μοι Πρόνοια κτλ.* den Beginn der rituellen Aktion selbst ausmachten und zur Eröffnung der Kulthandlung selbst gesprochen wurden; daraus folgt dann, daß *τάδε γράφοντι* ... nicht mehr der echte Wortlaut der Liturgie sein kann: das Wort *γράφοντι* wäre die ganz äußerlich eingetragene Änderung dessen, der den heiligen Text *a b s c h r i e b* ...”

<sup>17</sup> Pointed out by Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.155–56.

Rather, the prayer of the exordium is a different level of ritual act performed in writing by the author of the exordium.

The term “mysteries” (μυστήρια) refers to the text of the ML, that is by implication, to the ritual as a whole (ll. 476, 723); differently, in a supplemental section (ll. 746, 794), the term refers to an ointment used in the ritual.<sup>18</sup> The μυστήρια are “handed over” (παραδοτά) as “sacred tradition” (παράδοσις). While these terms belong to the familiar mystery-cult language,<sup>19</sup> the words τα πρατα in the papyrus<sup>20</sup> have been emended by scholars in different ways. Preisendanz and Eitrem<sup>21</sup> emend as <ξ>πρατα, translated as “unverkäuflich,” in Greek a rare term according to LSJ (s.v.) who render it as “unsold, unsalable.” If ἄπρατα were accepted as correct, the author could have intended a contrasting pun.<sup>22</sup> Differently, Merkelbach,<sup>23</sup> following Usener<sup>24</sup> and Riess,<sup>25</sup> contracts the words into πατροπαράδοτα (“handed down by the father”), but, if one wants to contract, plausible would also be πρωταπαράδοτα (“handed down first” or “handed down as most important”).<sup>26</sup> In theory, of course, πρατα could simply be the result of an error by the scribe who forgot to erase it after he had corrected himself by writing παράδοτα. While all of these emendations are possible, none seems compelling.

The words μόνῳ δὲ τέκνῳ (“for an only child”) point to the person to whom the tradition is going to be handed over, but there are ambiguities here as well.

<sup>18</sup> For μυστήριον in the PGM see also I.131; IV.2477, 2592; V.110; XII.322, 331, 333; XIII.128, 685; XIX.a.52; XXXVI.306. See Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 27; Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 170; Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 24, 176, 180, 219–27; Graf, *Gottesnähe*, 89–107 (*Magie*, 96–117). For parallels in early Christian literature, see BDAG, s.v. μυστήριον.

<sup>19</sup> For παραδίδωμι in the PGM see I.192; V.109–11 (Moses, ὃ παρέδωκεν τὰ μυστήρια σου τὰ συντελούμενα Ἰσραὴλ); VII.448; XIII.933; παράδοσις I.54; παραδοτά is found only here. For further parallels see Dieterich, 53–54. LSJ, s.v., gives as references for παραδοτός: Plato, *Men.* 93b; Philodemus, *Rhet.* 1.369 S.; Diogenes Laertius 4.12 (Xenocrates, “Ὅτι παραδοτὴ ἢ ἀρετὴ α’). For the related παραδοτέος, LSJ lists: Plato, *Lg.* 802e; *Alc.* 1.132c; Iamblichus, *Protr.* 2. On the subject matter, see Betz, “The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri,” *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 173–83. For parallels and bibliography, see also BDAG, s.v. παραδίδωμι, 4; παράδοσις, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Wessely, 56.

<sup>21</sup> See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the parallel in Thessalos of Tralles (ed. Friedrich, 45): παραδοῦναι πολλὰ παράδοξα.

<sup>23</sup> Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 158. Cf. XXXIII.22–23: ὁ πατροπαράδοτος θεός. See also 1 Pet 1:18 and BDAG, s.v., with references.

<sup>24</sup> See Dieterich, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*

<sup>25</sup> See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; Ernst Riess, *CIR* 10 (1896) 411; Sam Eitrem, “La théurgie chez les néo-pythagoriciens et dans les papyrus magiques,” *SO* 22 (1942) 49–79, esp. 52.

<sup>26</sup> Dieterich (3) reads τὰ πρῶτα παράδοτα; according to the *app. crit.* Wendland prefers πρωτοπαράδοτα. Cf. LSJ, Suppl., 129, s.v. πρωταπόγραφος, in a papyrus from Egypt (3rd c.).

The question is whether one should understand the expression as the author's self-reference, or as a reference to someone else as recipient of the text, or to the fellow-initiate later mentioned as τέκνον (l. 748). While the language is again familiar from the mystery-cults and attested elsewhere in the PGM,<sup>27</sup> parallels in the immediate context prove that the recipient of the document is addressed. So much is clear also from the close parallel in PGM I.192,<sup>28</sup> but the identity of the person is still in doubt. When the comment in l. 478 addresses the recipient as “daughter” (ὡ θύγατερ), it is done in a secondary insertion (see below). While the phrase μόνῳ δὲ τέκνῳ is neuter, the “daughter” in l. 478 may either be a supplementary specification of τέκνον or a substitute address.<sup>29</sup> In either case, the formulae contained in the text, presupposing a male initiate, would have to be secondarily applied to a female, an inconsistency known also from other mystery-cult texts, such as the Orphic Gold Tablets.<sup>30</sup> As an address, μόνῳ δὲ τέκνῳ formulates an exception which can be taken as absolutely exclusive (“only this child ever”), or as relatively exclusive (“only this child at this time”). Since the author later includes an instruction for a fellow-initiate (ll. 732–50), the term μόνος points to the magicians' common practice of having only one apprentice at a time.<sup>31</sup> At any rate, while the exordium is not formally a letter, it is meant to function as a memorandum sent to an addressee.<sup>32</sup>

The verb indicating petition appears to be ἀξιῶ (“I ask”), with its object being ἀθανασίαν (“immortality”), but the reading of the last two letters (-αν or -ας) are quite uncertain (Martinez). The papyrus has αξιωμυσται, which Preisendanz reads as ἀθανασίαν ἀξιῶ, μύσται τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως ταύτης. The question is whether αξιω functions as a verbal or adjectival form. Dieterich reads it as an adjective, ἀξίῳ (“worthy”), qualifying μύστη (“initiate”).<sup>33</sup> The

<sup>27</sup> For τέκνον see XIII.214, 226, 230, 231, 343, 734, 742, 755. See BDAG, s.v. τέκνον, 3.b, with references; PGM also uses υἱός and παῖς. Egyptian instructional literature contains addresses like “my child,” e.g. Lichtheim, 1.58–63, 76, 185; cf. the epilogue to *Instr. to Any*, Lichtheim 2.144–45. Also CH V.2; VIII.1; X.7; Cornutus (addressed to a παῖς). For more material, see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 290–94.

<sup>28</sup> I.192: ταῦτα οὖν μηδενὶ παραδίδου, εἰ μὴ μόνῳ [σο]υ ἰσχνῶ υἱῷ σου ἀξιούντι τὰ [παρ'] ἡμῶν ῥηθέντα ἐνεργ[ή]ματα. Cf. IV.2519: κρούβε, υἱέ. See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 41.

<sup>29</sup> At any rate, the author is male, a υἱός (IV.535, 644–55, 719–24).

<sup>30</sup> See Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 225.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the parallels in Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 36–38; cf. also Thessalos of Tralles (ed. Friedrich, 45). This text, however, speaks of παράδοξα, not of μυστήρια.

<sup>32</sup> A close parallel is the exordium to the Apocryphon of James from Nag Hammadi (NHC I, 2, 1, 18); see Robinson, *Library*, 30; Dankwart Kirchner, *NTApok* (5th ed.) 1.238 (with further parallels); Schenke, *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*, 1.18. For other epistolary pre-scripts, see the letters of Pnouthis to Keryx (I.42–195), Nephotes to Psammetichos (IV.154–285), Pitys to Ostanos (IV.2006–2125).

<sup>33</sup> Dieterich (3); earlier, he read ἀξιῶ μωῦσθαι τῆς ... (*Abraxas*, 163). His later reading was accepted by Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 290–93; Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 136,

problem is that the papyrus reads the iota adscript indicating the dative ending for the noun, but not for the adjective. Also, the adjective would require the genitive ἀθανασίας (“worthy of immortality”), a fact that causes Merkelbach to change the accusative to the genitive, ἀθανασίας ἀξιῶ μύστη τῆς...<sup>34</sup> Another reason for Merkelbach’s change is that otherwise the adjective leaves the sentence without a verb. The lack of useful parallels also hampers a clear decision. The adjective ἀξιῶς refers to ritual in a few places, as does the verb ἀξιῶν.<sup>35</sup> As a result, if one accepts the letters as they stand in the papyrus, Preisendanz’s reading seems to make sense. The author asks Providence and Psyche to grant (ἀξιῶ) immortality (ἀθανασία) to his addressee,<sup>36</sup> who as an initiate (μύστης) is entitled to it; immortality is of course the primary benefit derived from the mysteries (μυστήρια).<sup>37</sup> If so, it does imply, however, that Preisendanz’s reading of μύσται as referring to the deities (“ihr Mysten dieser unserer Macht”), awkward as it would be anyway, cannot be accepted.

The phrase concluding the sentence, τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως ταύτης (“of this our power”) refers to the divine power (δύναμις) energizing the ritual as a whole, a term occurring often in magical texts.<sup>38</sup> It is conspicuous that for all the magic, terms such as μαγεία, μαγικός, μάγος are not found in the Mithras Liturgy.

As scholars have pointed out repeatedly,<sup>39</sup> ll. 478–81 interrupt the sentence which continues in l. 482 by connecting ἦν with ταύτης (l. 478). The inter-

n. 1 (both with important parallels). Cf. also Wilhelm Kroll (by letter to Preisendanz): μόνον δὲ τέκνον ἀθανασίαν ἀξιῶ μῆσαι; Riess, *CIR* 10 (1896) 411, preferring μνητής.

<sup>34</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.233), adducing the parallel in I.192 as support.

<sup>35</sup> ἀξιῶς II.177; IV.739; XI.a.15; ἀξιῶν I.192; etc. For references to restrictions about passing on the secrets only to a son or a daughter, see Dieterich, 2; 49; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 35; Graf, *Gottesnähe*, 11 n. 13 (*Magic*, 4–5 n. 11). Graf’s assumption that the 8th Book of Moses is dedicated to a daughter seems, however, incorrect.

<sup>36</sup> The term ἀθανασία occurs only here in the PGM (l. 477) and indicates the purpose of the ritual called ἀπαθανατισμός (ll. 741, 747, 771; cf. ἀπαθανατίζειν, 647–48; ἀθάνατος, ll. 501, 504–6, 516–17, 520, 531, 544, 609, 620). For further references in the PGM, see Preisendanz, 3.51 (index). Nilsson (*GGR*, 2.686–88) distinguishes rightly between permanent and temporary immortality; the ML presupposes temporary immortality or deification. So also Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 175–86.

<sup>37</sup> So Dieterich (49); see also Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 32–35, with references.

<sup>38</sup> Frequent in the PGM; for the ML see ll. 477–78, 524, 642, 650; furthermore see Preisendanz, 3.81 (index); related is ἐνέργεια κτλ. elsewhere in PGM. See Dieterich, 46–48; Friedrich Preisigke, *Vom göttlichen Fluidum nach ägyptischer Anschauung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1920); idem, *Die Gotteskraft der frühchristlichen Zeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1922); Festugière, *Révélation*, 4.173–74, 190–96; Erich Fascher, “Dynamis,” *RAC* 4 (1959) 415–58, esp. 419–24; also Betz, “Power (δύναμις),” *DDD*, s.v.

<sup>39</sup> See Dieterich (2–3, with note) who treats it as a marginal gloss; Preisendanz (I.88–89) puts it in brackets and small print; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.233) has it indented and enclosed in brackets.

ruption can best be explained as caused by an secondary insertion, which in itself is a complete sentence: *χρή οὖν σε, ὦ θύγατερ, λαμβάνειν χυλοὺς βοτανῶν καὶ εἰδῶν τῶν μ[ε]λ[ο]ντων σοι <μηγυθῆσεσθαι> ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ ἱεροῦ μου συντάγματος* (“furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daughter, to take the juices of herbs and spices, which will be made known to you at the end of my sacred composition”). This insertion, however, raises interesting questions. Since the whole exordium secondarily introduces a text of sacred tradition, the insertion would have to have been made as a secondary supplement to that exordium. There are three options for explaining what may have happened. (1) The author of the exordium could have made the insertion, reflecting an afterthought and self-correction on his part. In this case the author himself would have rather clumsily messed up his own, otherwise well-written, composition. (2) The insertion could have originated as a marginal gloss by the author, which then was slipped into the text by a scribe who copied the text. This case would presuppose that the author did not himself inscribe the present papyrus, but that a scribe mechanically copied it from the author’s document. (3) A later redactor, who used an older document, may have inserted the sentence and thereby readdressed the document to a person different from the one originally intended.

Correspondingly, the first person singular *μου* (l. 481) would refer either to the original author or to a later redactor. That author or redactor would also identify the whole text he composed, prior to the insertion, as a “treatise” (*σύνταγμα* [ll. 481–82]). He would have added the insertion because without it the ritual would be incomplete and would not work. Since additional teachings are appended as well in ll. 750–819, why did the author not include the insertion among the addenda at the end of his composition? Because he himself refers to the full information at the end (ll. 772–813), the reason for putting the insertion into the exordium must have been compelling. The content of the insertion specifies only some ingredients to be used at the beginning, but no ritual is described in the text. Therefore, the insertion in ll. 478–82 functions as a reminder saying which ingredients must (*χρή*)<sup>40</sup> be used in an initial ritual. Although such a ritual is not described fully in the text, the author assumes that it needs to be performed. Since the same author is responsible for both additions in ll. 478–81 and 772–813, the conclusion should be that this author worked with an earlier document that he himself regarded as incomplete. That earlier document must have included the exordium (minus the insertion 478–82) as well as the main body of the text

<sup>40</sup> The term, here a reconstruction, is used in other passages, indicating instruction; see IV.913, 977; III.177: [*χρή σε ἐπι*]θεύειν.

(ll. 484–720). The author, therefore, added the supplements (ll. 732–820), which also explains why he ended by declaring the document (ὑπόμνημα) to be now complete (ll. 819–20). The fact that some of the supplementary rituals are needed at the beginning caused him to insert the reminder in ll. 478–82.

Addressing the recipient as “daughter” (θυγάτηρ) can mean two things: she could be his own kin, or his apprentice. In the first instance, the magician as father would pass on a piece of sacred tradition to his daughter who is also a magician. In the second instance, “daughter” would be a metaphor. Such an address would conform to instructional language and practice, according to which “sons,” “daughters,” or “children” signify pupils or apprentices. Although there is no other instance of a female apprentice mentioned in the PGM, such usage should not be excluded as a possibility.<sup>41</sup>

The person in question, however, is not treated as an apprentice but as a fully initiated magician (μύστυς). If the author calls her “daughter” in the metaphorical sense, she may at one time have been an apprentice, but she is now treated as a colleague; if, on the other hand, she is his biological daughter, he would regard her as his heir to whom he hands over a piece of sacred tradition. Both possibilities could be documented by parallels from ancient religions.

The transmission of esoteric knowledge from father to daughter also reflects older Egyptian practice<sup>42</sup> which continues in Greco-Egyptian and Hermetic sources. In these texts Isis is the most important example. In the Memphitic tradition contained in the aretology of Kyme, Isis is educated by Hermes (l. 3), but is called the daughter of Kronos/Geb (l. 5), while in other sources she is regarded as the daughter of Thoth/Hermes.<sup>43</sup> A Hermetic source for father-daughter transmission is found in the prologue of the *Kyranides*, where Harpokration of Alexandria addresses his natural histories to

<sup>41</sup> For θυγάτηρ cf. XXXIV.18–19; XL.2; LI.10. See also Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 35; BDAG, s.v. θυγάτηρ, 2–3.

<sup>42</sup> I am indebted for this information to Thomas Dousa who mentioned ancient Egyptian medical texts but criticizes that scholars sometimes have a tendency to explain away the female gender; see H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, 2. Hälfte (Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter, VII.2; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), p. 690, IV, s.v.; p. 704; Thierry Bordinet, *Les Papyrus médicaux de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Paris: Fayard, 1995), 232. A most important example is Isis being instructed by Thot/Hermes, who in some texts is regarded as her father; see the Metternich Stele, lines 57–58 (saying VI), with the translation by J. F. Borghouts, “Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and Its Manifestation (bzw),” in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (eds. R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen; Egyptologische Uitgaven 1; Leiden: Brill, 1982), 39, n. 123; furthermore, A. Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Behague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden: Brill, 1952), 15, 76.

<sup>43</sup> See Müller, *Ägypten*, 21, 26–27.

his daughter.<sup>44</sup> Female magicians are of course known from many quarters of Greek and Hellenistic<sup>45</sup> as well as from Jewish religion.<sup>46</sup>

The language of the instruction is technical. The often occurring verb λαμβάνειν (“take”) indicates the acquiring and using of ingredients, one of which is “plant juice” (χυλοὶ βοτανῶν), specified further in the supplement (ll. 773 and 781).<sup>47</sup> The term εἰδῶν, from τὸ εἶδος (pl. εἶδη) seems strange as compared with other occurrences in the PGM,<sup>48</sup> here it refers either to drugs or to utensils.<sup>49</sup> Since in the supplement (ll. 772–813)<sup>50</sup> only ingredients and no utensils are detailed, the translation should be accordingly (“drugs”).<sup>51</sup> The term μῆνυθῆσεσθαι (“be informed”) is supplied by Preisendanz who argues for it on the basis of the parallels in PGM IV.2016, 2046–47, 2069.<sup>52</sup> The information is to be found ἐν τῷ τέλει (“at the end”), where the cross-reference is indicated (τὴν προκειμένην [l. 779]). Concluding his statement (l. 482), the author refers to his composition as a whole by the phrase τοῦ ἱεροῦ μου συντάγματος. The term σύνταγμα is literary, combining the compositional with the functional (“composition”): the text is put together from sources, and it serves as a prescription for the performance of the ritual.<sup>53</sup>

In l. 482, the text of the exordium continues, with the relative pronoun ἣν connecting with ταύτης (l. 479). The section (ll. 482–85) sets forth the hier-

<sup>44</sup> For the passing on of tradition within the family, see Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 160–63; Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 290–91; Festugière, *Révélation*, 1.332–36; Dimitris Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden* (BKP 76; Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1976), 14, lines 4–5: ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρποκρατίωνος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως πρὸς τὴν οἰκεῖαν θυγατέρα; 15, lines 30–31: βίβλος ὑπὸ Συρίας θεραπευτικῆ, τῆ οἰκεῖα θυγατρὶ Ἀρποκρατίων γέγραφε τάδε. See also the chain of tradition involving the theurgists Nestor, Plutarch and his daughter Asclepigeneia, and Proclus (Marinus, *Vit. Procli* 28, ed. Rita Masullo, *Marino di Neapoli, Vita di Proclo* [Napoli: D’Auria, 1985]). The note in Graf (*Gottesnähe*, 212, n. 13; ET: *Magic*, 237, n. 11), mentioning PGM XIII.341–43, is unclear because the term there is τέκνον.

<sup>45</sup> For the evidence of female magicians, see Matthew W. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2001).

<sup>46</sup> The “witch of Endor” is, of course, the most famous example (1 Sam 28). See Klaus Thraede, “Hexe,” *RAC* 14 (1988) 1269–76; Giuseppe Veltri, *Magie und Halakha. Ansätze zu einem empirischen Wissenschaftsbegriff im spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Judentum* (TSAJ 62; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 26, 29, 65–72, 79–81.

<sup>47</sup> For further references, see below on l. 773.

<sup>48</sup> For εἶδος see also III.190–91; VIII.5, 18; XIII.1077; 21.47–48.

<sup>49</sup> Preisendanz renders “Spezereien,” Merkelbach (159) “Arten,” Hopfner (according to Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) “Utensilien,” Meyer (Betz, *GMPT*, 48) “spices.”

<sup>50</sup> The term τῶν μ[ε]λ[ε]λόντων (ll. 480–81) refers to the supplement. The correction follows Dieterich (p. 3: μ[ε]λ[ε]λόντων), Preisendanz (*app. crit.*), and Merkelbach (158).

<sup>51</sup> See for references LSJ, s.v. εἶδος, IV.

<sup>52</sup> The term refers to matters “to be informed about.” Wilhelm Crönert (“Zur Kritik,” 100) supplies παραδοθήσεται.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. I.45–47: τὰ πάντα καταλει[πόμενα ἡμῖν ἐν] βίβλοις μυρίαις συντάγματα.

archy of authority and the transmission of the tradition: ἦν ὁ μέγας θεός "Ἥλιος Μίθρας ἐκέλευσέν μοι μεταδοθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐγὼ μόνος αἰ<τ>ητῆς οὐρανὸν βαίνω καὶ κατοπτεύω πάντα ("which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be handed over to me by the his archangel, so that I alone may walk heaven as an 'eagle' and behold the all"). At the top stands the highest deity, defined by his names and epithets. Clearly, the god is monotheistic, indicated by his epithet ὁ μέγας θεός ("the great god"), which occurs only here in the ML.<sup>54</sup> The god has, however, two names: Helios and Mithras.<sup>55</sup> For the author, therefore, the two gods, originally separate, have become united. This is all the more remarkable because in the main body of the ML, the author's source material, the two gods are not identical. In l. 640 Helios occurs alone, named as the highest god but in fact subordinate to Mithras; in l. 643 another god is spoken of as ὁ μέγιστος θεός, and in ll. 696–704 this greatest god is described without naming him; he clearly is, however, Mithras. The author's sources, on the one hand, presuppose two different gods, but on the other hand the author's intention is to merge them into "one god." As Wolfgang Fauth has pointed out, while the ambiguity of the relationship between Helios and Mithras reflects Hellenistic syncretism (theocracy),<sup>56</sup> the author of the ML had philosophical interests as well. The fact that only Helios (and not Mithras) is named in l. 640, in spite of what no doubt is a description of him, may perhaps result from the author's interest in presenting the highest god as Aion (see ll. 520–23, 587–616). The double-name Helios-Mithras means that the author must have read the name of Mithras in the source. Did the author purposefully omit the name Mithras at l. 696? Why did he let the name of Helios stand? The reason for keeping Helios may have been that the god is needed for the ritual of ascent through the seven astral spheres.<sup>57</sup> Fauth also

<sup>54</sup> The epithet is frequent elsewhere in the PGM (see Preisendanz, 3.133–34 [index], s.v.).

<sup>55</sup> See also III.80: Μίθρα; 100–1: ναί, μέγιστε Μίθρα; 462: χαῖρε, Ἥλιε Μίθρα; V.4: Ζεῦ Ἥλιε Μίθρα Σάραπι; Ostrakon 2.8–9: Μίθρευ Μίθρα. The name Helios occurs in the PGM also in many other combinations.

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between Helios and Mithras, and a review of the current literature see Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, esp. 11–33; Manfred Clauss, "Sol Invictus Mithras," *Athenäum* 78 (1990) 423–50; idem, *Mithras*, 146–55: "Mithras and the Sun-God"; N. P. Milner & Martin F. Smith ("New Votive Reliefs from Oinoanda," *Anatolian Studies* 44 [1994] 65–76), discussing a bust of a youthful god with a crown of rays, addressed as ΜΙΘΡΑ ΗΛΙΩ. Cf. IV.1596–1715, an invocation of Helios, with the epithet εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις (1715). See also Albert de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature* (Religions of the Graeco-Roman World, 133; Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997), 157–204, 284–96.

<sup>57</sup> Actually, this was Dieterich's (89–90) suggestion, commenting on Origen's description of the mysteries of Mithras and the κλίμαξ ἐπτάπυλος (*Cels.* 6.22). Cf. Fauth's critique, *Helios Megistos*, 22–23.



points to the Neoplatonist Julian's doctrine of the three suns in three worlds: the transcendental Helios in the intelligible world (κόσμος νοητός), Helios-Mithras in the middle (νοερός), and the sun-disk in the visible world (ὄρατός); accordingly, Helios is the deity uniting and holding the three worlds together.<sup>58</sup> Compared with Julian, the ML is clearly pre-Neoplatonic and shows the problems Julian's theory tried to solve.

The great god Helios-Mithras gave the order to "hand over" (μεταδίδωμι)<sup>59</sup> the tradition through his "archangel" (ἀρχάγγελος), a term used also in pagan sources, esp. in Neoplatonism.<sup>60</sup> This mediator figure remains unnamed.<sup>61</sup> To whom was the tradition handed over? Apparently to the author: ὅπως ἐγὼ μόνος. Naming the author as the exclusive recipient, however, is a rather common feature in similar texts.<sup>62</sup> As indicated by the exordium, the text is just another instance in the passing on of the tradition.

The next word (l. 484) is controversial. The papyrus contains αἰητης, which has been emended and interpreted in various ways. Preisendanz emends to ἀ<τ>ητής ("petitioner"),<sup>63</sup> rejecting Dieterich's reading as αἰητός

<sup>58</sup> Fauth (151–54), discussing Julian's *Hymn to Helios*, Or. IV.149A–D. Accordingly, Helios provides for unity between the gods, but "without confusion into unity" (δέχρα συγγύσεως εἰς ἔνωσιν); cf. 157A. At 155A Julian mentions worshipping Mithras as a novelty and with some ambiguity concerning his relationship to Helios.

<sup>59</sup> The term μεταδίδωμι is technical in this context, a synonym of παραδίδωμι; see for parallels I.130 (μηδενὶ ἰάλλω μετὰδῶς, ἀλλὰ κρύβε, ...); IV.853; VII.457; XII.93. Cf. BDAG, s.v. μεταδίδωμι.

<sup>60</sup> The occurrences in Neoplatonism seem to go back to the Egyptian Anebo; see Porphyry, *Aneb.* 1.4: Ἐπιζητεῖς γάρ, τί τὸ γνώρισμα θεοῦ παρουσίας ἢ ἀγγέλου ἢ ἀρχαγγέλου ἢ δαίμονος ἢ τινος ἄρχοντος ἢ ψυχῆς. The passage in Iamblichus, *Myst.* 2.3 seems to depend on this (see also 2.4). See Franz Cumont, "Les anges du paganisme," *RHR* 72 (1915) 159–82, esp. 175–80; Édouard des Places, *Jamblique, Les mystères d'Égypte* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1966), 79 n. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Depending on the religious context, the names differ. In PGM XIII, the archangel, subordinated to Aion, is named Helios (XIII.257, 334–37; cf. III.339 without name) or Michael (XIII.928–29; IV.2356–57; VII.257); in XIV.a.5 Helios is asked to send his archangel. Other places speak of a plurality of archangels (I.208–9; IV.1203–4, 3051–52; XIII.328–29, 744; XXII.b.3,7; 15.a; 21.9–10). For further sources, see Dieterich, 47; Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 171–72, n. 2; Merkelbach & Totti, *Abrasax* 1.200, 219; *ibid.*, 2.79, 81 (XIV.a.5); Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, #29.3–4; #93.4; Kotansky, *Amulets*, #57.12. See BDAG, s.v.; Johann Michl, "Engel," *RAC* 5 (1965) 56–57; Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien*, 56, 142–43, 177, 225, 230; J. W. van Henten, "Archangel," *DDD* 80–82.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. I.188; IV.1520–21, 2961; differently XII.37; LXII.25–26. See also Thessalos of Tralles, prooemium; furthermore 1 *En.* 19:3 (OTP 1.23): "(So) I, Enoch, I saw the vision of the end of everything alone; and none among human beings will see as I have seen."

<sup>63</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.158, 233) follows Preisendanz, and translates: "der ich darum gebeten habe."

(“eagle”).<sup>64</sup> Preisendanz’s correction is attested in papyri,<sup>65</sup> but it would be unique in the PGM.<sup>66</sup> Dieterich argued (50, 220–21) against Cumont<sup>67</sup> and Reitzenstein<sup>68</sup> that αἰητός is philologically not impossible<sup>69</sup>; in addition, in a new reading of the papyrus Martinez favors the letter ε instead of η, so that the interpretation as the Mithraic title of “eagle” (αἰετός) claimed by the author is highly likely.<sup>70</sup> That this title could easily be connected with the following statement of purpose was pointed out by Weinreich.<sup>71</sup>

The language describing the goals of the author (ll. 483–85) is also rare in the PGM. First, there is οὐρανὸν βαίνω (“going to heaven”),<sup>72</sup> which is not different in meaning from the usual εἰς οὐρανὸν βαίνω (“going into heaven”).<sup>73</sup> Second, there is κατοπτεύω πάντα (“overviewing all things”), a topos in literature regarding ascension and view of the cosmos.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, these words sum up what the author understands to happen during the performance of the ritual.

<sup>64</sup> For other proposed corrections see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; idem, *WSt* 41 (1919) 140.

<sup>65</sup> See LSJ, Suppl., s.v.; Preisigke–Kießling, s.v.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. XII.144: αἴτησις; XIII.287: ἡτήσω αἰτησίαν; IV.434, 1290, 1930; XXII.b.30: ἐξαίτησις; IV.462, 1294; VI.29: ἐξατεῖσθαι. More frequent in the PGM is ἰκέτης (II.87; XIII.637).

<sup>67</sup> Franz Cumont, *Etudes syriennes* (Paris: Picard, 1917), 57 n.: “correction douteuse”; cf. 89.

<sup>68</sup> Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 172, 174) reads ἀλήτης (“wanderer”).

<sup>69</sup> For Doric αἰητός see LSJ, s.v.: “Dor. for αἰετός, αἰετός.”

<sup>70</sup> Dieterich (54, 151, 220–21) has further material supplied by Weinreich. For the Mithraic material see Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, 1.314 n. 8; Theodor Schneider and Eduard Stemplinger, “Adler,” *RAC* 1 (1950) 87–94 (with references to Porphyry, *Abst.* 4.16, and Lucian, *Icarom.* 14); Wolfgang Speyer, “Geier,” *RAC* 9 (1976) 430–69, esp. 439–41; Carsten Colpe et al., “Jenseitsfahrt I (Himmelsreise),” *RAC* 17 (1996), esp. 439–41; Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 105–6 (with photos from the Heddernheim mithraeum), 240, 242 (in connection with the ascension of the soul). Betz (*Lukian*, 39, 97 n. 6, 175) points to the eagle as a symbol of Helios and Zeus.

<sup>71</sup> In Dieterich, 220–21.

<sup>72</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.159) translates: “auf die Himmel(s-Schale) trete(n).”

<sup>73</sup> I.67 (cf. 184: σπεύδω γὰρ εἰς οὐρανόν). For instances of this terminology, see Lucian, *Peregr.* 39: ἔλιπον γὰρ, βαίνω ἐς Ὀλυμπον; similarly Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.30. See Betz, *Lukian*, 38ff., 123, 128ff., 167–69. Cf. Vettius Valens, *Anth.* VI.1.9 (ed. Pingree [BiTeu, 1986] 231, 6–7):... τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπόντας οὐρανοβατεῖν ἀθανάτους ψυχᾶς καὶ θείας. Cf. also Lucian, *Sacr.* 9; *Timon* 49; *Astr.* 13; Philo, *Opif.* 69–71: ἀθεροβατέω, οὐρανοβατέω, συμπεριπολέω. For the terminology, see Abraham P. Bos, “Immanenz und Transzendenz,” *RAC* 17 (1996) 1041–92, esp. 1045–46.

<sup>74</sup> For κατοπτεύειν see IV.516–17; 504: ἐποπτεύειν; Lucian, *Icar.* 12–16; see Betz, *Lukian*, 39 n. 1 (with parallels). Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.233) points to the Platonic idea (Plato, *Phaedr.* 247b–c) of the immortal souls when they travel to heaven on the chariot and break through the astral sphere to behold the heavenly world (cf. Ps.–Plato [Philip of Opus], *Epin.* 978c–d, 986b–987d). Closer to the ML is *CH* III.3: εἰς κατοπτείαν οὐρανοῦ;

## II. The Main body of the ritual (ll. 485–732)

As indicated in the papyrus by a space after l. 486, the main body of the composition sets forth the ritual called ἀπαθανατισμός (“immortalization”; see the Analysis *infra*, part II, ll. 485–732). This ritual has several clearly distinguishable sections, beginning with a lengthy petitionary prayer (section A, ll. 485–537), a prescription for a breathing ritual (section B, ll. 537–38), the introduction to the ascent narrative (section C, ll. 539–44), the narrative of the ascent itself, consisting of seven scenarios (section D, ll. 544–732). This main body is then followed by supplemental rituals (part III, ll. 732–819), and a concluding statement (ll. 819–20).

## A. The opening (first) prayer (ll. 485–537)

The importance of prayer for the ML as a whole is shown by the long prayer (ll. 485–537) to be recited at the beginning of the ritual. According to the internal numbering of the prayers (see ll. 741–42), it is the first,<sup>75</sup> a petitionary prayer by genre, consisting of the traditional parts of invocation (ll. 486–99) and petition (ll. 499–537).<sup>76</sup>

1. Before the prayer begins, a statement of identification (ll. 485–86) separates it from the preceding exordium and defines the prayer by the proper terms: ἔστιν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ἡδε ἡ κλησις (“This is the invocation of the prayer”). λόγος<sup>77</sup> refers to the prayer as a whole, κλησις to the invocation.<sup>78</sup>

2. The invocation is in two parts, first calling on “Origin” (ll. 486–87), and second on the four elements which in effect constitute “Origin” (ll. 489–95).<sup>79</sup> This kind of invocation of cosmic powers by abstract, personified

I.3 μαθεῖν θέλω τὰ ὄντα καὶ νοῆσαι τὴν τούτων φύσιν καὶ γνῶναι τὸν θεόν. For further references see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 24–27, 99–109; Nock & Festugière, 1.46, n. 10.

<sup>75</sup> In ll. 741–42, the prayer is identified as ὁ πρῶτος λόγος.

<sup>76</sup> On the composition of prayers, see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.50–64. Since the prayer shows influences of Hellenistic philosophy, it will have to be classified among the philosophical prayers; see with further material van den Berg, *Proclus’ Hymns*, 13–34: “The Philosopher’s Hymn.”

<sup>77</sup> The λόγος contains the things to be spoken (τὰ λεγόμενα).

<sup>78</sup> For the term κλησις, see II.81; VI.1; VII.878; XII.310. See also Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles*, 467–71: “The Caller and the Call.”

<sup>79</sup> For the elemental origins see also the prayers addressed to Aion–Helios I.195–222; I.263–327; III.494–632; IV.1115–66; IV.1167–1226. For the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, see III.568; IV.440, 1126, 1303, 1961; VIII.78; XII.250–51; XVII.b.15; XXXIX.18–20; LXII.15.

concepts, instead of traditional names of deities, is clear evidence of influence of Greek philosophy.<sup>80</sup> As Merkelbach has pointed out, one finds this language in Plato's *Timaeus*; it originated, however, earlier with the Presocratics.<sup>81</sup>

The first, general invocation is a *parallelismus membrorum*, using two Greek terms denoting "origin," γένεσις and ἀρχή. Each line declares a primordial origin to be the source of the present suppliant's personal natural birth.

The first line (486) reads [Γ]ένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως ("First origin of my origin"). The term γένεσις can mean both "origin" and "birth," implying that the human birth of the individual has its direct source in the primordial origin of the universe.<sup>82</sup> In principle, this cosmic origin defines what the ML means by "rebirth": it is the underlying φύσις that needs to be "regenerated."<sup>83</sup> The first line ends with the magical vowel sequence αηλιουω. Since seven-vowel sequences are frequent in all sorts of magical literature, an occurrence in the ML is not surprising. The connection of the seven vowels with the seven planets seems obvious, but it does not appear to be a concern in l. 486,<sup>84</sup> where it is indicative of the cosmological foundation in a more general sense.

<sup>80</sup> The phenomenon is typical of philosophical prayers, beginning in the fourth century BCE; see Nilsson, *GGR*, 1.812–15; 2.206–7; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.47; Johan C. Thom, "Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* and Early Christian Literature," in Adela Y. Collins & Margaret M. Mitchell, eds., *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on His 70th Birthday* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 477–99.

<sup>81</sup> See Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.234), pointing to Plato's first birth of human beings which is the same for all, so that all can have the same chances in life: ὅτι γένεσις πρώτη μὲν ἔσσοιτο τετραγμένη μία πᾶσιν, ἕνα μὴ τις ἐλαττοῦτο (*Tim.* 41e; cf. OCT reading μήτις). For the Presocratics, see below, at notes 87–88).

<sup>82</sup> Within the ML, the term γένεσις refers to birth and rebirth (see on ll. 501, 720, 742). Outside of the ML, the term is used differently in reference to "creation" as understood in Egyptian and Jewish creation myths (IV.1040, 1749; VIII.43; XII.185; XIII.612, 620, 635–36; XXII.b.5).

<sup>83</sup> See ll. 501, 720. Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.234) who relates the reference to the astrological birth constellation, an interpretation that has some support in the the ML. The author's objective is to combine cosmology and anthropology with astrology (see below on l. 544; cf. also XIII.612, 620, 635–36). At this point of the prayer, however, the ML is directed by philosophical cosmology, while astrology is a secondary overlay for the sake of "verification."

<sup>84</sup> For vowel sequences and variations in the ML, see ll. 492, 493, 495, 498–99, 528–29, 532, 600, 610–16, 764, 788. On vowel series generally, see Dieterich, 32–33, 266; Deißmann, *Licht vom Osten* (4th ed.), 393–99 (*Light from the Ancient East*, 453–60); Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, 35–68 (lit.); Franz Boll, "Hebdomas," *PRE* 7 (1912) 2547–78; Wilhelm and Hans Georg Gundel, "Planeten," *PRE* 20 (1950) 2017–2185; Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri," 3431 (with further literature). Merkelbach's comment (*Abrasax*, 3.234) is unclear: "Offensichtlich sollte hier für jeden Planeten seine Stelle bei der

The second line (l. 488) addresses the other cosmological concept: ἀρχή τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς <ς> πρώτη (“first beginning of my beginning”).<sup>85</sup> Again, the term ἀρχή refers to both the primordial beginnings of the cosmos and the individual beginning of the initiate.<sup>86</sup> The oldest parallels to this notion of primordial ἀρχή are found in pre-Socratic philosophy, esp. the Orphic Fragments<sup>87</sup> and Anaximander. Anaximander used the terms γένεσις and ἀρχή together in referring to the origin of the universe, the sun, moon, stars, earth (... ἀρχὴν τε καὶ στοιχεῖον ... τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἄπειρον ... ἐξ ὧν ἡ γένεσις ἐστὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), including the human being (ὁ ἄνθρωπος) who originated from the same ἀρχαί.<sup>88</sup> As the sources of Plato, Aristotle, and Simplicius indicate, these ideas were handed down in philosophical traditions dealing with the origins of the universe.<sup>89</sup>

Parallel to the vowel sequence in l. 486, l. 487 also ends with magical sounds to be performed by the suppliant. These sounds are indicated in the text by abbreviated symbols, the first of which are three letters with dots over them: πππ. Accordingly, the sound, called ποππυσμός (“smacking the lips”), is to be performed three times, equalling πόππυσον τρίς. This sound is known

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‘ersten’ Geburt des Initianden angegeben werden. Die Konstellation bei seiner heutigen, ‘zweiten’ Geburt steht unten in der in 544 ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς ὥρας θεία θέσις. Vgl. auch die Vokalreihen in 610–616, welche zur Bezeichnung der Planeten dienen.” However, while the vowel composition in ll. 610–16 is expressly connected with the planets (617–20), this is not done in l. 486.

<sup>85</sup> The pap. reads ἀρχη. See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*, according to which ἀρχῆ <ς> is Wendland’s correction. For the frequent omission of the final -ς see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.124–25.

<sup>86</sup> Again, the formulation is unique, but cf. the parallels in the ML, esp. ll. 505, 742 (differently l. 550). Interesting is the citation of the formula ἀρχή καὶ τέλος, “beginning and end” (IV.1125, 2836–37; XIII.130–31, 687; ἀρχή καὶ τελευτή IV.1639–41).

<sup>87</sup> See *Orph. Frag.* (ed. Kern), ## 21 (with parallels to the cosmogonic myth, pp. 90–93), 164, 168, 297 (l. 35), 298.

<sup>88</sup> For the texts, see D.-K. 12 A 9; B 1 (I, 83, 4–8; 89, 11–15); de Vogel, *Greek Philosophy*, 1.6–8, ## 11a, 17b; Kirk & Raven, #96 and pp. 104–18. See Adolf Lumpe, “Der Terminus Prinzip (ἀρχή) von den Vorsokratikern bis auf Aristoteles,” *ABG* 1 (1955) 104–7.

<sup>89</sup> See Hermann Diels, *Elementum. Eine Vorarbeit zum lateinischen Thesaurus* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899), 35, 43; Jaeger, *Theology*, 35–45; Adolf Lumpe, “Elementum,” *RAC* 4 (1959) 1073–1100; Gerhard Delling, *TDNT* 7 (1971), s.v. στοιχεῖον; Michael Lapidge, “ἀρχαί and στοιχεῖα: A Problem in Stoic Cosmology,” *Phron.* 18 (1973) 240–78. On the whole, see Hans Schwabl, “Weltschöpfung,” *PRE.S* 9 (1962) 1433–1589, esp. 1499–1566; the problems of later Christian adaptation are discussed by Wolfgang Speyer, “Kosmische Mächte im Bibeleos des Dracontius,” in idem, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1995), 141–51.

from the PGM<sup>90</sup> as well as from other magical sources.<sup>91</sup> The second, a hissing sound is indicated by the three letters, again with dots over them: σ̇σ̇σ̇, equalling σύρισον τρίς. It is called συριγγμός (“hissing”) and occurs elsewhere in the PGM and in other magical materials.<sup>92</sup> The ritual sounds belong to the field of “music,” here reflecting cosmic music, about which the Pythagoreans had more to say.<sup>93</sup>

Line 488 concludes with unexplained letters: φρ[.]. According to Preisendanz, several conjectures were proposed by scholars, all remaining tentative.<sup>94</sup> Martinez points to the three dots over the letters and raises the question whether they indicate sounds rather than a word.

<sup>90</sup> See for the abbreviation Preisendanz, *WSt* 41 (1919) 140–41; on ποππύζειν, ποππυσμός in the ML see ll. 561–62, 579; also VII.767–68; XIII.40, 44, 48–50, 203–4, 385, 391–92, 413, 527–28, 601.

The onomatopoeic term *poppysma* is mentioned by Juvenal (*Sat.* 6.584) in connection with fortune telling. Pliny (*Nat.* 28.25) reports as a consensus among all peoples that lightning should be prayed to by clucking of the tongue (fulgetras poppymis adorare consensus gentium est). The 2nd c. CE philosopher Nicomachus of Gerasa (*Harmonicum enchiridium* 6, in: Carolus Janus, ed., *Musici Scriptores Graeci* [BiTeu; Lipsiae: Teubner, 1895; repr. 1995], 277), in discussing the cosmic dimensions of music, mentions theurgical worship in which οι θεοῦργοι call upon the deities συγμοῖς τε καὶ ποππυσμοῖς καὶ ἀνάρθροις καὶ ἀσυμφώνοις ἡχοῖς συμβολικῶς ἐπικαλοῦνται. See also Janus’ note *ad loc.* concerning the connection between the seven vowels, the seven planets, and the musical sounds.

<sup>91</sup> For further material see Dieterich, 34, 40–41, 42, 228; Richard Lasch, “Das Pfeifen und seine Beziehung zu Dämonenglauben und Zauberei,” *ARW* 18 (1915) 589–93; Hopfner, *OZ* I, §§ 150–51, 780; Bonner, *Studies*, 12, 138, 186–87, 193; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles*, 361; Betz, *GMPT*, 48, n. 80; Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri,” 3431.

<sup>92</sup> For συριγγμός in the ML, see l. 561; also VII.323, 769; XIII.48–49, 50, 418–19, 421, 602, 946; συρίζειν in the ML ll. 561, 578; IV.1902–3, 2733; XIII.88, 193, 292, 531, 602; XXXVI.368: εεε ηηη λ’ σ’ σ’ σ’ ν’ ν’.

The sound of “hissing” or “whistling” is mentioned by Xenophon (*Symp.* 6.5) as similar to a pipe tune (αὐλημα). The emperor Julian (*Ep.* 19) refers to the Christian ritual of “hissing at the demons and making the sign of the cross on the forehead” (συρίττειν τε πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ σκιαγραφεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τὸν σταυρὸν). Related is a reference by Plotinus (*Enn.* 2.9.14.6–8) to a number of magical hissing sounds: μέλη καὶ ἡχους καὶ προσπνεύσεις καὶ συγμοὺς τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐκεῖ μαγεύειν γέγραπται. See also below, n. 107.

<sup>93</sup> Differently, Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.234) considers a special application for the sounds: “Mit dem dreimaligen P und S(ch) wird Pschai-Agathos Daimon angerufen, der in 635 erscheinende θεὸς νεώτερος. Der Gott wird auch mit Harpokrates und Eros gleichgesetzt.” Conceivably, Willy Theiler is right in an important article that the magical sounds are indicative of the “language of the spirit” (“Die Sprache des Geistes in der Antike,” in: *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, Festschrift für Albert Debrunner* [Bern: Francke, 1954], 431–40).

<sup>94</sup> See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.* Wunsch saw here the name of the god Φρη. Preisendanz himself (Dieterich, 221; *WSt* 41 [1919] 140–41) conjectured φρ[εμαξαι]. Eitrem suggested φρ[υ].

The next section (ll. 489–95) contains the specific invocations of the four elements (πνεῦμα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, οὐσία γεώδης).<sup>95</sup> There can be no doubt that also this part of the invocation is indebted to pre-Socratic philosophy, in particular Empedocles' doctrine of the four elements as constituting the cosmos (τέσσαρα πάντων ῥιζώματα)<sup>96</sup> and held together by κρᾶσις.<sup>97</sup> The connection with Empedoclean and Stoic philosophy was seen already by Cumont and Dieterich, and it is affirmed by Merkelbach.<sup>98</sup> Most recently, the connection between the ML and Empedocles was pointed out by Peter Kingsley: "And it is no coincidence, either, that a section of the Paris magical papyrus – another document showing the profoundest affinities with basic aspects of Empedocles' teaching – contains a number of features each of which points separately to Empedocles but which, together, present a virtual summary of Empedoclean themes and concerns. Here we have a ritual for regeneration and immortalization that has significant analogies both with Empedocles and with the 'Orphic' gold plates, an initial prayer to the four elements as immortal, personified beings, and a description of the divine elements as existing simultaneously out in the universe and inside one which takes us to the heart of Empedocles' theory of perception...."<sup>99</sup> Kingsley constructs a line of transmission of this Empedoclean doctrine from Southern Italy and Sicily to Egypt, to the Hermetica (esp., *Kore Kosmou* § 63), to the ML, and to the *Turba philosophorum*.<sup>100</sup> This line of transmission, however, overlooks the fact that from Zeno forward, Stoicism as well affirmed the doctrine of the four elements.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, the appearance of the philo-

<sup>95</sup> The four elements are listed also, somewhat varied, in ll. 505–15 and 713–14.

<sup>96</sup> For ῥιζώμα ("root"), see I.205; IV.1189–90; cf. τετραλίζωμα below, ll.589–90. See Christoph Riedweg, "Orphisches bei Empedokles," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 41 (1995) 34–59, esp. 53.

<sup>97</sup> D.-K. 31 B 6 (I.311. 15); 31 B 109 (I.351. 20–23); de Vogel, *Greek Philosophy*, 1, # 105; Kirk & Raven, 327–31, esp. ## 426, 432, 433, 454, 484. On the interconnectedness see esp. *ibid.*, 357 (# 484): "For with earth do we see earth, water with water, with air bright air, with fire consuming fire, with Love do we see Love, Strife with dread Strife."

<sup>98</sup> Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, 1.103, 108, 117; Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 54, 58–60, 82, 83–86; *idem*, *Mithrasliturgie*, 55, 58–61, 79, 156; Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 224–26; Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.234: "Die Lehre von den vier oder fünf Elementen ist griechisch, nicht ägyptisch (E. Hornung, *Der Eine*, 71)."

<sup>99</sup> Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy*, 374. The passage is followed by a quotation of IV.476–95 and a reference to D.-K. 31 B 109 (I.351, 14–22).

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 374–75; see also pp. 13–68, 74–75, 120–24, 183–84, 218 n., 300–1, 348–50, 354–62.

<sup>101</sup> See the sources in *SVF*: Zeno, I # 85 (24.12 and 16), # 102 (28, 28); Cleanthes, # 499 (112.4–5); Chrysippus, II # 309 (112.25); # 444 (146.29–30); de Vogel, *Greek Philosophy*, 3. ## 899b, 901c, 903a, 912b, 913, 927. For discussion, see Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, 1.71–72, 81, 219, 2.108; Robert B. Todd, "The Stoics and Their Cosmology in the First

sophical tradition of the elements in a syncretistic text such as the ML reflects a still broader tradition.<sup>102</sup>

The first element, “spirit” (πνεῦμα), is addressed in ll. 489–90: πνεῦμα πνεύματος, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεύματος πρῶτον (“spirit of spirit, the first of the spirit in me”). Although the text names the element of πνεῦμα first, the next line (l. 490) confirms that it is virtually identical with πῦρ (“fire”).<sup>103</sup> This doctrine seems consistent with Stoicism, for which, however, fire is the highest element. In turn, fire can be identified with “ether” (αἰθήρ), although in the ML αἰθήρ does not receive special mention.<sup>104</sup> At any rate, while the formulation of ll. 489–90 is unique in the ML, the concept of πνεῦμα is highly important within the ML as well as in the PGM generally.<sup>105</sup> The genitive expression πνεῦμα πνεύματος shows that it is a concept functioning like a divine name. The genitive is explained in the following clause as analogous to a divine epithet, by linking the primordial πνεῦμα πρῶτον and the πνεῦμα which inhabits the human being, thereby rooting anthropology in cosmology in a way that corresponds both to Empedoclean and Stoic doctrines.

Line 490 orders another magical sound, indicated in the text by the three letters μμμ, again with dots over them. This abbreviation refers to the sound called μύκωμα, here to be performed three times by blowing air (representing

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and Second Centuries A. D.,” ANRW II.36:3 (1989) 1365–78; for the Romans see Ovid, *Metam.* 1.1–88, and Michael Lapidge, “Stoic Cosmology and Roman Literature, First to Second Centuries A.D.,” *ibid.*, 1379–1429.

<sup>102</sup> On the veneration of the elements in Hellenistic syncretism see Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, 223–37, “Elemente und Hypostasen”; Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 144 (cf. 60); Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 223–26; Sam Eitrem, “Die vier Elemente in der Mysterienweihe,” *SO* 4 (1926) 39–59; 5 (1927) 39–59; Reinhold Merkelbach, “Die Kosmogonie der Mithrasmysterien,” *Ejfb* 34 (1966) 219–57, esp. 233–34; Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 301–3. Cf. also Proclus’ Hymn 1 (To Helios), ll. 13–14, with the commentary by van den Berg, *Proclus’ Hymns*, 162–63.

<sup>103</sup> For the connection of πνεῦμα and πῦρ in the ML see ll. 510–12, 589–90, 592–97, 617, 635–38.

<sup>104</sup> See αἰθήρ l. 515. On the concept, see Jan Hendrik Waszink, “Äther,” *RAC* 1 (1950) 150–58, esp. 153–54; Lumpe, “Elementum,” 1078–79. Cf. also the combinations of πνεῦμα and αἰθήρ IV.1115–16; 1137–43. The entire στήλη ἀπόκρυφος (IV.1115–66) consists of a prayer to Aion (l. 1163) using Stoic language. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 200, 208–10; Merkelbach & Totti, *Abrasax*, 2.43–44, who also refer to Chairemon of Alexandria and Wis 1:7; 9:17; 12:1; Lapidge, “ἄρχαί and στοιχεῖα,” 254; Michael Frede, “Chairemon,” ANRW II.36:3 (1989) 2067–2103, esp. 2087–92, 2094; cf. for a non-philosophical expression I.97, 179–80: πνεῦμα ἀέριον.

<sup>105</sup> See in the ML also ll. 505, 510, 538, 617–18, 627, 658–59, 714; furthermore, for possible Stoic influence cf., e.g., I.96 (ὁ θεός πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἀέριον); III.553–58; IV.1115 (τὸ πᾶν σύστημα τοῦ ἀέρου πνεύματος), 1116 (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ διῆκον ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ γῆν); XII.323–50; XIII.166, 477; LXII.24. See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 310–11.



spirit).<sup>106</sup> The sound was meant to be either a roaring or bellowing, or as a hard blowing through the nose, depending on how one interprets the adverb *κερατοειδῶς* in l. 657.<sup>107</sup>

The second element of fire (πῦρ) is named next separately from spirit (ll. 490–92). One should understand the sentence as parallel to the first, but it contains interesting variations.<sup>108</sup> Fire is first simply named, and then explained by two defining statements. The first of these sums up cosmological definitions: τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδώρητον (“god-given fire to my mixture of the mixtures in me”). The term *κρᾶσις* (“mixture”) is technical in Stoic cosmology, where it explains how the elements work together coherently in what Zeno calls *διακόσμησις*.<sup>109</sup> Going back ultimately to Empedocles, as Willem den Dulk has shown,<sup>110</sup> the concept of *κρᾶσις* plays a special role in forging coherence among the elements in the cosmos. Lines 490–92 sum this up by saying that, in regard to the suppliant, *κρᾶσις* functions in both ways: it links the *κράσεις* of the elements to one

<sup>106</sup> See also for the verb *μυκᾶν* in the ML ll. 659, 707, 712, for the noun *μύκωμα* ll. 657, 705. See also PGM XIII.942, 945. For discussion see Dieterich, 221, 228–29; Weinreich, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 217–22, 236, n. 74, 252, 364, 416; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.234.

The term is onomatopoeic and was compared to the bellowing of oxen (IV.2802 [ἦ ταύρων μύκημα]; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 292) or thunder; see LSJ, s.v. *μυκάομαι*. Cf. Apuleius’ (*Metam.* 8.27–28) description of ecstasy: “One [of the effeminate (*cinaedi*)] started to rave more wildly than the rest (*bachatur effusius*), and producing rapid gasps from deep down in his chest as though he had been filled with the divine spirit of some deity” (*velut numinis divino spiritu repletus*).

<sup>107</sup> Dieterich (41–42, 69, 228 with lit.) thought of “Brüllen (wie mit einem Horn)” and refers as parallels to the “bull-roarers” in the cults of Mithras and Dionysus. Differently, Merkelbach comments (*Abrasax*, 3.242): “Es ist der ἦχος κερατοειδῆς gemeint, der entsteht, wenn man durch die Nase ‘Mmm’ und ‘Nnn’ spricht, s. Dionysios von Halikarnass, *De compositione verborum* 14 (p. 54, 14 Usener-Radermacher) τὰ διὰ τῶν ῥωθῶνων συνεχούμενα τό τε Μ καὶ τὸ Ν κερατοειδεῖς ἀποτελοῦντα τοὺς ἦχους.” In this context, Dionysius speaks also of φωνῆς συριγμός, the excessive use of sigma, as befitting irrational beasts rather than rational beings; see the LCL edition by Stephen Usher, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Critical Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1985), 2.100–101.

<sup>108</sup> Dieterich (3) and Reitzenstein consider this to be a later interpolation (see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*).

<sup>109</sup> See *SVF* I, # 102 (from Arius Didymus) on Zeno’s concept of *διακόσμησις*, describing how the elements come together through conversion (*τροπή*): ἐκ τινὸς δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος πῦρ ἐξάπτεσθαι, τὴν δὲ [μῦξιν] κρᾶσιν γίνεσθαι τῇ εἰς ἄλληλα τῶν στοιχείων μεταβολῇ, σώματος ὅλου δι’ ὅλου τινος ἑτέρου διερχομένου. Regarding Chrysippus’ doctrine of *κρᾶσις* see *SVF* II ## 470 (152.18–30); 471 153.12; 472 (154.19); 481 (158.4); 487 (159.20); 799 (221.8, 14). Transmission to later authors took place through Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De mixtione*; Philo, *Conf.* 184; Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.7.10.

<sup>110</sup> Willem Johannes den Dulk, *Κρᾶσις* (Leiden: Brill, 1934), esp. 41–48, 49–51.

another in the initiate's body as well as to the primordial fire. This linkage receives the attribute "god-given" (θεοδώρητον), a declaration of its nature as a divine gift.<sup>111</sup> The second definition, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πυρὸς πρῶτον ("the first of the fire in me"),<sup>112</sup> parallels what has been said about the πνεῦμα in ll. 489–90. The statement again ends with a vowel combination: ηυ ηια εη.<sup>113</sup>

The third element of water is treated in analogous fashion in ll. 492–93; the text addresses it by name, ὕδωρ ὕδατος ("water of water"), and by the attribute τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὕδατος πρῶτον ("the first of the water in me"). The two previous *hapaxlegomena* were referred to in notes already,<sup>114</sup> but water is mentioned in other connections frequently. The invocation of water ends with a vowel combination: ωω ααα εεε.

The fourth element is addressed somewhat differently in ll. 493–95 as οὐσία γεώδης τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐσίας γεώδους πρώτη ("earthy material, the first of the earthy material in me"). The term οὐσία is equivalent to ὕλη, making it clear that as "matter" earth differs from the other elements. The expression οὐσία γεώδης is found in Stoic texts dealing with the four elements,<sup>115</sup> and also has parallels in Philo, as a result of Stoic influence.<sup>116</sup> This address again concludes with a vowel combination: υη υωη.

After the completion of the invocation, the suppliant moves without transition to the next section, an application to the initiate's body (ll. 495–98).<sup>117</sup> Since he had mentioned his own body throughout the preceding invocation, this application simply draws out the consequences from what has gone before.

Given the divine origin of the elements constituting his body, he can claim it to be perfect: σῶμα τέλειον ἐμοῦ ("my perfect body"). While this doctrine is unique in the PGM, it has close parallels in Stoic philosophy, which explains also why at this point there is no mention of the "soul" (ψυχή).<sup>118</sup> The term

<sup>111</sup> The term is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM. Cf. the parallels in Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 2.6; 15.67; Zosimus, *Alch.*, p. 114.5 (ed. Berthelot); *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 11.35: θεοδώρητος ἀναγέννησις. See *PGL*, s.v.

<sup>112</sup> The phrase is also a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM.

<sup>113</sup> Vowel combinations express sounds similar to other magical sounds. See the parallels in the vowel sequence in ll. 610–16.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. in the ML I. 506: ἀθανάτω ὕδατι. Especially interesting are the expressions ὕδατῶδες and ὑδροπυρινοψυχρὸν πνεῦμα in IV.1142, 1146. For the *hapaxlegomena*, see above, nn. 111, 112.

<sup>115</sup> See for this expression *SVF* II # 438 (144.18): εἶναι γεώδη τὴν οὐσίαν.

<sup>116</sup> See, esp., Philo, *Opif.* 135; *Leg.* 1.31; *Cher.* 89; *Decal.* 31: ἐγὼ μετέχω μὲν οὐσίας δανεισάμενος ἀφ' ἐκάστου τῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθη ὁδε ὁ κόσμος, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς, τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν σύστασιν αὐταρκέστατα.

<sup>117</sup> For this part, cf. Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.60–64.

<sup>118</sup> This differs from Philo's doctrine of God's perfect benefits bestowed on the soul; see, especially Philo, *Migr.* 33: ὅσα ἂν ... ὁ θεὸς ἄρδη, τέλεια καὶ δλόκληρα καὶ πάντων ἄριστα γυνᾶται. Cf. also 1 Thess 5:23.

