

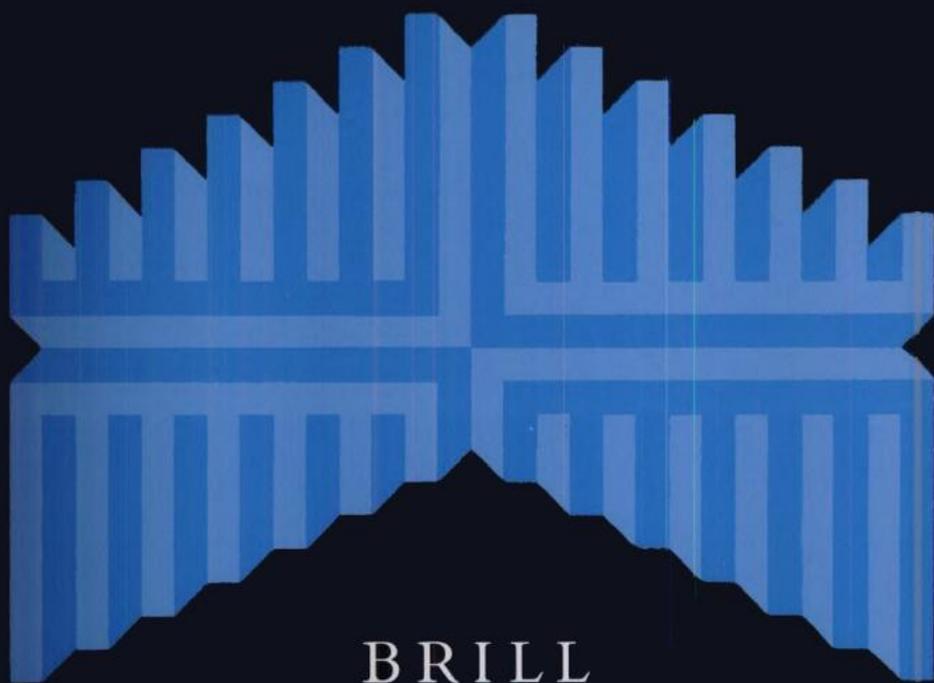
Pablo A. Torijano

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Solomon the Esoteric King

*From King to Magus,  
Development of a Tradition*

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BRILL

SOLOMON THE ESOTERIC KING

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# SOLOMON THE ESOTERIC KING

*From King to Magus, Development of a Tradition*

BY

PABLO A. TORIJANO



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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To Paloma

*Mea cura*



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## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament
BAC	Biblioteca de autores cristianos
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CCAG	Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EBib	Études Bibliques
GREC	Graeco-romanae religionis electa collectio
HDS	Harvard Dissertation Series
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IOSCS	International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies
ITC	International Theological Commentary
JANES	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament

JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LD	Lectio Divina
NHS	Nag Hammadi Series
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NTS	New Testament Studies
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research
PG	Patrologia graeca
PGM	Papyri graecae magicae
PL	Patrologia latina
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RAC	Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum
RB	Revue Biblique
REG	Revue des études grecques
REJ	Revue des études juives
RQ	Revue de Qumran
RSR	Rivista di scienze religiose
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature of Early Judaism and its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
STB	Studies in Biblical Theology
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SJJS	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
ST	Studia Theologica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft





## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

#### INTRODUCTION

The pervasive interest in the Bible and the traditions that surround it characterizes the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period; almost every preserved text is in dialogue with biblical traditions, transforming and adapting them to the changing times and concerns of the Jewish community. The so-called “rewritten Bible” and “parabiblical literature” are the clearest and most explicit manifestations of this trend. We witness a parallel development based on the characters of the biblical stories and traditions. Patriarchs, kings, prophets and sinners again became the protagonists of Jewish texts in two ways: on the one hand, these new texts heralded, under the protective names of biblical figures, “dubious” theology, controversial halakah, revised ethics and exotic cosmology; biblical attributions brought respectability and authority to the texts. On the other hand, the figures themselves experienced a transformation, absorbing new traits and becoming altogether different characters from their biblical prototypes.

On some occasions these new features were hinted at in the biblical tradition, triggering a change prefigured in the exegesis. Thus, the brief note in Genesis 5:24 about Enoch could have given birth to the development of his characterization as a seer of the secrets concerning the universe, the future of the world, and the course of human history, which produced in its last stage Enoch’s transformation to angelic status, as Metatron, in Hekhalot literature.<sup>1</sup> Like-

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<sup>1</sup> For an exhaustive study of this phenomenon of reinterpretation see J. L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as it was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998). However, it is quite difficult to see how the image of Enoch as the primordial sage that appears in *Jub*, 4:16-25 and in *Sir* 44:16 and in 1 *Enoch* itself could have been developed as an exegetical extrusion from Gen 5:22-24. On this and other problems about Enoch see M. E. Stone, “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.,” *CBQ* 40 (1978) 479-492; see also D. Dimant, “Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series

wise, in the hands of Philo the biblical figures became incarnations of virtue (Abraham), statesmanship (Joseph) and perfect legislation (Moses),<sup>2</sup> whereas Artapanus made Abraham the father of astrology, Joseph the first surveyor and Moses the founder of the Egyptian animal cult.<sup>3</sup> The biblical characters changed because the cultural and political environment, as well as the audiences to whom their examples were addressed, had changed.

Among the biblical figures, Solomon underwent an especially radical adaptation to the new circumstances. Somehow his character was always “problematic,” since he was at the same time the wise king who built the Temple and the sinner indirectly responsible for the secession of the northern kingdom. Although because of this negative view the Chronicler felt compelled to belittle Solomon’s role in the building of the temple, his fame as an extraordinarily wise man endured and biblical wisdom literature was developed under his aegis. Thus, the image which emerged from the biblical traditions was a mixed one, compounded of Solomon’s quasi-divine knowledge and his sin. However, as the pseudepigrapha attributed to him show, his figure had a certain popularity in Second Temple literature. Yet, in contrast to the way he is represented in biblical literature, his reputation for wisdom is only secondary in the pseudepigrapha, except for *Wisdom of Solomon*. After a relative period of oblivion in the two first centuries CE, Solomon became the exorcist, the magician *par excellence*, acquiring extreme popularity in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. However, despite the apparent simplicity of the above view, many questions and problems remain with regard to the exact origin, development and importance of these Solomonic traditions, as well as their impact on the everyday life of the people, either Jewish or Christian (whenever that distinction was made), who transmitted and cherished them. Somehow, we will have to fill in the gaps in the proposed development, gaps

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10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1994) 175-195, who points out other possibilities and the great weight of independent development of the apocalyptic texts which are linked with Enoch.

<sup>2</sup> See F. H. Colson, *Philo VI* (The Loeb Classical Library 289; Cambridge, MA / London; Harvard University Press, 1984) for texts and translations of *De Abrahamo*, *De Iosepho*, *De Vita Mosis*.

<sup>3</sup> For the texts and translation see C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (2 vols; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); for a discussion of the texts see D. L. Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* (SBLDS 1; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1972).

that are due to the very nature of our material and sources. Accordingly, we must first of all define a method to be followed, the sources to be studied and the problems to be addressed.

### SOLOMON IN THE JUDAISM OF LATE ANTIQUITY

The principal aim of these pages was set out at the very beginning of this chapter: we are trying to understand the development of the figure of Solomon and the different characterizations it acquired throughout history and to ask what were the social, religious and historical settings that could lead to them. The brief overview we presented above seems to suggest a rather linear and simple development with some gaps which have yet to be filled in. However, the figure of the wise king and all the traditions attached to him prove to be more elusive than they seem.

There are several causes for this state of affairs. We must deal with a rather extensive textual corpus, the contents of which include, on the one hand, the biblical books that are related to Solomon and the pseudepigrapha that mention him or that are attributed to him, and on the other hand, Greek, Latin and Hebrew amulets, Aramaic bowls, magical papyri, exorcisms of diverse provenance, astrological texts, and some references in Gnostic tractates. To all this mass of material we could add the diverse characterizations of the king in rabbinic literature, a number of references by various Church Fathers, as well as some valuable material included in Early Byzantine chronographs. The size of the corpus alone would make the study difficult enough. But if we add the fact that the chronology of the corpus stretches from biblical times through the first seven centuries of our era, the difficulty increases considerably. Furthermore, both the extent of the corpus and its lengthy chronology indicate that the traditions contained in it, although at first sight related and from a common source, have been transmitted in very different cultural and religious settings and in several languages such as Hebrew, Aramaic, Latin, Greek, Armenian and Syriac. Therefore, the task of studying images of Solomon is quite difficult due to the sheer quantity of the texts that contain them.

It is evident that some kind of guidelines or principles have to be established before attempting a deeper immersion into the texts regarding Solomon. The first of these rules is a logical consequence of the range of texts that depict Solomon: by no means may we claim

to be exhaustive in this study, since such a study can only be systematic but not complete or definitive. In fact, many texts will escape our attention, because we are less interested in amassing texts or curious stories, than in interpreting them and in being able to establish a systematic treatment of the traditions about Solomon, so that we may understand them as well as the circumstances that gave rise to them. Furthermore, equal attention and depth of analysis will not be devoted to all texts; thus, the treatment of the biblical material, which would be an extensive subject in its own right, will be considered only as the starting point of our study. In the same way, some traditions, such as many of the developments contained in the rabbinic literature, will be studied only if related in a general way to our esoteric typology of Solomon. Finally, as the cultural boundaries in Late Antiquity seem to be more permeable and loose than is commonly accepted, there has to be some freedom in the comparison of parallels from different literatures and religions so that they may reciprocally shed light on their different settings and traditions.

The second rule that we will follow derives indirectly from the preceding comments on the size of the corpus and concerns its chronology: given the long period over which our texts were written, it seems necessary to fix some kind of temporal boundaries so that we can distinguish a chronological succession among the different images of Solomon. However, there is an aspect that should be taken into account when fixing these temporal limits: the date of actual manuscripts and of their transmission is not a criterion for the internal dating of the traditions the texts contain. By external chronological limits we mean limits that will be fixed by considerations that are not imposed by the texts or traditions, so that they may work within a specific historical period.

In the present study, we will take as the *terminus post quem* the redaction of the biblical writings concerned with Solomon, and as the *terminus ante quem* the seventh century CE, that is, the beginning of the Islamic conquest that brought about a partial halt to the cultural and historical continuity of the Mediterranean *oikumene*. These limits are formal, but they will help us to exclude the pre-history of the traditions on the one hand, and on the other, their development in the Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup> However, texts that were transmitted and

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<sup>4</sup> In fact, Solomon had considerable success in many Christian and Islamic

reached their final state much later but that clearly preserve early traditions will be considered and their material studied, for example the early Byzantine chronographers and some mediaeval Greek works, which are reworkings of older material that may even go back to the first centuries of the Common Era.

Unlike the temporal restriction that has been imposed on the textual corpus, no spatial limitation has been adopted with respect to the geographic origin or environment of the texts where Solomon is present in some way. This decision is motivated by the fact that the Mediterranean world, the Hellenistic *oikumene*, formed an integrated and common cultural *continuum*. To impose a clear-cut division between, for example, Hellenistic Judaism of the Diaspora and Palestinian Judaism of the Jewish homeland is artificial and introduces into research a distorting element that is imposed by our historical bias.<sup>5</sup> Certainly there were distinctively Hellenistic products in the Diaspora, such as the works of Philo or works like *Joseph and Aseneth*, but they are the extreme products of a spirit that was everywhere; and even they share many traits with the “more” Jewish exponents of the same spirit.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the texts do not allow such a distinction, nor would it be useful for our purposes.

However, it seems clear that the foregoing methods are not powerful enough to address the study of Solomon in the Judaism of Late Antiquity, since they only give external shape to the mass of material that might be relevant. Consequently, we have to design some kind of structuring devices that will allow us to provide an overall order and system to the texts and the traditions they contain. Among the possible approaches, we have chosen to study the traditions concerning Solomon, dividing them according to the different images

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works in the Middle Ages. However, a lot of these texts are new developments that respond to specific circumstances of the Middle Ages.

<sup>5</sup> We are aware that these views are very **controversial**, and many scholars disagree with them. Even a modern encyclopedia such as the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (CD edition; ed. by D. N. Freedman; New York, Toronto, London: Doubleday, 1994) seems to reflect this division between Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism in the article “Judaism.”

<sup>6</sup> Even in the case of Philo one might doubt that his work is so distinctively Hellenistic; on this aspect see the classic work of H. A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (2 vols; fifth edition; Cambridge, MA / London: Harvard University Press, 1982); see also E. R. Goodenough, *The Jurisprudence of Jewish Courts in Egypt: Legal Administration by the Jews under the Early Roman Empire as Described by Philo Judaeus* (New Haven: Yale University, 1929).

of the king that they present, so that a trajectory and typology of his character may be drawn from them.

Second Temple Judaism has a clear tendency to categorize its interest in the figures of its historical or legendary past into three different groups:<sup>7</sup> the first group is formed by those figures drawn from the past depicted by the biblical texts and traditions. This interest is centered on the figure itself and in its role in the people's legendary past.<sup>8</sup> Here we have a clear and progressive manifestation of the Hellenistic individualism that is crystallized in the interest in biographies of great personalities of the past, viewed as role models.<sup>9</sup> Conversely, the second group centers around figures that are projected into the future, such as the figure of the perfect Davidic king of *Psalms of Solomon* 17 or of the messiah of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; here the interest is not the past but the future and the role that those figures will have in that ideal future, although the figures themselves are drawn from the nation's past.<sup>10</sup> The third group is formed by ideal and abstract types, that were "generated by roles (real or fictional) within the Judaism of the day—visionary, wise man, martyr, charismatic, etc.;" again the past is the basis, either for reinterpreting a figure or for the creation of new types.<sup>11</sup> We find this type of dialogue between past, present and future also in the traditions centered around the figure of Solomon; thus the characterization of Solomon as the "son of David" could be connected at the same time with the glorious past (the building of the Temple), the future (as ideal messianic figure) and the present (when exorcistic powers were viewed as attributes of Solomon as Son of David, and later on of Jesus as Son of David and Messiah).

We shall see how the different figures of Solomon also establish this dialogue with time, from which a clear division of the material into two parts seems to evolve, a division that is also related to the

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<sup>7</sup> On this categorization and the study of ideal figures in Second Temple Judaism, see J. J. Collins and G.W.E. Nickelsburg (eds.), *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (Atlanta, GA: Scholar Press, 1980), 1-12.

<sup>8</sup> So Collins and Nickelsburg, *Ideal Figures*, 4.

<sup>9</sup> On this aspect see A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); M. Hadas and M. Smith, *Heroes and Gods: Spiritual Biography in Antiquity* (New York: Harper, 1965); D. R. Stuart, *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography* (Sather Classical Lectures 4; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928).

<sup>10</sup> So Collins and Nickelsburg, *Ideal Figures*, 4-5.

<sup>11</sup> Collins and Nickelsburg, *Ideal Figures*, 5.

typology of Solomon as a legendary figure as well. Thus, in the first part, the wise king of the biblical writings and the Pseudepigrapha seems to point both to the glorious past and to reinterpret the present in the light of that past. The image of Solomon that opens up before us is firmly anchored in this biblical past but is accommodated to the present. In the second part, the figures of Solomon again become abstract concepts, but this time extracted from the historical present and with no clear relation to the biblical past. As we shall see, Solomon becomes more than a mere powerful and wise king; he embodies several esoteric figures endowed with special power. We shall search for the reasons for the characterization of the second part in ancient traditions that were not directly linked with Scripture. Thus, the Solomon that is reflected in the biblical writings is clearly a Jewish figure who was understood in Jewish and Semitic terms; the figure that appears in Second Temple literature offers some changes due to new circumstances and is therefore reinterpreted in new terms that can be considered non-Jewish at origin, although they eventually became Jewish along with the new interpretation. To a certain extent, many of these new traits of Solomon, which will be described in the second part of our work, seem to be Jewish adaptations of material (especially magical and esoteric material) that were part of the world view of Late Antiquity as a whole.<sup>12</sup> This material is Jewish to the extent that its adoption to characterize Solomon witnesses an “acquired Jewishness,” at least in some very Hellenized communities.

Accordingly, we will divide the material into a first part that will be introduced by an assessment of the Solomon of the Bible and that will then deal with his development in some Pseudepigrapha; in the second part we will deal with the “esoteric” Solomon. This second part will tell us much about the social and religious setting in which the esoteric characterization of Solomon originated and from which it was transmitted and cherished. It seems to respond much more to the everyday life and concerns of Late Antiquity, and in view of the long-term popularity that some of these traditions had, also to the everyday life of much later times.

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<sup>12</sup> The traditions about Solomon as exorcist seem to be earlier and to have a development more linked with early Jewish traditions, as texts such as 11QP<sup>a</sup> (11Q11) seem to suggest.

## CHAPTER TWO

# SOLOMON THE KING IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

### INTRODUCTION

The natural basis for any attempt to study the development of a figure from the biblical past in Second Temple Judaism has necessarily to be the portrait that the Hebrew Bible presents. Solomon is a major biblical figure; a great deal of the first book of Kings is centered around his wisdom and his greatest success, the building of the Temple. In the same way, several biblical books were attributed to him, a clear example of pseudepigraphical attribution. In the following pages we will study these biblical texts, in order to be able to understand the images of Solomon in the Hebrew Bible and to assess the extent to which they established a framework for the image of Solomon that was to emerge afterwards in Late Antiquity. Therefore, in the following pages we attempt to lay a foundation from which to launch our study of Solomonic traditions in Late Antiquity, and not to make an exhaustive study of the biblical material *per se*. Brevity and clarity will be our main tenets and aims in this preliminary part of the study.

### SOLOMON IN THE BOOK OF KINGS

#### a. *Solomon the Divinely Appointed Successor of David*

The first mention of Solomon in the Bible is 2 Sam 12:24. It narrates the birth of the second son of king David, who is called Solomon by David and Jedidiah by Nathan.<sup>1</sup> In this passage, the historian of

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<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam 14:24-25. All the quotations of the Bible follow the translation of the *Tanakh: A New Translation of The Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia / Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1985); for the Apocrypha and Deuterocanonical books we shall use *The Oxford Study Bible* (ed by M. Jack et al.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). It seems that the name Solomon means "his replacement" referring to the first child of David and Bathsheba; on this passage see P. K. McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel* (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984) 302-304, 307-309.

the succession writes an introduction to the future events that will lead to the taking of power by the son of Bathsheba. The entire account of the succession is organized around the deeds of God:<sup>2</sup> a) YHWH was displeased by David's faults (2 Sam 11:27); b) YHWH loved Solomon (2 Sam 12:24); and c) YHWH punished Absalom (2 Sam 17:14). Nathan's Oracle (2 Sam 7), in which there is a wordplay based on the double meaning of the term **בַּיִת** ("temple" / "dynasty"), can be applied to Solomon.<sup>3</sup> YHWH appears here as a dynastic god and there are clear deuteronomistic traits;<sup>4</sup> these traits point to Solomon as the heir who will enjoy divine favor and protection. Thus, in these first texts that seem to refer to Solomon, his image as divinely appointed successor of David is clearly more positive than was to be the case afterwards (1 Kgs 11); Solomon is the "Son of David" loved by God (**יְדִידֵיהָ**; 2 Sam 12:24).<sup>5</sup>

The actual role of Solomon in the events surrounding the succession to the throne of David varies according to the different editors and layers of the text, with different, and often clearly opposite, images of Solomon appearing, a tendency that will continue afterwards, as we shall see in several later Jewish writings that mention the king. In 1 Kgs 1, Solomon is depicted as the puppet of two political factions fighting for the throne, the true protagonists being David, Bathsheba, Nathan and Adonijah with their respective supporters. In 1 Kgs 2, Solomon is depicted as a dynast *avant la lettre*, an oriental monarch who is far from the idealized and legendary king who materializes in the following chapters.

According to Langlamet, we can distinguish two editors in these chapters,<sup>6</sup> the first showing a marked anti-Solomonic bias, the second, and later, expanding the earlier version and legitimizing Solomon's accession to power. For both editors, Solomon displays his wisdom

<sup>2</sup> See H. Cazelles, *Introducción crítica al Antiguo Testamento* (Barcelona: Herder, 1989), 322.

<sup>3</sup> See McCarter, *II Samuel*, 190-231.

<sup>4</sup> See O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament. An Introduction* (trans. by P. R. Ackroyd; Oxford: Blackwell, 1974), 270, 274-279; for Eissfeldt the deuteronomistic ideas are quite evident: "...the favourite Deuteronomistic ideas were introduced, as, for example (...) 2 Sam 7, with its pointer to Solomon's temple building (270)."

<sup>5</sup> The oracle of Nathan (2 Sam 7) and the texts of Kings are linked by several references to the theme of the peace / safety, which was also to be incorporated in Chronicles. Thus, 2 Sam 7:11 is paralleled by 1 Kgs 5:18 and 1 Chr 22:7-10; see R. L. Braun, "Solomonic Apologetic in Chronicles," *JBL* 92 (1973), 503-516.

<sup>6</sup> F. Langlamet, "Pour ou contre Salomon? La rédaction prosolomonienne de I Rois 1-2," *RB* 83 (1976), 321-379, 481-528.

in the measures he takes to fulfill the last will and testament of David. However, whereas the executions of Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei (1 Kgs 2:25, 28, 46) prove the “Machiavellian” cunning of the king for one editor, for the other they show Solomon’s political sense and justice.<sup>7</sup> This *apologia* for Solomon is “unrealistic” as it is theologically biased.<sup>8</sup> An early dating for this pro-Solomonic revision can be defended, the *terminus a quo* being the kingdom of Hezekiah (715-687 BCE) and the *terminus ad quem*, the kingdom of Josiah (640-609 BCE).<sup>9</sup>

The Succession Narrative is the historical introduction of the reign of Solomon. In it, the practical wisdom of Solomon is clearly depicted, with links between the succession narrative and the wisdom literature of scribal circles.<sup>10</sup>

### b. *Solomon as King in 1 Kgs 3-11*

#### b.1 *Solomon the Wise King*

After the succession narrative, three different items of information are given: the marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh,<sup>11</sup> the dream at Gibeon and the prayer of Solomon. The narration of the dream is a new legitimization that seems to follow the model of a well established genre, the Egyptian royal narratives.<sup>12</sup> The dream seems

<sup>7</sup> Langlamet, “Pour ou contre Salomon?,” 504-506, 508.

<sup>8</sup> Langlamet, “Pour ou contre Solomon?,” 528.

<sup>9</sup> Langlamet, “Pour ou contre Salomon?,” 379.

<sup>10</sup> See G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* (2 vols; New Century Bible; London: 1984) 1.57; R. N. Whybray *The Succession Narrative: A Study of II Samuel 9-10, 1 Kings 1 and 2* (SBT Second Series 9; London: 1968), 71, 95; A. Lemaire, “Vers l’histoire de la rédaction des Livres des Rois,” *ZAW* 98 (1982), 221-236, esp. 234.

<sup>11</sup> On this marriage and its possible historical basis see, A. Malamat, “Aspects of Foreign Policies of David and Solomon,” *JNES* 22 (1963), 1-17; S. D. J. Cohen, “Solomon and the Daughter of Pharaoh: Intermarriage, Conversion and the Impurity of Women,” *JANES* 16-17 (1984-1985), 23-37.

<sup>12</sup> See J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1951; repr. 1957), 89, 91, 105; G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, 120-128; J. Gray, *1 and 2 Kings* (Old Testament Library; second edition; London: SCM, 1970), 114-116; S. J. De Vries *1 Kings* (WBC; Waco, TX: Nelson / Word, 1985), 48, 52-53, 58, 60. On the *Königsnovelle* see S. Herrmann, “Die Königsnovelle in Aegypten und in Israel. Ein Beitrag zur Gattungsgeschichte in den Geschichtsbüchern des Alten Testament,” *Festschrift Albrecht Alt* (Leipzig: 1953-54), 33-44. For literary parallels see J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 446-448, 451; see also G. von Rad, *Teología del Antiguo Testamento* (2 vols; second edition; Madrid: Sígueme, 1972), 69; on the framework of the narrative see A. G. Auld, “Solomon at Gibeon; History Glimpsed,” *Eretz Israel* 24 (*Abraham Malamat*

to respond to the technique of incubation (sleeping in a sacred place to provoke divine visions) since it happens in a high place and the divinity is contemplated in a dream (1 Kgs 3:4).<sup>13</sup> In the dream, Solomon asks for the practical wisdom of a king and administrator, the practical wisdom of “know-how.” To this practical wisdom, a more theoretical dimension of encyclopaedic knowledge will be added afterwards. Although the first stratum of the account is quite old, it has been modified following Deuteronomistic ideas.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the final edition of the dream seems to follow traditional patterns common to different monarchies of the ancient Near East: judicial wisdom, namely, the capacity for discerning between just and unjust and being able to judge, is a fundamental characteristic of the ideal king.<sup>15</sup>

The central point of the whole episode is the petition for wisdom, although this plea is not in absolute terms the beginning of the wisdom tradition linked with Solomon. As we have seen already, the Succession Narrative mentions this wisdom tradition, but at Gibeon it appears in a clear and definite way. Thus, the principal story (1 Kgs 3:6-14) introduces a theme of divine-dynastic alliance in which David is the kernel. The alliance is between David and YHWH and by extension between his successor and YHWH; as a result of this alliance, wisdom is graciously awarded by God to Solomon. Closely related to the theme of wisdom is that of the people’s numerical strength (1 Kgs 3:8-9), which also appears in Deuteronomy 4 is closely related. The pact between Solomon and God is structured around the pattern “to request” / “to give” (שאל / נתן); expressions such

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*Volume*; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 1-7; on the interpretation of the dream, see D. Carr, *From D to L. A Study of the Early Jewish Interpretation of Solomon’s Dream of Gibeon* (SBLMS 44; Atlanta: Scholars, 1991); see also C. L. Seow, “The Syro-Palestinian Context of Solomon’s Dream,” *HTR* 77 (1984), 141-152.

<sup>13</sup> Against this view, C. L. Seow, “The Syro-Palestinian Context,” 147, n. 24; for different parallels see Montgomery, *Kings*, 105-107; Gray, *I and II Kings*, 102, 115-123; Jones, *I and 2 Kings* 201-219; De Vries, *I Kings*, 48-58.

<sup>14</sup> See M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 244-256; K. I. Parker, “Solomon as Philosopher King? The Nexus of Law and Wisdom in 1 Kings 1-11,” *JSOT* 53 (1992), 75-91; N. W. Porteous, “Royal Wisdom,” in M. Noth and W. Thomas (eds.), *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient East* (Festschrift H. H. Rowley; VT Suppl. 3; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 247-256; B. Porter, “The Structure and Theme of the Solomon Narrative (1 Kings 3-11),” *HUCA* 28 (1967), 93-128.

<sup>15</sup> On the institution of the monarchy and the figure of the king in Israel see R. de Vaux, *Les institutions de l’Ancien Testament* (2 vols; second edition; Paris: Du Cerf, 1965), 1.145-152, 157-176.

as “to walk before you” (i.e. the Lord; הָלַךְ לִפְנֵי) (v.6) derive from the royal ideology and indicate the loyal service of the king to the God by whom the throne was given to him. The expression “to walk after,” one of the *formulae* used to swear and to keep a pact, is intimately linked with it.<sup>16</sup> In the biblical tradition it clearly implies the service of a patriarch or king towards God, with whom a pact has been established.<sup>17</sup>

Together with the representation of Solomon as “son” of YHWH, we can point out that in vv. 7a, 8a and 9a the image is that of the servant (עֶבֶדךָ), which is common to the royal ideology of ancient Near East.<sup>18</sup> This reinterpretation harmonizes different aspects of monarchic ideology and already, in the Hebrew text of Kings, portrays Solomon as an idealized king. The wisdom requested from, and the additional things awarded by the divinity, show how in the figure of Solomon two different conceptions of monarchy are combined; the first one corresponds to the traditional conception, the second reinterprets the figure of the king from a radically new point of view. Thus, Solomon represents the prototype of a king touched by divine grace. Around the petition of “judicial” wisdom two different traditions, the monarchical and the patriarchal, are combined. Solomon is characterized as the heir of the royal ideology and as a leader in the image of Moses; this leader is both judge and administrator.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, we see how the historical Solomon, whoever he might be, has been reinterpreted and idealized in very definite ways by the Deuteronomistic editor. This idealization becomes evident in the inclusion of a learned re-elaboration of a popular tale or legend about the judgment of the two prostitutes (1 Kgs 3:16), as proof of Solomon’s divine judicial wisdom,<sup>20</sup> and in the list of officials of 1 Kgs 4, as a practical exposition of administrative and pragmatic

<sup>16</sup> Gen 21:22-24; 2 Sam 10:2; 1 Sam 20:14-16; for extra-biblical parallels see, Pritchard, *ANET*, 200a and 202ab. For similar expressions with the same meaning see Deut 7:9, 12; 1 Kgs 8:23 = 2 Chr 6:14; Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5, 9:32.

<sup>17</sup> See Kenik, *Design for Kingship*, 75.

<sup>18</sup> However some authors doubt the Deuteronomistic origin of such terminology, so Gray, *Kings*, 121; F. C. Fensham, “Legal Aspects of the Dream of Solomon,” in *IV World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1967) 67-70.

<sup>19</sup> H. A. Kenik, *Design for Kingship. The Deuteronomistic Narrative Technique in I Kings 3:4-14* (SBLDS 69; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983), 129-132.

<sup>20</sup> On the possible sources and origin of this kind of tale see Gray, *Kings*, 116; see also De Vries, *Kings*, 58.

wisdom.<sup>21</sup> The inclusion of such a list of officials constitutes a new example of the reinterpretation of a historical source taken from annals of some kind in order to add to the glory of the king.

In 1 Kgs 5:9-13 the wisdom of Solomon is described in “intellectual” and “encyclopedic” terms; although such information could represent an aspect of early annals or tales and could even have functioned as an introduction to a collection of such tales that were subsequently lost, it is most likely that such information about the wisdom of Solomon was popular.<sup>22</sup> The analysis of the various terms used in 1 Kgs 5:9-14 seems to point in this direction: thus, *חכמה* (1 Kgs 5:9) is quite rare in pre-exilic writings but very common in Proverbs; the expression *לחכם* (1 Kgs 5:9) appears in Proverbs as well; the verb *חכם* appears 27 times but almost always in post-exilic texts; the names Ethan, Heman and Chalkol are also found in 1 Chr 2:6 and Ps 88:1. We may assume, then, that the text is clearly post-deuteronomistic.<sup>23</sup> The development of the tradition about the wisdom of Solomon in Kings could have been as follows: a) the wisdom of a successful leader, representing a pre-deuteronomistic stage (1 Kgs 2:1-2, 5-4, 5:15-26); b) wisdom as the capacity to distinguish between just and unjust, representing the deuteronomistic stage (1 Kgs 3:4-15, 16-28); c) wisdom, as represented by encyclopedic knowledge, representing a post-deuteronomistic and later development.<sup>24</sup>

One characterization that could be derived from 1 Kings 5 is that of universal king or king of kings. In fact, the figure of Solomon as universal ruler prevails over the characterization of Solomon as wise man, since the chapter is structured on the pattern of a ring-composition, according to which the introductory themes are taken up again at the end of the unit. Thus, in 1 Kgs 5:1 the universal dominion of Solomon is acknowledged and in the same way at 1 Kgs 5:14 the submission of all the kings of the earth is clearly stated. Both statements function as the structural framework for the data about the wisdom of Solomon and underline their importance.<sup>25</sup> A

<sup>21</sup> On chapter 4 and the Canaanite and Egyptian names of the officials that appear there see, Montgomery, *Kings*, 129; De Vries, *Kings*, 72-74.

<sup>22</sup> So De Vries (*Kings*, 75) following Noth and Alt.

<sup>23</sup> So R. B. Y. Scott, “Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom in Israel,” 84-101.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. I. R. Provan, *Hezekiah and the Books of Kings* (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988).