σῶμα is to be taken as referring to the ἄνθρωπος, the human being as a whole, since it is constituted as a microcosm reflecting the macrocosmic universe. The invocation of the elements implies that much, because the same elements constitute the universe and the human being. Moreover, Stoic doctrine regards the soul as part of the πνεῦμα, not an entity separate from it. Therefore, the ML can be seen here as influenced by Stoicism, rather than by the Platonic concept of ψυχή (see also below, l. 498). This cosmology is summarized by Firmicus Maternus in the prooemium to Book 3 of his *Mathesis*:

“The god who created the human being, guided by nature, determined the shape, position and the whole substance of man. For he composed the human body, just like the body of the universe, from a mixture of the four elements, from fire, water, air, and earth, so that the well-balanced mixture of all these elements became a living being, ordered in imitation of the divine model; and thus he composed the human being as a divinely artistic creation, so that he conferred by force of nature to the small body all power of the elements and their substance. Through that divine spirit, which descended from the heavenly intelligence for the sustenance of the mortal body, he provided a home though fragile yet similar to the world. For this reason the five planetary stars, together with sun and moon, maintain the human being in fiery and eternal motion like a microcosm, so that it, made in imitation of the macrocosm, is governed by a substance similar to the deity.”<sup>119</sup>

The suppliant identifies himself by name. At this point, the pap. uses the symbol Δ, abbreviating the formula τοῦ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, X son of mother Y (abbreviated with NN in *GMPT*).<sup>120</sup> The suppliant thereby establishes the identity of the preceding first-person pronouns.

<sup>119</sup> The citation is according to the edition by Wilhelm Kroll and Franz Skutsch, *Iulii Firmici Materni Matheseos libri VIII* (2 vols.; BiTeu; Lipsiae: Teubner, 1897), 1.90–91: Scire itaque nos principe in loco oportet, Lollianus decus nostrum quod ad imaginem speciemque mundi formam hominis ac statum totamque substantiam deus ille fabricator hominis natura monstrante perfecit; nam corpus hominis ut mundi ex quattuor elementorum commixtione composuit, ignis scilicet et aquae, aëris et terrae, ut omnium istorum coniunctio temperata animal ad formam divinae imitationis ornaret et ita hominem artificio divinae fabricationis composuit, ut in parvo corpore omnem elementorum vim atque substantiam naturae cogente conferret, ut divino illi spiritui, qui ad sustentationem mortalis corporis ex caelesti mente descendit, licet fragile sed tamen simile mundo pararet hospitium. Hac ex causa hominem quasi minorem quendam mundum stellae quinque, Sol etiam et Luna, ignita ac sempiterna agitatione sustentant, ut animal, quod ad imitationem mundi factum est, simili divinitatis substantia gubernetur. (Trans. is mine)

The editor of the Collection Budé edition, P. Monat (*Firmicus Maternus, Mathesis* [Paris: Les belles lettres, 1994], 2.xii; also 2. 13, n. 1) attributes the statement to Hermetism. In fact, the Prooemium § 4 mentions the names of Petosiris and Nechepso; this passage is quoted by Dieterich (57), Festugière (*La révélation*, 1.126), and Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.28).

<sup>120</sup> On this symbol see Preisendanz, 2.269; Friedrich Bilabel, “Siglae,” PRE 2nd ser., 4th half-vol. (1994) 2279–2815. esp. 2301.

The following statement (ll. 495–97) legitimates the claim that the body has been created perfectly with metaphors from creation mythology. The human body came about “because of fashioning by a noble arm” (διαπεπλασμένον ὑπὸ βραχίονος ἐντίμου). The phrase is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, although there are similar expressions elsewhere.<sup>121</sup> That the human body is a πλάσμα the PGM states in passages defining the human being;<sup>122</sup> these passages are close to Hermetic<sup>123</sup> or Jewish language.<sup>124</sup> The “noble arm” refers to the right arm. In the PGM it is the arm on which to affix the charms.<sup>125</sup> In the OT and Judaism the arm of God is a frequently used symbol of his power, but usage does not include the adjective ἐντιμος.<sup>126</sup> The expression “of his incorruptible right hand” (δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου)<sup>127</sup> which follows comes from the same language background.<sup>128</sup> Merkelbach has suggested the LXX as

<sup>121</sup> For the term διαπλάσσω, not uncommon in Hellenistic Greek, see the passages in LSJ; Borgen, *Philo-Index*, s.v., and *CH Frag.* XXIII (Kore Kosmou), § 18: of the god’s creation of the zodiacal signs in human form: τὰ ἀνθρωποειδῆ τῶν ζώων διέπλασε.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. IV.2379, 2388, where the forming (πλάσσειν) of a wax figurine is described.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. III.599–600: χαίρομεν, ὅτι σεαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἔδειξας, ὅτι ἐν πλάσμασιν ἡμᾶς ὄντας ἀπεθέωσας τῇ σεαυτοῦ γνώσει. IV.1177–80: ... ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι ἄνθρωπος, θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ πλάσμα κάλλιστον, γενόμενον ἐκ πνεύματος καὶ δρόσου καὶ γῆς. For Hermetic parallels see *CH*, Fragment XXIII.15 (Kore Kosmu; ed. Nock & Festugière, 4.5), 18 (4.6), 19 (*ibid.*), 23 (4.7–8), 30 (4.9–10), 39 (4.12), 43 (4.14), 67 (4.21); XXIV.9 (4.55); XXV.5 (4.69), XXVI.4 (4.81). See also Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, 194.

<sup>124</sup> See IV.3024–28: ... καταβάτω σου ὁ ἄγγελος, ὁ ἀπαραίτητος, καὶ εἰσκρινέτω τὸν περιπτάμενον δαίμονα τοῦ πλάσματος τούτου, ὃ ἐπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἑαυτῷ παραδείσω, ὅτι ἐπεύχομαι ἄγιον θεὸν ἐπὶ Ἄμμων. XII.244–45: τίς μορφᾶς ζώων ἐπλασεν, τίς δὲ εὐρε κελεύθους; Cf. LXX Gen 2:7–8, 15, 19. With the question/answer format in PGM XII.244–45 cf. Ps 93:9 (MT 94:9); moreover, Ps 118:73 (MT 119:73): αἱ χεῖρες σου ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἐπλασάν με; Wisdom chapter 15, especially v. 16 (referring to idols): οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅμοιον ἄνθρωπος ἰσχύει πλάσαι θεόν.

<sup>125</sup> For the right arm cf. IV.312 (part of wax πλάσματα), 2514; for the left arm IV.80, 2899; LXII.23.

<sup>126</sup> In the OT the metaphor of God’s “mighty hand and outstretched arm” (*vel sim.*) is found frequently (Ps 44:3; 77:15–16; 89:9–11, 14; 98:1; 136:12; etc.), which the LXX renders as ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ (LXX Ps 135:12); the adjective ἐντιμος is not used in this connection (for ἐντιμος see I.286; IV.610, 3272; XIII.298; XXII.a.26, referring to Jewish angelic names). Philo interprets the σύμβολον in *Spec.* 1.145–50; *Leg.* 3.133–37. For the NT, cf. Luke 1:51; John 12:38; Acts 13:17; 1 *Clem* 28.2; 60.3; cf. also the Christian exorcism PGM 17.6–7: ... τὸν β[ρ]α[χ]ίονα τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ χ[ε]ῖρα. For the OT evidence see F. J. Helfmeyer, “𐤁𐤓𐤓 zeroa,” *ThWAT* 2 (1975) 650–60, section III; BDAG, s.v. βραχίων, χεῖρ.

<sup>127</sup> See also in the ML I. 519. References to the right hand are frequent in the PGM, but not combined with ἀφθαρτος; the same applies to the LXX. On the metaphor, see J. Bergman, W. von Soden, P. Akroyd, “𐤁𐤓𐤓, jād,” *ThWAT* 3 (1980) 421–55, esp. section V.

<sup>128</sup> While frequent in OT and Judaism, the metaphor of the hand of God appears with special explanations in Philo because of anthropomorphic implications (see, esp., *Conf.* 98; *Plant.* 50). The hand of God appears in the synagogue paintings of Dura Europos, and in

the background for this language in the PGM, but the evidence shows that a wider context of ancient metaphors is more likely.<sup>129</sup>

Next come two statements defining the place of the human being in a universe of opposites.<sup>130</sup> The first (ll. 497–98) pertains to the cosmos: ἐν ἀφωτίστῳ καὶ διαυγεῖ κόσμῳ (“in a world without light and yet radiant”). Again, this phrase is unique in the PGM, but the verb διαυγάζειν occurs in other cosmological contexts.<sup>131</sup> This contrast points to the cosmic dualism of light and darkness, as it is found in ancient religious texts, in Greek philosophical thought, and in Gnostic sources,<sup>132</sup> particularly also in Pythagoreanism.<sup>133</sup> The second contrast (l. 498) refers to opposites within the cosmos, ἐν τε ἀψύχῳ καὶ ἐψυχωμένῳ (“without soul and yet alive with soul”). That is, the human being exists in a world made up of “soulless and ensouled” entities. Again, the phrase is unique in the PGM, but the individual terms occur elsewhere in the PGM,<sup>134</sup> and in Greek cosmological philosophy.<sup>135</sup> The first part of the prayer then concludes with *voces magicæ*: υἱε αὐι ευωιε (ll. 498–99).

The next section of the prayer (ll. 499–537) contains the petition proper. Prior to the request itself, an appeal is made for approval by the divine

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Jewish magic it is a major symbol. See Eduard Lohse, *TDNT* 9 (1973), s.v. χεῖρ, section B.3; C.3; Lieselotte Kötzsche, “Hand II (ikonographisch),” *RAC* 13 (1986) 402–82, esp. 403–45.

<sup>129</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.235), listing some examples (Exod 6:1; Ps 43 [44]:4) which, however, are textually different.

<sup>130</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.235) thinks of the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος, to which the initiate wants to ascend, according to Plato, *Phaedr.* 247b, but it seems that Stoic ideas, not Plato, are the sources here.

<sup>131</sup> See IV.990–92 (φωτίζοντα καὶ διαυγάζοντα); XIII.165 (Φῶς ... καὶ διηγύασεν τὰ πάντα). Cf. 2 Pet 1:19: ὡς λύχνῳ φαίνονται ἐν ἀύχμηρῷ τόπῳ, ἕως οὗ ἡμέρα διαυγάσῃ καὶ φωσφόρος ἀνατείλῃ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις.... 2 Cor 4:6; 6:14 may also be related.

<sup>132</sup> For sources and bibliography, see Hans Conzelmann, *TDNT* 9 (1973), s.v. φῶς, esp. 321, n. 132.

<sup>133</sup> On the Pythagorean συστοιχία of ἀρχαὶ δέκα, among them φῶς – σκότος, see D.-K. 58 B 5 (I.452.35–46); B 6 (I.453.20–21); B 27 (I.459.3); cf. 24 A 3 (I.211.11–15); de Vogel, *Greek Philosophy*, 1, ## 31 and 42; Kirk & Raven, *Presocratic Philosophy*, 238, 240–41, 251, 257, 277, 280–84; Conzelmann, *TDNT* 9 (1973) 306–7.

<sup>134</sup> The term ἀψυχος occurs with a different meaning, referring to food, in PGM I.23; VII.441. Should ἐψυχωμένῳ be understood as the perfect form ἐνεψυχωμένῳ or the present ἐμψυχομένῳ? Cf. τὰ ἐμψυχα which occurs in a cosmological context in IV.1766; cf. IV.735 (of meat); LXVII.2 (text uncertain).

<sup>135</sup> For the terminology of ἀψυχος – ἐμψυχος, see Pythagoras, D.-K. 14 A 9 (I.101.11–14); Empedocles, 31 A 48 (I.292.5–9); for Plato, *Tim.* 74e (ἐμψυχότατα and ἀψυχότατα); for the Stoa *SVF* III, # 714 (205.4) and # 988 (287–88): ζῶα ἀψυχα and ἐμψυχα. Philo uses the terms ἀψυχος, ἐμψυχία, ἐμψυχος, ψυχοῦν in discussing cosmology; similarly *CH* II.8–9; X.12; XI.10–11; Numenius, fr. 4b (ed. Des Places, 47.34–36). See Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 123–26.

elements: ἐὰν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξῃ (“if it seems right to you”).<sup>136</sup> Such appeals are part of Hellenistic prayer language.<sup>137</sup>

In ll. 499–500 an important literary phenomenon requires mention. According to Preisendanz, the *voces magicae* are cited: μετερτα φωθ ἱερεζαθ,<sup>138</sup> but then after φωθ an inserted gloss comments that in a different version of the text (ἐν ἄλλῳ) another form of the magical words occurs: μεθαρθα φηρηη. A different reading is proposed by Jordan who takes the ἐν ἄλλῳ to refer to ἱερεζαθ.<sup>139</sup> At any rate, the interpolated gloss shows that either the author or the final redactor had at least two versions of the text at his disposal, which he carefully compared, noting the discrepancies. The gloss shows evidence of a concern not only for magical but also for literary precision in collating versions of the text.<sup>140</sup> However, there are no other instances of these magical words,<sup>141</sup> so only the present version of the text has survived.

The request itself is generally stated first (l. 501) as an infinitive clause: μεταπαραδοῦναί με τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει (“give me over to immortal birth”).<sup>142</sup> The term μεταπαραδιδόναι is rare, but the author seems to like such composita.<sup>143</sup> The translation of the term is disputed. LSJ translates as “hand down” or “transfer,” which would make it the equivalent of παραδιδόναι.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Usener reads ἐὰν δῆ; see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*

<sup>137</sup> See also ἐὰν σοι δόξῃ, l. 642; κατὰ δόκησιν θεοῦ, l. 648. Cf. the NT at Matt 8:2; 11:27; Mark 1:40; 14:36 par.; 1 Cor 4:19; Jas 4:15; and the Lord’s Prayer in Matt 6:10. For more material see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.47–48; Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 392–96.

<sup>138</sup> So following the reading of Dieterich, who in an additional note supplied by Weinreich (Dieterich, 221) presents a rather fanciful explanation of the formula: “so zu schreiben und zu verstehen: μετερταφωθ (μεθαρθαφηρηη ἐν ἄλλῳ) ἱερεζαθ. Zur Ent-stehung dieser *voces*: αφωθ ist genommen aus ἀφωτίστω in 4,5, θαρθαφ aus ἀφθάρτου in 4,5, so auch oft sonst, z.B. 4,11 ἀνχρε ἀχρεοκόπητον 4,26.”

<sup>139</sup> Jordan (by letter). The reason is that the citation formula usually precedes the citation.

<sup>140</sup> E.g., the “Eighth Book of Moses” (PGM XIII) contains several versions of the book; see Morton Smith, in Betz, *GMPT*, 181–82. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 6–20, discusses five parallel φιλτροκατάδεσμοι, with their differences indicated by forms of ἄλλος (for further examples see pp. 6–7, n. 31).

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Brashear (“Greek Magical Papyri,” 3601) who, following Karl F. W. Schmidt (*GGA* 193 [1931] 449), refers to φωουθ (IV.1683) as a parallel, meaning in Egyptian “große Schlange.”

<sup>142</sup> The aorist infinitive has the force of request, but it is prefaced by the humble phrase ἐὰν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξῃ (l. 499). For the imperativ infinitive in Koine Greek see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 756–57; Moulton, *Grammar*, 3.78; BDR, *Grammatik*, § 389.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. μεταπαραλαμβάνειν (l. 525). See Moulton, *Grammar*, 2.389; BDR, *Grammatik*, § 116,4 (with references). Cf. BDAG, s.v. μεταπαραδίδωμι.

<sup>144</sup> LSJ (s.v., 2) adduces Iamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* 32.226) as a parallel; it refers to the Pythagoreans’ preservation of the mysteries: they left their main doctrines unwritten and passed them on to their successors ἅπερ μυστήρια θεῶν μεταπαραδιδόντες.

In the ML, however, the term may be more specific. Taking the preposition μετα—seriously, the ML seems to connote transformation and rebirth (ll. 517–27). It should therefore be translated, “transfer me to the immortal birth,” meaning rebirth.<sup>145</sup>

The following words (l. 502) are difficult to interpret: ἐχομένως τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ μου φύσει. Whatever they mean, the words seem to clarify “immortal birth” in the preceding line. The word ἐχομένως is textually emended from pap. εχομενος, and thus the translation is uncertain.<sup>146</sup> LSJ (s.v. ἐχομένως) renders “next after,” a synonym of ἐφεξῆς, but interesting is also Reitzenstein’s suggestion that the words are an inserted comment meaning something like: “that means by implication.” Thus, if the words ἐχομένως τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ μου φύσει intend to clarify what is meant by γένεσις,<sup>147</sup> the

<sup>145</sup> See also VII.510: σὺ εἶ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παλιγγεννοῦς Αἰῶνος. Merkelbach (Abraxas, 3.235) adduces as parallels the Taurobolium inscription from Rome (ed. Dessau # 4152, CIL VI 510): *in aeternum renatus*; the Roman tomb inscription in which a Paulina addresses her husband Vettius Agorius Praetextatus: *tu me marite... puram ac pudicam sorte mortis exigens in templa ducis ac famulam divis dicas* (ed. Dessau, CIL VI 1779); *Carmina latina epigraphica* (ed. Buecheler), # 111, lines 22–24); Arnobius, 2.62: *deo esse se gnatos nec fati obnoxios legibus*; CH I.26: τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέλος τοῖς γνῶσιν ἐσχηκόσι, θεωθῆναι; III.3; XIII.1–4,7,10,13,16–20, 22; Exc. XXIII.41. Matthew Calhoun observes that παλιγγενεσία (and cognates) do not appear in LXX; ἀναγεννάω shows up only in a variant reading of the prologue of Ben Sira.

On rebirth generally, see Dieterich (137–40, 157–61); Reitzenstein, HMR, 39, 50, 97, 262–65; Nock, *Essays*, 1.190–94; Nilsson, GGR, 2.653,687–88; Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 25, 75, 99–101, 166 nn. 60, 70; Graf, *Gottesnähe*, 105–7. For early Christian literature, see John 1:12–13; 3:3, 5, 6, 7, 8, etc.; Tit 3:5; 1 Pet 1:3, 23; Justin, *Apol.* 1.66.1. For further references see BDAG, s.v. ἀναγεννάω; γεννάω, 1.b; παλιγγενεσία.

<sup>146</sup> With the pap. reading εχομενος, Dieterich (4, l. 8) proposes ἐχόμενον, Sudhaus ἐχομένως, which Preisendanz accepts and translates: “und gleich darauf wieder meiner eigentlichen Natur.” Weinreich (in Dieterich, 221) reports Preisendanz’s suggestion to read γενέσει: ἐχόμενος... φύσει, ἴνα... Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) notes that the text makes sense, if the following ἴνα-clause constitutes the beginning of a new sentence (see below, n. 153). Martinez comments that both emendations make good sense phonetically, ἐχομένως reflecting the common interchange εο/ω (Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.275) and ἐχόμενον reflecting the interchange of final silent letters (Gignac, *ibid.*, 131–32). Cf. Merkelbach’s translation (*Abraxas*, 3.160): “mich wiederum zu übergeben der Neugeburt in die Unsterblichkeit, entsprechend meiner vorhandenen Natur.”

<sup>147</sup> See Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*): “Reitz[enstein], der ἐχ. bis φύσει als Zusatz des Magiers betrachtet.” Differently, in his HMR, 175 n. 3, Reitzenstein proposes to connect ἐχόμενον with the preceding με (“mich, der ich noch festgehalten bin”). Calhoun agrees and translates: “... to transfer me to an immortal birth, since I hold tightly to my underlying nature.” Accordingly, the author would have mistakenly used the nominative, with a lengthened “o”, instead of the accusative. If it is an adverb, it could be construed with μεταπαράδῶναι, which would result in: “to transfer me – subsequently to my underlying mortal nature – to the immortal birth.” For this meaning of ἐχω, see LSJ, s.v., § C.

expression τῆ ὑποκειμένη μου φύσει is also difficult. It can be taken in two ways: (1) in conformity with the ML elsewhere ὑποκείμενος can mean: “cited below,”<sup>148</sup> that is, as pointing forward to θνητῆ φύσις (ll. 533, 607). This interpretation would support Reitzenstein’s suggestion of a gloss, resulting in the translation: “(the immortal birth) subsequent to my (mortal) nature, as mentioned below.” (2) The expression could be philosophical in origin, pointing to the “underlying nature,”<sup>149</sup> or even to the “presupposed notion.”<sup>150</sup> Because of the Stoic influences elsewhere in the ML, the parallels in Stoicism and Hermetism would favor speaking of “underlying nature.”<sup>151</sup> If this is the preferred meaning, the phrase would interpret γένεσις as meaning “rebirth” in the sense of a return to the underlying nature which consists of the divine elements.<sup>152</sup>

The following passage (ll. 502–15) restates the general request, but now details it by way of four ἔνα–clauses dealing with sense–perception. Preisendanz seems right in taking the first ἔνα–clause as the beginning of an independent sentence.<sup>153</sup> The following doctrine about sense–perception and recognition agrees with that of the Hermetica. The first clause focuses on seeing, while the three others specify the resultant changes in recognition.<sup>154</sup> Together, the four ἔνα–clauses contain an entire doctrine of salvation pertaining to visual perception.<sup>155</sup> A final clause, which does not begin with ἔνα but is connected to the previous ἔνα by καί, shifts to the subject of hearing (ll. 514–15).

<sup>148</sup> Cf. l. 783: ὡς ὑπόκειται.

<sup>149</sup> See LSJ, s.v. ὑπόκειμαι, 8 (1) and (2) with references. This meaning occurs several times in the Hermetica (*CH* X.22; XI.6–7; XII.6; XVI.7; Exc. XXIII.2, 27; Frag. 26.1, etc.).

<sup>150</sup> As in Plato, Aristotle, and Timaeus of Locri, 32, p. 97e (ed. T. H. Tobin, *Timaios of Locri, On the Nature of the World and the Soul* [SBL.TT 26; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985], 48).

<sup>151</sup> See concerning the categories *SVF* II, # 369 (124.31–32): τὰ ὑποκείμενα καὶ ποτὰ καὶ πῶς ἔχοντα καὶ πρὸς τί πῶς ἔχοντα. What is meant is referred to as ὕλη (II, ## 314, 373–74, 403), or the four στοιχεῖα (II, ## 405, 762). Similar are the concepts in *CH*; see, e. g., XI.2, 6; Exc. XXIII.2: τῆ τῶν ὑποκειμένων φύσει (versus ἐπικείμενον).

<sup>152</sup> This doctrine agrees with Hermetism; see the summary in *CH* III.4: ... ἀνανεωθήσεται ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀνανεώσει θεῶν καὶ φύσεως κύκλου ἐναριθμίου δρόματι. τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἢ πᾶσα κοσμικὴ σύγκρασις φύσει ἀνανεουμένη· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θείῳ καὶ ἡ φύσις καθῆστήκειν (“... renewed by necessity and by the renewal that comes from the gods and by the course of nature’s configured cycle. For the divine is the entire cosmic combination renewed by nature. For nature is constituted in the divine.”) (my trans.)

<sup>153</sup> Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*. As evidence for independent sentences beginning with an imperatival ἔνα he refers to Radermacher, *Grammatik* (2nd ed.), 170 (1); Preisendanz, *WSt* 41 (1919) 141–42, to which should be added BDR, § 387 (3a); Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 585–89; Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 11 n. 46.

<sup>154</sup> For the Hermetic doctrines, see, e.g., *CH* I.18, 21, 22; X.9–10; XIII.6.

<sup>155</sup> For a discussion of the “salvific ἔνα,” see BDAG, s.v. ἔνα, 3; also Ethelbert Stauffer, *TDNT* 3 (1938), s.v. ἔνα.



The first *ἴνα*-clause comprises ll. 502–8 and concerns the change in the faculty of vision. The “present” condition, now overcome, is described as that of oppression: *μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπείγουσαν με χρεῖαν* (“after the present and very pressing need”). This kind of formulaic statement seems to be liturgical in nature; parallels are found in language dealing with the liberation from the oppression by *ἀνάγκη*, *εἰμαρμένη*, *τύχη* and *χρεῖα*.<sup>156</sup> Parallels occur also elsewhere in the ML,<sup>157</sup> the term *κατεπείγειν* (“pressing down”) appears repeatedly in formulaic passages.<sup>158</sup> An impressive example from the Latin literature is the prayer of Lucius to Isis in Apuleius (*Metam.* 11.25): “... but ever on sea and land thou art guarding men, and when thou hast stilled the storms of life thou dost stretch out thy saving hand, with which thou unravelest even those threads of fate which are inextricably woven together; thou dost pacify the gales of Fortune and keep in check the baleful movements of the stars” (... quin mari terraque protegas homines et depulsis vitae procellis salutarem porrigas dexteram, qua fatorum etiam inextricabiliter contorta retractas licia et Fortunae tempestates mitigas et stellarum noxios meatus cohibes).<sup>159</sup> Given this present condition, the change needed comes next: (*ἴνα*) *ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχὴν* (“[in order that] I may envision the immortal beginning”). The term *ἐποπτεύειν* (“envision”) occurs only here in the PGM; it is known from the mystery-cults as referring to the final vision of the initiate.<sup>160</sup> The object of vision, *τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχὴν* (“the immortal beginning”) points back to l. 487. In other words, the spirit accomplishes the change in the faculty of vision by enabling the suppliant to have a

<sup>156</sup> For a collection of material see Schreckenberg, *Ananke*, especially 160–63. Dieterich (51–52) points to the role Ananke plays in the mysteries of Mithras.

<sup>157</sup> See the parallel in ll. 525–27, 533–35; for the meaning of *τὰ ἐνεστῶτα* (“the present situation”) see ll. 525 and 686; also V295–96; VII.506–7; XIII.1049. For *χρεῖα* (“need”) see also II.64; IV.2975; XII.95. Cf. 1 Cor 7:26: *διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην*; Gal 1:4: *ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ*.

Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.235) compares the terms *χρεῖα* and *ἀνάγκη*, suggesting they mean the same in this context: “*χρῆ* can mean ‘one must,’ and *χρέος* is a debt *one must* pay. Cf. also 527 *ἀχρεοκόπητος*, ‘no longer burdened by astral compulsion.’” For further references and bibliography see BDAG, s.v. *χρεῖα*, 2.

<sup>158</sup> It is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, used only in the ML (ll. 503–4, 526, 534–35, 605). The term is attested since Homer; see LSJ, s.v., IV.2.

<sup>159</sup> Text and trans. by Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 100–101, with the commentary pp. 320–23.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. the synonym *κατοπτεύειν* which occurs in ll. 485, 516. For *ἐπόπτης* see VII.351, 572; XII.237; *ἐποπτος* 1.259, 261. Cf. also CH I.3. See Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.235–36, referring also to the ritual breathing of the *πνεῦμα*. For literature see Erich Fascher, “Epoptie,” *RAC* 5 (1962) 973–83; Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 43, 69, 91–92, 136 n. 35; 157 n. 14; 157 n. 59; 163 n. 18.

vision of the primordial beginning.<sup>161</sup> The following passage confirms this interpretation.

Lines 504–8 make the resource of the enabling explicit by naming the primordial elements; the dative expresses both origin and appeal to the elements, three of which are named. The first is τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι (“the immortal spirit”),<sup>162</sup> pointing back to the πνεῦμα πνεύματος of l. 489; it is followed by a *vox magica*: ἀνχρεφρενεσουφιριγγ.<sup>163</sup> The second dative refers to τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι (“the immortal water” [506–7]), pointing back to the element of water (ll. 492–93); it is followed by another *vox magica*, ἐρουνῷ παρακουνῆθ.<sup>164</sup> The third dative (ll. 507–8) addresses τῷ στερεωτάτῳ ἀέρι (“the firmest air”).<sup>165</sup> Notably, this element is not mentioned in ll. 489–93, but “air” plays a role elsewhere in the ML.<sup>166</sup> The adjective στερεός occurs in astronomical/astrological contexts in the PGM, pointing to the “firmament.”<sup>167</sup> The accompanying *vox magica* is εἶοση ψεναβωθ.<sup>168</sup>

The question is why different elements (spirit, water, air) are named in ll. 504–8, instead of the four (spirit, fire, water, earth) in ll. 489–95. As Reitzenstein assumes, the difference can be either the result of error or of intention. According to the Hermetica, however, “spirit” and “air” are closely related.<sup>169</sup> Earth may be omitted because it plays no positive role in rebirth.<sup>170</sup> If so, the omission of fire still remains unresolved.

<sup>161</sup> The vision of the primordial cosmos was an important part of the Hermetist’s concerns; see *CH* I.4–7 (projecting terror and ecstasy); III.1–3; XIII.3–5, etc.

<sup>162</sup> This concept is attested also in *CH* X.17–22; XII.12, 18.

<sup>163</sup> The *vox magica* sounds as if derived from Egyptian, but it has not been explained. Cf. the list of Egyptian *vores magicae*, called “The Invocation to Uphor” in XII.335–50, which has in l. 347: ἀνχρεφρενεψουφιριγγ. See Morton Smith in Betz, *GMPT*, 165.

<sup>164</sup> A *hapaxlegomenon*, unexplained.

<sup>165</sup> The pap. reads στερεοτατω, which Dieterich (p. 4) wants to read as στερεῶ καὶ τῷ. Weinreich (in Dieterich, 221) reports that Preisendanz and Reitzenstein keep τῷ στερεωτάτω ἀέρι, but Reitzenstein puts τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι and τῷ στερεωτάτω ἀέρι in brackets, saying that “correct is only πνεύματι, cf. l. 29 [i.e., l. 505]; but the interpolator misunderstood it and in effect wanted to insert what Dieterich (p. 56) explained on the basis of Orphic formulae.”

<sup>166</sup> See l. 540–41: μέσον τοῦ ἀέρος; l. 693: ἀτένιζε τῷ ἀέρι.

<sup>167</sup> See I.217; IV.265, 1210–11; V.47; LXII.14 (στερέωμα τῆς γῆς). Cf. BDAG, s.v. στερέωμα, 1.

<sup>168</sup> An unexplained *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM; however, Wiedemann (in Dieterich, 37, n. 1) explains as Egyptian: ψεν, “son of the”; αβοτ “month.”

<sup>169</sup> Cf. VII.961: ὁ ἐν τῷ στερεῷ πνεύματι, in an invocation of Seth. For the relationship between spirit and air, cf. *CH* I.5; II.11; III.2; IX.7; *Ascl.* 33 (on the cosmic origin of air: *spiritu tamen et aëre uacuum esse non possit*).

<sup>170</sup> Cf. l. 533: during the ascent mortal nature must be left behind (ἔσταθι, φθαρτῆ βροτῶν φύσι). See also *CH* I.1; X.5–8, 12, 15–19; *Ascl.* 28; Exc. IV.10.

The second *ἐνα*-clause (ll. 508–11) notes where the effect of change is to take place: *ἐνα νοήματι μεταγεν<ν>ηθῶ* (“so that I may be reborn in thought”).<sup>171</sup> The choice of the term *μεταγεννᾶν* indicates transformational change, rather than a new begetting (*ἀναγεννᾶν*).<sup>172</sup> The term *νόημα* occurs only here in the PGM;<sup>173</sup> it is important in Hellenistic philosophy and religion, where it means the act of thinking or the resulting thought.<sup>174</sup> The idea of rebirth is stated by the verb *μεταγεννᾶν*, a key concept in the mystery-cults, although the specific word occurs rarely.<sup>175</sup> The concluding *vox magica* reads *κρασοχραξ ρ οἰμ εναρχομαι*.<sup>176</sup> Line 510 names the source for the change: *καὶ πνεύση ἐν εμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα* (“and [in order that] the sacred spirit may breathe in me”).<sup>177</sup> The statement refers back to ll. 489 and 505 (cf. 520) and contains a doctrine of inspiration, according to which the primordial spirit inspires the human

<sup>171</sup> The pap. reads *μεταγεννηθῶ* which Dieterich corrects to *μεταγεννηθῶ*; so also Reitzenstein, Merkelbach.

<sup>172</sup> The choice is intended; *ἀναγεννᾶν* does not occur in the ML. Cf. the quite different concept of salvation in 1 Pet 1:3, 23: *ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σποράς φθαρτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος* (“begotten anew not from perishable but from imperishable seed, the word of the living and abiding God”). See Paul Achtemeier, *1 Peter: A Commentary on First Peter* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 94, 139–40.

<sup>173</sup> See, however, *νοεῖν* in a gnostic prayer, III.596–97: *χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν νοῦν, λόγ<ον>, γνῶσιν· νοῦν με<ν>, ἐνα σε νοήσωμεν...* In XI.a.25 (Apollonius of Tyana’s old serving woman): *νοήσει σοι* (“she... will find out for you whatever anyone is thinking about you”); see Betz, *GMPT*, 150–51. The term *νόημα* occurs frequently in the Hermetica (see VIII.1; XIII.6; etc.). Cf. also Eph 4:23: *ἀνανεοῦσθαι τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοός*; Rom 12:2: *μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός*. See BDAG, s.v. *ἀνανεόω*, *ἀνανεώσις*.

<sup>174</sup> See LSJ, s.v., 3. For Stoic parallels, see *SVF* II, ## 164 (47.38–48.1); 236 (77.10–11); 378 (126.19–25). Frequent are passages in the Hermetica (e.g., VIII.1; Exc. XVII.2; XVIII.1; XIX.1–2, 4); see the notes in the editions by Scott, *Hermetica* (3.446, 452) and Nock & Festugière (3.CIV, n. 3, 78, n. 7). Philo’s usage is related to philosophical theory about speech and music (*Det.* 127–28; *Post.* 106–8; *Migr.* 104; etc.). In the NT, Paul’s doctrine of intellectual renewal uses the term as well (2 Cor 2:11; 3:14; 4:4; 10:5; 11:3; Phil 4:7).

<sup>175</sup> LSJ, s.v., mentions the ML (ll. 508–9, 647); Josephus, *JA* 11.40. Cf. on *ἀναγεννᾶν* above, n. 35 The Latin *renatus* occurs in Apuleius (*Metam.* 11.16 and 21; see Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 15, 51–52, 258–59, 289, 308, 317, 355–56) and on a Mithras inscription in Santa Prisca (see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 80–82; Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 40, 47–48, 177–79, 262–65; Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 99–101). See also *infra* on ll. 517–27.

<sup>176</sup> This seems to be the reading in the pap., which remains unexplained. Preisendanz (*WSt* 41 [1919], 142) takes the whole as one *vox magica*, with *οχρα* and *αρχο* palindromic. Dieterich (4–5) proposes *κρασοχραξο, ἐνα ἐνάρχωμαι*. According to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 221), Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 175) wants to correct to *ἐναρχόμενος*, considering the mystery-cult term *ἀρχεσθαι* (versus *τελευτᾶν*), in comparison with Plato (*Symp.* 210a, 211c) and Paul (Gal 3:3).

<sup>177</sup> For *ἱερὸν πνεῦμα* see also III.8; cf. *ἄγιον πνεῦμα* XII.174.

spirit.<sup>178</sup> The concluding *voces magicae* (ll. 510–11) read νεχθεν αποτου νεχθιν αρπιν ηθ.<sup>179</sup>

The third *ἵνα*-clause (ll. 511–12) refers to fire: *ἵνα θαυμάσω τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ* (“in order that I may marvel at the sacred fire”). The change is indicated by the suppliant’s desire to be able to “marvel” (*θαυμάζειν*) about the ritual efficacy, a key term in Greek religion.<sup>180</sup> The expression of “sacred fire” is mentioned only here in the PGM, but elsewhere the element of fire occurs frequently in ML (ll. 490, 617, 636–38).<sup>181</sup> In the ML, spirit and fire are closely related, but not identical; it is not completely clear which is higher in the astral hierarchy. The statement concludes (l. 512) with the *vox magica*: *κυφε*. The term seems to be related to a type of incense called *κῦφι* (or *κοῖφι*).<sup>182</sup>

The fourth *ἵνα* (ll. 512–13) focuses on the primordial water: *ἵνα θεάσωμαι τὸ ἄβυσσον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν ὕδωρ* (“that I may gaze at the unfathomable, frightful water of the dawn”). The verb *θεᾶσθαι* indicates the suppliant’s desired ability to “behold” the primordial water. What kind of image the suppliant has in mind is difficult to say. The adjective *ἄβυσσος* occurs only here in the PGM, while the noun is more common; it keeps showing up in lists of primordial elements.<sup>183</sup> To an Egyptian, the “frightful water of the

<sup>178</sup> See also XII.324–34; XIII.762. Cf. Paul’s doctrine in Rom 8:15–16: *αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα* (scil., the spirit of God) *συμμαρτυρεῖ τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν*. For the interpretation, see Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 240. Hippolytus (*Haer.* 6.34) quotes as Valentinian doctrine based on Gen 2:7 LXX: *καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς*. Martinez also points to Homer, *Il.* 15.262; John 20:22; Ign. *Eph.* 17:1.

<sup>179</sup> A *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM. The pap. reads *νεχθεν*, cf. *νεχθιν*. Dieterich (*Abraxas*, 58,2) had read *τεχθεν*, but rejected it because of *νεχθιν*; in *Mithrasliturgie* (5) he suggests *ἐνεχθέν*. Also Reitzenstein takes *απο του* (“derived from”) as part of the *voces magicae*, as does Preisendanz (in Dieterich, 221) who suggests two variants of the same formula. Jordan (by letter) suggests that *απο του νεχθιν* may be a gloss by the copyist indicating that the *νεχθεν* of l. 510 has been corrected from *νεχθιν*.

<sup>180</sup> The term *θαυμάζειν* occurs frequently in the PGM (in ML l. 775). See Georg Bertram, “*Θαῦμα κτλ.*,” *TDNT* 3 (1938), section A.

<sup>181</sup> See Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 48–52; id., *Mithrasliturgie*, 64–47; Friedrich Lang, “*πῦρ*,” *TDNT* 6 (1959) 928–52, sections A.II–III.

<sup>182</sup> For *κῦφι*, see IV.1313; 2971; the incense in association with Helios VII.537–98; IV.1275–1322, 2981; V.213–303 (*κοῖφι* V.221, 227–28); VII.538; See for further materials, Richard Ganszniec, “*Κῦφι*,” *PRE* 23. Halbband (1924) 52–57. Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.236) points to Manetho’s work: *Μάνεθως, Μένδης τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἀρχιερέως. ἔγραψε περὶ κατασκευῆς κυφίων. ζῆται τί τὸ κῦφι* (*Suda*, s.v. *Μάνεθως*; *FGH* [ed. Jacoby] 609, T 1 and F 16; Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 52, 80; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* (ed. Kaibel), 2.73 (LCL 2.66–67); Aelius Aristides 47.26 [p. 382.30 Keil]).

<sup>183</sup> See VII.261–62: *ἐπὶ τῆς ἄβυσσου πρὶν γενέσθαι οὐρανὸν ἢ γῆν ἢ θάλασσαν...*; I.343; III.554; IV.1120, 1148, 1350, 2835, 3064; VII.517; XIII.169, 482; XXXV1; XXXVI.217; LXII.29, 31. On the subject see Käthe Schneider, “*Abyssos*,” *RAC* 1 (1950) 60–62; *BDAG*, s.v. *ἄβυσσος*.

dawn” brings to mind the god Nun,<sup>184</sup> or the Greek waters of Styx.<sup>185</sup> The final *voces magicae* νῦθ θεσω εχω ουχιεχωα are unexplained.<sup>186</sup>

The final petition (ll. 514–15) differs in three ways. (1) There is no ἔνα.<sup>187</sup> (2) The petition introduces the element of ether, not mentioned previously: καὶ ἀκούσῃ μου ὁ ζωογόνος καὶ περικεχυμένος αἰθήρ (“and may the lifegiving and encompassing ether hear me”). (3) The subject changes again (cf. πνεύσῃ l. 510): instead of asking for his improved hearing, the suppliant expresses the hope that the ether may hear his prayer.

As far as speech is concerned, the *voces magicae* empower it to make sure the prayer is being heard. The element of ether (αἰθήρ), located above the sphere of ἀήρ, is found only here in the ML, but in the PGM corpus it is attested more often.<sup>188</sup> The two attributes which are attached to αἰθήρ, ζωογόνος and περικεχυμένος,<sup>189</sup> point to cosmology; they show up only here in the ML.<sup>190</sup> The final *vox magica* αρνομηθφ is an unexplained *hapaxlegomenon*.

A new section begins in l. 516, introducing the final part of the prayer (ll. 516–37). Unusual for a prayer, it contains a detailed self-presentation of the suppliant.<sup>191</sup> The nature and function of this self-presentation is partly ritual and partly didactic.

<sup>184</sup> So Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.236. On Nun see Reinhard Griebhammer, “Nun,” *LA* 4 (1982) 534–35.

<sup>185</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.236) adduces the parallel in Apuleius, *Metam.* 6.13–14: *rorem rigentem and fontes horridos*. For the primordial waters, see *CH* I.4; III.1; for ἄβυσσος, see *CH* III.1; XVI.5. For further references, see Leonhard Goppelt, “ὕδωρ κτλ.,” *TDNT* 8 (1969) 314–33, esp. sections A.I–III.

<sup>186</sup> Various scholars have tried to restore corrupted Greek. Wessely reads θεχω εχω; Dieterich (5, n.) ὁ ἐγὼ ἔχω(?); Sam Eitrem (“Varia,” *NTFi*, 4th series, 10 [1922] 112) ἐγὼ ὦ ἔχω, οὐχὶ ἔχω α(?). Jordan (by letter) wonders whether the words ἔχω, οὐχὶ ἔχω (“I have, I don’t have”) may come from a formula of the kind cited in LXI.7: “you are oil, you are not oil.”

<sup>187</sup> Translators often supply another “in order that” (Merkelbach: “damit”), or, better, make it part of the preceding ἔνα-clause (Dieterich, Reitzenstein, Preisendanz, Meyer); Festugière changes the sentence: “... l’eau effrayante, et que m’entende l’ether...”

<sup>188</sup> Apparently, for the ML it is not identical with “fire.” For αἰθήρ, αἰθέριος see above, l. 489–90. Cf. the references in *CH* I.17; XI.19; Exc. VI.12; XXIII.11, 34; XXIV.1; XXV.7.

<sup>189</sup> Martínez observes that in the NT “life-giving” and “pouring out” is connected with the πνεῦμα; for references see BDAG, s.v. ἐκχέω, ἐκχυσας; ζωοποιεῖω, 1.a (Joh 6:63; 2 Cor 3:6; 15:45; 1 Tim 6:13; ζωογονέω, with v.l.).

<sup>190</sup> For ζωογόνος see IV.720, 1754; ζωογονεῖν IV.1162, 1282, 1597 (πρὸς Ἥλιον), 1614; VII.529 (Helios); περικεχυμένος has no parallel in the PGM. Cf. also *CH* IX.6 (ζωογονεῖν); XVI.10 (ζωογονία); for περιχέω κτλ. see X:18; Exc. XXIII.34; XXVI.27.

<sup>191</sup> Self-presentations are important in the ML; see below, ll. 644–49, 719–24. Cf. also the self-presentations on the Orphic Gold Tablets, and my article, “‘Der Erde Kind bin ich und des gestirnten Himmels’. Zur Lehre vom Menschen in den orphischen Goldplättchen,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 222–43; reprinted in my *Antike und Christentum*, 244–66.

The beginning sums up what the suppliant considers the promise which the god will next fulfill: ἐπεὶ μέλλω κατοπτεύειν σήμερον τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ὄμμασι (“for today I am going to envision with immortal eyes”). This announcement recalls the transformation of vision that was the subject of the previous petition (ll. 502–13); the author also presupposes that the prayer has been heard by the deity (ll. 514–15). The time reference σήμερον (“today”) occurs elsewhere in magical and ritual contexts as almost a technical term.<sup>192</sup> The verb κατοπτεύειν (“envision”), found also in the exordium (l. 485), is a synonym of ἐποπτεύειν (see on l. 504). The phrase τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ὄμμασι explains that the new vision has come about through the transformation of the mortal eyes into immortal ones (see ll. 504–5).<sup>193</sup> Further information is to be gained from the following section.

The section ll. 517–37 defines the suppliant as an initiate. The subsections of this self-definition form the basis for the following ascension narrative. The summary contains the anthropology of the ML, detailing the relationship between the human and the divine.

Regarding human nature, the initiate defines himself as θνητὸς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας (“a mortal born from a mortal womb”). He thereby defines human nature by two criteria: mortality and birth from a human mother. This definition appears several times in the ML and elsewhere in the PGM;<sup>194</sup> it conforms to common ideas of ancient anthropology.<sup>195</sup>

The benefits of initiation are generally summarized in ll. 518–19, and by a kind of *synthema* in ll. 520–27. The general benefit is characterized as “betterment”: βεβελτιωμένος ὑπὸ κράτους μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου (“improved through the exceedingly powerful might and the imperishable right hand”). The verb βελτιοῦν (“improve”), found only here in the PGM, often relates to Hellenistic ethics.<sup>196</sup> The reference to divine power

<sup>192</sup> See also below l. 646, 651, 686, and I.165–66 III.265; IV.1455, 1618–19, 2911, and for further references, Preisendanz, 3.176 (index), s.v. Cf. Luke 2:11; 4:21; 13:32–33; 19:5, 9; 23:43; 2 Cor 3:14; 6:2; ἰδοὺ νῦν καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἰδοὺ νῦν ἡμέρα σωτηρίας. See BDAG, s.v. σήμερον.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. III.215: ὄμμα τέλ[ειον] IV.543–44 πάντα δὲ ὄψη ἀθάνατα. The concept is similar to the Hermetic expression ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ νοῦ (*CH* V.2; X.4–6; XIII.14, 17; *Def* (Armenian) 7.3; 9.2 (ed. Mahé, *L'Hermès en Haute-Égypte*, 2.379–80, 391 [German trans. in Holzhausen, 2.495, 497]). In the NT and early Christian literature cf. Eph 1:18: πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας; Justin, *Dial.* 134.5. See BDAG, s.v. ὀφθαλμὸς, 2; Hans Conzelmann, “φῶς,” TDNT 9 (1973) 310–58, sections A.3; D.1–8; E.III.1–2.

<sup>194</sup> See l. 645: γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας, and ll. 529–30, 543, 607, 608–9. Cf. l. 533: φαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι; furthermore IV.2537; V.409, 413; VI.11; VII.674, 677; XX.2–3; LXXII.17.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. Gal 4:4–5; for references and bibliography see Betz, *Galatians*, 206–8.

<sup>196</sup> For βελτιοῦν, βελτιώσεις see, e.g., Plutarch, *Virt. prof.* 85C–D; Philo, *Decal.* 17; *Fug.*

is couched in metaphors similar to those above (ll. 496–97). The divine attribute κράτος occurs only here in the ML, but is more frequent elsewhere in the PGM.<sup>197</sup> The attribute μεγαλοδύναμος (“exceedingly powerful”) belongs to hymnic language,<sup>198</sup> just as the attribute δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου (“[by] the imperishable right hand”).<sup>199</sup>

The rather elaborate statement in ll. 520–27 seems formulaic in nature and resembles a *synthema*, comparable to formulae in mystery-cult texts.<sup>200</sup> The passage defines the benefits of transformation, of which the first is the qualification of immortality: ἀθάνατῳ πνεύματι [κατοπτρεύειν] τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶνα (“by the immortal spirit [envision] the immortal Aion”). While the “immortal spirit” has been dealt with before (ll. 489–90, 505, 510), it reappears here as the force bringing about the vision (κατοπτρεύειν [l. 516; cf. 504]) and immortality. Having acquired immortality, the initiate is able to have a vision of the immortal Aion,<sup>201</sup> whom the author mentions here for the first time (l. 520).<sup>202</sup> This god, whose name means “long period of time,” “eon,” “eternity,” plays an important role in Hellenistic and Roman religions. In the

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30; *Det.* 56; *Sacr.* 42; *Mos.* 2.66; and often (see Borgen, *Philo Index*, s.v.). See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 262–65.

<sup>197</sup> See VII.1020; XII.134; XIII.629, 803, 881; XXXV.21; it occurs frequently in biblical literature as well (LXX Deut 8:17; Wis 11.21; Sir 47:5; Acts 19:20; Col 1:11; etc.; see BDAG, s.v., 1.a.

<sup>198</sup> See also ll. 639, 687–88 (μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί); IV.1345–46 (in an invocation: μεγαλοδύναμος, μεγαλόδοξος, μεγαθενής); VII.881; XII.374–75.

<sup>199</sup> See above on ll. 496–97.

<sup>200</sup> On this type of formula, see also ll. 644–49, and Dieterich, 213–18, 256–58; for further references see Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 238–39, 243.

<sup>201</sup> The principle is that of ὅμοιος τῷ ὁμοίῳ. Cf. 1 Cor 2:10–15, esp. 13.

<sup>202</sup> The god of eternity, Aion, plays an important role in the PGM; in the ML he is identical with Helios-Mithras (594–95; cf. III.70–95, 100–101, 462; V.4). Cf. also I.164, 200–1 (attributes: αἰωναῖος, αἰωνακ<τ>ινοκράτωρ, αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ), 309; IV.1163, 1169, 1206, 2198, 2314, 3168; V.156, 468; VII.510 (σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παλιγγενοῦς Αἰῶνος), 584; XII.246–47; XIII.71, 299, 329, 582, 996–97. For literature see Arthur Darby Nock, “A Vision of Mandulis Aion,” *HThR* 27 (1934) 53–104; repr. in *Essays*, 1.357–400, esp. 377–396; Festugière, *Révélation*, 4.152–75, 184–85; Nilsson, *GGR*, 2.348, 498–505, 536, 682, 686; Betz, *GMPT*, 331–332; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 192–230; Merkelbach & Totti, *Abrasax*, 2.168–169; 3.56–58 and passim; Daniel & Maltoni, *Supplementum Magicum*, 2.227–228; Kotansky, *Amulets*, 115–16; Michel, *Gemmen*, #114; H. J. W. Drijvers, “Aion,” *DDD* 13–14; Günther Zuntz, “Aion Plutonios (Eine Gründungslegende von Alexandria),” *Hermes* 116 (1988) 291–303; idem, *Aion. Gott des Römerreiches* (AHAW.PH 1989:2; Heidelberg: Winter, 1989); idem, *Αἰὼν im Römerreich. Die archäologischen Zeugnisse* (AHAW.PH 1991:3; Heidelberg: Winter, 1991); idem, *Αἰὼν in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (WSt.B 17; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992). Zuntz does not discuss the PGM, however, but considers a special investigation for it to be necessary (44, n. 66).

ML, Aion is mentioned again in the “third prayer” as the heavenly gatekeeper (l. 594).<sup>203</sup> His attribute is δεσπότης τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων (“lord of the fiery diadems”).<sup>204</sup> While δεσπότης is attested only here in the ML (l. 521), seven golden diadems are mentioned in l. 675.<sup>205</sup>

The second qualification bestowed by the spirit is sanctification (l. 522), ἀγίους ἀγιασθεὶς ἀγίασμασι (“sanctified through holy consecrations”). The expression is unique in the PGM, a fact that caused commentators to assume influence of the LXX. The translations diverge, because of divergent interpretations of the term ἀγίασμα, with most interpreters taking it to mean “holy consecration.”<sup>206</sup> While it is true that the terminology of ἀγιάζω, ἅγιος, ἀγίασμα occurs most frequently in the LXX, the PGM do not necessarily depend on the LXX.<sup>207</sup> In Hellenistic-Jewish and early Christian texts the term is mostly used in the singular, referring to “sanctuary,” “temple.” E.g., Philo (*Plant.* 50; LCL edition by Colson, 3.239) interprets ἀγίασμα (Exod 15:17–18): οἶον ἀγίων ἀπαύγασμα, μίμημα ἀρχέτυπου, ἐπεὶ τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ τῶν νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες, τὸ ἤτοιμάσθαι ὑπὸ χειρῶν θεοῦ, τῶν κοσμοποιῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων (“It is a ‘sanctuary,’ an outshining of sanctity, so to speak, a copy of the original; since the objects that are beautiful to the eye of sense are images of those in which the understanding recognizes beauty. Lastly, it has been prepared by the ‘hands’ of god, his world-creating powers”). In the

<sup>203</sup> Some of the hymns in the PGM addressed to Aion are theologically and conceptually similar to the ML: e.g., the χαιρετισμός I.1115–66 (στήλη ἀπόκρυφος); IV.1167–1226 (στήλη); IV.850–929 (Σολομώντος κατάπτωσις); IV.1596–1715 (τελετή); XII.323–50; moreover, the τελετή I.26–37; the prayer called ῥυστική (I.195–222) the prayer to Apollo II.1–15; the cat ritual III.1–164; the στήλη τοῦ Ἰέου V.96–172.

<sup>204</sup> According to Jordan (by letter), the pap. seems to read πυρεινων instead of πυρινων.

<sup>205</sup> See also IV.675, 1337, 2840; V.483; VII.619; cf. XXXV.26, 40: διαδηματοφόρος. For πύρινος, see ll. 584, 589, 637–38 (πύρινος στέφανος); III.211; IV.1024–25 (φανήθι μοι, κύριε, ὁ ἐν πυρὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχων), 2959; VII.801; XIII.165 (ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ πυρός); XIV.8; furthermore CH I.9 (θεὸς τοῦ πυρός καὶ πνεύματος ὧν); X.18; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.7, referring to the demiurge of the Naassenes (see Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 48–62; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 118–19, 164). Cf. for διάδημα Rev 12:3; 13:1; 19:12; πύρινος 9:17. See also BDAG, s.v. διάδημα; on the whole topic Marcell Restle, “Herrschaftszeichen,” *RAC* 14 (1988) 937–66, esp. 951–56.

<sup>206</sup> So Dieterich: “durch heilige Weihen gereinigt”; Preisendanz: “rein gesühnt durch heilige Reinigungen”; Reitzenstein: “durch heilige Weihen geheiligt”; Festugière: “sainte-ment sanctifié par les purifications saintes”; Meyer: “sanctified through holy consecrations.” Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.236) speculates about influence by the LXX, takes the ἀγίασματα as referring to the trishagion (Isa 6:3), and translates (3.161): “nachdem ich zum Heiligen geweiht wurde durch ‘Heilig’-Rufe.” Martinez points to his collection of liturgical formulations naming the acclamations of the trishagion ἀγιασμοί (*Baptized*, 70).

<sup>207</sup> For ἀγίασμα see LXX Amos 7:13: εἰς δὲ βαιθηλ οὐκέτι μὴ προσθήῃς τοῦ προφητεύσαι, ὅτι ἀγίασμα βασιλείως ἐστὶν καὶ οἶκος βασιλείας ἐστὶν. For references see BDAG, s.v. ἀγίασμα.



PGM the rare plural ἀγιάσματα refers most likely to “consecrations,”<sup>208</sup> here specifically to the initiation ritual.<sup>209</sup>

The following part of the convoluted sentence construction is even more difficult (ll. 522–24): ἀγίας ὑπεστώσης μου πρὸς ὀλίγον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως<sup>210</sup> (“which holy [power] supports for a short while my human soul-power”).<sup>211</sup> The term ὑφίστημι (“support”), a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, appears to come from philosophy, especially Stoicism, where it plays a significant role.<sup>212</sup> Constructing ὑφίστημι with a genitive object is unusual, which may be due to the comment having been inserted after the preceding formulaic statement, in order to clarify the question of how the consecration affects the human soul. Thus far, the author has not mentioned the soul (ψυχή) in connection with anthropology, so that it makes sense that he wishes to bring it in at this point. He apparently does not share the Platonic doctrine of the immortal soul incorporated in the mortal body; instead the soul shares human weakness and mortality. This is why the soul is in need of support by divine power which by way of consecration injects holiness into the soul. That supportive power, however, lasts only for a short while, after which it wanes and must receive another charge by new consecrations. Therefore, once the initiate has reached the state of holiness, that state cannot last forever, but only for a

<sup>208</sup> See PGL, s.v.; Albrecht Dihle, “Heilig,” *RAC* 14 (1988) 1–63; Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 226) refers to Apuleius, *Metam.* XI. 24: *perfectis solemnibus processu duodecim sacratus stolis*.

<sup>209</sup> Comparable is the application to Christian baptism; for references see PGL, s.v. ἀγιάσμα, listing Gregory of Nyssa, Clement of Alexandria.

<sup>210</sup> Pap. has αγίας υπεστώσης; Eitrem corrects to ἅγιος υπεξεστώσης, Dieterich (*Abra-xas*, 38; idem, *Mithrasliturgie*, 4, 5) to ὑπερεστώσης; Preisendanz and Henrichs keep αγίας, referring also to Eduard Williger, *Hagios. Untersuchungen zur Terminologie des Heiligen in den hellenisch-hellenistischen Religionen* (RVV 19:1; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1922), 98, n. 1. Cf. III.585–86: καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀλικοῦ σώματος εὐμεν[ῆ] ἀποκ[α]τάστασιν.

<sup>211</sup> Translations differ; Dieterich: “da unter mir steht auf ein kleines rein die menschliche Seelenkraft”; Preisendanz: “wobei in Reinheit auf nur kurze Zeit verhardt meine menschliche Seelenkraft”; Reitzenstein: “während unversehrt mir bleibt auf ein kleines die menschliche und natürliche (seelische) Kraft”; Festugière: “tandis que se retire un peu de moi, pour un peu de temps, ma nature psychique humaine”; Meyer: “while there subsists within me, holy for a short time, my human soul-might”; Merkelbach: “während mich auf kurze Zeit die Kraft der menschlichen Seele verlassen hat.” Cf. Nilsson, *GGR*, 2.686, n. 4.

<sup>212</sup> See LSJ, s.v. ὑφίστημι, B.IV.2.a, with references to Aristotle, Epicurus, Stoics. For the Stoics, it is almost technical in physics, referring to διακόσμησις; see Chrysippus, *SVF* II, ## 599 (185.30–186.6), also 187 (61.22–42), 202a (65.4–24), 317 (114.24–29), 509 (164.14–37), 518–19 (165.32–43); Philo, *Leg.* 3.240; *Sacr.* 113; etc.; *CH* I.8; XI.16; Irenaeus (*Haer.* I.i.11 [ed. Harvey, 1.55]) in speaking about the Gnostics refers to their notion of πνευματικὴ ὑπόστασις. Thus, the verb may be related to the concept of ὑπόστασις/*substantia*, for which see Helmut Koester, “ὑπόστασις,” *TDNT* 8 (1969) 572–89, esp. A.3; B.3; D; Hermann Dörrie, *Υπόστασις. Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte*, in his *Platonica Minora* (München: Fink, 1976), 12–69.

finite period. This interpretation agrees with Stoic doctrine, on the one hand, and with other passages in the ML, on the other.<sup>213</sup> The soul needs strength especially in view of the impending ascension. In l. 630 the ML speaks of a “recovery of the soul” (ἀποκατασταθῆ ἡ ψυχή) from its being shaken up (ll. 622–23), in ll. 709–10 the suppliant prays that the deity may remain in the soul, and in l. 725 the soul is closed down during the oracular ecstasy.

This situation is confirmed by repeating (cf. ll. 503–4) the formulaic relative clause (ll. 524–27), ἣν ἐγὼ πάλιν μεταπαραλήμφομαι μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ κατεπείγουσάν με πικρὰν ἀνάγκην ἀχρεοκόπητον (“which I will again receive after the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down on me”). The initiate expresses his confidence that he will regain his soul-power after he has been liberated from the oppressive force of necessity. The term μεταπαραλαμβάνειν provides another instance of the author’s preference for verbs with double prefixes;<sup>214</sup> we must appreciate, however, the sense of the preposition μετὰ. As a whole, the expression μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ κατεπείγουσάν με πικρὰν ἀνάγκην ἀχρεοκόπητον parallels ll. 502–4 and 534–35, but there are some new terms as well, associated with ἀνάγκη (“necessity”). This “necessity,” identical with χρεία (“need,” l. 504), has preeminence in the magical texts throughout as Ananke, a personified demonic force.<sup>215</sup> Ananke is here distinguished by two attributes, one common, and the other unfamiliar: πικρός (“bitter”)<sup>216</sup> and ἀχρεοκόπητος.<sup>217</sup> The second (l. 527) attribute may, however, be explainable. LSJ (s.v. χρέος) has references attesting the metaphorical meaning as “the debt that all must pay, fate, death”;<sup>218</sup>

<sup>213</sup> For a different interpretation, see Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.236), who thinks, “For a short time the ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχική δύναμις leaves the candidate [scil. for initiation], and only the πνευματική δύναμις remains. In 630 it says that the soul has returned to its former condition, (ὅταν) ἀποκατασταθῆ σου ἡ ψυχή.”