<sup>25</sup> The information about the wisdom of Solomon acquired still greater im

similar combination of the image of Solomon as wise man and his characterization as universal ruler can be found in the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba and her testing of the king (1 Kgs 10:1-11, 21-22); somehow a motif of monarchical propaganda was combined with a folktale, which perhaps developed from an historical event such as the visit of a foreign ruler.

Besides the characterization of Solomon as king of kings and wise man, he is depicted as principally responsible for the building of the Temple, for which he took all the necessary steps, as described in 1 Kgs 5:15-7. In these chapters, Solomon the architect acquires preeminence and takes centre stage; every other characterization is subordinated to his role as the chosen builder of the temple. Solomon finishes his duty as builder of the temple with a prayer and supplication to God (1 Kgs 8); they are in effect the consecration of the Temple. The divine answer to Solomon's prayer is a second apparition. In fact, the whole deuteronomistic redaction of 1 Kgs 3-11 is organized around the two theophanies of 1 Kings 3 and 1 Kings 9; the second theophany has been completely reworked following deuteronomistic ideas. In this second dream (1 Kgs 9) all the evil things that will occur if the divine will (as understood in Deuteronomic terms, following Deut 17:16-17) is not fulfilled are narrated; as Solomon multiplies transgressions (1 Kgs 10:27-28, 11:3), the second dream has a premonitory character.<sup>26</sup> Again we have a theological transformation of historical sources and actual facts; Solomon becomes a sinner and is responsible for the division of Israel and Judah (1 Kgs 11).<sup>27</sup>

### c. *Conclusions*

The image of Solomon has undergone an intensive process of idealization and theological recasting in the Hebrew text of Kings.

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portance in the Greek version, as the so-called miscellanies of 3 *Kgdms* 2 clearly witness; on this and the textual differences between the Hebrew and the Greek texts see D. W. Gooding, "Problems of text and Midrash in The Third Book of Reigns," *Textus* 7 (1969), 1-29; idem, *Relics of Ancient Exegesis. A Study of the Miscellanies in 3 Reigns 2* (SOTSMS 3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

<sup>26</sup> On this structure and the Deuteronomistic framework, see H. A. Kenik, *Design for Kingship. The Deuteronomistic Narrative Technique in 1 Kings 3:4-14* (SBLDS 69; Chico: Scholars, 1983); see also Parker, "Solomon as Philosopher King?," 83; Gray, *1 & 2 Kings*, 235; Jones, *Kings*, 209.

<sup>27</sup> However, again the Greek text tries to whitewash the claimed responsibility of Solomon, see D. W. Gooding, "The Septuagint's Version of Solomon's Misconduct," *VT* 15 (1965), 325-335.

Whatever the sources and their historical value may have been, they have been consciously reworked to fit the theological interest of the editors of the text; these reworkings had already taken place in the first stages of composition, which seems to prove that the figure of Solomon was assessed in an ambivalent manner from early times. Besides the reworking of the historical sources, there is an ideological adaptation of the figure of the king that, taking as its basis the historical king, changed him into an idealized royal figure following the royal ideology of the ancient Near East, but enriching this image at the same time with the notion of his encyclopedic wisdom.

## SOLOMON THE KING IN 2 CHRONICLES

### a. *Introduction*

We have just seen how the various traits of the character of Solomon in *Kings* correspond to a process of idealization that is complex and was developed relatively early. The Chronicler realized a similar work of adaptation of his sources, principally the book of *1 Kings*, so that a new picture of Solomon emerges, a figure that responds to the changing interests and situations of a new historical period.<sup>28</sup>

The books of *Chronicles* present several problems in respect of their sources, date of composition, authorship, and ideology. However, what concerns us here is the ideology of the Chronicler and how it affects later treatment of Solomon. As the date of composition of the books is clearly post-exilic, we will be able to discern how the figure of the wise king was understood at the beginning of the Second Temple period.

### b. *Solomon in 2 Chronicles 2-11*

The figure of King Solomon in *Chronicles* has undergone a radical transformation, with the Chronicler having systematically reworked his sources. The same facts are narrated, but some material has been

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<sup>28</sup> On the ideology developed in the books of *Chronicles* see S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Books of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ 8; Frankfurt, Paris, Bern, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988); on the book in general see J. M. Myers, *II Chronicles* (AB 13; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965) 3-60; R. B. Dillard, *II Chronicles* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1987); P. R. Ackroyd, "The Chronicler as Exegete," *JSTOT* 2 (1977) 2-32.

left out and different models have been used to configure a new view of David and Solomon. The description of both kings is so interlinked that it is quite difficult to understand either figure independently of the other. Even a cursory reading of the material shows that there has been a whitewash of “troublesome” details of the life and activity of both kings and how the dynasty that rises from them is the repository of the author’s hopes of a messianic restoration. Thus, there is no mention of David’s problems with Saul (cf 1 Sam 16-30), or of Israel as divided at the beginning of his reign (2 Sam 1:1-5:3); according to the Chronicler, all David’s activities were focussed on the preparations that would make possible the construction of the Temple by his son Solomon.<sup>29</sup>

Solomon, too, is depicted in positive terms and is also clearly related to the building of the Temple.<sup>30</sup> However, this change of image, although favorable, is not flattering, since aspects that are fundamental in Kings, such as the inclusive conception of wisdom applied to Solomon, his good administration and the idealization of the king, are not so emphasized. The figure of Solomon loses some of its lustre by leaving aside the exploits of the idealized reign described in 2 Kings 3-11; in Chronicles all the positive traits flow into the building of the Temple. The wisdom of Solomon is impoverished and is transformed into the wisdom displayed in building the temple.<sup>31</sup>

Apparently the Chronicler used a refined redaction technique in his treatment of Solomon, employing a series of defined models to characterize the king.<sup>32</sup> According to these models Solomon is viewed as a second David chosen by God (1 Chr 28:5-6, 10; 29:1) and

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<sup>29</sup> Cf 1 Chr 11:4-9 (the capture of Jerusalem, the future site of the Temple, is David’s first act as king); 1 Chr 16:4-7, 37-42 (reorganization of the ranks of priests and levites); 1 Chr 22:1 (designation of the site of the Temple after a sign from YHWH); 1 Chr 22:2-5; 29:2-5 (preparation of materials for the building of the Temple).

<sup>30</sup> 1 Chr 29:23-25 (unanimous acclamation of Solomon), 2 Chr 2:2-16 (preparations for the building of the Temple); 2 Chr 5:2-14.

<sup>31</sup> Only the dream at Gibeon (2 Chr 1:7-12) with the excursus about the richness and power of Solomon (2 Chr 1:14-17) does not seem to agree with this tendency; however, it is quite evident that the Chronicler’s version of the dream is simplified, and that many ideological nuances concerning kingship and its characteristics have been omitted. Furthermore, whereas 1 Kgs 3:12 emphasizes the theme of wisdom, 2 Chr 1:12 combines it with the gifts of wealth, therefore somehow diminishing the importance of the principal award, wisdom. The story about the Queen of Sheba (2 Chr 9:1-12) mingles both themes.

<sup>32</sup> See Dillard, *II Chronicles*, 2-4.

considered by God to be David's successor (1 Chr 22:7-10; 28:6). In some aspects he appears more idealized than David (1 Chr 21; 1 Chr 13; 1 Chr 11:17). It seems that every one of these changes parallels the succession of Moses and Joshua, considered by the Chronicler to be the paradigm for his view of the succession of David and Solomon. Both schemes of succession start with the failure of the first leaders, Moses and David, since Moses does not achieve the possession of the land, nor does David build the temple (Deut 1:17-38; 31:2-8; 1 Chr 22:5-13; 28:2-8). These failures are linked directly to the achievement of their successors, Joshua and Solomon. Their access to power and authority is linked to the repetition of terms that emphasize the theme of the repose (peace, tranquility)<sup>33</sup> awarded by God, in direct contrast with the agitated times of their predecessors.<sup>34</sup>

### c. *Conclusions*

What, then, is the image of Solomon that appears in Chronicles? It is an image that is more closely related to David than it was in Kings. For the Chronicler, Solomon is the builder of the Temple and information concerning his power and wealth (2 Chr 1:14-17; 2 Chr: 1-12; 13-29) is included, without the negative considerations attached by the Deuteronomic redaction in Kings. However, the fact that the material concerning the "mundane" exploits of Solomon is grouped into two definite units makes it clear that the Chronicler included them for the sake of his characterization of Solomon; he did indeed idealize Solomon as the perfect king, but he did so by depicting him as the ideal Jewish king for the Jewish people, as the king that should be sought and expected, and not as the universal king that appears in Kings.

The inclusion of the story about the Queen of Sheba (2 Chr 9:1-

<sup>33</sup> Josh 11:23, 21:44; 1 Chr 22:8-9. The Chronicler insists on the image of Solomon as a man of peace and on the image of his reign as a period of peace, in contrast to David's reign. Depriving a king of military propaganda is quite unusual in the Bible; on this aspect see S. Maier, "The King as Warrior in Samuel-Kings," *Hebrew Annual Review* 13 (1991), 63-76. The linking of Solomon with peace will become a lasting trait of his image in later writing, with only a partial exception in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*.

<sup>34</sup> On the existence of these models and on the transformation of Solomon in Chronicles, see S. Abramsky, "The Chronicler's View of King Solomon," *Eretz Israel* 16 (1982), 2-14 (Hebrew); R. Braun, "Solomon the Chosen Temple Builder. The Significance of 1 Chr 22, 28 and 29 for the Theology of Chronicles," *JBL* 95 (1976), 581-590; on the overall structure of the text, see R. B. Dillard, "The Literary Structure of the Chronicler's Solomon Narrative," *JSTOT* 30 (1984), 85-93.

12) is surprising given the primary interest of the Chronicler in describing Solomon as the builder of the Temple; this material, as well as the narrative referring to Solomon's wealth (2 Chr 1:14-17; 9:13-29), points more to the idealized universal monarch of Kings than to the Jewish king of Chronicles. Quite likely that it was introduced because by the date of composition of Chronicles the story had already become so popular that it could not be omitted. This indicates how other traditions about Solomon, both biblical and non-biblical, could and did exist in parallel to the Solomon of the biblical writings, traditions that even a systematic theological reworking, such as the one by the Chronicler, could not ignore.

The Solomon of the Chronicler is less legendary, but at the same time less historical, than the Solomon in Kings. He is a chosen leader, the builder of the temple and the Jewish king *par excellence*. As we shall see, this positive tendency towards Solomon would continue, initially, in various writings of the Second Temple Period.

#### SOLOMON IN PSALMS

The figure of Solomon in the book of Psalms is not a particularly important one. However, two psalms are attributed to him: Psalm 72 (LXX 71) and Psalm 127 (LXX 126).

##### a. *Psalm 72*

It is quite likely that the ascription to Solomon of this psalm originated from the association of the word "peace" (שָׁלוֹם, Ps 72:7) with the king's name and the images of glory that the text depicts with the portrait of Solomon in Kings.

This Psalm is defined as a royal Psalm.<sup>35</sup> There are three different approaches among scholars concerning the understanding and explanation of this Psalm: a) the Psalm can be understood as a composition of royal enthronement, the style of which is clearly influenced by the royal ideology that is common to the cultures of

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<sup>35</sup> On this Psalm, its interpretation and the different approaches to it see, J. Brière, "Solomon dans les Psaumes," *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* XI (1987), cols 456-458; J. M. Carrière, "Le Ps 72 est-il un psaume messianique?," *Bib 72* (1991), 46-69; M. Dahood, *Psalms II, 51-100* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968), 178-185; H. J. Kraus, *Los Salmos. Salmos 60-152* (Biblioteca de Estudios Bíblicos 54; Salamanca: Sígueme, 1995), 117-127.

the ancient Near East; it would then be pre-exilic and could be applied to any king such as Josiah or Hezekiah. b) The Psalm can be understood as a late composition and as having a clear messianic import; the psalm, then, would present the Messiah as an idealized Solomon who will bring blessings to all the peoples on earth. c) The third approach is situated between the first two: It is based on the parallels of the Psalm with post-exilic prophecy,<sup>36</sup> interpreting it as a pre-exilic prayer for the king that was developed after the exile and transformed to express the messianic hopes of the period.<sup>37</sup> According to this view, the Solomon depicted in the psalm is an ideal figure, a protector of the weak and poor.<sup>38</sup>

If we adopt the compromise of the last view, according to which a pre-exilic text has been expanded and reinterpreted in post-exilic times, we have an image of Solomon that depicts him according to the glorious picture of his reign that appears in Kings but that leaves out the theologized image of Solomon as builder of the Temple that is central in Chronicles. If the psalm was reworked in post-exilic times and it was then that the ascription to Solomon was made, it is quite probable that Solomon was considered by this time as the model for the ideal king of the future and, therefore, his image could convey some messianic overtones. We would have, then, during the Second Temple period two conflicting images of Solomon, that of pious builder of the Temple and that of the triumphant and powerful king.<sup>39</sup> Both images would survive in later writings, but that of the model king, with its possible messianic overtones, seems to have a place in the later development of the messianic traits that the title "son of David" linked with Solomon; these traits were acquired in the first century CE when Christians and Jews established a polemical competition between Solomon and Jesus.

<sup>36</sup> Thus Ps 72:10 / Is. 60:7-8, Zech 9:10.

<sup>37</sup> Several parallels could be established between Psalm 72 and the first book of Kings: Ps 72:2 = 1 Kgs 3:28 (judging with justice); Ps 72:3, 7 = 1 Kgs 4:20, 5:4-5 (peace); Ps 72:8 = 1 Kgs 5:4 (extension of the kingdom); Ps 72:10 = 1 Kgs 5:1 (the tribute of foreign rulers); Ps 72:10 = 1 Kgs 10:1-2 (the gifts of the Queen of Sheba). As seems evident, the Psalm shows special interest in the notices about the power and wealth of Solomon and omits any mention of the Temple or of the king's sins.

<sup>38</sup> Ps 72:4, 12-14.

<sup>39</sup> This last point could support the hypothesis of a post-exilic reworking of the Psalm, since we can suppose that the editor longed for a model king but not for a Temple, since there already was a Temple. Perhaps for similar reasons the figure of Solomon as builder of the Temple is so important for the Chronicler.

b. *Psalm 127*

This psalm is included among the so-called “songs of ascents.”<sup>40</sup> Except for the present psalm and two others attributed to David, they usually do not have attributions; so it is difficult to explain why it was attributed to Solomon during the post-exilic period. The psalm can be divided into two parts, one about the futility of human toil if YHWH does not support it (Ps 127:1-2) and another about the blessing of numerous progeny (Ps 127:3-5). It seems that there is a word play between the two senses of the term בית (“house” / “lineage, family”). Perhaps Nathan’s Oracle (2 Samuel 7) is alluded to here; if so, then the building of a house is a metaphor for the building of the temple and “to have numerous offspring” is a metaphor for the Davidic lineage. The kernel of the psalm is the word אהבה (“loved one”) which could be seen as an allusion to Solomon’s second name, Jedidiah.<sup>41</sup>

It is clear that the principal link of the present text with the Solomonic traditions is its attribution to King Solomon; this attribution seems to be late and adds nothing to the image of Solomon presented in Chronicles or Kings. We have here, then, an example of where pseudepigraphy does not affect the structure of a composition since the alleged author does not play an integral part in it.

## SOLOMON IN PROVERBS, QOHELETH AND SONG OF SONGS

a. *Introduction*

These three compositions comprise the biblical sapiential corpus that is most probably linked with a wisdom school related to the figure of the wise King Solomon, defender of the poor and weak (1 Kgs 3-11; Ps 72).<sup>42</sup> We group these three works together because they clearly show the success of the Solomonic attribution in a part of the Bible that was fixed and edited more or less definitively during

<sup>40</sup> On this Psalm see, M. Dahood, *Psalms III, 101-150* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 222-226; Kraus, *Los Salmos*, II:667-672.

<sup>41</sup> 2 Sam 12:24-25.

<sup>42</sup> On these books see, R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965); Tremper Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998); C. L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1997); C. H. Toy, *Proverbs* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1904);

the post-exilic period. Besides the coincidence in their date of final edition, they share another trait; at some moment in the history of Bible transmission all three works were viewed as suspect in respect of their canonicity. This detail could be significant since it seems that all three works were saved *in extremis* because of their attribution to Solomon.<sup>43</sup>

All three writings show a tangential connection with the figure of Solomon: the entire book of Proverbs, as well as the two collections that are directly attributed to the king are connected with Solomon because of the legendary fame of his wisdom;<sup>44</sup> Song of Songs could be connected with Solomon because of his love of women (1 Kgs 11:1) and perhaps because of the mention of the 'Shulammitte' (Song of Songs 7:1); Qoheleth was linked with the king because of its beginning (Qoh. 1:1, "Son of David") and its sapiential contents.

#### b. *The Texts*

The whole book of Proverbs is attributed to Solomon in 1:1 ("The proverbs of Solomon, son of David, king of Israel"). This pseudepigraphical motif is glossed in the following seven verses. In this gloss, there are several expressions that recall the image of Solomon in the book of Kings (1 Kgs 5:9). The epicenter of this gloss is 1:6 ("for understanding proverb and epigram, the words of the wise and their riddles") which seems to refer to 1 Kgs 5:12 and 1 Kgs 10:1. These first seven verses are a compendium of the gifts that God awarded to Solomon through wisdom. It is probable that the editor of the whole book was also the author of Prov 1-9.<sup>45</sup> The

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R. N. Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs* (Studies in Biblical Theology; London: SCM, 1965); M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977); L. Daniel, *Le plus beau chant de la Création: Commentaire du Cantique des Cantiques* (LD 51; Paris: Ed. du Cerf, 1968); R. E. Murphy, *The Song of Songs: A Commentary on the Book of Canticles or the Song of Songs* (Hermeneia Commentaries; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

<sup>43</sup> The formation of the canon of the Jewish Bible was not simple; however, in this particular case, the fact that three sapiential books attributed to Solomon were regarded on some occasions as dubious could be more important than it seems at first sight. On this difficult question see, J. Trebelle Barrera, *La Biblia judía y la Biblia cristiana. Introducción a la historia de la Biblia* (Madrid: Trotta, 1993), 159-184; see also R. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and its Background in Early Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1985).

<sup>44</sup> See the introduction to both collections: Prov 10:1, 25:1.

<sup>45</sup> So P. Shekan, "A Single Editor for the Whole Book of Proverbs," in *Studies in Israelite Poetry and Wisdom* (CBQMS 1; Washington: Catholic Biblical Associa-

attribution to Solomon is the result of this introduction, which then gives some order to the entire book of Proverbs.<sup>46</sup> This attribution depicts Solomon not as a wise man, but as the Son of David and king, that is, the characterization of Solomon as royal and as David's legitimate heir was viewed as central by the final editor of Proverbs. From this basis, he added the traditional epithets of wise and just, but the main motive for the attribution was Solomon's dual role as king and Son of David. The attribution is repeated again in 10:1 and 25:1, where two new collections of sayings that seem to deal with some aspect of the king's behavior are introduced; these two collections are a compendium of royal wisdom, referring to politics, administration and life in general, which seems to reflect the image of Solomon in 1 Kgs 5:12.<sup>47</sup>

The book of Song of Songs is also a post-exilic work, although it incorporates older elements.<sup>48</sup> The name of Solomon appears several times in the text.<sup>49</sup> The basis for the attribution could be the mention

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tion, 1971), 15-26. For this author the numerical value of the names of Solomon (375), David (14) and Israel (541) would support the hypothesis; this value would function as the link between the different parts of the book, the total extent of which is 932 lines (375+14+541=930).

<sup>46</sup> However, D. Dimant ("Pseudonymity in the Wisdom of Solomon," in N. Fernández Marcos [ed.] *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea* [V Congress IOSCS; Madrid: CSIC, 1985], 243-253, esp. 245) says that there are "...two main types of pseudonymity current in ancient Jewish literature. The first found mostly in biblical books, employs titles as a means of pseudonymic attribution, without affecting the actual structure or content of the work. An example of this is the attribution to Solomon of the major part of Proverbs. Such attributions may have been made by later editors or compilers. The second type of pseudonymity, used by most of Jewish Pseudepigrapha, is organic to the original framework and thus constitutes an integral part of the work. Consequently, in compositions using this second type, pseudonymity is invested with formal as well as ideological functions." According to this perspective, the pseudepigraphical attribution of Proverbs 1:1-7 has no formal and ideological functions; however if we take into account the fact that the attribution confers a unity to the whole book as it actually stood before its final editor, it is clear that it has such functions, and although not organic to the different collections that form the text, it is organic to the final stage. Somehow, the attribution to Solomon, the wise king, is the thread that holds together the whole work. Therefore, the division of pseudepigraphy into two types may sometimes lead to confusion, because we are now interested in dealing with the final stage of works, in which the attribution plays quite an important role.

<sup>47</sup> As we have seen this image is considered late; on this see R. B. Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom," 84-101.

<sup>48</sup> The book can be dated around the fourth century BCE.

<sup>49</sup> Song of Songs 1:5; 3:7, 9, 11; 8:11-12. Solomon does not speak in any of these instances; the references are always in the third person, except for a vocative in 8:11.

of the marriage of Pharaoh's daughter with Solomon. In Song of Songs 1:1-3, there is a word play based on the terms "peace" (שלום) and "name" (שם) that also occurs in Psalm 72 and at 1 Chr 22:9. In Song of Songs 7:1, the name of the Shulammite is a possible allusion to 1 Kgs 1:3. The fact that the male protagonist of the epithalamium (nuptial song) is described as a king is noted by some scholars as a further reason for the attribution to Solomon.<sup>50</sup>

In contrast with Song of Songs and Proverbs, Qohelet is not directly attributed to Solomon, that is, his name does not appear in the actual text. Qoh 1:1 ("The words of Qoheleth, Son of David, king in Jerusalem") and in Qoh 1:12 ("I, Qoheleth, was king in Jerusalem over Israel") seem to be the basis for Solomonic attribution at an early date.<sup>51</sup> The point is that the royal title and the "Son of David" formula, which seem to have been naturally linked with Solomon, would be viewed then as referring to *the* king and *the* Son of David *par excellence*. Besides, the reference to the wisdom of Qoheleth (1:16-17) points in the same direction.

### c. Summary

The principal trait that all the three works share is their attribution to Solomon. As the sapiential contents are not common to all, this attribution was not necessarily and primarily made on the ground of Solomon's fame as a wise man, but on his fame as king. Somehow Solomon is depicted first as king, and only later and secondarily as wise king.<sup>52</sup> The repetition of the title "Son of David" seems to suggest that this formula was virtually identified with Solomon at an early date. As we shall see, this identification was to acquire different associations in later times.

## SOLOMON AS SON OF DAVID IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

Despite its later importance, the title "Son of David" is not frequent in the Hebrew Bible and, most importantly, it does not have messianic overtones. Only on one occasion is it used without referring

<sup>50</sup> A king appears in Song 1:4, 12; 7:6

<sup>51</sup> The approximate date of composition of Qoheleth is 250-225 BCE, although there have been some attempts to date it even later.

<sup>52</sup> Proverbs is a clear exception, since both traits are totally intertwined.

to Solomon;<sup>53</sup> other than this, all the references are to Solomon and late (1 Chr 29:22; 2 Chr 1:1; 13:6; 30:26; 35:3). In Prov 1:1 and Qoh 1:1, Solomon or the “Son of David” is connected with wisdom literature.

In Chronicles, the title “Son of David” functions as a principle of legitimization and characterization of the figure of Solomon. Both the name of the king and the title form an expression that has to be considered as a unit. On two occasions (2 Chr 30:26, 35:3) the pair Solomon / Son of David is supplemented by the title “king of Israel.” Thus, from Chronicles on, it seems that Solomon was depicted as *the* Son of David, and the expression was transformed into a synonym for the king. In Prov 1:1 and Qoh 1:1 the title again occurs together with the expression “king of Israel”, which in Qoh 1:1 reinforces the pseudepigraphic attribution to Solomon provided by the title “Son of David.” In Qoheleth there is no direct mention of Solomon, so the combination of the two titles (Son of David, king in Jerusalem) together with the sapiential content support the attribution; thus the mechanisms of pseudepigraphical attribution are clearly at work.

It has been said above that in the Old Testament the expression “Son of David” is not a messianic title. In fact, the descendents of David are not referred to by the title “Son of David.” Therefore, in all these post-exilic texts the use of the title “son of David” is a way of referring to the figure of the wise king Solomon. In Chronicles there is an apologetic effort to link the figure of Solomon more closely with that of David; in Proverbs and Qohelet the only interest is the pseudepigraphical attribution which is facilitated by the references contained in Kings to the legendary wisdom of Solomon.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> In 2 Sam. 13:1, the title refers to Absalom.

<sup>54</sup> See 1 Kg 5:9-14. Regarding the beginnings of the tradition about Solomon and his wisdom, see R. B. Y. Scott, “Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom,” 84-101; K. Berger, “Die königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments,” *NTS* 20 (1973), 1-44, suggests that miracle working is to be seen as part of having wisdom, and that we have a “titular” use of the “Son of David” formula in these wisdom books. However see the criticism of D. C. Duling, in “Solomon, Exorcism, and the Son of David,” *HTR* 68 (1975), 235-252, esp. 237, n. 11: “the attempt to reduce NT Messianology to the complex of wisdom is too extreme and the designation of ‘Son of David’ in wisdom books as a specific title is not convincing. Berger’s study brings forward the wisdom associations and raises the issue of the overlapping of ‘titular’ and ‘not-titular’ uses of ‘Son of David.’”

## CONCLUSIONS

The image of Solomon the king that emerges from the various biblical texts is always one which has clear Semitic roots, and is clearly understandable within the world view of Israelites first and Jews afterwards. The concepts of great king and wise man *par excellence*, in ancient Near Eastern terms, are embodied in Solomon, although the transformation of some of these traits and the different evaluation of the king in the various theological interpretations of the texts provided a basis for the later development of the figure of Solomon.

The biblical texts allow a multiple reading of Solomon; he is portrayed first and foremost as a king, to which multiple adjectives (wise, rich, powerful, etc.) can be added. The different texts project differing judgments of the king, an appraisal that from the very beginning oscillated between approval and disapproval. Thus, if the deuteronomist edition of Kings condemns the figure of the king, despite all his successes, the later vision of Chronicles is positive. As we shall see, this oscillation remains and allows for considerable development of traditions centered on the king. Equally, in later times the characterization of Solomon as king will remain central, but will be enriched with details for which there are no roots in the biblical soil. It is quite likely that the wisdom tradition linked with Solomon from early times, as the attribution of Proverbs shows, functioned as a sort of catalyst in the process; the similarities between some exorcistical *formulae* related to Solomon and traditional wisdom forms support this hypothesis. The use of the title "Son of David" in the Hebrew Bible is rather narrowly defined and quite limited in its application, working either to strengthen the characterization of Solomon as legitimate heir to David or to attribute a text pseudographically to the wise king.

## CHAPTER THREE

# SOLOMON THE HELLENISTIC KING IN SECOND TEMPLE LITERATURE

### INTRODUCTION

In the preceding pages we have seen how the image of King Solomon was shaped in several biblical books; first of all, Solomon was depicted as king and Son of David. He was seen as a very special king endowed with extraordinary gifts and abilities that resulted from the divine wisdom he possessed.

Although the post-exilic biblical books focused their attention on an idealized figure of King Solomon, to some extent the Jewish writings of the Second Temple period modified this trend.<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, they were also interested in the role of Solomon as king, but they reinterpreted the figure of Solomon in the light of the newly formed Hellenistic monarchies and their royal representatives. Solomon is viewed as a βασιλεύς and every event of his reign is narrated and interpreted accordingly. Thus, the Greek version of Kings and the works of Ben Sira, Eupolemus and Josephus describe and characterize Solomon from this new perspective, although they vary in the degree to which they adapt the figure of Solomon to the new model. In the following pages we will study each of the texts in order to highlight their different approaches to Solomon. We will begin with the hellenized image of King Solomon provided by the LXX, which gives several clues to understanding later developments in hellenized Jewish settings. We will then examine the *Wisdom of Ben Sira* in order to see whether it exhibits any development in the image of Solomon between the Hebrew original of around the 180 BCE and the Greek translation of 132 BCE. This dating of the Hebrew original and of its Greek translation is close to the date of the Greek translation of the Hebrew books of Kings, a fact that could help us to understand better the development of the figure of Solomon at a given time and place. Finally, we will study some

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<sup>1</sup> On this literature, see M. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2.2; Assen and Philadelphia: Gorcum and Fortress Press, 1984), 33-184, 283-442.

passages from the lost work of Eupolemus *Concerning the Kings in Judea* in which various fragments concerning Solomon have been preserved; similarly, we will consider the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus and the author's re-interpretation of King Solomon.

### SOLOMON AS HELLENISTIC KING IN LXX

The Septuagint (LXX) constitutes one of the greatest achievements of the Jewish literature of the Second Temple Period; it represents the biblical text that was used by many Greek-speaking Jewish communities of both the Diaspora and the homeland as canonical, inspired and authorized, until it was eventually abandoned because of its use, as Scripture, in Early Christianity. This Jewish translation was made in different places (mostly Egypt and Palestine) and at different times, approximately from the mid-third century to the first century BCE.<sup>2</sup>

The Septuagint can be used for research into the Jewish Bible and the Judaism of the Second Temple Period for two reasons: on the one hand it furnishes us with Greek translations of a Hebrew text that is sometimes different from that of the Masoretic tradition, that is, it has a text-critical value for our knowledge of pre-masoretic Hebrew texts; on the other hand, it furnishes an exegetical tradition that is at work in the translation itself, which reflects hermeneutical techniques and theological traditions that were alive within Hellenistic Judaism.<sup>3</sup> To a certain extent, the LXX can be viewed as the principal manifestation of Hellenistic Judaism, since it reflects the reworking of theology and thought in the light of hellenization.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Our knowledge of the development of the LXX is rather meagre and blurred; on this aspect see G. Dorival, "L'achèvement des Septante dans le judaïsme. De la faveur au rejet," in *La Bible Grecque des Septante*, 83-111.

<sup>3</sup> We have stated in the General Introduction that, *strictu sensu*, all Judaism of the Second Temple period could be defined as hellenized to different degrees. However, when we speak of Hellenistic Judaism we are referring to the Judaism that was developed within a Greek setting such as the great metropolis of Alexandria or in similar cities of the Hellenistic world of Late Antiquity, where Hellenization made deep inroads into the heart of Judaism.

<sup>4</sup> On this aspect, see N. Fernández Marcos, *Introducción a las versiones griegas*, 307-321. One must be careful not to force on the text Hellenistic ideas and concepts when they are not there; examples of this flaw are to be found in P. Lefevre, "Salomon et Bacchus," in C. E. Cox (ed.), *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (SBLSCS 31; Leuven: 1989), 313-323.