<sup>214</sup> The term occurs only here in the PGM; see l. 501 (μεταπαραδιδόναι); but cf. ll. 483 (μεταδιδόναι), 508–9, 647 (μεταγενῶν).

<sup>215</sup> For the ML, see above on ll. 502–4, moreover l. 606; III.120; VII.302; IX.10; XXXVI.342; etc. See Preisendanz, 3.215 (index VI and index I, s.v.). See Schreckenberg, *Ananke*, 160–63; Wilhelm Gundel, “Heimarmene,” *PRE* 7 (1912) 2622–45; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 70–74; Nilsson, *GGR*, 2.506–7; Heinrich Otto Schröder, “Fatum (Heimarmene),” *RAC* 7 (1967) 524–626, esp. 564–68.

<sup>216</sup> See l. 605; for the “bitter Ananke” see also VII.302; XV.13; furthermore IV.1406, 2606, 2669.

<sup>217</sup> *TLG* and *LSJ*, s.v., list only IV.527, with the rendering “free of debt, i.e. undiminished”; Dieterich (p. 5, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) adduces Suda, s.v. χρεωκοπεῖται; Plutarch, *Vit. aer. al.*, 5 (829C); Alciphron, 2.4 (ed. Schepers) and translates, “without cancellation of debt?” Cf. χρεοκοπεῖν, χρεοκοπία.

<sup>218</sup> See ps.-Plato, *Ax.* 367b: κἄν μή τις θᾶπτον ὡς χρέος ἀποδιδῶ τὸ ζῆν, ... Hershbell (in his edition, p. 60, n. 35) refers as a parallel to Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.39.93: life is a loan, without

accordingly, *χρεοκοπεῖν* (“cancel debt”), originally a commercial term, can be used as a metaphor.<sup>219</sup> If, as according to Diogenianus, the term τὸ χρεῶν played a role for Chrysippus, the term ἀχρεοκόπητος in the ML may have originated in a Stoic background,<sup>220</sup> and should thus be translated as “unforgiving, relentless.”<sup>221</sup> Merkelbach seems to agree with this interpretation only in part, when he says: “No longer burdened by that ‘debt,’ which one must pay back to ἀνάγκη, that is, no longer burdened by death. The initiate has left behind his earlier existence.”<sup>222</sup> The text of the ML, however, does not indicate that the “debt” equals “death,” or that the initiate is beyond death altogether.<sup>223</sup> Rather, at this point the initiate leaves his mortal nature behind during the ascent (see below, ll. 533–35). A distinction has to be made between the ascension presently in view and the presupposed earlier initiation ritual, which included the experience of death and rebirth.

Next (ll. 527–29) comes the identification by name: ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα, ὃν ἡ δεῖνα, κατὰ δόγμα θεοῦ ἀμετάθετον (“I, NN, whom NN bore, according to the immutable decree of god”). The statement is formulaic, indicated in the pap. by the symbol Δ.<sup>224</sup> The expression κατὰ δόγμα θεοῦ ἀμετάθετον (“according to the immutable decree of god”) represents another formula important

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the day for repayment being fixed (*»usuram »vitae tamquam pecuniae nulla praestituta die*). See also Alciphron 1.25: οὐκ ἔστι τὸ χρεός φυγεῖν; Vettius Valens, *Anthol.* 9.1.17: ὅποτε εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἀναδράμη τὸ χρεός; LXX Wis 15:8: τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαιτηθεὶς χρεός.

<sup>219</sup> See Diodorus Siculus 38/39.8: πολλῶν θανάτων ἐχρεοκόπησεν ὀφειλήματα.

<sup>220</sup> See SVF II, # 914 (265.14), Diogenianus, *apud* Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 6, p. 263c: οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ χρεῶν εἰρησθαι τὸ περιβάλλον καὶ καθῆκον κατὰ τὴν εἰμαρμένην. For parallels, see CH, Exc. XXIII.46 (Kore Kosmou, eds. Nock & Festugière, 4.16): χρεωκοπεῖσθω τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν τὸ περιεργον ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ φόβοις καὶ λύπαις καὶ ἐλπίσι πλάνοις (“The curiosity of their souls shall be frustrated by desires, fears, troubles, and misguided hopes”). Cf. *Barn.* 2.6: ἔνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ὦν.

<sup>221</sup> Translations vary widely: Dieterich (p. 5, l. 26): “schuldentrückt” (“removed from debt”); Preisendanz: “ohne Verkürzung” (“without curtailment”); Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 176, n. 2) connects with με and translates: “unverkürzt, ungeschädigt” (“uncurtailed, undamaged”); Festugière: “après la contrainte douloureuse de l'imminente Fatalité” (“after the painful constraint of imminent Fate”); Meyer: “relentless”; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.161) translates: “nach dem mir jetzt bevorstehenden und mich sehr bedrängenden bitteren Zwang” (“after the now impending and me strongly oppressing compulsion”).

<sup>222</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.237): “Nicht mehr von jener ‘Schuld’ beschwert, welche man der ἀνάγκη zurückzahlen muß = nicht mehr vom Tode beschwert. Der Initiierte hat seine frühere Existenz hinter sich gelassen.”

<sup>223</sup> For a different interpretation see also Morton Smith (“Transformation by Burial [1 Cor 15:35–49; Rom 6:3–5],” *Eranos* 52 [1983] 87–112; repr. in his *Studies*, 2.110–29, esp. 126–27) who assumes that a ritual death and transformation are presupposed here, but there is no evidence for such, at least at this point, because the practitioner expects a return into this life. By comparison, ritual death is part of the ritual in IV.154–285, esp. 210–20.

<sup>224</sup> See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*

in Greek religious philosophy.<sup>225</sup> The formula conforms to the Stoic concept known since Zeno and Chrysippus.<sup>226</sup> By contrast, the Hellenistic aretologies of Isis claim her victory over Heimarmene or Fatum.<sup>227</sup> Plutarch seems to reflect the common opinion of the time, when he reports from his table-talks: “‘Nor should we,’ I continued, ‘be overawed by Olympia, as if its policies with respect to types of competition were as undeviating and immutable as fate.’”<sup>228</sup> This section ends with *voces magicae* (ll. 528–29): εὐη ὑἷα ἐηι αὼ εἷα ἴνα ἴεω.<sup>229</sup>

Apparently, the author sees the need at this point to add a comment of clarification concerning the anthropological presuppositions for the ascent (ll. 530–32).<sup>230</sup> It begins with stating what appears to be an accepted principle: ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἐφικτὸν θνητὸς γεγῶτα συνα<ν>ιέναι χρυσοειδέσιν μαρμαργυραῖς τῆς ἀθανάτου λαμπηδόνας (“since it is for me, being mortal,

<sup>225</sup> The pap. reads ἀμετάθετος, corrected by Dieterich (4–5, n.).

<sup>226</sup> See *SVF* II, # 913 (264.26), from Chrysippus (*De fato* [περὶ εἰμαρμένης]) concerning the three Moirai, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos: Ἄτροπον δὲ ὅτι ἀμετάθετος καὶ ἀμετάβλητος ἐστὶν ὁ καθ’ ἕκαστα διορισμὸς ἐξ ἀίδιων χρόνων. Heimarmene is explained as the divine Logos divided into the three Moirai, doing the διοικεῖν in the cosmos. Similarly, II, # 914 (265.18–19).

Cf. also the interpretation of ἀμετάθετος in *CH*, Exc. XI.2 (Nock & Festugière, 3.55), item 25: πᾶν <τὸ> ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀμετάθετον, πᾶν τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς μετάθετον. *Ibid.* 57 (# 46): πρόνοια θεία τάξις, ἀνάγκη, πρόνοια, ὑπέρητις. # 48: τίς θεός; ἄτρεπτον ἀγαθόν. τί ἄνθρωπος; τρεπτόν κακόν; Exc. XIII.64 (3.64): Ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ κρίσις βεβαία καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτος δύναμις προνοίας (with n. 2 for further references); *Orph. Hymn.* 59 (To the Moirai), line 10.

<sup>227</sup> Schröder (“Fatum,” *RAC* 7 [1969] 569–70) names Isis as capable of breaking the law of fate: Aretalogy of Kyme, l. 55, where Isis speaks: ἐγὼ τὸ εἰμαρμένον νικῶ, ἐμοῦ τὸ εἰμαρμένον ἀκούει (“I am victorious over Fate, Fate is obedient to me.”) See on this Müller, *Ägypten*, 74–75; Totti, *Texte*, Nr. 1; Merkelbach, *Isis Regina*, 113–19. See also Apuleius, *Metam.* XI.15, 21, 25, with the commentary by Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 253–54, 277, 283, 286–87, 288–89, 320–23.

<sup>228</sup> Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 5.2 (675 B): οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, ἔφην, ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ εἰμαρμένην ἀμετάστατον καὶ ἀμετάθετον ἐν τοῖς ἀθλήμασιν ἐκπεπληχθῆναι. Text and translation cited according to the LCL edition by Paul A. Clement & Herbert B. Hoffleit, *Plutarch’s Moralia* (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 8.388–89.

<sup>229</sup> It is not certain whether the pap. reads εἷαυ or εἷαν. Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) opts for εἷαυ, which he, following Dieterich (5, 221–22), takes to be a corrupted palindrome ωεἷαυ | -ῖ | υἷεἷω.

<sup>230</sup> The problem behind the discussion is that of “immanence/transcendence” and human identity. See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 169–70; Richard Reitzenstein & Hans Heinrich Schaefer, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* (Studien zur Bibliothek Warburg 7; Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1926; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), 74–76; Abraham P. Bos, “Immanenz und Transzendenz,” *RAC* 17 (1996) 1041–92, esp. 1047–48.

out of reach to ascend together with the golden radiances of the immortal brilliance”). The statement looks like a principle quoted from a different context with approval.<sup>231</sup> Dieterich’s punctuation connects it by a comma with the previous sentence, while Preisendanz begins a new sentence.<sup>232</sup> Either way, the comment is didactic and offers an answer to an implied question. Indeed, if the principle is accepted, the previous proposition to obtain immortality appears preposterous and requires special explanation. The argument involves two admissions. The first is the suppliant’s present condition of mortality.<sup>233</sup> The second is that a mortal’s ascension to heaven is “out of reach.”<sup>234</sup> Metaphors describing “ascending together” (συνα<ν>ιέναι)<sup>235</sup> with an astral phenomenon demonstrate the impossibility further.<sup>236</sup> The metaphors seem to reflect poetic, perhaps hymnic language.<sup>237</sup> The term μαρμαρυγή is found only here in the PGM, but similar terms occur elsewhere.<sup>238</sup> The adjective

<sup>231</sup> Cf. the parallel in Plato, *Phaed.* 67b: μή καθαρῷ γὰρ καθαρῷ ἐφάπτεσθαι μή οὐ θεμιτὸν ἤ (“For that the impure touch the pure is not at all permissible”). Socrates cites this principle to demonstrate the impossibility for a human being to pass into the afterlife; purity, and therefore passage to the afterlife, can only be achieved by the separation and liberation of the soul from the body. Plutarch cites and interprets the principle in *Is. Os.* 4 (352D); *Cons. Apoll.* 13 (107F–108D); *Sept. sap. conv.* 16 (160C); in *Rom.* 27.3–28.8 he discusses the issue in connection with the deification of Romulus, referring to Pindar and mystery cult initiations. A related principle is cited by Paul in a similar context in 1 Cor 15:50: σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύναται οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ (“Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, nor will perishability inherit imperishability”). See for a discussion of these two principles, Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 242.

<sup>232</sup> Dieterich (4, 222) translates after a comma: “denn es ist mir nicht erreichbar als dem sterblich geborenen mit dem goldenen Flammenglanz der unsterblichen Leuchte in die Höhe zu steigen.” Preisendanz: “Da ich es nicht erreichen kann, ...”

<sup>233</sup> For θνητός see ll. 517–18, 543, 614. The verb γεγῶτα is part. perf., contracted γεγώς for γεγονός. Smyth, *Grammar*, 200 (§ 704b) treats this form as a poetic second perfect participle, “contracted from γεγαῶς.”

<sup>234</sup> The term ἐφικτός is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM; cf. IV.68 ἐφικέσθαι with a different meaning.

<sup>235</sup> The pap. reads συναῖεναι, which Dieterich (4–5) corrects to συναίνεαι. The term is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, and rare in Greek literature; see LSJ, s.v., συνάνειμι, “go up together.” Riess (*CIR* 10 [1896] 411) points to σύμπλανος ἀστήρ (l. 574) as confirmation.

<sup>236</sup> On ideas concerning becoming a star see Wilhelm Gundel, “Kometen,” *PRE* 21st Halbband (1921) 1143–93, esp. 1150–53; idem, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Bonn & Leipzig: Schroeder, 1922), 104–5, 110, 123, 147, 253–54, 313, 348; Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 228.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. the epigram of Ptolemaeus (*Anth. pal.* 9.577), and Franz Boll’s essay of 1894, “Das Epigramm des Ptolemaeus,” reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, 143–55.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. μαρμαρυγή, a *vox magica*, in XIII.111, 195, 535, 669; μαρμαριφεγγή I.260–61 (μαρμαριαωθ); *Orph. Frag.* 100 (ed. Kern, 166), calling it a *vox Orphica* and referring to *Orph. Hymn.* 7.10–11 (αὐγάζοντες ἀεὶ Νυκτός ζωφοσιδέα πέπλον, μαρμαργεῖς στίλβοντες); Damascius, *De princ.* 213. See also the references in LSJ, s.v.

χρυσοειδής (“golden bright”) is related to crowns,<sup>239</sup> and λαμπηδών (“brilliance”)<sup>240</sup> is another *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM. Where does this language come from? It has some close parallels in the *Orphic Hymns*.<sup>241</sup> Merkelbach points to the sun rays and the dust particles glimmering in it, which ancient sources thought of as vehicles for the ascension of the souls into heaven.<sup>242</sup> The comment concludes with *voces magicae*: *ωηυ αεω ηυα εωη υαε ωιαε*.<sup>243</sup>

The section on self-presentation concludes (ll. 533–35) with the suppliant addressing his human nature: *ἔσταθι, φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι, καὶ αὐτίκα <ἀνάλαβέ> με ὑγιῆ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ κατεπε[ί]γουσαν χρεῖαν* (“Stand, O perishable nature of mortals, and at once <take me back> safe after the inexorable and pressing need”). Because of some textual problems,<sup>244</sup> translators differ in restoring and translating the text. The context (cf. ll. 525–26) requires a verb describing the ascent and addressing mortal nature, so that he orders his mortal nature<sup>245</sup> to “stand,” including the reminder that such a transition is not without danger.<sup>246</sup> What the author seems to say closely resembles an explanation in *CH X.5–6*:

“But we are still too weak now for this sight; we are not yet strong enough to open our mind’s eyes and look on the incorruptible, incomprehensible beauty of that good. In the moment when you have nothing to say about it, you will see it, for the knowledge of it is divine silence and suppression of all the senses. [6] One who has understood it can understand nothing else, nor can one who has looked on it look on anything else or hear of anything else, nor can he move his body in any way. He stays still, all bodily

<sup>239</sup> Cf. III.486; IV.638, 1027. Cf. Plato’s (*Phaed.* 110c) use of the term in a fantastic description of the earth seen from above.

<sup>240</sup> Pap. reads *λαμπηδωνος*, corrected by Dieterich (4).

<sup>241</sup> *Orph. Hymn.* 7.6–7, 11 (To the Stars) 8.15 (To Helios); 59.10, 16–17, 20 (To the Moirai); *CH X.4*; Hermas, *Sim.* 9.2.2. See BDAG, s.v. *λαμπηδών*.

<sup>242</sup> See below, on ll. 537–38.

<sup>243</sup> Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) sees a repeating sequence: *ω ηυαεω ηυαεω ηυαεω ηυαεω ιαε*.

<sup>244</sup> The pap. reading *φθρατη* must be corrected to *φθαρτή*; pap. *αυτίκα με υγιη* is uncertain because a verb is missing; Wessely conjectures *υγιῆ <καθίστη>*; Dieterich (6) takes *υπίει* (*υφίει*) as the verb; Reitzenstein emends *ἀποδέχου*, Eitrem *ἀνάλαβε*, Preisendanz *ἀνάλαβε*; Jordan sees in the pap. *μα* instead of the editors’ *με*.

<sup>245</sup> For the expression *φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι* cf. ll. 502, 607; for *βροτοί* see V.409, 413; VI.11; VII.674, 677.

<sup>246</sup> Dieterich (6) interprets this to mean: “und sogleich laß mich los...” Most other translators see the reference in regard to the reentering into the body, which, however, is inconsistent with the departure from “the inexorable and pressing need.” Cf. Preisendanz: “<übernimm> mich sofort <wieder> wohlbehalten nach der unerbittlichen und bedrängenden Not”; Reitzenstein: “und bald nimm mich wieder heil in Empfang”; Festugiére: “et reprends-moi sur-le-champ sain et sauf”; Meyer: “and at once receive me safe and sound”; Merkelbach: “nach dieser unabdingbaren und mich bedrängenden Not sollst du mich wieder gesund in dir aufnehmen.”

senses and motions forgotten. Having illuminated all his mind, this beauty kindles his whole soul and by means of body draws it upward, and beauty changes his whole person into essence. For when soul has looked on <the> beauty of the good, my child, it cannot be deified while in a human body.”<sup>247</sup>

The description of the “inexorable and pressing need” is similar to the preceding parallels (see ll. 502–4, 525–26), with the adjective ἀπαράιτητος (“inexorable”) providing variety.<sup>248</sup>

The final words of the self-presentation (ll. 517–37) conclude the first prayer (ll. 484–537). Although beset with textual uncertainties, there is again a well-known formula: ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι ὁ υἱὸς... (“For I am the son of...”).<sup>249</sup> Some kind of divine name should be expected,<sup>250</sup> but that name is secret and only *voces magicæ* are given: ψυχω[ν] δεμου προχω πρωα.<sup>251</sup> Another formula then follows, perhaps a doublet or variant of the preceding: ἐγὼ εἰμι μαχαρφ[.]ν μου πρωψυχων πρωε.<sup>252</sup>

The problem is whether the writer has simply muddled up his *Vorlage*, or whether he inserted two (defective?) variants of the same formula, or whether the magician by intention obscured his divine name.<sup>253</sup> The latter seems most

<sup>247</sup> Translation by Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, 31; the edition of Nock & Festugière, 1.124, n. 25 refers to the parallels in CHI.1 and XIII.7; cf. also CH XVI.6–9. For Philo’s similar teaching at this point, see *Vit. Mos.* 2.267: μεταβαλὼν τὰ στοιχεῖα πρὸ τὸ κατεπεῖγον τῆς χρείας; *Spec. leg.* 3.1–3, and Peder Borgen, *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1996), 309–20; idem, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* (NovT.S 86; Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997), 18, 194–205, 225–42.

<sup>248</sup> For this term see also ll. 605–6; III.37; IV.3, 1787, 2032–33; 3025; XXXVI.342. For interesting demonological parallels see LSJ, s.v.; Pradel, *Gebete*, 59,4. Cf. Wis 16:16 (LXX); Philo often (see Borgen, *Philo Index*, s.v.).

<sup>249</sup> This formula occurs frequently in ancient texts, and so also in the PGM; for the ML see ll. 484, 525–27, 535–536, 574–75, 762–63. Cf. also II.126–128; III.145–146; IV.1177–1180; XII.92; XIII.637. See Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 177–201, 214–20; Hartwig Thyen, “Ich-Bin-Worte,” *RAC* 17 (1994) 147–213, esp. 205–209.

<sup>250</sup> For divine sonship, see IV.1075–77; XIII.935; XXXVI.317; and often; see also Carsten Colpe, “Gottessohn,” *RAC* 12 (1983) 19–58; Otto Betz, “Isangelie,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 945–76; BDAG, s.v. υἱός, 2.c.α; d.β.

<sup>251</sup> The pap. has οὗτος ψυχω[.], which Dieterich (6) makes out as υἱός, ψύχω δὲ (cf. Dieterich, 222); Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*): “son (of Helios).” Hopfner takes ψύχω as “deeply I draw in breath” (“tief atme ich ein”); Preisendanz has ψυχω[ν] as *vox magica* as in l. 537. Cf. Karl Preisigke, *Die Gotteskraft in der frühchristlichen Zeit* (Leipzig & Berlin: de Gruyter, 1922), 31. Martinez raises the question whether the words could be a Greek translation of an Egyptian epithet “son of souls” (cf. “soul of souls”).

<sup>252</sup> Pap. reads μαχαρφ[.]ν. Cf. 672: αραρμαχ(ης). See Dieterich (6), *app. crit.*, for conjectures.

<sup>253</sup> So Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.237; Reitzenstein (*Poimandres*, 105; cited in Dieterich, 222), however, believes that no divine name is required; while this may be true of the *Hermetica*, it is not necessarily true of the magical texts.

likely not only because of the parallel in l. 724 (ἐγὼ εἶμι with *vox magica*),<sup>254</sup> but also because of the magicians' practice generally to keep their divine names secret.<sup>255</sup> No doubt, with his final words he reveals himself as a son of a god, but at the same time he hides that name behind *vores magicae*.

### B. Prescription of the breathing ritual (ll. 537–38)

Following the conclusion of the prayer and anticipating the ascension narrative, the text moves directly to the ritual. This narrative presupposes an ancient worldview which involves specific ideas about cosmology and anthropology, including the world of the gods and the place of the human being in relation to it.<sup>256</sup> Related to these issues is an enormous body of materials connected with ideas on journeys to the heavenly world. These general presuppositions and traditions cannot be discussed at this point, but competent survey literature with bibliographies is available.<sup>257</sup>

First, then, comes the prescription of a breathing ritual (ll. 537–38): ἔλκε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων πνεῦμα γ' ἀνασπῶν, ὃ δύνα[σ]αι. ("Draw in breath from the rays three times, drawing in as much as you can.") What is drawn in with the breath of air is the divine "spirit" (πνεῦμα).<sup>258</sup> As is shown by the preceding

<sup>254</sup> For this formula, see the passages and literature in Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 165–70; idem, *Antike und Christentum*, 178, 179–84.

<sup>255</sup> See on these issues, Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 152–74, 175–86.

<sup>256</sup> On general cosmology see the comprehensive surveys and bibliographies by Carsten Colpe, Ernst Dassmann, Josef Engemann, Peter Habermehl, Karl Hoheisel, "Jenseits," *RAC* 17 (1996) 246–407.

<sup>257</sup> See the comprehensive articles by Carsten Colpe and Peter Habermehl, "Jenseitsfahrt I (Himmelfahrt)," *RAC* 17 (1996) 407–66; and "Jenseitsreise," *ibid.*, 490–543, esp. 504–5 on the ML. Still informative is the article by Wilhelm Bousset, "Die Himmelsreise der Seele," *ARW* 4 (1901) 136–69, 229–73; repr. as *Die Himmelsreise der Seele* (Libelli 71; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960); furthermore Cumont, *After Life*; idem, *Lux Perpetua*; Betz, *Lukian*, 38–40, 128, 167–69; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*; idem, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism*; Morton Smith, "Ascent into Heaven and the Beginning of Christianity," *Eranos* 50 (1981) 403–29; repr. in his *Studies*, 2.47–67, esp. 52–54; Ioan P. Culianu, *Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascension of the Soul and Its Relevance* (EPRO 99; Leiden: Brill, 1983); idem, *Out of this World: Otherworldly Journeys from Gilgamesh to Einstein* (Boston: Shambhala, 1991); Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Collins & Fishbane, *Death*; Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 105–13.

<sup>258</sup> See the parallel in ll. 628–29: στὰς οὖν εὐθέως ἔλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου. For the breathing ritual see Apuleius's (*Metam.* 8.27) description of a similar ecstatic ritual: "In the midst of all this one of them started to rave more wildly than the rest, and producing rapid gasps



prayer, the spirit is a fundamental concept in the ML.<sup>259</sup> Since πνεῦμα can mean both “spirit” and “breath,” the spirit is to be drawn in with the breath. Also in accordance with ancient teachings is the idea that the spirit is transmitted by the rays of the sun (αἱ ἀκτῖνες). While the sun rays are important in several ways in the PGM, their role as transmitters of divine spirit and its inhalation is affirmed several times.<sup>260</sup> Related are ancient speculations about the role of the “sun dust,” that is, small dust particles hovering in the air and glittering in the sun.<sup>261</sup> In ancient Egypt they were regarded as means for the soul to climb up to heaven.<sup>262</sup> Greek philosophers called the particles ζύσματα, regarding them as souls floating upwards in the air.<sup>263</sup> However, at this point

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from deep down in his chest, as though he had been filled with the heavenly inspiration of some deity, he simulated a fit of madness” (Inter haec unus ex illis bacchatur effusius ac demis praecordiis anhelitus crebros referens, velut numinis divino spiritu repletus, simulabat sauciam vecordiam ...). Cited according to the LCL edition and translation by J. Arthur Hanson, *Apuleius, Metamorphoses* (2 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1989), 2.112–13. For the ML, see Sarah I. Johnston, in: Schäfer & Kippenberg, *Envisioning Magic*, 181–83; Radcliffe Edmonds, “Did the Mithraists Inhale? A Technique for Theurgic Ascent in the Mithras Liturgy, the Chaldaean Oracles, and Some Mithraic Frescoes,” *Ancient World* 32 (2000) 10–24. Breathing rituals seem to go back to early shamanism; see Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (trans. by Willard R. Trask; BollS 76; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 110–44, 412–13. On inspiration as a whole and with further literature, see Klaus Thraede, “Inspiration,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65.

<sup>259</sup> See above, on ll. 489–90.

<sup>260</sup> On ἀκτῖνες see in the ML ll. 634, 751; also IV.461, 906, 1114, 1129; XIII.142, 447–48; XIV.3. Cf. XII.176: ἀκτινοσκοίων; IV.2286: ἀκτινοχαῖτι; IV.1110: ἀκτινωτὸν θεόν; Hymn 17.37 (Preisendanz, 2.251). See also the gem in Hopfner, *OZI*, § 733. The epithet of Helios as εχεβουρωμ (XIII.78, 333, 446–47, 590 [αχεβουρων]) may come from the Egyptian for “splendor of the sun” (see Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 98; Brashear, “Greek Magical Papyri,” 3581). On Pindar’s 9th Paian, addressed to Ἄκτις ἡελίου (“Keen-eyed ray of the Sun”), see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.199–205; 2.150–60.

<sup>261</sup> See the close parallel in IV.1115–66, which greets the god Aion-Helios as τὸ πᾶν σύστημα τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος, “the whole system of the aerial spirit” (1115–16), who inspires by the spirit εἰσερχόμενόν με καὶ ἀντισπώμενόν μου (“entering into me and drawing me to it” [1121–22]). The god appears as surrounded by sun-rays (1129), sending them down to earth by glittering sun-dust. On this passage see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 200, 208–10.

<sup>262</sup> See Eliade, *Shamanism*, 487–94; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 9, n. 48, referring to Jan Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAI.Ä, 7 [Glückstadt: Augustin, 1970]), 25: “Ich steige auf zum Himmel. Ich klinge empor auf den Sonnenstrahlen.” There are also monumental representations showing rays proceeding from the sun. Cf. of Isis in the aretology of Cyme, 44: “I am in the rays of Helios” (Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀγῶαις). See Müller, *Ägypten*, 73–74. Cf. Heb 1:3: Christ as ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης.

<sup>263</sup> Aristotle, *De an.* I.2 (404a): οἷον ἐν τῷ ἀέρι τὰ καλούμενα ζύσματα, ἃ φαίνεται ἐν ταῖς διὰ τῶν θυρίδων ἀκτῖσιν, quoting Leucippus (D.-K. 67 A 28 [II.78.16–29]), and Pythagoreans (D.-K. 58 B 40 [I.462.27–30]). See Rohde, *Psyche*, 2.162, 189–90; Franz-

the ML does not speak of “souls” (ψυχᾶί), but of “you” and the element of “spirit” as bringing about the ascension. This point was already made by Dieterich who explains it as evidence of Stoic influence.<sup>264</sup>

The ritual is to be performed three times by drawing in the air as hard as possible.<sup>265</sup>

### C. Introduction to the ascension narrative (ll. 539–44)

Before the beginning of the actual ascent narrative, the author includes an instruction about what is going to happen after the performance of the breathing ritual (539–44). This section reveals the author’s own understanding

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Joseph Dölger, “Die Apostel als Strahlen der Sonne Jesu,” *AuC* 6 (1950) 30–51; Cumont (*After Life*, 101–1, 159–64) pointing to Diogenes Laertius 8.27; Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.42.99–43.104; Julian, *Or.* 5.172C, and to the Neoplatonists’ concept of “soul-vehicle” (ὄχημα); see also Plutarch, *sera num. vind.* 563F, 565E–566A; the Nag Hammadi “Treatise on the Resurrection” (Epistula ad Rheginum), NHC I, 4, p. 45, 29–40 (Trans. in Robinson, *Library*, 55); furthermore Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 13; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.237. For the whole subject, see Franz Rüsche, *Das Seelenpneuma. Seine Entwicklung von der Hauchseele zur Geistesseele, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Pneumalehre* (SGKA 18.3; Paderborn: Schöningh, 1933); Gérard Verbeke, *L’Evolution de la doctrine du pneuma dans stoïcisme à S. Augustin* (Louvain: Editions de l’Institut Supérieur; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1945), 321–37: “Les papyrus magiques”; Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, chapter 3 and Excursus 8, 177–226, 487–89 (esp. on levitation); Clemens Zintzen, “Bemerkungen zum Aufstiegs-weg der Seele in Jamblichs De mysteriis,” in *Platonismus und Christentum. Festschrift für Hermann Dörrie* (JAC.E 10 [1983], 312–28); John F. Finamore, *Iamblichus and the Theory of the Vehicle of the Soul* (ACSt 4; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985).

<sup>264</sup> Dieterich (58–59): “If he [scil. the human person] is to be returned to the ἀθάνατος γένεσις and have a vision of the ἀθάνατος ἀρχή, then he can accomplish this only in this way that the immortal πνεῦμα in him, the immortal water, the firm, and the air in him have a vision of the sacred fire, the dawn’s abysmal flood, that in him blows τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα, the holy spirit. Later prescriptions show how this elevation by the πνεῦμα is really to be understood: he must draw in from the sun rays’ πνεῦμα, then he gets lifted up toward the light and enters into the upper region of the air.” (“Wenn er der ἀθάνατος γένεσις wiedergegeben werden und die ἀθάνατος ἀρχή schauen soll, so kann er das eben nur dadurch, daß das unsterbliche πνεῦμα in ihm, das unsterbliche Wasser, das Feste und die Luft in ihm schaut das heilige Feuer, des Aufgangs abgrundtiefe Flut, daß in ihm weht τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα, der heilige Geist. Man sieht aus einigen nachfolgenden Vorschriften, wie e i g e n t l i c h die Erhebung durch das πνεῦμα gemeint ist: er muß von den Strahlen πνεῦμα einziehen, dann erhebt er sich zum Licht und kommt mitten in die Luftsphäre.”)

Dieterich (59–61; also 232–33) refers to Rohde, *Psyche*; Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa*, 197. Rohde (2.301–31, esp. 311, 319–24) names as the most important passages, Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.44.105–47.114; *Somn. Scip.*, *Resp.* 6.9–29 (esp. 6.26–29 on the spirit); Seneca, *Marc.* 25.1.2; *Ep.* 93.5.

<sup>265</sup> For ἀνασπᾶν and ἀντισπᾶν see IV.1122, 2498; V.322. For ritual acts to be performed three times, see below, l. 747; for the phrase ὅ δύνασαι, see XIII.945: ὅσον δύνασαι.

of the ritual as a whole, which he interprets as levitation, a phenomenon described by several ancient authors.<sup>266</sup> An especially close parallel is Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.15–16, reporting about the levitation among the Brahmans in India: “they regard any rites they perform, in thus quitting the earth and walking with the sun” (τῶ Ἡλίῳ ξυναποβαίνοντες τῆς γῆς δρῶσιν) “as acts of homage acceptable to the god.” By “extracting fire from the sun rays” (ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτίνος ἐπισπῶνται), “the fire is then seen raised aloft in the air and dancing in the ether” (οὕτω μετέωρόν τε ὁρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ καὶ σαλευῖον ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι), allowing the Indian sages to levitate (μετεωρεῖν) two cubits in the air.<sup>267</sup>

First (l. 539), the ascending person is addressed with a term often occurring in the following narrative: ὄψη (“you will see”).<sup>268</sup> The text interestingly predicts that he will be able to see himself: ὄψη σεαυτὸν ἀνακουφίζόμενον [καὶ] ὑπερβαίνοντα εἰς ὕψος, ὥστε σε δοκεῖ[ν] μέσον τοῦ ἀέρος εἶναι (“and you will see yourself being lifted up and ascending to the height, so that you seem to be in midair”).<sup>269</sup> The terminology is known from elsewhere in the PGM; ἀνακουφίζειν is found only here in the PGM, but frequently elsewhere.<sup>270</sup>

What consequences does this ascension have for sense-perception? – Leaving behind the body means that there will be no physical hearing or seeing

<sup>266</sup> See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 21, 27 n. 1; Betz, *Lukian*, 42, 54, 90–99, 167–68; Speyer, *Frühes Christentum*, 1.359–60.

<sup>267</sup> Cf. *Vit. Apoll.* 6.10, where the claim is made that levitation is typical for Indians, but not for Greeks (cf. ἀεροβατέω in Lucian, *Icar* 13). On levitation see also Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles* (above, nn. 73, 263); Festugière, *Révélation*, 3.171 (comparing *CH XIII*).

<sup>268</sup> Pap. has ὄψη, but Dieterich (6), based on Robert Helbing (*Grammatik der Septuaginta* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907], 61), reads ὄψει, noting that both sound the same when read aloud; on p. 222 he points to parallels in early Christian literature. Both forms are frequent in contemporary Koine texts; see Gignac, *Grammar*, 2.357–58. Preisendanz, however, keeps ὄψη (see also ll. 544, 555, 565, 624, 635, 656, 693, 702; for the prophetic future see also 485 [κατοπτρεύω], 512–13).

<sup>269</sup> Pap. reads δοκεῖ...ε | σον, which Wessely emends as δοκεῖ α[σ]σον, and Kroll as δοκεῖ[ν] μέσον. See Dieterich (6, *app. crit.*). Regarding δοκεῖν μέσον τοῦ ἀέρος εἶναι cf. the seven men in *CH I.16* who are μεταρσοῖοι.

<sup>270</sup> For ὑπερβαίνειν εἰς ὕψος cf. ll. 484–85; also III.480; IV.971, 2509; 13.5; for μέσος τοῦ ἀέρος cf. l. 634. For ἀνακουφίζειν see Lucian, *Hermot.* 3; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 3.1.3; 3.21.4. Philo uses the term in describing intellectual ecstasy (*Spec.* 3.4); cf. also *Deus* 85; *Agr.* 76; Plotinus., *Enn.* 6.7.22; Porphyry., *Abst.* 4.20. For further evidence see *TLC*, s.v.; LSJ, s.v.; Jean-Pierre Mahé, “Mental Faculties and Cosmic Levels in the *Eighth and the Ninth* (NH VI,6) and Related Hermetic Writings,” in: Søren Giversen, Tage Petersen, Søren Podemanns Sørensen, eds., *The Nag Hammadi Texts in the History of Religions: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen, September 19–24, 1995* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 26 [2002]), 73–83.

(ll. 541–43): οὐδένος δὲ ἀκούσει [ο]ὔτε ἀνθρώπου οὔτε ζώου ἄλλ<ου>, οὐδὲ ὄψῃ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς θνητῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, πάντα δὲ ὄψῃ ἀθάνατα.<sup>271</sup> (“You will hear nothing either of a human or of another living being, nor in that hour will you see any of the mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all immortal things.”) Instead of human sense-perception, there will be higher forms of perception (ll. 543–44), like the way the gods hear and see.<sup>272</sup> The ancients understood that during an ecstatic seizure (“in that hour”)<sup>273</sup> normal sense-perception ceases, so that room was made for higher forms of recognition;<sup>274</sup> in the ML, specifically, the focus is on vision of the divine world.<sup>275</sup> Regarding the suppression of the physical senses so that the inner self can detach, ascend and experience noetic sensory impressions, the similarity to Hermetic doctrines is striking (cf. *CHI*.1).

#### *D. Ascension narrative in seven scenarios (ll. 544–731)*

As Dieterich has observed, the preparatory sections lead up to a narrative of a ritual consisting of seven scenarios, representing seven stages in the ascension. Their presentation combines ritual elements of prayer and actions with a narrative structure. The ritual elements are prescriptive, the narrative is descriptive. It describes, on the one hand, the stages of the ascension in the future tense (ὄψῃ, “you will see”), so that the author shows the entire journey in terms of a predicted future, conditional, of course, on the correct performance of the ritual acts. On the other hand, at each of the stages he narrates what the practitioner sees, stated in the present tense, like descriptions of pictorial panels. The precise relationship between the distinct elements of

<sup>271</sup> Pap. reads ἀλλ', corrected by Preisendanz to ἄλλου; pap. has τηωρα not τηι (Wessely), the ω of ὥρα corrected from η (ἡμέρα?); cf. ll. 544–45. Calhoun suggests that the problem may be the result of a scribal error: ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ; the phrase is repeated in the following line. Martinez points to the parallel in Mark 13:11 (Luke 12:12).

<sup>272</sup> Cf. the uses of ἀκούειν at ll. 514, 572, 587–88, 621, 734, 745. For an improvement of sight during Menippus' ascension, effected by Empedocles, see Lucian, *Icarom.* 13–14.

<sup>273</sup> Cf. the reference to time in ll. 544–45 (see also on the textual problem, above n. 14). For ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ see similar expressions in l. 652; III.52; VII.471–72; XI.a.23; XIII.393–94.

<sup>274</sup> For the enabling of higher γνῶσις by πνεῦμα/νοῦς and the formula νοῦς λόγος γνῶσις, see III.585–611; IV.510. For Stoic teaching on the subject, see *SVF* II, ## 863–72 (232.30–234.26); Cicero, *Nat. d.* 2.83 and Pease, *Cicero*, 2.757 with notes. On the material as a whole, Franz K. Mayr, “Hören,” *RAC* 15 (1991) 1023–1111, esp. on the Platonic and Stoic views, 1023–57.

<sup>275</sup> See ll. 484–85, 501, 504, 516–17, 531, 541–42, 609, 620. The term ἀθάνατα forms a kind of conclusion in ll. 516–17, 539–44.

ritual and narrative constitutes the major problem for the analysis, since it determines the reconstruction of the ascension ritual, and thereby effects the understanding of the text as a whole. Two scholars have so far proposed detailed analyses of the composition, which need to be considered first.

Based on literary and archaeological evidence collected by Cumont in his collection (*Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*), Dieterich argues for a formulary of a ritual, which he calls a “liturgy,”<sup>276</sup> belonging to the mystery cult of Mithras. Dieterich assumed some kind of Egyptianization of Mithraism in Egypt as part of the general hellenization of the native religion; he thus regarded this “liturgy” as syncretistic in nature, containing also influences of Stoicism as well as traces of ancient Iranian religion.<sup>277</sup> At any rate, what can be reconstructed is the world view which results from a confluence of Greek ideas of a “Stoic-Peripatetic provenience,” the cult of Mithras, and Egyptian instructional wisdom.<sup>278</sup> “From where and in which form it came into the Mithras mysteries thus developed, we are, of course, no longer able to trace. The world view was needed to this extent and in this specialized application for the construction of a sacramental act of an ascension of the initiates from the earth to the highest god. Those who created this liturgy were Mithras devotees who held fundamentally Greek ideas.”<sup>279</sup>

Dieterich (82–85) cautiously distinguished between the original “liturgy” itself that can be extracted from the formula, and its secondary reworking by the author who uses the older Mithraic liturgy for his own construction of a magical ritual (“Zauberritual”) designed to obtain oracular revelations. Dieterich also resisted committing himself to determining precise ritual sections which the magician may have omitted; he also repeatedly asked whether there

<sup>276</sup> For the problem of using this technical term, see the Introduction above, pp. 2, 28–31, 32–37.

<sup>277</sup> Dieterich (80–81): “Es wird uns jetzt noch begreiflicher, daß wir schon mehrfach gerade stoische Termini in dem Texte feststellen mußten. Der Einfluß der Stoa auf die religiösen Gebilde hellenistischer Zeit in Ägypten wird immer häufiger und deutlicher erkannt....” “Wie die teilweise Ägyptisierung des Mithrasdienstes vor sich gegangen ist, werden wir im einzelnen schwerlich noch nachweisen können. Aber ein gut Stück Geschichte des Mithraskultes erfassen wir doch, wenn wir die Schichtung der einzelnen Elemente in unserem Texte erkannt haben.”

<sup>278</sup> Dieterich (82): “... hineingestellt in das griechische Weltbild stoisch-peripatetischer Provenienz, und überall ziehen sich die beiderseits parallel vorhandenen Lehren an, wie z. B. die Elementenlehre, die so ähnlich in der Stoa, im Mithrasdienst, in ägyptischer Weisheit vorhanden sind.”

<sup>279</sup> Dieterich (82): “Von wo und in welcher Form sie zuerst in das so ausgebildete Mithrasmysterium kam, können wir natürlich nicht mehr erschließen. Das Weltbild in dieser Ausdehnung und Spezialisierung wurde zur Konstituierung des sakramentalen Aktes eines Aufstieges der Mysten von der Erde zum höchsten Gott gebraucht. Die diese Liturgie schufen, waren Mithrasgläubige mit griechischen Grundanschauungen.”

ever was a ritual of descension at the end, whether the whole was merely a sacramental formula to be used repeatedly, and whether the author had a real "Ritualbuch" at his disposal, from which he excerpted parts. Important as these questions are, one cannot offer more than subjective speculations. Dieterich did, however, regard it as certain "that a genuine Mithras liturgy of an ascension of the soul and its immortalization, an ἀπαθανατισμός, has been inserted into a magical ritual for the exploration of the future. Therefore, the attribution of subsidiary sentences or components to one or the other is relatively unimportant. About the major parts of the liturgy there cannot be any doubt."<sup>280</sup> Dieterich (88–92) also points to literary and archaeological evidence which testifies that a seven-stage ascension of the soul through the astral world<sup>281</sup> was part of the Mithraic ritual.<sup>282</sup> Thus, he sees seven stages in the ritual of the ML, each introduced by a prayer.

The problem with this part of Dieterich's interpretation is that the seven stages in the ML only partly conform to the Roman Mithraic mosaics from Ostia (Mitreo delle sette sfere). Most important are the representations of the seven gates.<sup>283</sup> On one mosaic (Merkelbach, fig. 24), the symbols of the zodiac, six on each side, frame the seven gates. On the side walls of the room stand the images of the seven planetary gods: Jupiter, Mercurius, Luna, Mars, Venus, Saturnus, perhaps Sol on the back wall. Another mosaic (Becatti, pl. XXIV–XXV; Merkelbach, fig. 22) shows a ladder-type arrangement of seven squares with the symbols of the grades of initiates, together with the seven planets, known also to Celsus (Origen, *Cels.* 6.22):<sup>284</sup> (1) *Corax* (raven), cup, herald's

<sup>280</sup> Dieterich (85): "Wenn das sicher ist, daß in die zur Erforschung der Zukunft ausgestaltete Zauberhandlung eine echte Mithrasliturgie der Himmelfahrt der Seele und ihrer U n s t e r b l i c h m a c h u n g, ein ἀπαθανατισμός, eingelegt ist, so sind die Zuweisungen einzelner Sätze von verhältnismäßig geringer Wichtigkeit. Über die Hauptstücke der Liturgie wird dann ein Zweifel nicht aufkommen."

<sup>281</sup> For the seven stages in Mithraism, see Robert Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus. Recherches de l'Hellenisation philosophique de Mithra* (EPRO 47; Leiden: Brill, 1975); Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 13–21 (fig. 22, 24, 25); idem, *Mithras*, 235–36, 295 (fig. 38). Cf. Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (2nd ed.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), 114–25.

<sup>282</sup> Dieterich (89–92) refers to the floor mosaic in the Mithraeum in Ostia (Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, figure 77 [2.244; cf. 1.63]), Porphyry, *Antr. nymph.* 5–6 (Cumont, *ibid.*, 2.39–40), Celsus (Origen, *c. Cels.* 6.21–22; Cumont, *ibid.*, 2.31); and Julian, *Or.* 5, p. 172d (Cumont, *ibid.*, 2.20). See also Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, 313–14; idem, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 65–68.

<sup>283</sup> For the figures and explanations, see Giovanni Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. 2: *I Mitrei* (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1954), plates XIX–XXV; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 58–59, 62–63, 64–65 (fig. 22, 24, 25).

<sup>284</sup> Origen, *Cels.* 6.22: τοιόνδε τὸ σύμβολον· κλιμαξ ἐπτάπυλος, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῇ πύλῃ ὄγδοη. See Chadwick, *Origen*, 333–36.

wand of Mercurius; (2) *Nymphus* (destroyed), lamp, diadem of Venus; (3) *Miles* (soldier), Persian cap, helmet, spear of Mars; (4) *Leo* (lion), fire shovel, sistrum, thunderbolt of Jupiter; (5) *Perses* (Persian), short-sword, sickle of Luna; (6) *Heliodromus*, torch, wreath rays of the sun-god, and the whip for leading the horses; (7) *Pater*, bowl and wand of the *magos*, cap of the Persian priest, sickle of Saturnus. The upper field shows a mixing-bowl (*κρατήρ*), surrounded by branches and the donor's inscription: *Felicissimus ex voto f(ecit)*. Finally, another mosaic (fig. 25) shows a front portal with seven gates; the middle gate is higher and wider, with a hanging lamp in the center, while three gates on each side are divided by columns. The large middle field shows a mixing-bowl; on its left side a raven (*corax*), a small sickle of Luna, and the spear of Mars; on the right side a serpent (*nymphus*) and a lion (*leo*). Further upwards are what may be water basins, the image of Jupiter with his thunderbolt, and on top the head of Saturn, veiled, and holding his sickle. The side walls contain images of a torchbearer on each side, and the seven planets.

The iconography of these mosaics clearly reflects Roman Mithraism with its synchronization of the seven grades and the astrological signs. Notably, Mithras is not represented, and the *pater* is identified with Saturn. Also, the three mosaics have been designed considerably differently. Perhaps Helios/Mithras occupied the eighth field which is, however, unfortunately destroyed. The seven spheres are, therefore, different from those in the ML. An identification of Mithras and Saturn reflects Roman adaptation, just as ML shows Egyptian influences when it identifies Helios and Mithras. To be sure, the main difference is that the ML does not parallel the seven scenarios with the seven grades of initiates.<sup>285</sup> At least one agreement stands out, however: the sixth grade is that of the “sun-runner” (*heliodromus*), corresponding to the fourth scenario of the ML, and the symbol of the sun-god is at a lower level as compared with a supreme god who may perhaps be Helios/Mithras.

To conclude, Dieterich was right in assuming that at this point there is evidence of some kind of connection between the ML and the Mithras cult. The author must have had some knowledge about Mithraic rituals. Since he was initiated in a mystery cult, it could indeed have been an Egyptian adapta-

<sup>285</sup> The question of the relationship between images and cultic functions, which does not need to be discussed here in detail, has been reopened by the discovery of the Mithraic cult vessel in Mainz. The red-colored *krater* shows several cult symbols, especially figures of the seven grades; for description and color representations see Heinz Günter Horn, “Das Mainzer Mithrasgefäß,” *Mainzer Archäologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1994) 21–66; for the interpretation Reinhold Merkelbach, “Das Mainzer Mithrasgefäß,” *ZPE* 108 (1995) 1–6; Roger Beck, “Ritual, Myth, Doctrine, and Initiation in the Mysteries of Mithras: New Evidence from a Cult Vessel,” *JRS* 90 (2000) 145–80.

tion of Mithraism, but it could have been just as well some other mystery cult which had appropriated Mithraic elements. Beyond this, a cosmology of seven spheres or seven heavens was shared by many cosmologies in the Greco-Roman world,<sup>286</sup> wherein the number seven as such possessed sacred and magical potency.<sup>287</sup>

According to Dieterich, the seven stages of the ascension in the ML are set forth in the following manner:

(1) First stage (ll. 544–55), introduced by the (first) prayer to the gods and winds in charge of the day; the initiate rising to midair;

(2) Second stage (ll. 556–69), introduced by the “second” prayer; the initiate rising to before the gates, the opening of the sun disk;

(3) Third stage (ll. 569–85), introduced by the “third” prayer to key-holding Aion and the seven planetary gods; opening of the gates, and vision of the world of the planetary gods;

(4) Fourth stage (ll. 585–628), introduced by the (fourth) prayer to Helios; the appearance of Helios;

(5) Fifth stage (ll. 628–61), introduced by the (fifth) prayer to the  $\text{Tύχαι}$ ; the appearance of the  $\text{Tύχαι}$ ;

(6) Sixth stage (ll. 662–92), introduced by the (sixth) prayer to the pole lords; the appearance of the pole lords;

(7) Seventh stage (ll. 693–732), introduced by the (seventh) prayer to Mithras; the appearance of Mithras.

At each stage the ascending initiate is shown what Dieterich calls “liturgical pictures” (“liturgische Bilder”). The identification of the significance of these

<sup>286</sup> For literature and passages, see Franz Boll, “Hebdomas,” *PRE* 7 (1912) 2547–78, esp. 2552; Bousset, “Himmelsreise der Seele,” *passim*; Hans Bietenhard and Adolf Lumpe, “Himmel,” *RAC* 15 (1989) 173–212, esp. 178, 184–85, 202. The apocalyptic and gnostic parallels have been collected by Adela Y. Collins, “The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses,” in Collins & Fishbane, *Death*, 59–93; *eadem*, “Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature,” *ANRW* II.21:2 (1984) 1221–87. For Hermetism, see *CH* I.16, 25–26; *Ascl.* 19; *Orac. Chald.* frag. 164 (ed. Des Places).

It should be noted that Morton Smith was one of the first to connect the ascension through six (or seven) heavens in the Hekhalot literature with the Mithras Liturgy (“Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati,” in Alexander Altman, ed., *Biblical and Other Studies* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963], 142–60). For further literature see Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 58; 120; 152, n. 6. While a dependency of these texts upon each other is unlikely, the connection between them may have come through Hellenistic syncretism or Neoplatonism.

<sup>287</sup> Frequent in the PGM. See Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, 33–35, 82–83; for Philo see Karl Staehle, *Die Zahlenmystik bei Philon von Alexandria* (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1931), 39–50; cf. 50–52. On the importance of the number seven in philosophy, see Alberto Grilli, *Stoicismo, epicureismo e letteratura* (Brescia: Paideia, 1992).



pictures was one of the major contributions of Dieterich's work (92–95). According to him, intertwined with words and actions, such pictures played a major role in ancient cultic procedures. They are genuine but stylized representations of cultic scenarios, through which the initiate will remember the actual performances he or she participated in. In other words, the seven scenarios constitute a gallery of pictures which together contain the complete program of an ascension for the initiated reader of the text. In this sense one may compare the scenarios with the gallery of pictorial symbols in the mosaics from Ostia, not to mention the cultic program depicted on the Mithraic reliefs and frescoes. At this point (94–95) Dieterich's discussion offers no more than a cautious and suggestive sketch, as he expected forthcoming negative criticism of his daring ideas.<sup>288</sup> Today, these ideas can be substantiated by a wealth of material unearthed by archaeologists and interpreted by historians of art and religion. Basically, four ideas deserve to be singled out: (1) the constitutive role of paintings in the performance of rituals, alongside words and actions,<sup>289</sup> (2) the conservative function of such pictures, in effect freezing the major parts of a ritual,<sup>290</sup> (3) the analogical nature of the pictures showing the unknown through the medium of the known,<sup>291</sup> (4) the significance of sequences or

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 95: "Man macht sich ja trotz meiner deutlichen Erklärungen vermutlich wieder, wie schon öfter, die Mühe, mich in dem zu widerlegen, was ich nie habe beweisen wollen." Cf. Dieterich's bitter complaint (29–30). Correctly, however, Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 173–74) praises Dieterich's idea concerning cult images as one of his major achievements.

<sup>289</sup> Dieterich (94): "Es wird klar sein, was ich unter liturgischen Bildern verstehe. Und jedes solche Bild – das habe ich bereits am Anfang meiner Untersuchungen betont, um die Aufmerksamkeit der Leser auf diese Bilder zu lenken – jedes Bild, mag es noch so sehr nur als Bild in seiner Umgebung erscheinen, war einmal der Ausdruck eigentlichster religiöser Anschauung. Jedes solche Bild ist einmal für eine Zeit volle Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit gewesen." Cf. his remarks at p. 26.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 95: "Wo uns solche Bilder in einem Denkmale einer festen und immer wiederholten Kultaktion vorliegen, da können wir am ersten erwarten, echte und treu bewahrte Formen religiösen Denkens anzutreffen. Nichts ist konservativer, als es die Formeln und Handlungen des Kultus sind: der Kultus bewahrt so viel reiner und ursprünglicher die Tatsachen der wirklichen Religiosität als der Mythos."

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, 94: "Menschliches Denken kann das Verhältnis des Menschen zur Gottheit nicht anders auffassen denn nach der Analogie menschlicher Verhältnisse. Nur im Bilde ihm bekannter Vorgänge kann er das Unbekannte erschauen, nur nach dem Bilde der Formen irdischer Beziehung der Wesen und Dinge zueinander kann er das ersehnte Unwirkliche gestalten. So geschieht aller Fortschritt des Denkens, auch des religiösen Denkens."

*Ibid.*, 95: "Wenn ich nun die Reihe der Bilder, in denen die Mithrasliturgie die Vereinigung des Menschen mit Gott gestaltet und aufgefaßt zeigt, zu erläutern und zwar hauptsächlich durch Analogien in der eigentlichen Bedeutung und dem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang verständlich zu machen versuche, so muß ich nochmals ausdrücklich bemerken, daß durch Anführung von Analogien und Parallelen keinerlei Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen dem einen und dem anderen Kulte auch nur präjudiziert werden soll."

galleries of pictures interpreting each other and the whole.<sup>292</sup> In short, Dieterich conceives of the liturgy as an imaginative performance, in which the practitioner ritually produces ecstatic experiences of a visionary nature.

Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, vol. 3) provides in his commentary a rather different analysis, although Dieterich's influence is obvious enough. Although he calls the text a "liturgy," he denies any connection with the Mithras cult and associates it with the Alexandrian god Pschai-Aion.<sup>293</sup> Consequently, what he names the "Pschai-Aion-Liturgie" is interpreted throughout as a text of Egyptian religion, to be sure, stemming from hellenized Egypt and influenced by Platonic and Stoic ideas.<sup>294</sup> He then identifies the god Pschai-Aion of this liturgy with Sarapis-Aion, another great god of Alexandria, predominant in the Leiden cosmogony (PGM XIII). Treating the "Pschai-Aion-Liturgie" in the same volume<sup>295</sup> alongside the god-of-nine-forms (ἐννεάμορφος),<sup>296</sup> Merkelbach obtains a broad comparative basis for his construction of an Alexandrian "synthetic" deity named Abrasax.<sup>297</sup> The problem with this combination is that of the divine names assembled only Aion occurs in the ML. Also, both texts, the ML and PGM XIII, are rather different and cannot be harmonized as Merkelbach does.

Other problems concern Merkelbach's theory of the origin of the ML. He describes at length the basic world view of late antique astral religion, which reflects mainly Stoicizing ideas about cosmology and astrology.<sup>298</sup> This world view, he argues, has been "transposed into a ritual,"<sup>299</sup> which was performed much like a drama in a theater. In other words, Merkelbach accepts Dieterich's idea of a "ritual," but he postulates a realistic performance, including theatrical tricks to bring about "magical" effects.<sup>300</sup>

<sup>292</sup> Ibid., 95: "Es kommt mir nur darauf an, eine Bilderreihe in ihren Zusammenhängen aufzuweisen, mit denen diese und andere antike Liturgien, soweit die möglichst vollständig herangezogenen Fragmente dieser anderen erkennen lassen, ihren religiösen Gedankengehalt gedeckt haben. Die Probleme, die die einzelnen Gruppen der Bilder stellen, habe ich weder lösen können noch wollen ...."

<sup>293</sup> On this god, see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.59–68: "Pschai-Agathos-Daimon und der Neugestaltige." See also the Introduction, above, 34–35.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid., 25–28.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., 56–58.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid., 60–65.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid., 28–29, 66–68. The name occurs in XIII.156, 466. See the glossary in Betz, *GMPT*, 330.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid., 25–28.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid., 28: "Diese Gedanken sind in ein Ritual transponiert ..." See also 39–40: "Die religiösen Gedanken werden in heiligem Spiel dargestellt ... In der Zeremonie wird ein Gedanke der stoischen Philosophen übernommen und in ein Kultspiel umgesetzt."

<sup>300</sup> For examples of such tricks, see *ibid.*, 29–32. Already Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 173) compares the performance with theatrical and cinematic special effects.

Who then produced this “sacred drama”? Merkelbach offers some suggestive ideas which, however, remain entirely speculative, because they have no basis in the text themselves.

“Even a pious Stoic would not have needed a special ceremony to demonstrate the immortalization of the breath of life; philosophically speaking the immortality of the *πνεῦμα* existed without ceremony. But primitive people had an immense need of bringing their thoughts and hopes to expression by play. They were not satisfied by expressing their ideas through words. Words only would have been to them something merely theoretical and incomprehensible. Thus, they transposed their ideas into performances. What was put before their eyes in a sacred play became a reality to be grasped with one’s own hands; only this was to them clear enough, and what occurred visibly in the play was to them as good as reality.”

For whom was the drama performed? “The drama must have been conceived and composed for a person of high rank....” Originally it was “a ceremony of consecration for a priest of high rank or even a king, which in Egypt was often the same. Later the ritual will have been adapted, so that it could be used for initiations of lower ranks.”<sup>301</sup>

### 1. First scenario: the planetary deities (ll. 544–55)

The first scenario assumes that the ascent has reached its first stage: “Ὀψη γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς ὥρας θείαν θέσιν (“for you will see the divine constellation on that day and hour”).<sup>302</sup> The practitioner has now been elevated to midair (l. 540). The fortuitous day and hour have been determined (ll. 516, 543) by a horoscope,<sup>303</sup> identifying the constellation of the stars of the day and the hour.<sup>304</sup>

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., 39–40. The translation of the quotations is mine.

<sup>302</sup> Pap. has *τηωρα*, *ω* from *ώρα* may be corrected from *η* (= *ἡ(μέ)ρα*); so Preisendanz, *app. crit.*

<sup>303</sup> Dieterich (7, *app. crit.*) mentions the technical term *ἀστροθεσία*, “star constellation.” Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.237) takes this to be the new birth constellation of the initiate, identifying *θέσις* with *γένεσις*; this constellation is to rule over his rebirth and further life, for which see l. 651–52: *τὸν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ὠρονόμον*.