Traditionally there has been a clear divergence of opinion about the value of the LXX biblical text. For some scholars any variation with respect to the Hebrew text could reflect an alternative Hebrew *Vorlage* for which the only witness extant would be the Greek text of the LXX. For others most of the variants that exist in the LXX are due to its midrashic character and so do not reflect a different Hebrew text, but rather the interpretation and understanding of the same text within the community that produced the Greek translation. According to this view, the LXX would then be “the oldest of our preserved Midrashim.”<sup>5</sup> The Greek translation of 1 Kings (3 Kingdoms) is a clear example of the dichotomy we have just mentioned; textually speaking the historical books (1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings) have a Hebrew *Vorlage* that is very different from the Masoretic Hebrew text, a *Vorlage* that could be considered as older than the one preserved by the Masoretic text because the Hebrew Masoretic texts of Kings is especially corrupt. Conversely, some of these variants, especially the ones formed by the so-called miscellanies (textual insertions), have been considered by some authors as examples of a midrashic-like activity by the translators of the Hebrew original.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> So S. Liebermann, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1950), 50; other authors have insisted on the “targumic” character of the LXX and the influence of traditional Jewish hermeneutics; see M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, “Theory and Practice of Textual Criticism. The Text-Critical Use of Septuagint,” *Textus* 3 (1963), 130-159; Ch. Rabin, “The Translation Process and the Character of the LXX,” *Textus* 6 (1968), 1-27.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Montgomery was the first to use the term “miscellany” (“The Supplement at the End of 3 Kingdoms 2 (1 Reg. 2),” *ZAW* 50 (1932), 124-129); several textual insertions within the Greek text and without exact equivalent in our Hebrew text are designated by this term (3 Kingdoms 2,25<sup>a-c</sup>; 2,46<sup>a-1</sup>; 12,24<sup>a-z</sup>); on these texts see N. Fernández Marcos, *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia*, 107-111. On the “midrashic approach” to the text of Kingdoms see D. W. Gooding, “Pedantic Timetabling in 3rd Book of Reigns,” *VT* 15 (1965), 153-166; idem, “The Septuagint’s Version of Solomon’s Misconduct,” *VT* 15 (1965) 325-335; idem, “Problems of Text and Midrash in the Third Book of Reigns,” *Textus* 7 (1969) 1-29; idem, “Text-Sequence and Translation-Revision in 3 Reigns IX, 10 - X, 33,” *VT* 19 (1969), 448-463; idem, “Temple Specification: A dispute in Logical Arrangement between the MT and the LXX,” *VT* 17 (1967), 143-172; “The Shimei Duplicate and its Satellite Miscellanies in 3 Reigns II,” *JJS* 13 (1968), 76-92; “On the use of the LXX for Dating Midrashic Elements in the Targums,” *JTS* 25 (1974), 1-11; idem, *Relics of Ancient Exegesis. A Study of the Miscellanies in 3 Reigns* 2 (SOTSMS 4; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). On the value of the LXX text as witness to an older Hebrew text of Kings, see J. Trebolle Barrera, *Salomón y Jeroboán: Historia de la recensión y redacción de 1 Re 2,12 - 14* (Tesis y monografías 10; Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo, 1980); idem, “From the ‘Old Latin’ through the ‘Old Greek’ to the ‘Old Hebrew’ (2 Kgs 10:23-25),” *Textus* 11 (1984), 17-36;

We need not take sides in the discussion about the character of the Greek version of the historical books in general and of 3 Kingdoms in particular. Rather, we will try to determine whether the image of Solomon has been reinterpreted in some way by the Greek translators through their choice of words. Thus, we will try to relate the semantic changes of the Greek wording used in the LXX with the philosophical concept of the institution of the monarchy and the figure of the king; whether the actual Greek translation might or might not reflect a different Hebrew text is of less interest to us than the possible change in the characterization of Solomon that a particular translation might reflect within a Hellenized Greek-speaking Jewish community.

The first place where such a change is attested, and attested most strikingly, is in the two miscellanies (3 Kingdoms 2:35<sup>a-o</sup>; 2:46<sup>a-l</sup>) that precede the Prayer at Gibeon and the divine award of wisdom. In the first miscellany or textual insertion (3 Kgdms 2:35<sup>a-o</sup>) the predominant theme is the wisdom of Solomon, indicated by the wordpair φρόνησις / σοφία and their cognates φρόνιμος / σοφός; the name of the king occurs six times, always linked with the concept of wisdom. Therefore, in this first miscellany Solomon is characterized principally as a wise man. However, the Greek words suggest a change in the concept of wisdom, a change towards redefining the figure of Solomon following Hellenistic conceptions. Apparently both φρόνησις and σοφία, and their cognates, mean “practical wisdom” or “clever in practical matters.”<sup>7</sup> However, both terms have a more extended meaning in philosophy and religion. Thus, σοφία has a variety of meanings, which can refer to a) practical abilities; b) political skill and wisdom; c) poetry and the things that give quality to life; d) physical science; and e) knowledge of divine things, that is, of unchanging entities in philosophical terms.<sup>8</sup> Φρόνησις and φρόνιμος have a meaning clearly linked with Greek philosophy and philosophical theories about monarchy; thus Plato affirms that the

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see also E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (JBS 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> See Liddell and Scott, *Greek English Lexicon*, 1956 for φρόνιμος and 1622 for σοφός. Cf. also the definition of σοφία that appears in 4 Macc 1:16: σοφία δὴ τοίνυν ἔστιν γνῶσις θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καὶ τούτων αἰτιῶν (“wisdom, in consequence, is knowledge of divine and human things and of their causes”; my translation).

<sup>8</sup> V. Peterca, “Salomone nel libro greco dei Re, detto i Regni. Una analisi del suo ritratto in chiave midrashica,” *Rivista Biblica* 30 (1982), 176-196, 183.

best government is by a royal man endowed with φρόνησις.<sup>9</sup> As its cognate φρόνιμος is used to translate the Hebrew ׀׀׀ six times (3 Kgs 3:25<sup>b,o</sup>; 46<sup>a</sup>; 3,12; 5:10,21) and it is combined with σοφός on three occasions, it is evident that the LXX text develops the meaning of “wisdom” along clearly Greek lines and it also develops an image of Solomon that could be understood and interpreted according to the Greek philosophical texts.

The exact pattern of that development is provided by the second miscellany (3 Kgs 2:46<sup>a-1</sup>), which continues to develop the characterization of wisdom but links it with Solomon as ruler; thus Solomon is depicted in this second textual insertion as ἄρχων φρόνιμος καὶ σοφός. Wisdom and rulership become identified; Solomon is not only a wise man but a wise ruler. The underlying concept in the LXX is that of the ruler as the incarnation of law and justice (νόμος ἔμψυχος),<sup>10</sup> a concept that was central in Hellenistic treatises about kingship.<sup>11</sup> The principal idea is that “Kingliness [...] is inseparable from justice,”<sup>12</sup> and it is precisely in the light of that idea that the whole episode of Gibeon (3:5-15) can be easily reinterpreted because justice is the supreme characteristic of the king in his role of Animate Law (νόμος ἔμψυχος). Thus, in the Greek text Solomon asks for “a heart to hear and to judge your people *with justice* (3:9);” the expression “with justice” (ἐν δικαιοσύνη) is absent from the Hebrew text and in the Greek texts links the concept of justice to the petition for φρόνησις. This link between φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη and βασιλεία is more evident in 3:28 after the judgment of the two prostitutes (3:16-27) and acquires a further aspect, namely the connection with the divinity:

<sup>9</sup> *Politicus*, 1288a, b; *Politicus*, 294 a; quoted by E. R. Goodenough, “The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship,” *YCS* 1 (1928), 55-102, 62.

<sup>10</sup> As in the treatise *On Kingship* of Diotogenes quoted by Goodenough (“Hellenistic kingship,” 65) following Stobaeus (Stob., IV, vii, 61 [IV, 263 ff.]): “The most just man would be king, and the most lawful would be most just. For without justice no one would be king, and without law [there would be no] justice. For justice is in the law, and the law is the source [αἴτιος] of justice. But the king is Animate Law [νόμος ἔμψυχος], or is a legal ruler [νόμιμος ἄρχων]. So for this reason he is most just and most lawful.”

<sup>11</sup> So Goodenough, “Hellenistic Kingship,” 64: “there had developed a conception that the true king was personally of unique significance as a lawmaker, or even as Law itself. [...] this conception is explained as resting on the fact that the king is personally a representation and revelation of divine natural law in the kingdom.”

<sup>12</sup> Goodenough, “Hellenistic Kingship,” 65.

And all Israel heard this judgment which the king judged, and they were afraid before the king, because they saw that the wisdom of God was in him to make judgment.

The key concept in this passage is “wisdom of God;” the Greek expression (φρόνησις θεοῦ) translates the Hebrew חֵכְמָה אֱלֹהִים. The Hebrew expression could have been translated by the Greek φρόνησις θειά or something similar, since the Hebrew genitive construction stands for an adjectival construction; however, although translated in a literal manner, the expression could have been interpreted by readers in the light of their awareness of Hellenistic theories of kingship. Thus, the image of Solomon would have different associations in the Hellenistic world:

*In so far as he has a sacred and divine mentality he is truly the king; for by obeying this mentality he will cause all good things, but nothing that is evil. And he will clearly be just, one who has common relations with all. For communion [κοινωνία] consists in equality, and while in the distribution of equality justice plays the most important part, yet communion has its share. For it is impossible to be unjust while giving a share of equality, or to give a share of equality and not to be communal. And could one doubt that the self-sufficient man [ὁ αὐταρκής] is continent [ἐγκρατής]? For extravagance is the mother of incontinence, who in turn is the mother of insurgency [ὑβρις], from whom most human ills arise. But self-sufficiency does not beget extravagance or her brood. Rather self-sufficiency, being a primal entity [ἀρχή], leads all things, but is itself led by nothing, and precisely this is a property alike of God and the king himself, to be the ruler (whence he is called the “Self Ruling”), but to be ruled by no one. Now that this could not occur apart from intelligence [φρόνησις] is clear, while it is obvious that God is the intelligence [φρόνησις] of the universe (emphasis mine).<sup>13</sup>*

According to this text, the φρόνησις θεοῦ is one of the natural attributes of the ruler, who is ἀρχή (“principle”) and, as we have seen in the second miscellany, Solomon was characterized as ἄρχων, that is, as “ruler”. The exact wording of the LXX could then be interpreted along lines that clearly diverge from traditional understanding of the king of Israel; the Solomon of LXX is shown as the paradigm of the Hellenistic ruler, embodying wisdom and justice as his main attributes. To this conception of Solomon as Hellenistic king,

<sup>13</sup> Goodenough (“Hellenistic Kingship,” 86) quoting Ecphantus (Stobaeus, IV, vii, 66 [IV, 278]).

we have to add that of 3 Kgs 5:9-14. This text seems to describe a type of scientific wisdom:

9. And God gave wisdom (φρόνησις) to Solomon and great wisdom (σοφία) [...] 10. And Solomon was more abundant in wisdom (φρόνησις) than all men of antiquity and than all the wise of Egypt. 11. And he was wiser than all men and he was wiser than Gaithan the Ezrahite and Aiman and Chalkal and Darda, sons of Mal. 12. And Solomon spoke (ἐλάλησεν) three thousand proverbs (παραβολάς) and his songs (ὕδαϊ) were five thousand. 12. And he spoke about the trees from the cedar of Libanus to the hyssop that goes out from the wall and he spoke about the land animals and about the birds and about the reptiles and about the fish. 14 And all the peoples came to listen to the wisdom (σοφία) of Solomon and he received gift from all the kings of the earth, who heard his wisdom (σοφία).<sup>14</sup>

This passage again emphasizes the figure of Solomon the wise king, but it does so from a different point of view. In this text, φρόνησις (wisdom, intelligence) is not linked to justice, rather it denotes practical wisdom, as the use of the verb σοφίζομαι (“to be wise”) suggests as well. Furthermore, the text could easily be reinterpreted in an allegorical way because several terms and expressions are semantically ambivalent. The comparison between the wisdom of Solomon and the wisdom of Egypt has to be located within the legendary Hellenistic conception of Egypt as a land where mysterious knowledge was preserved,<sup>15</sup> which would add an esoteric dimension to Solomon’s wisdom not necessarily present in the Hebrew text. Therefore, the Greek-speaking Jew would have the means to remould the figure of Solomon according to a new pattern.

The Greek word παραβολή (“comparison, proverb”) also means “astronomical conjunction”<sup>16</sup> and it is quite likely that such a meaning was understood because Solomon is depicted as a philosopher with knowledge about all the domains of nature. Besides, the biblical text is interpreted in this way in the *Wisdom of Solomon* and in depictions of the hermetic sage, which suggests that this exegesis gained some popularity. In the same way the ὕδῃ (“song”) of the text is a quasi-synonym for ἐπωδῃ (“spell”, “charm”), which could

<sup>14</sup> All the translations from the LXX are mine.

<sup>15</sup> This reinterpretation was completed within a century, as Josephus’ view of Solomon in the *Jewish Antiquities* 8:42-43 clearly suggests.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Liddell and Scott, 1305. It has to be noted that the same word ἄνωμα (“proverb”) that occurs in this verse was translated as παροιμίαι (“Proverbs”) in the book of the same title that was also attributed to Solomon.

explain the popularity of Solomon as magician attested in texts from at least the first century CE onward.<sup>17</sup> 3 Kgds 5:13, where Solomon's botanical knowledge is mentioned, would provide a further motive for the new image of Solomon, because botany was seen as one of the natural disciplines known by the philosopher and by the hermetic sage. Finally, 3 Kgds 5:13 could be seen as an allegory for the four elements in which each of the species would stand for one of the elements (land animal = earth, fish = water, birds = air, reptiles = fire). According to the Greek version, the figure of King Solomon could easily be transformed along Hellenistic lines as a kind of paradigmatic universal king of kings whose main virtue was σοφία (5:14).

### SOLOMON THE KING IN THE *WISDOM OF BEN SIRA*

The *Wisdom of Ben Sira* is the longest of the so-called deuterocanonical works. This sapiential work was composed by Ben Sira, apparently the master of a wisdom school in Jerusalem, to serve as a kind of handbook of moral behavior, around 180 BCE. His grandson translated the Hebrew original into Greek around 132 BCE in Alexandria. The contents of the work are clearly sapiential, following the line of Proverbs, Job or the deuterocanonical *Wisdom of Solomon*; there are moral, cultic and ethical maxims, folk proverbs, theological and philosophical observations. The book is composed of units longer than the one-verse structure typical of the book of Proverbs. Its textual history is quite complicated since there are two different recensions of both the Hebrew and Greek texts. The Hebrew text that we possess does not comprise the whole work.<sup>18</sup>

Mention of King Solomon occurs within the "Praise of the Ancestors" (44:1-50:24). This text is the longest unified section of the book and is a panegyric on the heroes and sages of Israel; Ben Sira seems to adopt here the Greek literary genre of ἐγκώμιον ("laudatory ode") and proposes to his fellow men several figures as models of behavior to be followed or avoided.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Liddell-Scott, 2030.

<sup>18</sup> On this work, see P. W. Skehan and A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), especially 3-92; M. Segal, *Sepher ben Sira ha-Shalem* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Bialik, 1953), 1-72.

<sup>19</sup> On this adoption of the ἐγκώμιον see N. Fernández Marcos, *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia*, 317; idem, "Interpretaciones helenísticas del pasado de Israel," *CFC* 8 (1975). 157-186, especially 164-173.

It is precisely within this panegyric that the figure of Solomon occurs (47:12-22).<sup>20</sup> Here the portrayal of Solomon closely follows the biblical texts and images. Thus Solomon is called “wise” (ἐπιστήμων, 47:12) but this Greek word suggests more a kind of technical skill or ability and has smaller semantic range than the Greek words φρόνιμος and σοφός used in LXX to translate חָכָם (“wise”). It could be, then, that the grandson of Ben Sira consciously chose ἐπιστήμων in order to avoid the alternative Greek terms and that he did so because the figure of King Solomon presented by the LXX had Hellenistic traits that transformed the king into a Hellenistic ruler. The Greek word ἐπιστήμων denotes a kind of technical knowledge that is not usually applied to the king in Hellenistic tracts on the monarchy.

The text continues by describing the reign of Solomon as an era of peace (47:13); God is responsible for the peace that he awarded in consideration of David’s merits and in order to make possible the building of the Temple and the performing of the cult. There is here a downplaying of the merits of Solomon as ruler and the introduction of a negative characterization both of his personality and of his reign that departs from the tendency we observed in Chronicles to value him positively. That negative appraisal is supported also by the direct address to Solomon (47:14: “how wise you were,” ἐσοφίσθης), which present the figure of Solomon as a failure, despite his extraordinary wisdom (47:14-17). The Greek word σύνεσις (47:14) means rather “understanding” or “intelligence,”<sup>21</sup> and the author again avoids the LXX choices of φρόνησις and σοφία, terms that are more semantically charged than σύνεσις and, consequently, more prone to reinterpretation.

After the motif of wisdom, Ben Sira develops the motif of wealth (47:18-20), combining it with the motif of the king’s downfall due to his love of foreign women (47:19-20).<sup>22</sup> Here the negative view of the figure of Solomon is completed; he is depicted as the only person directly responsible for the secession of the northern king-

<sup>20</sup> On this passage see Skehan / Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 522-528; P. C. Beentjes, “The Countries Marvelled at You,” *Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie* 45 (1984), 6-14 (*non vidi*).

<sup>21</sup> See Liddell-Scott, 1712.

<sup>22</sup> It has to be noted that the sin that Ben Sira imputes to Solomon is lust and not idolatry. On this aspect see S. J. D. Cohen, “Solomon and the Daughter of Pharaoh: Intermarriage, Conversion, and the Impurity of Women,” *JANES* 16-17 (1984-1985), 23-37.

dom (47:21); nevertheless, Ben Sira expresses a messianic hope in God's promises of restoration (47:22).

The image of Solomon that is presented in the *Wisdom of Ben Sira* follows *Kings* in its main traits. The temporal division between youth / wisdom and old age / folly also follows the editorial pattern of *Kings* against *Chronicles* (wise youth *vs* unwise old age). Ben Sira insists, then, on a darker image of Solomon that goes against the general post-exilic trend represented by *Chronicles*, *Psalms* 72, and *Song of Songs*, which silence the negative traits and emphasize the positive ones. In the same way, the Greek translation of *Wisdom of Ben Sira* offers a much more "Jewish" image than the LXX, which, in contrast, attempts to transform Solomon into a Hellenized king.

#### SOLOMON THE HELLENISTIC KING IN EUPOLEMUS

Eupolemus was a Jewish historian of priestly line who apparently lived in Palestine in the mid-2nd century. Among other works, he wrote a book called *Concerning the Kings in Judea*, only fragments of which have been preserved; some excerpts were incorporated by the pagan author Alexander Polyhistor in his work *Concerning the Jews*, and from these excerpts five fragments found their way into Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*.<sup>23</sup> Eupolemus is one of the first Hellenistic-Jewish historians and, to a certain extent, his work is apologetic. Although his work was not intended primarily for Gentiles, its inclusion within the work of Alexander Polyhistor indicates that it was read by Gentiles outside Palestine.

Two of the five fragments that have come down to us describe Solomon's achievements,<sup>24</sup> focusing on the construction of the Temple and the relationship of Solomon with the rulers of Egypt

<sup>23</sup> The fragments are as follows: Eus. *Praeparatio Evangelica* IX, 26, 1 (about Moses); IX, 30, 8; IX 31, IX, 33; IX, 32; IX, 34, 1-3 (about David and Solomon). For the Greek text see A. M. Denis, *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca* (Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graecae; Leiden: E. J. Brill 1970), 180-185; C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (4 vols.; SBLTT 20 Pseudepigrapha Series 10; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 1.114-156 (on Solomon). On Eupolemus and his work see A. J. Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancient Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 253-255; B. Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemus: A Study of Judeo-Greek Literature* (HUCM; Cincinnati/ New York: Hebrew Union College and Jewish Institute of Religion, 1974), especially 251-225 (fragments relating to Solomon).

<sup>24</sup> *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.30.1 - 34.18.

and Tyre. Eupolemus' source is 2 Chronicles but he has harmonized it with 1 Kings. It seems that he used both the Hebrew text and a Greek translation, which supports the existence of a Greek version by the second century BCE.

The treatment of Solomon in Eupolemus follows very closely that found in the Chronicler; thus the role of Solomon in the construction of the Temple is to some extent diminished because of the preparations made by David before his death.<sup>25</sup> However, the figure of Solomon acquires greater importance if we take into the account the correspondence between the king and the rulers of Egypt and Tyre. Leaving aside the discussion about their authenticity, these letters depict a Solomon who is regarded as, and treated as, a great king or king of kings.<sup>26</sup> The formulae used in the letters clearly show the superiority of the king over the Egyptian and Tyrian rulers. The letters deal with Solomon's need for workers to build the Temple, and the arrangements for their maintenance.<sup>27</sup> Eupolemus modified his sources about the maintenance of the workers, increasing the quantities and thus indicating the generosity of Solomon, as generosity was considered one of the principal attributes of Hellenistic rulers.

After the correspondence with foreign kings, the fragments of Eupolemus describe Solomon's preparations for building the Temple.<sup>28</sup> In this connection, Eupolemus appears as revisionist, trying to attribute ultimate responsibility for the building work to David.<sup>29</sup> Although we can observe the same trend in 1 Chronicles, Eupolemus carries it even further. Thus, he emphasizes Solomon's youth, claiming that he was only twelve years old when he ascended to the throne. It seems, as Wacholder states, that "Eupolemus was convinced that the Chronicler's revision had not gone far enough,"<sup>30</sup> thus he made clear that the preparations for the construction of the Temple were already completed in David's time. Thus, we can say with Wacholder that "in the First Book of Kings, the Temple of Jerusalem was wholly Solomonic. The Chronicler assigned a significant share in the plan-

<sup>25</sup> *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.30.8.

<sup>26</sup> *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.31 – 9.33. On the depiction of Solomon as king of kings, see D. Mendels, "Hellenistic Writers of the Second Century B.C. on the Hiram-Solomon Relationship," *Studia Phoenicia* 5 (1987), 429-441.

<sup>27</sup> *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.34.17.

<sup>28</sup> *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.34.4-18.

<sup>29</sup> Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 171.

<sup>30</sup> Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 172.

ning of the Temple to King David. Eupolemus made David's share paramount. The apotheosis of David seems to have begun."<sup>31</sup>

There is an ambivalent treatment of the figure of King Solomon in these fragments of Eupolemus. On the one hand, Eupolemus portrayed Solomon as a very generous king, following a Hellenistic model. On the other hand, the responsibility of the principal achievement of his reign, the construction of the temple, is indirectly attributed to David, with the role of Solomon diminished; accordingly Solomon is referred to as "Son of David," this family connection being his principal attribute. However, despite their apparent opposition, both these contrasting portraits of Solomon both influence later tradition. Thus, Josephus will continue the description of Solomon as a Hellenistic king, but enriching it with esoteric traditions. In the same way, Solomon characterized as "Son of David" will be present in Pseudo-Philo and Psalms of Solomon, although there "Son of David" is a title with a different content. The fragments of Eupolemus, then, show that from the second century BCE such portraits of Solomon existed to a limited extent; further on we will see how they were modified by various authors.

### SOLOMON THE HELLENISTIC KING IN JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES*

Josephus' historical works are one of our main sources for the study of the history of Second Temple Judaism and his treatment of biblical sources reflects the different traditions that were alive in his time and the contemporary attitudes toward biblical texts.<sup>32</sup> In his *Jewish Antiquities* Josephus retold Jewish history from its very beginning to the bitter end of the destruction of the Temple.<sup>33</sup> This retelling

<sup>31</sup> Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 172.

<sup>32</sup> For a general introduction to Josephus, see H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (rep. ed. 1929; New York: KTAV, 1967); on Josephus as Historian, see S. D. J. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979); on Josephus' treatment of Scripture, see L. H. Feldman, "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," in M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling, *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (CRINT 1; Assen/Philadelphia: Van Gorcum, Fortress Press, 1988), 453-518; H. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus* (HDS 7; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976).

<sup>33</sup> For the text and translation see H. St. J. Thackeray et al., *Josephus. With an English Translation* (LCL 1-10; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926-1965).

was addressed both to a Gentile public and to the Hellenized Jewish communities of the Diaspora. In consideration of this dual audience and due to his apologetic interest, Josephus carefully reworked his sources (Bible, midrashic traditions, Hellenistic Jewish works); thus he completed a re-interpretation of the main Jewish figures in the light of Greek ideals.<sup>34</sup> His treatment of these Jewish figures focuses on the four cardinal virtues and plays down the miraculous and theological elements; as Feldman states “Josephus gave added coherence to his narrative by subscribing to the ‘great-man’ theory of history and by *thus focusing upon certain key personalities*” (his emphasis).<sup>35</sup>

Josephus’ treatment of the figure of Solomon (*Jewish Antiquities* 7.337- 8.211) fits into his general apologetic tendencies. Thus Solomon is made into the paradigm of “the external qualities of good birth and handsome stature, the four cardinal virtues of character—wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice—and the spiritual attribute of piety.”<sup>36</sup> We can almost speak of an “aretalogy” addressed to Solomon. Feldman has studied Josephus’ portrait of Solomon, showing how it was re-interpreted in Hellenistic tones.<sup>37</sup> Feldman maintains that the figure of Solomon is Hellenized and “is intended to appeal to the Hellenized Jew and educated Greek in his [Josephus] audience.”<sup>38</sup> Still, according to Feldman, Josephus may have tailored the figure of Solomon to the character of Oedipus, to which some Stoic features were added to make Solomon more interesting and intelligible to his readers.<sup>39</sup> Generally speaking, Josephus tried to

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<sup>34</sup> L. H. Feldman has studied Josephus’ treatment of several biblical figures; see *Studies in Josephus’ Rewritten Bible* (SJSJ 58; Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1998); see also C. R. Holladay, *THEIOS ANER in Hellenistic Judaism. A Critique of the Use of this Category in New Testament Christology* (SBLDS 40; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 67-78.

<sup>35</sup> Feldman, “Mikra in the Writing of Josephus,” 480.

<sup>36</sup> Feldman, “Mikra in the Writing of Josephus,” 486; for the piety and justice of Solomon see e.g. *Jewish Antiquities* 7.338, 7.356, 7.374, 784; for the faith of Solomon see 8.109-110; for Solomon’s modesty see 9.146; for his generosity see 8.175; for his wisdom see Hiram’s praise in 8.53.

<sup>37</sup> See L. H. Feldman, “Josephus as an Apologist to the Greco-Roman World: His portrait of Solomon,” in E. Schüssler-Fiorenza (ed.), *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame / London: University of Notre Dame, 1970), 69-98.

<sup>38</sup> Feldman, “Josephus as an Apologist,” 70.

<sup>39</sup> Feldman, “Josephus as an Apologist,” 70-71, 82-83, 88, 90-91. It has to be noted that the Sophoclean vocabulary and motifs that are taken by Feldman as the basis for this theory are not as conclusive as he would wish them to be.

defend Solomon and to increase his importance; he saw Solomon in a more favorable light than Eupolemus did and did not diminish his role in the construction of the Temple or in government. In, fact he seems to diminish David's role in the construction of the Temple, contrary to the postexilic tendency to attribute more responsibility to David, evidenced in Chronicles and Eupolemus.<sup>40</sup> Like Eupolemus, Josephus focuses a great part of his effort on describing the preparation and construction of the Temple, but he adds several details to his biblical sources to bolster the role of Solomon and his prestige.<sup>41</sup> Some of these details could be inspired by the Herodian Temple he knew, but most of them are his own invention, based perhaps on some priestly traditions known to him. Josephus also insists on Solomon's wisdom, which he describes as the wisdom of a philosopher. He depicts Solomon as a sage who knows the secrets of nature, which included dominion over demons (8.44-45). He develops 1 Kings 9-10 so that a new personage called Abdemonos appears and shows himself to be superior in wisdom to Solomon (8.147-149); apparently he quotes the Hellenistic historian Dios.<sup>42</sup> Josephus then presents a rather favorable view of Solomon, although he notes the gravity of his sins (8.191-194).

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<sup>40</sup> *Jewish Antiquities* 7.339-340.

<sup>41</sup> Thus he adds some information about the foundations of the Temple, the materials, the existence of a second storey, the number of side chambers and their exact dimensions (*Antiquities* 8.63-66); he also insists on the extraordinary size of the Temple (8.79); he exaggerates numbers in general (8.89-91) and makes them quite exact (8.91-100). However, it has to be noted that he does not mention demons or spirits working on the construction as the Aggadah usually does, although he **does** mention the approval and assistance of God in the task (8.130).

<sup>42</sup> See Mendels, "Hellenistic Writers of the Second Century B.C. on the Hiram-Solomon Relationship," 239-441. The notice about Abdemonos and the riddle competition between him and Solomon could be a reference to a literature of riddles linked to Solomon. Such literature could be reflected in an Armenian work entitled "The Questions of the Queen of Sheba;" on the Armenian pseudepigraphical tradition and this literature see S. Yovsep'ianc', *Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament* (in Armenian; Venice: St Lazarus, 1896) 132-143; J. Issaverdens, *Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament found in the Armenian MSS of the Library of St Lazarus* (Venice: St Lazarus, 1934) 160-170; M. E. Stone, "The Apocryphal Literature in the Armenian Tradition", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* (Jerusalem: 1969), 59-77; idem, "Travaux actuels sur la littérature apocryphe arménienne," *La Fable Apocryphe* 1 (1991), 306-311; idem, "Jewish Apocryphal Literature in the Armenian Church," in *Selected Studies in Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha with Special Reference to the Armenian Tradition* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 59-76. On the Syriac version of the Questions, see S. P. Brock, "The Queen of Sheba's Questions to Solomon, a Syriac Version," *Le Muséon* 92 (1979), 331-345.

## CONCLUSIONS

The figure of Solomon underwent a subtle change in the texts we have just studied. On the one hand, Josephus and the LXX depicted him as a Hellenistic ruler tailored to Hellenistic ideas about Kingship and perhaps having in mind the great rulers of the Hellenistic oriental monarchies. However, both Josephus and LXX incorporate into their view some notes that clearly suggest more than the mere recasting of King Solomon in the mold of a Hellenistic ruler. Their interpretation of 1 Kgs 5:9-14 suggests that they also introduced the Hellenistic concept of the numinous power that the King as vicarious divine figure embodied. This concept was combined with hermetic interpretation of the same passage and resulted in the blending of the Semitic figure of Solomon, already linked with Wisdom, with the figure of a Hellenized king. On the other hand Ben Sira and Eupolemus use this reinterpretation more cautiously, although their portrayal remains closer to the traditional King Solomon of the Hebrew Bible, except for the fact that they continue the process already begun in *Chronicles* of transferring the credit for the Temple construction from Solomon to David.

These texts also furnish us with an approximate chronology of the changes. Thus, around the mid-second century CE the LXX began recasting the figure of Solomon into a Hellenized mold, timidly at first. Eupolemus some years later and then the Greek Ben Sira continued this process of recasting. Josephus presents us with King Solomon who is quite transformed, incorporating both the Hellenized figure and the Jewish traditions about his dominion over demons, as we shall see.

## CHAPTER FOUR

# SOLOMON THE EXORCIST

### INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapters we have seen how Solomon was described in the biblical text and in what could be defined as the main streams of the Judaism of the Second Temple: in the Scriptures his portrayal was not always completely positive as the different strata in the first book of Kings show or as the conscious effort of the Chronicler to whitewash the figure of the king clearly indicates. In the writings of Second Temple Judaism, we have found the usual Jewish adaptations to the current trends of the historical period; thus, Solomon is depicted as a Hellenistic king. However, despite the existence of different perceptions of the king in the Bible, he was always portrayed in “normal” terms: thus, the king is a builder, wise, a judge, priest, sinner. It is surprising then that already in the first century BCE a new portrait of Solomon arose that described him as endowed with secrets and esoteric knowledge, i.e., as a powerful exorcist. From then on Solomon and demonology appeared together and this new perception of the character enjoyed great popularity.

Perhaps the tradition that linked Solomon with demons and exorcism originated in an older tradition what depicted David as exorcizing demons by the soothing powers of his music. Solomon, as the Son of David, would have inherited some of these capabilities. In fact, the prayer at Gibeon in which the king asked for practical wisdom to rule over a great people could be reinterpreted in other terms only if the previous description of David as exorcist (1 Sam 16:14-23) was applied also, at least in certain contexts, to his son Solomon. The first evident manifestation of these new interpretations could be found in the LXX translation and in the importance of the so called miscellanies or textual insertions in the Greek text.