<sup>304</sup> On the gods of the days and the hours, see III.401–611, IV.1648–96; XXXVII.18–26. For discussion see Dieterich, 61–62; Ernst Maass, *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und in den Provinzen: Aus der Kultur des Niederganges der antiken Welt* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1902), esp. 271–72; Wilhelm Gundel, “Stundengötter,” *HBVK* 12 (1913) 100–31; Idem, “Horogensis,” *PRE* 8 (1913) 2411–14; Franz Boll, “Hebdomas,” *PRE* 7 (1912) 2547–78, esp. 2560; Wilhelm and Hans Georg Gundel, “Planeten,” *PRE* 20 (1950) 2017–2185, 2151; idem, *Astrologumena*, 266–74; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 37–41, 47; Otto Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); Nilsson, *GGR* 2.497–98; Wolfgang Hübner, “Zwei griechische Texte über

At this point, he is told that he will have his first vision (ὄψη, “you will see”).<sup>305</sup> The objects of his vision are described first in a general way: τοὺς πολεύοντας ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεοῦς, ἄλλους δὲ καταβαίνοντας (“the presiding gods arising into heaven, and others setting”). In the planetary week, these are the gods who control and fix the days and the hours.<sup>306</sup> More specifically, the reader is shown a verbal picture which focuses on two elements. The first of these describes the way of the gods through the sun-disk (ll. 547–49): ἡ δὲ πορεία τῶν ὀρωμένων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρός μου, θεοῦ, φανήσεται (“Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk of the god, my father.”). According to philosophical cosmology the “visible gods” (οἱ ὀρώμενοι θεοί) are the stars.<sup>307</sup> That these gods will appear through the sun-disk is a strange comment,<sup>308</sup> unless the author describes a pictorial representation in which the sun illuminates the course of the stars; in ll. 579–82 the sun serves as a kind of gate, through which the stars appear (ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου). The sun-disk is of course Helios,<sup>309</sup> addressed here by the epithet “my father” (πατήρ μου).<sup>310</sup>

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die Tages- und Stundenherrscher,” *ZPE* 49 (1982) 53–66; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.77–83, 238; Hans Georg Gundel and Alois Kehl, “Horoskop,” *RAC* 16 (1994) 597–662.

<sup>305</sup> For this term mostly introducing other stages, see ll. 539, 556, 624, 635, 656, 693, 702.

<sup>306</sup> See also XIII.213, 216, 718, 722; cf. IV.676; XIII. 846: πολοκράτωρ; πλόος occurs often in the PGM (see IV.656). See Boll, “Hebdomas,” *PRE* 7 (1912) 2560; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 41, 61.

<sup>307</sup> Cf. also IV.1134: χαίρετε, τὰ πάντα ἀερῶν εἰδώλων πνεύματα. Dieterich (62) refers to Plato, *Tim.* 40d: θεοὶ ὄρατοί; cf. also *Leg.* 7.821b, 11.931a; Ps.-Plato (Philip of Opus), *Epin.* 984d; Theophrastus, *Piet.*, Frag. 13 (ed. Pötscher, from Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.26–28); see Jacob Bernays, *Theophrastos’ Schrift über die Frömmigkeit* (Berlin: Hertz, 1866), 44. See also *Wis* 13:1–9. In Philo the terminology is frequent; for the *Hermetica*, see *CH* IV.1; V.10; VII.2; XIV.3; Exc. I.2; XXIII.21; for Christian literature, *Rom* 1:20; *Col* 1:16; Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 6:1; *Trall.* 5:2; for further literature Wilhelm Michaelis, *TDNT* 5 (orig. 1954) 368–70, s.v. ὄρατός, ἀόρατος; *BDAG*, s.v.

Cf. Preisendanz’s (*app. crit.*) alternative suggestion to read ὄρ[μ]ωμένων (?) in light of ll. 557, 567, 571.

<sup>308</sup> Differently, Dieterich (62): “Unmittelbar danach erwähnt der Papyrus einen merkwürdigen Anblick, der dem Aufsteigenden werden soll. Der Weg der Planeten erscheint durch die Sonne, d. h. man sieht, wie er durch die Sonne geht....” Cf. *1 En.* 36 (*OTP* 1.29): ... and I saw there open gates of heaven, with small gates above them, in the direction of the east. Through one of these small gates pass the stars of heaven and travel westward on the path which is shown to them.” See also *1 En.* 33:3 and the references in the notes by S. Uhlig, *JSHRZ* 5:6, 569–71.

<sup>309</sup> For the δίσκος see ll. 551, 576, 579–80, 583; XIII.142, 152, 252, 461, 515; cf. IV.34–35: ἡλιόδισκος.

<sup>310</sup> For this epithet of Helios see also ll. 535, 536; and Karl Kerényi, “Vater Helios,” *ErJb* 10 (1943) 81–124; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 6–7.

The second focus of the picture (ll. 549–55) is also strange: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργούντος ἀνέμου. ὄψη γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ὡς αὐλὸν κρεμάμενον. (“And in a similar way the so-called pipe, the origin of the ministering wind; for you will see it hanging from the disk like a pipe.”) This part of the vision has given rise to much discussion, even to adventurous speculations.<sup>311</sup>

Dieterich’s interpretation (62–64), however, is most careful and contains important clues. He recognizes that some sort of image is being described, for which he refers to monuments of ancient art, in particular the winds on Mithraic monuments. Before getting to these monuments, he points to two texts: (1) a fragment of Anaximander; and (2) some lines in a hymn to Helios (PGM IV.436–66).

Regarding (1), the doxographical summary of Anaximander’s cosmology by Aetius contains an expression, αὐλὸς πρηστήρης, “heat pipe.”<sup>312</sup> According to Aetius, this expression comes from the cosmology of Anaximander which contained a description of the sun as being full of fire, “which in part appears through an opening like through a heat pipe.”<sup>313</sup> This pipe is also the source of thunderstorms and winds.<sup>314</sup> There can hardly be any doubt that Anaximander’s cosmology, transmitted by Stoic sources, is the origin of the mysterious “pipe” in the ML. By implication, the “pipe” became part of the image that the author of the ML describes. Also, the added comment “so-called” (καλούμενος) seems to indicate that “the pipe” has become a kind of traditional image among those familiar with this material.

Regarding (2), it is obvious that the beginning lines of the hymn to Helios shares some language with the ML: ἀεροφοιτήτων ἀνέμων ἐποχούμενος αὔραις,

<sup>311</sup> So Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.238) who refers to parallel texts in Lucian, *Icar*. 26, a passage already mentioned by Dieterich (62, n. 3): “One sees ‘pipe’ or ‘flute’, better still a double-flute (δίαυλος), and a hanging wind-bag...” Fantastic is Carl Gustav Jung (*Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens* [Leipzig & Wien: Deuticke, 1912], 93–95), for whom the hanging pipe is – what else? – a phallus.

<sup>312</sup> Dieterich, 62, n. 2: “Anaximander nahm an der Sonne und dem Monde eine Öffnung an, durch welche das Feuer ströme wie durch einen αὐλὸς πρηστήρης.” He refers to Diels, *Doxographi*, 348; 355.b.21–22: ἔχοντα μίαν ἐκπνοὴν οἷον πρηστήρης αὐλόν. See also D.-K. 12 B 4 (I.90.1), translating it “Glutwindröhre.”

<sup>313</sup> Aetius, *Placitis*, II.20.1 (Diels, *Doxographi*, 348.a.7–8: ... διὰ στομίου τὸ πῦρ ὡσπερ διὰ πρηστήρης αὐλοῦ; cf. idem, II.24.2 (354.a.3–4): ... τοῦ στομίου τῆς τοῦ πυρός διεκπνοῆς ἀποκλειομένου (D.-K. 12 A 21 [I.87.10–17]); idem, II.25.1 (355.b.21–22): ἔχοντα μίαν ἐκπνοὴν οἷον πρηστήρης αὐλόν (D.-K. 12 A 22 [I.87.20–21]); also Seneca, *Nat.* 2.18 (D.-K. 12 A 23 [I.87.28–34]).

<sup>314</sup> See Aetius, *Placitis* III.3.1 (Diels, *Doxographi*, 367); III.7.1 (374.a.19–22); Seneca, *Nat.* 2.18 (D.-K. 12 A 23–24 [I.87.24–36]). Cf. Philostratus’ (*Vit. Apoll.* 3.14) report about the Indians that they let out the winds from a jar (ὁ τῶν ἀνέμων πίθος), analogous to the bag (ἀσκάς) of Aeolus.

Ἦλιε χρυσοκόμα, διέπων φλογὸς ἀκάματον πῦρ, αἰθερίαισι τριβαῖς μέγαν πόλον ἀμφιελίσσων ... ("Borne on the breezes of the wand'ring winds, golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame's unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths around the great pole..."). The hymn states common tradition, but neither this nor other hymn fragments speak about "pipes."<sup>315</sup>

As for the Mithraic monuments, it is evident from the collections by Cumont,<sup>316</sup> Vermaseren,<sup>317</sup> and Merkelbach<sup>318</sup> that the four winds are represented as heads of deities blowing air from the four corners of the world,<sup>319</sup> but none of the reliefs shows a pipe. This is true especially of the stele of Carnuntum, Dieterich's starting point, where he sees the heads of the wind gods blowing into pipes.<sup>320</sup> The nature of Cumont's explanation is, however, puzzling, because the monuments themselves do not show evidence of heads blowing into pipes.<sup>321</sup> Perhaps, he relied on a quotation from Arnobius, which he adduces.<sup>322</sup> Finally, Preisendanz's reference (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) to old world maps showing the windpipes turns out to be inconclusive.<sup>323</sup>

<sup>315</sup> Trans. by Edward N. O'Neil, in Betz, *GMPT* 46, with parallels. For the winds see also IV.1606-7, 1957-58; VIII.74-75; XII.87, 238. Cf. for the musical instrument of αὐλός XXXVI.159.

<sup>316</sup> Dieterich (63-64) relied on Cumont (*Textes et monuments*, I.94-95).

<sup>317</sup> Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, 2.419 (index, s.v. "wind").

<sup>318</sup> See Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 118, 133, 206-7, 228-29, and figures 74 (pp. 324-25), 90 (p. 336), 91 (p. 337), 101 (p. 342-43); 116 (pp. 354-55). On Helios sending out the winds, see also his *Isis Regina*, 197, 356, 381, 457.

<sup>319</sup> This view was common in antiquity and the European Middle Ages; see the articles by G. Roeder, "Winde," in Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924-37) 508-11; H. Steuding, "Windgötter," *ibid.*, 511-17; Franz Cumont, "Les vents et les anges psychopompes," in Klausner & Rücker, *Pisciculi*, 70-75; *idem*, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (BAH 35; Paris: Geuthner, 1942), 146-76: "Les vents dans la sculpture funéraire"; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 13-14; Robert Böke, "Winde," *PRE* 2. Reihe, 8 (1958) 2211-2387.

Cf. also the interest by the apocalypticists in the origin of the winds (e.g., *1 En.* 18:2; 34:1; 41:4; 76:1-14; etc.; see S. Uhlig, *JSHRZ* 5:6 [1984] 547, 653-56; *OTP*, index, s.v. Winds).

<sup>320</sup> Dieterich (63): "... gewöhnlich blasen diese Köpfe in ein Rohr, eine Art Trichter, *entonnoir*, wie es Cumont mehrfach bezeichnet (I 95). Auf der Stele von Carnuntum (mon. 228<sup>bis</sup> c) sind es Rundfiguren, die *une trompe allongée* blasen."

<sup>321</sup> Also, Franz Cumont's comprehensive essay, "Les vents dans la sculpture funéraire" (see above, n. 319), does not offer evidence of the pipes.

<sup>322</sup> Cumont (*Textes et monuments*, 1.94-95): "Le caractère particulier de chacun des Vents est rendu avec une certaines précision... Ils y étaient représentés par quatre personnages nos ... et soufflant dans dans une trompe allongée." In his notes (94, n. 10; 95, n. 10), Cumont adduces Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 6.10: *Venti... hominum formae sunt bucinarum animantes tortus intestinis et domesticis flatibus*, and Porphyry, *Antr. nymph.* 26.

<sup>323</sup> The work named is by Konrad Miller, *Mappae mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten* (6 vols.; Stuttgart: Roth, 1895-98), vol. 3, fig. 68.

In ll. 550–55 the author moves on to explain the functions of “the pipe,” which serves as “the origin of the ministering wind.” It is important to note that there is only one wind, not the usual four, its function being “service” (λειτουργεῖν).<sup>324</sup> The following lines provide more details of that service: εἰς δὲ τὰ μέρη τὰ πρὸς λίβρα ἀπέραντον οἶον ἀπηλιώτην, ἐὰν ἤ κεκληρωμένος εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ὁμοίως εἰς τὰ μέρη τὰ ἐκείνου, ὄψη τὴν ἀποφορὰν τοῦ ὁράματος.<sup>325</sup> (“Toward the regions of the west [it is the source of] the unending east wind, when it is assigned to the regions of the east, and in the same way the other [west wind going] toward the regions of that one [scil., the east], you will see the turn-about of the image [scil., the pipe].”)<sup>326</sup> In view of the importance of the directions of these winds elsewhere in the PGM,<sup>327</sup> the one pipe is their sole source, and changes in the direction of the pipe produces changes in the wind. The meaning of the concluding statement (ll. 555–56) is especially controversial.<sup>328</sup> The term ἀποφορὰ can mean “turning about,” referring to the change of direction of the image,<sup>329</sup> or to the “removal” of the sight altogether.<sup>330</sup>

<sup>324</sup> This term occurs only here in the ML; there is, however, a close parallel in IV.1127: χαῖρε, στοιχείων ἀκοπιάτου λειτουργίας δίνησις, “Hail, revolution of untiring service by (the) elements” (my translation). Cf. also 1 En. 34:2–3 (OTP 1.29): “There (also) I saw three open gates of heaven; when it blows cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain, through each one of the (gates) the winds proceed in the northwesterly direction. Through one gate they blow good things, but when they blow with force through the (two) other gates, they blow violence and sorrow upon the earth.” Cf. 1 En. 76 (OTP 1.55–56), where twelve winds and their gates are described. In Heb 1:14 angels are described as λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα.

<sup>325</sup> Cf. E. Riess, “Notes, Critical and Explanatory on the Greek Magical Papyri,” *JEA* 26 (1940) 53, who punctuates οἶον, ἀπη/λιώτην ἐάν.

<sup>326</sup> Translators differ considerably at this point; my translation follows Festugière: “... dirigée en fait du côté de l’Ouest, à l’infini, en tant que vent d’Est; si la direction assignée est du côté de l’Est, en ce cas le vent opposé (le vent d’Ouest) se portera semblablement vers cette région: tu verras le mouvement tournant de l’image.” (1.304–5).

<sup>327</sup> For the southwest wind (λίβρα, Latin *Africus*) see PGM, especially, III.105; IV.552–54, 1605, 2436, 3183; VIII.10; XIII.642, 827, 860; for the east wind (ἀπηλιώτης, Latin *subsolanus*), see II.105, 113; III.28, 137; IV.58, 552, 1603, 3175; VII.541 (ἀπηλιωτικῶ), 994 (ἀπηλιω[τικά]); VIII.9 XIII.642, 823, 837, 855; XXII.b.26; XXXVI.214. The verb κληροῦν points to the “assigned” station.

<sup>328</sup> In l. 556 pap. reads ὄψη συ δε, which Dieterich (7) and Preisendanz take to be a possible dittography of l. 557; thus they omit συ.

<sup>329</sup> So Dieterich: “so wirst du in ähnlicher Weise die Umdrehung (Fortbewegung) des Gesichtes sehen”; Preisendanz: “das Bild (der Aulosröhre) gewendet sehen”; Festugière (see above, n. 326); Meyer: “you will see the reverse of the sight” (9, n.).

<sup>330</sup> So Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.163): “dann wirst du sehen, wie diese Vision wieder entschwindet.” Cf. V.332–33: ἀπενέγκας αὐτὸ εἰς ἄωρου μνήμα, “taking it [the package] away to the grave of someone untimely dead.”

## 2. Second scenario: the threat of the planetary gods (ll. 556–68)

Connected by δέ and the reference to vision (ὄψη), the second scenario presumes the same location as previously: ὄψη δὲ ἀτενίζοντάς σοι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ σε ὀρμωμένους (“And you will see the gods intently staring at you and rushing at you”). In other words, the second scenario takes place at the same cosmic stage of the planetary deities (cf. ll. 544–47). If the author’s vision is informed by iconography, he would merely shift his focus to another part of the picture. What is in focus now is the hostile nature of the planetary gods which are “staring at him” (ἀτενίζειν)<sup>331</sup> and “moving against him” (ὀρμᾶσθαι).<sup>332</sup>

The scenario’s brief description of the threatening nature of the planetary deities during ascension refers to a motif known in a variety of forms from ancient Greek religion,<sup>333</sup> Hellenistic mystery cults<sup>334</sup> and Gnostic literature,<sup>335</sup> and Jewish apocalypticism and mysticism.<sup>336</sup>

<sup>331</sup> This term is almost technical in the PGM. See in the ML ll. 556, 629, 657, 693, 712; also IV.3218, 3222; XXXVI.268. Cf. CHI.7, where ἀντώπησέ μοι ([the god] “looked at me”) results in an ecstatic vision.

<sup>332</sup> See for this term ll. 547–48, 557, 567, 571.

<sup>333</sup> See, especially, the Orphic-Dionysiac gold tablets, referring to underworld “guards” attempting to hold up and prevent initiates from entering into the Fields of the Blessed (Texts B 1, lines 5–11; B 2, lines 5–6; B 10, lines 7–9; B 11, lines 9–11). For the texts see Christoph Riedweg, “Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt. Beobachtungen zur Kommunikationssituation und narrativen Technik der orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen,” in: Fritz Graf, ed., *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 359–98, esp. 392–98; Hans Dieter Betz, “‘Der Erde Kind bin ich und des gestirnten Himmels’. Zur Lehre vom Menschen in den orphischen Goldplättchen,” *ibid.* 399–419, esp. 402–3, repr. in *Antike und Christentum*, esp. 226–27.

<sup>334</sup> See Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.23: *accessi confinium mortis et calcato Proserpinae limine per omnia vectus elementa remeavi...* (“I approached the boundary of death and treading on Proserpine’s threshold, I was carried through all the elements, after which I returned...”); cf. Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 296–303; Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 2.6, and my *Lukian*, 92; also *Hellenismism und Urchristentum*, 148.

<sup>335</sup> In Gnosticism, the “archons” attack Jesus and the redeemed on their ascension. For passages and literature see Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, 9–58; Günther Bornkamm, *ThWNT* 4 (1942) 818–20 with notes; Kurt Rudolph, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism* (trans. Robert McL. Wilson; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977), 171–80, 244; David Aune, “Archon,” *DDD* 82–85.

<sup>336</sup> For texts and interpretation, see Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*, 33–37 (on 1 *Enoch* 14–15: passing through fiery flames), 53–58 (on *Asc. Isa.*: threat by angels); 87–89 (on Hekhalot Zutrati, Hekhalot Rabbati), 150–52, 163, 185–86; 191–99 (on 3 *Enoch*); *Asc. Isa.* 9.1, ed. Enrico Norelli, *Ascensio Isaiae* (2 vols.; CChr.SA 7–8; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 1.335 (Greek version); 2.449–51 (commentary, bibliography). *Asc. Isa.* 10.23–27 mentions “passwords” for passing through. Schäfer (*Übersetzung*, 1, §§ 1–2, p. 4): “Als die Fürsten der Merkava und die Šerafim der Feuerflamme mich sahen, richteten sie ihre Augen auf mich. Sogleich schreckte ich zurück, erzitterte, fiel lang hin....” See § 39 and Hekhalot Rabbati, § 247–48 (Schäfer, *Übersetzung*, 2.220–22). On the whole motif,



Faced with the threat, the initiate is ordered to perform a protective ritual (ll. 557–58), involving first a gesture: σὺ δὲ εὐθέως ἐπίθεες δεξιὸν δάκτυλον ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα (“but you at once put your right finger on your mouth”). This ritual occurs only here in the PGM. It is Egyptian in origin, having an analogy in the motif of the child Harpocrates with his finger in the mouth.<sup>337</sup> As told in the ML, however, the question is which ritual the text envisions. Does the child have the finger *in* or *on* the mouth? Is the gesture suggesting silence or adoption? The evidence is far from clear. PGM III.707–8 speaks, in an Egyptian context, of Harpocrates having his finger on the mouth (Ἄρποκράτην ἔχοντα ἐπὶ στόματος [τὸ δακτύ]λιον).<sup>338</sup> According to Plutarch (*Is. Os.* 16), however, Isis gave him the finger instead of her breast, supposedly putting the finger *into* his mouth, which suggests a different meaning.<sup>339</sup> Whatever the “original” meaning may be, in the present context the gesture symbolizes silence.<sup>340</sup> The right finger is, of course, to be preferred;<sup>341</sup> that it has to be performed immediately is typical of many other rituals as well.<sup>342</sup>

Next (ll. 558–60) comes the recitation of the σιγή-Logos,<sup>343</sup> a prayer cited in full: σιγή σιγή σιγή, σύμβολον θεοῦ ζῶντος ἀφθάρατου· φύλαξόν με, σιγή

see Johann Maier, “Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalyptik und ‘Gnosis’,” *Kairos* 5 (1963) 18–40.

<sup>337</sup> The child Harpocrates/Horus with the finger in the mouth is shown already in the Pyramid texts; see Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 663c, 1214c, 1320c.

<sup>338</sup> See for representations Betz, *GMPT*, 49, n. 83; Bonner, *Studies*, index, s.v. Harpocrates; Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 104–35 (Bibl.); Bonnet, *RARG*, 275; Dimitri Meeks, “Harpokrates,” *LÄ* 2 (1977) 1003–11; Tran Tam Tinh, Bertrand Jaeger, Serge Poulin, “Harpokrates,” *LIMC* 4:1 (1988) 415–45; 4:2 (1988) 242–66; Karl Groß, “Finger,” *RAC* 7 (1969) 909–46, esp. 929–930 (with references); William Brashear, “Horos,” *RAC* 16 (1992) 579. Cf. Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 2.122.

<sup>339</sup> Griffiths (*Plutarch*, 327) comments critically on a theory advocated by Maspéro who took this ritual to symbolize adoption.

<sup>340</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 238) suggests that the initiate wants to imitate Harpocrates. For Harpocrates’ finger on the mouth as a sign of silence see Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 68 (378B–C): διὸ δὲ τῷ στόματι τὸν δάκτυλον ἔχει περικείμενον ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σιωπῆς σύμβολον (“For this reason does he hold his finger fixed on his mouth, as a symbol of reserve and silence”; Trans. Griffiths, *Plutarch*, 224–25; see also his comments, 535–36). This and other attestations show the common understanding of the sign (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.10.57 [LCL 5.57]); Ovid, *Metam.* 9.692; Catullus, 74.4; Apuleius, *Metam.* 4.28). Damascius (*Vit. Isid.* 107; ed. Zintzen, 146–49) reports the story that the theurgist Heraiskos was born with his finger grown into his lip, as with Horos and Helios before him. The finger had to be separated by surgery, but a mark was left for the rest of his life.

<sup>341</sup> See for the preference of the right side, Betz, *Lukian*, 38, n. 6; BDAG, s.v. δεξιός.

<sup>342</sup> See ll. 557, 576, 579, 628, 638, 724, 755–57. Cf. for the significance in miracle stories Bultmann, *HST*, 225; Betz, *Lukian*, 157, nn. 3–4; BDAG, s.v. εὐθέως, εὐθύς.

<sup>343</sup> The σιγή-Logos seems to be the second prayer after ll. 484–537; it occurs also, in slightly different form, in ll. 573–75, 578, 582, 623. See Heinrich Schmidt, *Veteres philosophi quomodo iudicaverint de precibus* (RVV 4.1; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1907), 64–65; Odo

νεχθειρ θανμελου. (“Silence! Silence! Silence! Symbol of the living imperishable god. Guard me, Silence! NECHTHEIR THANMELOU.”)<sup>344</sup> The threefold invocation calls forth a deity by that name. Actually, because there are two invocations, the matter is more complicated. Since in the first invocation no other name is given, Silence is to be thus addressed, because it is the manifestation of the deity’s presence, rather than a name.<sup>345</sup> For exactly this reason, the epithet σύμβολον (“you are a symbol”) indicates the status of silence as that of a “symbol.” While the conventional invocation of a deity uses “symbols” and “names,”<sup>346</sup> this first invocation is different in that there is no name but only two epithets, the first of which is “silence,” classified as “symbol”; the second is a theological formula using two attributes: (ὁ) θεός ζῶν ἀφθαρτος (“the living imperishable god”).<sup>347</sup>

Casel, *De philosophorum graecorum silentio mystico* (RVV 16.2; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1919), 105–6; Pieter W. van der Horst, “Silent Prayer in Antiquity,” *Numen* 41 (1994) 1–15 (with bibl.).

<sup>344</sup> In commenting on this translation, David G. Martinez proposes instead: “symbol of the god who lives incorruptible” (*Baptized for Our Sakes: A Leather Trishagion from Egypt* (P. Mich. 799 [BzA 120; Stuttgart & Leipzig: Teubner, 1999], 13–14, n. 38). His translation, however, turns into a relative clause what is a common epithet (ὁ) θεός ζῶν, appended by ἀφθαρτος, so as to explain what “living” means (see below, n. 347).

<sup>345</sup> For silence as a deity, see VII.766; for commanding silence III.198, 204; for silence generating silence IV.1782; IX.12; see also I.87; Hymn 5.31 (and passim); III.228. Cf. *CH* 1.30–31; XIII.2, 8 (λοιπόν σιώπησον, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ εὐφήμησον), 16 (ἡσύχασον, ὦ τέκνον), 22; *Ascl.* 1, 25, 32; *NHC* VI.6.56.10–15. See also the peculiar passages in Ignatius, *Magn.* 8.2, where Christ is called God’s λόγος, ἀπὸ συγῆς προελθών; *Eph.* 19:1, mentions the τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. For gnostic parallels, see Heinrich Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* (BZnW 8; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1929), 6–16, 24–28; William Schoedel, *The Epistles of Ignatius* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1985), 120–22; BDAG, s.v., συγή.

<sup>346</sup> According to Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*), Dieterich and Hopfner treat the statement as a gloss, but this is by no means evident. See Dieterich, 64 n. 3; 233. In the PGM, σύμβολα and ὀνόματα are needed in invocations (see III.701; IV.945, 2292, 2304, 2311, 2322; VII.560, 786, 883; LXX.10). The term σύμβολα is now attested on the gold tablet from Western Sicily (3rd c. BCE [?]); see Riedweg, “Initiation,” B 11 (397, line 19). On σύμβολον and σύνθημα, see Dieterich, 213–18, 256–58; Walter Müri, “ΣΥΜΒΟΑΟΝ. Wort- und sachgeschichtliche Studie,” in his *Griechische Studien* (ed. Eduard Vischer; SBA 15; Basel: Reinhardt, 1976), 1–44; Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 294–308; Burkert, *Ancient Mysteries*, 18, 45–47, 90, 98, 100; Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 150–53; idem, *Antike und Christentum*, 238–39, 243.

<sup>347</sup> For the epithet ὁ ζῶν θεός, see IV.959, 1038, 1553; VII.823; XII.79; cf. IV.609. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.238) believes that the epithet comes from the LXX (Tobit 13:2; Wis 12:1: τὸ γὰρ ἀφθαρτόν σου πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσιν); the epithet occurs in the NT as well; see Thomas Gelzer et al., *Lamella Bernensis. Ein spätantikes Goldamulett mit christlichem Exorzismus und verwandte Texte* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 124; Stuttgart & Leipzig: Teubner, 1999), 67–68; Aune, *Revelation*, 1.102; Gustav Stählin, “Beteuerungsformeln im Neuen Testament,” *NovT* 5 (1962) 115–43, esp. 142, n. 2; Martinez, *Baptized*, 12–15;

The invocation is followed (l. 560) by the petition, φύλαξόν με (“guard me”),<sup>348</sup> and concludes with second address, σιγή (“silence”), and *voces magicae*, νεχθειρ θανμελου,<sup>349</sup> which may be intended as the secret name of the deity.<sup>350</sup>

Further ritual acts in ll. 561–65 mark the climax of the protective ritual and the transition to the next scenario. The practitioner is ordered: ἔπειτα σύρισον μακρόν σ' σ', ἔπειτα πόπυσον.<sup>351</sup> (“Then make the long hissing sound, next make the popping sound.”) As discussed above, these sounds were part of the magical repertoire (see on l. 487). The first is called συριγμός, its performance συρίζειν, a hissing or whistling.<sup>352</sup> The second sound is named ποπυσμός, its performance ποππύζειν, a pop-pop sound.<sup>353</sup>

Finally, a special formula of *voces magicae* is to be recited (ll. 562–65): λέγων· προπροφεγγῆ μοριος προφυρ προφεγγῆ νεμεθιρε αρψεντεν πιτητιμι μεωυ εναρθ ευρκεχω ψυριδαριω τυρε φιλβα.<sup>354</sup> Peculiar is that in the ML there are three formulae beginning with προπροφεγγη, but otherwise different (see also ll. 603–4, 714–17). Apparently, the author cites three different formulae, rather than variations of the same formula.<sup>355</sup> If so, what then is the function of beginning with προπροφεγγη?<sup>356</sup> Why are there at least some similar

BDAG, s.v. ζῶω 1.a.e. Cf. also CH I.9, 21; CI.17; CVIII.14; *Ascl.* 41. – For ἀφθαρτός, see on ll. 497, 519–20.

For the Egyptian background of the epithet “living god” see Martinez, *P. Mich.* XIX, 12–15, esp. p. 13, n. 38, and on the ML passage p. 14, n. 38.

<sup>348</sup> For this petition, see also l. 661: φύλαξόν με, with the *vox magica* προσυμηρι. Petitions or orders for protection are, of course, frequent in the PGM. See Preisendanz, 3.198 [index], s.v. φυλάσσω. Cf. 2 Thess 3:3; 1 John 5:21.

<sup>349</sup> The *vox magica* is found only here; it is unexplained.

<sup>350</sup> See on this point, Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 159–62.

<sup>351</sup> According to Dieterich (6), the pap. reads σ' σ', obviously indicating a long hissing sound. Cf. the doubling of the sound see l. 578: σύρισον β'. See also Preisendanz, “Miscellen,” *WSt* 41 (1919) 141–42: “Kürzungen.”

<sup>352</sup> There is disagreement: Dieterich (7) and Preisendanz (see his *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) translate it as “pfeifen” (whistle), but others (Meyer, Merkelbach) as “zischen” (hissing); Festugière: “pousse deux longs sifflements.” Merkelbach’s (*Abraxas*, 3.60) hypothesis that ποππύζειν and συρίζειν allude to the name Pschai appears to be rather speculative, especially in the light of the order in l. 561.

<sup>353</sup> Dieterich (7), Preisendanz, Merkelbach translate “schnalzen” (“smack”), Festugière: “fais claquer ta langue,” Meyer: “a popping sound.”

<sup>354</sup> Cf. Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*, who suggests that ισπροφυρ may be πορφύριος.

<sup>355</sup> So rightly Martinez.

<sup>356</sup> The term προπροφεγγῆ has been translated by Preisendanz as “the one who shines before” (“Voranleuchtender”), but Eitrem (“Die vier Elemente in der Mysterienweihe,” *SO* 4 [1926] 39–59, esp. 51) prefers “the one who existed prior to light.” Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 27) sees here a possible connection with Mithras the god of fire, for which he cites Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 104; Mary Boyce, “On Mithra, Lord of Fire,” *Acta Iranica* 4 (1975)

(sound-)words, with their spelling and place in the sequences different? Why is the author not concerned about consistency in spelling and order? Is the main concern the chanting of similar sounds? So far nobody seems to have found answers to these questions or, assuming that the word division is correct, to the meaning of the individual words. For the purpose of comparison, the three formulae are put side by side below:<sup>357</sup>

562–65	603–4	714–17
προπροφεγγη	προπροφεγγη	λαμπροφεγγη
μοριος	εμεθειρε	προπροφεγγη
προφυρ	μοριομοτυρηφιλβα	εμεθιρι
προφεγγη		αρτεντεπι
νεμεθιρε		θηθ
αρψεντεν		μιμεω
πιτητημι		υεναρω
μεωυ		φυρχεχω
εναρθ		ψηρι
φυρχεχω		δαριω
ψυριδαριω		φρη
τυρηφιλβα		φρηλβα

The result of the various procedures is narrated in ll. 565–68: *καὶ τότε ὄψῃ τοὺς θεοὺς σοι εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέποντας καὶ μηκέτι ἐπὶ σε ὀρμωμένους, ἀλλὰ πορευομένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν τῶν πραγμάτων* (ν). (“And then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.”) The gods’ gracious look (*εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέπειν*) is an obvious contrast to their hostile staring (*ἀτενίζειν*, l. 556). They return to their normal affairs and to their normal course in accordance with the cosmic order.<sup>358</sup> With this change, the second scenario comes to its end.

69–75; Julien Ries, “Le culte de Mithra en Iran,” *ANRW* II.18:4 (1984) 2002–2115, esp. 2767–68.

<sup>357</sup> The word division follows Preisendanz.

<sup>358</sup> For *τάξις* as a cosmological term see also IV.693; VII.829. This meaning seems to be rooted in Plato, *Tim.* 30a (cf. *Gorg.* 504a); it became technical in Hellenistic cosmology, for which see Ps.-Aristotle, *Mundo* 391b11; *CHI* 1.26; V.3–5; IX.8; XI.7; XII.14,21; XVIII.8; Exc. XX.1; XXIII.16; XXIV.2; XXV.8,14; XXVI.29; Philo, *Leg.* 2.73; and often (see Borgen, *Philo-Index*, s.v.). See Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 107–8; PGL, s.v. 3.e. Also the apocalyptic literature shows interest in the stability and order of the planetary world (see, esp. *1 En.* 2.1, and the passages in Uhlig, *JSHRZ* 5:6 [1984] 510–11).

## 3. Third scenario: the sun disk (ll. 569–85)

After the planetary gods have been pacified, the third scenario begins with the usual orientation (ll. 569–71): ἔταν οὖν ἰδῆς τὸν ἄνω κόσμον καθαρὸν καὶ δονούμενον καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ὄρ<μ>ώμενον... (“Thus when you see that the world above is pure and agitated, and that none of the gods and angels is threatening...”) The references to time and vision of the objects seen lead to the conclusion that the ascending initiate has moved up to a higher stage above the planetary deities. That stage is called by a strange name: ὁ ἄνω κόσμος καθαρὸς καὶ δονούμενος (“the world above, pure and agitated”). Understandably, the higher cosmos is clear of impurities,<sup>359</sup> but the meaning of δονούμενος is puzzling.<sup>360</sup> In parallel passages, δονεῖν refers to cosmic shaking and agitating, but this meaning does not seem to fit here,<sup>361</sup> unless it is related to the following warning that thunder is to occur. If this is assumed, the question arises how it is connected with the preceding καθαρὸς (“pure”), and with the following statement, καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ὄρ<μ>ώμενον (“and none of the gods or angels threatening”).<sup>362</sup> In the former instance, δονούμενος seems unrelated, unless one adjusts it by translating καὶ δονούμενος as “but agitated.” The latter instance stands in anticipation of ll. 556–57, speaking of the attack by the planetary gods, except that the angels were not previously mentioned.<sup>363</sup> Therefore, the entire comment, καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ὄρ<μ>ώμενον, because it interrupts the continu-

<sup>359</sup> The expression κόσμος καθαρὸς is *hapax* in the PGM; for κόσμος in the ML, see ll. also 498, 620, 625, 776. In the context of Hellenistic cosmology, “purity” could mean either that the higher regions of the universe are pure because they consist of ether or fire, or, more specifically, that the higher cosmos is free from the threatening planetary gods. See *SVF* II # 327 (116.36), # 440 (145.1–14); # 558–573 (176–79); Dio Chrysostom 36.42–44; Philo, *Plant.* 20; *Mos.* 1.113; *CH* I.10; VI.4; XI.19; Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* 5.34 (ed. Saffrey & Westerink, 5.125,5–10); *Plat. Tim.* 3.142d (ed. Diehl, 2.11.18–24); cf. already Plato, *Phaed.* 111b. See Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 108–10.

<sup>360</sup> The pap. reads δονουεμενον. Dieterich (8–9) proposed μονούμενον, “einsam” (“solitary”), Crönert (*StPP* 4 [1905] 100): δινούμενον (“sich im Kreis bewegend”), Preisendanz keeps δονούμενον, “sich im Kreise bewegen” (“moving in a circle”). Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.165) translates “rauschen” (“rustle”); I am adopting Martínez’s proposal of “agitated” (in anticipation of the thunderclap).

<sup>361</sup> Cf. IV.2533–34, in a prayer to Selene, whose terrifying shout lets the cosmos tremble: τὰ κοσμικὰ πάντα δονεῖται. In a prayer to Aphrodite (IV.2936–37) the reference is to sexual arousal: στρεφθεῖς τ’ οὐκ ἀνεπάσαστ’ ἔλισσόμενός τε δονεῖται. In the context of cosmic thunder the term occurs also in *Orph. Frag.* 248a5 (265, ed. Kern): θυμῷ πάντα δονεῖται.

<sup>362</sup> The pap. reads ὄρωμενον, the correction to ὄρμώμενον is by Wessely, Dieterich (8), and Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) in accordance with ll. 557, 567.

<sup>363</sup> Angels (ἄγγελοι) are mentioned only here in the ML, but they can be compared with hostile angels in Jewish apocalyptic and Hekhalot literature (see above, on l. 556).

ation from δονούμενον to the warning of thunder (l. 570), may be a redactional gloss that has been inserted as a reminder of the change which has taken place since ll. 556–57.

Given this situation, the initiate is forewarned (ll. 571–73), προσδόκα βροντῆς μεγάλης ἀκούσεσθαι κτύπον, ὥστε σε ἐκπλαγῆναι. (“Expect a crash of great thunder to be heard, with the result that you are shocked.”). The thunder indicates that the initiate now stands in the sphere where the weather, especially thunderstorms, occur.<sup>364</sup> The subject of thunder has fascinated antiquity in many quarters and led to brontology, a department of astrology/astronomy.<sup>365</sup>

Certainly, therefore, the terror caused by the thunder indicates new danger,<sup>366</sup> and a new ritual of protection is required. The formula is set forth in ll. 573–75. First, the σιγή-logos appears again: σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγή σιγή λό(γος).<sup>367</sup> (“But you, say again: ‘Silence! Silence!’ [formula].”) Second, and different from l. 558, a statement of self-identification follows (ll. 574–75): ἐγὼ εἶμι <δ> σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστήρ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων ὁ Ξυ, ὁ Ξερθευθ. (“I am [the] star, wandering about with you, and shining forth out of the deep, the XY, the XERTHEUTH.”)<sup>368</sup> Using the formula of self-identification,<sup>369</sup> the initiate presents himself as one of the wandering stars of the firmament.<sup>370</sup> The idea of becoming a star after death was, however, popular in many quarters of ancient religions, especially ancient Egypt,<sup>371</sup>

<sup>364</sup> For references to thunder (βροντή) see below, ll. 621, 681; XXXVI.356; cf. βροντάω V.151; VII.366, 994; XII.60; βροντάζω IV.1039, 1160; VII.235; VIII.93; βρονταγωγός IV.182; βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ IV.3102.

<sup>365</sup> See Franz Boll, “Finsternisse,” PRE 6 (1909) 2329–64, esp. section 5; Wolfgang Speyer, “Gewitter,” RAC 10 (1978) 1107–72 (1120–21 on the PGM, 1120 on Mithraism, 1150–53 on apocalypticism); cf. on apocalypticism Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, “Die sieben Donner. Erwägungen zu Offb 10,” SNTUA-17 (1992) 215–29; OTP, index, s.v. Thunder.

<sup>366</sup> For the term ἐκπλαγῆναι and its significance for the miraculous, see also VII.921; BDAG, s.v. ἐκπλήσσω. See moreover Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 53–54; *Mithrasliturgie*, 64–65.

<sup>367</sup> Pap. reads the symbol Δ, meaning λόγος. The question is whether there is importance in the fact that the call to Silence happens twice instead of thrice, as in l. 558.

<sup>368</sup> This reading according to Preisendanz supported by Jordan who points to the parallel in XII.297–98: τὸν Ξερθευθ, ... τὸν Ξερφωναρ.

<sup>369</sup> See for parallels in the ML, above on ll. 535.

<sup>370</sup> The term σύμπλανος is unique in the PGM, and rare in Greek (see LSJ, s.v.). See Paul Capelle, *De luna stellis lacteo orbe animarum sedibus* (Diss. Halle; Halae Saxorum: Karras, 1917), 19–36 (especially 32, n. 3; 33–36), who refers to important passages in SVF II # 817 (224–25): *in modum siderum vagari in aëre*; Cicero, *Resp.* 6.16 (*Somm. Scip.*); CHX.7; Meleager, *Anthol. pal.* 5.191.2 (LCL, ed. Paton, 1.222–23); Philostratus, *Ep.* 56; συμπλανάομαι, “roaming around with (erotic),” Plutarch, *Amat.* 3 (750B); *Ant.* 29.2. For ἀστήρ cf. also PGM IV.580, 764 (?).

<sup>371</sup> The technical term is *synastria*; see Franz Boll, *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums* (ed. Viktor Stegemann; Leipzig: Köhler & Amelang, 1950), 115–24; also Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.239.

Greek religions,<sup>372</sup> and Jewish apocalypticism.<sup>373</sup> Dieterich (65) has raised the question about the more precise nature of the stars envisaged. Because they cannot be the planets, he suggests shooting stars, and this may well be correct.<sup>374</sup> If so, they would emerge as lights<sup>375</sup> out of the depth of the cosmos.<sup>376</sup>

As a result of performing the preceding formula, the initiate is told that he will view three images related to the sun-disk (576–77): ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως ὁ δίσκος ἀπλωθήσεται. (“Immediately after you have said this, the sun-disk will be expanded.”) This first image is the sun-disk in its fully expanded form. The meaning of ἀπλωθῆναι, a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, can be established on the basis of the parallel ἀνοίγειν (“open”) in ll. 583–85.<sup>377</sup>

<sup>372</sup> See, in particular, the Orphic gold tablets, which assume that the initiate, “a child of starry heaven,” will after death become a star. See Riedweg, “Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 395 (text B 2, line 9: Ἀστέριος ὄνομα [“Asterios is my name”]); Betz, *ibid.*, 405; idem, *Antike und Christentum*, 228. Furthermore, see Dieterich, 65; Rohde, *Psyche*, 2.131; Cumont, *After Life*, 160; idem, *Lux Perpetua*, 171–88, 209–18; Martin P. Nilsson, “Die astrale Unsterblichkeit und die kosmische Mystik,” *Opuscula selecta* (SSIA, 3; Lund: Gleerup, 1960), 250–65; Erwin Pfeiffer, *Studien zum antiken Sternglauben* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ 2; Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1916), 113, 129; Wilhelm Gundel, “Kometen,” *PRE* 21. Halbbd. (1921) 1143–93, esp. 1150–53; Franz Boll and Wilhelm Gundel, “Sternbilder, Sternglaube und Sternsymbolik bei Griechen und Römern,” in Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924–37) 867–1071, esp. 1062–65; Nilsson, *GGR* 1.692, n. 2; 2.490–91, 494–96; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.369.

<sup>373</sup> See Dan 12:1–3; 1 *En.* 104:2; *As. Mos.* 10:9; Ps.-Philo, *L.A.B.* 33:5 (*OTP* 2.348); *Wis* 3:7; 4 *Macc* 17:5 (*OTP* 2.562); *Rev* 1:16, 20; 2:1; 3:1. See Volz, *Eschatologie*, 396–401: “Die Lichtnatur der Heiligen”; Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 143; George W. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HThS 26; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 144–69; Gruenwald, *Apocalypticism and Gnosticism*, 128–30; Tzvi Abush, “Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience,” in Collins & Fishbane, *Death*, 15–39; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (*OTL*; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 184–85; Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien*, 183–84.

<sup>374</sup> For a discussion of the options of planets, fixed stars, and shooting stars, see Dieterich, 65; cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.239) who seems to think of fixed stars. On fixed stars, see the comprehensive articles by Franz Boll, “Fixsterne,” *PRE* 6 (1909) 2407–31; on shooting stars, Wilhelm Gundel, “Kometen,” *PRE* 11 (1921) 1143–93.

<sup>375</sup> ἀναλάμπειν occurs only here in the PGM. The terms ἀναλάμπω, ἀνάλαμψις are known from cosmological contexts (shining of the sun), also as metaphor (light of the mind). See, e.g., Plutarch, *Alex.* 30.3; Ps.-Heraclitus, *Ep.* 6.3; *T. Levi* 18.4; Philo, *Opif.* 33; *Deus* 32; *Agr.* 162; *Plant.* 40; *Migr.* 123; *Somn.* 1.11; *Mos.* 1.212; 2.27; *Spec.* 1.90; 2.140; 4.52; Origen, *Cels.* 5.33.

<sup>376</sup> Comparable to the emergence of the seven virgins, see ll. 575, 662–63. Elsewhere in the PGM, βάρθος refers to the subterranean sphere, possibly the depth of the sea; see IV.1211; XXXVI.146. See *BDAG*, s.v. βάρθος, 1.

<sup>377</sup> Translations, therefore, vary: Dieterich, Preisendanz: “sich entfalten”; Festugière: “le disque se sera ouvert”; Meyer: “will be expanded”; Merkelbach: “sich öffnen.” LSJ (s.v. ἀπλώω, 2) gives some instances for the meaning “to be expanded.” For the sun-disk see ll. 548, 551, 579–80, 583. See Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 12.

The second image is preceded by a reference to time and the performance of rituals (ll. 577–79): μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν σε τὸν β' λόγον, ὅπου σιγή β' καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα, καὶ σύρισον β' καὶ π(ό)πυσον β'.<sup>378</sup> (“After you have said the second formula, where there is ‘silence’ twice and what follows, make the hissing twice and the popping sound twice.”) As the redactional comment clarifies,<sup>379</sup> at the beginning comes the formula elsewhere called the “second logos,” that is, the σιγή σιγή-logos cited in l. 573–75.<sup>380</sup> The second ritual is the συριγμός, to be done twice, and third the ποππυσμός, also to be done twice (see ll. 561–62).

The instant result is the vision of the second image (ll. 579–82): καὶ εὐθέως ὄψη ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ἀστέρας προσερχομένους (πεντα)δακτυλῆιους πλείστους καὶ πιπλῶντας ὄλον τὸν ἀέρα.<sup>381</sup> (“And immediately you will see a multitude of five-pronged stars proceeding from the sun-disk and filling all the air.”) The adverbial εὐθέως is a reminder that the vision is miraculous, when from the sun-disk a plethora of five-pronged stars comes forth, filling the air. The symbol of the five-pronged stars has been used since ancient Egypt<sup>382</sup> and has become part of the cosmology of the ancient world.<sup>383</sup> The air is the sphere above the planetary realm in which the shooting stars are flying about.<sup>384</sup>

The third image follows in ll. 582–85, again preceded by rituals: σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγή σιγή. (“But you say again ‘Silence! Silence!’”) Apparently, the σιγή-logos of ll. 573–75 is to be repeated. Then the vision occurs (ll. 583–87: καὶ τοῦ δίσκου ἀνοιγέντος ὄψη ἄπειρον κύκλωμα καὶ θύρας πυρίνας ἀποκεκλεισμένας.<sup>385</sup> (“And when the sun-disk has opened, you will see the

<sup>378</sup> Pap. reads the abbreviation β and π'π'β'' [stroke over β]; cf. l. 488.

<sup>379</sup> The wording, ὅπου σιγή β' καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα, is typical of redactional commentary.

<sup>380</sup> The pap. reads σιγη β'. Dieterich (8) assumes that the “second formula” (ll. 558–59), the pronouncement of σιγή σιγή σιγή three times, is identical with the one in ll. 573–75, which has σιγή σιγή twice.

<sup>381</sup> Pap. reads ε' δακτυλῆιους. Cf. the discussion by Wilhelm Kroll, *Ph.* 54 (1895) 562–63. – Eitrem proposes προσερχομένους.

<sup>382</sup> The five-fingered star has the phonetic value *sbz* (“star”) or *ntr* (“god”). See Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd ed.; Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 487, n. 14; Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 2.358. For a later interpretation of the star as θεὸς ἐγκόσμιος, εἰμαρμένη, or number five, see Horapollo, *Hier.* 1.13 (ed. Francesco Sbordone, *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica* [Napoli: Loffredo, 1940], 35–36); see also B. van de Walle and J. Vergote, “Traduction des *Hieroglyphica* d’Horapollon,” *CEg* 18 (1943) 39–89, esp. 54–55. I am indebted for these references to Thomas Dousa.

<sup>383</sup> See W. Drexler, “Horogeneis Theoi,” in Roscher, *Lexikon*, vol. I/2, p. 2742–43; Wilhelm Gundel, “Horogeneis,” *PRE* 8 (1913) 2411–14, esp. 2412.

<sup>384</sup> For the air, see ll. 508, 541, 693. How the air is related to “ether” (αἰθήρ [l. 515]) is unclear. See Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 89; Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy*, 15–35.

<sup>385</sup> Pap. has ἀνοιγέντος, which Dieterich (8) reads as ἀνοιγέντος, but why Preisendanz keeps ἀνοιγέντος is unclear because *oi/u* is one of the most common phonetic exchanges



boundless circle and its fiery doors shut tight.”) The opening of the sun-disk means the same as ἀπλωθήσεται (l. 576–77) and must not be confused with the opening of the sun’s doors which is to occur later (ll. 625–26). The question is whether we are to think of two doors or of two wings of one door. The image suggests the latter which has a parallel even in Homer.<sup>386</sup> If ἄπυρον is to be read, one would have to conclude that the fire is behind the closed doors;<sup>387</sup> thus it is invisible, and the sun-disk appears as fireless.<sup>388</sup> If, however, ἄπειρον is correct, as we prefer, it would point to the boundlessness of the κύκλωμα. With this, the third scenario is concluded.

#### 4. Fourth scenario: the opening of the doors to the world of the gods (ll. 585–628)

Compared with the previous scenarios the fourth one is distinguished by several extraordinary features. At the beginning, following a ritual of closing the eyes, stands the recitation of the “third prayer,” addressed to the god Aion: σὺ δὲ εὐθέως δίωκε τὸν ὑποκείμενον λόγον καμμύων σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, “At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer.” While the com-

(so Martinez, referring to Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.272–73). Also ἀπυρον, read by the pap., is disputed, but Preisendanz (*WSI* 41 [1919] 143) defends it against Dieterich’s (8) correction to ἄπειρον, and Diels’ to διάπυρον; F. Zucker (*ByZ* 31 [1931] 362) ἔμπυρον (“feurig, flammend”). Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.168) follows Dieterich; Martinez agrees: “fireless does not make sense here, and υ and ει in the Greek of this period sounded like our long e and were exchanged (not nearly so frequently as οι/υ, however (see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.273–73). On the important cosmological term ἄπειρον see Walter Burkert, “Iranisches bei Anaximander,” *RhM* 106 (1963) 97–134; repr. in *Kleine Schriften II: Orientalia* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 192–229, esp. 204, 207–11, 213–14, 220, 227.

The pap. reads ἀποκεκλιμενας, corrected by Dieterich (8) to ἀποκεκλιμέννας.

<sup>386</sup> Homer, *Od.* 24.12: ἡδὲ παρ’ Ἡελίου πύλας. Cf. for the former, i.e. of two doors, the Pythagorean image of the eyes as ἡλίου πύλαι (Diogenes Laertius 8.29); Burkert (see previous note), 203–4 with n. 33, suggests a possible Indo-Iranian background. See Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, II, 44–45; LSJ, s.v. πύλη, II. Cf. Janet Spittler’s question (in a seminar) whether the image may be related to the phenomena of solar eclipses (see also PGM VII.846–60 Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 141–42, 184).

<sup>387</sup> Pap. has ἀποκεκλισμενας. For the “fiery doors” (θύραι πυρίνας), see ll. 625–26, 662; cf. *1 En.* 14:15–22; 71:5–7; 75:4. That the sun consists of fire was the teaching of philosophy since the Presocratics (Anaximenes, Parmenides, Empedocles); see D.-K. 3.384, index s.v. ἥλιος. For πυρίνος as referring to the highest sphere of the deity, see ll. 521, 584, 589, 637, 638. That the sun-disk has doors reminds Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.240) of the stage in the theater, but it could just as well a pictorial representation of some kind. For the concept of heavenly doors, see Lucian, *Icar.* 22–27 and the rich collection of material in Weinreich, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, esp. 239, 343–70.

<sup>388</sup> The term ἄπυρον occurs elsewhere in the PGM, but not with reference to the sun-disk; see III.613; IV.2378; VII.168; XXXVI.295. See Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 12. – κύκλωμα as a cosmological term occurs only here in the PGM; cf. LSJ, s.v.; for κύκλος as “sun-disk” see IV.1326; VII.300, 368; XII.56; as referring to the sun-beetle XII.44.

mand to perform a ritual at once at the beginning of a scenario' is familiar from earlier instances, but the order to close the eyes is new.<sup>389</sup>

The prayer to be recited is called "third" (λόγος γ').<sup>390</sup> It is a petitionary prayer addressed to the god Aion whose name is mentioned in the prayer (l. 594).<sup>391</sup> The prayer (ll. 587–616) shows the usual composition, opening with an invocation (ll. 587–88), followed by an aretalogical list of epithets (ll. 588–603), a petition (ll. 603–4), a statement of need (ll. 605–6), and a list of secret names (ll. 606–16).

The invocation uses the formula: ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἀκουσόν μου, κύριε, "Give ear to me, hearken to me, O lord." The terms are technical in prayer formulae,<sup>392</sup> and, as in the previous prayers, no name is used, but only the divine title κύριος ("lord").<sup>393</sup> Also, the self-identification of the petitioner is offered by way of the symbol Δ, signifying τοῦ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, "N.N."<sup>394</sup> The aretalogy (ll. 588–602) takes the form of 21 epithets,<sup>395</sup> the first being a participle clause revealing the reason for calling this deity: ὁ συνδήσας πνεύματι τὰ πύρινα κληῖθρα τοῦ (τετρα)λιζώματος ("you who have bound together with your spirit the fiery bars of the fourfold root"). Disputed readings of the papyrus have produced controversy regarding the meaning.<sup>396</sup> The problem

<sup>389</sup> Further instruction is given below, ll. 617–20 (cf. for the opening of the eyes l. 624). For this gesture see IV.177, 586, 958. It is attested in the LXX, the NT, also in Philo, *Somn.* 1.164–65: καμύσαντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα (note the context of mystery-cult language). Cf. *1 En.* 1:2: "... while his eyes were open, and he saw." See BDAG, s.v. καμύω; Thomas Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 44, 101, 188–90.

<sup>390</sup> Pap. has γ. The comment belongs to the redactional numbering of the prayers; see ll. 486–537 (first), 558–60, 573–75, 582–85 (second prayer).

<sup>391</sup> On Aion see above, ll. 520–21.

<sup>392</sup> See for other instances, IV.786 (ML), 1064, 1787, 1948, 3064, 3227, 3268, etc.; further instances in Preisendanz, 3.92 (index), s.v. ἐπακούειν; BDAG, s.v. ἐπακούω (with bibliography).

<sup>393</sup> The title κύριος is frequent in the PGM; in the ML it occurs ll. 588, 631, 639, 640, 642, 687, 713, 717, 718, 804. See Preisendanz, 3.126 (index), s.v. κύριος; BDAG, s.v., 2.b (bibliography); Dieter Zeller, "Kyrios," *DDD* 492–97 (bibliography). Cf. δεσπότης, IV.521, 713.

<sup>394</sup> Pap. has Δ της Δ. See on this formula above, at l. 495.

<sup>395</sup> Perhaps, the number is significant: 3 X 7; see Dieterich, 65.

<sup>396</sup> Pap. reads κληῖθρα, which Dieterich (8) reads as κλεῖθρα (followed by Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.166). See also Wilhelm Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculaneensis* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 39, n. 3. Especially difficult has been the reading of the pap. ΤΟΥ Δ' ΑΙΖΩΜΑΤΟΣ, first read by Wessely as ΔΔΙΖΩΜΑΤΟΣ, connected with τετραγώνου; Dieterich (*Abraxas*, 48; *Mithrasliturgie*, 8) reads τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δισώματος ("des Himmels, Zweifelhiger," ["of the heaven, of two bodies"]); Kroll and Diels (in Dieterich [8]) read διαζώματος (agreed by Burkert [in Betz, *GMPT*, 49, n. 84]); Crönert (*StPP* 4 [1905] 100) has τετραδίσματος. Preisendanz (*WSI* 41 [1919] 143–44) reads τετραλιζώματος

may be solved, if the readings relate to the Aion theology in other parts of the ML. Since this theology shows influences of Stoic cosmology, the terminology should be related to this possible background.

The expression ὁ συνδήσας πνεύματι could be derived from a stoicizing cosmology: συνδεσμός occurs in the cosmology of Chrysippus, but the connection with πνεῦμα is not attested.<sup>397</sup> However, the expression might not be only Stoic, since the question of which bond holds the cosmos together was discussed by the Presocratics,<sup>398</sup> Plato,<sup>399</sup> the Stoics,<sup>400</sup> Philo,<sup>401</sup> the Hermetica,<sup>402</sup> and the NT.<sup>403</sup> The term τὰ πύρινα κλιθρα (“the fiery bars”) refers to the bars locking the doors of the sun (l. 584).<sup>404</sup> The hardest problem for interpretation is the term τοῦ τετραλιζώματος, if that is the right reading. As Eitrem and Merkelbach affirm, the change from the letter ρ to λ can happen easily, so that τετραριζώματος is a strong possibility.<sup>405</sup> The four roots, how-

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and translates “des viermal gebunden Gürtels” (similarly Weinreich [in Dieterich, 223], “viermal gewundener Gürtel” [“belt wound fourfold”]; whereas Hopfner has “des vierfach gestützten Himmels” [“of the heaven supported fourfold”]). Eitrem and Merkelbach correct the spelling to τετραριζώματος, but translate differently: “the roots of the four elements” (Eitrem), “des auf den vier Wurzeln (Säulen) ruhenden Alls” (“of the universe standing on the four roots [pillars]”) (Merkelbach).

<sup>397</sup> See SVF II, ## 147 (45.2); 148 (45.10); 174 (50.22); 207 (68.19); 208 (69.6); 216–17 (71.3,22,36); 945 (272–73); also for definitions III, # 22 (214.1–2), Diogenes Babylonius; III, # 22 (247.24), Antipater Tarsensis.

<sup>398</sup> See Empedocles (D.-K. 31 A 54 [I.293.26–27]): τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας συνδεδέσθαι τῷ κροστᾷ; Democritus (D.-K. 68 A 135 [II.122.7]) concerning the σύνδεσις of the atoms.

<sup>399</sup> Plato, *Tim.* 31b–c; 41b; *Resp.* 10.616c; Ps.-Plato, *Epin.* 984b–c; cf. with reference to the city *Leg.* 11.921c; *Resp.* 7.520a.

<sup>400</sup> For the Stoic doctrine of συνδεσμός, see Karl Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie. Neue Untersuchungen zu Poseidonios* (München: Beck, 1926), 411–12; idem, “Poseidonios,” PRE 43. Halbbd. (1953) 588–826, esp. 608–11, 659–61; Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, 1.74–75; 2.42–43; Walter Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter* (SBA 9; Basel: Reinhardt, 1959), 97–105.

<sup>401</sup> Philo (*Her.* 197–200) discusses the composition of frankincense out of four ingredients, symbolically representing the four elements; according to *Plant.* 9–10 the binding agent is the λόγος.

<sup>402</sup> CH I.18; Exc. V.4 (cf. V.6); XXIII.39; XXVI.16.