However, it is not likely that the biblical tradition of the exorcistic and soothing powers of David could be the only basis for the new portrayal of Solomon as exorcist and for the importance of this portrayal, which is attested in several texts from the first centuries

CE. Therefore, the actual origin of this new conception of Solomon has to lie somewhere, and perhaps it should be viewed as the result of the adaptation and transformation of some of the Hellenistic ideas on monarchy that were current at the time. We have seen how the LXX wording of the text of Kings seems to offer us a conscious reinterpretation of Solomon as a Hellenistic king; in the same way, we know that there was a tendency to deify Hellenistic monarchs, first after their death, and later during their lifetimes. This deification depicted the king either as the earthly representation of a god (Zeus, Dionisius) or as the god incarnate. It is likely that as gods, Hellenistic rulers were viewed as having special powers: they acquired some of the abilities of the θεῖος ἄνθρωπος (“divine man”).<sup>1</sup> Thus Vespasian, when hailed as emperor in Alexandria, performed several miracles.<sup>2</sup> Besides, among the characteristic traits of the θεῖος ἄνθρωπος the ability to expel demons included, as Philostratus shows in his biography of Apollonius of Tyana.<sup>3</sup> It is most probable then, that at some point, part of this type of monarchic ideology was incorporated into the process of historical idealization of the Jewish monarchy. This incorporation supposed, nonetheless, a reworking of these ideas, so that they were not totally incompatible with the monotheistic beliefs of Judaism. Thus, the LXX vision of Solomon as Hellenistic king could be easily reinterpreted in that sense because the divinity of the Hellenistic ruler was based on his alleged superiority, and in the case of Solomon that superiority was unquestionable and stated in an absolute manner by the text.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the divine man see L. Bieler, *Theios Aner: Das Bild der göttlichen Menschen in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (Second Edition; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976); C. R. Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic Judaism: A Critique of the Use of this Category in New Testament Christology* (SBLDS 40; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977).

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Historia* 4.81.

<sup>3</sup> Philostratus was a Sophist born between 160 or 170 CE; he was linked to the literary circle patronized by the empress Julia Domna (d. 217). On this literary circle, see G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). Apollonius of Tyana (d. in 96 or 98 CE) is a figure who enjoyed some popularity as philosopher and magician.

<sup>4</sup> On the Hellenistic ruler and the ruler cult in Antiquity see A. D. Nock, “Notes on Ruler Cult,” I.134-159, “Deification and Julian,” II.833-846 in idem, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (ed. by Z. Stewart, 2 vols; Oxford: Clarendon Press 1972); see also E. R. Goodenough, “The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship,” *YCS* 1 (1928), 50-100; A. Delatte, *Essai sur la politique pythagoricienne* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1979); G. D. Aalders, *Plutarch's Political Thought* (Amsterdam / Oxford / New York: North Holland Publishing Company, 1982);

The extent to which such traits made inroads into Judaism was of necessity uneven, since not all of them could be easily absorbed. However the view of the king as lieutenant of a god on the earth was used in combination with the rich demonology and angelology of the period. Solomon would be considered, then, as the lord and master of demons by reason of his special knowledge, and so several marvellous details could be added to the narration of the construction of the temple. That these new traits enjoyed a significant diffusion is attested by the different texts we will study and by the fact that some of them seem to preserve the same exorcistic formula.

In the following pages we will focus on the texts that deal with expelling demons and the use of an exorcistic formula (“who are you?”). In this chapter we shall study a small scroll of apocryphal psalms from Qumran (11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>), which seems to be the oldest remnant of this tradition; the exorcisms that appear in the *Testament of Solomon* will also be studied and we will relate both traditions. Finally, other texts, such as the *Questions of Bartholomew* and some Greek exorcisms will be taken into account. In each one of the three principal texts, the mention of Solomon is clear and the identifying formula (“who are you?”) plays an important role, and it seems to be linked to Solomon to a greater or lesser extent: in 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> the formula begins the exorcisms and seems to function as the kernel of the structure; in the *Testament of Solomon*, it comprises the framework for the demonological and medico-magical material incorporated in it; in the so-called *Questions of Bartholomew*, the formula and its link to king Solomon is used as a sort of proof text for emphasizing the power against the demons of Jesus and Bartholomew.

## SOLOMON, EXORCISM AND THE FORMULA “WHO ARE YOU?” IN THE APOCRYPHAL PSALMS OF CAVE 11 (11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>)

### a. Introduction

The importance of the texts found in Qumran can hardly be overestimated; their discovery helped to fill in a huge gap in our knowledge of the different movements that were alive in the Judaism of the turn of the eras.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the discovery of texts showing King

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L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriaux, *Le culte des souverains* (Bibliothèque de théologie 5; Tournai: Desclée 1957).

<sup>5</sup> On the *status questionis* see L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls. The*

Solomon in an exorcistic context would be a veritable touchstone for the antiquity and importance of such traditions; if the texts show some parallel formulae that appear later in other texts sharing the same exorcist content, we have to speak of something more than chance. It would be likely that both texts shared the same tradition about Solomon and the demons and that this tradition was quite widespread in the Judaism of the turn of the eras. Besides, they would supply us with a text which could explain the extent of practices, such as exorcisms, that would link the sectarians with the everyday beliefs of their contemporaries in the power of demons and magic.<sup>6</sup>

In the pseudepigraphic and parabiblical literature preserved in the library of Qumran, the presence of the personality of Solomon is not important; when the name of the king appears, it usually does so as part of a biblical quotation. However, in one case the situation differs from this general tendency: the name of the king appears

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*History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, and the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia / Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994); J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1994); F. García Martínez / Julio Trebolle Barrera, *Los Hombres de Qumrán. Literatura, estructura social y concepciones religiosas* (Madrid: Trotta, 1993); F. García Martínez, "Literatura de Qumrán," in G. Aranda Pérez, F. García Martínez, M. Pérez Aranda (eds.), *Literatura Judía Interstamentaria* (Introducción al Estudio de la Biblia 9; Estella: Verbo Divino, 1996), 15-241. For an English translation, see F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden / New York / Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1992).

<sup>6</sup> On magic among the sectarians see P. S. Alexander, "Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places: Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community," in S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans (eds.), *The Scrolls and the Scriptures* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 318-337; A. Lange, "The Essene position on Magic and Divination," in M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, J. Kampen (eds.), *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995* (Leiden / New York / Köln: Brill, 1997), 377-435; after examining all the available data, Lange concludes that "it can be stated that while magic and divination were widespread in late Second Temple times and were an integral part of Jewish belief and thought, they are not a subject of special legislation or theological reflection in the Essene texts. *Therefore, magic and divination must be viewed as of minor interest for the Essenes [...]* The magic and divinatory texts found in the caves of Qumran demonstrate that the Essenes had a profound knowledge of different forms of magic and divination as well as of the different arguments for their rejection" (433-434; emphasis mine). It is evident that the author's conclusions are quite surprising, since what he denies in the first place, he affirms afterwards; the relative absence of magic and divination in legislative or theological reflection can equally mean that such practices were absolutely integrated in the life of the sect and, therefore, were not viewed as objectionable. As we shall see, 11QPpAp<sup>a</sup> seems to support the view that the sectarians used exorcistic techniques that can also be found outside the sect.

specifically in 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>, a scroll that contains four exorcistic compositions.

11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> is a small scroll measuring 8.5 cm by 3.2 cm; after unrolling it, the editor had a long strip of leather in a zigzag shape. There is a little tongue of leather to be placed to the right of the strip, thus at the beginning of the scroll. The end of the manuscript is composed of a sheet of blank leather, approximately one column wide; at the left of this sheet there are remains of sewing.<sup>7</sup> The state of the scroll is, thus, quite fragmentary, which makes the study of the traditions it contains difficult. However, despite the problems, two facts are clear: on the one hand, the names of King Solomon and his father David appear at the beginning of the compositions; on the other, the content of the psalms is exorcistic. On these grounds, a more detailed study should be undertaken regarding its content, structure and possible links with the traditions about Solomon that we find in other texts. Our study will be limited to the three apocryphal psalms; the canonical Psalm 91, also found in the scroll, will be considered only in terms of its thematic links with the other psalms.<sup>8</sup>

The first datum that 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> furnishes us is an “external chronology” of the traditions it contains. By external chronology, we mean the fact that this scroll, like the other scrolls that form the library of the sectarians, can be located in time by palaeographical analysis of the script. This detail is especially important because it provides

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<sup>7</sup> For the text, translation and description of the scroll see J.P.M. van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes (11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>),” in G. Jeremias et al. (eds.), *Tradition und Glaube: das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt: Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 128-39; idem, “Le psaume xci dans une recension de Qumran,” *RB* 72 (1965), 210-217; E. Puech, “11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>: Un rituel d'exorcismes essai de reconstruction,” *RQ* 55 (1990), 377-408; idem, “Les deux derniers Psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme, 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> IV 4-V 14,” in D. Dimant and U. Rappaport (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 10; Leiden / Jerusalem: Brill / Magnes Press, 1992), 64-89; idem, “Un Rituel d'Exorcisme,” *La Croissance des Esséniens en la Vie Future: Immortalité, Résurrection, Vie éternelle?* (2 vols; Études bibliques NS 22; Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 2.617-626; F. García Martínez, “Salmos Apócrifos en Qumrán,” *Estudios Bíblicos* 80 (1982), 197-220; for an English translation, see F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 376-378; for the definitive edition of the text, see idem, *Qumran Cave 11. 11Q2-8, 11Q20-31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 181-205; see also J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, (vol. 4A, Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers; Tübingen / Louisville: Mohr Siebeck / Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 215-235.

<sup>8</sup> The reading of the texts has been checked against the photographs: PAM

a point of reference in relation to which it may be possible to determine an approximate development of the traditions about Solomon and the demons.

The scroll is written in a late, highly developed Herodian hand; the style of the letters is quite baroque, due to the presence of *keraiiai* and some ligatures; the letters tend to be of equal size. This script is very similar to the script of 4QDeut<sup>d</sup> and 4QPs and it can be dated approximately between 50 and 70 C.E.<sup>9</sup> The traditions of the scroll must be at least as old as the date of the copy of the manuscript, and most likely older: if we consider 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> to be a copy of another manuscript, we are speaking then of a tradition and with it, of a development. This possibility would mean that the psalms might be pre-Qumranic, that is, that they had their origin outside of the community and that at a specific point they were taken into the corpus held by the Qumran library; the traditions contained in the psalms would have been widespread and popular enough in the second and the first century B.C.E. as to have been incorporated by the sectarians.<sup>10</sup> However, even if they are sectarian compositions, it is likely that they draw from sources that were also quite popular among various Jewish groups of the Second Temple period, as the numerous later works that contain the same traditions suggest.

#### b. *Contents and Structure of the Scroll*

As has been noted, 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> contains the remnants of four psalms. The last of them, Psalm 91, is the only canonical composition pre-

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43.982-88, PAM 44.003 (Fragment A), 44.113 (unpublished fragment), 44004 (two unpublished fragments).

<sup>9</sup> For this chronology we have taken as reference the classification of F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in G. E. Wright (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 133-202; see also N. Avigad, "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* IV (Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. by C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1957), 56-87.

<sup>10</sup> Puech ("Les deux derniers psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme," 81-89) sees in these psalms examples of pre-Essene compositions; on the contrary, García Martínez ("Salmos Apócrifos en Qumrán," 200) affirms the sectarian origin of the psalms by pointing out their characteristic sectarian terminology; Kampen ("The Essene Position on Magic," 329-382, esp. 381) dates them even earlier: "The free use of the tetragrammaton in 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> demonstrates that the text must have been written at least in third or early second century BCE and that it is therefore of non-Essene origin."

served in the scroll; it closes the group of compositions and provides them with the necessary pseudepigraphical cover: the Davidic authorship claimed for Psalm 91 is extended to the other psalms. Besides, as Psalm 91 was, according to rabbinic tradition, to be used as an exorcistic device, it underlines the exorcistic content of the whole scroll.<sup>11</sup> The other three psalms are compositions the contents of which are clearly exorcistic and share some of the characteristics of this kind of work. We can suppose, as Puech does, that this scroll has preserved the rest of the psalms “to sing over the possessed” that are mentioned at 11QPs<sup>a</sup> XXVII 9-10.<sup>12</sup>

Not much can be said about the first apocryphal psalm; its state is so fragmentary that only a few words have survived the ravages of time. Among these words, “dragon” (תנין) in line seven and “demons” (שדִּים) in line twelve, and “exorcising” (משביע) are the only remnants that allow us to suppose its exorcistical content.

The second and third Psalms are also very fragmentary. However, a reconstruction of the lacunae has been attempted by several scholars, and is complete enough to allow us an assessment of the psalms’ contents and structure. The second Psalm was composed of four columns of 14 lines each; we have sizeable fragments of the first three

<sup>11</sup> See J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 91-93; idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1967), 134-137.

<sup>12</sup> See Puech, “11QPsAp: un rituel,” 397. However García Martínez argues against this: “there is not enough evidence to assume that the manuscript contained the four songs mentioned in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, as the songs of this manuscript are not the only ones dealing with דַּפְּנוּעִים (Qumran Cave 11, 183). It is precisely the mention of Solomon in col. II 2 which, in the opinion of García Martínez, “may indicate that the scroll did not consist per se of four songs of David against the demons, but of a collection of such texts.” As is clear, the reasons advanced against the Davidic attribution of the four psalms are by no means absolutely conclusive; the mention of Solomon could suppose that there is a conscious effort to link both biblical figures to strengthen the pseudepigraphical attribution. In addition to that, we should remember the exorcistic psalm that David sang to soothe Saul tormented by a demon (LAB 60) in which David foresees his son prevailing over demons. It is probable that both 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> and Pseudo-Philo refer to the same tradition. It has also to be noted that if Psalm 91 works as a device of pseudepigraphical attribution, so the whole scroll logically was considered to be of Davidic authorship. Finally, we should remember that the role of Solomon in the pseudepigraphical and parabiblical literature of the sect is quite limited; on Qumran and Pseudepigrapha see, M. E. Stone, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha,” *DSD* 3 (1996), 270-295; M. J. Bernstein, “Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions,” in E. G. Chazon and M. E. Stone (eds.), *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls (S’LDJ XXXI)*; Leiden / Boston / Köln: E. J. Brill, 1999), 1-27.

columns and the beginning of the fourth column. Thus, the second psalm begins as follows:

*Col. I 2* [Of David. About the words of incantation] in the name of [YHWH... 3][...] Solomon and he will invoc[e in the name of YHWH 4] in order to be delivered of any plague of the spi[ri]ts and the demons [and the Liliths, 5] the owls and the jackals; these are [the de]mons and the prin[ce of animos]ity 6) [is Belial,] who [rules ]over an abys[is of dark]ness. 7) [...]in order to [...] and to make gre[at the G]od of 8) [... sons of] his people have completed the cure 9) [... which/who on] your name have leant; invo[ke 10] towards the heavens and trust the Guardian of Isr[ael]; take support 11) [in YHWH, God of gods who made] the heavens, 12) [and the earth and all that is in them, he w]ho has distinguished [between 13] the light and the darkness... ] ... [...]<sup>13</sup>

Already at the beginning the reconstruction, the text defines its content and its claimed “Davidic” authorship; since the four compositions claim to be Davidic and their content is exorcistic, this occasions no surprise. However, what does surprise us is that the psalm has already introduced the name of Solomon by the third line. In fact, this name is one of the few words that are not entirely reconstructed; indeed it is the only word that requires no reconstruction whatsoever. It seems clear, then, that this name played some kind of role in the psalm, either as theme, subject, or depositary of the alleged Davidic tradition the psalm contained, and that it is clear then, that a plausible explanation of the presence of Solomon in the text should be attempted in order to better understand both the inner working of the text and its possible links with contemporary and later traditions. What, then, is the role of Solomon in this text, and how does the text relate to the other psalms? To answer the first part of

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<sup>13</sup> The present translation is mine; it is to some extent restricted by what could actually be read on the photos. Both the preliminary edition of Puech and the definitive edition of García Martínez have been taken into account. We have preferred to adopt the fuller reconstructions of Puech since they provide a more comprehensible framework for the surviving remnants of the psalms. However, we are quite aware of the highly hypothetical character of much of his reconstruction, so we have checked them against the edition of García Martínez in each doubtful case. In lines 11-12, according to Puech, the verb *הבדיל* refers to divine creation (Genesis 1). However, García Martínez (*Qumran Cave 11*, 192) points out that it is used both in the context of the separation of Israel from the nations (Lev 20:24), and in Qumran sectarian literature in connection with the separation of the Community from the rest of Israel (IQS V 1); thus, according to García Martínez, the present use of the verb could refer to a separation from the demons, who would be viewed as essentially impure creatures.

this question a partial reconstruction of the lacuna that precedes the name of Solomon has to be attempted.

As we have seen, the text begins with a definition of its contents “about the words of incantation in the name of YHWH” (על דברי לחש בשם יהוה), after which the name of Solomon occurs. Already at this point we have to suppose that the Solomon to which the text refers is the king who was the son of David; it is reasonable to think so given on the one hand the context, and on the other, the testimonies of some almost contemporary works such as the *Jewish Antiquities* or Pseudo-Philo, which present King Solomon in connection with demons and exorcisms.

As the psalm seems to be attributed to David, Solomon cannot have the principal role, which has to be related somehow to David. It is likely that here we have an introduction of the king that appears at the beginning of some canonical psalms, by which the setting or the contents of the psalm are explained. Thus, a plausible reconstruction of the lacuna could be the following:

“Of David. Concerning the words of incantation in the name of YHWH that king David gave to his son, Solomon (אשר נתן דויד) (המלך לבנו שלומה)<sup>14</sup>

Solomon would appear then as heir to a tradition that apparently was linked to his father David. It is likely that we have an echo of the same tradition in Pseudo-Philo (LAB 60), where David announces that a son from his loins will have power over demons.<sup>15</sup> Although in both texts the pair David/Solomon appears, each element emphasizes a different aspect: in LAB 60 David gives prominence to his son, apparently Solomon, as a future ruler over demons, whereas in 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>, according to the proposed reconstruction, Solomon plays a more secondary role, as repository of secret wisdom for exorcising demons. It is, thus, likely that at Qumran, when the tradition that connected Solomon and the demons was taken into the community, this tradition was deliberately linked with David, since

<sup>14</sup> García Martínez (*Qumran Cave 11*, 191) proposes another possible reconstruction: “He shall utter a spell which Solomon made, and he shall invoke the name of YHWH” (אמר לחש אשר עשה שלומה ויקרא בשם יהוה). It is clear that this reconstruction does not allow for Davidic attribution of the Psalms. Charlesworth (*Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts*, 4a: 220-221) makes another proposal: “[...the ac]t of Solomon when he invoc[ed the name of Yahweh...]” (מעשה שלומה ויקרא בשם יהוה).

<sup>15</sup> See the chapter 6 “Solomon, the Son of David.”

LAB 60 shows us that such a link existed outside the sectarian community; however both texts testify to the existence of such a tradition, which was also linked to David, perhaps to strengthen its authority. To some extent, we can observe a similar transformation in the Chronicler's treatment of the figure of Solomon, who is so consciously and systematically linked with David that all his achievements appear to have already been planned by David.<sup>16</sup>

However, if this hypothesis holds true, the role of Solomon in 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> and his relationship with its exorcistic and demonological contents are diminished, which seems strange in the light that other texts shed on him. Could we have here a transformation of the tradition of Solomon so that it would appear linked to David and in this way be more acceptable? The answer to this question is to be found in the last two extant columns of this psalm. The text begins with an important question that, as we shall see later, is related to Solomon in other texts:

Col. II 1)[...] [and you will say to him: who] 2) are you? [Did you make the heavens and] the depth[s and all that is in them,] 3) the earth and every[thing that is upon] the earth; who has do[ne these signs] 4) and these port[ents upon the ]earth? It is he, YHWH, [who 5) has done a[ll by his power,] adjuring every an[gel to help,] 6) every ho[ly se]ed which stands in his presence, [and the one who judges/will judge 7) the sons of hea]ven and [all] the earth [because of them], for they sent 8) the sun upon [all the ear]th and upon every m[an evil, and] they know 9) [the deeds of his won]der which they [cannot do in front of YHW]H; if they do not 10) [fear] (before) YHWH [so as not to imprison a human being and] kill the soul, 11) YHWH [will judge them] and they will fear this great [blow]. 12) One among you will chase a thou[sand ...] of those who serve YHW[H...] 13) [...] great ... and [...] ... [...] Col. III 1) [and] great [...] conjuring [you] 2) and the great in [...] and he will send] a powerful [angel] and will cha[se you from upon] 3) all the earth [when he will call out to] the heavens and [upon the earth,] 4) YHWH will strike [a mighty blow] which will destroy you [for ever] 5) and in the burning of his anger [he will send] against you a powerful angel [to perform] 6) [all his comman]ds without compassion for you who [...] 7) [...] above all these, who sent you to the great abyss, 8) and to the lowest [Sheol,] and far fr[om the home of light] you will dwell, and darkness 9) is extreme in the great [abyss]. [You will no longer rule] on the earth, 10) [and you will be imprison]ed for ever] and y[ou will be cursed] with the curse of Aba[ddon,] 11) [and you will be terrified by] the outburst of YHWH's anger [and you will reign over darkness in 12) [all the appointed times] of humili-

<sup>16</sup> On this aspect see Ch. 2, "Solomon in the Hebrew Bible."

ations [and you will give your servants] your gift, 13) [...].

Col. IV 1. [...] 2) which [...] those possessed, [and they will walk with all] 3) the volunteers of your/his tru[th when Ra]phael heals them.

If in the first column we find a kind of introduction in which David, his son Solomon, and Belial, prince of the demons, appear, the second column begins with the question “Who are you?”<sup>17</sup> Evidently this question is addressed to the demon or evil spirit to be exorcized. Although the question’s aim is to identify the demon, so that it may be expelled, the answer is not direct, but rather a kind of negative identification; the exorcism identifies it on account of what it is not or what it cannot perform. Thus, the first four lines of the column constitute the negative identification, with which the rest of the exorcism is contrasted; it is God, by means of an angelic figure, who will fight against the demon. The demon is threatened with imprisonment in darkness and with binding in Sheol. Judging by the remnants of the fourth column, Raphael is the angel to whom the exorcisms refer.

The key to understanding these psalms as a sectarian adaptation of a tradition that was first linked with Solomon outside the sect lies in the question “who are you?” It is likely that it worked as a formula to identify the demon and to make the exorcism effective. In the light of the role this formula plays in the *Testament of Solomon*, where it functions as the kernel to the introduction and identification of the different demons and as a framework for the demonology contained in the text, it is quite possible that the question was a traditional exorcism formula. As this formula is clearly linked with Solomon, since it is used by him every time in the invocation of the demons, it is also probable that both formula and exorcist (Solomon) were united by tradition. It is not likely that the direct source of the *Testament* for such a tradition was the Qumran psalms; therefore, it is logical to conclude that both writings drew the formula and its connection to Solomon from another source, or most likely that such a tradition and formula were quite widespread and popular in Jew-

<sup>17</sup> García Martínez (*Qumran Cave 11*, 194), only mentions Puech’s reconstruction (“who are you” [מַי אַתְּהָ]) in the comments to the first line. However, it should be noted that the same direct question to a demon appears afterwards in 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> V.6. As magic in general and exorcisms in particular show a clear tendency to use fixed formulae, the reconstruction of Puech is more likely than García Martínez presupposes. As the different compositions of the scroll form a quite well-defined unit, the formulae used in them have to show points of contact in order to be viewed as effective by the possible users.

ish circles, at least from the first century B.C.E. on. This same formula is used again in the third psalm in a manner which reminds us even more of the *Testament of Solomon*:

*Col. V, 4*) Of David. Ab[out the words of inca]ntation in the name of YH[WH. Call out at any] moment 5) to the hea[vens when] Belial is coming upon you, and [you] will say to him: 6) who are you, [accursed among] men and among the race of the holy ones? Your face is a face of futility and your horns are horns of a wre[tch]. You are darkness and not light, 8) iniquity and not justice. [Against you] is the chief of the army. YHWH will imprison you 9) in deepest She[ol, he will shut the two gat]es of bronze through [which 10) light does [not] penetrate, and there [shall not shine the light of the] sun which [rises] 11) upon the just [ to illuminate his face. And] you will say: [is there not an angel 12) with the ju]st man to go [to judgement when] Satan mistreats him? And the spirits of truth 13) [will deliver him] from darkness because justice is with him [to rise in judgement.] 14) [...] not [...]

*Col. V 1*) [...] ... [...] ... [...]... 2) [...] ... [...] ... [...] for ever 3) [all the] sons of Be[lial. Amen. Amen]. *Selah*.

This text shows a much more defined structure; in fact it seems to furnish a series of practical instructions to be followed when Belial is lurking. It begins with the Davidic attribution and a brief compendium of the contents and the circumstances in which the Psalm should be used. The formula “who are you?” clearly appears as the kernel round which the framework of the text is constructed. The structure is built up as follows: a) identifying formula (“who are you?”); b) description of the demon; c) threat of binding at the hands of YHWH; d) rhetorical invocation of an angel. Solomon does not appear in this text, but, according to the proposed reconstruction, the four compositions are linked to him indirectly. Besides, as has been noted, this same formula occurs in the *Testament of Solomon*, which suggests that its Davidic attribution in the present text is also secondary, since it is most likely that it was linked to Solomon in the first place. Thus, at Qumran we appear to have a transformation of the tradition so that David could take on the role of exorcist to the detriment of Solomon, because David or an ideal Davidic figure seems to have an important role in the sectarian writings. However, at a certain point the precise ascription of the exorcistic formula becomes secondary; the really significant thing is that an exorcistic formula centered around the question “who are you?” already existed from an early date, at least from the first century CE, the approximate date at which our scroll was copied.

c. *Conclusions*

11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> is not the only composition found at Qumran that deals with demonology, angelology or exorcism. In fact, 4Q510-511 ("Songs of the Sage") is composed of the same kind of material, and we have the description of an exorcism in the Genesis Apocryphon (XIX, 28-29).<sup>18</sup> However, 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> differs from those texts in that it provides the oldest ritual of exorcism of Second Temple Judaism, where the importance of the divine name is clear, since it appears repeatedly, as against 4Q510-511 where there is no explicit mention of the divine name. This mention of the divine name is also important in later Jewish exorcisms and magical texts. Besides, these apocryphal psalms provide us with the oldest available background concerning the traditions about Solomon and the demons; in them, the name of Solomon appears in an evidently exorcistic setting that includes the use of a formula ("who are you?") for the identification of the demons to be chased away, a formula that appears again in another text related to Solomon (*Testament of Solomon*). Therefore, it is likely that both texts took the use of this formula and its connection with the name of Solomon from a common source or milieu, since it is not plausible to see it as a purely Qumranic development. What the Qumran fragments adds to our comprehension of these traditions is their antiquity, which in turn supports the antiquity of the tradition as a whole.

SOLOMON THE EXORCIST AND THE FORMULA "WHO ARE YOU?" IN  
THE *TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON*

Among the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings attributed to Solomon, the Greek work called *Testament of Solomon* clearly stands out. This writing was already noted by some scholars in the seventeenth century, but it was not until the nineteenth century and the beginnings of twentieth that it was studied with the care it deserved.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> For the "Songs of the Sage," see M. Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4, III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); for the Genesis Apocryphon see N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Heikhal Ha-Sefer, 1956); J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1* (BibOr 18A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971); A. Dupont-Sommer, "Exorcismes et guérisons dans les écrits de Qoumrân," *V7 Sup* 7 (1960), 246-261.

<sup>19</sup> Despite the interest that such a text has in the present surge of studies about

The work is narrated in the first person by Solomon himself, following the genre of the Testaments: Solomon tells how he invoked several different demons by using a ring (*δακτυλίδιον*) given to him by the archangel Michael and how the demons were forced to work in the building of the temple.<sup>20</sup> A complex and comprehensive demonology is inserted within the haggadic framework of the labours of the demons in the Temple; this demonology describes the physical appearance of each demon, its powers, and the angels to be invoked against it. It is not easy to clarify the relationship between the haggadic story and the demonology. However, it is evident that “the *Testament of Solomon* in its full form was intended as a sort of encyclopaedia of demonology.”<sup>21</sup>

The textual history of the *Testament* is quite complex; McCown, the editor of the text, used sixteen manuscripts in his eclectic critical edition.<sup>22</sup> According to the textual history proposed by the editor, those sixteen manuscripts (dated from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries CE) are divided into four different recensions (A, B, C, D). Recensions A and B are revisions of the original *Testament*; although McCown had doubts about the order of the recensions, he finally defended the priority of recension A over B. Recension C would be a still later recension of B, possibly made in the Middle Ages. Finally, according to McCown, Recension D represents the haggadic story that formed the basis of the *Testament*, although not in its present

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magic in antiquity, the numerous difficulties of the *Testament of Solomon* have not been tackled. On the *status questionis* and the possible lines of research see D. C. Duling, “The Testament of Solomon,” *JSP* (1988), 87-112.

<sup>20</sup> There are parallels in rabbinic sources; see L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (6 vols; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1968), 4.149-157; 6.291-296.

<sup>21</sup> P. S. Alexander, “Incantations and Books of Magic,” in E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.- A.D. 135)* (3 vols.; rev. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973-1987), 3/1 372-379, 373. It is quite evident that the *Testament of Solomon* cannot be considered a true “testament”; although it has some of the general characteristics of the genre, it lacks the ethical message and reinterpretation of the biblical sources found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. On this work see H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985).

<sup>22</sup> For the list of manuscripts and their description see, C.C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon, Edited from manuscripts at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris and Vienna* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichsische Buchhandlung, 1922), 10-28; for a new manuscript see A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l’Université de Liège XXXVI: Liège/Paris: Édouard Champion, 1927), 211-227.

form. However, some of these conclusions have been reassessed in light of the discovery of a papyrus in Vienna, which is the earliest remnant of the *Testament* (fifth or sixth century CE). This papyrus suggests that recension B is closer to the original *Testament* and preserves better readings, despite its tendency to expansion.<sup>23</sup>

The difficulties that we encounter in establishing a textual history are present again in the questions concerning the date and place of composition of the *Testament*. Preisendanz thought that the original composition went back to the third century CE.<sup>24</sup> However, the fourth century C.E. can be viewed as the likely date for the composition of the *Testament*, since there is no sound basis for the earlier date. Whatever the date of composition may be, the traditions included within the *Testament* are very likely at least as old as the first century C.E., as the traditions preserved by Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, *Wisdom of Solomon* and 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> suggest. As the work was composed in Greek, the place of composition could be Egypt, Asia Minor, or Palestine, according to the editor of the text.

b. *The Formula "who are you?" in the Testament of Solomon*

As we have just seen, the *Testament of Solomon* is a difficult work for several reasons: textual history, date and place of composition are still open questions. No attempt has been made to study and clarify the shorter forms of the *Testament* and their history in the tradition, nor has the genre of the work been analysed. In the following pages, we will try to show that an exorcistic formula comprises the body

<sup>23</sup> K. Preisendanz, "Ein Wiener Papyrusfragment zum Testamentum Salomonis," *FOS* 48 (1956), 161-167; R. W. Daniel, "The Testament of Solomon XVIII 27-28, 33-40", in *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.): Festschrift zum 100 jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna: Brüder Hollinek, 1983), Textband 294-304; see also R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* (2 Vols; Papyrologica Coloniensia 16.1-2; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990-1991), 1.67-69.

<sup>24</sup> So Preisendanz, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. VIII (1956), col. 689: "Die späte Zeit der erhaltenen Papier-Hss. (15. 16. 18) beweist nicht das gleiche Entstehungsalter des Textes; sprachliche und sonstige Anzeichen scheinen darauf hinzudeuten, daß die Gruppe A (drei Hss in Holkham Hall, Paris und London) textlich nicht allzusehr von den Original, das ins 3. Jhd. fallen mag, abweicht; die Gruppe B (mit zwei Hss. in Paris und Athoskloster S. Andreas) geht auf eine Vorlage des 4. oder 5. Jhdts. zurück, wo das Christentum durchgedrungen war; die Redaktion C (mit fünf Hss. in Wien, London, Mailand, Paris, Bologna) trägt trotz alter Elemente die Spur des Mittelalters und scheint aus Vorlagen des 12. oder 13. Jhdts. zu stammen."

of the Testament and to demonstrate how this formula gives us a clue about the genre and aim of the work. The *Testament of Solomon* presents itself as a “Testament,” that is, a work that follows a very specific genre that was quite popular in Second Temple Judaism. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is the classic example of the genre.<sup>25</sup> Each of the Patriarchs narrates his life and makes his will on his death bed, and several ethical messages are conveyed; each composition ends with the instruction given by the patriarch concerning his burial and a prediction concerning the future of Israel. Evidently, the *Testament of Solomon* fits the above description, albeit rather loosely. Thus, the author of the work made use of the genre to give further authority to his text and the traditions it contained. In fact, even though the Vienna papyrus has a physical format that was used in legal testaments, the *Testament of Solomon* is not a Testament “avant la lettre.” What, then, could the *Testament* be? The answer to this question may lie in a form, an exorcistic formula (“who are you?”), that makes up the actual framework holding together the demonology and magical material of the *Testament* and that turns it into a handbook of demonology and exorcism. Let us study the appearance of this form in the *Testament*.