<sup>403</sup> Col 2:19; 3:14; Eph 4:3–6. See BDAG, s.v. συνδεσμός, συνδέω; Gottfried Fitzer, TDNT 7 (1964) 856–59.

<sup>404</sup> Elsewhere in the PGM, the term κλειθρον is connected with underworld figures like Tartarus, Cerberus, and Hades (IV.1465, 2261, 2294, 2337; cf. κλειστρον XXXVI.317 [cf. 314]). Interesting is Reitzenstein’s (*Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 238) reference to *Sib. Or.* 8:122, where Aion has the epithet κλειδοφύλαξ εἰρκτῆς μεγάλης. See also Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 28–29; and below, note 407.

<sup>405</sup> Eitrem, in Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.240 (with reference to Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.102–7), but he prefers τετραλιζώματος (see above, n. 396).

ever, were a key concept in the cosmology of Empedocles who used the metaphor to explain the function of the four elements:<sup>406</sup>

τέσσαρα γὰρ πάντων ῥιζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε  
 Ζεὺς ἀργῆς Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος ἦδ' Αἰδωνεύς  
 Νῆστις θ' ἢ δακρούις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον.

Hear first the four roots of all things;  
 shining Zeus, life-bringing Hera,  
 Aidoneus and Nestis who with her tears fills the springs  
 of mortal men with water.

What appears here in a poetic form became part of Hellenistic cosmologies, in which the fiery sun, the term *συνδεῖν*, and even the *κληροῦχος* (“key-holder”) have their place.<sup>407</sup> Merkelbach’s comment calls attention to their syncretistic nature.<sup>408</sup> Accepting the reading *τετραλιζώματος* as equalling *τετραριζώματος*, he bases an Egyptian interpretation on the reference to the four pillars (*τέσσαρες στύλισκοι*) in l. 669. “According to the Egyptian viewpoint the world rests on four pillars, and these are rooted in four *ῥιζώματα*.”<sup>409</sup> Indeed, the combination of the older Egyptian worldview with a Hellenistic cosmology would fit as part of the syncretistic Aion-theology of the ML.

Following the first epithet, the remainder of the aretology comprises 20 epithets (ll. 590–602), each of them combining a Greek honorific title with non-Greek *vores magicæ*. These epithets, all of them relating to fire (*πῦρ*), light (*φῶς*) and spirit (*πνεῦμα*), when discussed one by one, throw further light on the syncretistic Aion-theology of the ML.<sup>410</sup>

<sup>406</sup> Empedocles, D.-K. 31 B 6 (I.311.15–312.2), from Actius 1.3.20; cited according to Kirk & Raven, 323, # 417. See also Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy*, 13–14, 355, 385. Cf. Pythagoras: *ἀέναου φύσεως ῥιζώμα* (D.-K. 58 B 15 [I.455.10]); *CH* XVI.4 refers to fire, water and earth as coming from one root (*ῥίζα*).

<sup>407</sup> See Kirk & Raven, 327–30: “The Four Roots and Love and Strife;” also 332–34, and furthermore 370, 376, 380–81, 383, 399, 432. For *Dike* and *Ananke* as *κληροῦχος* see Parmenides (D.-K. 28 B 1 [I.229.9]; Kirk & Raven, 284, # 359): τῶν δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἔχει κληίδας ἀμοιβούς. Cf. Matt 16:19 (δώσω σοι τὰς κλείδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν); 23:13 (κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων).

<sup>408</sup> Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.240.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.* As for the Egyptian sources, Merkelbach refers to Dieter Kurth, “Den Himmel stützen”. Die ‘Tu3pt’ Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975), 90–99. See also Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 15.

<sup>410</sup> See Dieterich, 65–67. Remarkably, the great encomium to Wisdom (*σοφία*) in Wis 7:22–23 (LXX) contains 20 epithets describing the spirit (*πνεῦμα*); the relationship to philosophical Aion theology is evident from many parallels, especially the formula in v. 18. Cf. furthermore Proclus’ Hymn 1 (to Helios), ll. 1–2: Κλύθι, πῦρὸς νοεροῦ βασιλεῦ, χρυσήνιε Τιτάν, κλύθι, φάους ταμία...; for commentary see Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles*, 491–93; van den Berg, *Proclus’ Hymns*, 152–56.

πυρίπολε πεντιτερουνη

πυρίπολος (“fire-burning”) is found only here in the PGM. LSJ (s.v.), refers to πυρίπολος as associated with lightning (κεραυνός) in Euripides. *Suppl.* 640.

πεντιτερουνη is corrected by the scribe from πεντετερουνη; it is unexplained and not attested elsewhere in the PGM.

φωτός κτίστα (οἱ δέ· συγκλεῖστα) σεμειλαμ

φωτός κτίστης (“creator of light”) is unique in the PGM, but may be related to Parmenides’ idea that fire created light (D.-K. 28 A 34 [I.223.35–36]; Kirk & Raven, 278–81); there may be a connection with Pythagoras’ “ten opposite principles,” one of which is φῶς-σκότος (cf. Kirk & Raven, 257, # 328). Cf. XIII.334–37. Interesting is the redactional gloss: οἱ δέ· συνκλεῖστα (“others have: confiner”); the pap. has συνκλιστα. Perhaps this gloss is motivated by κλήθρα l. 589; cf. συγκλείειν, XIII.360.

σεμειλαμ is a known Semitic epithet, meaning “eternal sun”; for passages in PGM see Preisendanz, 3.230 (index) s.v.; for further material see Adolf Jacoby, “Ein Berliner Chnubisamulett,” *ARW* 28 (1930) 269–85, esp. 276–81; Bonner, *Studies*, 58; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles*, 328 (index); Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 310, 311, 312 and index; Daniel and Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, 1.27–28 (n. 10.4); Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.209; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 26–27, 29, 73, 77, 85, 115, 176; Maria G. Lancellotti, “ΣΕΜΕΣ(Ε)ΙΛΑΜ. Una messa a punto,” *ZPE* 132 (2000) 248–54 (bibl.).

πυρίπνοε ψυρινφευ

The adjective πυρίπνοος (“fire-breathing”) occurs also in IV.2559, 2727; VII.831; LXXVII.19; πυριπνέος I.34.

ψυρινφευ appears only here in PGM; cf. ψυρινθ, IV.341.

πυρίθυμε ιαω

The adjective πυρίθυμος (“fire-spirited”) occurs only here in the PGM; according to the *TLG* it is a *hapaxlegomenon*.

ιαω names Iao, frequently mentioned in the PGM; see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.3–4, 29, 35, 42–44; 213, 214, 215; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 264 (index); David Aune, “Iao,” *RAC* 17 (1996) 1–12.

πνευματόφως ωαῖ

The adjective (“spirit-light,” or “shining spirit” [LSJ]) occurs only here.

ωαῖ may be a variation of ιαω (palindrome?); see III.573, 574, 575, 582.

πυριχαρῆ ελουρε

The adjective πυριχαρῆς (“rejoicing in fire” [LSL]) occurs only here in the PGM; according to the *TLG* it is a *hapaxlegomenon*.

Pap. reads ελουρε, a *hapax*, but Martinez considers ερουρε; ερου is attested in combination IV.672, 1589; V.432 and may be related to the decan Ἐρού or Ἐρώ (see below on l. 672; for combinations with ερου see Preisendanz, index, 3.220, 254).

Preisendanz, however, reads ελουρε and takes it to be a vocative ἔλουρε (αἶλουρε, “cat”), assuming an exchange αι/ε. The connection with αἶλουρος (“cat”) was seen already by Wessely and Dieterich (8, *app. crit.*). Dieterich (8, 223) has doubts, however,

whether among all the *vores magicae* suddenly a Greek term should occur; he, therefore, takes it to be a scribal addition. Merkelbach, *Abbrasax*, 3.240: "Der Sonnengott ist der große Kater;" so also Harrauer, *Meliouchos*, 13, n. 5, referring to the cat-spells in III.1–164; IV.9–10, 1648; VII.846; XII.107.

Martinez observes that *πυριχαρῆ* could be a vocative as well; -ῆ as a vocative ending is attested for Koine Greek (Gignac, *Grammar*, 2.137).

καλλίφως αζαῖ

The attribute occurs only here ("light-beauty"); according to the *TLG* it is a *hapax-legenomenon*, but cf. *καλλιφεγγῆ* at PGM IV.1303.

*αζαῖ* is found only here, unexplained. Cf. *αζαζαεισθαλιχ*, VII.819; for other combinations with *αζα*- see Preisendanz, 3.244 (index). Brashear ("Greek Magical Papyri," 3578) calls attention to the Jewish angel named Azza.

αἰών ακβα

*αἰών* is apparently used here as an epithet (the pap. reads *αἰων*), but of course the name Aion is known from the ML elsewhere (see at ll. 520–21). Dieterich (66–67, 233) refers to the images of Aion-Kronos, and to bibliography.

Dieterich (8) reads *ακβα*, now affirmed by Martinez; the epithet occurs only here. Preisendanz reads *αχβα*, which Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 30) explains as a combination of Egyptian *Ah* ("Glanz") *Ba* ("soul").

φωτοκράτωρ πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι

This epithet ("ruler of light," LSJ: "lord of light") occurs only here; according to the *TLG* it is a *hapaxlegenomenon*.

*πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι* is explained by Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 30) as an anaphorical manipulation of Pre, the Demotic name of the sun-god Re, ending with *πιπι*, the pseudo-reproduction of the Hebrew tetragrammaton *יהוה*. See also III.575 (cf. 335); IV.1984–85; XVII.a.1–2. For the problem see Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1942), 120, n. 38; Marc Philonenko, "L'anguipède alectorocéphale et le dieu IAO," *CRAI* (1979) 291–304; Meyer, in Betz, *GMPT*, 49, n. 85; Merkelbach (*Abbrasax*, 3.240–41) who refers to Jerome, *Ep.* 25 (cited in *Abbrasax*, 2.29), and Paul de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra* (repr. of the 1887 ed.; Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), 228–29. Jordan sees here an imperfect palindrome *μεπεμπερπεμπεμ*.

πυρισώματα φνουηνιοχ

*πυρισώματος* ("fire-bodied") occurs only here.

*φνουηνιοχ* is unexplained, and is found only here.

φωτοδῶτα

Pap. reads *φωτοδῶτα*, corrected by Dieterich (9, 223) to *φωτοδῶτα*, but Preisendanz keeps *φωτοδῶτα*. The attribute *φωτοδότης* ("light-giver") occurs also in Simplicius, *In Epict.* 1.410 (ed. Hadot). Preisendanz compares IV.3235: *πυριδῶτα* (pap. has *πυριδωρα*). The *vox magica* is missing.

πυρισπόρε αρει εἰκίτα

The adjective πυρισπόρος (“fire-sower”) occurs only here in the PGM, but according to the *TLG* it is also attested as attribute of Dionysus in *Hymn. Orph.* 45, line 1; 52, l. 2; Orpianus, *Cyn. Book* 4, l. 304.

αρει εἰκίτα are unexplained *hapaxlegomena*.

πυρίκλονε γαλλαβαλβα

The pap. reads πυριχλone, corrected by Dieterich (8; cf. idem, *Abraxas*, 49: πυριχλone). The adjective πυρίκλονος (“fire-thronging” [LSJ]) occurs only here; cf. l. 621: κλόνος. γαλλαβαλβα is found only here.

φωτοβία ιαιαιω

The pap. reads φωτοβία ιαιαιω, corrected by Dieterich to φωτόβιε, αιαιω, Preisendanz-Henrichs to φωτοβίαιε αιω. Martinez takes φωτοβία as a vocative of φωτοβίας (first declension, masc.; see LSJ, s.v. (“powerful of light”), found only here.

αιω may be a variation of ιαιω see l. 593; so Crönert, *StPP* 4 (1905) 100; Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 1, 267, 282, 471.

πυριδίνα πυριχι βοοσηια

The pap. reads πυριδεινα. The adjective πυριδίνος (“fire-whirling”) is found only here. πυριχι βοοσηια are unexplained *hapaxlegomena*; Preisendanz suggests πυριχι[τών].

φωτοκινήτα σανχερωβ

The attribute φωτοκινήτης (“light-mover”) is found only here.

σανχερωβ is found only here; Dieterich (223), Jacoby (apud Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, ad loc.) and Brashear (“Greek Magical Papyri,” 3589) suggest the interpretation σαν Χερουβ.

κεραυνόκλονε ιη ωη ιωηω

The adjective κεραυνόκλονος (“lightning-shaker”) occurs only here; cf. l. 621: κλόνος and above πυρίκλονε.

The vowel sequence ιη ωη ιωηω is unexplained.

φωτὸς κλέος βεεγένητε

The expression φωτὸς κλέος (“light-famous”) is found only here. Pap. reads βεεγένητε, which Dieterich (10; also *Abraxas*, 49,5) takes to be βαῖεγέννητε, meaning “Leben-gezeugter” oder “Lebenerzeuger,” “life-begotten or life-begetter” (from Egyptian βαῖ meaning “life” or “soul”), a word inserted by an Egyptian magician-redactor.

Preisendanz keeps βεεγενητε.

ἀξήσῆφως σουσινεφι

The attribute ἀξήσῆφως (“light-increasing”), with trema in the pap, appears only here. σουσινεφιεν is unexplained; Dieterich (10) reads σουσινεφι as in IV.602; XII.293: σουσηγη; σουσι XLI.3; LXXII.35: ]εφι[. According to Dieterich (10), Jordan and Martinez, there is indeed a space between σουσινεφι and εν, which suggests ἐν(for ἐμ)πυρισχησιφως (as in LSJ, s.v. ἐμπυρισχησιφως, “deriving light from the empyrean”).

ἐνπυρισχισίφως σουσίνεφι ἀρενβαραζει μαρμαρεντευ

For the attribute ἐνπυρισχισίφως see above. Preisendanz (see also in Dieterich, 223) prefers σουσινεφιευν πυρισχισίφως (“der Licht durch Feuer erhält”), whereupon follows the expansion σουσινεφιαρεν.

σουσίνεφι ἀρενβαραζει μαρμαρεντευ: the *vores magicae* are found only here, but see l. 601 for σουσίνεφι; combinations using μαρμαρ- are found elsewhere.

Thus ends the invocation; the following attribute ἀστροδάμα, without a *vox magica*, belongs to the following petition.<sup>411</sup> The prayer to Aion leads to the presentation of the petition (ll. 603–4) and the reason for the petition (ll. 604–6). The transition from the preceding aretology to the petition seems to be provided by the address of the god as ἀστροδάμα (“subduer of stars”).<sup>412</sup> The petition itself is brief: ἄνοιξόν μοι (“open [for] me”), referring to the closed doors of the sun (ll. 583–85).<sup>413</sup> Following the petition is a recitation of the προπροφεγγη-formula: προπροφεγγη εμεθειρε μδριομοσυρηφιλβα.<sup>414</sup> The question, which, given our present knowledge, cannot be answered, is whether this formula is to be recited here in an abbreviated version, or whether the abbreviation is to be completed in accordance with one of the longer versions (see above, on ll. 562–65).

The reason for the petition is given in a long sentence in ll. 604–10, containing two statements, introduced by: ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἔνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης καὶ πικρᾶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης ... (“for I invoke, because of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity ...”). The term ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (“invoke”) is technical in prayer language and occurs in the PGM frequently.<sup>415</sup> The subsequent statement is another instance of the “ananke formula” (see ll. 503–4, 526–27, 534–35). The related statement

<sup>411</sup> I accept this suggestion made orally by Fritz Graf.

<sup>412</sup> The attribute ἀστροδάμας appears only here in the PGM. Cf. *Orph. Frag.* 47 (ed. Kern; D.-K. I, 18, 6; Zuntz, *Persephone*, 346–47 [tablet C]): τὴν πάντα δαμασά. This tablet C was re-edited by Alberto Bernabé and Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal, *Instrucciones para el más allá. Las laminillas órficas de oro* (Madrid 2001), 273–77: παντοδαμάστα; see also Tablet A1–2, line 4, and on it Zuntz, *Persephone*, 313–17. Furthermore, Epimenides B 2 (D.-K. I, 33, 4).

<sup>413</sup> Cf. in the ML also ll. 662 (opening of doors), 624 (opening of the eyes). Commands to open (ἀνοίγειν) occur often in the PGM (see esp. IV.968, 1180; XIII.327–33; XXXVI.298, 312–20; LXII.27–31). The whole matter is related to the Hellenistic miracle *topos* of door openings; see Otto Weinreich, “Türöffnungswunder bei Zauber und Gebet,” in his *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), esp. 183–89, 201–4; Betz, *Lukian*, 169–71 (with further bibliography).

<sup>414</sup> The pap. reads μδριο; according to Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) the papyri often read 8 (or: oo) for the letter omicron (Jordan offers omega with underscoring). Preisendanz reads the formula as μοριομοσυρηφιλβα. For τυρηφιλβα, see also l. 565.

<sup>415</sup> See Preisendanz, 3.95–96, (index) s.v. ἐπικαλεῖν; BDAG, s.v., 1.



regarding the deity called upon seems well-constructed and looks like a quotation from another context:

τὰ μηδέπω χωρήσαντα εἰς θνητὴν φύσιν  
μηδὲ φρασθέντα ἐν διαρθρώσει ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης γλώσσης  
ἢ θνητοῦ φθόγγου ἢ θνητῆς φωνῆς  
ἀθάνατα ζῶντα καὶ ἔντιμα ὀνόματα.

the immortal names, living and honored,  
which have not yet passed into mortal nature  
nor have been declared in articulate speech  
by human tongue or mortal speech or mortal sound.

This strange statement, which is unique in the PGM,<sup>416</sup> is formulated in parallel lines and contains a theory about the nature of the divine vowel sequence to follow. Accordingly, mortal nature (φύσις)<sup>417</sup> corresponds to articulate speech (γλώσσα),<sup>418</sup> mortal sound (φθόγγος),<sup>419</sup> and mortal voice (φωνή). Therefore, the truly divine names of the gods must be totally different,<sup>420</sup> that is, pure sound as in the vowel sequences (ll. 610–16).

Outside of the PGM, however, there are similar statements reflecting a background in prophecy or mystery-cult ideas.<sup>421</sup> Especially important is the parallel in 1 Cor 2:9:

<sup>416</sup> Cf., however, XIII.763–64: τὸ κρυπτόν ὄνομα καὶ ἄρρητον (ἐν ἀνθρώπου στόματι λαλῆσαι οὐ δύναται). See for discussion and further materials my article, “Secrecy in the Greek Magical Papyri,” *Antike und Christentum*, 152–74.

<sup>417</sup> On the phrase θνητὴ φύσις, see ll. 502, 533.

<sup>418</sup> The pap. reads διαρθρώσει, corrected by Usener (in Dieterich, 11) and Kroll (*Ph.* 53 [1894] 421) to διαρθρώσει. The term διάρθρωσις (“articulation”) is technical in discussions of language theory; see Plato, *Prot.* 322a; *Leg.* 12.963b; Aristotle, *Part.* 2.17.660a; LSJ, s.v.. For the use of φράζειν in connection with ὄνομα, see XIII.640–41: ἐφελκυσάμενος πνεῦμα πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι φράσον τὸ ὄνομα τὸ πρῶτον ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἀπηλιώτη; for φράζειν cf. also I.91, 319; IV.198–200, 945, 1971; XIII.641. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.241; cf. 1.148) refers to a parallel in the mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa (2nd c. CE), where he says that the theurgists invoke the gods σιγμοῖς τε καὶ ποπυσμοῖς καὶ ἀνάρθροις (ἐνάρθροις codd.) καὶ ἀσυμφώνοις ἤχοις (*Musici scriptores Graeci*, ed. K. Jan [BiTeu; Leipzig: Teubner, 1895], 277: Excerpta ex Nicomacho 6). For further material see Willy Theiler, “Die Sprache des Geistes in der Antike,” in: *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung. Festschrift für Albert Debrunner* (Bern: Francke, 1954), 431–40; Klaus Thraede, “Inspiration,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65.

<sup>419</sup> For the use of φθόγγος see ll. 745; also VII.775, 778; XII.253; XIII.393, 545–46, 776; XXI.12.

<sup>420</sup> The expression ἔντιμα ὀνόματα occurs in the singular also IV.3272.

<sup>421</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.241) points to the parallel in Thessalos of Tralles (ed. Friedrich), prooemium, p. 23, line 2; also Totti, *Texte*, 117 (# 45): in the description of a visit with Asclepius, the officiating priest causes the god to appear by invoking him by his secret names: προαγαγὼν διὰ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ὀνομάτων τὸν θεόν, “bringing forth the god through his ineffable names.”

ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν  
καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη,  
ἃ ἠτοίμασέν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτοῦ.

What the eye has not seen and the ear has not heard,  
and in the human heart has not arisen (this is)  
what God has provided for those who love him.

The passage, interpreting the revelation of God's wisdom (v. 7–9a), is introduced as a quotation from scripture, but no such scripture verse can be identified in extant texts. This does not mean that such a text could not have existed.<sup>422</sup> There are similar but not identical passages in the apocalyptic and gnostic Apocrypha. The origin of the passage constitutes an unresolved problem.<sup>423</sup>

With the vowel sequences (ll. 610–16) the prayer to Aion has come its end.<sup>424</sup> What follows in ll. 617–20 is an interesting instruction concerning performance of recitation. Several items are stipulated, the first of which is: ταῦτα πάντα λέγε μετὰ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος. (“Recite all of these with fire and spirit.”) Apparently, this instruction refers to rhetorical enthusiasm, corresponding to fire and spirit mentioned in the prayer, and comparable to Paul's reference to ἀπόδειξις πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως (“demonstration of spirit and power,” 1 Cor 2:4).<sup>425</sup>

The second rule says that: ... τὸ πρῶτον ἀποτελεῶν, εἶτα ὁμοίως τὸ δεῦτερον ἀρχόμενος, ἕως ἐκτελέσης τοὺς ζ' ἀθανάτους θεοὺς τοῦ κόσμου<sup>426</sup> (“... the first time performing to the end; then in the same way when you begin the second time, until you have gone through the seven immortal gods of the universe”). How is this to be understood? Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*)

<sup>422</sup> Cf. also the contrasts in 1 Cor 2:4: ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖ[ς] σοφίας [λόγοις] ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως.

<sup>423</sup> For a collection of parallel passages and discussion of the problems, see Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck], 1986), 36–41; Wolfgang Schrage, *Die Elia-Apokalypse* (JSRZ 5:3; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1980), 195–96; idem, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum NT, VII; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 1.238–46. The passage from the ML will have to be added to these collections.

<sup>424</sup> David Jordan's observation (letter of December 17, 2002) is important at this point: “Several of the clusters of vowels have diacriticals, again as if to show pronunciation, e.g. 615 ὅηεση or 616 ὠή εὐ ὀό. These marks are faint in the photograph and were probably written in a lighter ink, perhaps even added later by a second scribe. It is sometimes hard to distinguish them from natural discolorations on the fibers. Perhaps they were unrecognizable before the Paris conservators removed the shellac from the papyrus.”

<sup>425</sup> Cf. also John the Baptist's baptism with the holy spirit and fire (Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16; Acts 1:5; 2:1–4).

<sup>426</sup> Pap. reads ζ.

suggests that the 23 times 7 letters refer to 23 epithets in the list ll. 590–605, but this list has only 21 epithets. Or is, more likely, the vowel sequence to be chanted seven times, so that the seven gods of the universe are addressed?

Whatever the answer may be, following the conclusion of the prayer, the text announces its effect (ll. 620–23): ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος ἀκούσει βροντῆς καὶ κλόνου τοῦ περιέχοντος. (“When you have said these things, you will hear thunder and shaking in the surrounding realm.”) Claps of shattering thunder<sup>427</sup> figure prominently into events in the cosmic realm.<sup>428</sup> It certainly will shake up the initiate: ὁμοίως δὲ σεαυτὸν αἰσθηθήσει ταρασσόμενον (“in the same way you will experience yourself being shaken”).<sup>429</sup>

Confronting the terror, the initiate is to repeat the σιγή-logos: σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγή λό(γος)<sup>430</sup> (“But you say again: Silence (prayer).” The prayer so-called has been recited before (see ll. 558–60, 573, 582), but the wording is somewhat different. Which version should then be used? Most likely is the first complete form (ll. 558–60).

Then the practitioner is told to open his eyes and experience the vision (ll. 624–28): εἴτα ἀνοιξον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὄψη. (“Then open your eyes, and you will see.”) The opening of the eyes ends their closing which had been ordered at ll. 586–87. As usual, the vision is announced by ὄψη. Its object is presented as a description of an image: ἀνεωγυῖας τὰς θύρας καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν θεῶν,<sup>431</sup> ὅς ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῶν θυρῶν, ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεάματος ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς τὸ πνεῦμά σου συντρέχειν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν. (“You will see the doors opened and the world of the gods, which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends”). The doors in the sun, reported as closed in ll. 584–85, are now open, so that the initiate can take a look inside of heaven, the world of the gods. The opening of the doors of heaven is a *topos* of vision accounts of all kinds, especially in apocalyptic literature.<sup>432</sup> Viewing this image turns the previous

<sup>427</sup> For βροντή see above, on ll. 571–72; for κλόνος ll. 597, 599–600.

<sup>428</sup> The term τὸ περιέχον is technical in cosmologies (PGM VII.508: τὸ περιέχον, ὃ ἐστὶν γῆ καὶ οὐρανός); XIII.139, 163 (θεοὶ ζ', οἵτινες τὸν κόσμον περιέχουσιν), 345, 443–44, 474, 517, 698, etc.). See Plato, *Tim.* 31a; *Crit.* 118a; *CH Exc.* XXIII.11, 67, 69; and LSJ, s.v. περιέχω, 1. b.

<sup>429</sup> αἰσθηθήσει is a peculiar term, for which Preisendanz refers to Helbing, *Grammatik der LXX*, 98.

<sup>430</sup> Pap. has the symbol Δ; see above on l. 573.

<sup>431</sup> Pap. reads ἀνεωγυῖας and the abbreviation θν with a stroke above for θεῶν; cf. below, l. 648, and Preisendanz, 2.270.

<sup>432</sup> Cf. also Homer, *Od.* 24.12ff. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.241) points to the description of the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος in Plato, *Phaedr.* 246b–252c, esp. 246e. See also, e.g., Mark 1:10 // Matt 3:16 // Luke 3:21; John 1:51; Acts 7:56; 10:11; Rev 3:7, 20; 4:1; etc. See BDAG, s.v. ἀνοίγω, 2; *OTP* 2, index s.v. “Heaven, gates of”; Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven:*

fear into pleasure and joy, so that his spirit that he had inhaled before (see ll. 537, 628) runs with him and carries him along on his ascent.<sup>433</sup> With this experience of aesthetic enthusiasm, the fourth scenario has come to an end.

5. *Fifth scenario: the encounter with Helios (ll. 628–61)*

The fifth scenario shows the initiate at a higher level of the cosmos. He is now ready to encounter the god Helios who has been mentioned before as Helios Mithras (l. 482) as well as the sun disk (548 [πατήρ], 551, 576, 579–80, 583). His relationship with Aion and Mithras appears complicated, but for the author these deities are, in the final analysis, identical.<sup>434</sup> As often, the scenario begins with a spatial orientation and commands to perform rituals (ll. 628–29): *στάς οὖν εὐθέως ἔλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἀτενίζων εἰς σεαυτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα*. (“Now stand still and at once draw spirit from the divine into yourself, while you gaze intently [at the god Helios]”).<sup>435</sup> The standing still arrests the upward movement (ll. 627–28). The ritual drawing in from the divine refers to the sun as the source of the spirit (cf. ll. 537–38); the gazing (*ἀτενίζειν*) has been mentioned before (see above, on l. 556). This leads to the precondition for the next step: *ὅταν οὖν ἀποκατασταθῇ σου ἡ ψυχὴ ...* (“Then when your soul has been restored ...”). While the initiate’s self had been shattered because of the thunder (ll. 622–23), an additional inhalation of the divine spirit will now restore his soul (*ψυχὴ*). The concept of the soul as an individual’s self has been mentioned before,<sup>436</sup> although not in ll. 622–23. At any rate, the term needs to be taken in a non-Platonic sense as describing the spirit-self (*πνεῦμα*), as

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*A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982), 53, 78, 359, 369, 372, 378, 389, 415; Aune, *Revelation*, 1.279–82.

<sup>433</sup> For *ἀναβαίνειν* see l. 546; for *συντρέχειν*, a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, cf. *σύμπλανος*, l. 574. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.241) calls attention to the parallel in Plato’s *Phaedr.* 248a, where the immortal soul is taken up by the rotation of the cosmos.

<sup>434</sup> See for a general discussion the Introduction, above, 34–38.

<sup>435</sup> Translations differ at this point: Dieterich: “Tritt nun hin sogleich und ziehe von dem Göttlichen gerade hinblickend in dich den Geisthauch”; Preisendanz: “Nun bleib stehn und ziehe gleich von dem göttlichen Wesen, es unverwandt anblickend, in dich den Geisthauch”; Meyer: “So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you look intently”; Merkelbach: “Stelle dich also auf, blicke auf die Gottheit und ziehe ihren Lebenshauch in dich selbst”; Festugière: “Reste en place cependant, et aussitôt, de ce monde divin, le fixant du regard, attire à toi le souffle.”

The sentence construction is awkward, but it should be clear that what is to be drawn in from the divine (Helios) is the spirit, and what is to be gazed at is the deity (Helios). Cf. *Barn.* 5.10 about the inability of humans to gaze into the sun rays: *ἐμβλέποντες οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν εἰς τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι*.

<sup>436</sup> See ll. 475, 498, 524, 535, 710, 725. For the concept of world-soul see the discussion on l. 475.

having grown weak and in need of another infusion of the divine spirit.<sup>437</sup> When this has taken place, the moment for calling forth the god has come: λέγε· πρόσσελθε, κύριε (“speak: come forward, lord”).<sup>438</sup> A series of *voes magicæ* follows (631–33), most of them unexplained: αρχανδαρα<sup>439</sup> φωταζα<sup>440</sup> πυριφωταζαβυθιξ<sup>441</sup> ετιμενμερο φοραθην<sup>442</sup> εριη προθρι φοραθι.

After this command, the epiphany of Helios begins: τοῦτο <σοῦ> εἰπόντος στραφήσονται ἐπὶ σε αἱ ἀκτῖνες ...<sup>443</sup> (“When you have spoken this, the sun rays will turn themselves upon you ...”). The sun-beams, mentioned before in IV.461, 538, focus on the initiate like a search light. This event can perhaps relate to images in the Mithraic iconography, where Mithras turns around to look at Helios as he slays the bull.<sup>444</sup> The text then instructs: ἔσειδε αὐτῶν μέσον (“look into the center of them”).<sup>445</sup>

The ritual continues: ὅταν οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσης, ὄψη ... (“Then, when you do this, you will see ...”).<sup>446</sup> What follows is an iconographic portrait of Helios (ll. 635–37): θεὸν νεώτερον, εὖειδῆ, πυρινότριχα, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ <χ>λαμῦδι κοκκίνη ἔχοντα πύρινον στέφανον<sup>447</sup> (“a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown”). The portrait is constructed of adjectives and participles typical of Helios. Although the deities are different, there are also remarkable parallels between his and Mithras’ portrait (ll. 696–702).<sup>448</sup>

<sup>437</sup> As Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 72–73) notes, ψυχή is not a prominent concept in the ML; in that regard *CH* XIII is similar.

<sup>438</sup> For the command λέγε, see l. 623; for πρόσσελθε see also ll. 580, 756 (on the departure see ll. 655–57). For the title κύριος see above, on l. 588. Martinez calls attention to the liturgical call “Lord, come!” (μαράνα θά, 1 Cor 16:22; Did 10:6); cf. ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ (Rev 22:20). See BDAG, s.v. μαράνα θά.

<sup>439</sup> Cf. αρχανδαβαρ XII.156, χανδαρα V.433.

<sup>440</sup> Cf. next πυριφωταζα (?), φωσζα πυρι βελια Ἰάω ιαο εωω etc. (l. 962).

<sup>441</sup> So the pap. Adolf Deissmann (*Bible Studies* [trans. Alexander Grieve; Edinburgh: Clark, 1901; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988], 130–32) proposes ζαβυθ, with the remaining πυριφωτα. Or should it perhaps be πυριφωταζα βυθιξ?

<sup>442</sup> Cf. φοραθι, below.

<sup>443</sup> Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) suggests adding σοῦ, cf. l. 655.

<sup>444</sup> See, e.g., the Mithras reliefs in Cesare Letta, “Helios/Sol,” *LIMC* 4:1–2 (1988), ## 368, 373, 376; Rainer Vollkommer, “Mithras,” *ibid.*, 6:1–2 (1992), ## 113, 132, 135, 136, 153; Merkelbach, *Mithras*, fig. 50, 54, 71, 73, 116.

<sup>445</sup> Pap. reads εσειδε. Cf. Dieterich (10, l. 27) and Hopfner who read ἔσει δὲ and translate: “und du wirst mitten unter ihnen sein” (“and you will be in their midst”). Riess reads ἔσιδε; Jordan takes it as εἶσιδε.

<sup>446</sup> For this phrase, cf. ll. 569, 629–30, 692, 757; also IV.634–35, 1431; for ὄψη, see above, on l. 539.

<sup>447</sup> Jordan reads <χ>λαμῦδι; Dieterich, Preisendanz have χλαμῦδι.

<sup>448</sup> For the iconography of Helios, see Dieterich (67–68) who refers to Cumont (*Textes et monuments*, 1.123–24); for representations of the god on Mithraic monuments, see also

The terms θεός νεώτερος and ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ are also used of Mithras (ll. 697–98), while εὐηδής, πυρινόθριξ, γλαμῶς κοκκίνη are applied to Helios only;<sup>449</sup> en lieu of a πύρινος στέφανος Mithras is crowned with a χρυσός στέφανος.

At the appearance of Helios, he is to be greeted at once<sup>450</sup> with a special greeting called πύρινος ἀσπαστικός (l. 638):<sup>451</sup> εὐθέως ἄσπασαι αὐτὸν τῷ πυρίνῳ ἀσπαστικῷ (“At once greet him with the firey greeting”). The prayer so named is contained in ll. 639–55. Beginning with the invocation, it shows the usual composition: the invocation (ll. 639–42), and the presentation of a petition (ll. 642–55). The prayer may even be influenced by court ceremonial.<sup>452</sup>

The invocation is carefully composed, beginning with the address κύριε (“lord”)<sup>453</sup> and χαῖρε (“Greetings!” “Hail”),<sup>454</sup> and followed by an aretology of three attributes using μεγα-: μεγαλοδύναμε (“great power”),<sup>455</sup> με<γα>λο-

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Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 201; fig. 16b, 25, 33, 49, 50, 62, 70, 88, 103, 139; Cesare Letta, “Helios/Sol,” *LIMC* 4:1–2, s.v.; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 12–13. It is noteworthy that the verbal portrait in *Orph. Hymn.* 8 uses entirely different terms. Cf. the iconography of Christ in Rev 1:12–16, and the collection of parallels in Aune, *Revelation*, 1.71–100.

<sup>449</sup> Cf. of Helios ἐν τῇ πυρίνῃ γλαμῶδι, XIV.7–8.

<sup>450</sup> This scene may be compared to one of the fresco paintings from the Isis temple in Herculaneum. A black dancing figure emerges in the door of the temple and is greeted by worshipers raising their hands or kneeling down, also using the sistrum. See Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai*, 100–102 and plate XXIV; Merkelbach, *Isis Regina*, color plate V and description p. 554 (fig. 73). – On εὐθέως in the ML, see on l. 557.

<sup>451</sup> There are no parallels known of this greeting formula, which is apparently the name of the following prayer. Cf. Proclus’ “Fire Song” (*Hymn* 1), discussed by Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 202–203, 491–93; van den Berg, *Proclus’ Hymns*, 145–89. For ἀσπάζεσθαι in the ML, see ll. 666, 677, 712. Cf. the classification of greeting formulae as χαιρετισμός (II.87; IV.1046; cf. χαιρετίζειν I.60–61; IV.1052–53; XIII.117, 673); see Anton Baumstark, “Chairetismos,” *RAC* 2 (1954) 993–1006; Henrik Zilliakus, “Grüßformen,” *RAC* 12 (1983) 1204–32.

<sup>452</sup> See Karl Hoheisel, “Hofzeremoniell,” *RAC* 16 (1991) 1–4; Rudolf Wachter (“Griechisch χαῖρε. Vorgeschichte eines Grußwortes,” *MH* 55 [1998] 65–75) connects the greeting with the giving of gifts and sacrifices. For the hymns to Helios see the reconstructions by Ernst Heitsch, in *Preisendanz*, 2.237–46; also, with commentary, Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 1–2; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 111–12.

<sup>453</sup> See also l. 588, with note; for comparative material on addressing persons, see Henrik Zilliakus, “Anredeformen,” *RAC.S*, fasc. 3–4 (1985–86) 465–97.

<sup>454</sup> This greeting is actually an appeal (“be glad”); it occurs frequently in the ML; see ll. 713–14; also 666, 670–72, 678, 688–91, 1048, 2242; XII.182; XIII.609. Cf. Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 19 (ed. Ziegler): ... δε, χαῖρε νύμφε, χαῖρε νέον φῶς (“... Greetings, bridegroom! Greetings, new light!”). See, Dieterich, 214; Rudolf Wachter, “Griechisch χαῖρε. Vorgeschichte eines Grußwortes,” *MH* 55 (1998) 65–75; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.61–62; 2.5–6; Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 150–51.

<sup>455</sup> μεγαλοδύναμος occurs also l. 519; IV. 1345–46; VII.881; XII.374–75.

κράτωρ βασιλεῦ (“great-mighty king”),<sup>456</sup> μέγιστε θεῶν (“greatest of gods”).<sup>457</sup> Then comes the god’s name, Helios and two more attributes: ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς (“the lord of the heaven and the earth”),<sup>458</sup> and θεὸς θεῶν (“god of gods”).<sup>459</sup> Next come two parallel verbal forms: ἰσχύει σου ἡ πνοή (“mighty is your breath”), and ἰσχύει σου ἡ δύναμις<sup>460</sup> (“mighty is your power”); both of them are *hapaxlegomena* in the PGM. The conclusion (l. 642; cf. l. 639) repeats the address κύριε.

The presentation of the petition (ll. 642–55) is equally elaborate and begins with some formalities: ἐάν σοι δόξη, ἀγγελιὸν με τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι ... (“If it be your will, announce me to the greatest god, the one who begat and made you ...”). The polite formula, “If you please,” or “if you will,” expresses submission to the divine will.<sup>461</sup> The role of Helios as an announcer has an interesting parallel in Acts 12:14 (ἀπαγγέλλειν), showing that it may belong to domestic practices.<sup>462</sup> Helios functions here as a gate-keeper and messenger to announce visitors to Mithras.<sup>463</sup>

<sup>456</sup> The pap. reads μελοκράτωρ, corrected by Wessely to μεγαλοκράτωρ, here as a vocative, cf. ll. 687–88: μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί. Cf. βασιλεῦ μέγιστε, IV.243, 255; Proclus, *Hymn* 1, line 1: πυρὸς νοεροῦ βασιλεῦ; line 2: φαοὺς ταμία; see van den Berg, *Proclus’ Hymns*, 152–56.

<sup>457</sup> The epithet occurs frequently in the PGM; see II.126; IV. 987, 1598; XIII.1019, 1046; and for further references, Preisendanz, index, 3.133–34, s.v. μέγας; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.4.

<sup>458</sup> The epithet is found only here in the PGM; parallels occur in the LXX and in the NT (Matt 11:25 // Luke 10:21 [Q]; Acts 17:24). See BDAG, s.v. κύριος, II.2.b.

<sup>459</sup> The pap. reads θε (with superscripted ε) θεων. See for this epithet θεὸς θεῶν PGM II.53; IV.180, 218, 641, 992, 1048, 1195, 1200; XXII.b.20. For other parallels, see BDAG, s.v. θεός.

<sup>460</sup> Pap. has ἰσχυει.

<sup>461</sup> The petition (in Greek called ἔντευξις) begins with the polite phrase ἐάν σοι δόξη, see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, 4:1 (1944), s.v. δοκέω (cols. 609–10); BDAG, s.v. δοκέω, 2.b.β. See Anna di Bitonto, “Le petizioni al re. Studio sul formulario,” *Aegyptus* 47 (1967) 5–57, esp. 17–18 on the “formule attentuative.” Cf. Jesus’ prayer in Gethsemane, Matt 26:39, 42, and parr.; Nock (*Essays*, 1.192–93) refers to ML passages on the divine will: ll. 499, 642, 648.

<sup>462</sup> Eduard Norden (in Dieterich, 233) notes that the visitor had to be announced and points to Seneca, *Apoc.* 5; the question of the Sibyll to Musacus (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.666–71). See also Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.28–29.

<sup>463</sup> Dieterich (67–68) raises the question whether this role of Helios has any connection with the *heliodromus*, the second to last grade of the Mithraic mysteries: “Wie weit der vorletzte Grad der Mithrasmythen, der ἡλιοδρόμοι – die Weihe des vorletzten Grades heißt ἡλιακά (C[umont] I 317, 3) – zur Erklärung dieser Rolle dienen könnte, läßt sich schwerlich sagen.” For further literature and discussion see Wünsch’s (Dieterich, 233) reference to René Dussaud, “Notes de mythologie archéologique syrienne,” § 4: “Hélios psychopompe,” *RAr*, 4ème série, t. 1 (1903) 142–48.

To call Mithras ὁ μέγιστος θεός (l. 643) apparently contradicts l. 640, where the epithet belongs to Helios. The epithet which follows clarifies the issue (ll. 643–44): τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι (“[Mithras] who begat and made you”). According to Dieterich (68), Mithras is defined here as the father and Helios as the son, but the title ὁ μέγας θεός “Ἡλιος Μίθρας (l. 482) means that at least for the author father and son are one. Dieterich observes that “the idea of the *unio mystica* of father and son was not completely alien to ancient religious sentiment.”<sup>464</sup> In other words, the idea does not result from Christian influence. Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 22–23) argues against Dieterich that Mithras is not called the μέγιστος θεός, but ὁ θεὸς ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀγαθός, that is Agathos Daimon or the Iranian Ahura Mazda. Also, because both are called “young gods,” one can hardly be the father of the other. There is no question, however, that Helios will announce the visitor to Mithras who, he says emphatically, has begotten Helios.<sup>465</sup> The contradiction seems to be the result of the competition between the two gods.<sup>466</sup>

In ll. 644–49 the initiate asks Helios to pass on to Mithras the self-identification of the initiate, a kind of passport. This self-identification contains important information about the anthropology of the ML.<sup>467</sup> The section conforms to a *synthema* and has two parts.<sup>468</sup>

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On the *heliodromus*, see Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 118–27. For comparable messengers, see Lucian, *Icarom.* 20–22; also Betz, *Lukian*, 109, n. 9. For the handing over of a petition to the Lord of Heaven, see *1 En.* 13:4–6; 14:4–7.

<sup>464</sup> Dieterich’s (68) detailed discussion rejects the idea that this relationship reflects Christian influence: “Daß eine Vorstellung von der *unio mystica* des Vaters und des Sohnes auch antikem religiösem Empfinden nicht ganz fremd war....” But he still considers it a possibility (n. 2): “Im übrigen denke ich gar nicht daran – auch hier sei das kurz betont – die Möglichkeit der Einwirkungen christlicher Anschauungen auf diejenigen unseres Textes in Abrede stellen zu wollen.” Since there is no real evidence for Christian influences elsewhere in the ML, Dieterich’s skepticism is justified.

<sup>465</sup> For the fatherhood of Mithras, see Porphyry, *Antr. nymph.* 6: τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου; and Julian, *Caes.* 336c: τὸν πατέρα Μίθραν. These passages are cited by Dieterich, 68, n. 1; 135, notes 1–3.

<sup>466</sup> On the competition between Mithras and Helios, see Julien Ries, “Le culte de Mithra en Iran,” *ANRW* II.18:4 (1990) 2728–75, esp. 2767–68: “Le Soleil, Mithra et le Feu.”

<sup>467</sup> Thus adding to the other self-identifications in the ML in ll. 517–37 and 718–24. See also Festugière, *Révélation*, 4.220–41.

<sup>468</sup> Cf. the parallel self-introduction and its implied anthropology in the *Katharmoi* of Empedocles (D. L. 8.62 and 66; D.-K. 31 B 112 [I,354,14–18]; Kirk & Raven, # 478 [p. 354]). Empedocles addresses his friends: ὦ φίλοι, ... χαίρετ’ ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν θεὸς ἀμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος (“Friends, ... Rejoice! To you I am as an immortal god, no longer a mortal, going about honored among all,...” [my trans.]). For the interpretation, see the quotations of Empedocles in later sources, esp. Clemens Alex., *Strom.* 6.30.3; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.1; Plotinus, *En.* 4.7.10,38: χαίρετ’, ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν



First, the initiate identifies himself as an individual belonging to the human species: ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγὼ ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ῖ(να),<sup>469</sup> γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας τῆς δεῖνα καὶ ἰχώρος σπερματικοῦ (“that a human being am I, NN, whose mother is NN, who was born from the mortal womb of NN and the fluid of semen”).<sup>470</sup> His species is called ἄνθρωπος (“human being”), vis à vis a divine being (ll. 646–48);<sup>471</sup> the individual is identified by the personal name to be inserted as well as, in matrilinear descendance, by the name of the mother. A human being must be from the mortal womb of the mother,<sup>472</sup> again identified by her name,<sup>473</sup> and the semen of the father, not identified by name.<sup>474</sup>

Second, the initiate identifies himself by his divine nature, which is the result of his ritual rebirth (ll. 646–49): καὶ, σήμερον τούτου ὑπό σου με<τα>γεννηθέντος, ἐκ τοσούτων μυριάδων ἀπαθανατισθεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατὰ δόκησιν θε(ο)ῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ<sup>475</sup> (“and who, since he has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of the exceedingly good god”).

The reference to time (“and today”) implies that the rebirth has taken place on the same day.<sup>476</sup> The term for “being reborn” (μεταγεννηθῆναι) is almost technical in mystery-cult language.<sup>477</sup> Such rebirth cannot be enjoyed by every

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θεὸς ἄμβροτος πρὸς τὸ ἀναβάς θεῖον καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ ὁμοιότητα ἀτενίσας. See also Zuntz, *Persephone*, 189–92. Cf. also the Orphic gold tablets (esp. Pelinna 1–2 [ed. Riedweg, in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 392]). Furthermore, see on ll. 718–24, below; on the *synthema*, see below, p. 190.

<sup>469</sup> Pap. expresses it with the symbol Δ τῆς Δ; see above, at l. 495.

<sup>470</sup> Different from Preisendanz, but with Dieterich (12), I am placing no comma after ἄνθρωπος.

<sup>471</sup> See also ll. 523–24, 533, 535, 739–40.

<sup>472</sup> See also above, on ll. 517–18.

<sup>473</sup> The symbol Δ is used again.

<sup>474</sup> The phrase ἰχώρος σπερματικοῦ is *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM. See LSJ, s.v. ἰχώρ, “fluid,” used mostly with regard to blood.

<sup>475</sup> Pap. reads μεγεννηθέντος, corrected by Dieterich (12) and Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) to με<τα>γεννηθέντος; differently Dieterich (*Abraxas*, 104, n. 8): καὶ ἰχώρος σπερματικοῦ με γεννήσαντος. Preisendanz points to a similar scribal error in l. 639: με<γα>λοκράτωρ. Also, pap. reads an abbreviation θυ for θεοῦ, noted by Dieterich and Preisendanz, *ad loc.*; cf. the abbreviation θν (θεῶν) above, l. 625. Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.242) regards the words σήμερον τούτου ὑπό σου με<τα>γεννηθέντος as a secondary addition.

Preisendanz puts a comma after θεοῦ and translates “nach dem Ratschluß des überschwänglich guten Gottes.” Dieterich (12) and Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.170) have no comma, without change in the translation. Indeed, there is no need for a comma either in l. 648.

<sup>476</sup> For σήμερον (“today”) see ll. 516, 651, 686. For significant parallels in the NT, see Luke 2:11; 13:32; 19:9; 23:43; 2 Cor 6:2; furthermore BDAG, s.v. σήμερον. For the formula as a whole see above, ll. 516–29.

<sup>477</sup> For the concept of rebirth, see ll. 487, 501, 508–9, 523–24.

human being, but only a few will be elected “out of the many myriads” of the *massa perditionis*.<sup>478</sup> The god Helios does this by making the initiate immortal (*ἀπαθανατισθείς*),<sup>479</sup> that is, through the ritual called *ἀπαθανατισμός*.<sup>480</sup> That this ritual has occurred “at this hour” and “in accordance with the divine will” seems part of the traditional formulae.<sup>481</sup> The resulting rebirth and immortalization is of course a gift of divine beneficence.<sup>482</sup> The question as to which god is meant remains unclear. Is it Helios, Mithras, or a god even higher than Mithras? Merkelbach suggests that the expression belongs to the author’s conception of one metaphysical deity and that it expresses assimilation to Plato.<sup>483</sup>

Following the self-presentation, the initiate offers his petition, continuing in the descriptive style appropriate for the occasion (ll. 649–50: ... *προσκυνῆσαι σε ἄξιόι καὶ δέεται κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην* (“... requests to worship you, and supplicates with as much power a human being can have”).<sup>484</sup> He first

<sup>478</sup> Cf. the self-presentations on the Orphic gold tablets (A 1–3 and 5), where the initiate claims to be “a pure from the pure”; for the texts see Riedweg in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 392–94; Betz, *ibid.*, 412; *Antike und Christentum*, 236.

<sup>479</sup> The verb *ἀπαθανατίζειν* occurs only here in the ML. According to *TLG* and *LSJ* it is attested since Plato, *Charm.* 156d; in Hellenistic philosophical and religious literature it is more frequent, especially in connection with heroization. See Theophrastus, *Piet.* frag. 2.12–13 (ed. Pötscher); Posidonius, frag. 134, from Diodorus Siculus 1.94.2 (ed. Theiler, *Poseidonios*, 1.115): *παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις Γέταις τοῖς ἀπαθανατίζουσι Ζάλμοχιν*. This equals frag. 133, from Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.39 (762c) (ed. Theiler, 1.114): *ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Γέταις θεός*; frag. 135, from Strabo, *Geogr.* 7.3.4–5 (298a–b) (ed. Theiler, 1.115): *παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Γέταις ὀνομάζετο θεός*; see also Theiler’s commentary, 2.99); Numenius, frag. 46a.2 (ed. Des Places); Philo, *Opif.* 44; *Det.* 111; *Post.* 123; *Conf.* 149; *Somm.* 1.36; *Mos.* 2.228; *Spec.* 4.14; *Virt.* 15; *QG* 1.51; Aelianus, *Anab.* 1.3.2; Lucian, *Scyth.* 1; *Deor. conc.* 9; Cassius Dio, 45.7.1: *τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι [sc. Augustus] αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἀπθθανατισμένῳ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν ἄστρον ἀριθμὸν ἐγκατελεγμένῳ ἀνεντίθεσαν*; Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.5. For further passages, see *TLG*, s.v.

<sup>480</sup> For *ἀπαθανατισμός*, see below ll. 741, 747, 771.

<sup>481</sup> For *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ*, see I.212 (*ἐν ὥρᾳ ἀνάγκης*), 221; III.73–74 (*ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ὥρᾳ*); IV.543 (*ἐν ἐκείνῃ ὥρᾳ [cf. 544–45]*); 1423. Cf. in the NT Luke 2:38; 24:33; Acts 16:18; 22:13; see BDAG, s.v. *ὥρα*, 2.c. For *κατὰ δόκῃσιν θεοῦ*, cf. similar expressions in ll. 499, 527–28, 540, 642.

<sup>482</sup> The formula is *ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀγαθοῦ* (θεοῦ). The pap. reads *ὑπερβαλλοντος*, corrected by Dieterich and Preisendanz to *ὑπερβαλλόντως*, but Jordan keeps *ὑπερβάλλοντος*; cf. XII.284–85: (θεός) *ὑπερβάλλεις τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν*.

<sup>483</sup> Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.242): “Angleichung an den e i n e n, jenseitigen Gott Platons. Vgl. z. B. *Phaedr.* 246d: *τὸ δὲ θεῖον καλόν, σοφόν, ἀγαθόν*.” The author’s tendency of seeing the deity as totally transcendent is stated in the prooemium (the “great god Helios Mithras” [l. 482]), but this tendency may reflect his Stoic orientation, rather than direct assimilation of his ideas to Plato’s.

See also similar expression in the NT: 2 Cor 3:10, 9:14; Eph 1:19; 2:7; 3:19; and, more generally, *ὑπερβολή* in 2 Cor 4:7, 17; 12:7. See BDAG, s.v. *ὑπερβολή*.

<sup>484</sup> My trans., continuing in the descriptive mode; there is no need to assume, as Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) does, a change from the third to the first person.

expresses his devotion by prostration (προσκύνησις),<sup>485</sup> then his submission by supplication (ἄξιουῶν, δέεσθαι),<sup>486</sup> commensurate with his limited human power.<sup>487</sup>

In ll. 651–55 the author sees the need to insert a redactional comment which interprets “human power” astrologically: – ἕνα συμπαράλαβης τὸν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ὠρονόμον (“that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today”).<sup>488</sup> That the author interconnects the ritual with astrology can be seen also in ll. 686–87. The initiate is told to carry the horoscope<sup>489</sup> of the day and the hour along with him, so he can determine the gods of the day and hour.<sup>490</sup> The name Θραψιαρι μοριροκ occurs only here in the ML.<sup>491</sup>

Finally, the request is specified (ll. 653–54): ἕνα φανεις χρηματίσει ἐν ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις (“that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours”). These words clearly state that the purpose and goal of the ritual is to obtain an oracular session with the god.<sup>492</sup> The request concludes with a sequence of *voces magicae* (654–55): εωρω ρωρε ωρρι ωριωρ ρωρ ρωι ωρ ρεωρωρι

<sup>485</sup> For this gesture of prostration, which occurs only here in the ML, see also I.191; III.417, 470, 606; XIa.14; XII.118; XIII.844; LXXVII.10. On prostration as a Persian and Byzantine ritual, see Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 24–26; See Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.; Heinrich Greeven, *TDNT* 6 (1959), s.v.; BDAG, s.v. προσκυνέω.

<sup>486</sup> For the terms ἄξιουῶν καὶ δέεσθαι, see l. 477 and elsewhere in the PGM (I.193, 297; IV.951, 3226, 3239; VII.368; XXX.e.3; LXII.35–36). See moreover BDAG, s.v. ἄξιόω, 2.b.

<sup>487</sup> Cf. ll. 523–24: πρὸς ὄλιγον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.242) points out that the phrase κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην is a Platonic echo (*Theaet.* 176b; *Phaedr.* 246d; *Resp.* 613b).

<sup>488</sup> Pap. has ἕνα. The secondary nature of the insertion was seen by Dieterich (12, note in the *app. crit.*). Preisendanz (in Dieterich, 223) understands this to mean: ἕνα συμπαράλαβης τὸν ὠρονόμον, ᾧ ὄνομα Θραψιαρι [he notes what looks like fat letters for Θραψιαρι, the last word on f. 8v of the pap.], <λέγε> μοριροκ, ἕνα ... <λέγε> εωρω etc. The twelve hours are then designated by the *voces magicae* in ll. 654–55.

<sup>489</sup> The astrological term ὠρονόμος (“marker, divider of the hour” [LSJ]) is mentioned only here in the PGM. Cf. also Damascius, *Princ.* 351: οἱ δεκαδάρχαι καὶ ζωδιοκράτορες καὶ ὠρονόμοι καὶ κραταιοί.

<sup>490</sup> See on this Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 47, n. 35. He takes it to mean that the planets in their function as lords of time are being asked to assist, and translates: “petition... that you take along with you the regent of the present day and hour, whose name is Thrapsiari.” So also Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.171, 252) who points out the importance of the planetary deity governing the day of the rebirth (cf. also ll. 544–47).

<sup>491</sup> It is otherwise unattested and unexplained. Cf. Coptic *thapsiorie... thapsiorsth, thapsiorinar, thapsior psior...* in Meyer & Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 280 (# 129); Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, 1.31. Brashear (“Greek Magical Papyri,” 3586) refers to *trpsilk* in an Aramaic text, edited by Naveh & Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 68. For μοριροκ cf. PGM II.179: μοριρωχ (Preisendanz: οζοαμορορωχ).

<sup>492</sup> For χρηματίσειν and χρησμός see ll. 717, 724–25, 727, 732; the technical terms are frequent in the PGM.

εωρ εωρ εωρ εωρ εωρε. The pap. divides these into twelve groups, suggested by Preisendanz as representing the twelve hours of the day, but Gundel questions it.<sup>493</sup>

After this the god leaves to carry the request to Mithras (ll. 655–57): ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος ἐλεύσεται εἰς τὸν πόλον, καὶ ὄψῃ αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα ὡς ἐν ὁδῷ (“After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road”). While the time indicator (“after you have said these things”) marks the progress in the ritual: the initiate will see (ὄψῃ)<sup>494</sup> Helios on his way to the axis-pole of the world, around which the stars rotate.<sup>495</sup>

The fifth scenario concludes with the performance of protective rituals. First, there is the familiar “gazing” (ἀτενίζειν),<sup>496</sup> then a strong bellowing sound (μύκωμα μακρόν),<sup>497</sup> to be performed κερατοειδῶς (“like with a horn”),<sup>498</sup> and ὅλον ἀποδιδοῦς τὸ πνεῦμα, βασανίζων τὴν λαγόνα, μυκῶ (“by giving off your whole breath and squeezing your loins, bellow”). Finally, καὶ καταφίλει τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγε, πρῶτον εἰς τὸ δεξιόν· φύλαξόν με προσυμηρι (“kiss the phylacteries and say, first to the right: protect me, PROSYMĒRI”).<sup>499</sup>

#### 6. Sixth scenario: the encounter with the deities of the Bear constellation (ll. 661–92)

The sixth scenario begins, like the others, with an orientation (ll. 661–62): ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὄψῃ θύρας ἀνοιγομένας (“After you have said these things, you

<sup>493</sup> Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 47, n. 35. The sequence is attested only here in the PGM. Does it perhaps consist of variations on the term ὄρα?

<sup>494</sup> On this term, see l. 539.

<sup>495</sup> The cosmological technical term πόλος occurs only here in the ML, but cf. 676 πολοκράτωρ. For πόλος, see II.93, 120; IV.438, 1026, 1280, 1302, 1305–6, 1307, 1731, 1959, 2327, 2384, 2480; V.284; VIII.15; XIII.34, 76, 538, 588. See Dieterich, 70; Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Stern Glaube*, 179; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 45–48. – What is meant by the “road” (ὁδός)? Has the phrase anything to do with the *heliodromus*? See above, at l. 642, n. 463).

<sup>496</sup> For this term, see ll. 556, 629, 693, 711.

<sup>497</sup> On this ritual, see at ll. 490, 705, 707, 712.

<sup>498</sup> The term is attested only here, but see Dieterich (41, 69, 228–29, 233) for further material. Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 242) points to the ἦχος κερατοειδής, described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 14, ed. Jacoby, Usener & Radermacher, 6.54, lines 15–16; ed. Usher, 2.98–99) as a strong nasal sound by making M and N. For the image cf. also the Jewish shofar.

<sup>499</sup> For kissing the phylacteries see also ll. 707–8; 813–14. Dieterich (13, *app. crit.*) notes that an element is missing from the text: εἶτα εἰς τὸ ἀριστόν, then to the left.” Cf. l. 819, where both sides occur. Preisendanz (*WSt* 41 [1919] 143, n. 1) wants to write, therefore: καὶ λέγε, πρῶτον.... For the command “protect me” see also l. 560. The name προσυμηρι is unexplained, but cf. l. 819 προσθυμηρι; see Preisendanz, *ibidem*.

will see [the] doors opening”).<sup>500</sup> In terms of time, the preceding protective rituals have ended, and the next visionary episode can begin.<sup>501</sup> The initiate is still at the same level as before (cf. ll. 628–29), except that the gates of the sun are now open (cf. ll. 624–25).