The oldest recensions of the *Testament* (A and B) begin in the same way and give us a clue about the character of the work. Although it is likely that this heading was added at a later stage, it is especially interesting, since it expresses one of the principles at work in the *Testament*. The text is as follows:

Blessed be you, Lord, who gave Solomon this power; May glory and power be yours for ever, amen.<sup>26</sup>

The key word here is “power” (ἐξουσία). We find this same cognate in texts such as *Wisdom of Solomon*, the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus and the New Testament, where Solomon appears in a direct or indirect way. The choice of this word shows that the principal attribute in the *Testament* is not wisdom or knowledge, but authority or power; a power to subdue demons, a power that is given by God to Solomon as special knowledge. After this illuminating heading,

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion of the genre and of the most important testaments, see J. J. Collins, “Testaments,” in Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings*, 325-355. A testament is always a death bed speech.

<sup>26</sup> McCown, *Testament*, p. 5: Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε ὁ δὸς τῷ Σολομῶντι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην· σοι δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας; ἀμήν.

the Testament proper begins with a tale: a boy, the favourite of the king, was being tormented by a demon who sucked his finger, weakening him. Solomon went to the temple and prayed to God so that the demons might be delivered by his hand (*Test. Sol* 1:1-6). The text reads literally:

1.5 I, King Solomon, entered into the temple of God and prayed with my whole soul, praising him day and night, so that the demon might be delivered into my hands and I could have authority over him. 6. And it happened, when I was praying to the God of heaven and earth, that a ring, which had a seal engraved on a precious stone, was given to me from Lord Sabaoth through the archangel Michael.<sup>27</sup>

Again the key word is “I could have authority over him” (ἐξουσιάζω); here, too, the wisdom tradition has been changed into a power tradition. The whole tale functions as an introductory story, a *historiola*, which in exorcisms and magical praxis usually furnishes an “historical” context for the technique to be explained. It is evident that in the *Testament*, the tale runs counter to the biblical prayer of Solomon at Gibeon; whereas in the biblical text Solomon asked for wisdom to rule over the numerous people of Israel, in the *Testament* he asks for authority to subdue a demon. The setting of the prayer has been completely changed and transformed into a justification for what follows in the *Testament*. Thus, a biblical text is used as basis for the *historiola*, but is so transformed as to become unrecognizable. The tale introduces the body of the *Testament* and then becomes a part of the framework of the text, functioning as the excuse to usher in the demon Orniās, who is the link between the different parts of the text. The prayer at Gibeon has been modified to include the tradition about the imprisonment of the demons (“you will shut up all the demons, male and female”<sup>28</sup>) and another about the miraculous building of Jerusalem and the magical ring of Solomon (“and through them you will build Jerusalem when you bear this seal of God”<sup>29</sup>).

<sup>27</sup> *Test. Sol.* 1:5 (McCown, *Testament*, 9-10): ἐγὼ ὁ Βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν εἰσηλθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐδεήθην ἐξ ὅλης μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξομολογούμενος αὐτῷ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ὅπως παραδοθῆ ὁ δαίμων εἰς τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ ἐξουσιάζω αὐτόν. 6. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι με πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐδόθη μοι παρὰ κυρίου Σαβαώθ διὰ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου δακτυλίδιον ἔχον σφραγίδα γλυφῆς λίθου τιμίου.

<sup>28</sup> καὶ συγκλείσεις πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια τὰ τε θηλυκὰ καὶ ἀρσενικά (*Test. Sol.* 1:7).

<sup>29</sup> καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήσεις τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐν τῷ τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην σε φέρειν τοῦ θεοῦ (*Test. Sol.* 1:7).

However the mention of the seal and its role in the *Testament* are clearly secondary, since the text mainly concerns demonology and the description of an exorcistic formula.

Thus, the protagonists of the *historiola* are a little boy beloved by Solomon, the demon Orniās who is described as a succubus and the king himself, which reminds us strongly of the practitioners of certain magical techniques or exorcisms where a magician (here Solomon) works a spell or invokes a demon (here Orniās) through the assistance of a medium, generally a child (here the beloved servant of Solomon). It is, then, most likely that the author of the *Testament* adapted a “classical” magical-exorcistic technique within the introductory setting of the *Testament*, so that Solomon invokes a demon through the help of a boy:

And I said to him: at the hour the demon appears to you, throw this ring at the chest of the demon, saying to him: Solomon summons you; and come back quickly to me, without thinking about anything that you are going to be afraid of.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, it seems, the *historiola* of the beginning of the *Testament* parallels other magical texts. Among them, we have to take into account the text entitled “Solomon’s Collapse,” (PGM 850-929) and the astrological procedures of divination preserved in the *Hygromanteia of Solomon*, where the magician (again Solomon), the medium (a boy) and a demon appear together. Besides the coincidence in the protagonists of the *Testament* and the other two texts, the role of Orniās as the introductory element for the rest of the demons makes it more likely that both the *Testament* and the magical texts share the same setting, since Orniās appears again and again summoning the different demons to the presence of Solomon. After the capture of Orniās is depicted (*Test. Sol.* 1:10-14), the introduction to the core of the *Testament* is finished. From then on the author sets out a rather complicated demonology following a specific formula that always begins with the identifying question: “who are you?” As we have found that question in 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>, an exorcistic text where Solomon appears as well, it is evident that it responds to more than mere chance or coincidence.

Even a cursory reading of the *Testament* makes it clear that each

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<sup>30</sup> καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· “ἐν ἧ ἂν ὥρα ἐπιστῆ σοι τὸ δαιμόνιον ῥίψον τὸ δακτυλίδιον τοῦτο εἰς τὸ στήθος τοῦ δαίμονος λέγων αὐτῷ· δεῦρο καλεῖ σε ὁ Σολομών,” καὶ δρομαίως παραγίνου πρὸς με μηδὲν λογισάμενος ὧν μέλλει σοι φοβῆσαι (*Test. Sol.* 1:9).

of the demons that appears in it is introduced following a defined pattern; this pattern (from now on “exorcistic form”) is repeated throughout the whole Testament, sometimes with small modifications that do not preclude the identification of the form as such. The summoning of the demon Orniās (*Test. Sol.* 2:1-5) offers a clear example of the form. Let us examine its structure:

When I heard these things, I, Solomon, after getting up from my throne, saw a demon shuddering and trembling, and I said to him: “Who are you? and what is your name?” The demon said: “I am called Orniās.” 2) And I said to him, “Tell me in which sign of the Zodiac you reside.” And answering, the demon says: “in Aquarius” and I strangle the ones who lie in Aquarius, who because of their desire for wenches have invoked the Zodiacal sign of Virgo. 3) Besides, I am hypnotic, being changed in three forms; sometimes I went up like a man who desires the bodies of effeminate boys and when I touch them, they suffer great pain. Sometimes I become a winged creature in the heavenly regions. Sometimes I appear with the face of a lion. 4) I am a descendant of the power of God, but I am thwarted by Ouriel, the archangel. 5) When, I, Solomon, heard the name of the archangel, I honored and glorified the God of heaven and earth, and having sealed him, I ordered him into the work of cutting the Temple stones...<sup>31</sup>

The formula appears after a brief introduction. Its structure is clear as well as its function: it arranges the demonological material in an ordered manner, as in a set of instructions. The fundamental points are:

- a. Identificatory formula (“who are you,” “what is your name”; τίς εἶ σύ, τίς κλήσις σου;).
- b. Self-identification of the demon (“I am called” / “I am”; Χ καλοῦμαι/ἐγὼ εἰμί).
- c. Astrological question (“tell me in what Zodiac sign you reside”; λέγε μοι ἐν ποίῳ ζωδίῳ κεῖσαι).

<sup>31</sup> 1) Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ Σολομῶν ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου μου εἶδον τὸν δαίμονα φρίσσοντα καὶ τρέμοντα καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· “τίς εἶ σύ, καὶ τίς ἡ κλήσις σου;” ὁ δαίμων εἶπεν· “Ὀρνιάς καλοῦμαι.” 2) καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· “λέγε μοι ἐν ποίῳ ζωδίῳ κεῖσαι.” καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ δαίμων λέγει· “Υδροχόω· καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ὑδροχόω κειμένους δι’ ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθένον ζωδίων κεκληκότας ἀποπνίγω. 3) εἰμί δὲ καὶ ὑπνοτικόν, εἰς τρεῖς μορφάς μεταβαλλόμενος, ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἔχεν ἐπιθυμίαν εἰδους παιδίων θηλυκῶν ἀνήβων, καὶ ἀπτομένου μου ἀλγῶσι πάνυ. ποτὲ δὲ ὑπόπτερος γίνομαι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανόους τόπους. ποτὲ δὲ ὄψιν λέοντος ἐμφαίνω. 4) ἀπόγονος δὲ εἰμι ἀρχαγγέλου τῆς θυμάνεως τοῦ θεοῦ, καταργοῦμαι ὑπὸ Ὀουριήλ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου.” 5) ὅτε δὲ ἤκουσα ἐγὼ Σολομῶν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἠὺξάμην καὶ ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ σφραγίσας αὐτὸν ἔταξα εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν τῆς λιθοτομίας, τοῦ τέμνειν λίθους τοῦ ναοῦ...(my translation).

- d. Self-characterization and description of the demon (physical form, place of dwelling, evil actions). Sometimes it is introduced by a question: either “what are your deeds?” [τίνες εἰσιν αἱ πράξεις σου;] (*Test. Sol.* 6:4) or “what is your activity?” [τίς σου ἡ ἐργασία;] (*Test. Sol.* 25:1).
- e. Mention of the thwarting angel or archangel. It may be introduced by a direct question from Solomon: “What angel is the one who thwarts you?” (ποῖος ἄγγελος ἐστὶν ὁ καταργῶν σε;).
- f. Sealing of the demon.
- g. Commissioning of the demon to some task in the building of the Temple.

Generally speaking, the above units form the core of the exorcistic formula; however this form is modified on several occasions, although always preserving the identificatory formula at the beginning. The exorcistic pattern of the form is evident in several details, such as the use of imperative forms (λέγε) and the recourse to direct address, both characteristic of exorcisms and apotropaic devices. The tone of the discourse constitutes a direct call to the demon that is being identified and, thereby, put under the dominion of the king or of the person using the technique. The insistence on the identification of the demons is typical of exorcism and magic, since knowledge of the name allowed dominion over the evil spirit.

The scheme of the formula repeats itself throughout the whole *Testament of Solomon* with some minor variation. Thus, for example, when in *Testament of Solomon* 3, Ornias the demon introduces Beelzebul, the prince of demons, the question “who are you?” is preceded by a dialogue between both demons that includes the repetition of the magical technique used by the boy of the tale of Chapter 2; moreover, on this occasion the form consists simply of the “who are you?” unit and the self-identification of the demon (“I am”). The exorcistic unit, interrupted by the two units that describe the demons Asmodaeus and Onoskelis, is resumed in chapter 6; here some additional questions (*Test. Sol.* 6:1) are added, but they seem to be a secondary addition to the structure of the exorcistic unit. The questions about the powers and evil deeds of the demon (*Test. Sol.* 6:7) and about its astrological sign are distributed in a different way, except for the mention of the thwarting angel. Several of these minor variations appear in the text as is evident in the following scheme:

[Introductory Historiola]

- a. Exorcistic unit (Ornias; *Test. Sol.* 2).

1. Who are you?
  2. I am demon X.
  3. Astrological setting.
  4. Description of the demon's activities.
  5. The thwarting angel (Ouriel).
  6. Sealing of the demon.
  7. Work on building the Temple.
- b. Exorcistic unit (Beelzebub; *Test. Sol.* 3)
1. Who are you?
  2. I am demon X.
    - b.1. Sub-exorcistic unit (Onoskelis; *Test. Sol.* 4).
 

[Physical description of the demon]

      1. Who are you?
      2. I am demon X.
      3. Description of the demon's activities.
      4. Astrological setting.
      5. The thwarting angel (God).
      6. Work on building the Temple.
      7. Sealing of the demon.
    - b.2. Sub-exorcistic unit (Asmodaeus; *Test. Sol.* 5).
      1. Who are you?
      2. Astrological setting (+ legendary information).
      3. I am demon X.
      4. Description of the demon's activities.
      5. Thwarting angel (Raphael).
      6. Sealing of the demon.
      7. Work on building the Temple.
  3. Description of the demon (*Test. Sol.* 6).
  4. Astrological setting.
  5. The thwarting angel (God; Emmanuel).
  6. Work on building the Temple.
- [*Praising of God.*]
- c. Exorcistic unit (Lix Tetrax; *Test. Sol.* 7).
- [Physical description of the demon]
1. Who are you?
  2. I am demon X.
  3. Description of the demon.
  4. Astrological setting.
  5. The thwarting angel (Azael).

6. Sealing of the demon.
  7. Work on building the Temple.
- [*Praise of God*]
- d. Exorcistic unit (Seven spirits; *Test. Sol.* 8).
    - [Physical description of the demons]
    1. Who are you? (each demon is interrogated separately).
    2. I am demon X.
    3. Description of the demons' activities.
    4. Thwarting angels.
    5. Sealing of the demons.
    6. Work on building the Temple.
  - e. Exorcistic unit (Murder; *Test. Sol.* 9).
    - [Physical description of the demon]
    1. Who are you?
    2. I am demon X.
    3. Description of the demon.
    4. Thwarting angel (flash of lightning).
  - f. Exorcistic unit (Scepter/ the dog; *Test. Sol.* 10).
    - [Physical description of the demon]
    1. Who are you?
    2. I am demon X.
    3. Sealing of the demon.
    4. Work on building the Temple.
    5. Thwarting angel (Briathos).
  - g. Exorcistic unit (Lion-shaped Demon / legion; *Test. Sol.* 11).
    - [Physical description of the demon]
    1. Description of the demon's activities.
    2. Who are you?
    3. I am demon X.
    4. Thwarting angel (Emmanouel).
    4. Work on building the Temple.
  - h. Exorcistic unit (three-headed dragon spirit; *Test. Sol.* 12).
    - [Physical description of the demon]
    1. Who are you?
    2. Description of the actions of the demon.
    3. I am demon X (preceded by what are you called?).
    4. Work on building the Temple.
  - i. Exorcistic unit (Obyzuth; *Test. Sol.* 13).
    - [Physical description of the demon]
    1. Who are you?

2. I am demon X.
  3. Description of the demon's powers.
  4. Thwarting angel (Raphael).
  5. Work on building the Temple.
- j. Exorcistic unit (winged dragon; *Test. Sol.* 14).  
 [Physical description of the demon].
1. Who are you?
  2. I am demon X.
  3. Description of the demon's activities.
  4. Thwarting angel (Bazazath).
  5. Labour in the Temple.
- i. Exorcistic unit (Enepsigos; *Test. Sol.* 15).  
 [Physical description of the demon].
1. Who are you?
  2. I am demon X.
  3. Description of the demon's activities
  4. Thwarting angel (Rathanael).
  5. Sealing of the demon.

### *Historiola.*

Fall of Jerusalem, prediction about Emmanuel.

Solomon's explanation of why he wrote the Testament.<sup>32</sup>

- j. Exorcistic unit (Kunopegos; *Test. Sol.* 16).
1. Description of the activities of the demon.
  2. I am demon X.
  3. Thwarting angel (Iameth).
  4. Locking up and sealing of the demon.
- k. Exorcistic unit (lecherous spirit; *Test. Sol.* 17).
1. Who are you?
  2. I am demon X.
  3. Description of the demon's activities.
  4. Thwarting angel (Saviour, cross).
- l. Exorcistic unit (decani; *Test. Sol.* 18).

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<sup>32</sup> 14) "When these things happened, then I understood and at my death I wrote this testament to the sons of Israel and I gave it to them so that they may know the power of the demons and their forms, as well as the names of the angels by whom the demons are thwarted" [ὅτε δὲ ἐγένοντο, τότε συνῆκα καὶ ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ μου ἔγραψα τὴν διαθήκην ταύτην πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτοῖς ὥστε εἰδέναι τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ τὰς μορφὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐν οἷς καταργοῦνται οἱ δαίμονες] (*Test. Sol.* 15:14).

[Physical description of the demons]

1. Who are you?
2. I am demon X.
3. Description of the demon's activities.
4. Thwarting angel.

*Historiola* (Riches of Solomon; Sheba, Queen of the South; *Test. Sol.* 19).

*Historiola* (the old man; Orniat tells how he knows about the future; *Test. Sol.* 20).

*Historiola* (Sheba, Queen of the South; *Test. Sol.* 21).

*Historiola* (Letter of Adarkess requesting Solomon's help against a demon; *Test. Sol.* 22).

m. Exorcistic unit (Ephippas; *Test. Sol.* 22-23).

1. Who are you?
2. I am demon X.
3. Description of the demon's powers.

[Christian interpolation about the 'Keystone']

n. Exorcistic unit (Abezethibu, the demon from the Red Sea; *Test. Sol.* 24-25).

1. Who are you?
2. I am demon X.
3. Description of the demon's activities.

[small *Historiola*, Jannes and Jambres]

4. Work on building the Temple.

*Historiola* (the Shunammite woman and the sacrifices of Solomon to the Jebusite Gods; *Test. Sol.* 26).

Conclusion.<sup>33</sup>

According to the above outline, it seems evident that the formula "who are you?" works as the device that structures the whole *Testament of Solomon* without appreciable differences in respect of the four recensions of the text. Apart from the *historiolae* that function either

<sup>33</sup> *Test. Sol.* 26:7-8: "Thus, I, wretched, carried out her advice and finally the glory of God departed from me and my spirit was darkened and I became a laughingstock for the idols and demons. For this reason, I wrote this testament of mine..." [7. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ὁ δύστηνος ἐποίησα τὴν συμβουλήν αὐτῆς καὶ τελείως ἀπέστη ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη τὸ πνεῦμα μου, καὶ ἐγενόμην γέλωσ τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ δαίμοσιν. 8) Διὰ τούτ' ἀπέγραψα ταύτην μου εἴην διαθήχην...]. It should be noted that this is the conclusion of the McCown text, that is of Recension A; Recension C has a different ending and some of the mss. of Recension A and C add other material.

as introductions to the different blocks of demonological material or as transitions to new material, the formula recurs for each of the demons described. The formula itself exhibits some variation in its wording, but the core of the exorcist formula in the Testament is the question “who are you?”, the self-identification of the demon (“I am called X”), the mention of the contrary angel, and perhaps the allusion to the sealing of the demon. The active role of King Solomon is the second strand that gives structure to the text. In this way, the text acquires a consistency that the demonological material it includes does not easily convey.

If we compare the formula that occurs in the *Testament* with the one of 11QP<sub>s</sub>Ap<sup>a</sup>, it is clear that the exorcistic formula of the *Testament* is longer and more developed in content and structure. However, what could be considered as the principal traits of identity appears in both of them, namely the mention of Solomon, obviously more important in the *Testament* than in the Qumranic apocryphal psalm, and the question “who are you?” In both texts these traits are directly addressed to the demon who is to be repelled. Further, we can add a third distinctive characteristic which both texts share: they are unmistakably exorcistic in their content and practical in their objectives. In 11QP<sub>s</sub>Ap<sup>a</sup> the use of imperatives indicates that actual instructions are being given to expelled demons; in *Testament of Solomon* the pseudepigraphical fiction is so well constructed and developed that the practical aim of the text appears blurred, but both the role played by Solomon and the use of the formula make up the true character of the *Testament* as a manual for exorcism. However, it would be useful if we can find an external witness that supports our hypothesis about the actual purpose of the *Testament of Solomon*. Fortunately enough, a Greek text shows how the *Testament* was regarded, and used, as a handbook for exorcism. The Greek text under consideration is found in a manuscript of the eighteenth century CE.<sup>34</sup> Although quite fragmentary, this text is most interesting because it contains a series of exorcisms in which magic and gnostic doctrines are intermingled.<sup>35</sup> Besides, some of these exorcisms com-

<sup>34</sup> *Manuscript 825 of the National Library of Athens*; for a description of the same see A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège XXXVI. Liège/Paris: 1927), 228. Despite the late date of the manuscript, the actual text seems to be early, given the Greek *koine* in which it is written.

<sup>35</sup> So A. Delatte, *Anecdota*, 228.

bine Christian, Jewish and pagan peculiarities, showing how exorcisms are clearly syncretistic.

Among the various exorcisms in the manuscript there is one, called “Another Prayer of Saint Athanasius the Great of Alexandria,”<sup>36</sup> in which King Solomon appears several times. This “prayer” incorporates a series of different exorcisms that are introduced one after the other, without apparent structure; their character is very mixed, since they share evident Christian traits, as the invocations to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost clearly show, pagan traits, such as the invocation of the Sun, and what could be defined as Jewish traits, mainly allusions to biblical passages always taken from the Old Testament. Furthermore, these three types of material are not intermingled but instead are located in successive blocks, as the following example clearly shows:

I adjure you, every impure and evil spirit, by the seven letters that are written in the heart of the Sun, and no one reads them, but God the Lord. I adjure you, evil spirits, by the three-pointed bird that hovers over the head of our Lord Jesus Christ. I adjure you, every impure and defiled spirit, by the incorporeal archangels of the great God, Michael, Gabriel, Uruel and Raphael, and by the many-eyed Cherubim and the seven-winged Seraphim (who with two wings hide their face, with two [wings] hide their feet, and with two fly, while crying and saying: Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord Sabaōth, heaven and earth are filled with your glory).<sup>37</sup>

The text goes on to combine materials of different origin, in which there are repeated references to archangels, seraphim and cherubim. Accordingly, it seems probable that the text combines and preserves ancient exorcistic texts, despite the late date of the manuscript and its unmistakably Christian transmission and revision. At a certain

<sup>36</sup> Ἐτρα [εὐχή] του ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας τοῦ μεγάλου. For the text of the exorcisms see Ms 825, ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-13 in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I. 230-238.

<sup>37</sup> ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, πάντα τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, εἰς τὰ ἑπτα γράμματα τὰ γραφέντα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ Ἡλίου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγιγνώσκει [f.7] αὐτὰ, εἰ μὴ Κύριος ὁ Θεός. ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, πνεύματα πονηρὰ, εἰς τὸ τρικόρυφον ὄρνειον τὸ ἐπισκιάζον τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, πάντα τὰ μαρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, εἰς τοὺς ἄσωμάτους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ Μιχαήλ, καὶ Γαβριήλ, Ὀυρουήλ καὶ Ραφαήλ, καὶ εἰς τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβὶμ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔξαπτέρουγα Σεραφίμ (καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυοὶ πτέρυξιν κατακαλύπτουσιν τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν, ταῖς δὲ δυοὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς δυοὶ πετόμενα, καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα· ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ· πλήρεις ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου) (A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I.231).

point, a new exorcism is introduced in the following terms:

I adjure you, every evil and impure spirit which is written in the Testament of the King Solomon, by the name of Sabaoth, so that you may not enter into so-and-so servant of God. I adjure you, the evil spirit called Ornias, the demon of love, the one who is thwarted by Michael the archangel, retreat from so-and-so servant of God. I adjure you, Beelzeboul, the ruler of the demons, the one who makes mankind adore the demons, the one who resides in the evening star, the one who is thwarted by the all-powerful God and by Elōith the great name of His power, retreat from so-and-so servant of God. I adjure you, the evil female demon, the one who is called Onoschelida, the embodied spirit, the one who lurks in the earth, and who has her den in cliffs, caves, and ravines, the one who has sexual intercourse with men because they think you are a woman according to your appearance, the one who is thwarted by the holy Iēl, our Lord Jesus Christ; retreat from so-and-so servant of God.<sup>38</sup>

This exorcism confirms the actual function of the *Testament of Solomon* as a handbook for exorcism, in which the different demons and the means for exorcizing them are described. The present text transforms the material contained in the *Testament of Solomon* into a real exorcism, presenting it as though uttered by Saint Athanasius. Undoubtedly, the pseudepigraphical Christian attribution to this saint is weak at best, since here an exorcist is taking as the basis of his praxis a writing that he thought was composed by King Solomon and that perhaps was viewed as containing some problematic doctrines or techniques, since he felt it necessary to give to the text an unequivocally Christian veneer by attributing it to the saint and by including in the body of the exorcism Christological allusions that were not present in the *Testament*. The exorcism follows closely the

<sup>38</sup> ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, πάντα τὰ πονήρα καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα τὰ γραφέντα ἐν τῇ Διαθήκῃ τοῦ βασιλέως Σολομῶντος, κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Σαβαώθ, ἵνα μηκέτι εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ὀρκίζω σε, δαιμόνιον πονηρὸν τὸ καλούμενον Ὀρνίας, ὃ ἐρωτοδαίμων τὸ καταργούμενον ὑπὸ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου, ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τὸν δούλον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ὀρκίζω σε, Βεελζεβούλ, τὸν ἀρχοντα τῶν δαιμόνων, τὸν ποιῶντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους σεβέσθαι τοὺς δαιμόνας, τὸν κειμένον ἐν τῷ ἑσπερίῳ ἄστρῳ, τὸν καταργούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἐλωῖθ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ὀρκίζω σε, δαιμόνιον πονηρὸν τὸ Θήλεια καὶ ἐγκυόμενον τὸ καλούμενον Ὀνοσχελίδα, τὸ σεσωματωμένον πνεῦμα, τὸ φωλεῦον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔχον τὴν κατοίκησιν ἐν κρημοῖς καὶ ἐν σπηλαίοις καὶ ἐν φαραγγίαις. τὸ συγγινόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κατὰ φαντασίαν ὡς γυναῖκα νομίζουσι εἶναι, τὸ καταργούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰηλ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τὸν δούλον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα (A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 233).

demonological distribution of the *Testament*, as the fragment clearly shows, always preserving the name of the demon, the name of the thwarting angel and a fairly accurate description of the demon in question. Occasionally some new details can be added, as the inclusion of the word “demon of erotic love” (ἔρωτοδαίμων) attests, while in another, the description of the demon is omitted or abbreviated; in the first part of the exorcism a physical description of each demon is given, while in the part dealing with the *decans* the accent is on the description of the sickness that each of these demons produces.

The whole text of the exorcisms has a clear focus on magical medicine, since a good deal of it is dedicated to the procedures for exorcizing the 36 *decans* who are supposed to be responsible for different sicknesses. At least on one occasion one of the *decans* is linked with a zodiacal sign, which shows how Solomon the exorcist was linked with astrology and could eventually be characterized as an astrologer.<sup>39</sup>

In conclusion, both the *Testament of Solomon* and the Exorcism of the *MS 825 of the National Library of Athens* seem to prove that the question “who are you?” functions in an exorcistic context; in both texts, this formula is closely bound to the king and, as the Greek exorcism shows, has a clear apotropaic content. The occurrence of the formula in both texts is clearly related to 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> where it appeared as well in a context in which both David and his son Solomon seemed to play some role. We shall now see how the formula and its relationship with Solomon was included in an apocryphal Christian work precisely in a context that deals with demons.

SOLOMON THE EXORCIST, AND THE FORMULA “WHO ARE YOU?” IN  
THE *QUESTIONS OF BARTHOLOMEW* (*GOSPEL OF BARTHOLOMEW*)

In the preceding pages we have seen how the triad consisting of Solomon, the formula “who are you?” and exorcisms appear together in texts the transmission of which is Christian but the genesis of which is not clearly so, since they either draw extensively from Jewish sources or could even be the product of adaptation of a Jewish work

<sup>39</sup> “I adjure the first evil spirit of them, the one called Kandan, of the zodiacal circle” (ὄρκίζω τὸ πρῶτον πονηρὸν πνεῦμα ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ καλούμενον Κάνδαν, τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου) in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I. 236.

by Christian compilers. In the following pages we will study this same triad again but in a clearly Christian work. We shall see how the whole structure of the exorcism that appeared in the *Testament of Solomon* and in the so-called "Prayer of Saint Athanasius" has 'been taken over by the writer of the *Questions of Bartholomew* and adapted to a new function that was determined by the genre of the *Questions*.

The *Questions of Bartholomew*, also known as the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, is a Christian work that deals with themes such as various aspects of Christ's descent, the annunciation, the origin of Satan and of his power in the world. Its structure is formed by a series of questions and answers on the above motifs, reminiscent of certain characteristics of apocalyptic literature.<sup>40</sup> The *Questions* were written in Greek, possibly in Egypt, sometime between the second and the fifth century CE and there are Latin and Slavonic versions that can be used to fill in the *lacunae* of the Greek text.<sup>41</sup> The *Questions* share several aspects with the *Testament of Solomon*, such as the language, place, and approximate date of composition; further investigation of the text itself will illuminate, as we shall see, some details that could be significant for our understanding of the traditions about Solomon and the demons.

The *Questions of Bartholomew* are constructed around a series of questions and answers; thus in a particular passage (4.1-60), Jesus is discussing the nature of sin, and as a consequence Bartholomew asks Jesus to disclose the adversary of men (i.e. Beliar). After an initial reluctance, Jesus grants him the request; as we shall see the text follows the structure of the exorcistic formula that we have encoun-

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<sup>40</sup> On the apocalyptic literature and its imagery and literary devices see J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); M. E. Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," in idem, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, 384-389.