He sees that seven virgins emerge (ll. 662–63): *καὶ ἐρχομένας ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ζ' παρθένους*<sup>502</sup> (“and (you will see) seven virgins coming from the deep within”). The expression “from the deep” refers to the world of the gods behind the gates of the sun (cf. l. 625).<sup>503</sup> The idea is that they are stepping forward out of the fiery gates. Dieterich’s proposal that one should imagine seven gates finds support in the mosaic of the *Mitreo delle sette sfere* at Ostia, taking its name from the mosaics and Origen’s reference to the *κλιμαξ ἑπτάπυλος* (“seven-gated ladder”).<sup>504</sup>

In ll. 663–65 an iconographic description of the seven virgins follows: ... *ἐν βυσσίνοις, ἀσπίδων πρόσωπα ἐχούσας. αὗται καλοῦνται οὐρανοῦ Τύχαι, κρατοῦσαι χρύσεια βραβεῖα*<sup>505</sup> (“... dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps. They are called the Fates of heaven, and wield golden wands”).

Who are these seven virgins that occur only here in the PGM? Already Dieterich (69–72) had identified them as seven Hathors, combined with the seven fixed stars of the constellation of the Great Bear.<sup>506</sup> He argues against their being planetary gods because earlier in his ascension the initiate has passed the planets and has moved to the higher sphere of the gods. At any rate, the

<sup>500</sup> Since there is no article before “doors,” Dieterich (13, 69, n. 3) raises the question of whether one should imagine seven doors to open. If one follows Dieterich, the translation should be: “you will see seven doors opening.” Cf. the seven flaming altars in the top register of some Mithraic reliefs; see Vermaseren, *Mithriaca III*, plate XVI; Idem, *Mithriaca IV*, plates XII and XVII.

<sup>501</sup> For the stereotypical ὄψη, see at l. 539.

<sup>502</sup> Pap. has ζ παρθένους.

<sup>503</sup> For the term βάθος (“deep,” here meaning “from above,” i.e., the world of the gods), cf. l. 575 (from the astral sphere); XXXVI.146 (the demons coming from below). Cf. 1 Cor 2:10 (*T. Job* 37:6): τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ. See BDAG, s.v. βάθος (with bibliography).

<sup>504</sup> Origen, *Cels.* 6.22. See Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. 2, plate XIX; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, 1.137 (fig. 82); idem, *Mithriaca IV*, plates XII and XIII; Richard L. Gordon, “The Sacred Geography of a *Mithraeum*: The Example of Sette Sfere,” *JMiS* 1:2 (1978) 119–65; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 65; idem, *Mithras*, 78, 83, fig. 34, 37, 38.

<sup>505</sup> Pap. has βραβεῖα.

<sup>506</sup> The constellation of the Bear is prominent in the PGM (see IV.1293; VII.687, 862; XII.190; XXII.b.26; LXXII). See Franz Boll, *Sphaera*, 92–95; idem, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 21, 111; idem, “Fixsterne,” *PRE* 6 (1909) 2407–31; Franz Boll & Wilhelm Gundel, “Sternbilder, Stern Glaube und Sternsymbolik bei Griechen und Römern,” in Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924–37), esp. 869–81; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 59–64; Roger Beck, “Interpreting the Ponzia Zodiac II,” *JMiS* 2:2 (1978) 87–147, esp. 116–26; Wolfgang Fauth, “Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *ZPE* 57 (1984) 93–99.

figures are a syncretistic combination of the Fates, the sphere of the fixed stars, of which the constellation of the Great Bear is one, and the Egyptian Hathors; the seven virgins are parallel to the pole lords described next. Further clues come from a formula attested several times in the PGM, which invokes various astral forces: αἱ ἀγαθαὶ ἀπόρροιαὶ τῶν ἀστέρων εἰσὶν δαίμονες καὶ Τύχαι καὶ Μοῖραι (“the good emanations of the stars, daimons, Fates, and Moirae”).<sup>507</sup>

A somewhat different interpretation has been offered by Gundel: “The seven Fates with their asp faces are meant to be the seven stars of the Pleiads; one has rightly called them the seven Hathors. This has been made certain by the seven erect asps, which appear on the tomb painting of Athribis, placed closely behind each other as a group of decanic powers under Orion.... That they are the guards of the four pillars – one may see in them either the personified Kentra or the stars in the square of the Great Bear – can be explained from the eminent importance which in many places is attributed to the seven stars of the Pleiads.”<sup>508</sup>

The iconography most certainly has a pictorial background of some kind, although none has been identified with certainty. That the virgins are clothed in fine byssos garments may mean that the material was linen or even silk.<sup>509</sup> That they have faces (or carry masks) of asps is not attested elsewhere, except on the tomb painting of Athribis.<sup>510</sup> Their identification with the Fates is

<sup>507</sup> See XII.254–55; XXI.15–16; XIII.780–82, and Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 1.138, 164, 184.

<sup>508</sup> Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 58–59: “Unter den 7 Tychai mit den Schlangengesichtern sind die sieben Sterne der Pleiaden gemeint; man hat sie mit Recht als die sieben Hathoren angesprochen. Das wird zur Gewißheit erhoben durch die sieben aufgerichteten Schlangen, die eng hintereinander zu einer Gruppe komponiert auf dem Grabgemälde von Athribis als Dekanmächte unter Orion erscheinen, ... Daß sie die Wächterinnen der vier Säulen sind – man darf in ihnen entweder die personifizierten Kentra oder die Sterne im Viereck des Großen Bären sehen –, erklärt sich aus der eminenten Bedeutung, die den sieben Sternen der Pleiaden vielerorts zugesprochen worden ist.” (Trans. is mine). On the seven Hathors, see Wolfgang Helck, “Hathoren, sieben,” *LÄ* 2 (1977) 1033.

For the tomb of Athribis (Atrepe) see W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Athribis* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1908), 12–13, with frontispice and plates XXXVI–XXXVII; Gundel, *Dekane*, 17, plate 12. For the Kentra, see Wilhelm Gundel, *Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos* (München: Beck, 1936), 301–6; on the four pillars, see Kropp, *Zaubertexte*, 3.47–48; for planets and Pleiads, see Wilhelm and Hans Gundel, “Planeten,” *PRE* 20 (1950) 2017–2185.

<sup>509</sup> See also I.277, 293, 332; IV.768–69; VII.208, 338; VIII.84; XII.145. βύσσος may be “fine linen” (LSJ; BDAG), Preisendanz: “in Byssosgewändern”; Merkelbach: “in Seidengewändern”.

<sup>510</sup> See above, n. 508; cf. IV.2116; XII.159 (ὄφροπρόσωπος θεός); XIII.249. On snake-shaped deities, see Rom 1:23; Irenaeus’ (*Haer.* 1.30.5 [ed. Harvey, 1.232]) reference to the

certainly secondary.<sup>511</sup> Their possession of golden wands (βραβεῖα) is a common cultic symbol.<sup>512</sup>

Following the epiphany, a formal ritual of greeting seems to conform to etiquette, first greeting all of them as a group (665–69), and then individually (670–72). The moment of the greeting is set: ταῦτα ἰδὼν ἀσπάζου οὕτως (“When you see these things, greet in this manner ...”), whereupon the greeting is cited: χαίρετε, αἱ ζ΄ Τύχαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι, ἱεραὶ καὶ ὁμοδαίτοι τοῦ μινιμιρροφορ, αἱ ἀγιώταται φυλακίσσαι τῶν τεσσάρων στυλίσκων (“Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars”). The exclamatory “Hail” or “Greetings to you,” a form of wish, is followed by the name of the seven Fates, and three divine epithets. (1) This epithet, σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι appears to be one of general politeness and has no parallel in the PGM; (2) the second, ἱεραὶ καὶ ὁμοδαίτοι τοῦ μινιμιρροφορ, stands in the middle and has an unexplained *vox magica* attached;<sup>513</sup> (3) the third is special and also without parallel in the PGM, αἱ ἀγιώταται φυλακίσσαι τῶν τεσσάρων στυλίσκων, referring to the four pillars of the Egyptian cosmology, of which the sacred Fates are guardians.<sup>514</sup>

The individual greetings are also very formal and exactly parallel, consisting of the exclamatory wish, χαῖρε (“Hail!”), identification by number,<sup>515</sup> and their magical names (cf. ll. 677–78). The magical names are mostly unexplained, but some of them may reflect the names of decans, μεχραν resembling a decan by the name of Μαχράμ,<sup>516</sup> ἀραρμαχης pointing to Ἄραρα,

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ὄφιόμορφος god of the Ophite gnostics; ὄφιοειδής Epiphanius, *Haer.* 37.5 (56.15); Athanasius (*Gent.* 9) mentions Egyptian gods as ὄφιοκέφαλος. See with further passages and bibliography, Robert Eisler, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteringedanken in der christlichen Antike* (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1922–1923 II; reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), 316–28 (“Die Tiermaskenriten in den mithräischen und in den Kabirenmysterien”); Betz, *Lukian*, 35–37, 104; L. Störk, *LÄ* 5 (1984) 644–52; R. Hendel, “Serpent,” *DDD*, 744–47; *BDAG*, s.v. ὄφις, 4; *PGL*, 989, s.v. ὄφις and compounds.

<sup>511</sup> See below, l. 666; and Dieterich, 51–52, 70–72.

<sup>512</sup> See LSJ and *BDAG*, s.v. βραβεῖον. In the NT, see 1 Cor 9:24; Phil 3:14: βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως; 1 *Clem.* 5:5; *Mart. Pol.* 17:1.

<sup>513</sup> Cf. l. 632: μενμεροφορ.

<sup>514</sup> The connection with Egypt was pointed out by Dieterich, 71; idem, *Kleine Schriften*, 27 (with a collection of parallels); Alan H. Gardiner, “Magic, Egyptian,” *ERE* 8 (1915) 266a (referring to Pap. Leyden 348 verso, 3.3.5.410 etc.; Pap. mag. Harris 7.4); Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 58–59; Ritner, in Betz, *GMPT*, 51, n. 92; Merkelbach, *Abraxas*, 3.47–48. How this epithet is to be related to the four roots (τετραλιζώματα [see above, l. 585–90]) is unclear.

<sup>515</sup> Pap. has the numbers as β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, ζ (with strokes over γ, ε, ζ).

<sup>516</sup> See Gundel, *Dekane*, 80 (# 28); cf. Preisendanz, *GGA* 201 (1939) 141, n. 1.

another decan.<sup>517</sup> ερου and ρομβριης have also been taken to refer to decans: Ἐροῦ and Ῥομβρομάρε.<sup>518</sup>

After the seven virgin seven male deities appear (ll. 673–76): προέρχονται δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι ζ' θεοὶ ταύρων μελάνων πρόσωπα ἔχοντες ἐν περιζώμασιν λινοῖς κατέχοντες ζ' διαδήματα χρύσεια (“There also come forth another seven gods who have faces of black bulls, in linen loincloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems”). These deities (θεοί) come forward (προέρχονται) through the same gates as the virgins.<sup>519</sup> There is no parallel for this iconography elsewhere in the PGM. The faces of black bulls are difficult to explain. Figures of bulls stand among Egyptian imagery of stars, but also the initiates of the Mithraic mysteries were under the tutelage of planetary deities.<sup>520</sup> The figures wear linen aprons and hold golden diadems in their hands.<sup>521</sup> Their title is revealed: οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι πολοκράτορες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (“These are the so-called Pole Lords of heaven”).<sup>522</sup> The greetings must conform to the previous ritual: οὓς δεῖ σε ἀσπάσασθαι ὁμοίως ἕκαστον τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι<sup>523</sup> (“You must greet in the same manner each of them with his own name”). Now we learn that the *voces magicae* in ll. 670–72 are actually names. The greeting therefore begins with that of the group first. The exclamatory wish is called out, to be followed by three epithets: (1) οἱ κνωδακοφύλακες (“O warders of the pivot of the celestial sphere” [LSJ]),<sup>524</sup> (2) οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ

<sup>517</sup> Gundel, *Dekane*, 58, 79 (# 25). Cf. Ritner (in Betz, *GMPT*, 51, n. 93) compares Egyptian *harmachis* (“Horus who is on the horizon”).

<sup>518</sup> For Ἐροῦ see also IV.1589: V.432; Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*, and Gundel, *Dekane*, 45, 373. For ρομβριης cf. the decan Ῥομβρομαρε; see Gundel, *ibid.*, 77; Preisendanz, *GGA* 201 (1939) 141; Brashear, “Greek Magical Papyri,” 3585. Jordan prefers Preisendanz’s earlier suggestion (in Roscher, *Lexikon*, 5.963) \*αρουρ –ομβριης; cf. PGM IV.3023 ὁ ἐν μέσῃ ἀρούρης καὶ χιόνος καὶ ὁμίχλης.

<sup>519</sup> Is there any significance to the fact that the virgins were not called θεοί or rather, θεαί? Instead of προέρχονται l. 662 has ἐρχομένας.

<sup>520</sup> Dieterich (72–73) confesses puzzlement. Do these figures represent the constellation of the Little Bear?—So Franz Boll, ed. *Griechische Kalender* (5 vols.; SHAW.PH 1910–1920; Heidelberg: Winter 1910–1920), vol. 1 (1910:16): *Das Kalendarium des Antiochos*; idem, *Sphaera*, plate II; Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Stern Glaube*, plate I/2; Dieterich, 72–73; Roger Beck, “Interpreting the Ponzia Zodiac,” *JMiS* 1:1 (1976) 1–19, esp. p. 2, fig. 1; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 13–14; idem, *Mithras*, 77–86; idem, *Abraxas*, 3.243.

<sup>521</sup> Cf. the fiery crowns in ll. 521–22. Golden diadems are a rather common symbol.

<sup>522</sup> The title occurs also in XIII.846: <πο>λοκράτωρ; I.201: αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ. See also IV.701–2, 1358–59, 1372; cf. 678–79: κνωδακοφύλακες. See Dieterich (72–74) who relates them to the Amesha Spentas of ancient Iran, and attributes them to a syncretistic Egyptian Mithras cult; see also idem, *Abraxas*, 106–7; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 79–80.

<sup>523</sup> Pap. reads ὡς, corrected by Dieterich to οὓς; Preisendanz considers ὡς or <οὔτ>ως (cf. l. 666).

<sup>524</sup> According to the *TLG*, κνωδακόφυλαξ is a *hapax*. κνώδαξ, a *hapax* in the PGM, is the pin or pivot on which something turns (κνωδακίζειν). See LSJ, s.v. Cf. the Tübingen



ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι (“Ο sacred and brave youths” – the term ἄλκιμος occurs in hymnic language);<sup>525</sup> (3) the final epithet is in fact a longer and detailed aretology describing the work of the pole lords: οἱ στρέφοντες ὑπὸ ἓν κέλευσμα τὸν περιδίνητον τοῦ κύκλου ἄξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ βροντάς καὶ ἀστραπάς καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν βολὰς ἀφιέντες εἰς δυσσεβῶν φῦλα<sup>526</sup> (“who turn at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious tribes”). The cosmic tasks performed by the pole lords cover three areas. First, they are in charge of turning the *axis mundi*, a concern of a number of passages in the PGM.<sup>527</sup> Second, they send out thunder, lightning, and cosmic quakes, terms often mentioned in the PGM.<sup>528</sup> The third task is distributing punishments to the godless<sup>529</sup> and rewards to the godly.

While there is no list of the punishments meted out, the initiate carefully details the benefits for the pious, such as himself (683–87),<sup>530</sup> not as a fact but as a petition: ἐμοὶ δὲ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ θεοσεβεῖ ὄντι <δότε> ὑγείαν καὶ σώματος ὀλοκληρίαν, ἀκοῆς τε καὶ ὀράσεως εὐτονίαν, ἀταραξίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεστώσαις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις<sup>531</sup> (“but to me, a religious and godfearing man, [give] health and soundness of body, and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day”). Such lists of benefits, as the individual benefits, are found also elsewhere in the PGM.<sup>532</sup>

Theosophy, *Orph. Frag.*, # 247.26, concerning the axis of a sphere: κυκλοτερῆς ἴση τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα; Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 10.51–52, 93.

<sup>525</sup> See IV.1601, 1697, 2269, 2778; III.134–35; XIII.607; cf. IV.1364: ἀλκιμόβριθος; IV.967; VIII.6, 31: ἄλκιη. The young men correspond to the virgins (l. 663).

<sup>526</sup> In l. 680 the pap. reading of <ἓν> ἐνκέλευσμα is dittography; Sam Eitrem (“Varia,” *NTFI*, 4th ser., 10 [1922]) 112) emends περιδίνητος to περιδείνητος (“terrifying”) because of itacism; for the same reason, the pap. reading of σισμων is to be corrected to σεισμῶν.

<sup>527</sup> See also IV.1279, 1358 (στρεψήλατος, “spindle-turner”); 2936; VII.686–87, 832; XII.60–61; for more instances see Preisendanz, 3.179–80 (index), s.v. στρέφειν. For περιδίνητος (“spin around”) see III.557: περιδινοπλανήτας (Hymn 2, l. 7); IV.2918–20: πυρὸς μεγάλου περιδινήτειρα, ἡ τὸν ἀεικίνητον ἔχεις περιδινέα βαρζαν ἄρρηκτον; for ἄξων (“axis”) III.572, 574; VII.688; for κύκλος (“heavenly circle”) III.480; IV.1015; and often; see Preisendanz, 3.124 (index), s.v.; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.243.

<sup>528</sup> On this topic, see above at ll. 571, 621. The σεισμοί in this case are not earthquakes but cosmic quakes, since the area is in the upper spheres of the cosmos. Cf. Rev 6:12; 11:19; 16:18; see Aune, *Revelation*, 2.559–60, 627–28.

<sup>529</sup> The expression δυσσεβῶν φῦλα is found only here in the PGM.

<sup>530</sup> Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; also in Dieterich, 223) suggests that ll. 683–87 may be an addition by the magician, a personal note for the individual application of the practice, as in ll. 651–55. However, the lines 683–87 as well as 651–55 can be applied to any practitioner who should of course be on the side of the pious.

<sup>531</sup> Pap. reads υγιαν. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.172, 243) adds <δότε> before ὑγείαν.

<sup>532</sup> For ὑγεία (“health”) see III.577; XXXVI.223 (in lists); also III.260; IV.2997–3002; VII.333; XIII.802. For ὀλοκληρεῖν, ὀλοκληρία, ὀλοκληρος, IV.136, VII.590; XXVII.3.

The last phrase in the clause “in the present good hours of this day” should be read in connection with the horoscope (see ll. 651–52). Finally (l. 687–88), the pole lords are again hailed: οἱ κύριοί μου καὶ μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί (“O my lords and powerfully ruling gods.”)<sup>533</sup>

The sixth scenario ends with the recitation of the individual greetings (688–92). These greetings also follow the previous pattern of the exclamatory wish (χαῖρε), the number,<sup>534</sup> and the secret names (ὄνομα), all of them unexplained *hapaxlegomena* in the PGM.

7. *Seventh scenario: the encounter with Mithras* (ll. 692–732)

The sixth scenario passes over to the seventh with the usual orientation concerning time and place: ὅταν δὲ ἐνστῶσιν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα τῇ τάξει...<sup>535</sup> (“Now when they take their place, on the one side and on the other, in their order ...”). The idea is that the two groups of seven form a kind of chorus facing each other, and that all are taking their assigned places.<sup>536</sup> This kind of arrangement appears to have been somewhat typical of worship services. Two parallels are especially informative.

One parallel is part of the description of the community of the Therapeutae by Philo of Alexandria.<sup>537</sup> He describes their festival of Pentecost, which he says is patterned on the Bacchic rituals;<sup>538</sup> it begins with a community prayer, followed by a symposium and an all-night Pannychis. During the initial prayer, “they take their stand in a regular line in an orderly way, their eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven, eyes because they have been trained to fix their gaze on things worthy of contemplation, hands in token that they are clean from gain-taking and not defiled through any cause of the profit-making kind. So standing they pray to God that their feasting may be acceptable and proceed as

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The terms play a significant role in the NT; see Acts 3:16; 1 Thess 5:23; and BDAG, s.v. For εὐτονία there is no other reference in the PGM; ἀταραξία, a technical term in Greek ethics, occurs also in IV.69 (ἀτάραχος).

<sup>533</sup> See the parallel in 678–79; for μεγαλοκράτωρ l. 639; for κύριοι θεοί III.171–72. Cf. John 20:28: ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου.

<sup>534</sup> Pap. reads the numbers as in ll. 671–72; see above.

<sup>535</sup> On the textual questions concerning ἐνστῶσιν, see Preisendanz, *WSt* 42 (1920–21) 24, section 7.

<sup>536</sup> So Dieterich, 76; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.243.

<sup>537</sup> Philo of Alexandria, *De vita contemplativa*, cited according to the edition and translation by F. H. Colson, *Philo* (10 vols.; LCL: London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929–62), 9.112–69.

<sup>538</sup> See *Contemp.* 88–89 (cited below, n. 542); also 12; the highly polemical description of pagan banquets in 40–64 does not explicitly focus on the Bacchic ones, but it does include comments on Xenophon’s and Plato’s *Symposia* (57–60); see also *Ebr.* 123, 146; *Her.* 69; *Somm.* 2.205.

He would have it.”<sup>539</sup> During the symposium<sup>540</sup> and the Pannychis, the community is separated in two choir groups: “After the supper they hold the sacred vigil which is conducted in the following way. They rise up all together and standing in the middle of the refectory form themselves first into two choirs, one of men and one of women, the leader and precentor chosen for each being the most honored amongst them and also the most musical. Then they sing hymns to God composed of many measures and set to many melodies....”<sup>541</sup> At dawn they reunite on the beach to conclude the celebrations with a greeting of the rising sun.<sup>542</sup>

The other parallel is pictorial and part of the frescoes from the Isis temple in Herculaneum showing scenes from worship performed there. A chorus of two groups is standing on the steps of the temple, facing each other, with the choir master directing in the middle.<sup>543</sup>

To return to the text, the command is given: ἀτένιζε τῷ ἀέρι (“gaze in the air”).<sup>544</sup> Air has been mentioned before, but not as one of the four elements; presumably it is identical with πνεῦμα.<sup>545</sup> As a result, the initiate will see

<sup>539</sup> *Contemp.* 66: ... στάντες ἐξῆξ κατὰ στοῖχον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τὰς τε ὄψεις καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείναντες, τὰς μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὰς θέας ἄξια καθορᾶν ἐπαιδευθήσαν, τὰς δὲ ὅτι καθαραὶ λημμάτων εἰσὶν ὑπ’ οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν μαινόμεναι, προσεύχονται τῷ θεῷ θυμῆρη γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἀπαντῆσαι τὴν εὐωγίαν. (LCL 9.152–55).

<sup>540</sup> *Ibid.*, 69: διανενέμηται δὲ ἡ κατάκλισις χωρὶς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ δεξιά, χωρὶς δὲ γυναιξίν ἐπ’ εὐώνυμα. (“The order of reclining is so apportioned that the men sit by themselves on the right and the women by themselves on the left” [LCL 9.154–55]).

<sup>541</sup> *Ibid.*, 83–84: Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τὴν ἱεράν ἄγουσι παννυχίδα. ἄγεται δὲ ἡ παννυχὶς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ἀνίστανται πάντες ἀθρόοι, καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ συμπόσιον δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον χοροί, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν· ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ ἑξαρχος αἰρεῖται καθ’ ἑκάτερον ἐντιμότητος τε καὶ ἐμμελέστατος. εἶτα ἄδουσι πεπονημένους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν πολλοὺς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι... (LCL 9.164–65).

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*, 85: εἶτα ὅταν ἑκάτερος τῶν χορῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐστιαθῆ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βακχεῖαις ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς, ἀναμίγνυνται καὶ γίνονται χορὸς εἷς ἐξ ἁμφοῖν, μίμημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάτος κατὰ τὴν ἐρυθρᾶν θάλασσαν ἕνεκα τοῦ θαυματουργηθέντων ἐκεῖ. (“Then when each choir has separately done its own part in the feast, having drunk as in the Bacchic rites of the strong wine of God’s love they mix and both together become a single choir, a copy of the choir set up of old beside the Red Sea in honour of the wonders there wrought” [LCL 9.164–65]). For the reverence toward the sun, see also section 27.

<sup>543</sup> See for plates Merkelbach, *Isis Regina*, 553 (plate 72) and color plate IV, pp. 324–25; also Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai*, 100–102, with plate XXIII.

<sup>544</sup> For ἀτενίζειν (“gaze,” “stare”) see above, at l. 556, 629, 657, 711. See Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 301–20: “Sursum corda und der Aufblick zum Himmel.” Dölger (1–2) also refers to important Christian polemics against the ritual by Origen (*In Genes. Hom.* XIII.3 [GCS Orig. VI.118, ll. 9–13] and Augustine, *Tractatus in Ioannem* X.1 [PL 35, 1467]).

<sup>545</sup> Air appears here without clarification of how it is related to πνεῦμα. For the Stoic doctrine, see above, at ll. 508, 541, 582.

spectacular cosmic phenomena (ll. 693–96):<sup>546</sup> καὶ ὄψη κατερχομένης ἀστραπᾶς καὶ φῶτα μαρμαίροντα καὶ σειομένην τὴν γῆν καὶ κατερχομένον θ(εὸν)... (“you will see lightning bolts going down, and lights flashing, and the earth shaking, and a god descending...”). While lightnings and earthquakes have been mentioned before (l. 681–82), the stereotypical picture overlooks that the author has left behind the earth some time ago. The “flashing lights” are preferred language in the PGM.<sup>547</sup> The god emerges out of the interior of the temple and, like the figure on the painting from Herculaneum, walks down the stairs; symbolically this means that he leaves the highest sphere, which is unreachable even for other deities, and descends to the seventh below.

This god is certainly Mithras, although it is peculiar that his name is not mentioned.<sup>548</sup> His portrait can be confirmed by representational art (ll. 696–704): κατερχόμενον θ(εὸν) ὑπερμεγέθη, φωτινὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄψιν, νεώτερον, χρυσοκόμαν, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναξυρίσι... (“and a god descending, immensely great, with a shining face, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers...”). That the highest god is of immense size<sup>549</sup> is part of the style of the epiphany,<sup>550</sup> just as

<sup>546</sup> Cf. for such phenomena in connection with the pole lords, ll. 681–82.

<sup>547</sup> Cf. the flashing lamp in the temple at Jerusalem, IV.1221 (μαρμαίρων), 3069–70 (see Betz, *GMPT*, 97, n. 407 with further references); PDM xiv.490; also Karl Preisendanz, “Zum großen Pariser Zauberpapyrus,” *ARW* 17 (1914) 347–48. Cf. also XIII.111, 195, 536, 668: μαρμαραυγή (cf. *Orph. Frag.* # 168, line 13 (ed. Kern): ἀστρων μαρμαρέων); I.260–61: μαρμαριφέγγη; IV.531: μαρμαρυγή. For the epithet of Apollo, see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.325.

<sup>548</sup> Pap. reads the abbreviation θν.

<sup>549</sup> The term ὑπερμεγέθης is peculiar; LSJ calls it a Ionic form and notes ὑπερμεγάθης, ὑπέρμεγας. It is, however, a topos, attested in the PGM only here; see also *CH* I.1 regarding the epiphany of Poimandres: ἔδοξά τινα ὑπερμεγέθη μέτρῳ ἀπεριορίστῳ... (“there seemed to appear to me a gigantic figure of immense size...”). Nock & Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, I.8, n. 3 list further instances of the topos.

<sup>550</sup> In the PGM the immense size of the deity conforms to the attribute of Aion (cf. XII.238–44; XIII.761–94). Cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, ll. 188–89 regarding the epiphany of Demeter: ἦ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἔβη ποσὶ καὶ βᾶ μελάθρου κύρε κάρη, πλῆσεν δὲ θύρας σέλαος θεῖοιο (“But she stepped on the threshold and her head reached the roof, and she filled the door with divine splendor”); *Orph. Frag.* ## 168 and 169 (ed. Kern). In the LXX cf. Amos 4:13; in Christian literature the cosmic dimensions of Christ (the πλήρωμα, Col 1:15–20; Eph 1:10, 22–23; 4:10, 13); Rev 1:12–16; Gos. Pet. 39–40; Ep. Apos. 16 (27); see Aune, *Revelation*, 1.68–100. Cf. also the enormous measurements of the figure of Metatron in Hekhalot mysticism; see Gershom Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit* (Zürich: Rhein, 1962); Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 94, 203, 204, 214; Peter Schäfer & Klaus Herrmann, eds., *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur I* (TSAJ 46; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 29–33 (§§ 12–13); for the detailed description of the immense size of God in *Shi'ur Qomah*, see Peter Schäfer, ed., *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur IV* (TSAJ 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 136–65 (§§ 939–950).

his shining face.<sup>551</sup> His youth is analogous to Helios (l. 635), as is his golden hair (cf. l. 636),<sup>552</sup> white tunic (cf. l. 636), and golden crown (cf. l. 637).<sup>553</sup> There are, however, special traits: with the Persian or Phrygian cap missing he looks like a Greek god, namely Helios–Mithras, but he does wear the Persian trousers called ἀναξυρίδες.<sup>554</sup> This last feature is also present on paintings from Dura Europus (Syria), Capua Vetere, Ponza, and San Marino (Italy).<sup>555</sup>

After the description of the figure attention turns to the mythological insignia, symbolically interpreted as astronomical phenomena (ll. 699–702): κατέχοντα τῆ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μὸσχου ὄμιον χρύσειον (“and holding in his right hand a golden shoulder of a young calf”). This statement has given rise to extended controversies past and present. While Dieterich rightly saw this to be evidence of Mithraism, now confirmed by subsequently discovered frescoes,<sup>556</sup> others denied or belittled it.<sup>557</sup>

A symbolic interpretation of this detail is on the one hand in accord with the author’s interest, but on the other hand astronomical interpretations have been

<sup>551</sup> The shining face of the deity is a common element of epiphanies, whether in texts or artistic representations. Cf. the NT in Mark 16:15; Matt 17:2; Luke 9:29; Acts 6:15; 9:1–9; 2 Cor 4:6; Rev 1:14; 10:1; 22:4.

<sup>552</sup> The epithet χρυσοκόμων is standard for Helios in III.207; IV.437, 1958; VIII.75; for its attribution to Apollo see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.87, 325.

<sup>553</sup> For the golden crown, see also III.485; IV.1027–28. Cf. in the NT Rev 4:4; 9:7; 14:14. See Hans-Jürgen Horn, “Gold,” *RAC* 11 (1981) 895–930, esp. 910–12: “Gold in der Magic”; Aune, *Revelation*, 1.172–75.

<sup>554</sup> This garment worn by eastern peoples is mentioned only here in the PGM; it is attested since Herodotus (1.71; 5.49; 7.61; Lucian, *Hist. cons.* 19; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.25). See also LSJ, s.v. ἀναξυρίδες.

<sup>555</sup> See Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, vol. 1, fig. 22a and b (Mon. 44); 26 (Mon. 75); 27 (Mon. 76), 52 (Mon. 181), and often; idem, *Mithriaca I. The Mithraeum at Ponza*, plates 3–7, 9–10; idem, *Mithriaca III. The Mithraeum at Marino*, color plate IV; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 34 with plate 2; idem, *Mithras*, plate 25; also figures 16a and b, and 17.

<sup>556</sup> See Dieterich, 76–78, 234–40. On the evidence, see Roger Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” *JMiS* 2:2 (1978) 87–147, esp. 120–27; Richard Gordon & John R. Hinnells, “Some New Photographs of Well-Known Mithraic Monuments,” *ibid.*, 213–19 (with plates XV–XVII) on “Mithras’ Rindsschulter”; furthermore, Griffith and Thompson, *The Leiden Papyrus*, col. V, 1, with note; van de Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 86–89; Betz, *GMPT*, 52, n. 96; Roger Beck, “Mithraism since Franz Cumont,” *ANRW* II.17:4 (1984) 2002–2115, esp. pp. 2049, n. 79; 2050; David Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 104–5; Ingeborg Huld-Zetsche, “Die Stier-tötung als Sternkarte. Astralmythologische Hintergründe im Mithraskult,” *Antike Welt* 30:2 (1999) 97–104.

<sup>557</sup> For a careful analysis of Cumont’s position, see Dieterich, 234–40. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.243–44) admits that the god is Mithras, but for him he is Helios–Mithras; remarkably Merkelbach ignores the newly discovered frescoes. Also, his work on *Mithras*, in the tradition of Cumont, has no comment about the Mithras Liturgy. See Roger Beck, review of Merkelbach, *Mithras, Phoe.* 41 (1987) 296–316, esp. 310.

connected with the Mithras cult much earlier.<sup>558</sup> The text itself presupposes such a connection (ll. 700–1): ὅς ἐστιν Ἐρκτος ἡ κινουσα καὶ ἀντιστρέφουσα τὸ οὐρανόν, κατὰ ὥραν ἀναπολεύουσα καὶ καταπολεύουσα (“this is the Bear which moves and turns the heavenly vault around in the opposite direction, with its upward and downward seasonal revolutions” [as translated by Martinez]). The conceptuality is technical but has problems. Which Bear does the author have in mind, the Little Bear (*Ursus minor*) or the Great Bear (*Ursus maior*)? Griffiths opts for the Great Bear,<sup>559</sup> while Merkelbach for the Little Bear.<sup>560</sup>

A decision is difficult to make. The Bear constellations play an important role in the PGM, but this does not necessarily mean that all references point to the same constellation.<sup>561</sup> As far as ll. 700–1 goes, identification with Artemis as well as comparison of the zodiacs from Ponza and Tentyra point to the Great Bear.<sup>562</sup>

That the Bear “moves and turns the heavenly vault around in the opposite direction” is confirmed in part by parallel references in the PGM, but it is not clear what is meant by ἀντιστρέφειν. One possibility is that the god turns the heavenly vault contrariwise to the motion of the planets.<sup>563</sup> Also unclear is the

<sup>558</sup> See Beck, *Planetary Gods*; idem, “The Mysteries of Mithras: A New Account of Their Genesis,” *JRS* 88 (1998) 115–28.

<sup>559</sup> According to Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 21, 359D, the Great Bear was identified with Typhon/Seth: τὴν δὲ [ψυχὴν] Τυφῶνος ἄρκτον, which is interpreted by Griffiths, *Plutarch*, 373: “The equation of Seth and the Great Bear is well established...; the Egyptian term was Mshtyw, ‘Bull’s Foreleg’, and a 20th Dynasty text speaks of ‘this Mshtyw of Seth’ as existing in the northern sky.” So also Gundel, *Weltbild*, 59–64, esp. 59–60. He refers to ταυριατὰ (?), perhaps “bull-like” (VII.700), and to secondary sources such as Dieterich, 76–79; Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri*, 2.64; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 208.

<sup>560</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.243–44): “The Little Bear is therefore represented in two images, in the seven bull-headed young men and here by the shoulder of the bull. Such pleonasm occurs often in cults, because the idea is joined with the image, and one does not see this as a contradiction, if the same idea is expressed by two images” (my trans.). For the identification of the shoulder of the bull with the constellation of the north pole Merkelbach refers to the zodiac of Tentyra and to lids of coffins; Boll, *Sphaera*, pl. II; Boll, Bezold & Gundel, *Sternglaube*, pl. I, fig. 2 (Tentyra); Gundel, *Dekane*, pl. IIb (coffin lid of Idy, in Tübingen).

<sup>561</sup> For other passages on Bear constellations, see IV.1275–1330; 1331–89; VII.633, 686–702, 861; XII.190–92; XXIII.10; LVII.18. See Betz, *GMPT*, 137–38, esp. nn. 123–28; Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” 120–27.

<sup>562</sup> Cf. the Bear charm VII.686–702, identifying the constellation with Artemis, but identifications with other deities are made as well. See Beck, *Planetary Gods*, 79; idem, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac,” *JMiS* 1:1 (1976), 2, fig. 1.

<sup>563</sup> ἀντιστρέφειν is found only here in the PGM. Cf. IV.1307: στρέφειν τὸν ἱερὸν πόλον; VII.687: ἡ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄξονα; IV.1275–80. See Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” 121–22; LSJ does not list ἀντιστρέφω as a mechanical term, but ἀντίστρεπτος, referring to

astrological comment of “with its upward and downward seasonal revolutions.” Who is causing this revolving? Dieterich suggests the pole lords,<sup>564</sup> but according to Gundel the text refers to the Bear who moves the gods of the days and hours, causing them to wander up and down along the pole.<sup>565</sup>

Following the interpretative lines 701–2, the text returns to the description of the figure of Mithras (ll. 702–4): ἔπειτα ὕψη αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀστραπᾶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἀστέρας ἀλλομένους (“Then you will see lightning bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body”).<sup>566</sup> Since the references to time and vision are stereotypical in the ML, the cosmic features seem to reflect dramatic representations.<sup>567</sup> The author could have seen this feature on representational portraits of Mithras, whose open mantle shows stars on the inside; he therefore imagines that those stars jump out of his body.

When confronted with this awesome vision, the initiate is ordered at once to perform rituals. The first one is the bellowing sound (704–7): σὺ δέ, εὐθέως <μυκῶ> μύκωμα μακρόν, βασανίζων τὴν γαστέρα, ἵνα συνκινήσης τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις, μακρόν εἰς ἀπόθεσιν μυκῶ, καταφιλῶν πάλιν τὰ φυλακτήρια.<sup>568</sup> (“And at once make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until out of breath, and again kiss the phylacteries.”)

This bellowing sound has been mentioned before,<sup>569</sup> but further intensity is added at this point. Not only must the initiate perform it “at once,” a stereotypical prescription in the ML,<sup>570</sup> the roaring or bellowing sound is to be loud (μακρόν), achieved by pressing the belly (cf. l. 659) until total exhalation

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“machines that move on a pivot or swivel” (Diodorus Siculus 20.91). See also Aratus, *Phaen.* 26–44; *CH* II.7; V.4; Exc. VI.13 (ed. Nock & Festugière, 3.41–42, n. 27; cf. the commentary by Scott, *Hermetica*, 3.363–86); XXIV.11; Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 110–13 (bibliography).

<sup>564</sup> Dieterich (61–62) has in mind the *πολεύοντες θεοί*, mentioned in ll. 544–47, 676–92: “the wandering, that is, the planets in control of the days, the gods of the day.” Cf. also Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.175: “indem es [das Bärengestirn] stündlich auf und niedersteigt”; see his commentary 3.243 with parallels (also 3.150–51, 230, 238).

<sup>565</sup> Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 11, 59–60, 80, n. 14.

<sup>566</sup> For the eyes emitting lightning, cf. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1283–84: *ὄμματα δαίεται*, with the commentary by Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.340.

<sup>567</sup> Cf. for epiphanies Matt 17:2 // Luke 9:28; Acts 6:15; Luke 24:4; Matt 28:3; Rev 1:14 about the epiphany of the heavenly Christ: καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρός; 1:16: καὶ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὄξεια ἐκπορευομένη καὶ ἡ ὕψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ.

<sup>568</sup> Eitrem adds a verb <μυκῶ> before μύκωμα; Jordan agrees. The punctuation follows Dieterich (14); Preisendanz has a different punctuation: αἰσθήσεις, μακρόν εἰς ἀπόθεσιν, μυκῶ.... See Preisendanz, *WSI* 42 (1920–21) 24, sec. 8; idem, *app. crit.*, ad loc. Jordan considers *συνκινήσης* but keeps *συνκινήσης*.

<sup>569</sup> It occurs elsewhere in the ML at ll. 490, 657–59, 712; see also XIII.942, 945.

<sup>570</sup> See for this reference ll. 557, 576, 579, 585, 628, 638, 724, 755–57.

tion.<sup>571</sup> The purpose of the exercise is to arouse the five senses together, a strange remark, since the mortal body must be left behind (ll. 529–30, 533–34). Rather than postulating an inconsistency on the part of the author, however, one may conclude that he views the five senses not to be a part of the mortal body, but of the reconstituted perceptions of the intellect, sharpened up by the spirit (ll. 502–13, 520–28).

The second ritual is kissing the pylacteries (ll. 707–8), which, the text says, has been mentioned before (πάλιον, “again”).<sup>572</sup> Together with this ritual, a prayer for protection must be recited (καὶ λέγων, “and saying”). This prayer has the usual structure of invocation, self-identification of the orant, request, identification of the authority. However, there are special features that make this prayer different from others (ll. 708–11).

The invocation (ll. 708–9) begins with what may be a divine name: μοκριμο φεριμο φερερι.<sup>573</sup> This divine name is followed by an epithet: ζω<ή> μου (“my life”).<sup>574</sup> With the symbol Δ (τοῦ δεῖνα) a space is indicated, into which the orant must insert his name.<sup>575</sup>

The reading of ll. 709–10 is contested. According to Preisendanz three commands are presented: μένε σύ, νέμε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου, μὴ με καταλείψης (“Stay! Dwell in my soul! Do not abandon me!”). The first request has many parallels in the PGM.<sup>576</sup> The second is read by Preisendanz,<sup>577</sup> but the use of

<sup>571</sup> The expression εἰς ἀπόθεσιν is unclear, and so are translations; cf. Preisendanz: “bis zum Nachlassen”; we follow a suggestion by Martinez. According to Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.244), εἰς ἀπόθεσιν means “Ruhepunkt,” derived from the language of music. This idea is interesting because the various vocal sounds in the ML may be regarded as a kind of music.

<sup>572</sup> See 659–60, cf. also 789.

<sup>573</sup> The name occurs only here in the PGM; it is unexplained.

<sup>574</sup> Pap. reads φερερι ζων μουτουΔ, but ζων may be a scribal error for ζωή. See Karl Preisendanz, “ΦΕΡΕΡΙΖΩΝ,” *WKP* 32 (1915) 763. For ζων as a divine epithet see Martinez, *Baptized*, 12–15; for ζωή in magical inscriptions, see Erik Peterson, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ*. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen (FRLANT 41; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926), 26; in PGM ζωή occurs also at XII.255–56; XIII.261 (κύριε τῆς ζωῆς), 880–81 (γενοῦ μοι... ζωῆ); for Jesus as ζωή see John 11:25; 14:6 (see BDAG, s.v., 2.a). Jordan prefers the pap. reading ζων μου.

<sup>575</sup> On this symbol, see above, l. 495.

<sup>576</sup> For passages, see Preisendanz, 3.135 (index), s.v. μένω; BDAG, s.v. μένω, 1.a.β (bibliography); Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 44, 73, 177–84, 709. The concept, sometimes called “mystical,” is important especially in the Fourth Gospel (John 6:56; 14:10; 15:4–7; etc.); see Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 1–2 (with important passages from Origen and Augustine, in fact agreeing with the Stoic position of the “deity within”); Festugière, *Révélation*, 3.172–73; Jürgen Heise, *Bleiben. Menein in den johanneischen Schriften* (HUTH 8; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967); Klaus Scholtissek, *In ihm sein und bleiben. Die Sprache der Immanenz in den johanneischen Schriften* (HBS 21; Freiburg: Herder, 2000).

<sup>577</sup> Pap. reads μενεσουμε, which Dieterich (14) reads as μένε σὺν ἐμε, Wunsch (in Dieterich, 107) emends to σύναιμε, Kroll to μένε, but Jordan prefers Dieterich. For νέμε



the term νέμω in PGM elsewhere is different.<sup>578</sup> The final request states the matter with a different term, for which parallels can be adduced as well.<sup>579</sup>

Dieterich has recognized that this prayer is “mystical” and seems to come from a tradition different from the views presented so far in the ML: “We recognize in the background the most massive and ancient concept of the union of the human being and the god: the god comes into the human being physically.”<sup>580</sup> For the background he refers to parallels in the PGM and elsewhere.<sup>581</sup> It is true that up to now the initiate did not ask for this indwelling of a god. However, if one realizes the fundamental importance of inhaling the divine spirit (πνεῦμα) for generating “enthusiasm,” the idea is not strange at all. We find it not only in the PGM,<sup>582</sup> but in many other Hellenistic

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Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224) has an important comment: “Man hat dann νέμειν (wie Pind. *Ol.* 2.13; Aisch. *Eum.* 971) als νέμεσθαι zu fassen mit dem Sinn des Wohnens: ‘bleibe du, wohne in meiner Seele’. Das entspricht der Auffassung vom Wohnen des Gottes im Menschen und seiner ἐνωσις mit dem Gläubigen durchaus, vgl. unten S. 110.2. Vielleicht darf man auch weitergehen und das Bild der [sic! des] νέμειν unterstreichen; dann ist das Gleichnis vom Hirten und dem Gotte da.” On νέμω act. as med. see LSJ, s.v., III. If Preisendanz is correct, a play on words may be intended: μένε / νέμε. Cf. also the hymn to Eros IV.1763–64: ὁ ἐπινεμόμενος πάσαις ψυχαῖς (“the one who dwells in all souls”).

<sup>578</sup> Cf. VII.761–63: ἵνα... πνεῦμα νέμης; XII.247: πᾶσιν ψυχὰς σὺ νέμεις. For the indwelling of the divine πνεῦμα see XIII.761–805; XII.238–57; cf. the NT, where the spirit does not dwell (οἰκέω, ἐνοικέω) in the soul but in the heart or body (e.g., Rom 5:5; 8:9, 11, 15–16; 1 Cor 3:16; Eph 3:17; 2 Tim 1:14).

<sup>579</sup> Pap. reads καταλιψης, a case of itacism. For parallels, see III.632; XI.a.26. For other instances of this prayer language see LXX Ps 26:10; 37:22; 70:18; 118:8. Ps 21:1–2 (ἐγκαταλείπω) is recited by Jesus in Mark 15:34 // Matt 27:46). See BDAG, s.v. ἐγκαταλείπω, 2; καταλείπω.

<sup>580</sup> Dieterich (96–97): “Wir erkennen im Hintergrunde deutlich die massivste ursprüngliche Vorstellung von der Vereinigung des Menschen und des Gottes: der Gott kommt körperlich in den Menschen hinein.”

<sup>581</sup> Dieterich (96–97, 116–31, 134–37, 240) refers to Otto Weinreich’s essay on the formula of reciprocal identity (“reziproke Identitätsformel”): “Religiöse Stimmen der Völker,” *ARIW* 19 (1916–1919) 165–68. For the NT see John 10:38; 14:10–11, 20; 17:21.

<sup>582</sup> See I.20–21: καὶ ἔσται τι ἐνθεον ἐν τῇ σῆ καρδίᾳ; VIII.2–3: ἐλ[θ]έ μοι, κύριε Ἑρμῆ, ὡς τὰ βρέφη εἰς τὰ<ς> κοιλίας τῶν γυναικῶν (“Come to me, lord Hermes, as fetuses come into the wombs of women” [my trans.]). The formula of mutual identity occurs several times in this papyrus: σὺ γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐγὼ σὺ, τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν σόν· ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι τὸ εἰδωλὸν σου (“For you are I, and I am you, your name is mine, and mine is yours; for I am your image” [VIII.36–37; see also ll. 49–50; XIII.795]). The erotic connections should be obvious. See Dieterich, 96–98; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 242–46; idem, *HMR*, 245–52; Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 48–50, 111–20, 343; Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 165–69.

texts.<sup>583</sup> Also the ancient theories about the inspiration of the Delphic Pythia are especially important for comparison.<sup>584</sup>

Finally, the nature of the request is stated. It is an order, *ὅτι κελεύει σοι* (“for the [magical name] commands you”),<sup>585</sup> which, as indicated by the magical names *ενθο φενεν θροπιωθ*, has the divine authority to enforce.<sup>586</sup>

Before making his appearance, however, the god needs to be greeted appropriately. This greeting follows in ll. 712–17, showing the same pattern as the previous greeting before: invocation, self-presentation, and petition (see 639–55, 665–92).

First, however, the necessary rituals have to be performed. They include the gazing (see at l. 556) and the loud roaring or bellowing sound (see ll. 704–7): *καὶ ἀτένιζε τῷ θεῷ μακρὸν μυκώμενος καὶ ἀσπάζου οὕτως* (“and gaze at the god while bellowing loudly, and greet in this manner”).

Then the prayer itself is to be recited (713–17), beginning with the address “Lord” (*κύριε*), and followed by three greetings, consisting of the exclamation “Hail!” and a divine attribute: *χαῖρε, δέσποτα ὕδατος, χαῖρε, κατάρχα γῆς, χαῖρε, δυνάστα πνεύματος* (“Hail, O master of the water! Hail, O founder of the earth! Hail, O ruler of the wind!”). The god is called upon as the ruler of the elements of water,<sup>587</sup> earth,<sup>588</sup> and wind/air/spirit.<sup>589</sup> This is complemented by two further attributes: *λαμπροφεγγῆ* and *προπροφεγγῆ*, which are

<sup>583</sup> See Johannes Haussleiter, “Deus internus,” *RAC* 3 (1957) 794–842, esp. 812–14 (with references); Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 162–70; idem, *Antike und Christentum*, 175–86; Klaus Thraede, “Inspiration,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65; Bärbel Beinhauer-Köhler, Dietrich-Alex Koch, Werner Brändle, “Inspiration/Theopneustie,” *RGG* 4 (2001) 167–75.

<sup>584</sup> See Plutarch, *Def. orac.* 9, 414E; *Pyth. orac.* 20–21, 404B–405A; for a human man to impregnate a goddess cf. *Quaest. conv.* 8.1.3, 718B; *Num.* 4.4. The various theories regarding the inspiration of the Pythia at Delphi are discussed by Wolfgang Fauth, “Pythia 2,” *PRE* 47th Halbband (1963) 515–47, esp. 524–39; Stephan Schröder, *Plutarchs Schrift De Pythia Oraculis* (BAK 8; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1990), 25–72, 183–84; idem, “Platon oder Chrysipp? Zur Inspirationstheorie in Plutarchs Schrift ‘De Pythiae oraculis,’” *Würzburger Jahrbücher* 20 (1994–95) 233–56, arguing against Jens Holzhausen, “Zur Inspirationslehre Plutarchs in De Pythiae oraculis,” *Ph.* 137 (1993) 72–91.

<sup>585</sup> The terms *κελεύειν* (ll. 482–83, 710) and *κέλευμα* (l. 680) occur also elsewhere in the PGM in connection with issuing orders to deities. See Preisendanz, 3.119 (index), s.v.

<sup>586</sup> The magical names are found only here in the PGM, and unexplained. Cf. Brashear (“The Greek Magical Papyri,” 3584) who points to *εντω* (IV. 711; VIII.7; cf. *εντω* VII.556; XIX.a.1: *ενθι εντω*) as representing Egyptian *ndw*, “Glänzender” (?). Already Preisendanz, 3.253 (index), s.v., adds: “‘Sonnenglanz, Glänzender, Voller’ (Hermes/Thoth)”; the reference is by K. F. W. Schmidt, *GGÄ* 1934, 183.

<sup>587</sup> See ll. 492–93, 506, 513.

<sup>588</sup> See ll. 494, 543, 641, 695, 800. Cf. IV.2194–95: *ὁ ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν δεσπότης ὑπάρχων*; XIII.331.

<sup>589</sup> For *πνεῦμα* see ll. 489, 505, 510, 520, 538, 589, 617–18, 627, 629, 658–59; *ἀήρ* 508, 541, 582, 693.

both associated with fire.<sup>590</sup> The conclusion consists of the string of *voces magicae*, similar to those found in ll. 562–65, 603–4):<sup>591</sup> εμεθιρι αρτεντεπι θηθ μινεω υεναρω φυρχεχω ψηρι δαριω φρη φρηλβα.<sup>592</sup>

The final step is the presentation of the petition (717–24). After the long and arduous ascension, the actual petition is surprisingly brief (cf. the petition to Helios, ll. 642–55). Addressing the god again as “lord” (κύριε),<sup>593</sup> the initiate requests an oracular session with the god: χρημάτισον, κύριε, περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος (“Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter”). The term χρηματίζειν is technical and means “to grant an oracular response.”<sup>594</sup> The subject matter of the inquiry has to be filled in by the petitioner; it is of course not mentioned in the text because every petitioner will want to have his or her own business to present. Merkelbach comments at this point: “This would mean that the oracle inquirer could ask the god for a revelation concerning any subject matter whatsoever. One would then certainly also have to assume that the question would have been submitted in written form the evening or night before. However, it is more likely that the long-winding ceremony was used originally on only a few issues of great importance, and that it was only secondarily applied to all kinds of purposes.”<sup>595</sup> An ordinary oracular inquiry would indeed proceed as Merkelbach suggests, but then the question arises, Why is such an extensive ascension

<sup>590</sup> For λαμπροφεγγής cf. IV.386; according to PGL and TLG, the term is attested in patristic and Byzantine literature (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Christus patiens* [PG 38.208]; Germanus I of Constantinople [died 733], *Or.* 3.1 [PG 98.292C]); for προπροφεγγῆ, see the logos in ll. 562–65, 603–4, with proximity of φιλβα; according to the TLG, there is no other attestation.

<sup>591</sup> See the comparative table above, at l. 562.

<sup>592</sup> Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224) comments that Preisendanz (*ad loc.*) writes Φρῆ Φρῆλβα, which – not uncommonly in magical materials – reflects the name of Ammon R.e. Weinreich also calls attention to the name Φρήν on an inscription from Cordoba (see F. Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen, E. Littmann, W. Weber & O. Weinreich, “Syrische Gottheiten auf einem Altar aus Cordova,” *ARW* 22 [1923] 117–32, esp. 122). Preisendanz also suggests that Φρῆλβα may have been expanded by the last three letters of the well-known palindrome αβλαναθαναλβα.

<sup>593</sup> See for this title at l. 588 (with references).

<sup>594</sup> For this request, see ll. 653, 724, 727, 732; furthermore I.297; IV.951, 2502; VII.248, 253, 996; XII.113, 150–51; XXX.a.2–4; LXXVII.20. For oracle divination in Egypt and rich bibliography, see Alexandra von Lieven, “Divination in Egypt,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26 (1999) 77–126.

<sup>595</sup> Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.244: “Dies würde bedeuten, daß der Orakelsucher über jedes beliebige Thema einen Wahrspruch des Gottes erbitten konnte. Man müßte dann sicherlich außerdem annehmen, daß die Anfrage schon am Vorabend oder in der Vornacht schriftlich eingereicht worden ist. Man wird doch eher vermuten, daß die aufwendige Zeremonie ursprünglich nur zu wenigen, ganz besonderen Anlässen benützt worden ist und erst sekundär zu verschiedenen Zwecken herangezogen wurde.”

ritual necessary, if no more than a simple answer is expected? Merkelbach concludes that the ascension ritual must have been put to a secondary usage. In other words, the magician would go through a lot of ritualistic pomp and circumstance, just to give greater status to what in reality could be done in a less spectacular way. This suggestion takes up ideas of Dieterich who sees the redactor as having caused the problem. He “uses the liturgy for obtaining oracular responses.” Nobody can of course say what portion of the text he may have excised, or what may have been the content of the omission.<sup>596</sup>

It seems more likely, however, that the reference to the subject matter (πρᾶγμα) of the inquiry was not ordinary but extraordinary. After all, the practitioner is seeking a personal interview with the highest god Helios-Mithras-Aion. It would be odd to assume that the inquirer who exhibits a philosophical interest in cosmological and anthropological questions would approach this god with mundane banalities. Rather, one should remember the highflying aims stated already in the exordium (483–84) of “walking (into) heaven and looking over all things.” Consequently, one should assume that the inquirer will seek answers to questions of ultimate concern, including the nature of the cosmos and his own self.<sup>597</sup> Before the gods grant the request (ll. 724–27), however, the inquirer needs to present himself and his credentials as an initiate.<sup>598</sup>

The great *synthema* in ll. 719–24 appears to be a citation,<sup>599</sup> by repeating it from an earlier initiation ritual the present inquirer demonstrates his qualifications. This *synthema* has close parallels in the Orphic-Dionysiac gold-tablets,

<sup>596</sup> Dieterich (82): “... so kommt hier der unarbeitende Magier zu Wort, der die Liturgie benutzt zur Erlangung von Wahrsagungen. Was er etwa abgeschnitten hat an dem Texte, was etwa noch folgte nach dem von uns Herausgehobenen, kann natürlich niemand sagen. Ich habe wohl diese und jene Vermutung, aber da ich nicht einmal Sicherheit geben kann, d a β etwas fehlt, lasse ich sie unausgesprochen.”

<sup>597</sup> Note also PDM xiv.670–74 (Janet H. Johnson, in Betz, *GMPT*, 232): “...the gods never go away without you having questioned them about everything so that they say to you the answer about heaven, earth, the underworld, a distant inquiry, water and fields.” Cf. the physician Thessalos who has a session with the god Asclepius to learn from him the most effective healing plants. See, also for other parallels, Merkelbach, *Abasax*, 3.84–85.

<sup>598</sup> Cf. the previous self-presentations to the elements (ll. 516–37), and to Helios (ll. 644–49).

<sup>599</sup> For the concept of *synthema*, see above, p. 170. Griffiths (*Apuleius*, 294–308) discusses the passage in connection with the famous *synthema* in *Metam.* 11.23, ll. 11–15); cf. also what Firmicus Maternus (*Err. prof. rel.* 18, ed. Ziegler) reports about σύμβολα (*symbola*) in a mystery cult; he cites the tripartite password needed to enter into the inner chambers of the temple: ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα, γέγονα μύστης Ἄττιως (“I have eaten from the kettle-drum, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have become an initiate of Attis”). Note that the Greek formula and the Latin translation do not conform (*De tympano manducavi, de cymbalo bibi, et religionis secreta perdidici*); that there are other versions as well (see Dieterich, 216–17). Of interest are also his comparisons with analogous Christian formulas.

especially the one from the Thessalian Pelinna (end of the 4th c. BCE):<sup>600</sup> The tripartite formula, referring in cryptic abbreviations to decisive ritual acts, has so far not been conclusively explained.

νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἄματι τῶιδε.

εἰπεῖν Φερσεφόνοι σ' ὅτι Βάχ<χ>ιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσε.

ταῦρος εἰς γάλα ἔθορες·

αἴψα εἰς γ<ά>λα ἔθορες·

κρίος εἰς γάλα ἔπεσε<ς>.

οἶνον ἔχεις εὐδαίμονα τιμάν.

κάπιμένει σ' ὑπὸ γῆν τέλεα ἄσ<σ>απερ ὄλβιοι ἄλλοι.

Now you have died, and now you have been born, O thrice blessed one, on this very day.

Tell Persephone that Bakchios himself has set you free.

Bull, you jumped into milk;

Kid, you jumped into milk;

Ram, you fell into milk.

You have wine as your fortuitous honor.

And below the earth there are ready for you the same prizes [or: rites]

as for the other blessed ones.

To return to the *synthema* in ll. 718–24, Mithras is addressed again as “lord” (κύριος), after which the initiate offers three fundamental statements of self-understanding:

First, he affirms his human and divine self-understanding by three statements (ll. 718–22):

παλιγγενόμενος ἀπογίγνομαι,

αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς τελευτῶ,

ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωογόνου γενόμενος,

εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς πορεύομαι.

Having been born again, I am passing away;

while growing and having grown, I am dying;

Having been born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on,

released to death.<sup>601</sup>

<sup>600</sup> Cited according to Christoph Riedweg, “Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt. Beobachtungen zur Kommunikationsituation und narrativen Technik der orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 359–98 (the citation, 392; the interpretation, 370–75); Betz, “Zur Lehre vom Menschen,” *ibid.*, 411 (also *Antike und Christentum*, 234–35). The translation follows, with some variation, Fritz Graf, “Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology: New Texts and Old Questions,” in Thomas H. Carpenter & Christopher A. Faraone, eds., *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 239–58 (the citation and interpretation, 241–50).