<sup>41</sup> On the Greek text and the versions of *Questions of Bartholomew* see A. Wilmart and E. Tisserant, "Fragments grecs and latins de l'Évangile de Barthélemy," *RB* 10 (1913), 160-190; V. Moricca, "Un Nuovo Testo dell'Évangelio di Bartolomeo," *RB NS* 18 (=30) 1921, 481-516, and NS 19 (=31) 1922 (Casantensis Latin Manuscript), 20-30; J.-D. Kaestli and P. Cherix, *L'Évangile de Barthélemy, d'après deux écrits apocryphes. I. Questions de Barthélemy. II. Livre de la Résurrection de Jésus Christ par l'Apôtre Barthélemy*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993) [*non vidi*]; A. de Santos Otero, *Los evangelios apócrifos. Colección de textos griegos y latinos. versión crítica, estudios introductorios y comentarios* (BAC 148; Ninth Edition; Madrid, 1996), 530-566; for a recent English translation see, J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 652-672; On the *status questionis* see J.-D. Kaestli, "Où en est l'étude de l'Évangile de Barthélémy," *RB* 95 (1988), 5-33.

tered in the *Testament of Solomon* and in 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>. The text, although quite long, is worth quoting in full, since it clearly illustrates the development of the formula “who are you?” within a new genre and religious context:

And he led them down from the Mount of Olives and looked wrathfully upon the angels that keep hell (Tartarus), and beckoned to Michael to sound the trumpet in the height of the heavens. And Michael sounded, and the earth shook, and Beliar came up, being held by six hundred and sixty angels and bound with fiery chains. 13) And the length of him was one thousand six hundred cubits and his breadth forty cubits, and his face was like a lightning of fire and his eyes full of darkness. And out of his nostrils came a stinking smoke; and his mouth was like the gulf of a precipice, and one of his wings was four-score cubits. 14) And straightaway when the apostles saw him, they fell to the earth on their faces and became as dead. 15) But Jesus came near and raised the apostles and gave them a spirit of power, and he said to Bartholomew, ‘Come near, Bartholomew, and trample your feet on his neck, and he will tell you his work, what it is, and how he deceives men’ (ἐρώησον αὐτῷ τί ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἦν, [ἢ] πῶς ἀπατᾷ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους). 16) And Jesus stood afar off with the rest of apostles. 17) And Bartholomew was afraid and raised his voice and said, ‘Blessed be the name of your immortal Kingdom from henceforth even for ever.’ And when he had spoken, Jesus ordered him, saying, ‘Go and tread upon the neck of Beliar.’ and Bartholomew ran quickly upon him and trod upon his neck, and Beliar trembled. 18) And Bartholomew was afraid and fled, and said to Jesus, ‘Lord give me a hem of your garments that I may have courage to draw near to him.’ 19) But Jesus said to him, ‘You cannot take a hem of my garments, for these are not my garments which I wore before I was crucified.’ 20) And Bartholomew said, ‘Lord I fear lest, just as he did not spare your angels, he swallow me up also.’ 21) Jesus said to him, ‘Were not all things made by my word, and by the will of my Father the spirits were made subject to Solomon? You, therefore, being commanded by my word, go in my name and ask him what you will.’ 22) And Bartholomew went and trod upon his neck, and pressed down his face into the earth as far as his ears. 23) And Bartholomew said to him, ‘Tell how you are and what is your name’ (Εἰπέ μοι τίς εἶ σὺ καὶ τί τὸ ὄνομα σου). And he said to him, ‘Lighten me a little, and I will tell you who I am and how I came hither, and what my work is and what my power is.’<sup>42</sup>

The fragment begins in a new setting, since both Jesus and the apostles are instantly transported from the Mount of Olives to a place

<sup>42</sup> For the Greek text see A. Santos Otero, *Los evangelios apócrifos*, 550-553; for the present translation see J. K. Elliot, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 661-663).

from which they all see Tartarus. The new location works as a transition to the core of the unit, which begins precisely with the beckoning of Jesus to Michael the archangel, who summons the prince of demons to the presence of Jesus and the apostles. This detail is quite significant because in the *Testament of Solomon* as well Michael is the angel charged with the commission of giving a ring to King Solomon. Thus, in both texts, Michael introduces the demons directly (*Questions*) or indirectly (*Testament*); it is unlikely that this is a simple coincidence, but rather first-hand evidence for the transformation of the structure of the *Testament of Solomon* by the compiler of the *Questions of Bartholomew*.

Afterwards, Beliar is presented, chained (again a detail in common with the *Testament of Solomon*), and a complete physical description of his fiery aspect is given. This last point represents a slight departure from the structure of the formula of the *Testament* that we outlined above, but only in the order followed, since both the *Testament* and the *Questions* do have a complete description of the demons; in the *Testament* the description follows the “who are you?” question, whereas in the *Questions*, it apparently precedes the question. Jesus then gives specific instructions on how to handle the demons: the apostle has physically to subdue him and to ask the demon about his works (τί ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἦν;) and how he deceives men (πῶς ἀπατᾷ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους;). Both questions occur in the scheme of the formula “who are you?,” which provides the structure for the demonology of the *Testament of Solomon* and which has a long history as 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> proves; in fact the question τί ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἦν; of the *Questions* is clearly parallel to the forms we find in the *Test. Sol* 6:4 (τίνες εἶσιν αἱ πράξει σου;) and 25:1 (τίς σου ἡ ἐργασία;). It seems that the author of the *Questions* was aware of the existence of the exorcistic formula used in the *Testament of Solomon* and used it to structure a passage of an exorcistic nature in order to make it look authentic; this supposes that the various questions were considered as integral parts of a contemporary real technique of exorcism. However, this exorcism was modified to fit the new context of the *Questions*, which were not concerned with exorcisms but with various themes of Christian doctrine.

The passage continues by showing how the terrible aspect of the demon makes the apostle faint. Utterly afraid, the latter finally asks for a piece of the garment of Jesus which is here clearly viewed as having apotropaic power. After denying the petition, Jesus counters

Bartholomew's doubts in terms that are very interesting for us:

Were not all things made by my word, and by the will of my Father the spirits were made subject to Solomon (οὐχι λόγῳ τῷ ἐμῷ πάν γέγονεν καὶ τῇ διανόια τοῦ πατρὸς μου τὰ πνεύματα τῷ Σολομῶνι ὑπετάγησαν;)? You, therefore, being commanded by my word, go in my name and ask him what you will (IV. 21).

Here we have a direct reference to the tradition about the subjection of every evil spirit to Solomon in a context where it is combined with a reference to the power of the name of Jesus. It is likely that the author of the *Questions* was combining both and that he was aware of the polemical rivalry between Jews and Christian concerning the power over demons exercised by Solomon and Jesus. The mention of Solomon in a situation where exorcistic matters are alluded must have functioned as a token of authenticity and, at the same time, made Solomon clearly subordinate to the figure of Jesus, quite a common tendency in early Christian literature.

We now come to the point where Bartholomew treads upon the neck of the demon and asks two questions. The treading on the neck is reminiscent of various amulets where a figure, identified as King Solomon, treads upon a female demon while piercing her with a spear; it is quite probable that we have here a link with the iconographical tradition which clearly depicts the domination of the demon at the hands of powerful kings. The magical overtones of both situations are clear.<sup>43</sup> In the same way, the questions “who are are?” (τίς εἶ σὺ;) and “what is your name?” (τί τὸ ὄνομα σου;) that the apostle addresses to the demon are the same as the ones that Solomon repeats in the *Testament* when he is invoking the demons; these questions comprise the true core of an old exorcist formula, as 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> seems to attest, a formula that is used in the *Questions* as a pseudo-exorcistic motif, since it does not introduce a complete description of the demon and his deeds but rather a description of the heavens and the angelic ranks, much as we find in some apocalyptic texts and in some works of Hekhalot literature.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless,

<sup>43</sup> It should be added that the medieval representations of Saint George conquering the dragon could have been derived from the Solomon-amulets of Late Antiquity; in the medieval representation Saint George treads upon the neck of the dragon while piercing it, which to some extent parallels the present text.

<sup>44</sup> However, the Latin text of MS. *Casanatensis* (Moricca, “Un Nuovo Testò,” 20-30) adds a description of the evil deeds of the demon and mentions which type of men are more prone to be deceived by him as well as the angels who oppose

the relationship between the formula used in the *Testament of Solomon* and the mention of King Solomon in the *Questions*, in a context in which very similar questions are being used to introduce a demon, suggests an adaptation of traditions about Solomon at the hands of the Christian author of the *Questions*.

We can then conclude that the author of the *Questions of St. Bartholomew* was aware of the traditions that linked Solomon with dominion over the demons, as well as the correspondence established in this respect between the figures of Jesus and Solomon. The special adaptation of the exorcistic formula that we postulate for the structure of the *Testament of Solomon* supports the hypothesis of the use of this formula as an exorcistic device in Late Antiquity. The presence of King Solomon in a context that contains slightly modified versions of the questions that comprise the formula seems to support our hypothesis of a clear link between the exorcistic formula (“who are you?”) and King Solomon in Late Antiquity. As for the origin of such a formula, it is necessary to take into account different data. The immediate motive for the use of the formula is that knowledge of the name supposes power over the thing or person named, as even a cursory reading of the magical corpus of the PGM proves. However, this does not explain the actual structure of the formula nor its penchant for the question form. The only way to explain it without referring to the inner workings of magic is to find some type of parallel in a Jewish work, or genre, which could explain it in reasonable and convincing terms.

There are two types of literature that at least in some degree parallel this interest in the names of demons and angels exhibited by the structure of the exorcistic formula: apocalyptic and hekhalot literature. Thus, in 1 Enoch 20 there is the list of the names of the archangels and their functions in the universe; in 1 Enoch 40:8-10 Enoch wants to know the names of the four angels, which his accompanying angel reveals to him together with their functions:

“Who are these four faces which I have seen and whose voices I have heard and written down?” And he said to me, “The first one is the merciful and forbearing Michael; the second one, who is set over all disease and every wound of the children of the people, is Raphael;

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him, which is a clearer parallel to the structure of the formula we have found in the *Testament of Solomon*. This could mean that the expansive character of the *Casaniensis* could sometimes be more original, since it fills the lacunae of the Greek text and at the same time offers a more logical flow of discourse.

the third, who is set over all exercise of strength, is Gabriel; and the fourth, who is set over all actions of repentance unto the hope of those who would inherit eternal life, is Phanuel by name.”<sup>45</sup>

Apart from the obvious differences, this passage from Enoch parallels to some extent the formula found in the *Testament of Solomon*. We are aware that it is not possible to claim a direct link between these two texts, but it can exhibit from which literary genre and social ambience the exorcistic formula “who are you?” might have originated, namely, from sets of questions and answers about eschatology and the future in apocalyptic literature. Besides, the importance of the names and the questions that lead to the knowledge of such names is common to other non-Jewish works that are heavily indebted to Jewish sources such as the Gnostic tractates the *Hypostasis of the Archons* and *On the Origin of the World*. Thus we read in the *Hypostasis of the Archons* II,4:

Norea said, “Who are you?” The rulers of unrighteousness had withdrawn from her. He said, “It is I who am Eleleth, sagacity, the great angel, who stands in the presence of the holy spirit. I have been sent to speak with you and save you from the grasp of the lawless. And I shall teach you about your root.”<sup>46</sup>

The question “Who are you?” introduces an angelic figure who is identified in this way; again, we find a similar procedure in *On the Origin of the World* II, 5 and XIII, 2:

Then when the seven rulers came, they saw him and were greatly disturbed. They went up to him and seized him. And he (viz. the chief ruler) said to the breath within him, “Who are you? And whence did you come hither?” It answered and said, “I have come from the force of the man for the destruction of your work.” When they heard, they glorified him, since he gave them respite from the fear and the anxiety in which they found themselves. Then they called that day “Rest,” in as much as they had rested from toil. And when they saw Adam could not stand up they were glad, and they took him and put him in Paradise. And they withdrew up to their heavens.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> For the present translation see E. Isaac, “1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-1985), 1.32; on Enoch and Judaism see M. E. Stone, “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.,” *CBQ* 40 (1978), 479-92. These texts are not paralleled in Qumran manuscripts of Enoch.

<sup>46</sup> For the present translation see B. Layton, *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (II, 4) in J. M. Robinson (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden / New York / Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996<sup>4</sup>), 162-169, 166.

<sup>47</sup> For the present translation see H. G. Bethge and B. Layton, *On the Origin of*

In this gnostic text the identifying questions are closer to the formulation of the *Testament of Solomon*; again we cannot claim a direct relationship between both texts, but it is quite probable that the general structure was taken from the Jewish apocalyptic literature. In fact, these two gnostic tractates stand out because of the Jewish sources they have incorporated in different ways.<sup>48</sup>

In the same way, hekhalot literature has an obvious interest in the names of the angels and in the Name of God. Thus in the *Sefer Hekhalot* the role played by the names of the angels and the form in which the description of the angels is arranged have certain similarities with the ways the different demons are presented in the *Testament of Solomon*:

R. Ishmael said: Then I questioned the angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence. I said to him, "What is your name?" He answered, "I have seventy names, corresponding to the seventy nations of the world, and all of them are based on the name of the King of kings of kings; however my King calls me 'Youth.'"<sup>49</sup>

Again, despite the evident similarities in the wording of the passage we cannot claim a direct relationship; what we can claim is that before the beginning of the common era a formula existed for introducing and identifying powerful beings that was adopted by different trends and types of Judaism. In some way, at least as early as the first century BCE, it was linked to Solomon and to the traditions that boasted of his powers over demons; but at the same time it was adopted by other types of literatures such as the Hekhalot

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*the World* (II,5 and XIII,2) in J. M. Robinson (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 171-189, 182.

<sup>48</sup> On this aspect and the relation between Judaism and Gnosticism see B. A. Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 10-28, 39-51, 124-147. *The Hypostasis of the Archons* is dated to the third century CE and *On the Origin of the World* to the early fourth century CE.

<sup>49</sup> 3 *Enoch* 3:1-2; for an excellent introduction and the *status questionis* see, P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1.223-253; for the translation of the present passage see l. 257; see also I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden / Köln: E. J. Brill, 1980), 190-207; G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (Second Edition; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965). This is not the only parallel that can be quoted to show the similarities and parallelisms of the formula used in writings attributed to Solomon and the ones that appear in the present hekhalot text; in fact, almost the entire text is a description of the angels, their functions and their names (see chaps. 17, 18, 19).

theurgic texts.<sup>50</sup> It is quite evident that the treatment of the formula in both types of traditions and texts had to differ since the exorcist viewed the angels and demons as actual realities, whereas the theurgist was interested in the names of angelic figures as hypostases of divine power.<sup>51</sup> However, both considered that knowledge of the name, i.e. the identification of the celestial reality, presupposed power. Thus, from a common origin in apocalyptic texts, the formula had very different paths of development. We can then conclude that the linking of Solomon with this formula was made as early as the first century CE, the date of 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>; it functioned as an exorcistic device and was considered as such since its use in the *Questions of Bartholomew* to lend the right tone to the summoning of Beliar. The *Testament of Solomon* made use of the same formula to structure its demonological material and to demonstrate an exorcistic technique. Besides, the formula was also used in apocalyptic works and in Gnostic and Hekhalot literature, and it is likely that it was also employed as an identification device in other literary genres.<sup>52</sup>

#### SOLOMON, EXORCISM AND THE MAGIC RING

We have just seen how the figure of Solomon as exorcist appears from quite an early date (at least from the first century CE), linked with an exorcistic formula that most probably had its roots in apocalyptic imagery and was afterwards adapted as a means of apotropaic invocation and linked to Solomon and perhaps to his father David as well. However, besides this tradition that connects Solomon with a very specific exorcistic technique, which quite probably resulted of the development of a Jewish tradition, there were other traditions that enjoyed great popularity in Late Antiquity, such as King Solomon's possession of a magic ring that allowed him to subdue the demons. In fact, we have seen how a ring was used by Solomon

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<sup>50</sup> We are aware of the relatively late date of the *Sefer Hekhalot* (fifth or sixth century CE), but it also contains old traditions; on this see Scholem, *Gnosticism*, 17, n. 19.

<sup>51</sup> On this aspect see K. E. Grözinger, "The Names of God and the Celestial powers: Their Function and Meaning in the Hekhalot Literature," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* VI, 1-2 (1987), 53-69.

<sup>52</sup> See 1 Sam 26:14; 2 Kgs 10:13; Cant 3:6; 6:10; 8:5; Job 38:2. This does not invalidate our hypothesis, rather it supports it: there is such a formula because it is found in very different settings and it functions in form as an structuring device and in content as an identifying device.

in the *Testament* in order to subdue the first demon, Ornias. In that instance, two different traditions appear to be mingled, one concerning the power of a magic ring and the other concerning an exorcistic formula (“who are you?”).

King Solomon’s ring and its power over demons appear in different texts and amulets; both Jewish and Christian texts acknowledge this power and use the traditions concerning Solomon’s ring.<sup>53</sup> The origin of these traditions is quite probably extra-textual, that is, it is to be found in actual magic and exorcistic praxis, in which different objects, such as swords and rings, were endowed with power over the spiritual and demonic world; thus even a very cursory reading of the Greek magic papyri shows the importance that the ring had as a magic instrument in different procedures.<sup>54</sup> However, the mention of the ring in connection with Solomon is usually linked with exorcisms. Thus, we can read in a Christian phylactery against a female demon called Gelou:

[Amulet for small children: concerning Gelou]

In the beginning the word was. And the darkness did not seize him [corrupted text]... Do not enter in so-and-so, the servant of God, in any manner you wish, either by night or day, in the hour of noon, either priest or monk, man or woman, darkness or gloom; you will not enter yet in the servant of God, So and So, residence of baptism.

<sup>53</sup> For specific examples of Jewish amulets or magical bowls where the seal of Solomon appears see Joseph Naveh / Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993), 91 (Amulet 27), 126-127 (Bowl 20); C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (SBLDS 17; Missoula: SBL / Scholar Press, 1975), 32-33 (text 7), 58 (text 18), 108 (text 47), 114 (text 50); E. M. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation texts*, (AOS 49; New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1967), 232 (text 21). As these amulets mention the ring in connection with other traditions about Solomon, they have been studied in the Ch. 6, “Solomon, the Son of David” and Ch. 7, “Solomon the Horseman.” However, it should be noted that the bowls seem to understand the “ring of Solomon” as a hypostasis of power; that is, the mere mention of the “ring of Solomon” has apotropaic effect. The Babylonian Talmud (b. Git. 68ab; the legend of the Shamir) also mentions Solomon’s magic ring; on this parallel see L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (6 vols.; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1968), 4.165-169; 6.299-302.

<sup>54</sup> See, e.g., K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* (2 vols.; Second Edition; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973-74), PGM V.213-303 (On the ring of Hermes: preparation of a scarab); PGM XII.201-69 (Placing [a] ring. A little ring [useful] for every [magical] operation and for success. Kings and governors [try to get it]); PGM XII.270-350 (A ring. A little ring for success and favor and victory). For an English translation and commentary see H.D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago / London: University of Chicago Press, 1992<sup>2</sup>).

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, Amen. Your first name is called Gelou. The second Mourphonto, the third Barichou [...] Holy angels, archangels, Michaël, Gabriël, Ourouël and Raphaël [...] Adōnai. Jesus Christ conquers. The seal of the ring that Michaël the archangel brought and it was given to King Solomon; and blast the evil ones!<sup>55</sup>

In this Christian amulet several details show how previous traditions were reworked. We have here an amulet against a female demon that was frequently linked to Solomon. The dangerous moments in which an attack could happen are named as well the names of every demon. The expression “Jesus Christ conquers” (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός νικᾷ) that appears in our exorcism is also applied to Solomon in several amulets. In the view of the fact that this apotropaic expression is followed by a reference to the king’s ring working as a deterrent against the demon, it is possible that this entire exorcism is a christianized version of one in which Solomon played the principal role. Although the manuscript in which the present amulet is found is dated by its editor to the eighteenth century CE, the actual redaction of the amulet text is very probably Byzantine (sixth century CE?) and the original form could go back even further in time (fourth or fifth century CE?).<sup>56</sup> We find very similar wording in other amulets; however some of them link this tradition to Egypt, which is quite interesting since several of the works studied above seem to point

<sup>55</sup> Φυλακτήριον εἰς παιδιά μικρά· περὶ Γέλου. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος—καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλαβεν. [...] μηκέτι εἰσέλθῃς εἰς τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα ὄπη καὶ ἂν θελήσῃς ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ ἢ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ὥρα ἢ μεσημβρίας ἢ ἱερεὺς ἢ μοναχός, ἄνδρας τὲ καὶ γυναῖκα, σκότος, γνόφος, μηκέτι εἰσέλθῃς εἰς τὸν δούλον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀδ(εῖνα), οἴκησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἰοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἡνεύματος, ἀμήν.—τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον σου ὄνομα καλεῖται Γέλου. τὸ β' Μουρφόντο· τὸ γ' Βαριχοῦ· [...] ἅγιοι ἄγγέλοι, ἀρχαγγέλοι, Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Ὀουρουήλ, καὶ Ραφαήλ, [...] Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. Ἡ σφραγίδα τοῦ δακτυλίδιου ὅπου ἔκαμεν ὁ Μιχαήλ ὁ ἀρχαγγέλος καὶ ἐδόθη τῷ Βασιλεῖ Σολομῶντι καὶ πάταξεν τὰ πονερά...(A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I. 117-118; my translation).

<sup>56</sup> *Manuscript 210 of the Historical Society* (A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 104-129). This manuscript contains descriptions of different procedures for divination and various exorcisms and amulets that Delatte described in the following terms: “Les autres extraits sont des recettes magiques du type ordinaire contre les maladies ou les enchantements. Elles offrent, toutefois, ceci de remarquable qu’elles contiennent parfois un épisode narratif dont le thème présente quelque analogie avec le sujet de la recette et dont le souvenir doit agir par effet sympathique. On peut y observer comment la nécessité d’obtenir une influence magique par une évocation de ce genre amène le magicien à créer des légendes ou des mythes. Ces recettes son encore intéressantes par les renseignements qu’elles nous fournissent sur la nature des esprits et des démons et, en général, sur le rituel magique” (p. 106).

in the same direction for the origin of many traditions linked to Solomon. Thus, we can read in another amulet:

Amulet against the appearance of the day and night.

Jesus Christ conquers. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. [...] This amulet was given in Egypt by the archangel Michael; finally it was given to King Solomon to subdue and chase every impure spirit, weakness, evil, terrifying thing, dreadful thing, shivering, two-, three-, four-, or half-day fever [...] either without form or with beauty of Serpents, Nereids or Onoskelis. [...] flee, evil demon, flee, our Lord Jesus Christ chases you from the servant of God.<sup>57</sup>

It is obvious that this amulet is related to the first one discussed, since it mentions a female demon (Onoskelis) and both Solomon and Michael appear in the same context. Although the ring does not occur in the present text, the same tradition of the ring is at work here. The mention of Egypt as the place where the amulet was given could mean that the whole tradition originated in a Hellenized Jewish setting in Egypt. In fact, there are other textual witnesses found in older manuscripts that even supplement the information about the origin of the tradition, establishing a sort of chain of tradition in which the archangel Michael, Moses and finally Solomon are presented as links in the transmission of the amulet.<sup>58</sup> Besides the Greek witnesses,

<sup>57</sup> Φυλακτήριον εἰς φάντασμα καὶ ξύπασμα τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.

Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικά· εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος— τοῦτο τὸ φυλακτήριον ἐδόθη ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ· ὕστερον ἐδόθη τῷ βασιλεῖ Σολομῶντι τοῦ ὑποτάξει καὶ ἐκδιώξει πᾶν ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα, ἀσθένειαν, βασκανίαν, φοβερισμόν, φρικιασμόν, ῥίγον, πυρετὸν διτταῖον, τριταῖον, τεραρταῖον ἢ καθημερινόν ἢ συναπαντήματος ἢ ἐπιβουλευτικόν ἢ ἐγκαταχθόνιον ἢ πλάγιον ἢ μαγευμένον ἢ κουφὸν ἢ ἀλάλον ἢ λαλούντα ἢ ἐπιληπτικόν ἢ πρόσχημα ἢ ἄπαξ ἢ κοράκινον· ἢ ἀσυμμόρφου ἢ Καλῆς τῶν Ὀφείων ἢ Νεραίδος ἢ Ὀνοσκελίδος· [...] φεῦγε, δαιμόνιον πονηρόν, φεῦγε ὄλον τοῦ δαίμονος· ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χ(ριστὸς) σε διώκει ἀπὸ τὸν δούλον τοῦ Θεοῦ (A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* [Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège XXXVI: Liège/ Paris: Édouard Champion, 1927] 122-123). For amulets where "Solomon conquers" appears instead of "Jesus conquers" see Ch. 7, "Solomon the Horseman."

<sup>58</sup> See for example the following amulet (*Parisinus grae.* 2316 of the XVth century, fol 316r; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966 repr. from the Leipzig edition of 1904], 293): "This amulet was given to Moses in Egypt; afterwards it was given to Solomon to subdue every impure spirit, weakness, evil, dreadful thing, shivering and shivering fever, tertian and quartan fever... (τούτο τὸ φυλακτήριον ἐδόθη τῷ Μωυσῇ ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ· ὕστερον ἐδόθη τῷ Βασιλεῖ Σολομῶντι τοῦ ὑποτάξει πᾶν ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα, ἀσθεναίαν, βασκανίαν, φοβερισμόν, φρικιασμόν, ῥίγος καὶ ῥιγοπυρητόν, τριταῖον καὶ τεταρταῖον...). The wording of both amulets is identical except for minor variants; for other examples of

we can add a Jewish incantation from the Cairo Genizah (TS K1.18,30, 1.3ff) written in Hebrew; the text is interesting because Solomon is mentioned and there is a direct reference to the various diseases that also occur in the Greek amulets:

[...]Moreover, I adjure and decree upon you (עוד אני משביע וגזר) (על־יכם), all kinds of demons and demonesses, lilis and liliths, evil spirits, male harmful spirits and female harmful spirits, male and female, those (composed) of fire, those (composed) of water, those (composed) of air, and those (composed) of earth. Specifically, you seven spirits about which Ashmedai, king of the demons, taught King Solomon, who enter the wombs of women and deform their offspring [...] And furthermore, I adjure and decree upon you, all sorts of evil diseases, and evil pains, every kind of nausea and dysentery, indisposition, pain and infirmity...<sup>59</sup>

It seems likely that some of the Hebrew words that designate diseases are reflected in Greek as the word weakness (ἀσθένεια); besides, the presence of Solomon, Ashmedai and the seven spirits could be a reworking of the material of *Test. Sol.* 8 and a further proof of the relationship of astrology to the king, since these seven spirits most probably stand for the seven planets.<sup>60</sup> There are other Hebrew amulets that parallel the diseases adjured in the Greek examples, especially the fever and shivering fever, which shows that we have

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this type of amulet, which establishes a curious chain of tradition, see A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensa*, 126, in which the same wording appears again. Generally speaking, the repeated mention of fevers and different evil things goes back with all certainty to the third or fourth century CE, since there are several examples of amulets that have the same formulation, although not always linked to the apotropaic power of Solomon, these can be dated around these centuries; for the text of these amulets see, Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, II.212 (P 5b), II.218 (P 10; that can be compared with Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensa*, 243-247 *passim*), II.227 (P 18); see also W. Brashear, "Vier Berliner Zaubertexte," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 17 (1975), 27-30; for the English translation of this last example see Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 311 (PGM CXI 1-10).

<sup>59</sup> This amulet was edited and translated by J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993), 152-157; the present translation is that of L. H. Schiffman and M. D. Schwartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah. Selected texts from the Taylor-Schechter Box K1*. (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 74; see also P. Schäfer, "Jewish Magic Literature in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages," *JJS* 41 (1990), 75-91, especially 84-85. On the traditions about Solomon and Asmodeus see L. Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II: 217-220, and Schiffman and Schwartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 80.

<sup>60</sup> The beginning of the same amulet ("I have adjured and decreed upon you, O zodiacal sign Leo" [Schiffman / Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 73]) makes the link between Solomon and astrology even clearer.

the same kind of formulae, differing only in the language in which they are expressed and pointing to a clear relationship among them.<sup>61</sup>

As every one of these amulets is a Christian reworking of older models and formulae whose earlier stage could be at least the third or fourth century CE, it would be useful to find an older example in a clearly syncretistic setting in order to assess how widespread the motif was. Fortunately, there is such an example in which the seal of Solomon is mentioned within a syncretistic context that, nonetheless, indicates the importance of the Jewish material. The example is from the so-called “Great magic Papyrus” of Paris, which is itself a veritable compendium of magic practices in Late Antiquity; it was copied around the beginning of the fourth century which means that its *Vorlage* is even older, perhaps going back to the end of the second century CE or the beginning of the third.<sup>62</sup> The fragment (*PGM* IV: 3007-86) is entitled “a tested charm of Pibechis” and describes a procedure to help those possessed by demons.<sup>63</sup> It reads as follows:

A tested charm of Pibechis for those possessed by demons. Take oil of unripe olives with the herb mastigia and the fruit pulp of the lotus, and boil them with colorless marjoram while saying, [*nomina barbara*], and come out from NN (add the usual). The phylactery: On a tin lamella write [*nomina barbara*], and hang it on the patient. It is terrifying to every daimon, a thing he fears. After placing [the patient] opposite [to you], conjure. This is the conjuration: “I conjure you by the god of the Hebrews, Jesus, [*nomina barbara*], [...]. I conjure you by the one who appeared to Osrael (=Israel) in a shining pillar and a cloud by day, who saved his people from the Pharaoh and brought upon Pharaoh the ten plagues because of his disobedience. I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, to tell whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by the seal which Solomon placed on the tongue of Jeremiah, and he told. You also tell whatever sort you may be, heavenly or aerial, whether terrestrial or subterranean, or netherwordly or Ebousaeus or Cherseus or Pharisaeus, tell whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by the god, light-bearing, unconquerable, who knows what is in the heart of every living being, the one who formed from dust the race

<sup>61</sup> On this see Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem / Leiden: Magnes Press / E.J. Brill, 1985), 224-225; idem, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 61-66, 80-84; Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 100-105, 113-122.

<sup>62</sup> On this papyrus see Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I.64-65.