<sup>601</sup> Scholars are divided on the translation of the phrase εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς. Clearly, ἀπογενεσία is the opposite of γένεσις, γενόμενος, and παλιγγενεσία; ἀναλυθεὶς

The structure of polarity is apparent, although the meaning can only be guessed. If the inquirer speaks as an initiate, which seems an obvious conclusion, what do the self-definitions define, his newly achieved divine status or his human status? Since he states his achievement of rebirth and regeneration as past experiences, the verbs in the present tense must define his imminent condition.<sup>602</sup> Although the formula is now part of the greeting of Mithras, the words seem to point to a different context, such as that of a formula recited before the initiate's natural death, a kind of "Sterbeformel" comparable to Rom 14:7–9:

οὐδεις γὰρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτῷ ζῆ καὶ οὐδεις ἑαυτῷ ἀποθνήσκει·  
 ἐάν τε γὰρ ζῶμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ζῶμεν, ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ  
 ἀποθνήσκομεν. ἐάν τε οὖν ζῶμεν ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν.

We do not live to ourselves and we do not die to ourselves.  
 If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord;  
 so then, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's.<sup>603</sup>

Second, three further statements affirm the divine authority which supports the initiate's present self-understanding:

ὡς σὺ ἔκτισας  
 ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας,  
 καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριον.

"as you have founded,  
 as you have decreed,  
 and have authored (the) mystery."

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corresponds to τελευτῶ. For a discussion of ἀπογενεσία see Festugière (*Révélation*, 1.307, n. 6) who points to the parallels in PGM V.155 (ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ γεννῶν καὶ ἀπογεννῶν) and Plotinus, *En.* III.4.6.12 (εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τὴν ἀπογένεσιν). Reitzenstein (*GGA* 185 [1923] 51) renders it as "entferne ich mich" ("I remove myself"); Erwin Rohde (*Psyche*, 2.421–22); Dieterich (15): "werde ich in den Tod erlöst"; Preisendanz: "zum Sterben aufgelöst"; Festugière (*Révélation*, 1.307): "je me dissous pour entrer dans la mort"; Meyer: "I am passing on, released to death"; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.175): "ins Ablegen des Lebens aufgelöst werde(n)."

<sup>602</sup> As an important parallel, Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.244) refers to the Christian formulation in Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22 (ed. Konrat Ziegler [München: Huber, 1953], 70): *ut sepulto prima homine ex eodem statim homine homo alius felicius <re>nascatur* ("that when the first man is buried, from that same man at once another, happier, man is reborn" [my trans.]).

<sup>603</sup> The text is cited according to Nestle–Aland, 27th ed. rev.; the translation is that of NRSV. Cf. also for baptismal formulae Rom 6:1–12, and my essay, "Transferring a Ritual: Paul's Interpretation of Baptism in Romans 6," *Paulinische Studien*, 240–71, esp. 261–70.

The precise meaning of this part of the formula seems unclear. It appears originally to belong to a different hymnic context unknown to us.<sup>604</sup> The object *μυστήριον*, without article, may refer to all three lines; since it names an object known to the practitioner, the article (the) may fit in English. That object seems to be the ritual as a whole.<sup>605</sup>

Third, the resultant self-definition of the initiate is summed up in a very concise statement. The decisive insight gained from his initiation is that he has come to understand himself as an individual self (*ἐγὼ εἰμι*),<sup>606</sup> identified by his secret name.<sup>607</sup>

ἐγὼ εἰμι φερουρα μιουρι.

“I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

Rather arbitrarily, Dieterich believes that the immortalization ritual (*ἀπαθανατισμός*) ends at this point, and that a new section dealing with the granting of an oracular response begins.<sup>608</sup> “We feel in these last words a kind of conclusion of the consecration, its purpose being the rebirth, the immortalization of the initiate after the needs of the bodily life. This aim is stated in the text time and again with great clarity. When, therefore, in the papyrus the sentence follows: *ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρησμοδῆσει (Μίθρας)*, this is the statement by the magician who is reworking the liturgy for the purpose of

<sup>604</sup> Martinez rightly proposes the sense of a *recusatio*: “not I but you...” He refers to a parallel in an Egyptian charm translated by Borghouts: “it is not I who have said it, it is not I who have repeated it. It is this magic that comes for NN born of NN that has said it, that has repeated it...” Cited and discussed in Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 72–73.

<sup>605</sup> See also Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 170, n. 75; 224, 258; *Antike und Christentum*, 170, 178). For the term *μυστήριον*, without article, as referring to the mystery ritual as divinely authored (*ποιοῦν*), see also Dieterich (14–15), Preisendanz, Festugière, Meyer, and Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.175–76, 244); *μυστήριον* (l. 723) can, as instances in ll. 746, 794 show, refer also to things other than the ritual as such (l. 476: plural, *τὰ μυστήρια*). That the mystery cult has been instituted by the deity is a common doctrine. E.g., the Eleusinian mysteries were instituted by Demeter (*Hom. Hymn to Demeter* 473–76: *δρησμοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσι* (“She showed the conduct of her rites and taught them all her mysteries”). According to *CH*, Frag. XXIII (Kore Kosmou), § 68, the mysteries of Isis and Osiris were revealed by the *νομοθεσίαι* of Hermes. For more material see Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, Chapter 1. Cf. Col 1:26–27; 2:2–3.

<sup>606</sup> For this formula, see above at l. 527.

<sup>607</sup> The name is found only here, and unexplained.

<sup>608</sup> According to Dieterich (16), the new section, which he calls “Anweisung zu magischer Verwendung der Mithrasliturgie” (“Instruction for the magical application of the Mithras Liturgy”), begins in l. 724 with the words *ἐγὼ εἰμι φερουρα μιουρι*, “I am PHEROURA MIOURI.” One wonders why Dieterich stops translating, when he continues carefully to annotate the text from here on (16–21).

obtaining an oracular response.<sup>609</sup> Consequently, he assumes that the words φρη φρηλβα· χρημάτισον, κύριε, περὶ τοῦ Δ πράγματος (ll. 717–18) have been secondarily inserted by the redactor, in order to coordinate the two sections (15, 16).<sup>610</sup>

There is nothing in the text, however, to suggest such a redactional seam. The elements of the phrase, ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρησμοῦδήσει (“after you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation”), have appeared before in different situations to indicate progress in the narrative.<sup>611</sup> The term χρησμοδεῖν is technical and designates the oracular response.<sup>612</sup> As already mentioned above, the text does not report any material content of questions and answers. Rather, the purpose and aim of the ritual is to bring the inquirer up to the point of meeting the god in person, leaving a space for the consultation to take place and for the issue (πρᾶγμα) to be submitted in conversation.<sup>613</sup>

The very next step comments on the condition of the inquirer during the consultation (ll. 725–26): ὑπέκλυτος δὲ ἔσει τῆ ψυχῆ καὶ οὐκ ἐν σεαυτῷ ἔσει, ὅταν σοι ἀποκρίνηται (“now you will grow weak in your soul, and you will not be in yourself, when he answers you”). Several parallel passages confirm that this is the typical condition of a person in ecstasy or thereafter.<sup>614</sup>

<sup>609</sup> Dieterich (82): “Wir fühlen in den letzten Worten eine Art Abschluß der Weihe, deren Zweck ja die Neugeburt, die Unsterblichmachung des Mysten nach der Not des Leibeslebens ist. Dies Ziel ist immer wieder mit größter Deutlichkeit im Texte ausgesprochen. Wenn darum nun im Papyrus der Satz folgt: ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρησμοῦδήσει (Μίθρας), so kommt hier der umarbeitende Magier zu Wort, der die Liturgie benutzt zur Erlangung von Wahrsagungen.” See also *ibid.*, 84–85.

<sup>610</sup> On the methods of collating sources used by ancient scribes, see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.86–90.

<sup>611</sup> See the parallels in ll. 576, 620–21, 633, 655–56. For εὐθέως (“at once”), see at l. 557.

<sup>612</sup> Pap. reads *χρησμοδησει*, corrected by Dieterich (16). For this term, see also VI.46; cf. II.54; VIII.101–2: *χρησμοδός θεός*. On *χρησμός* (“oracular response”), see ll. 727, 732; the verb *χρᾶσθαι*, l. 740; *χρηματίζω* l. 717. The terminology and concept of oracular inquiry is frequent in the PGM; see especially the Ἀπολλωνιακὴ ἐπίκλησις I.263–347.

<sup>613</sup> A pertinent example of such conversations are the consultations of the god Trophonius in the underground cave in Lebadeia. See my article, “The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre in Greek and Hellenistic Literature: The Case of the Oracle of Trophonius,” *Hellenismus und Uchristentum*, 184–209. Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.157) who believes that the specific issue regarding which the oracular response was sought had been submitted in written form on the evening before, probably together with the birth constellation (γένεσις).

<sup>614</sup> Actually, “not being in (or: by) yourself” defines ecstasy (ἔκστασις), see below, ll. 737–38. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.240) points to Thessalos’s encounter with Asclepius (Prooem. 24, ed. Friedrich, p. 53, l. 14; also Totti, *Texte*, 117 [# 45]). When the god appeared, Thessalos almost lost his mind: *καθεζομένου δὲ μου καὶ ἐκλυομένου τοῦ σώματος*



Dieterich's comment is to the point: "The phenomenon of ἐνθουσιασμός ["enthusiasm, ecstasy"] in the proper sense is well-known to us. Primarily it is meant to be physically possessed by the god. This idea changes time and again with the other, that the human being, the soul, or the spirit ascends to the sphere of the god. ἔκστασις ['ecstasy'] is derived from this viewpoint."<sup>615</sup>

The session with the god then concludes (ll. 727–28): λέγει δέ σοι διὰ στίχων τὸν χρησμὸν καὶ εἰπὼ(ν) ἀπελεύσεται<sup>616</sup> ("he, however, speaks the oracle to you in verses, and after speaking he will depart"). Dieterich's (82–83) astute observation that the session ends rather abruptly is one of the reasons why he assumes that a section at the end may have been excised by the redactor, which in turn supports Dieterich's ideas concerning the composition. He perceives the absence of a narrative of a ritual dealing with the inquirer's return from heaven to earth.<sup>617</sup> It is the case, to be sure, that the ML

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καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς θεᾶς, "when I took my seat and my body and soul grew weak because of the miracle of the vision." Apuleius, *Metam.* 8.27–28: "as if, indeed, the gods' presence was not supposed to make humans better than themselves, but rather weak or sick" (*prorsus quasi deum praesentia soleant homines non sui fieri meliores, sed debiles effici uel aegroti*). The opening paragraph of the "Poimandres" (*CH* I.1) presents a kind of classic statement: Ἐννοίας μοί ποτε γενομένης περὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ μετεωρισθείσης μοι τῆς διανοίας σφόδρα, κατασχεθεισῶν μου τῶν σωματικῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ τῶν ὑπνω βεβαρημένοι ἐκ κόρου τροφῆς ἢ ἐκ κόπου σώματος... ("Once when thought came to me about the things that are, and my thinking was lifted up high, while my bodily senses were held down, like those who are heavy with sleep from a fill of food or fatigue of the body...") [my trans.]; see also *CH* X.5; for the oracle of Trophonius see Pausanias 39.13 (see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 186); for the OT and Judaism see Saul's weakness after the consultation with the dead prophet Samuel in the story of the "witch of Endor" (1 Sam 28:20–24); 1 En. 60:3 (*OTP* 1.40): "(Then) a great trembling and fear seized me and my loins and kidneys lost control. So I fell upon my face." Paul's vision of Christ on the road to Damascus causes his physical collapse, described in Acts 9:3–9; 22:6–11.

<sup>615</sup> Dieterich (97–98): "Die Erscheinung des ἐνθουσιασμός im eigentlichen Sinne ist uns wohlbekannt. Es ist ursprünglich gemeint als ganz körperliches Erfülltsein vom Gotte. Mit dieser Vorstellung wechselt immer und immer wieder die, daß der Mensch oder seine Seele, sein Geist in den Gott körperlich eingeht. ἔκστασις entstammt dieser Anschauung." Dieterich (98) refers to Rohde, *Psyche* (2nd ed., 1898), 2.18ff.; Wünsch (in Dieterich, 240). On the topic of ecstasy see Friedrich Pfister, "Ekstase," *RAC* 4 (1959) 944–87; idem, "Enthusiasmus," *RAC* 5 (1962) 455–57; Klaus Thraede, "Inspiration," *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65 (with bibliography).

<sup>616</sup> Pap. reads εἰπὼ with the ν expressed by a supralinear stroke; thus, the reading εἰπῶν by Dieterich (16) is correct.

<sup>617</sup> Dieterich (82, 83): "Ob irgendwie der Abstieg des Mysten liturgisch angegeben war, kann ich ebenfalls nicht ausmachen.... Wahrscheinlich ist es mir nicht, daß die Rückkehr des Geweihten in der echten Liturgie irgendwie vorkam; das widerspräche aller Analogie ähnlicher sakramentaler Aktionen." ("Whether somehow the descent of the initiate was liturgically presented, I am unable to make out.... To me it is not probable that the return of the initiate occurred somehow in the liturgy itself; this would be in conflict with all analogies of similar sacramental actions.")

says nothing about a ritual of return<sup>618</sup> or of the god's dismissal.<sup>619</sup> Also, there is no indication of how long the session would last. Rather than being short, the epilogue even presupposes that the revelation could include thousands of verses, which would require a considerably longer time. How then can the missing return of the inquirer be explained?

The conclusion of the ritual again looks at the inquirer and provides several instructions (ll. 728–32). The first of these involves his resulting condition (ll. 728–29): *σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεός, ὡς ταῦτα πάντα χωρήσεις αὐτομάτως*<sup>620</sup> (“but you stand speechless, [wondering] how you will by yourself comprehend all these things”).<sup>621</sup> It appears that after having received the response, the inquirer is faced with two questions, one being comprehension, and the other, recollection.<sup>622</sup> Two promises deal with them. The first assures him that he will indeed comprehend everything *αὐτομάτως* (“by himself, spontaneously”).<sup>623</sup> The other promise assures him unfailing remembrance (ll. 729–30): *καὶ τότε μνημονεύσεις ἀπαραβάτως τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ῥηθέντα, κἄν ἦν μυρίων στίχων ὁ χρησιμός* (“for at a later time you will remember

<sup>618</sup> For such narratives of return, see Plutarch, *Gen. Socr.* 22, 592E; Lucian, *Icarom.* 2; 34; 2 Cor 12:2–4.

<sup>619</sup> For such ritual dismissals, see, e.g., I.94–95, 170, 184–86, 334–47; II.176–83; III.258; IV.252–53; XI.a.35; (Demotic) xiv.110, 505, 670.

<sup>620</sup> Dieterich reads (16): *σὺ δ' ἐστήκεις ἐνεός ὡς*, agreeing with Usener (in Dieterich, 16, *app. crit.*) that this looks like a hexametric half-verse, and that it may be borrowed from a source. Differently, Wilhelm Crönert (“Zur Kritik,” 100) reads *σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεός ὡς ταῦτα πάντα χωρήσεις· καὶ τότε μνημονεύσεις*, “but you stand there, because of amazement incapacitated to comprehend all of these things...” (“Du aber stehst da, unfähig vor Staunen, dies alles von selbst zu begreifen.” This reading Preisendanz adopts, also referring to the parallel in IV. 923. Kroll (*Ph.* 53 [1894] 420, n. 6; 54 [1895] 561) refers to parallels for the meaning of *χωρεῖν* (“comprehend”): Philo, *Sacr.* 8; Matt 19:11; Plutarch, *Cato Min.* 64.4; Ps.–Phoc. 89; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.26.6. Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) cites Hopfner’s reading: *ὡς (ὥστε) χωρήσειν*. For *χωρεῖν* (“comprehend”) see also below, n. 623.

<sup>621</sup> Cf. after Paul’s vision of Christ, the men accompanying him stand speechless, Acts 9:7: *οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες... εἰστήκεισαν ἐνεοί*.

<sup>622</sup> Translations differ at this point because *ἐνεός* can be taken in two ways, either as “speechless and wondering how ...” or “stand in amazement that you will by yourself comprehend all these things” (Preisendanz: “Du aber steh stumm, denn du wirst das alles von selbst verstehen”; Meyer: “But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself”; Merkelbach: “aber du wirst stumm dastehen und darüber staunen, daß Du alles von selbst behältst, was der große Gott gesagt hat”).

<sup>623</sup> For the term *χωρεῖν* (“comprehend”), see Dieterich (16, *app. crit.*; 83); BDAG, s.v. *χωρέω*, 3,b,β; *αὐτομάτως*, an important term in miracle stories, is a *hapax* in the PGM; see BDAG, s.v. *αὐτόματος*.

Cf. the concern in 1 En. 1:2 (OTP 1.13): “(This is) a holy vision from the heavens which the angels showed me; and I heard from them everything and I understood.”

infallibly the things spoken by the great god,<sup>624</sup> even if the oracle contains myriads of verses”).<sup>625</sup> Several things are made known here about the nature of the revelation.

First, ll. 725–26 lead to the conclusion that the journey to heaven as a whole is experienced in ecstasy. According to the worldview expressed in the text, this means that the initiate “left the earth” in a state of trance, which for him is physical, and not only a mental experience. One must be cautious at this point. The experience is, of course, imaginative, but it is nonetheless “real” in the sense that the initiate’s physical as well as mental state is participating. If, however, it appears to us as outsiders that the initiate does not move an inch off the ground and that there is no account of a return, this fact only reveals our lack of understanding of what is implied in an ecstatic experience. Therefore, when the god departs the initiate comes out of his trance, this is the moment when he finds himself “standing speechless” (ll. 728–29).<sup>626</sup>

Second, the oracular response envisaged is called “the words of the great god,” revealed directly without a mediating interpreter, a mouth-to-mouth (στόμα πρὸς στόμα) or face-to-face (πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον) revelation.<sup>627</sup> Furthermore, they are given in verse, as such oracles should be.<sup>628</sup> Surprisingly, they add up to a collection of myriads of verses. Regarding this last point, one wonders whether the author has oracle collections, perhaps even a

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<sup>624</sup> That the problem of remembering the revelation was an important concern is shown by parallels in connection with the oracle of Trophonius (see Pausanias 39.8–14, and Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 185–86, and Plutarch, *Sera* 33, 568A): At his return from the journey to the afterlife, Thespesius is touched with a glowing-hot rod, so as to preserve the memory (see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 204). Cf. also the charms in PGM called “memory spells” (μνημονική), I.232–47; II.40–42; III.424–66, 467–78; etc.

<sup>625</sup> For *καὶν ἦν* as a common 3rd pers. sing. subj. in non-literary papyri and the NT see Gignac, *Grammar*, 2.405 with n. 1.

<sup>626</sup> Cf. also Paul’s intended ambiguity in 2 Cor 12:2–4. Regarding the man snatched up into the third heaven, he confesses “whether in the body I don’t know, whether out of the body I don’t, God knows.”

<sup>627</sup> See I.2–3: τὸ στόμα πρὸς τὸ στόμα συνόμιλος τῷ θεῷ (“mouth to mouth he was a companion of the god”). According to ancient views, these oracles had the highest value. Cf. of Moses LXX Num 12:6–8; Deut 5:4; also 1 Cor 13:12, and BDAG, s.v. *πρόσωπον*, 1.b.

<sup>628</sup> See Plutarch’s essay “Why oracles are no longer given in verse” (*De Pythiae oraculis*), in which he discusses current theories of decline of the Greek oracles because they are turning to prose. See Schröder, *Plutarchs Schrift*, 53–55, 67 n. 1; 314.

specific one, in mind.<sup>629</sup> At any rate, he names a problem that no doubt has led to such collections.<sup>630</sup>

With l. 732 the ritual of immortalization (ἀπαθανατισμός) concludes. What follows are supplementary instructions.

### III. Supplemental rituals (ll. 732–819)

As the analysis shows, part III (ll. 732–819) contains supplemental rituals. There are two kinds of those supplements: first, three options for including a fellow-initiate in the oracular consultation (ll. 732–50); second, three additional instructions for preparing ingredients to be used in the ritual (ll. 750–819).<sup>631</sup>

#### A. Optional rituals for including a fellow-initiate in the consultation (ll. 732–50)

The three optional rituals, coordinated by ἐὰν δὲ καὶ..., ἐὰν δὲ καὶ..., ἐὰν δὲ καὶ...,<sup>632</sup> concern the oracular consultation presented above (ll. 724–28). These rituals are not to be confused with initiations, because the additional person to be included in the consultation must be someone who, just as the first inquirer, is already an initiate (συμμύστης); the initiations of both consultants are therefore presupposed as having occurred prior to the present ritual text.

1. In the first option (ll. 732–36), the fellow-initiate is to serve as a medium in the consultation: ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς καὶ συμμύστη χρήσασθαι ὥστε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκεῖνον μόνον σὺν σοὶ ἀκούειν... (“But if you want to consult the oracle by using a fellow-initiate [as medium], so that he hears only the things spoken together with you...”). The phrase “if you wish” (ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς), stating

<sup>629</sup> Such as the “Chaldean Oracles” (see Edouard Des Places, “Les Oracles Chaldaïques,” *ANRW* II.17:4 [1984] 2299–2335); Porphyry, *De philosophia ex oraculis exhaurienda librorum reliquiae* (ed. Gustav Wolff; Berlin: Springer, 1856). See Nilsson, *GGR* 2.478–85; Herbert W. Parke & D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (2 vols.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1966); Aune, *Early Christian Prophecy*, 77–79.

<sup>630</sup> Cf. also Apollonius’ consultation of Trophonius, when he reappears from the cave with a book containing the teachings of Pythagoras (Philostratus, *V. Apoll.* 8.19–20; see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 187–88).

<sup>631</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.156–57) assumes that all the additional rituals refer to passages that were part of the preparatory rituals which the redactor omitted from the beginning of the text. As will be shown below, however, the situation is more complicated.

<sup>632</sup> For καὶ almost equalling αὖ (“again,” “once more” *vel sim.*) see Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 305.

options, is attested elsewhere in the PGM.<sup>633</sup> The term *συμμύστης* is technical and indicates that the adept has been initiated, but perhaps at a lower rank or as child medium.<sup>634</sup> The verb *χρᾶσθαι* appears often in the magical literature, but here it seems to have the more specific meaning of “to make use of a medium.”<sup>635</sup> The meaning of the *ὥστε*-sentence is, at first sight, obscure, but appears to become clearer when compared with the two other options. If the role of the fellow-initiate is that of a medium, a limit is imposed on that role: “so that he hears only the things spoken together with you” (*ὥστε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκεῖνον μόνον σὺν σοι ἀκούειν*).<sup>636</sup> In the PGM, as well as in the language of the mystery cults, this term usually refers to the words to be spoken by the practitioner of the ritual, but in this context it is more likely that it signifies the utterances of the god (see ll. 731, 737).<sup>637</sup>

The following statement specifies the conditions the medium has to meet before performing his role: *συναγνευέτω σοι <ζ> ἡμέρας καὶ ἀποσχέσθω ἐμψύχων καὶ βαλανείου* (“let him be pure together with you for [seven] days, and abstain from meat and bath”).<sup>638</sup> These conditions are typical for prelimi-

<sup>633</sup> See I.124; III.495; IV.1720, 2252, 2257, 2301, 3125; XXXVI.151.

<sup>634</sup> Pap. reads *συνμυστη* (equalling *συμμύστης*). Jordan considers articulating *σὺν μύστη* or haplography *<σὺν> συνμύστη*. For the term, see also XII.94; and Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 44, 149 n. 75; BDAG, s.v. *μύστης*; for the unassimilated spelling see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.168.

<sup>635</sup> For the verb referring to a substance see IV.792–93: *εἶπεν δὲ μοι ὁ θεός· μηκέτι χρῶ τῷ συγχρίσματι*. For child mediums see I.86–87; II.56; III.710; IV.89, 850–51; V.1–53 (title: *μαντεῖον Σαραπιακὸν [ἐπὶ] παιδός, ἐπὶ λύχνου καὶ φιάλας καὶ β[ά]θρου*), 375–76; VII.348–58 (title: *μαντεῖον ἐπὶ παιδός*), 544, 572; XIII.749; LXII.32; PDM xiv.5–10, 150–55, 285–90, 410–15, 460–65, 480–85, 490–95; 515–20, 530, 695, 815–20, 856, 870–75; see Theodor Hopfner, “Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri,” in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1926), 65–74.

<sup>636</sup> For such selective participation in revelation, see PDM xiv.285–95, 420–26, 525–30, 815–25. Cf. the differing versions of the reports about Jesus’ baptism (Mark 1:9–11 par.) and about the witnesses of Paul’s vision of Jesus on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:7: *ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδὲνα δὲ θεωροῦντες*). For discussion and parallels see Herbert Braun, “Entscheidende Motive in den Berichten über die Taufe Jesu von Markus bis Justin,” in *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967), 168–72.

<sup>637</sup> For the term *τὰ λεγόμενα*, see also I.163, 193–94; II.17; IV.1442; XII.42–43, 52–53; XIII.210–11; cf. IV.246–47: *ὑπερ ὄνομα ῥηθὲν θεοῦ καὶ δαίμονας ἐπ’ αὐτὸ βία φέρει*. The term *δρώμενα* does not occur in the PGM, but cf. *δράω* IV.2593, 2655; for *δείκνυμι* cf. below ll. 738, 772, 785. See George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 261–74; Albert Henrichs, “Dromena und Legomena. Zum rituellen Selbstverständnis der Griechen,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 33–71.

<sup>638</sup> Dieterich adds [ζ] (“seven”) because of the parallel in IV.52. For the importance of seven days, see also I.41 (*ἐν ἡμέρ[αις ζ’]*); II.141–44; III.425–39, 695–97; IV.767, 3209–10; V.244–45; VII.526–27; XIII.114, 671; XCIV.10; PDM xiv.1040–45.

nary purifications or sanctifications.<sup>639</sup> The emphasis on “together with you” indicates the role of the mentor/teacher as supervisor, and that of the fellow-initiate as being of lower status. Abstention from “ensouled” food (ἐμψυχος),<sup>640</sup> that is meat, as well as from bath<sup>641</sup> are the common requirements for sanctification,<sup>642</sup> however, a third typical requirement, sexual intercourse, is not mentioned.<sup>643</sup> These requirements of purity are preconditional for the person’s function as a medium.<sup>644</sup>

2. The second option applies to prophecy without a medium (ll. 736–38): ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μόνος ᾦς καὶ ἐγχειρῆς τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρημμένα, λέγεις ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει ἀποφοιβώμενος<sup>645</sup> (“But if you are alone, and you are [directly] engaged with the pronouncements of the god, you speak as inspired in

<sup>639</sup> The term συναγνεύειν is rare and found only here in the PGM; cf. συναγνίσθητι ἐπευχῆ, “be sanctified together by prayer,” IV.2997–98 (for other readings, see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*). Cf. προαγνεύειν, IV.52; XIII.113, 671. The simplex ἀγνεύειν (“sanctify”) occurs II.149, 151; IV.3209; VII.334, 846; XIII.347; XXII.b.27. See Jan Bremmer, “‘Religion’, ‘Ritual’ and the Opposition ‘Sacred vs. Profane’: Notes Towards a Terminological ‘Genealogy’,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 9–32, esp. 24–31.

<sup>640</sup> For ἐμψυχος, see also IV.1766; LXVII.2; cf. ἄψυχος I.23; IV.498; VII.441. Abstention from meat was widespread in antiquity; see also IV.53, 3079–80; LXVII.2. On the whole, see Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften*, 76–102; Parker, *Miasma*, 357–65.

<sup>641</sup> Strangely, bathing does not effect purification. Abstention from bath (βαλανεῖον) is mentioned only here in the PGM; cf. Kotansky, *Amulets*, 1.298–99. See Julius Jüthner, “Bad,” *RAC* 1 (1950) 1134–43, esp. 1136 (referring to Philo, *Det.* 19; Porphyry, *Vit. Plot.* 2), and 1141–42. According to Acts 23:21, Paul’s enemies swear that they will neither eat nor drink until they have killed the apostle; for this and other parallels see David Martinez, “‘May she neither eat nor drink’: Love Magic and Vows of Abstinence,” in: Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, eds., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (RGRW 129; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 349 n. 52.

<sup>642</sup> See Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften*, *passim*; Parker, *Miasma*, *passim*; Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*, 155–70.

<sup>643</sup> On abstention from sex, see I.41–42; IV.897–98; XXXVII.1–2; PDM xiv.65–70, 145–50, 765–70, 815–20. On the subject see Eugen Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (RVV 6; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1910); Gerhard Delling, “Geschlechtsverkehr,” *RAC* 10 (1978) 812–29 (bibliography); Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 107–8.

<sup>644</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) notes that no such requirements are reported at the beginning of the ML, and he concludes that the redactor must have omitted them. This conclusion leaves three possible ways of understanding the matter: Did the redactor omit the requirements as they apply to the author himself from the written source material? Or did he regard them as unwritten preconditions for the practitioner/teacher because they are self-evident and do not need to be written out? Or did he spell them out as preconditions for the medium? A decision is difficult, but the latter option seems to be the more likely answer.

<sup>645</sup> According to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224), Preisendanz apparently later proposed the reading λέγε ἴσως, “speak in the same way as...” Martinez suggests that Preisendanz may be right because also in the other two ἐὰν-clauses the protasis is followed by an imperative apodosis.

ecstasy”).<sup>646</sup> The absence of a medium means that, like Trophonius, the prophet receives the utterances of the god directly. More complex are the theories concerning the Delphic Pythia’s ecstatic inspiration by Apollo.<sup>647</sup> The terms ἔκστασις (“ecstasy”) and ἀποφοιβάομαι (“inspired by Phoebus”) occur only here in the PGM.<sup>648</sup>

3. The third option is most difficult to understand because the formulation is ambiguous (ll. 738–40): ἐὰν δὲ καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ θέλῃς, κρίνας, εἰ ἀξιός ἐστιν ἀσφαλῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ...<sup>649</sup> (“But again if you wish to show him, after you judge whether his worth as a man is secure ...”).<sup>650</sup> Depending on the interpretation, translations differ; the problem is the missing object of δεῖξαι αὐτῷ, “to show him” – what? Judging from the context (ll. 741–46), the most likely object would be a revelatory symbol belonging to what in mystery-cult language is called τὰ δεικνύμενα (“things shown”).<sup>651</sup> Before this optional

<sup>646</sup> The translations differ at this point because of what appear to be misunderstandings of the options. Preisendanz: “Wenn du aber auch allein bist und an dem vom Gott mitgeteilten Zauber dich versuchst, sprich, wie in Ekstase voll prophetischer Begeisterung;” Meyer: “And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as if prophesying in ecstasy;” Merkelbach: “Wenn du aber allein bist und ihm das vom Gott Gesagte mitteilen willst, dann wirst du es in prophetischer Begeisterung sagen, als wärest du in Ekstase.” In other words, the present option is different from the previous one. For dispensing with a medium, see also PDM xiv.285–95, 420–26, 525–30, 815–25.

Conceivable if unlikely in the present passage is that the expression ὡς ἐν ἔκστασει could be taken as faking the ecstasy (see Apuleius, *Metam.* 8.27–28: *velut numinis divino spiritu repletus*; Lucian, *Alex.* 12; Diodorus Siculus 34/35.2.5–7: καὶ οὕτω τὰ μέλλοντα ἀπεφοιβάειν); Origen, *Cels.* 7.9.9–10: κινουῦνται δὴθὲν ὡς θεσπιζόντες. (I am indebted for these passages to Cristiano Grottanelli.)

<sup>647</sup> See also the “Apollonian invocation,” I.262–347 (Betz, *GMPT*, 10–12, with notes); and Sam Eitrem, “Apollon in der Magie,” in his *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike* (AlVi 5; Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1947), 47–52. For further bibliography, see above at ll.709–10.

<sup>648</sup> For ἔκστασις (“ecstasy”), see above, n. 614; also Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 64–101; Friedrich Pfister, “Ekstase,” *RAC* 4 (1959) 944–87; Hartmut Zinser, “Ekstase,” *HRWG* 2 (1990) 253–58 (bibliography); Henrichs, “Dromena und Legomena,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 55–57: “Rituelle Ekstase”; BDAG, s.v. ἔκστασις, 2. The rare term ἀποφοιβάομαι (“inspired by Phoebus”) is found only here (LSJ, s.v.), but it shows that this type of prophecy has become part of common religious parlance. Cf. Acts 16:16: ἔχειν πνεῦμα πύθωνα, “having a Python spirit.”

<sup>649</sup> Wunsch (in Dieterich, 16) regards ὡς as dittography and proposes ὁ; cf. also Crönert’s discussion (“Zur Kritik,” 100–1); but Preisendanz, Meyer, and Merkelbach keep ὡς.

<sup>650</sup> Preisendanz: “Willst du es aber auch ihm (dem Miteingeweihten) zeigen, ...”; Meyer: “And if you also wish to show him ...;” Merkelbach: “Aber wenn du es ihm mitteilen willst, (so tue das) ...”

<sup>651</sup> Cf. the similar phrase ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῃ θελήῃς δεικνύειν (l. 772), but there the meaning is clear (cf. above, n. 637).

ritual can be performed, the fellow-initiate has to be evaluated whether he is worthy as a human being.<sup>652</sup>

If he passes the test, the following procedure should be followed (ll. 740–41): *χρησάμενος τῷ τόπῳ, ὡς <σὺ> ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρινόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀπαθαν <ατ>ισμῶ*<sup>653</sup> (“handling the occasion as though in the immortalization ritual you yourself were being judged in his place”).<sup>654</sup> This method conforms to the moral standard of fairness, or even to the Golden Rule.<sup>655</sup>

At the beginning, the great “first prayer” should be recited (ll. 741–44): *τὸν πρῶτον ὑπόβαλε αὐτῷ λόγον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· γένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αετιουω* (“recite for him the first prayer, of which the beginning is, ‘First origin of my origin, AEEIOYO’”). This “first prayer” is the one fully set out in ll. 486–537; it is to be recited to the fellow-initiate, so that he can repeat it.<sup>656</sup> What follows after that is to be handled differently: *τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς ὡς μύστης λέγε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἅ {υ}τόνω*<sup>657</sup> *φθόγγῳ, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ ..* (“And say the successive things as an initiate, over his head, in a soft voice, so that he may not hear ...”). The terms are insider language: *τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς* seems to refer to what comes after the “first prayer,” but it is not clear what exactly is included. There are three possibilities for understanding it: First, it may include the entire ritual of ascension (ll. 539–731); this is, however, least likely since what follows is to be spoken in a special way.<sup>658</sup> The procedure is further specified as

<sup>652</sup> For this kind of test of one’s worthiness, which was common in the mystery cults, see also I.131; III.176–77; IV.477; XI.a.15; furthermore II.177; XXX.e.3. See also Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 30–65, 145–52; BDAG, s.v. ἄξιος, 2.a.

<sup>653</sup> Pap. reads *τοπω*, emended by Dieterich to *τ<ρ>όπω*; considering this emendation redundant, Martinez convincingly emends *<σὺ>*. The pap. reading *απαθανισμῳ* is obviously a scribal error, corrected by Wessely to *ἀπαθανατισμῶ*, the name for the immortalization ritual as a whole (see ll. 747, 771, also 647–48); for the term, see also Cornutus, *Nat.* 31; Proclus, *Plat. rem publ.* 1.152.11 (ed. Kroll).

<sup>654</sup> Following the translation by Martinez. Others differ: Preisendanz: “lege dabei den Maßstab an, als würdest du selbst bei der Verewigung an seiner Statt geprüft”; Merkelbach: “tue das in der Weise, als ob du an seiner Statt bei der Unsterblichkeitsweihe geprüft würdest”; Meyer: “treat him just as if in his place you were judged in the matter of immortalization.”

<sup>655</sup> See Gal 6:1, and the interpretation in my *Galatians*, 298; for the Golden Rule (Matt 7:12//Luke 6:31), see my *The Sermon on the Mount*, 508–19.

<sup>656</sup> The verb *ὑποβάλλειν* has the prayer as object; it means “inform” or “instigate,” like a prompter (cf. Preisendanz: “vorsprechen”; Merkelbach: “vorsagen”). See LSJ, BDAG, s.v.

<sup>657</sup> The pap. reads *αυτονω*, corrected to *ἅτόνω* by Dieterich (17), Rieß, *CIR* 10 (1896) 411; Kroll, *Ph.* 53 (1894) 421; cf. Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.226–27, and below on l. 749 *παραγγελημαγω*.

<sup>658</sup> Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) concludes, “therefore silently” (“also schweigen”). However, it is clearly explained by the following remark.



“over the head” of the fellow-initiate, “in a murmuring voice,”<sup>659</sup> so that he cannot make out the actual words. Second, and most probable, the recitation *sotto voce* includes the second and third prayers (ll. 559–65, 587–616). The final option is that the words are not in the written text at all, but oral and secret; this is unlikely in a written instruction.

At any rate, while the formulae are murmured, the practitioner is told (l. 746): *χρίων αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν τῷ μυστηρίῳ*<sup>660</sup> (“as you are anointing his face with the mystery”). The anointing (*χρίειν*) refers to the iatromagical tradition dealing with salves and ointments of all sorts.<sup>661</sup> This particular ointment is intended to improve vision (cf. ll. 772–75).<sup>662</sup> The name of the ointment is *μυστήριον* (“mystery”); its preparation is described in ll. 751–78, below. While the term *μυστήριον* can refer to different matters (cf. ll. 476, 723, 794), there seems to be no other such attribution of this name, the purpose of which is, one may conclude, to enable the eyes to see the mystery that is shown (l. 738).

4. After the additional rituals for the participation of a fellow-initiate in the oracular consultation have been presented, a few stipulations bring the section to its conclusion (ll. 746–50). The first stipulation concerns the frequency of usage (ll. 746–48): *γίγνεται δὲ ὁ ἀπαθανατισμὸς οὗτος τρις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* (“This immortalization takes place three times a year”). In other words, the ritual called “immortalization”<sup>663</sup> may be performed three times a year, but not more. How this relates to the stipulation in ll. 796–98 is not clear (see below).

Another stipulation concerns defection, apparently by someone who wishes to discontinue the practice (ll. 748–50): *ἐὰν δὲ βουληθῆ τις, ὃ τέκνον, μετὰ*

<sup>659</sup> For parallels, see Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22.1: *lento murmure susurrat*, “he whispers [sc. the formula] with a soft murmur”; Apuleius, *Metam.* 1.3. See Wilhelm Kroll, “Alte Taufgebräuche,” *ARW.B* 8 (1905) 42–43; Abt, *Die Apologie*, 212; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1–2, §§ 28, 40, 121–22, 224, 352–53; Gershom Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd ed.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965), 58.

<sup>660</sup> The pap. reads *χρετων* (itacism).

<sup>661</sup> See, esp., 1.255–60; Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22.1: *Tunc a sacerdote omnium qui flebant fauces unguentur...* (“Then all who lamented have their throats anointed...”). For further references to anointing, see Preisendanz, 3.203 (index), s.v. *χρίειν, χρίσμα*.

<sup>662</sup> On anointing the eyes, see also V.64–69; VII.335–36; PDM xiv.115–16, 820–25. For further literature, see Wolfgang Westendorf, “Augenheilkunde,” *LA* 1 (1975) 560–62; Wolfgang Helck, “Augenschminke,” *ibid.*, 567; Friedrich Wilhelm Bayer, “Augensalbe (collyrium),” *RAC* 1 (1950) 972–75; Ernst Kind, “κόλλύριον,” *PRE* 21. Halbbd. (1921) 1100–6; BDAG, s.v. *κόλλούριον* (with reference to Rev 3:18, and further literature). Cf. the healing miracles of Jesus in Mark 8:23; Joh 9:6, 11, 15.

<sup>663</sup> For this name, see above, l. 741.

τὸ παράγγελμα {τῷ} παρακοῦσαι, <τῷ> οὐκέτι ὑπάρξει<sup>664</sup> (“And if anyone, my child, wishes after the instruction to disobey, then for him it will no longer be in effect.”) The meaning of the statement is disputed, and hence the translations vary.<sup>665</sup> Apparently, the case envisages a person who has received the instruction of the initiation but wishes to quit, disobey or deviate from the received tradition; for him the ritual is no longer at his disposal or loses its efficaciousness. The παράγγελμα seems to refer to the instruction as a whole.<sup>666</sup> A statement such as this assures the teacher and warns the student.<sup>667</sup> With this, the section ends.

### B. Additional instruction (ll. 750–819)

A special section of further instructions follows after the “supplemental rituals.” This new section carries an explicit title: διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως (“instruction for the performance”). The instruction includes prescriptions for three items to be used in the main ritual. First, a prescription is provided

<sup>664</sup> Pap. reads παραγγελαγο. Dieterich omits τῷ, but Preisendanz rearranges and puts τῷ before οὐκέτι (so also Jordan); Wunsch reads παράγγελμα αὐτῷ; Ludwig Radermacher (*Ph.* 63 [1904] 4–5; idem, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 56) prefers μετὰ τὸ παραγγέλατον. Dieterich (17) reads οὐκέτι and connects ὑπάρξει (ἀπαθανατισμός); according to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224), Preisendanz later proposed to read: μεταθεῖναι τὸ παράγγελμα τῷ παρακοῦσαι, “if someone wants to bend the prescript by disobedience” (“wollte einer die Vorschrift beugen durch Ungehorsam”). Preisendanz (*ibid.*) also withdrew his proposal of παραγγελά πῶ (*WSt* 42 [1920–21] 27 no. 10). Martinez comments: “I think that Wunsch’s reading is closest to the truth; in documentary papyri αὐτός etc. are very frequently written ἄτός etc. (see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.226–27 with 227 n. 1, noting examples in defixiones; Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 67); cf. above l. 745 αὐ > α. So I would write παραγγελεμ’ α <ὐ>τῷ. As to what αὐτῷ is doing here is another issue. Displacement is possible (as Preisendanz supposes with τῷ). We could also interpret the form as a genitive (οὐ > ω(ι), fairly frequent either for phonetic reasons or syntactic confusion between genitive and dative (see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.208ff.). In that case the translation would be: ‘If anyone wishes after his instruction to disobey...’”

<sup>665</sup> Preisendanz: “Wollte aber jemand, mein Kind, nach Empfang der Vorschrift ihr nicht Folge leisten, dem wird sie nicht mehr zu Gebote stehn”; Meyer: “And if anyone, O child, after the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer be in effect”; Merkelbach: “Mein Kind, wenn jemand, der sich dazu gemeldet, den Anweisungen nicht folgen (und die Weihe versäumen) sollte, für den gibt es keine Möglichkeit mehr.”

<sup>666</sup> For the term παρακοῦειν, see also IV.290, 367, and Preisendanz, 3.158 (index), s.v. παρακοῦειν.

<sup>667</sup> It may be related to similar quasi-legal rules; see, e.g., Matt 5:19, and for further material and discussion my commentary, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 184–89. Cf. XIII.379–80: εἰ μὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καλέσης, οὐκ ἑπακούουσι ὡς ἀμυστηριάστῳ σοι ὑπάρχοντι (“For if you do not invoke them [sc. the gods of the hours], they will not hear you, as being uninitiated”). See also BDAG, s.v. ὑπάρχω, 1.

for making the sun-scarab ointment (ll. 751–78); second, the information and preparation of the plant called *kentritis* (ll. 778–813); and third, the preparation of phylacteries (ll. 813–19).

1. The title *διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως* (“instruction for the performance”), most likely given to this section by the final author/redactor may appear surprising, but it should be remembered from the exordium (ll. 475–84) that the overall purpose of the text of the Mithras Liturgy is intended to be didactic.<sup>668</sup>

2. All three items involve rituals as well as alchemical and biological information. The technical terminology used is Greek in origin and often difficult to identify.<sup>669</sup> The difficulties arise from the fact that the papyrus originated in Egypt and describes Egyptian materials and plants; the terminology, however, is Greek. While alchemical ingredients are often common, plants are geographically specific, so that their identifications by Greek names become difficult to verify. The fact that the author supplements information from Greek plant books shows that even he had difficulties in identifying the Egyptian plants and that he does not seem to know their Egyptian names.

The preparation of the rituals should precede the actual performance of the main ritual, because they have to be ready to be used when their place and time of performance has come, which is mentioned in the main ritual.<sup>670</sup> Hence, *pace* Merkelbach, the additional instruction does not imply a criticism by the redactor who regards his *Vorlage* to be deficient. Also Dieterich separates the additions as secondary from the “liturgy” proper. He attributes them to the final redactor who uses the earlier “liturgy” as a source for an altogether different magical procedure.<sup>671</sup> However, a distinction has to be kept in mind

<sup>668</sup> While the terminology of teaching is not frequent in the PGM, this infrequency cannot obscure the fact that much of its content is for instruction. *διδασκαλία* is *hapax* in the PGM; for *διδασχῆ*, see XIII.59, 430; for *διδάσκειν*, see IV.1872 (*μηδένα δίδασκε*).

<sup>669</sup> For plant biology in connection with rituals and astrology, see the parallels in Thessalos of Tralles, *De virtutibus herbarum* (ed. Friedrich, *passim*); for the text see also Totti, *Texte*, # 45; Armand Delatte, *Herbarius. Recherches sur le cérémonial usité chez les anciens pour la cueillette des simples et des plantes magiques* (3rd. ed.; Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires, 54.4; Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1961); cf. the review by Friedrich Pfister, *ByZ* 37 (1937) 381–90; idem, “Pflanzenaberglaube,” *PRE* 19.2 (1938) 1446–56; Heinrich Marzell, “Der Zauber der Heilkräuter in der Antike und Neuzeit,” *SAGM* 29 (1936) 3–26.

<sup>670</sup> A different view has been stated by Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.156–57, 245), when he sees the “instruction” to refer to passages that were originally placed at the beginning of the Mithras Liturgy, but were omitted from the text by the redactor. There is no need, however, to assume such an omission because references point to places in the extant text before us.

<sup>671</sup> Thus, Dieterich (17–22) omits translating the additions, but he provides valuable notes on the text. See the Introduction, above pp. 11, 26–27.

between textual and ritual sequences. The textual sequences are what is written down, whereas the ritual sequences are known to the practitioner from practice.<sup>672</sup>

1. *First ritual: the sun-scarab ointment* (ll. 751–78)

The first item involves a sun-scarab ointment, most likely the same as the one called *μυστήριον* (“mystery,” l. 746).<sup>673</sup> The section shows careful composition and has its own little epilogue (ll. 776–78), features indicating that it was taken from a source. The preparation of the ointment has two stages.

The first stage (ll. 751–57) begins with the procurement of the ingredients. The first item is a sun-scarab (ll. 751–53): *λαβών κάλθαρων ἡλιακόν τόν τάς ἕβ' ἀκτῖνας ἔχοντα ποίησον εἰς βησίον καλλαίινον βαθὺ ἐν ἀρπαγῆ τῆς σελήνης βληθῆναι*<sup>674</sup> (“Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at time when the moon is invisible”).<sup>675</sup> The term *λαβών* (“take!”) is technical and common. As the name indicates, the “sun scarab” (*κάλθαρως ἡλιακός*)<sup>676</sup> represents the old solar deity Khepry.<sup>677</sup> The Greeks were fascinated by the symbolism, which is reflected by Plutarch who theorizes that the beetle is an image (*εἰκόν*) of “the power of the gods, like the image of the sun in rain-drops.”<sup>678</sup> Apparently, the scarab with the

<sup>672</sup> For the difference between ritual text sequence and performance sequence see the Introduction, above p. 31.

<sup>673</sup> For the terms, see ll. 770, *χρῖσμα*; *σύγχρισμα*, l. 793; *περιχρίειν*, ll. 773–74.

<sup>674</sup> Pap. reads *βωσιον*, emended by Wessely to *βήσιον*. Dieterich (17) compares Hesychius (ed. Latte, β, 584), s.v. *βησίον ποτήριον*; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 11.784b (ed. Kaibel, *BiTeu*, 3.96; ed. C. B. Gulick, LCL, 5.52): *Βῆσσα ποτήριον παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρουσι πλατύτερον ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν, ἐστενωμένον ἄνωθεν*. Cf. 11.497d (ed. Gulick, 5.218) about a drinking vessel (*rhyton*) in the temple of Arsinoe that has the shape of the Egyptian god Besas and gives off a shrill tone when the spout is opened. Cf. Cyranides 1.21.115 (ed. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*, 99): *ἀπόθου ἐν ὑελίνῳ ἀγγεῖῳ*; 1.23.50 (107), etc. Jordan prefers *βωσίον* (“vessel”).

<sup>675</sup> As a result of the uncertainties in identifying the technical language, translations of the vessel differ at this point. Preisendanz: “Gefäß aus Goldstein”; Meyer: “turquoise cup”; Merkelbach: “blaugrünes Gefäß.”

<sup>676</sup> The term is found also in VII.974–75; XII.274 (*ἔστω δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ δράκοντος κάλθαρως ἀκτινωτὸς ἱερός*); LXI.34; cf. Horapollo, *Hier.* 2.41; see Heinz-Josef Thissen, *Des Niloten Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch*, vol. 1 (APFB 6; München: Saur, 2001), 8–10 (# 10).

<sup>677</sup> See Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Trans. John Baines; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), 117, with plate IV; also Günther Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung im Alten Ägypten* (Zürich & Stuttgart: Artemis, 1960), 384–88 (with figure 32); Jan Assmann, “Chepre,” *LÄ* 1 (1975) 934–40 (bibl.).

<sup>678</sup> Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 74, 381A: ... ὥσπερ ἐν σταγόσιν ἡλίου τῆς τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεως κατιδόντες. See for commentary Griffiths, *Plutarch*, 554–56; he mentions Manetho and

twelve sun-rays<sup>679</sup> is a special kind which is attested, as far as I can see, only here.<sup>680</sup> The preparation involves the killing of the scarab by letting it drop<sup>681</sup> into a deep vessel (βησίον)<sup>682</sup> made from a natron and sulphur concoction (καλλάϊνον).<sup>683</sup> This should take place at the time of the new moon.<sup>684</sup>

Hecataeus of Abdera (according to Diogenes Laertius, prooemium 10); Aelianus, *Nat. an.* 10.15.

<sup>679</sup> What is precisely meant, is unclear: How are twelve sun-rays connected with a living beetle? Perhaps grooves on the wings were seen as sun-rays. According to Hopfner (*OZ* 2/1, § 122), there are twelve horns on the head of the beetle, and these constitute the relationship to the sun. For the twelve sun-rays, see IV.1109–14. For sun-rays on gemstone amulets see Maryse Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1987), 71, 73.

<sup>680</sup> Cf. V. 212–303 (“Hermes’ ring”), the preparation of a scarabaeus amulet. The scarab is important in the PGM; see I.223–24; II.159; III.207–8 (κάν[θαρε]); IV.65, 68, 71, 78, 767, 943, 1659, 2456–57, 2598, 2660–61, 2688; V.212–303; VII.520, 780, 973–80; XII.45, 57, 274–77, 437; XIII.1066; XXXVI.183; XXXVIII.21 (?); *Suppl. Mag.* # 38, 7–8 (l.118–19; with comments at 121). Cf. the *vox magica* σανακωνθαρα, II.33; III.430; IV.2668; V.425–26; XII.184; XIII.924–25; XIX.a.12. For literature, see Hopfner, *OZ*, 2/1, §§ 121–22, 127; Armand Delatte, “Études sur la magie grecque, V. ἈΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ,” *BCH* 38:2 (1914) 189–249, esp. 246–48: “Le μυστήριον du Scarabée”; Max Pieper, “Skarabäen,” *PRE* 2. Reihe 5 (1927) 447–59; Sam Eitrem, “Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie,” in Klauser & Rucker, *Pisciculi*, 94–101; Franz Joseph Dölger, *AuC* 6 (1950) 49–51; Raphael Giveon, “Skarabäus,” *LÄ* 5 (1984) 968–81; Betz, *GMPT*, 338 (with bibliography); Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 82–86; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.14, 44–45, 198, 218; Heinz Josef Thissen, *Des Niloten Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch*, vol. 1 (*AFP*, Beiheft 6 [Munich & Leipzig: Saur, 2001], 8–10 (Chapter 10); Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 99–103, 563–84 (with bibl. at # 99); Robert S. Bianchi, “Scarabs,” *OEAE* 3 (2001) 179–81.

<sup>681</sup> The term βάλλειν (βλήθηναί) serves the purpose of ritual killing; cf. VII.973–80; furthermore I.4–5 (falcon); XIII.1: cat; IV.2455–57: mouse and scarab; VII.628: lizard; Cyranides 1.21.98–110, ed. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*, 98–99: falcon. Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) suggests that the scarab is drowned in order to be deified by making it into Osiris, but l. 757 says it dies from the eating of the ingredients.

<sup>682</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) thinks of a vessel that looks like the god Besas. For this god, see IV.807; VII.203, 245; VIII.64–65. See Betz, *GMPT*, 333, s.v. Bes; Hartwig Altenmüller, “Bes,” *LÄ* 1 (1975) 720–24. For vases in the form of Bes, see Tran Tam Tinh, “Bes,” *LIMC* 3.1 (1986) 98–108, esp. # 24.a–d; # 81.a–c; 3:2, p. 85, # 81.d.

<sup>683</sup> So Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 121: “aus Natron und Schwefelmasse.” Meyer has in mind a turquoise-colored glass vessel. For καλλάϊνος see also IV.1090; V.222; XIII.1068–69. Cf. below, l. 758–59.

<sup>684</sup> The phrase ἐν ἀρπαγῇ τῆς σελήνης, “when the moon is invisible” (LSJ, s.v. ἀρπαγή) is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM; it is attested also in Horapollon, *Hier.* 1.14; for the mythological explanation, see Vettius Valens, *Anth.* 2, chpt. 38 (ed. Kroll). See Richard Wünsch, *JCPh.S* 27 (1902) 114, n. 1; 115; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) suggests that this time reference is connected with the notion of rebirth: “Mit diesem Zeitpunkt ist vermutlich eine Vorstellung von der Wiedergeburt verbunden; zur Zeit des Neumonds ist Selene gestorben, aber sie wird nach drei Tagen wieder aufleben. Auch der Tod des Sonnenkäfers wird nicht ewig sein.”

The next ingredients are from plants and serve to make a kind of small cake (ll. 754–55): *συνεμβαλὼν αὐτῷ λωτομητρᾶς σπέρμα καὶ μέλι λειώσας ποιήσον μαζιον*<sup>685</sup> (“put in together with it the seed of the fruit pulp of the lotus, and after grinding it with honey prepare a cake”). The name *λωτομητρᾶ* refers to the lotus plant.<sup>686</sup> Honey is a substance often used in magical practices.<sup>687</sup> The mixture is then ground up<sup>688</sup> and formed into a small cake.<sup>689</sup>

The purpose of the cake is to cause the death of the scarab (ll. 755–57): *καὶ εὐθέως αὐτὸν ὄψῃ προσερχόμενον καὶ ἐσθίοντα, καὶ ὅταν φάγη, εὐθέως θνήσκει* (“and at once you will see it [viz. the scarab] moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies”). Therefore, the sudden death of the scarab is caused by eating from the cake, but not by drowning.<sup>690</sup>

The second stage also begins with the acquisition of the ingredients (ll. 757–59): *τοῦτον ἀνελόμενος βάλε εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὑελοῦν μύρου ῥοδίνου καλλίστου, ὅσον βούλει*<sup>691</sup> (“Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish”). One will notice that the ingredients are now becoming more expensive. The glass vessel seems more valuable, and rose oil certainly is an expensive perfume, to be used here in quantity.<sup>692</sup> The vessel needs then to be placed properly (ll. 759–61): *καὶ στρώσας καθαρείως*<sup>693</sup> *ἄμμον ἱερὰν ἐπίθεε τὸ ἀγγεῖον ...* (“and spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, and set the vessel on it ...”). What this “sacred sand” is and how one spreads it in a

<sup>685</sup> Pap. reads *λιώσας*, corrected by Wessely to *λείωσας*.

<sup>686</sup> *λωτομητρᾶς σπέρμα* is the name for the fruitpulp of the lotus plant (LSJ, s.v.). See also III.333; IV.3009; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.245. For *λωτός*, see II.102–3; IV.1683; XII.87; LXI.32; *λωτίνος* XIII.25, 355; *μελίλωτος* IV.941. See Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 216; August Steier, “Lotos,” *PRE* 26. Halbbd. (1927) 1515–32, esp. 1520–21.

<sup>687</sup> See Preisendanz, 3.134 (index), s.v. *μέλι*; cf. Thessalos 1, prooemium, section 38 and often (ed. Friedrich, 64). On honey, see Fritz Graf, “Milch, Honig und Wein. Zum Verständnis der Libation im griechischen Ritual,” in *Perennitas: Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1980), 209–21; Otto Böcher and Adelheid Sallinger, “Honig,” *RAC* 16 (1994) 433–73, esp. 453.

<sup>688</sup> A technical procedure in ancient pharmacy and alchemy. See also III.189; IV.1880; VII.225; VIII.87; XIII.320.

<sup>689</sup> The term *μαζιον* (“amalgam”) occurs only here in the PGM, but it is technical in the language of pharmacy and alchemy; cf. also the role of cakes in sacrifice.

<sup>690</sup> Pace Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.246) who argues that the scarab gets stuck in the honey and thus suffocates and drowns (“erstickt = ertrinkt”).

<sup>691</sup> Pap. reads *αγγιον* as in l. 761; cf. l. 752. See Delatte, *BCH* 38 (1914) 246. For *βάλε*, see l. 753; also Thessalos, 1, prooemium, section 38 (ed. Friedrich, 64): *βάλλε εἰς ἀγγεῖα ὑέλινα*.

<sup>692</sup> For the rose oil, see below, ll. 789–90; also VII.337–38; VIII.108–9; cf. the costly perfume used by the woman in Mark 14:3 par.

<sup>693</sup> Pap. reads *καθαριως* and *αγγιον*.

pure manner, seems to have a mythological background known to the magicians.<sup>694</sup>

At any rate, with all done, the consecration can take place. The formula has to be pronounced (ll. 761–62): *καὶ λέγε τὸ (ὄνομα)*<sup>695</sup> *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγγους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ζ' ἡλίου μεσουρανοῦντος*. “and say the name over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in midheaven”). The time is during seven days at high noon,<sup>696</sup> and the formula has to be spoken over the vessel.<sup>697</sup>

The formula (*ὄνομα*) itself is cited in full in ll.762–67, addressing the scarab: *ἐγὼ σε ἐτέλεσα, ἵνα μοι ἢ σου οὐσία γένη χρήσιμος, τῷ δ(ε)ῖ(να) μόνῳ ιε ια η εη ου εια· ἐμοὶ μόνῳ χρησιμεύσης ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι φωρ φορ α φως φοτιζαας – οἶ δέ· φωρ φωρ οφοθειξαας*.<sup>698</sup> (“It is I who have consecrated you, that your substance may be useful to me, NN alone, IE IA E EE OY EIA, that you may prove useful to me alone, for I am PHOR PHOR A PHOS PHOTIZAAS” [others: “PHOR PHOR OPHOTHEIXAAS”]).<sup>699</sup>

The scarab which at its death became associated with the invisible moon (l. 753) becomes deified and related to the sun. Since the beetle is being addressed as a person, one must assume that it is alive, albeit in a divine way. The formulaic *ἐγὼ εἰμι* (“I am”)<sup>700</sup> secures emphatically ownership and use of divine beetle. The verb form *ἐτέλεσα* presupposes, as often in rituals, an ingressive or durative aorist.<sup>701</sup> What the scarab has thus become is called

<sup>694</sup> See the discussions in Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1–2, §§ 130, 219, 257, 260.