<sup>63</sup> This individual was a legendary magician from Egypt. See K. Preisendanz, “Pibechis,” *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 20 (1941), 1310-1312.

of humans, the one who, after bringing them out from obscurity, packs together the clouds, waters the earth with rain and blesses its fruit, [the one] whom every heavenly power of angels and of archangels praises. I conjure by the great god SABAOTH, through whom the Jordan River drew back and the Red Sea, which Israel crossed, became impassable, because I conjure you by the one who introduced the one hundred and forty languages and distributed them by his own command. I conjure you by the one who burned up the stubborn giants with lightning, whom the heaven of heavens praises, whom the wings of cherubim praise. I conjure by the one who put the mountains around the sea [or] a wall of sand and commanded the sea not to overflow. The abyss obeyed; and you obey, every daimonic spirit, because I conjure you by the one who causes the four winds to move together from the holy aions, [the] skylike, sealike, cloudlike, light-bringing, unconquerable [one]. I conjure [you] by the one in holy Jerusalem, before whom the unquenchable fire burns for all time, with his holy name, IAEOBAPHRENEMOUN (formula), the one before whom the fiery Gehenna trembles, flames surround, iron burst asunder and every mountain is afraid from its foundation. I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, by the one who oversees the earth and makes its foundations tremble, [the one] who made all things which are not into that which is. And I adjure you, the one who receives this conjuration, not to eat pork, and every spirit and daimon, whatever sort it may be, will be subject to you. And while conjuring, blow once, blowing air from the tips of the feet up to the face, and it will be assigned. Keep yourself pure, for this charm is Hebraic and is preserved among pure men.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένους πιβήχεως δόκιμος. λάβον ἔλαιον ὀμφακίζοντα μετὰ βοτάνης μαστιγίας καὶ λωτομήτρας ἔψει μετὰ σαμψούχου ἀχρωτίστου λέγων· [nomina barbarā] ἔξέλθε ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος. τὸ δὲ φυλακτήριον ἐπὶ λαμνίῳ κασσιτερίῳ γράφε [nomina barbarā] καὶ περιάπτε τὸν πάσχοντα· παντὸς δαίμονος φρικτόν, ὃ φοβεῖται. στήσας ἀντικρυς ὄρκιζε. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ ὄρκιμος οὗτος· ὄρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἰησοῦ [nomina barbarā] πυριφανῆ, [...] ὄρκίζω σε τὸν ὀπτανθέντα τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν στύλῳ φωτινῷ καὶ νεφέλῃ ἡμερινῇ καὶ ὄρυσσάμενον αὐτοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἐκ τοῦ Φαραῶ καὶ ἐπενεύκναιτα ἐπὶ Φαραῶ τὴν δεκάπληγον διὰ τὸ παρακούειν αὐτόν. ὄρκίζω σε, πᾶν πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον, λαλήσαι, ὅποιον καὶ ἂν ᾖς, ὅτι ὄρκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς σφραγίδος, ἣς ἔθετο Σολομῶν ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ Ἰηρεμίου, καὶ ἐλάλησεν. καὶ σὺ λάλησον, ὅποιον ἐὰν ᾖς, ἐπουράνιον ἢ ἀέριον, εἴτε ἐπίγειον εἴτε ὑπόγειον ἢ καταχθόνιον ἢ Ἑβουσαῖον ἢ Χερσαῖον ἢ Φαρισαῖον, λάλησον, ὅποιον ἐὰν ᾖς, ὅτι ὄρκίζω σε θεὸν φωσφόρον, ἀδάμαστον, τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ πάσης ζωῆς ἐπιστάμενον, τὸν χουοπλάστην τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸν ἐξαγαγόντα ἐξ ἀδήλων καὶ πυκνοῦντα τὰ νέφη καὶ ὑετίζοντα τὴν γῆν καὶ εὐλογοῦντα τοὺς καρπούς αὐτῆς, ὃν εὐλογεῖ πᾶσα ἐνουράνιος δύναμις ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων. ὄρκίζω σε μέγαν θεὸν Σαβαῶθ, δι' ὃν ὁ Ἰορδάνης ποταμὸς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, ἣν ὠδευσεν Ἰσραὴλ, κατέστη ἀνόδευτος· ὅτι ὄρκίζω σε τὸν καταδείξαντα τὰς ἑκατὸν τεσεεράκοντα γλώσσας καὶ διαμερίσαντα τῷ ἰδίῳ προστάγματι. ὄρκίζω σε τὸν τῶν αὐχενίων γιγάντων τοῖς πρηστήροισι καταφλέξαντα, ὃν ὑμνεῖ ὁ οὐρανὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὃν ὑμνοῦσι τὰ πτερυγώματα τοῦ

This amulet has quite a simple structure: the “technical” matters, i.e. the materials to be used and the actions to be performed, are placed at the beginning and the end of the text.<sup>65</sup> The central part of the amulet comprises a long series of adjurations and invocations which mostly derives from Jewish materials; the syncretism of the amulet as a whole is evidenced by the mention of “the god of Hebrews, Jesus”. The Jewish material employed includes references to events surrounding the Exodus,<sup>66</sup> the seal of Solomon, the tower of Babel, Jerusalem and the light of the menorah in the Temple. Also, at the end of the amulet the necessity of not eating pork and of keeping pure is mentioned “for the charm is Hebraic and is preserved among pure men.” It may be supposed that the magician who edited the charm was aware of some of the laws of purity and of certain Jewish dietary customs and felt that for correct use of the amulet ritual purity was required. The story of the exodus enjoyed considerable popularity among Jewish and Christian magicians and most probably among pagan ones as well, since there are several examples of its use in magic and exorcistic contexts.<sup>67</sup> In the present text it is

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χερουβίν. ὀρκίζω σε τὸν περιθέντα ὄρη τῆ θαλάσση ἢ τεῖχος ἐξ ἄμμου, καὶ ἐπιτάξαντα αὐτῇ μὴ ὑπερβῆναι. καὶ ἐπήκουσεν ἡ ἄβυσσος· καὶ σὺ ἐπάκουσον, πᾶν πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον, ὅτι ὀρκίζω σε τὸν συνσειοντα τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αἰώνων, οὐρανοειδῆ, θαλασσοειδῆ, νεφελοειδῆ, φωσφόρον, ἀδάμαστον. ὀρκίζω σε τὸν ἐν τῇ καθαρᾷ Ἱεροσολύμῳ, ᾧ τὸ ἄσβεστον πῦρ διὰ πάντος αἰῶνος προσπαρακάεται, τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ τῷ ἁγίῳ [nomina barbara], ὃν τρέμει γέννα πυρὸς καὶ φλόγες περιφλογίζουσι καὶ σίδηρος λακᾶ καὶ πᾶν ὄρος ἐκ θεμελίου φοβείται. ὀρκίζω σε, πᾶν πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον, τὸν ἐφορῶντα ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ποιῶντα ἔκτρομα τὰ θεμελῖα αὐτῆς καὶ ποιήσαντα τὰ πάντα ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι. ὀρκίζω σε, τὸν παραλαμβάνοντα τὸν ὀρκισμὸν τοῦτον, χοιρίον μὴ φαγεῖν, καὶ ὑποταγήσεται σοι πᾶν πνεῦμα καὶ δαιμόνιον, ὅποιον ἐὰν ᾖν. ὀρκίζων δὲ φύσα ἀ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν ποδῶν ἀφαίρων τὸ φύσημα ἕως τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ εἰσκριθήσεται. φύλασσε καθαρὸς· ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἐστὶν Ἑβραϊκὸς καὶ φυλασσόμενος παρὰ καθαρῶς ἀνδράσιν (Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I: 170-172 [IV 3009-3085]). For the present translation, see, W. C. Grese, in H. D. Betz (ed.) *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, 96-97.

<sup>65</sup> For parallels to the present text see W. L. Knox, “Jewish Liturgical Exorcism,” *HTR* 31 (1938), 191-203; A. Deismann, *Light from the Ancient East* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978, repr.), 256-264.

<sup>66</sup> The use of Ex 15:26 and Deut. 7:15 in incantation texts is quite frequent; on the use of biblical verses in Magic, see Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 22-30, especially 23.

<sup>67</sup> We find very similar quotations in a long incantation attributed to Solomon, intended to obtain the collaboration of the demons in finding a treasure; we cannot strictly speak here of exorcism since an exorcism tries to expel a demon, nonetheless the similarities of formulation are obvious (A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 29-30):

clear that it was adapted by a pagan, very probably, from a Jewish model as the spelling “Osrael” for “Israel” suggests. This impression seems to be confirmed by the passage “I conjure you, every daimonic spirit to tell whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by the seal which Solomon placed on the tongue of Jeremiah and he told,” where the demon is addressed in a form that reminds us indirectly of the “who are you?” formula found in the *Testament of Solomon* and in 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>. As the seal of Solomon is mentioned immediately afterwards, it is quite probable that we have here a transformed version of same tradition. In this case, a detail about the tongue of Jeremiah, probably inspired by some unknown haggadic midrash, is added to the tradition about the seal of Solomon, which provides further support for an original Jewish source for most of the amulet.<sup>68</sup> The description of God as the sole creator and ruler

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“I adjure you, demons [...] I adjure you by the power of Lord Sabaōth Adōnai who is the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, who chose from all the races and all the peoples Israel, the one who delivered the divine mysteries; I adjure you by the one who spoke to Moses and who gave him the law on Mount Sinai; I adjure you by the radiant God, [...] who afflicted Egypt with the seven plagues and brought out his people from there; I adjure by the powers of the Lord who broke through the Red Sea with a rod and carried across Moses after ordering him to make this thing and who carried his people across the sea; I adjure you by the power of the God of the terrible tent, the one who freed his people with a strong hand and an extended arm” (δαίμονες, [...], ὀρκίζω σας κατὰ τῆς δυνάμεως κυρίου Σαβαώθ Ἰαδωναὶ ὃς ἐστὶν Θεὸς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσαάκ, Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὅστις ἐξελέξατο παρὰ πάσας τὰς γενεὰς καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὸν Ἰσραήλ, ὃς παρεδῶκεν τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, ὀρκίζω σας κατ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ λαλήσαντος με τὸν Μωυσῆν καὶ δόντος αὐτῷ τὸν νόμον ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Σινᾶ, ὀρκίζω σας, δαίμονες, εἰς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν φωτεινόν [...], τὸν μαστιγώσαντα με ταῖς δέκα πληγαῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐξαγαγόντα τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς. ὀρκίζω σας κατὰ τῆς δυνάμεως Κυρίου τοῦ διαρρήξαντος ῥάβδῳ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν καὶ διαγαγόντα τὸν Μωυσῆν προστάξαντος ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καὶ διαγαγόντος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ θαλάσσης· ὀρκίζω σας κατὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς φοβερᾶς σκενῆς ἐλυτρώσατο κύριος ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ αὐτοῦ). This text, which is found in a Greek manuscript of the eighteenth century (*Codex 115 of the Historical Society of Athens*), appears to be a true *cento* or anthology of biblical quotations traditionally used in exorcistic and magical contexts; the full text also mentions the temple, the tablets of the Law and the Tabernacle as apotropaic and coercive elements. Although the copy is late, its sources and the traditions it preserves are quite early (third century CE?); besides, they all also appear to be related to Solomon, who is no longer an exorcist but a magician.

<sup>68</sup> On the haggadic source of the reference of Jeremiah and the seal of Solomon see D. Sperber, “Some Rabbinic Themes in Magical Papyri,” *JStJ* 16 (1985), 93-103; unfortunately, the parallels adduced by the author, although slightly connected with the tradition of the present text, do not shed light on it. Sperber seems to

of nature reminds us strongly of the divine description that appeared in 11QPpAp<sup>a</sup>, where the creative capacity of God was opposed to the incapacity of the demons. It seems that both texts use the same formulations and in both Solomon is mentioned in close connection with demons and exorcism. Finally it should be noted that once more Solomon and Jesus appear together in an exorcism.

This last example clearly shows the importance of the exorcistic tradition of the seal of Solomon because already in the third century CE its fame was sufficiently to be included together with other Jewish traditions within a syncretistic exorcism that was most probably edited by a pagan practitioner. The traditions about the exorcistic power of the seal of Solomon were very much alive by the fourth century; in fact, we possess several accounts of pilgrims to the holy places of the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. who claim to have seen either the seal of Solomon or the place where he used to expel the demons.<sup>69</sup> As these witnesses are undoubtedly Chris-

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explain *obscura per obscuriora*. On the Jewish materials in magical papyri see also M. Smith, "The Jewish Elements in the Magical Papyri," *Society of Biblical Literature 1986 Seminar Papers* (1986), 455-62; M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938), 289-303. Besides, it has to be noted that recension D of the *Testament of Solomon* has what seems to be an allusion to the *Paralipomena of Jeremiah* (manuscript E; McCown, *Testament*, 102-120, esp. 119); the version of the *Testament of Solomon* that Delatte edited in his *Anecdota (Manuscript 2011 of the National Library)*, 210-227 is also clearly related to recension D and, like it, includes the allusion to the *Paralipomena*. We could, then, ask ourselves whether the obscure passage about the "tongue of Jeremiah" being sealed by the seal of king Solomon has something to do with the allusions to the *Paralipomena* we find in one recension of the *Testament*. If so, it would mean that both the *Testament* and the present magical papyrus used the same sources or that both pertained to the same circles. If so the Jewishness of the sources of the material included in the papyrus would be greatly reinforced and the popularity of Solomon as exorcist in Late Antiquity unequivocally demonstrated.

<sup>69</sup> The fourth century pilgrimage of the Spanish nun Egeria is the most conspicuous and early example of such "touristic" visits to the holy places in Late Antiquity; she explicitly mentions both the seal and the spot where it was preserved (P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, Vindobonae: 1893, p. 21): *At ubi autem osculati fuerint crucem, pertransierint, stat diaconus, tenet anulum Salomonis et cornu illud, de quo reges ungebantur. Osculantur et cornu, attendunt et anulum...* ("but when they had kissed the cross and passed by, the deacon stands, he holds the ring of Solomon and that horn, from which the kings were anointed. They kiss also the horn and give heed also to the ring"). In addition to this we can quote the testimony of a pilgrim from Bordeaux who wrote in 333 (Geyer, *Itinera*, 21): *Est ibi et crepta ubi Salomon daemones torquebat* ("the crypt where Solomon examined the demon is there as well"). A very similar note can be found in the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* (Geyer, *Itinera*, p. 154) which is dated to 530 C.E.: *illud cornu, quo David unctus est et Salomon et ille anulus ibidem, unde Salomon sigillavit demones, et est de electro* ("that horn, from which David

tian, they prove that these traditions were not viewed as objectionable or reprehensible among Christians, despite the rivalry established between Jesus and Solomon who were both considered as figures endowed with power over demons.

### CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding pages we have tried to explain the characterization of King Solomon as exorcist and its development in different texts and periods. It is most probable that the traditions that contained information about Solomon and the demons were quite common as early as the second century BCE; the origin of such a link could be due to a transformation of the Hellenistic royal ideology, with its interest in the extraordinary abilities and power of the king, regarded as an individual and with a close relationship to the divine. Such royal ideology, combined with some attributes taken from the figure of the divine man (θεῖος ἄνθρωπος) who in virtue of his superior intellect could rule the spiritual world, is probably the basis for the formation of the Solomonic tradition of exorcism. This tradition had an extraordinary development in the Hellenistic setting of Judaism, and of Christianity when it was still a Jewish sect. The principal feature of this tradition is the use of the exorcistic formula “who are you?,” which at Qumran (11QP<sup>a</sup>) already appears in exorcisms where Solomon seems to play some role. The combination of the formula and the figure of the king occurs in a fully developed form in the exorcistic handbook called *Testament of Solomon*;

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was anointed and Solomon as well, and that ring, with which Solomon sealed the demons and which is made from electrum”). The mention of electrum as the material from which the ring was made is also found in an alchemical text preserved in Syriac (see the Ch. 9, “Solomon the Astrologer”), which clearly shows the acceptance of the traditions about the seal of Solomon in very different settings and the fidelity to the nucleus of such traditions. Finally, we can observe in the following passage from the *Breviarium* (Geyer, *Itinera*, p. 153) how different traditions were integrated in everyday life: *in circuitu duodecim columnarum marmorearum (omnino incredibile), super ipsas columnas hydriae argenteae duodecim, ubi sigillavit Salomon daemones* (“in a circle there are twelve columns made of marble [absolutely unbelievable], over the same columns there are twelve vessels made of silver, where Solomon sealed the demons”). The pilgrim is describing the apse of the church of Constantinople, the Martyrium; the fact that elements from the traditions concerning Solomon’s power over the demons were forged for the pious tourist again shows the popularity of such traditions and the inability of the church to uproot such beliefs from the people’s imagination.

in this work both Solomon and the formula are clearly linked, functioning together as the structuring and pseudepigraphical device that forms the framework of the text. This combination occurs in other works, such as the *Questions of Bartholomew*, which can be dated between the second and fifth century CE; in this text the role of Solomon and the exorcistic formula is not so central but they are introduced in a pseudo-exorcist context, which seems to prove that they were naturally associated with this type of situation. Such traditions enjoyed considerable popularity in a period extending from the first century CE to the eighth CE, when they undergo further development with the addition of folkloristic elements that diverge from the source tradition about Solomon and the demons.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> We can find an indirect account of the popularity of Solomon as an exorcist in the works of several early Byzantine chronographers: Georgios Hamartolos, ca 850 (Chron. II 42, 4; *Patrologia Graeca* 110: 249 c); Cedrenus, ca 1100 (*Patrologia Graeca* 121:156 B, 196 D); Zonaras, ca 1150 (*Patrologia Graeca* 134: 168 B); Michael Glykas, ca 1150 (*Patrologia Graeca* 158, 349 C); Niketas Akominatos Choniates, ca 1200 (De Manuele Comneno IV 95 [*Patrologia Graeca* 139, 489 A]). All these writers when describing Solomon draw extensively on Josephus' *Antiquities*, specially from the part where the special wisdom of Solomon regarding the demons and an explicit case of exorcism in his name are reported (*Jewish Antiquities* 8:42-49). The fact that all of them agree in reporting the power over the demons allegedly possessed by Solomon, instead of omitting such a dubious account, seems to suggest that in their time such a characterization of the king was *vox populi* and that, in consequence, the necessity for some kind of support was acutely felt. On these Byzantine authors, see K. Preisendanz, "Solomo," *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. 8 (1956), 660-704, esp. 660-666.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# SOLOMON THE HERMETIC SAGE

### INTRODUCTION

Although the title chosen for this chapter is quite hermetic in itself, it responds to the need to define a characterization of King Solomon that appears in two of the most important works of what has been termed Hellenistic Judaism. Hermeticism is a philosophical and theological movement of Late Antiquity that is intimately linked to the legendary figure of the Egyptian god Thoth also known by the Greeks as Hermes Trismegistos (Hermes the Thrice-Great), who was considered the inventor of writing and patron of all the arts dependent on writing. The main manifestation of this movement is a collection of treatises (*Hermetica*) written in Greek and Latin in the form of Platonic dialogues from the mid-first century until the third century CE.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, *Wisdom of Solomon* and the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus introduce an image of King Solomon that adds traits not present in their biblical sources and incorporate ideas related to so-called “popular” Hermeticism.<sup>2</sup> This kind of Hermeticism was principally concerned first with astrology, and later on with medicine, alchemy and magic, whereas “learned” Hermeticism was interested in theology and philosophy. The first kind of Hermeticism arose around the first century CE and was very much indebted to current theories about the unity of the cosmos and to concepts about the sympathy and antipathy of all the elements of the world.<sup>3</sup> Both popular Hermetism and the occult sciences have in common their belief in the genuine usefulness of the knowledge they manipulate; the power to

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<sup>1</sup> See G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> On ‘popular’ Hermeticism see A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d’Hermès Trismégiste* (3 vols; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1986), 1.187-200.

<sup>3</sup> About the sympathetic link between substances and the corresponding “energies” (demons, planets, gods...) see A. J. Festugière, *L’idéal religieux des Grecs et l’Évangile* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1932), 294-303.

change states of nature and life is what both pursue.<sup>4</sup> However, this distinction between “popular” and learned Hermetism should not be over-emphasized, since even so-called popular Hermetism presupposed a social and cultural milieu that may hardly be defined as popular.

*Wisdom of Solomon* and the *Jewish Antiquities* are dated to the first century CE; *Wisdom* is located in a very hellenized Jewish setting, probably in Egypt, whereas the *Antiquities*, written in Rome, can be defined as a type of apologetic history addressed to gentile Greek readers. Both texts demonstrate adaptation of Hermetic doctrines to the figure of Solomon by starting from a particular exegesis of the biblical source. In the case of *Wisdom of Solomon*, the formulation of that adaptation is more ‘learned’ and shows the influence of some of the philosophical doctrines of the period, principally of the Stoic school. In the case of *Antiquities*, the formulation follows the biblical source more closely, although transforming it in ways that show the probable influence of those Hermetic doctrines, or at least of some similar movement.<sup>5</sup> Since a considerable number of the Hermetic doctrines could have a Jewish origin, such doctrines might have been known to Josephus and the author of *Wisdom of Solomon*, in view of the way they reinterpret king Solomon.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, in the particular case of the *Antiquities*, the interest of Josephus in the portrayal of Solomon as exorcist indicates an interest in usefulness and praxis that is very characteristic of “popular” Hermetism. Let us study the ways in which this transformation of Solomon into a Hermetic figure took shape in each text.

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<sup>4</sup> The magic is not theoretical but practical and is interested in results; thus it is not a *θεωρία*, a contemplative science. Because of this, “popular” Hermetism is interested in the occult powers of animals, stones and plants, since such knowledge supposes the possibility of using them to control other situations or people. However, even popular Hermeticism is distinct from magic and exorcism, since it also has a basis in philosophy and is intimately related to theurgy.

<sup>5</sup> See M. Wellmann, *Der Physiologos. Eine religionsgeschichtlich-naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung* (Philologus, Supplement Band XXII, Heft 1; Leipzig: Dieterichsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930), 58-59. The *Physiologos* is the standard book in Latin and Greek Late Antiquity and Middle Ages about the symbolic and typological significance of animals plants and stones. The Greek version is oldest among the surviving versions of this book. It comes from the fourth century CE but earlier forms of the text can be reconstructed; these forms originated in Alexandria in the High Roman Empire and were, thus, unaffected by Christianity.

<sup>6</sup> See Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.210.

SOLOMON THE HERMETIC SAGE IN *WISDOM OF SOLOMON*

The *Wisdom of Solomon* is a clear example of the combination of Jewish culture with hellenistic philosophy; it has been dated to around the second quarter of the first century CE, as it was probably written during the reign of Caligula (37-41 CE). Written in Alexandria by an author with a sound knowledge of Greek language and philosophy, *Wisdom of Solomon* constitutes one of the most important works attributed to Solomon. Its structure responds to the Hellenistic genre of the protreptic (exhortatory discourse).<sup>7</sup> The work is divided into three parts: the description of wisdom's gift of immortality (1-6:21); the nature and power of wisdom and Solomon's quest for her (6:22-10:21); and divine wisdom or justice in the Exodus (11-19).<sup>8</sup> The pseudepigraphical ascription clearly determines the structure of the work; although *Wisdom of Solomon* does not mention the king explicitly, it employs a complex system of allusions that makes this unnecessary: thus, Wis 1-6 refers constantly to Prov 1-9, which serves as a model and, at the same time, as a token of Solomonic authorship.<sup>9</sup>

The figure of the king is based, on the one hand, on the biblical text which furnishes the legendary notes, and on the other, on the attributes of Hellenistic theories of monarchy.<sup>10</sup> However in Wis 6:22 and 7:15-22, which belong to the core of the work (Wis 6:22-10 -

<sup>7</sup> See J. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and its Consequences* (AnaBib 41; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970), 117-121.

<sup>8</sup> On the issues of structure, original language, sources, and genre see: D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (AB 43; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979), especially 1-69 for an introduction to the text, and 4-9 for the division of contents; C. Larcher, *Études sur le Livre de la Sagesse* (EtBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1969); idem, *Le Livre de la Sagesse ou la Sagesse du Salomon* (3 vols; EtBib ns; Paris: Gabalda, 1984); D. Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in Mulder / Sysling (eds.), *Mikra*, 379-419; idem, "Pseudonymity," 243-253; P. W. Skehan, "The Text and Structure of the Book of Wisdom," *Traditio* 5 (1945), 1-12.

<sup>9</sup> See P. W. Skehan, "The Literary Relationship of the Book of Wisdom to Earlier Wisdom Writings," in idem, *Studies in Israelite Poetry and Wisdom* (CBQMS 1; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1971), 171-172; Larcher, *Études*, 97-99. For an account of the parallels see Dimant, "Pseudonymity," 247.

<sup>10</sup> On the Hellenistic ideology of the monarchy see, E. R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," *YCS* 1 (1928) 50-100; G. D. Aalders, *Plutarch's Political Thought* (Amsterdam, Oxford, New York: North Holland Publishing Company, 1982); A. Delatte, *Essai sur la politique pythagoricienne* (Genève: Slatknie Reprints, 1979).

10:21), the figure of Solomon and the knowledge attributed to him are interpreted in quite novel terms.

In Wis 6:22, Solomon tells the rulers of earth that he will communicate to them what wisdom is without hiding any mystery. Here, Solomon appears as a teacher of a special knowledge that is to be communicated to students, a trait that also appears in other works such as the *Testament of Solomon* or the *Hygromanteia*, where Solomon is the teacher of secrets.<sup>11</sup>

In Wis 7:15-22, first the giver of the knowledge is identified, God himself is his teacher; thereafter, the exact nature of the promised knowledge is described in terms that point to a reinterpretation of the biblical source:

15. God grant me that I speak in accord with his wish,  
and conceive thoughts worthy of his gifts,  
for he himself is both the guide of Wisdom and corrector of the wise.  
16. Both we and our words are in his hands, as well as all understanding  
and craftsmanship.  
17. For it was he who gave me unerring knowledge of existent being,  
to know the structure of the universe and the operation of the elements,  
18. the beginning, and the end, and middle of the times, the changes  
of the solstices and the vicissitudes of the seasons;  
19. the cycles of the year and the positions of the stars,  
20. the natures of living creatures and the tempers of beasts; the violent  
force of spirits and the reasonings of men;  
the species of plants and the virtues of the roots,  
21. I learned both what is hidden and what is manifest,  
for Wisdom, the artificer of all, taught me.<sup>12</sup>

The interpreters of the passage usually limit themselves either to furnishing Hellenistic and biblical parallels or to playing down the elements that do not correspond to what they suppose to be the 'correct' theology of the book.<sup>13</sup> The text, however, is most inter-

<sup>11</sup> The rulers of the earth are called *τύραννοι* (Wis 6:9), a pejorative term that denotes a kind of lesser ruler and to whom Solomon offers himself as a teacher of wisdom.

<sup>12</sup> For the present translation see Winston, *Wisdom*, 172.

<sup>13</sup> Thus, Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 172-177) provides very useful parallels but does not throw light on the passage under analysis except in a very indirect way; Larcher (*Études*, 178-201; *Commentaire*, 467-479) gives an exhaustive semantic and ideological analysis but tends to play down the suspicious details, although he at least acknowledges their existence. See also M. Gilbert, "La figure de Salomon en Sg 7-9," in R. Kuntzmann and J. Schlosser (eds.) *Études sur le Judaïsme Hellenistique: Congrès de Strasbourg* [1983] (LD 119; Paris: Cerf, 1984), 225-49; idem, "La structure de la prière de Salomon (Sg 9)," *Biblica* 51 (1970), 301-331.

esting if we bear in mind the existence of later texts where Solomon, Hermetism and astrology appear in contact.<sup>14</sup> The text states that the provider of the knowledge is God, whereas Solomon is only a disciple, who wishes to communicate the secrets handed down to him (Wis 7: 15-16); this fact reminds us of the general structure of Hermetic writings where Hermes, the god, gives to a disciple exact knowledge about the universe.<sup>15</sup> These two verses serve as an introduction to the catalogue of knowledge, which is then listed in detail.

The exact nature of the knowledge is explicitly detailed in Wis 7:17: the knowledge is 'infallible' because it is divinely given and it encompasses the whole universe ("the things that are"), its constitution ("the structure of the world") and the working of its ultimate components ("the activity of the elements"). The Greek term for elements (στοιχεία) is clearly related to the Greek doctrine of the four elements (earth, water, air, fire), which is predominant in Hermetic teachings; an allegorical exegesis of 3 *Kingdoms* 5:13-14 supplies another reason for its presence in the text.<sup>16</sup>

In Wis 7:18, the nature of Solomon's knowledge is described; here, time and chronological matters are at the core. The terms used do not refer to history, but to the knowledge of temporal divisions; thus, χρόνοι means the times measured by the cycles of the planets, and the expression «the beginning, the end and the middle» is all-inclusive and signifies an exhaustive knowledge. The second part of the verse adds astronomical-astrological observations ("the changes of the solstices, the alternations of the seasons"), which are yet more precisely referred to in Wis 7:19 ("the cycles of the year and the

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<sup>14</sup> Thus, Festugière interprets the passage in a magic-mystical way (*La révélation*, 1.41). Besides, it is clear that there are resemblances to the lists of secret things in apocalyptic literature; see M. E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God*, F. M. Cross et al. (eds.) (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 436-37.

<sup>15</sup> For a modern study of general Hermetic conceptions see Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 6-45.

<sup>16</sup> On this aspect, see Ch. 3, above. It is probable that this interpretation of the biblical text is quite early (first century BCE). We find in the *Koivanides* (first century CE) and in the Hermetic writings (Sto. Herm. Exc XIII [Kore Kosmou] 42) a similar kind of allegorical interpretation: "Les *Koivanides* formaient un bestiaire où les animaux étaient étudiés selon les lettres de l'alphabet (κατὰ στοιχείου). Dans l'ouvrage original, l'ordre suivi était: oiseaux, animaux terrestres, poissons. Tel est bien en effet l'ordre hermétique, qui correspond à l'hierarchie des éléments: feu – air – terre – eau" (Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.208).

positions of the stars”). The insistence on this kind of chronological knowledge shows how important it was for the author of *Wisdom* and his characterization of Solomon. Knowledge of time and its division is directly linked with the theory of cosmic sympathy, since on many occasions the power afforded by such knowledge also depends on the exact hour, day and month or on the planet that rules at that moment. Thus, Solomon is depicted not as astronomer or even astrologer, but as one who knows the relation between this power and the time at which it can be obtained.

Wis 7:20 ends the enumeration of knowledge that has been communicated to Solomon; the mention of his knowledge of tame and wild animals (“the nature of the animals, and the tempers of the beast”) is a sign of the exceptional insight of the king, which also includes his familiarity with the power of spirits, the thoughts of men and, finally, the species of plants and the powers of roots. This verse constitutes a veritable repertoire of expertise comprising the core disciplines of magic that were central to popular Hermetism. The reference to the knowledge of the ‘psychology’ of the beasts may be interpreted in various ways: it is quite likely that the author is employing or alluding to the tradition attested in Rabbinic and Islamic texts that makes Solomon conversant with the language of animals; besides, in astrological texts the mention of the taming of animals is frequent.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, knowledge of the powers of roots and plants is commonplace in magic, astrology and Hermetism.

Finally, in Wis 7:21 Solomon speaks again in the first person; he has known (ἔγνων) the occult and the overt because wisdom has taught him. This verse closes the catalogue of knowledge (Wis 7:17-20) with what seems to be an allusion to 1 Kgs 3:28 / 3 Kgdms 3:28.<sup>18</sup>

As seems clear from the above analysis, the lore that is described has little to do with biblical wisdom or purely scientific disciplines, despite Larcher’s efforts to prove as much. As a matter of fact, each of the points listed is at the core of the Hermetism, astrology, or magic in general. Thus, on the one hand, the conception of the elements

<sup>17</sup> See the *Hygromanteia of Solomon* (Appendix 1) passim; cf. also the gloss of Cantacuzenus quoted in Larcher, *Commentaire*, p. 474: καὶ ὅπως ταῦτα καταγοητεύεται καὶ τιθασοῦται, καὶ τὴν ἀγριότητα πρὸς τὸ φιλόανθρωπον μετασκευάζει (“and in this way those are enchanted and tamed, and he transforms the wild beast into being amicable towards men;” my translation).

<sup>18</sup> φρόνεσις θεοῦ; חכמת אלהים.

and the structure of the universe has parallels in Hermetic texts;<sup>19</sup> on the other, astrological/astronomical terms are used throughout the text;<sup>20</sup> and finally, mention of the tempers of animals and beasts is also found in the so-called *Physica*.<sup>21</sup> In the same way, the reference to the spirits points to traditions that we will see at work in other writings of the period; and the interest in the knowledge of plants and roots that the text suggests does not seem to refer a descriptive botany.<sup>22</sup>

All the elements of Solomon's knowledge are based on the same concept: cosmic sympathy.<sup>23</sup> Thus, Solomon is described as a very

<sup>19</sup> Cf A. D. Nock and A. J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum* (4 vols; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1972), 1.44, 61, 99, 116, 182; 2.205, 298; 3.24, 35.

<sup>20</sup> τροπῶν ἀλλαγᾶς (Wis 7:18), ἄστειρων θέσεως (Wis 7:19). For other astrological terms that appear in *Wisdom of Solomon* see Larcher, *Études*, 188. About astrology see, F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and the Romans* (American Lectures on the History of Religions Series 1911-12; New York / London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912).

<sup>21</sup> See Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.143, 154, 195, 200. In fact the *Physika* could have Jewish roots: "Comme le poème sur les poissons de Marcellus de Sidé (sous Hadrien) s'inspire très directement des *Koiranides*, celles-ci remontent donc au moins à la fin du Ier siècle de notre ère. [...] Ces trois textes (Timothée de Gaza, *Physiologus*, *Koiranides*) dérivent d'un même ouvrage de *Physika* du Ier siècle de notre ère, et cet ouvrage est si fortement marqué d'influences juives qu'on doit le supposer écrit par un auteur palestinien: il semble plausible de l'identifier avec les *Φυσικὰ* apocryphes du roi-prophète Salomon" (Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.210). See also Wellmann, *Physiologos*, 55-60, where this hypothesis is developed.

<sup>22</sup> On plants and their supposed powers see J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanes et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* (2 vols; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938), 1.188-198. Flavius Josephus gives very similar information about the wisdom of Solomon (*Jewish Antiquities* 8:43-45); 1 Enoch 8 speaks of the "cutting of roots" and follows a very similar *curriculum* of lore with evident negative overtones.

<sup>23</sup> See J. M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (Studies in Biblical Theology 28; London: SCM, 1974), 37: "The basis of the system is a belief in non-human, superhuman usually invisible powers, including the gods themselves, the angelic beings, demons of various orders and the souls of heroes and men. But the distinctive development is a belief that these superhuman, supernatural entities are linked by invisible bonds of sympathy to visible and material things which are thus 'symbols' of the power to which they adhere - plants, minerals, animals, times and seasons. A further development leads to the theory that by knowledge of the powers, their sympathies and antipathies and their symbols, it is possible to influence the supernatural world. The art of magic is to collect such knowledge and apply it correctly so as to swing the enormous forces of the universe in the desired direction." On sympathy and antipathy see also Hull, *Hellenistic Magic*, 41-51; Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.90 and especially 1.91: "Elle [the doctrine of the unity of the cosmos] est le fondement indispensable des pseudo-sciences -astrologie populaire ou savante, médecine astrologique, alchimie,- de la magie, de la gnose pénétrée de magie, de la théurgie et de tout l'art divinatoire quelles qu'en soient les formes..."

special type of *Magister omnium physicorum* (“Master of all natural things”), as a model hermetic sage. This characterization of the king is completed by alluding to his knowledge of spirits, in accord with the tradition that described him as an exorcist; nevertheless, this last trait fits in well with the hermetic picture of Solomon, although probably it is the only traditional aspect that was incorporated into his character. The catalogue of knowledge that Solomon masters also is found applied to other figures but with a clearer magical orientation.<sup>24</sup>

In conclusion, in the first half of the first century CE Solomon was transformed into a Hellenized sage but without losing some traditional traits (exorcism); that transformation took place in Egypt and, since it is not likely that it was created by the author of *Wisdom of Solomon*, it reflected a common picture of the king at least in certain quarters. The fact this picture endure and survived would explain how a text such as the *Hygromanteia of Solomon* could be the product of a Jewish environment, even though this transformation of the figure of Solomon began at a quite early date.