<sup>695</sup> Pap. reads the symbol □ for *ὄνομα*, “name.” See Preisendanz, 2.269–70.

<sup>696</sup> On this point, see IV.173, 2992; XII.45; also Thessalos, 1, prooemium, section 39 (ed. Friedrich, 64).

<sup>697</sup> For *λέγειν τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγγους*, cf. III.410–13; IV.223–30; V.197–212; LXI.5–6.

<sup>698</sup> For Wessely’s reading of *ἢ σου οὐσία*, occasioned by suspicion over the attributive position of *σου* in the pap., see Dieterich (17) who refers to Georg Benedikt Winer and Paul W. Schmiedel, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* (8th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902), 210; Friedrich Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1894–1898), 171; Johann Compernaß, *De sermone graeco vulgari Pisidiae Phrygiaeque meridionalis* (Dissertation Bonn, 1895), 11. Pap. again reads the symbol Δ. Martinez proposes convincingly to read *οφοθειξαας* to correspond with *φοτιζαας*.

<sup>699</sup> The form *γένη* needs explanation. Dieterich (17) points to parallels listed by Georgios Chatzidakis [Hatzidakis], *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1892), 198. Wessely changed to *γένη[ται]*; see also Ernst Kuhnert, “Feuerzauber,” *RhM* 49 (1894) 37–58, esp. 46. Martinez, however, proposes convincingly to take the form *γένη* just as “the second person sing. of the normal deponent form, written mistakenly because *ἢ σου οὐσία*, ‘your essence’ becomes in the scribe’s mind simply a collocation for ‘you.’” The same second person sing. is used in the following repetition of the formula, “that you may be useful to me alone.”

<sup>700</sup> On this formula see above at l. 535, and Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 92–95.

<sup>701</sup> See BDF §§ 318, 331.

οὐσία, a technical term frequent in magical contexts, which means *materia magica*, a substance of divine power.<sup>702</sup> However, determination of the meaning of οὐσία in the present context is more difficult. Does it refer to the scarab's immaterial divine nature, or to the *materia magica* in the vessel, or to Merkelbach's rendering as "inner being"?<sup>703</sup> Although all three possibilities play some role, the author's primary concern is with the handling of sacred substance in the vessel. Therefore, in the present context οὐσία is rather specialized when compared with the usual "property" of a person (such as hair, clothing) affixed to spells. In order to make sure that this substance is useful to the practitioner alone,<sup>704</sup> he inserts his name twice (l. 764), once by inserting his ordinary name NN,<sup>705</sup> together with a vowel sequence, and once by repeating the purpose clause (χρησιμύσης) and by self-identification through divine names (ll. 765–67). The latter are obviously related to φῶς ("light"), that is, the sun.<sup>706</sup> As a redactional comment by the final author/redactor shows, he has carefully compared the names and inserts a variant reading that "others" (plural!) have.<sup>707</sup>

Once the divine substance has been procured, it must be properly preserved and stored (ll. 767–69): τῆ δὲ ζ' ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) βαστάξας τὸν κάριθαρο(ν), θάψας ζυῶρνα καὶ οἶνω Μενδησιῶ καὶ βυσσίνω ἀπόθου ἐν κυκαμῶνι ζωοφυτοῦντι.<sup>708</sup> ("On the seventh day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine and fine linen; and deposit it in a flourishing bean field"). The term βαστάζειν ("acquire") appears to be technical,<sup>709</sup> referring to handling of ingredients. Preservation of the material happens by burial of the scarab, the process of which is briefly described.<sup>710</sup> The ingredients of

<sup>702</sup> For the many parallels in the PGM, see Preisendanz, 3.154 (index), s.v. οὐσία; Betz, *GMPT*, 336, s.v. "Material, magical." For discussion, see Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri, (I)," *WSI* 40 (1918) 1–8; Hopfner, *OZ* 1, §§ 667–77; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.246 (who, however, translates οὐσία as "innerstes Wesen"); Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 9 n. 38, 56. See for the larger field, Christopher Stead, *Divine Substance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977); idem, "Homousios," *RAC* 16 (1994) 367–73, 991–93.

<sup>703</sup> Martinez raises the question whether the Egyptian name for the scarab, *hpr* ("come into being") is of influence and points to "manifestation."

<sup>704</sup> The formula of exclusivity is found elsewhere in the ML; see ll. 476, 484, 736; XII.37–38; etc.

<sup>705</sup> The pap. reads the symbol Δ, meaning τῷ δεῖνα. See on this above, on l. 495.

<sup>706</sup> For other such names in the ML, see the index below.

<sup>707</sup> For another such insertion, see l. 500.

<sup>708</sup> Pap. reads the symbol ζ ΗΝ, equalling ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα (see Preisendanz, 2.269); pap. also reads κάριθαρο (corrected by Dieterich [18]) and θάψας (changed by Dieterich [18] to βάψας); Preisendanz keeps θάψας. Preisendanz reads σμύρνη, Jordan prefers σμύρνα (see n. 711 below).

<sup>709</sup> For βαστάζειν, see also l. 779.

<sup>710</sup> Interestingly, the *materia magica* is still called "scarab."



myrrh<sup>711</sup> and Mendesian wine<sup>712</sup> are used for the embalming and wrapping in linen cloth.<sup>713</sup> Thus embalmed the scarab is deposited in a sprouting bean field.<sup>714</sup> Why such a place is chosen can only be guessed.<sup>715</sup> Merkelbach's suggestion that *κύαμος Αἰγύπτιος* ("Egyptian bean") is another name for the Lotus flower may be right, but why would another name be preferred?<sup>716</sup>

Another comment relates to proper storage, but its place in the ritual is unclear (ll. 770–71): τὸ δὲ χρῶσμα ἐστίασας καὶ συνευωχηθεὶς ἀπόθου καθαρῶς εἰς τὸν ἀπαθανατισμὸν ("then, after you have entertained and feasted together, deposit the ointment in a pure way for the immortalization"). Because of the occurrence of *χρῶσμα* (ll. 770, 773–74, 793), this comment is concerned with the ointment, the preparation of which is described in ll. 751–78, but the situation envisaged in ll. 770–71 appears out of context in that no common dining has been mentioned before.<sup>717</sup> Merkelbach concludes: "The initiate should entertain the dead scarab in a symbolic fashion, and eat himself a meal together with him (which almost leads to a sacramental communion), and then he should carefully store the oil and the scarab for later use in the consecration."<sup>718</sup>

<sup>711</sup> Myrrh occurs often in the PGM, spelled in different ways: ζύρωνα, μύρωνα, σβύρωνα, σμύρωνα. See Preisendanz, 3.102, 139, 175, 177 (index), s.v.; Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.12ff. On myrrh generally, see August Steier, "Myrrha," PRE 31st Halbband (1933) 1134–46; Walter W. Müller, "Weihrauch," PRE.S 15 (1978) 700–77.

<sup>712</sup> Wine from Mendes in the Nile delta is mentioned in I.85; IV.1315, 2681–82. The wine was famous in antiquity; see Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3.20.2; *TLG*, s.v. οἶνος Μενδήσιος, for references to the medical writers, esp. Alexander of Tralles, *Ther.* (ed. Puschmann, 2.17; dealing with therapy of the eyes); Galen, *Comp. medic.*, 1 (ed. Kühn 12.444); 4 (12.754); Photius, *Lex.*, s.v. Μένδη. See Hermann Kees, "Mendes," PRE 29th Halbband (1931) 780–84; William J. Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* (2 vols.; London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1977), 2.600.

<sup>713</sup> Linen cloth (βυσσίνω [βράκω]) is mentioned in I.277, 293, 332; VII.208, 338; VIII.84–85; XII.145.

<sup>714</sup> The aorist imperative form ἀπόθου from ἀποτιθέναι ("deposit") is almost technical in the PGM; see V.228–29; VII.225, 875, 915; XII.315. Cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀποτίθημι, II.3.

<sup>715</sup> Dieterich (18) refers to Richard Wünsch, *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Religion* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902), 41 (31–46: "Die Bohnenblüte"); Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1–2, §§ 121–22, 214–16, 219. For other instances of preservation, see IV.2465–66: ἀποθέμενος εἰς πυξίδα μολιβήν; XV.17–20; XXXVII.7(?).

<sup>716</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.246): "In einem Bohnenbeet. Da mit *κύαμος Αἰγύπτιος* die Lotusblume bezeichnet wird (vgl. IV 941 und XIII 22), tritt hier der *κυαμών* einfacher Bohnen vermöge des gleichlautenden Namens an die Stelle der heiligen Lotusblume." See also LSJ, s.v. *κύαμος*, 2.

<sup>717</sup> For ἐστιᾶν, ἐστία ("wining and dining"), see VII.172; for συνευωχεῖσθαι ("feasting together with") see IV.3150–51.

<sup>718</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.246): "Der Myste soll den toten Sonnenkäfer symbolisch bewirten und auch selbst mit ihm eine Mahlzeit einnehmen (was fast auf eine Kommunion

This interpretation is derived from other PGM parallels which mention such meals.<sup>719</sup> According to the text, however, the object to be wined and dined remains unclear; it must be the scarab, now also called ointment (*χρῖσμα*). The latter is mentioned first in ll. 738–46, then in ll. 772–75, and finally in l. 793; this ointment is the *materia magica*, but in l. 767 it is also called the scarab. If, therefore, the scarab is to be entertained, which is most likely, the question is also whether one should speak, as Merkelbach does, of “the dead scarab” after it has become immortalized.

Another possibility would be to allow for a metatextual reference. Since the presumed meal is without a precedent in the ML, the passage may have been copied from an earlier *Vorlage*. This earlier *Vorlage* may have presupposed a ritual context of a sacramental meal, within which the ointment for the eyes was to be used. Thus, one should not automatically assume a complete homogeneity between literary and ritual sequences. Rather, the case may be that the author/redactor has copied from a *Vorlage* which comprised a broader spectrum of prescriptions, and by copying from it he transposed the passage into the new context of his own practices in the ML.<sup>720</sup> This assumption could find support in the author/redactor’s later correction to the effect that the scarab ointment is no longer to be used (see below, on ll. 792–96). At any rate, the *materia magica* is to be safely stored to be ready for future use in the main ritual of immortalization.

A further optional ritual concerning an eye ointment follows in ll. 772–75: ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ θέλης δεικνύειν, ἔχε τῆς καλουμένης βοτάνης κεντρίτιδος χυλὸν περιχρίων τὴν ὄψιν, οὗ βούλει, μετὰ ὄδίνου, καὶ ὕψεται δηλαυγῶς ὥστε σε θαυμάζειν<sup>721</sup> (“If you want to show this to someone else, get the juice of the

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hinausläuft) und dann das Öl und den Käfer sorgfältig aufbewahren, zur späteren Benutzung bei der Weihe.”

<sup>719</sup> See I.22–24 on dining with an immortalized falcon; III.424–30: eating the heart of a kakkouphat bird (cf. II.17–20; VII.412). Meals with deities are mentioned I.2–3: a meal with a familial spirit (πάρεδρος δαίμων): [συνόμιλος καὶ συ]ναριστῶν ἔσται σοι καὶ συνκοιμωμένος (“he will be your [companion and] will eat and sleep with you”); I.85–89: a meal with an angel; VII.644–51: consumption of a magical potion. See also Hopfner, *OZ* 2/2, §§ 264–66.

<sup>720</sup> As an example of this Dieterich (18) refers to a scarab amulet of stone with an inscription which contains *voces magicae* and these words: *χρημάτισόν μοι ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἐπ’ ἀληθεία μετὰ μνήμης* (see Richard Wünsch, “Sopra uno scarabeo con iscrizione greca,” *Bulletino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 27 (1899) 294–99 (cf. *IGSI* 2413, 16, ed. Kaibel).

<sup>721</sup> Pap. reads *δηλαυγῶς*, emended by Dieterich (18, cf. 224) to *τηλαυγῶς*. Preisendanz retains *δηλαυγῶς* because of the parallel in IV.1033; so also Crönert, “Zur Kritik,” 101. For a similar vacillation in the manuscripts between *δηλαυγῶς* and *τηλαυγῶς*, see Mark 8:25 and BDAG, *sub vocibus*; for the exchange of δ/τ see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.80ff.

herb called *kentritis*, and smear it, along with the rose oil, around the eyes of whomever you wish; and he [or: she] will see so clearly that you will be amazed”). The relationship of this procedure to the one mentioned before (ll. 738–46) is unclear. Both are introduced in a similar manner as optional: ἐὰν δὲ καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ θέλης (ll. 738–39), and ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλω θέλης δεικνύειν (l. 772); both are dealing with eye ointments for the improvement of vision.<sup>722</sup> It is this improvement of eye-sight that provides the link with the main ritual’s concern for the transformation of visual sense-perception (see ll. 501–15, 516–27).

In the first instance, however, the ointment is called τὸ μυστήριον (“mystery,” l. 746) and involves the sun scarab (l. 770), while in the second instance the plant *kentritis* is the major ingredient (ll. 773–74).<sup>723</sup> The most likely explanation for what appears to be a conflict is that the author/redactor excerpted two procedures for the preparation of eye-salve from his *Vorlage*. He then explained the preparation of these ointments by drawing on additional iatromagical information. While in the earlier instance, the ointment is explained by the procedure involving the scarab (ll. 751–78), the present procedure is explained by the information about the plant *kentritis* (ll. 778–813).

The preparation of the eye ointment (ll. 772–75), since it is parallel to the previous one (ll. 738–46), uses similar terms. The use of “juices” (χυλός) is of course frequent in the PGM.<sup>724</sup> The expression περιχρίειν is found only here in the PGM; the meaning can simply be an emphatic χρίειν, or a description of the application of the ointment (“around,” or “covering”) the face or the eyes (ὄψις).<sup>725</sup> Rose-oil was mentioned before (l. 790). The phrase stating the success of seeing clearly (καὶ ὄψεται δηλαυγῶς) may explain what is meant by δεικνύειν.<sup>726</sup> Who or what is bringing about the amazement (ὥστε σε

<sup>722</sup> For δεικνύμι see ll. 738, 785, 805; Merkelbach’s (*Abrasax*, 3.246, 248; also 2.156, 164), with references to δεικνύμι as a mystery cult term.

<sup>723</sup> According to the *TLG*, κεντρίτις as a plant name (ll. 773, 779, 798) is a *hapax-legomenon* in Greek literature.

<sup>724</sup> For other passages, see below at l. 803.

<sup>725</sup> For the meaning of ὄψις, see also above l. 746; XIII.274; and often in PGM. For the terms περιχρίειν and περιχρίστα (“lid salve”), see for references in the medical writers the *TLG*, s.v.; and Kind, *PRE* 21st Halbband (1921) 1105. Cf. V.64; VII.337; Rev 3:18 for ἐνχρίειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς; for ἐπιχρίειν, see following note.

<sup>726</sup> Cf. Mark 8:22–26, the story of Jesus’ healing of a blind man, in the course of which Jesus prepares a kind of eye-salve from his own spittle (v. 23). The restoration of the eye-sight is stated in this way: ἐνέβλεψεν τηλαυγῶς (v.l. δηλαυγῶς) ἅπαντα (cf. above on l. 775). According to John 9:1–7, Jesus makes a paste from earth and his spittle: ἐπτυσεν χαμαὶ καὶ ἐποίησεν πηλὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτύσματος καὶ ἐπέχρισεν αὐτοῦ τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς... (v. 6). For further discussion and literature, see *BDAG*, s.v. ἐπιχρίω, πτύσμα, πτύω.

θαυμαζέειν), is left open; most likely, it is the ointment. The improvement in vision is clearly related to the doctrine discussed at l. 511.

The concluding statement takes the form of a “commercial,”<sup>727</sup> typical of many magical procedures in the PGM (ll. 776–77): τούτου μείζον’ οὐχ εὔρον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πραγματεῖαν, “I have not found a greater procedure than this in the world.” Which “procedure” (πραγματεῖα) is meant here specifically, is not entirely clear, but it seems to belong to the previous ointment.

The final sentence is a maxim that shows no connection with the context and seems to be of a general nature (l. 778): αἰτοῦ δὲ, ἃ βούλει, τὸν θεὸν, καὶ δώσει σοι (“Ask the god what you want, and he will give it to you”). The maxim has a parallel in IV.2172: αἰτήσας λήμψει, “When you ask, you will receive.”<sup>728</sup>

## 2. Second ritual: the plant *kentritis* (ll. 778–92)

The second ritual is most probably excerpted from a source and included because of the previous mention of the plant *kentritis*. This section provides an excellent opportunity to study how the author/redactor worked. It appears that while reading in his excerpt (ll. 772–75) he came upon the plant name *kentritis* (ll. 773, 779, 798). He did not know, however, what plant it was. The material assembled in ll. 778–813 must therefore be the fruit of his investigations in other sources. He included from these sources excerpts together with his own interpretative comments.<sup>729</sup>

The earlier context, from which the *kentritis* ritual was derived,<sup>730</sup> apparently had section titles which identified and classified the separate items. This ritual has the section title in ll. 778–79: ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασις ἐστίν

<sup>727</sup> For other instances of such “commercials” see, e.g., I.262: ἔχε<ι> λίαν καλῶς (“This works very well”); III.439: τῆς] πράξεως ταύ[της] μείζον οὐκ ἔστιν (“A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has been tested by Manethon [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest” (trans. W. Grese in Betz, *GMPT*, 31).

<sup>728</sup> The maxim is well-attested also in the NT; see Matt 7:7–11 // Luke 11:9–13 (Q); Mark 6:22–25; John 11:22; 14:13–14; 15:7, 16; 16:23–24, 26; Jas 1:5; 4:2–3; 1 John 3:22; etc. For parallel passages and bibliography, see Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 500–8.

<sup>729</sup> The redactional comment in l. 779, τὴν προκειμένην (“the afore mentioned”) distinguishes between the author/redactor and his source.

<sup>730</sup> For a different interpretation, see Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247) who assumes that the procedure was derived in a section of text that was omitted from the beginning of the ML: “Diese vorbereitenden Zeremonie bei Sonnenaufgang muß in einer Partie zu Anfang des Textes erwähnt worden sein, welche in der uns vorliegenden Redaktion des Textes weggelassen worden ist.” As has been pointed out earlier, this hypothesis is rather unlikely because of the reference in l. 779 to the *kentritis* plant in l. 773.

ἦδε (“The encounter with the great god is as follows”). The term *σύστασις* is technical in the magical and astrological literature,<sup>731</sup> but translators differ how they interpret and render it into modern languages.<sup>732</sup> The connection with “the great god” does not identify him expressly with Helios-Mithras, but this identity can certainly be assumed as the view of the present author (see l. 482).

The procedure itself begins with the acquisition<sup>733</sup> of the ingredients (ll. 779–80): βασιτάξας κεν’στρίτην τὴν προκειμένην βοτάνην τῆ συνόδῳ τῆ γενομένη λέοντι<sup>734</sup> (“Having acquired the above mentioned herb kentritis, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion...”).<sup>735</sup> The “encounter” (*σύστασις*) is to be correlated with the “conjunction” (*σύνοδος*)<sup>736</sup> between sun and moon. As Merkelbach points out, it refers to the day of new moon of that month in which the sun comes to stand in the zodiac’s sign of the Lion.<sup>737</sup> It “takes place at every day of new moon and full moon, when sun, moon, and earth (or sun, earth, and moon) are positioned at about the same line.”<sup>738</sup>

<sup>731</sup> See I.57, 177–81; III.197, 438, 494; IV.209, 220–21, 260, 950; VI.1, 39; VII.505; XIII.38, 346. Cf. Karl Preisendanz, “Miscellen,” *WSt* 40 (1918) 2–5; Betz, *GMPT*, 339, s.v. “Systasis”; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.95, 104, 156, 185, 191 (“Zusammenstehen,” “Audienz”).

<sup>732</sup> Preisendanz: “Empfehlung an den großen Gott”; Hopfner: “Erscheinung”; Meyer: “encounter”; LSJ, s.v., A.2: “communication between a man and a god”; Merkelbach: “Zusammentreffen.”

<sup>733</sup> The term βασιτάξιν as in l. 773.

<sup>734</sup> Pap. has προκειμένη. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.178, 247) reads <έν> λέοντι, which emphasizes the conjunction taking place in the zodiac sign.

<sup>735</sup> There has been a problem with the plant *kentritis*. According to Karl Wessely (“Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale,” *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* [Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, 1889], 14) the pap. reads κεντρίτην with the letter ζ written above the first ν. Dieterich (18, 21–22), however, in his discussion questions a possible κεστρίτις, not the least because of the undisputed κεντρίτις in ll. 773 and 798.

<sup>736</sup> This astronomical term occurs also in III.482; XIII.5, 116, 672. See LSJ, s.v. *σύνοδος*, II. 2.

<sup>737</sup> For the sign of the Lion, see also V.379; VII.299. See also *Orac. Chald.* 147.1 (ed. Des Places, p. 102); Thessalos 1.5 (ed. Friedrich, 108–15); Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Stern-glaube*, 113 and plates II.3–4; Wilhelm Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Bonn & Leipzig: Schroeder, 1922), 286–87; idem, “Leo, 9) Sternbild des Tierkreises,” *PRE* 24. Halbbd. (1925) 1973–92; Delatte, *Herbarius*, 42–43, 65–66; Gundel, *Astrologumena*, 48 n. 16, 89 n. 43, 111, 117, 127 n. 14; Hans Gundel and Robert Böker, “Zodiakos,” *PRE* 2nd series, 19th Halbband (1972) 462–709, esp. 473, 690, 692, 695; Roger Beck, “In the Place of the Lion: Mithras in the Tauroctony,” in Hinnells, *Studies in Mithraism*, 29–50; Clauss, *Mithras*, 162–67.

<sup>738</sup> Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247): “Am Neumondstag desjenigen Monats, in welchem die Sonne im Zodiakalzeichen des Löwen steht. Das trifft ziemlich genau auf diejenige Zeit, zu welcher die Sonne am höchsten steht. Gegen das Ende des Monats setzt die Nilflut

The next ingredient to be prepared is the ink (ll. 781–82): ἄρον τὸν χυλὸν καὶ μίξας μέλιτι καὶ ζιμύρνη ... (“take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh ...”). Apparently, the author found this recipe for the making of ink and took it up here because of the mentioning of the *kentritis* plant (l. 779).<sup>739</sup> Mixture with honey and myrrh was also mentioned before (see l. 768, cf. μέλι l. 755).

Next the leaf from the *persea* tree must be prepared (ll. 782–83): γράψον ἐπὶ φύλλου περσεᾶς τὸ ὀκταγράμματον ὄνομα, ὡς ὑπόκειται<sup>740</sup> (“write on a leaf of the *persea* tree the eight-letter name, as given below”). Writing on leaves is mentioned as part of other procedures in the PGM,<sup>741</sup> and so is the *persea* tree.<sup>742</sup> The eight-letter name is cited below, l. 788.<sup>743</sup>

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ein; sie fällt zusammen mit dem Aufgang des Sothis-Sterns (des Sirius), und der Tag dieses Aufgangs ist der sakrale Neujahrstag der Ägypter (der 1. Thoth des Sothis-Jahres). – Eine σύνοδος von Sonne und Mond findet an jedem Neumondstag und Vollmondstag statt, wenn Sonne, Mond und Erde (oder Sonne, Erde und Mond) ungefähr auf derselben Linie stehen.” See also ll. 786–87; and Merkelbach, 3.69–76.

<sup>739</sup> For ink and recipes of its preparation, see I.233–34, 243–46; III.178 (mostly reconstructed); IV.815, 2237, 3199–3204, 3213, 3248; VII. 468, 521, 940–41; XIII.315, 409; XXXVI.103, 257–58, 265–66; XXXVIII.2. On ink, see Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 1.202–17; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/2, §§ 214, 219, 222, 244, 371; Gertrud Herzog-Hauser, “Tinte,” *PRE.S* 7 (1940) 1574–79, esp. 1575–78; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th ed.; London: Arnold, 1962), 362–64; Rosemarie Drenkhahn, “Tinte,” *LÄ* 6 (1986) 595.

<sup>740</sup> Pap. reads φύλλου correctly (cf., e.g. IV.304ff.), not φύλλον (Wessely, “Zu den griechischen Papyri,” 14). Also, pap. reads ὀκταγράμματον. There was some discussion, however. Wessely (“Griechische Zauberpapyrus,” 64), saw οκτωγραμματον, but N. Novosadsky wanted οκτωγραμματον ὄνομα (“Ad papyrum magicam bibliothecae parisiense nationalis additiones palaeographicae,” *Journal of the Ministry of National Education* [in Russian], part 302, December 1895 [St. Petersburg: V. S. Balashev, 1895, 81–87], 83); in n. 1 he questions whether ὀκτὼ γράμμάτων ὄνομα should be read in light of Dieterich, (*Abraxas*, p. 194, l. 1): τὸ ἑ γράμμάτων ὄνομα. Dieterich (*Mithrasliturgie*, 18), however, reads οκτωγράμματον, but Preisendanz, Wünsch (in Dieterich, 224), Meyer, and Merkelbach (*Abraxas*, 3.178) prefer the regular ὀκταγράμματον.

<sup>741</sup> See I.269–70; II.32; IV.2205–6; VII.822; XIII.1044; cf. ML II. 785, 809.

<sup>742</sup> See III.504. For information about this tree, see Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 3.3.5; 4.2.5 (with the commentary by K. Sprengel, 2.130–33); Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 1.187 (ν.Ι. πέρσειον, fruit of the *persea*); Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 68 (378C), with the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 536–37; for Greek passages, see LSJ, s.v.. On the *persea* tree generally, see August Steier, “Persea,” *PRE* 37th Halbband (1937) 940–44; Renate Germer, “Persea,” *LÄ* 4 (1982) 942–43.

<sup>743</sup> The redactional comment ὡς ὑπόκειται, “as (written) below,” has parallels in III.385–86; IV.408; VII.724. See Preisendanz, 3.194 (index), s.v. ὑποκεῖσθαι; also Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum.*, ## 71 (2.95–105); 94 (2.211–21). For the eight-letter name, see also PGM LXII.9: τὰ ὀκτὼ γράμματα Σελήνης, “which are tied to the heart of Helios.” Cf. Preisendanz, 2.192, *app. crit.*

With these preparations completed, their application follows (ll. 783–85): καὶ πρὸ γ' ἡμερῶν ἀγνεύσας ἐλθὲ πρωίας πρὸς ἀνατολάς, ἀπόλειχε τὸ φυλλὸν δεικνύων ἡλίῳ ...<sup>744</sup> (“and having kept yourself pure for for three days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise, lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun ...”). Prior to the application there has to be a three-day period of sanctification; what this consists of can be seen from the parallels.<sup>745</sup> The application begins early in the morning, in order to face the sun rising in the east.<sup>746</sup> It consists of licking the inscription off from the leaf,<sup>747</sup> after or while showing it to the sun (Helios).<sup>748</sup>

The result is that the god Helios will listen (ll. 785–86): καὶ οὕτως ἐπακούσεται τελείως (“then he will listen attentively”). The question here relates to the possible context of this assurance: Does it refer to the consultation with Helios-Mithras (ll. 724–28)? Or does it originally apply to a source and only secondarily to the present context? It can be taken for granted, however, that for the present author/redactor the god to listen is none other than Helios-Mithras.<sup>749</sup>

Three additional instructions regarding this procedure follow in ll. 786–92. First, regarding the specification of time (ll. 786–87): ἄρχου δὲ αὐτὸν τελεῖν τῇ ἐν λέοντι κατὰ θεὸν νομηνίᾳ (“Begin to consecrate him on the new moon in the Lion, according to the god[’s reckoning].”)<sup>750</sup> The instruction supplements l. 780, but what is meant by αὐτὸν τελεῖν? Preisendanz, Meyer, and Merkelbach believe it to be the sun-scarab to be consecrated (cf. l. 779).

<sup>744</sup> Pap. reads γ for the number three.

<sup>745</sup> Cf. συναγνεύω (l. 734). For ritual sanctification, see Thessalos 1, prooemium, sections 18 and 21 (ed. Friedrich, 51); for the importance of ἀγνεύειν in the PGM, see also II.149, 151; IV.3209; VII. 334 (3 days), 846; XIII.347 (41 days); XXII.b.27; cf. προαγνεύειν III.304; IV.1099–1100 (3 days); IV.26, 52; XIII.114, 671 (7 days); I.54–55; V.226. For the rituals of purification and sanctification, see, especially, Delatte, *Herbarius*, 39–72 (“Temps propice à la récolte”); 73–87 (“Préparation de l’herboliste”); 88–107 (“Rites cathartiques et apotropaiques”).

<sup>746</sup> For further references, see I.34; VII.524 (πρὸς ἀνατολάς); XII.282.

<sup>747</sup> The licking off of the sacred eight-letter word has parallels not only in the PGM (see ll. 789–90; XIII.131–34, 434–35, 690), but also elsewhere in ancient religions. See Ritner, *Mechanics*, 92–102; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247) refers to Rev 10:9, where the prophet is ordered to eat the holy book. Cf. Ezek 2:8–3:3.

<sup>748</sup> For parallels, see PGM VII.524, 915; XIII.1045.

<sup>749</sup> The terminology is common not only in the PGM: for ἐπακούειν (“listen”), see l. 587.

<sup>750</sup> Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) raises the question whether, because of the new moon the goddess Selene is meant; in IV.2389, the reference is stated: κατὰ θεὸν νομηνίαν, but no name is given there either. The expression κατὰ θεόν is technical in calendrical procedures; see (with further literature) W. Kendrick Pritchett, “Postscript: The Athenian Calendars,” *ZPE* 128 (1999) 79–93.

Second, the eight-letter name, mentioned in ll. 782–83 is revealed, introduced by a citation formula (l. 788): τὸ δὲ ὄνομά ἐστιν τοῦτο· ἰ εε οο ἰαῖ (“The name, however, is: I EE OO IAI.”).

Third, a specification of the leaf (cf. l. 785) is added (ll. 788–90): τοῦτο ἐκλειγε, ἵνα φυλακτηριασθῆς, καὶ τὸ φύλλο(ν) ἐλίξας, ἐμβαλε εἰς τὸ ῥόδιον<sup>751</sup> (“Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf, throw it into the rose-oil.”). The purpose of the licking off<sup>752</sup> is now explained as a *phylacterion*, a measure of protection.<sup>753</sup> After having licked it off, the leaf is to be rolled up<sup>754</sup> and thrown into the rose-oil (l. 759).<sup>755</sup> The conclusion to the passage (778–92) takes to the form of another “commercial” (ll. 790–92): πολλάκις δὲ τῆ πραγματεία χρησάμενος ὑπερεθαύμασα (“Many times I have used the spell, and have been absolutely amazed”). A similar commercial has occurred before (see on l. 776); doubtless it was taken over from the source.<sup>756</sup> The “commercial” combines two *topoi*: frequent use as evidence of effectiveness,<sup>757</sup> and great amazement on the part of the practitioner.<sup>758</sup>

### 3. Further items of information (ll. 792–813)

Another supplement is added to the previous rituals (ll. 792–813), consisting of three pieces of “information” pertaining to the sun-scarab, the main ritual of the consultation of Mithras, and the plant *kentritis*. Regarding composition, the three items were appended by the author/redactor who derived them

<sup>751</sup> Pap. reads *εκλειγε ἵνα* and *φύλλο(ν)* (the final *ν* is written with a supralinear stroke).

<sup>752</sup> For the term *ἐκλείγειν*, see also VII.523 (*ὄνομα*); XIII.889–90, 898, 1051 (*φύλλον*). Cf. l. 785 *ἀπολείχειν*.

<sup>753</sup> The peculiar term *φυλακτηριασθῆναι* (“to be furnished with an amulet” [LSJ]) occurs also in IV.2626–27: *ἴσθι δὲ πεφυλακτηριασμένος*; VII.897–99; Horapollo, *Hier.* 1.24, l. 4.

<sup>754</sup> For *ἐλίσσειν*, see also VII.360, 413, 463 (*ἐλίξον καὶ βάλε εἰς θάλασσαν*); VIII.67; XXXVI.234.

<sup>755</sup> The rose-oil is simply called τὸ ῥόδιον, a substantive adjective (“made from roses”); see above, ll. 757–59, 774; also I.62; VII.230; XIII.1018; for the adjective ῥόδιος, see I.278 (*ἐλαῖον*); VII.337–38; VIII.108–9 (*μύρον*). For rose-oil, see Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 121–22; Franz Olck, “Gartenbau,” *PRE* 13th Halbband (1910), esp. 774–76.

<sup>756</sup> *ὑπερθαυμάζειν* is found only here in the PGM, but it is rather frequent in Hellenistic and Roman period literature; see Aelian, *Var. hist.* 12.49; *Anth. pal.* 15.16.2; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 7.23 (285d); Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 5.8.5; Lucian, *Macrob.* 24; *Ver. hist.* 1.34; *Pro imag.* 18; *Zeux.* 3; *Am.* 52; etc. (see also LSJ, *TLG*, s.v.); for *πραγματεία*, see l. 776–77; PGM IV.254–55, 853–54, 1954, 2079, 2099, 2628, 2630, 3271.

<sup>757</sup> Cf. for a parallel, see XIII.266–67: *πολλάκις ἐποίησα τὴν πράξιν*.

<sup>758</sup> For parallels, see l. 775 and XIII.250; and Preisendanz, 3.105 (index), s.v. *θαῦμα*, *θαυμάζειν*, *θαυμάσιος*, *θαυμαστός*.



from personal revelation as well as source materials different from the *Vorlage* of the preceding rituals. This shows that when he added the information he had the complete text before him, and that he was careful to preserve the excerpts as they were copied. Forming a kind of appendix, the new information contains the results of further research, in which he noted differences as well as his own judgment, validated by divine revelation.

The first item concerns a correction to be made in the previously recorded ritual. This correction is needed because of a personal revelation of the author (ll. 792–96): εἶπεν δέ μοι ὁ θεός· (“But the god spoke to me: ...”) This formula presupposes the author has received a personal revelation from the god (no doubt, Helios-Mithras), which supersedes the previous tradition. Nothing is said about what kind of revelation it was; it could have been a dream or a vision, in which the god appeared to order the change. The revelation concerns the preparation of the ointment as stated in ll. 751–78: μηκέτι χρῶ τῷ συγχρίσματι, ἀλλὰ ρίψαντα εἰς ποταμὸν <χρῆ> χρᾶσθαι φοροῦντα τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ κανθάρου τοῦ ἀναζωπυρηθέντος διὰ τῶν κε΄ ζώων ὄρνεων<sup>759</sup> (“Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery of the scarab revitalized through the 25 living birds”). Several points are controversial, so that the translations also differ.<sup>760</sup> Which object is to be thrown into the river? Is it the persea leaf (Preisendanz), or the ointment of the sun scarab (Merkelbach)? Most likely the text refers to the ointment in l. 770 (χρῶσιμα), the σύγχρισμα<sup>761</sup> which is no longer to be used, but is to be disposed of by throwing it into the river, presumably the Nile.<sup>762</sup> Such a disposal, of course, turns it over to Osiris who is identical with the Nile.<sup>763</sup> The term χρᾶσθαι refers to the oracular

<sup>759</sup> The word <χρῆ> has been supplied by Eitrem. Preisendanz assumes the object of ρίψαντα to be τὸ φύλλον; the pap. reads ποταμο with a supralinear stroke indicating final ν; the number 25 is written in the pap. as κε (meaning εἴκοσι πέντε).

<sup>760</sup> Cf. Preisendanz: “Verwende die Salbe nicht mehr, sondern <du mußt> befragen, nachdem du sie in den Fluß geworfen hast, der das große Mysterium des durch die 25 Vögel (?) wiederbelebten Skarabäus mit sich trägt...”; Merkelbach: “Gebrauche die Salbe nicht mehr (zum Einreiben), sondern wirf (den Sonnenkäfer) in den Fluß und trage an dir die großartige mystische Salbe des Sonnenkäfers, dem der Lebensfunke wieder verliehen worden ist durch die 29 Lebens-Vögel (?)”

<sup>761</sup> The noun occurs only here in the PGM, but see for the verb II.75; XXXVI.285. The term is technical in ancient medicine and pharmacy; see Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 1.16.2; Galen, *Compos. med.* 1 (ed. Kühn, 12.411, l. 8; 12.412, l. 5); Aetius of Amida, *Iatr.* 1.136 (ed. Olivieri, 1.69, lines 13, 17); 4.45 (1.389, l. 1), etc. See LSJ, s.v. σύγχρισμα.

<sup>762</sup> For things thrown into the river, cf. also IV.40; VII.420, 450.

<sup>763</sup> So Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247): “Da die Sonnenkäfer-Salbe nun doch einmal bereitet war, sollte sie in den Nil geworfen werden. Damit erleidet das σύγχρισμα dasselbe Schicksal wie Osiris, den Seth-Typhon in den Fluß geworfen hatte. In IV.876 heißt Osiris

consultation described in ll. 717, 724–28 (cf. 732–34), during which the ointment of the sun-scarab was to be used (ll. 770, 773–74). Instead of this ointment, one should wear “the great mystery of the sun-scarab”<sup>764</sup> (see ll. 746, 750–78) as an amulet; that scarab has been “revitalized through the 25 living birds.” This strange reference seems to allude to an otherwise unattested ritual,<sup>765</sup> so well known to the author that he does not consider further information to be necessary; unfortunately, there is no other extant attestation of it, so all explanations are necessarily speculative.<sup>766</sup>

The second item is also a correction regarding the times of consultation (ll. 796–98): χρᾶσθαι ἅπαξ τοῦ μηνός, ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ ἔτος γ', κατὰ πανσέληνον.<sup>767</sup> (“Consult once a month, at full moon, instead of three times a year.”)<sup>768</sup> In other words, at the god’s order the time schedule stated in the preceding text is to be changed from three times a year (ll. 747–48) to once a month. It seems that the performances are shifted from a seasonal to an astrological calendar,<sup>769</sup> and from new moon (l. 753) to full moon.<sup>770</sup>

The third item (ll. 798–804) contains botanical information about the *kentritis* plant, supplementing earlier instructions in ll. 773, 778–86. This

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ὁ γενάμενος Ἐσιης καὶ ποταμοφόρητος, auf der Bleitafel von Hadrumentum droht eine Magierin *mittam ut a flumine feratur* (Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae*, 270). Da Osiris regeneriert wurde, wird dasselbe auch mit dem Käfer geschehen.” See also Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1–2, §§ 130, 187, 224, 260, 289–90, 294.

<sup>764</sup> Cf. XIII.128: τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν κάναθρος, “the mystery of the god, which is a scarab” (or: “which is ‘Scarab’”). The question is whether there is a relationship between these rituals.

<sup>765</sup> For the term ἀναζωπυρεῖν (“rekindle, revitalize”), see also XIII.739: a magical name gives vital power to magical books (τὸ ἀναζωπυροῦν τὰς πάσας βίβλους σου); cf. XII.318: ζωπυρεῖν. For the term ἀναζωπυρέω see also 1 Tim 1:6; 1 Clem 27:3; Ign Eph 1:1, and BDAG, s.v.

<sup>766</sup> Meyer (Betz, *GMPT*, 53, n. 105) suggests: “The allusion to the twenty-five birds is obscure; it may be related to the hours, so that the scarab Khepri is reborn in the first hour of a new day, after the passage of twelve hours of day and twelve hours of night during the previous day.” Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.248) proposes to read the number as κθ', which would increase the birds to 29 and relate them to the 29 days of the lunar month.

<sup>767</sup> Pap. reads γ for three.

<sup>768</sup> The infinitive has imperatival force, perhaps influenced by <χρη>. According to Plutarch, *Pyth. orac.* 8, 398A; *Quaest. Graec.* 9, 292E–F, the consultation of the Pythia should occur during the month of Bysos; see Schröder, *Plutarch's Schrift*, 87, 183–84.

<sup>769</sup> Weinreich (in Dieterich, 225) refers to Armand Delatte, “Études sur la magie grecque, V. ἈΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ,” *BCH* 38 (1914) 246. For another change from a seasonal to an astrological calendar, see the conflict about the Bacchanalia, described in Livy, 39.13.8–10; on this, see Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, index, s.v. Bacchanalia; Henrichs, “Dromena,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 54; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1. 160–61.

<sup>770</sup> The phrase ἀντὶ τοῦ ... κατὰ πανσέληνον may come from a marginal note (Jordan); cf. IV.52–53.

information is divided into two parts, the first part (798–804) concerns a tradition which likely originates in a herbalist's text:<sup>771</sup> ἡ δὲ κεντρῖτις βοτάνη φύεται ἀπὸ μηνὸς Παῦνι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι μελάνης γῆς, ὁμοία δὲ ἐστὶν τῷ ὀρθῷ περιστερεῶνι. ἡ δὲ γνῶσις αὐτῆς οὕτως γίγνεται· ἴβεως πτερόν χρίεται τὸ ἀκρομέλαν χαλασθὲν τῷ χύλῳ καὶ ἅμα τῷ θιγεῖν ἀποπίπτει τὰ πτερά<sup>772</sup> (“The kentritis plant grows from the month of Pauni, in the regions of the black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena; this is how to recognize it: the wing of an ibis is smeared, the ‘black edge’ weakened by the juice, and when the feathers are touched, they fall off”). The description follows the established pattern of identifying the species (βοτάνη, “plant”), the seasonal growth: “from the month of Pauni on,” that is, the tenth month of the year (May 26 to June 24),<sup>773</sup> and the geographical area: the region called “the black earth” is the arable land of Egypt, in contrast to the “red land” of the desert.<sup>774</sup>

The next step is a comparison with a similar plant, called περιστερεῶν (“upright verbena,” or “dovecote”).<sup>775</sup> The method for identifying the plant (γνῶσις) is then described. The black tip of a wing feather of an ibis,<sup>776</sup> when smeared with the juice of the plant (cf. ll. 773, 781), is thereby weakened and falls off when touched. So far the information gleaned from the herbalist source.

In ll. 804–13, the author adds new information, derived from a personal revelation by the god (ll. 804–7): τοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου ὑποδείξαντος εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ Μενελαίτῃ ἐν τῇ Φαλαγρῷ πρὸς τὰς ἀναβολαῖς πλησίον <τῆς> τοῦ

<sup>771</sup> See Hopfner, *OZ* 1, §§ 464–551: “Die sympathisch-symbolischen Pflanzen”; M. Carmela Betrò (“Erbarie nell’ antico Egitto,” *Egitta e Vicino Oriente* 11 [1988] 71–110, esp. 74) mentions the PGM passage as “chiaramente tratta da un erbario.” I owe this last reference to Thomas Dusa.

<sup>772</sup> Pap. reads ἴβεως. For a discussion of the text see Crönert, “Zur Kritik,” 101; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 120–21. For μελάνης instead of μελαίνης, see Dieterich (19) who cites Dieterich, *Untersuchungen*, 178; see also, LSJ, BDAG, s.v. μέλας; Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 76.

<sup>773</sup> See Hopfner, *OZ* 1, § 500; Griffiths (*Plutarch*, 412; also 65 and 492), commenting on Plutarch’s (*Is. Os.* 30, p. 362F) discussion of the festivals of the months of Pauni and Phaophi in Busiris and Lycopolis. The month of Pauni is mentioned also in VII.281.

<sup>774</sup> See Hopfner (*OZ* 1, § 500), with reference to Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 76–77; Griffiths (*Plutarch*, 425–26), commenting on Plutarch’s *Is. Os.* 33, 364C: “... they call Egypt, since it is mostly black, Khemia, like the black part of the eye.”

<sup>775</sup> See LSJ (s.v. περιστερεῶν), with references to Pap. Oxy. # 1127, 8 (2nd cent. CE); Thessalos, 1.3 (ed. Friedrich, 93–97); cf. περιστέριον mentioned in Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 4.59–60 as a “holy plant” (ἐρὰ βοτάνη); Dieterich, 19; Hopfner, *OZ* 1, § 500: “Taubenkraut.”

<sup>776</sup> On the ibis-wing, see Deines & Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, 484.

Βη<σα>σάδος βοτάνης<sup>777</sup> (“As the lord demonstrated to me, [the plant] is found in the Menelaïtis area near Phalagry, at the river banks, near the Besas plant”). Thanks to divine guidance,<sup>778</sup> the author has actually found the plant at an identifiable place. According to Kees and Calderini, the area called Menelaos (Menelaïtes) was situated in the northwestern Nile Delta, east of Alexandria.<sup>779</sup> Phalagry is the likely name of a place in the Roman province of Cyrenaica between Kainopolis and Marabina.<sup>780</sup> The Besas plant is, as the name says,<sup>781</sup> related to the god Bes (Βησᾶς). According to Dioscorides the Syrian name was βήσασα, but different names were used in different localities.<sup>782</sup>

A more detailed description defines the plant further (ll. 808–13): ἔστιν δὲ μονόκλωνον καὶ πυρρὸν ἄχρι τῆς ρίζης καὶ τὰ φύλλα οὐλότερα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ἔχοντα ὅμοιον τῷ κορύμβῳ ἀσπαράγῳ ἀγρίῳ. ἔστιν δὲ παραπλήσιον τῷ καλουμένῳ ταλάπη, ὡς τὸ ἄγριον σεῦτλον<sup>783</sup> (“It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called *talapes*, like the wild beet”).

<sup>777</sup> Accepting Jordan’s reading; see below, 781. Pap. reads ἀναβολαῖς; Dieterich (19) proposes ἀνατολαῖς, but Preisendanz keeps ἀναβολαῖς, “an den Wällen (des Nils).” Merklbach: “an den Dämmen,” that is, “Deiche des Nils” (*Abrasax*, 3.181, 248). Dieterich also reads Φαλαγρῆ (Jordan retains Φαλαγρυ). Cf. l. 752.

<sup>778</sup> For the term ὑποδεικνύειν, see also VII.592; VIII.65–66; LXII.44.

<sup>779</sup> Hermann Kees, “Menelaos (Menelaïtes),” *PRE* 15 (1931) 807–8; Aristide Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell’ Egitto greco-romano* (Milano: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino–La Goliardica, 1980), 3/2.267 (with reference to Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.* 4.5.9: Μενελαῖτου μητροπόλις Κάναβος). The major source is Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.18 (801; ed. Meineke, 1117.19): ὁ Μενελαῖτης νόμος. See also David Bain, “Μελανῖτις γῆ, an unnoticed Greek name for Egypt: New evidence for the origin and etymology of alchemy?” in: *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the first International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens* (eds. David R. Jordan, et al.; Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1999), 205–26.

<sup>780</sup> So according to Hermann Kees, “Phalakra(i), Phalakre 2),” *PRE* 19/2 (1938) 1614–15; Calderini (*Dizionario* 5 [1987], 54) points to two possible places, Falacro and Phalagry. The main source is Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Φαλάκραι· ἔστι δὲ καὶ κώμη Λιβύης Φαλάκραι. See also Dieterich (19, 225).

<sup>781</sup> Pap. reads του βησαδος βοτανης, “plant of Besas”; Dieterich (19) refers to Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 3.46.2: βησασᾶ, *agrestis ruta*; Alexander of Tralles 2 (ed. Puschmann, 134), but the forms βήσασα, βίσασα, βισασά, occur as well (according to Max Wellmann [in Dieterich, 19], βησασᾶ is read by the best Dioscorides manuscripts). Dieterich considers βησαδάδος(?), Jordan prefers <τῆς> τοῦ Βη<σα>σάδος βοτάνης. See LSJ, s.v. βησασᾶ, “Syrian rue.”

<sup>782</sup> For the identification, see Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 3.46.1–2; Hopfner, *OZ* 1, § 500: some called it πῆγανον ἄγριον, the Egyptians *Epnubu*, the Afrians *Churma*, the Cappadocians *Moly*.

<sup>783</sup> Pap. reads ἀσπαράγῳ ἀγρίῳ, emended by Dieterich (20) to ἀσπαράγου ἀγρίου; Jordan retains the pap. reading.

As one would expect, the language of this passage contains terms from botany: *μονόκλωνος* (“with a single stem”),<sup>784</sup> *πυρρός* (“reddish”),<sup>785</sup> *τὰ φύλλα οὐλότερα* (“crinkled leaves”),<sup>786</sup> *κορύμβος* (“cluster of fruit” or “flowers”).<sup>787</sup> The plant names cannot all be identified: *ἀσπάραγος* (“asparagus”),<sup>788</sup> *ταλάπη*,<sup>789</sup> and *σεῦτλον* (“wild beet”).<sup>790</sup>

#### 4. Third ritual: the phylacteries (ll. 813–19)

The third ritual concerns the phylacteries to be used during the main ritual. They must of course be prepared before the ritual begins, so that they are ready for use whenever needed (see ll. 659–61, 708, 789).<sup>791</sup> Phylacteries are protective amulets on stone, papyrus, or metal lamellae, with engravings of letters, names, *voces magicae*, symbols, or pictorial representations. Usually worn on the body of a person, they were – and still are – widely used in every religious configuration,<sup>792</sup> which is why specific regulations for their preparations must be followed.

<sup>784</sup> See IV.2689, 3201; cf. Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 4.5; Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9.18.8; cf. idem, *Caus. plant.* 2.15.5 (*μονόκλωνος*).

<sup>785</sup> See also IV.2899; VII.890; XIII.309.

<sup>786</sup> LSJ (s.v. *οὔλος*) refers to Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9.4.3; cf. 7.4.4: *οὐλόφυλλος*.

<sup>787</sup> See LSJ, s.v. *κόρυμβος*, III.

<sup>788</sup> See Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 6.4.1; Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 2.125.

<sup>789</sup> According to the *TLC* the name of the plant is a *hapaxlegomenon*. See the comments by Dieterich and Wellmann (in Dieterich, 20–21) who point to a plant called *ἄλυπον* (Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 4.178: *γεννᾶται δὲ ἐν τόποις παραθαλασσίαις, μάλιστα ταῖς τῆς Λιβύης τόποις καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ χωρίοις πλείστον*; Pliny, *Nat.* 27.22), implying that *ταλάπη* is an error. Hopfner (*OZ* 1, § 500) and Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.248) have no explanation to offer.

<sup>790</sup> See also III.614; cf. (reconstructed) VII.173; LXI.2. LSJ list *τεῦτλον*, with references from the papyri; Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 1.6.6 (*beta maritima* L., “wild sea beet,” or “beet”).

<sup>791</sup> Phylacteries play an important role in the PGM, notably in IV. Preisendanz, 3.197–98 (index) notes the following occurrences of *φυλακτήριον*: I.275 (cf. *φυλακτινόν* I.272), 280; III.97, 127; IV.79, 86, 257, 660, 708, 1071, 1253, 1264, 1316–17, 1335–36, 1619–20, 1653–54, 1661, 1670, 1675, 1685–86, 1703, 2358, 2508, 2510–11, 2630, 2694, 2705, 2897, 3014, 3094, 3127; VII.218, 298, 311, 317, 486, 579, 844, 857; XI.a.37; XII.13; XIII.796, 899; XXXVI.159; LXII.23; LXX.2; LXXI.1, 6; LXXII.23; XLVII.10–11 (*νεφριλακτήριον*).

<sup>792</sup> The literature on phylacteries and amulets is vast and widely dispersed. See for surveys and bibliographies Charles W. King, *The Gnostics and Their Remains: Ancient and Medieval* (2nd ed.; London: Nutt, 1887); Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 291–303; Gerhard Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu capita duo* (Gryphiae: Abel, 1907); F. Eckstein & Jan H. Waszink, “Amulett,” *RAC* 1 (1950) 397–411; Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* ## 23 (1.63–66); 28 (1.76–77); 34 (1.99–101); 64 (2.66–67); 92 (2.204–8); 94

The text begins with a kind of section title (ll. 813–14): τὰ δὲ φυλακτήρια ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον<sup>793</sup> (“Then the phylacteries are of this kind”).<sup>794</sup> The term *τρόπος* refers to a particular type of amulet as well as the method for making it.<sup>795</sup> The preparation distinguishes between what one should wear on the right and on the left arm, as also what material one should use. First, the amulet for the right arm is treated (ll. 814–17): τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν γράψον εἰς ὑμένα προβάτου μέλανος ζυρνομέλανι (“Copy the [amulet] for the right [arm] onto the skin of a black sheep, with myrrh ink”). The hide of the black sheep is contrasted to that of the white sheep (l. 818); the preparation of myrrh ink has been described before (ll. 780–81). Then follows the application: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ δῆσας νεύροις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζώου περιάψαι (“and after tying it with the sinews of the same animal, put it on”). Apparently, the formula to be inscribed has been omitted, either by accident, or because it is the same for both arms; the term *περιάπτειν* (“attach [around the arm]”) is technical and occurs elsewhere in the PGM.<sup>796</sup> The same procedure is to be followed for the left arm (ll. 817–19): τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον εἰς ὑμένα λευκοῦ προβάτου καὶ χρῶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ (“and that for the left [arm copy] onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same method”).

Then the *vox magica* for the left arm is given: εὐώνυμ<ον τ>οῦ προσθυμηρι<sup>797</sup> (“[the magical name] of the left [arm] is PROSTHYMERI”). Scholars differ

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(2.211–21); Merkelbach, *Abrasax* 1–4, indices; Kotansky, *Amulets*, §§ 18; 32; 60; 65; 66; idem, “Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets,” in Faraone & Obbink, *Magika Hiera*, 107–37; Bonner, *Studies* (cf. the review by Karl Preisendanz, *Gnomon* 24 [1952] 340–45); idem, “Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum,” *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 301–45; idem, “A Miscellany of Engraved Stones,” *ibid.* 23 (1954) 138–57; Delatte & Derchain, *Les intailles*; Jean Marquès-Rivière, *Amulettes, Talismans et Pantacles dans la tradition orientales et occidentales* (Paris: Payot, 1938); Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Magische Amulette und andere Gemmen des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln* (ARWAW.PC 20; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992, with the review and additional bibliography by William Brashear, *Gnomon* 68 [1996] 447–53); Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994); Walter Beltz and Christoph Uehlinger, “Amulett,” *RGG* (4th ed., 1998) 1.442–44; TDNT, BDAG, s.v. *φυλακτήριον*, pointing to the occurrence of Jewish phylacteries in Matt 23:5 (see Schürer, *History*, 2.479–81; 3.342–79).

<sup>793</sup> Pap. reads *τροπο* with a supralinear stroke, recognized by Dieterich (20) and Preisendanz.

<sup>794</sup> The translations differ at this point: Preisendanz: “Die Amulette sind so beschaffen”; Meyer: “Now the phylacteries require this procedure: ...”; Merkelbach: “Die Amulette (die man benützen soll) sehen so aus.”

<sup>795</sup> For the term *τρόπος*, see IV.740, 819; XII.274; and Preisendanz, 3.190 (index), s.v.

<sup>796</sup> For *περιάπτω* see IV.1252, 1318, 2155, 3016; VII.197, 207, 214; XXXVI.278, 330; LXIII.26, 29; Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, ## 78 (2.151–54); 80 (2.161–62); cf. 5 (1.16); 94 (2.211–21).

<sup>797</sup> Pap. reads *θυμηρι*, which Dieterich (20) emends to *θυμήρεις*. Also, the pap. reads *ευωνυμου*, emended by Wessely to *εὐώνυμ<ον τ>οῦ προσθυμερι*, now supported by

widely in regard to the text and its interpretation. For one, there is the problem that the *vox magica* is given only for the left arm, while the corresponding one for the right arm is omitted; if it were the same as for the right arm, the text would have indicated it. A further question is whether the inscription for the right arm can be restored on the basis of προσυμερι (l. 661). Finally, should the following phrase πληρέστατον και τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει be part of the sentence or not? Should the following Homer verses be taken as the content of the ὑπόμνημα? Translations, therefore, vary at this point.<sup>798</sup> However, comparison with the phylactery at ll. 659–61 shows that for the right arm there is only one *vox magica* (PROSYMERI), which corresponds to the other (PROSTHYMERI) for the left arm. Thus, there is no reason to assume a longer inscription for the left arm.

#### IV. Epilogue (ll. 819–20)

Contrary to most scholars,<sup>799</sup> the final clause should be taken as a separate statement by the author/redactor: πληρέστατον και τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει ([With this] the memorandum has [finally] reached its completion”).<sup>800</sup> Stating that the document is now complete uses the superlative form πληρέστατον because of the many supplements and additions. The term ὑπόμνημα (“memorandum”) refers to legal and literary documents;<sup>801</sup> it refers most likely to the

Jordan. The change to the genitive is only needed because Wessely connects it with with πληρέστατον ὑπόμνημα; this emendation, however, although accepted by Preisendanz, Meyer, and Merkelbach, seems to be unconvincing. Cf. also Preisendanz, *WSt* 41 (1919) 142–43.

<sup>798</sup> Preisendanz: “Das linke is ganz gefüllt mit ‘Prosthymèri’ und hat die Aufschrift...” (The Homer verses are taken to be the content of the ὑπόμνημα); Meyer (translating Preisendanz): “The left one is very full of ‘PROSTHYMERI’, and has this memorandum...”; Merkelbach: “Das linke mit dem ‘König STHYMERI hat auch die vollständigste Erinnerungskraft in sich.” Merkelbach (*Abasax*, 3.248) comments that the left amulet strengthens the memory, and that ὑπόμνημα refers to spells called μνημονική (e.g., I.232; III.424, 467; cf. also II.17, 40).

<sup>799</sup> According to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 225), Preisendanz considered to punctuate: εὐώνυμου· “προσθυμερι”. πληρέστατον και τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει. This reading keeps what the pap. has. In his edition and translation, however, Preisendanz follows Wessely’s emendation: εὐώνυμο<ν τ>οῦ “προσθυμερι” πληρέστατον και τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει, “Das linke ist ganz gefüllt mit ‘Prosthymèri’ und hat die Aufschrift ....”

<sup>800</sup> According to Wünsch, ll. 819–20 are “a poorly copied marginal gloss to the *Vorlage*.” For this and other speculations, see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.* For similar conclusions, see III.161: και αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ πράξις...; IV.2078–79: ταῦτά ἐστιν, τὰ ἐπιτελεῖ ἡ μόνη πραγματεία.

<sup>801</sup> The term is used also XIII.725. For references, see LSJ, s.v. ὑπόμνημα (5), and PGL; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, 2.667–69; Elias Bickermann, “Beiträge zur antiken Urkunden-

text as a whole, or, less likely, to the supplements alone (ll. 750–819).<sup>802</sup> After l. 820 there also occurs a colon (:) and a paragraphos sign,<sup>803</sup> signifying the end of the section and implying that the Homer verses (ll. 821–34) are not to be taken as a part of the Mithras Liturgy.<sup>804</sup>

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forschung, III,” *APF* 9 (1930) 164–65; Franco Montanari, “Hypomnema,” *DNP* 5 (1998) 814–15 (with lit.).

<sup>802</sup> Cf. the term σύνταγμα in the exordium (ll. 481–82), apparently refers to the text up to l. 750, where the additional instruction (διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως) begins (ll. 750–819). Therefore, the ὑπόμνημα could simply refer to these additional instructions, but since they are mere additions to the whole composition, the Mithras Liturgy in its entirety functions as a memorandum in the same way.

<sup>803</sup> See on this Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2.400, 402–3.

<sup>804</sup> So the evidence of the pap., noted by Wessely (“Zu den griechischen Papyri,” 14) and Preisendanz (*ad loc.*, *apparatus criticus*). Differently, Dieterich (20, 225) is indecisive: on the one hand (20), he takes ὑπόμνημα as the category of “quotation,” meaning the Homer verses (ll. 821–34); on the other hand (21), he observes correctly that the Mithras Liturgy is interpolated between the Homer verses of ll. 467–75 and 821–43: “Es scheint, daß zwischen die Homerverse der große Wahrsagezauber eingeschoben ist, so daß vor und nach ihm noch deren gesprenkte Stücke erscheinen.”



# Plates







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## Indices

The Indices refer to the line numbers of the papyrus containing the "Mithras Liturgy"

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