#### SOLOMON THE HERMETIC SAGE IN JOSEPHUS’ *JEWISH ANTIQUITIES* 8.4-50

The portrait of Solomon in *Jewish Antiquities* seems to follow the biblical text without outstanding changes. However, as we have seen, his portrait undergoes a careful Hellenizing process, since Josephus wrote the work having a definite kind of reader in mind: either pagan Greek or Hellenized Jew. Due to this audience and his apologetic interest, he retold biblical history so that king Solomon appeared as the perfect Hellenistic king, transforming the biblical account in the light of Hellenistic monarchical ideology.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See the characterization of Cyprian the magus in Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.36-37, and especially 1.375 (Appendix II, “La confession de Cyprien le mage”): “...Je vis en ce lieu des sortes (-τυπος) d’arbres et des herbes en puissance d’agir (ἐνεργέω), comme si (ὥστε) les dieux les regardaient. Et (δὲ) je vis encore en ce lieu 4 étoiles dans lesquelles se trouvaient les vents (πνεῦμα) changeants, la succession (διαδοχή) des saisons et des fruits (καρπός), (54 ro. 2), les différents jours marqués par les puissances (ἐνεργεία) du diable (ἀντικειμένος).”

<sup>25</sup> On Josephus’ treatment of Solomon see Chapter 3 above. The figure of Solomon in Josephus has been studied by L. H. Feldman, “Josephus as an Apologist,” 69-98, who insists too much on the parallelism between the figure of Solomon and Oedipus and who consciously plays down the magical content of AJ 8:42-49.

However, there is an aspect of the portrait of Solomon by Josephus that does not fit the general pattern of treatment of biblical figures and situations in the *Antiquities*; normally, there is a conscious trend in the writing technique of Josephus toward ‘de-mythologizing’ the biblical material; that is, he plays down any notice, situation or event that could suggest a miraculous interpretation or link with what can be defined as the “occult” in the broadest sense of the term.<sup>26</sup> Notwithstanding that, in his portrait of Solomon there are several details that break with this tendency toward ‘rationalization’ of the biblical account. Thus, in AJ 8.42-49 we observe how the biblical story is modified and how several details are added that characterized Solomon in an unexpected way; this text, which is normally quoted as a proof for the antiquity of the exorcistic traditions attributed to Solomon, begins as follows:

Now so great was the prudence and wisdom which God granted to Solomon, that he surpassed the ancients, and even the Egyptians, *who are said to excel all men in understanding*, were not only, when compared with him, a little inferior but proved to fall far short of the king in sagacity. He also surpassed and excelled in wisdom those who in his own time had a reputation for cleverness among the Hebrews, and whose names I shall not omit: they were Athanos and Haimanos and Chalkeos and Dardanos, sons of Hemaon. He also composed a thousand five books of odes and songs, and three thousand books of parables and similitudes, for he spoke a parable about every kind of tree from the hyssop to the cedar, and in like manner, about birds and all kinds of terrestrial animals, and those that swim and those that fly. There was no form of nature with which he was not acquainted or which he passed over without examining, but he studied them all philosophically and revealed the most complete knowledge of their several properties [emphasis mine].<sup>27</sup>

The first part of the text (8:42-44) is a re-working of the Scriptural source (3 Kgdms 5:9-14) as is usual in the *Antiquities*. However the treatment of the text on this occasion is of a rather unusual nature,

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<sup>26</sup> On miracles, magic and the occult in Josephus see H. Attridge, *Interpretation*, 43-60; O. Betz, “Miracles in the Writing of Flavius Josephus” in L. H. Feldman and G. Hata (eds.), *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 212-235; M. Smith, “The Occult in Josephus,” in Feldman and Hata, *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*, 236-256; H. R. Moehring, “Rationalization of Miracles in the Writing of Flavius Josephus,” *Studia Evangelica* 6 (1973), 376-83.

<sup>27</sup> AJ 8:42-44. For the Greek Text and the present translation see Josephus: *Jewish Antiquities* (R. Marcus et alii; 10 vols; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 5.592-594.

since it suggests an image of the king that goes far beyond what appears in the LXX; thus, both our text and the LXX describe the amazing wisdom of the king which clearly surpassed that of the ancients and of the Egyptians, traditionally famed for their wisdom (AJ 8:42 / 3 Kgdms 5:10).<sup>28</sup> Josephus, however, changes the temporal setting of the comparison to his own time and in this way reinterprets the text and applies it to his own historical period; the use of the present λέγονται (“are said”) indicates this and transfers the comparison from the past to the writer’s present. That temporal transference, which is evident in the relative clause (οἱ πάντων συνέσει διενεγκεῖν λέγονται) is supported by the use of present infinitives in the rest of the text (ὑπερβάλλειν, λείπεσθαι, ἐλέγχεσθαι).<sup>29</sup> Solomon is not viewed against the legendary and obscure past of a legendary and mysterious people, as the Jews were for the Greco-Roman world, but against the present of that same Hellenistic and Hellenizing world. Thus, the competition between the legendary Egyptian sages and Solomon is established in the time of Josephus, suggesting with it the existence of a rivalry that perhaps was known by both the Jewish and Gentile readers of Josephus. Josephus, then, is depicting not only a legendary Solomon but an actual Solomon, who is described in terms that Josephus’ readers understood in a particular way. That characterization progresses along with the text, always taking the biblical source as point of departure but adapting it to the readers and their conceptions.

In AJ 8:43-44, the description of a Solomon endowed with extraordinary wisdom follows the path determined by the LXX text: Solomon was clever and wiser than Athanos, Haimanos, Chalkeos

<sup>28</sup> The Greek text used by Josephus for this part of the Antiquities was proto-Lucian, which could mean that he played with its variants to support his adaptation of the figure of Solomon. On the proto-Lucian character of text and its implications for the LXX in general and Josephus in particular see, E. C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978); N. G. Cohen, “Josephus and Scripture: Is Josephus’ Treatment of the Scriptural Narrative Similar Through the Antiquities I-XI?,” *JQR* 54 (1963-64), 311-332; G. Howard, “Kaige Readings in Josephus,” *Textus* 8 (1973), 45-54. For more general information about proto-Lucian readings see Fernández Marcos, *Introducción*, 227-239; Swete, *Introduction*, 79-85, 395, 482-490; E. Tov, “Lucian and Proto-Lucian: Toward a New Solution of the Problem,” *RB* 79 (1972), 101-113; idem, “The Textual Affiliations of 4Q Sam<sup>a</sup>,” *JSOT* 14 (1979), 37-53.

<sup>29</sup> 3 Kgdms 5:10 (ἐπληθύνθη Σαλωμων σφόδρα ὑπὲρ τὴν φρόνησιν πάντων ἀρχαίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας φρονίμους Αἰγύπτου) is situated at the time of the king as the aorist indicative clearly implies.

and Dardanos, sons of Hemaon. Again, Josephus introduces a temporal change with the expression “those who in his own time had fame among the Hebrews (AJ 8:43)”;<sup>30</sup> “in his own time” designates the past but it does so by an implied reference to actual fame of Solomon at the time of Josephus and his readers: the fame that the king enjoys now he also had in his own time. At this point, another transformation of the figure is evident, since Josephus has turned into Jews the obscure characters that appeared in the biblical text; furthermore he transformed the Darda of the biblical text into Dardanos, who was known among his readers as a powerful magician.<sup>31</sup> Again, it seems clear that Josephus has in mind a Solomon who was popu-

<sup>30</sup> και τῶν κατα τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν δόξαν ἔχόντων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις.

<sup>31</sup> On Dardanos as magical figure see R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 163, n. 4; A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die Antike Zauberei* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908), 324. In the Greek magical papyri, we find two references that are related to that figure. In one of them a Queen called Dardania is invoked: “Queen Brimo, dreaded and lawful, and *Dardania*, All-seeing One, come here, IOIE, Virgin, Goddess of crossroads and bull snake are you, Nymph and mare bitch and head / -nodder and Minoan and powerful, [nomina barbara], come here, [nomina barbara], Mistress Phaira, [nomina barbara]; she will come here. Attract her NN to me very quickly, / I myself will clearly convict her of everything, goddess, which she had done while sacrificing to you (Preisendanz, *PGM IV* 2610-20, p. 154: “βασιλεια βρωμιώ, δεινή και θεσμία και Δαρδανία, πανοπαῖα, δεῦρο, καρθένε, ἐνοδία και ταυροδράκαινα σύ, Νύμφη και ἵπποκῶων και νευσίκρανε και Μινώη τε κραταυή [nomina barbara] μόλε μοι [nomina barbara], δεῦρο ἦξει, ἄγε μοι τὴν δεῖνα τάχιστα, τὴν πάντα σαφῶς, θεά, αὐτὸς ἐλέγξω, ὅσα σοι θύουσα δέδορκεν;” translation from Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 86). The other text is the so called ‘Sword of Dardanus’: “Sword of Dardanos: Rite which is called “sword,” which has no equal because of its power, for it immediately bends and attracts the soul of whomever you wish. / As you say the spell, also say: “I am bending you to my will the soul of him NN [...] And below Eros these names: ADONAIIE, ... ΙΑΚΟΒ ΙΑΟ...” (*PGM IV* 1716-1870, p. 126: “Ξίφος Δαρδάνου: πράξις ἢ καλουμένη Ξίφος, ἧς οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἴσον διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν· κλίνει γὰρ και ἄγει ψυχὴν ἀντικρυς, οὗ ἂν θέλῃς, λέγων τὸν λόγον και ὅτι· κλίνω τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα [...] ὑποκάτω δὲ τοῦ Ἑρωτος τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα ... Ἰακωβῆ... Ἰακωβῆ Ἰάω; for the present translation see again Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 69). On this particular text see Nock, “Greek Magical Papyri,” in idem, *Essays*, 1.176-194, especially 190, where he shows the popularity of the text, indicating that it has appeared both on a gem in Beirut and on tablets in the Rhineland. The gem of Beirut has been studied by R. Mouterde, *La Glaive de Dardanos. Objects et inscriptions magiques de Syrie, Mélanges de l’Université Saint Joseph* 15/3 (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1930) [non vidit]. The so called *Sword of Moses* constitutes a Jewish parallel to that kind of magical practice, see the edition and translation of M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archeology*. Collected and Reprinted by Moses Gaster. Prolegomena by Theodor Gaster, (3 vols; New York: KTAV, 1971 = London, 1925-1928), 1.288-337, 69.103. Finally, on other magical swords (μάχαυρα) see A. Delatte, *Anecdota*, 1.46.

lar at the end of the first century and who is consistently compared with a figure with similar characteristics, known by his readers for these special attributes.

In the same manner we see how in AJ 8:44 Josephus subtly transformed his biblical source by combining in a single motif what were two separate items in the LXX; thus, whereas the Greek text of 3 Kgdms 5:12-13 follows its Hebrew source, describing in traditional terms the numbers of compositions made by Solomon and the encyclopaedic character of his wisdom, Josephus changes the setting of the text and makes each of the compositions attributed to the king, into scientific discourses. Two facts support this statement: first, the way Josephus transforms 3 Kgdms 5:13 into an explanatory gloss on 3 Kgdms 5:12 by adding a causal conjunction;<sup>32</sup> second, the combined use of παραβολή and εἰκῶν (analogies and parables respectively) in AJ 8:44 changes the text further, since for the readers of Josephus both terms had a specific content related to the world of science and philosophy. Thus, again the LXX text is transformed by a slight change in the wording and with this Josephus reinforces the traits that Solomon's figure was progressively acquiring.

Those traits become even clearer when we take into account the second half of the same text (AJ 8:44), where Josephus continues his transformation of the figure of the king. Thus, he portrays Solomon as one who has spoken about every kind of tree and plant and every type of animal; in this way he suggests an allegorical interpretation of the biblical text of 3 Kgdms 5:13 that can be related to the στοιχεῖα we have seen in chapter 7 of *Wisdom of Solomon*. Accordingly, each of the living beings stands for one of the four elements: the terrestrial animals represent earth, the ones that crawl represent fire, the ones that fly, air and, finally, the ones that swim, water.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, it is quite probable that Josephus knew of a tradition that connected Solomon with philosophical and Hermetic

<sup>32</sup> Καθ' ἐκάστον γὰρ εἶδος δένδρου παραβολὴν εἶπεν ἀπὸ ὑσσώπου ἕως κέδρου, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ περὶ κτηνῶν...

<sup>33</sup> The translation of R. Marcus fails to reflect that possibility since it renders κτήνη by birds (*sic*) and ἐπίγεια ζῶα by terrestrial creatures. The first translation is incorrect, for κτήνη designates terrestrial animals, not birds; as it is unlikely that we have an hendiadys here, the ἐπίγεια ζῶα should designate a further kind of animal, other than "terrestrial." It is plausible that we have here an alternative term for the ἔρπετα of the parallel text of 3 Kgdms 5:13; in fact, ἐπίγειος, when applied to plants, means 'creeping' (See Liddell and Scott, 627).

conceptions of the four elements, as we have seen the author of *Wisdom of Solomon* knew before him. Both authors attributed to Solomon knowledge that supposed a very particular view of the king; as their works are dated to the first century CE, the first half and the second half respectively, the tradition was quite widespread at least in some milieux.

The transformation of the king continues in the last part of AJ 8:44; here Josephus is free of the biblical source and revises the figure of the king, adapting him to the characteristics of a Hellenistic sage or philosopher. Thus, the chosen wording describes the king as a scientist or philosopher;<sup>34</sup> Solomon investigates nature to become acquainted with its properties, as is typical of a philosopher, and to be able to use its powers, because Josephus is building up an image of Solomon in which knowledge is equivalent to power. Thus, even when he is depicting Solomon as a philosopher he adds some special traits, which mingle the characteristics of philosophers with the thaumaturgic powers of those considered to be more than philosophers. In a way, Josephus predates the efforts of Philostratus in his biography of Apollonius of Tyana; while Philostratus strives (without too much success) to minimize the thaumaturgic features of his hero, Josephus combines in Solomon both figures of philosopher and thaumaturge, emphasizing the thaumaturgical / magical aspects, which is rather surprising, given his attitude towards the occult.<sup>35</sup> That special characterization is introduced by a note that mentions how God gave Solomon knowledge of exorcism and it is defined in reference to the incantations composed by the king:

And God granted him knowledge of the art used against the demons for the benefit and healing of men. He also composed incantations by which illnesses are relieved, and left behind forms of exorcisms with

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<sup>34</sup> ἀνεξέταστον, ἐφιλοσόφησε, ἐπιστήμην, ἄκραν, ἐπεδείσατο.

<sup>35</sup> As Gil proved (L. Gil, *Therapeia. La medicina popular en el mundo clásico* [Madrid: Gredos, 1969], 470, n. 14) Philostratus defined Apollonius of Thyana as a θεῖος ἄνθρωπος, a divine man (*Vita* VIII:7). On the definition of divine man see E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 74. Josephus does not transform Solomon into a Hellenistic divine man, because his characterization of the king when he speaks about exorcism is more in line with the image of a magician. Surprisingly, C. R. Holladay (*Theios Aner in Hellenistic Judaism* [SBLDS 40; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977], 77-79) does not mention those traits and affirms that there is no tendency to deify the king or to elevate him to supra-human status.

which those possessed by demons drive them out, never to return. And this kind of cure is of very great power among us to this day.<sup>36</sup>

We have to consider two facts in this text (AJ 8:45). First, Josephus does not base this text on a scriptural source; here, he draws from Jewish traditions about Solomon, which at least had to be contemporaneous with him. He is very careful in presenting the information, for in the eyes of the Roman authorities the claiming of such dubious powers was definitely suspicious; therefore, his choice of words shows how Josephus minimizes the blame which an accusation of γοητεία could suppose for his construction of the character of Solomon: first, God only *allows* that Solomon could learn such things;<sup>37</sup> second, Josephus consciously speaks of a technique, playing down the negative tones with a rather aseptic term; furthermore, the only purpose of that knowledge was to help humankind, without personal interest or desire for domination.<sup>38</sup> Here, then, the special attitude of Josephus towards the occult is evident from the careful formulation of the text, since, although for some reason he has to include such traditions in his picture of the king, he tries to reduce any suspicious traits which could provoke accusations of sorcery.

The second question is closely related to the way Josephus describes Solomon, referring him not to the past but to the present; we again observe this technique here, since the present predominates in the verbs used by the writer. The verbal forms παρηγορεῖται, ἐνδούμενοι, ἐκδιώκουσι, all refer to the writer's present time, and with it the writer represents a phenomenon that was alive in his own time. The last part of the text leaves no room for doubt: among Jewish people (παρ' ἡμῶν) up to that time (μέχρι νῦν) such healing has power.

<sup>36</sup> AJ 8:45-46; for the Greek text and the present translation see Marcus, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*, 5.595.

<sup>37</sup> An alternative interpretation of the passage could be that Josephus removed any negative trait of such knowledge by making God (ὁ θεός; this word, formulated in this way, had very specific contents for the gentile readers of Josephus) the provider or teacher of Solomon in those disciplines. Thus any polemical accusation by adversaries of Judaism could not be based on a supposed link with demonic or malign powers.

<sup>38</sup> One of the clearest identifying marks of the figure of the magician is the desire for power and dominion over the world either on his own behalf or on behalf of a client. Therefore, when Josephus clearly states that Solomon learned the technique of exorcism only for the benefit of men, he was **safeguarding his general characterization** of the king, making sure Solomon would not be mistaken for a magician.

Yet Josephus felt the need to include an example of the power and efficacy of Solomon's compositions, as AJ 8:46-48 shows:

I have seen a certain Eleazar, a countryman of mine, in the presence of Vespasian, his sons, tribunes, and a number of other soldiers, free men possessed by demons, and this was the manner of the cure: he put to the nose of the possessed man a ring which had under its seal one of the roots prescribed by Solomon, and then, as the man smelled it, drew out the demon through his nostrils, and, when the man at once fell down, adjured the demon never to come back into him, speaking Solomon's name and reciting the incantations which he had composed. Then, wishing to convince the bystanders and prove to them that he had this power, Eleazar placed a cup or footbasin full of water a little way off and commanded the demon, as it went out of the man, to overturn it and make known to the spectators that he had left the man. And when this was done, the understanding and wisdom of Solomon were clearly revealed, on account of which we have been induced to speak of these things, in order that all men may know the greatness of his nature and how God favoured him, and that no one under the sun may be ignorant of the king's surpassing virtue of every kind.<sup>39</sup>

That the above text was included by Josephus within his portrait of Solomon as a token of praise is surprising given, as has been noted already, the special attitude of Josephus towards magic and other dubious disciplines; thus, a careful textual analysis is required to understand why it has been included and its function within the overall structure of the work. Right from the beginning, Josephus is very careful in the way he presents the story: he uses the verb ἰστόρησα, not εἶδον, to introduce the narration. The first meaning of this verb is 'to observe,' 'to see', but it can also mean 'to know' (because one has learned), and it is used among the historians to report or inform about a situation, a country, or suchlike. Therefore, its use at this point of the text suggests that the writer is trying to convince us of the veracity of the story he is reporting since, as a true historian, he is pledged to the truth. The presence of the emperor Vespasian and his sons as witnesses to the wonder reinforces the veracity of the account and, at the same time, confers the weight of authority upon the whole story and its consequences; that authority supposes that what happened happened in the presence of an emperor and, therefore, was observed and approved by an emperor.

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<sup>39</sup> For the Greek text and the present translation see Marcus, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*, 5.595-597.

Thus, the account has to be truthful and cannot imply anything harmful or shameful and the whole figure of Solomon has to be seen in the light of this narrative. It is, without doubt, a clever way to place all the responsibility on the readers.

Why did Josephus include this episode in his characterization of Solomon? Only two possibilities can be given in answer: first, the whole episode responds to a real situation which either was observed by Josephus or was narrated to him;<sup>40</sup> second, the exorcistic / magical tradition to which the episode responds was so well known even to the gentile readers of Josephus that he could not suppress it and had to explain it in some way; let us analyse in detail each possibility.

There are several details that argue against the first possibility. Although we have just seen how Josephus transforms a problematic story by introducing illustrious witnesses, and that fact could constitute a proof for the veracity of the account, further study of the overall structure invalidates its impact. First, we have seen how the verb ἰστορέω is neutral in its meaning and was chosen by Josephus for that reason; second, the text is divided in two quite distinct parts: the first one mentions, in a rather general way, that Eleazar cured possessed men in the presence of the emperor, whereas the second describes a particular case in such a detailed and structured way that it seems to follow very closely the procedures for exorcism that were current in the period. As we know Josephus' penchant for following Greek literary models on other occasions, it is likely that here we have the same literary practice at work.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, the second motive seems a more plausible justification for the inclusion of the exorcism narrative.

Is it possible, then, that a tradition that depicted Solomon as 'Hermetic' sage with the powers of an exorcist was known to Josephus'

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<sup>40</sup> This would depend on which meaning of ἰστορέω is adopted.

<sup>41</sup> Even in cases in which the historical aspect is more obvious, Josephus shows a clear tendency to model them on Greek literary parallels that were known to his prospective readers. A clear example is his account of the suicide of the defenders of Masada where the historical nucleus is cast so much in the form of literature that it is impossible to distinguish between history and literature. In this respect see D. Ladouneur, "Josephus and Masada," in Feldman and Hata (eds.), *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*, 95-113; idem, "Masada: A Consideration of the Literary Evidence," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21 (1980), 245-260; S. J. D. Cohen, "Masada Literary Tradition, Archeological Remains, and the Credibility of Josephus," *JJS* 33 (1982), 385-405; R. R. Newell, "The Forms and Historical Value of Josephus' Suicide Accounts," in Feldman and Hata, *Josephus, the Bible and History*, 278-294.

gentile readers? Although our second hypothesis gains its strength from what can be defined, in a certain way, as an *argumentum ex silentio*, it has sufficient weight to be considered in depth. If we analyse the actual form of the exorcism, we observe how several characteristic elements that usually appear in exorcisms have specific roles in our text. Thus, both the mention of the ring (δακτύλιον) as well as the seal (σφραγίς) remind us not only of the importance of such instruments in magic and exorcisms in general but also of their specific relationship with king Solomon and traditions linked to him.<sup>42</sup> Besides, a root plays an important role in the exorcism, and this specific detail reminds us both of AJ 8:44 and of the importance of the powers of roots and plants in Hermeticism and magic.<sup>43</sup> In the same way, we find that invoking the name of Solomon as a threat against demons is frequent in many Greek amulets and magical papyri; this last detail is fundamental for the proposed hypothesis of a characterization of Solomon as exorcist known to the readers of Josephus, since it supposes the very name of Solomon to contain apotropaic power, and there are several examples of both amulets and papyri in which the king's name works as the principal deterrent against the demons. Finally, the overall structure of the exorcism, with the practical demonstration of its success, has parallels in other exorcisms. This supposes that the figure of Solomon as exorcist enjoyed enough fame among the gentile readers of Josephus to allow the adaptation of pre-existent patterns without much

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<sup>42</sup> Thus different Greek amulets, Aramaic bowls and some Hebrew incantations show how the power of Solomon over demons was usually linked to his seal. It is interesting to note that, whereas the Jewish traditions in either Aramaic or Hebrew emphasize the connection with the seal those that were more Hellenized combined it with references to the power claimed for different plants and stones, following the theory of cosmic sympathy. A work that combines both traits is the *Testament of Solomon*, where the role of the seal and the figure of Solomon are completely intermingled.

<sup>43</sup> In fact, Josephus's characterization of the Essenes refers to their knowledge of and interest in the properties of roots and stones: "with the help of these, and with a view to the treatment of diseases, they make investigations into medicinal roots and the properties of the stones" (BJ 2:136). It seems clear that Josephus adapted whatever the Essenes' interest was into an hellenizing account reminiscent of Greek interest in the power of roots and stones. Thus, the Essenes are transformed into a kind of Hermetic sages whose special knowledge gives them power. It is evident that the transformation of both images (that of Solomon and that of the Essenes) is made according to a similar pattern, which is reinforced by the fact that Josephus felt the need to state the philanthropic nature of such power, avoiding in this way the accusation of magic.

trouble.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the final formula praising the king could prove that the whole exorcism narrative represented an independent unit that was introduced and adapted by Josephus to confirm for his readers the perhaps dubious fame of Solomon as exorcist.

### CONCLUSIONS

Despite the difficulties in defining the transformations in the character of King Solomon as Hermetic, this characterization fits easily within the figure's development in late Antiquity. Several facts support this Hermetic characterization of the king: a) both the date of so-called 'popular' Hermeticism with its interest in astrology and occult sciences and the date of texts studied are to be located around the first century CE; b) there is a coincidence in the theory of the sympathy of cosmic elements; c) the emphasis on astrology and matters related to the stars and the heavens denote a common ground; d) both texts narrate how Solomon had dominion over spirits or demons; e) the criterion of utility is present in Wisdom of Solomon as well as in the *Jewish Antiquities*. Thus, both texts as well as their biblical source were understood and interpreted in a Hermetic manner, which supposes that from the very beginning these passages were related to Hermetic doctrines.

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<sup>44</sup> On these pre-existent patterns see D. C. Duling, "The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8.42-49," *HTR* 78 (1985), 1-25; this author has made a formal analysis of the exorcism narrative, following the study of G. Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) and R. W. Funk, "The Form of the New Testament Healing Miracle Story," *Semeia* 12 (1978), 57-96. Although his analysis forces the narrative into a formal pattern, it succeeds in showing the general common background for both types of text. The exorcism presented in *Vita Apollonii* 4.20 is very similar to the one narrated by Josephus; on this and other parallels see Hull, *Hel-lenistic Magic*, 65-67.

## CHAPTER SIX

# SOLOMON THE SON OF DAVID

### INTRODUCTION

We have seen that the title “Son of David” occurs only in the Old Testament in the post-exilic writings and, except with one exception (2 Sam 13:1), it refers always to Solomon. This title strengthens the characterization of Solomon as legitimate heir of David and it is also used as a means of pseudepigraphical attribution of writings to King Solomon.

However, the title “Son of David” has received great attention from scholars due to the importance of the role it plays in the messianic tradition embodied both in the New Testament and in some Jewish pseudepigrapha. That interest has usually been focused on the study of its development in the theology of messianism in the New Testament. Nonetheless, little attention has been dedicated to the application of the formula outside that context. Its presence in texts where Solomon plays an important role, functioning either as a device of pseudepigraphy or as a protagonist, indicates the necessity of research into the relationship between the wise king and this title to see whether the title was used as a substitute for the king’s name or whether it embodied a particular characterization of the king that could be adapted to other situations. We will examine the terms Solomon / “son of David” and see how these designations work together in different settings.

### SOLOMON, THE SON OF DAVID, IN PSALM 17 OF THE *PSALMS OF SOLOMON*

The *Psalms of Solomon* are a collection of poetic compositions dating to the first century BCE that appear to have come from circles related to the Pharisees. The pseudepigraphical attribution of the whole work to Solomon is undoubtedly later than the single compositions and its rationale is very unclear. In spite of this, the pseudepigraphical attribution is at least contemporaneous with the Greek translation

or the Hebrew Vorlage of the *Psalms of Solomon* and, therefore, took place in a Jewish setting. This attribution facilitated the later acceptance of the work into the Greek Christian Bible. We will focus our study on Psalm 17 where the title “Son of David” occurs for the first time in the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that the role played in the Old Testament by the title “Son of David” is rather minimal. However, this trend changes in the pseudepigraphical literature. In *Psalm of Solomon* 17, the title “Son of David” appears again, but this time it has a clear messianic content that is absent from the Old Testament. The future “Son of David” described in the Psalm is depicted according to the principal positive traits that characterized Solomon in 1 Kings. Besides, it echoes the canonical Psalm 72 (which is also entitled “Psalm of Solomon”), which may provide further support for an early ascription of the *Psalms of Solomon* to the wise king.

After an introduction which depicts the iniquity of the present rulers of Israel, describing them as anti-Solomonic figures, the psalmist asks for a king who is called the “son of David” (17:21), a messianic figure who will deliver the people from present threats. The king, the “Son of David,” will be endowed with the virtues that we also find in 1 Kings as attributes of Solomon, such as wisdom and justice (17:22-26, 35, 37). He will proceed to the organization of both the land and the people (17:28-30; cf., *mutatis mutandis*, 1 Kgs 4:7-19). The “Son of David” for whom the author longs has been taught by God, which relates him directly to the Solomon who in Gibeon asked for wisdom in administering justice and ruling the people (1 Kgs 3:10-15, 28).<sup>2</sup> The “Son of David” will not be a warrior king; the author of the Psalm is depicting a “Son of David” who is more like the peaceful Solomon than the rather warlike David.<sup>3</sup> He will abstain from negative actions such as the accumulation of wealth

<sup>1</sup> The Greek text that will be used is that of Rahlfs’ *Septuaginta*. The translation of the Greek text is mine, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>2</sup> (32) “And he will be a righteous king over them, taught by God” (καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς δίκαιος διδαχτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς).

<sup>3</sup> One of the traits on which biblical tradition, Pseudepigrapha, Josephus, etc., agree when speaking about Solomon is the peaceful nature of his kingdom. Even Josephus, when he describes the reign of Solomon, emphasizes that peaceful character which, ultimately, is rather extraordinary, given that in the Hellenistic characterization of a successful ruler progress as a warrior was fundamental. The characterization of other biblical personalities as warriors is consistent throughout the *Antiquities*.

and military might which, according to the deuteronomistic redaction of the book of Kings, ruined the reign of Solomon (17:33).<sup>4</sup>

The “son of David,” whose image is intellectualized, will rule not by the force of the arms but by power of words and wisdom (17:29, 35, 37), and by these means he will usher in an age of blessing and peace (17:35; cf. *mutatis mutandis*, 1 Kgs 4:20, 25).<sup>5</sup>

All the commentators on the Psalms of Solomon agree in emphasizing their strong messianic color;<sup>6</sup> they “preserve one of the most detailed messianic expectations in the immediate pre-Christian centuries.”<sup>7</sup> They also agree in stressing the links between *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and the canonical *Psalms* 72. Further, the common opinion is that pseudepigraphic attribution must be rather late and thus quite difficult to justify.<sup>8</sup> But at least *Psalms of Solomon* 17 allows another hypothesis; besides the echoes of different biblical texts,<sup>9</sup> there are several points of agreement between the ‘Son of David’ whom God is asked to send in the apocryphal psalm and the “Son of David” to whom wisdom and understanding were graciously given at Gibeon. Thus, the pseudepigraphic attribution to Solomon of the whole of the *Psalms of Solomon* functioned as a principle that structured the final edition of the text, but it derives from *Psalms of Solomon* 17, where

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<sup>4</sup> (21) “(For) he will not rely on horse, rider and bow nor will he collect gold and silver for war...” Cf. the description of Solomon as a hoarder of money and horses in 1 Kgs 10:26-29; despite the fact that the author is probably also referring to the Hasmonaean rulers, the parallel with Solomon is most likely. We find the same warnings in the so-called “Law of the King” in the *Temple Scroll* 56:15-19; both texts have the Hasmonaeans in mind when advising against the accumulation of economic and military power. On the “Law of the King” see L. H. Schiffman, “The King, His Guard, and the Royal Council in the *Temple Scroll*,” *PAAJR* 54 (1987), 237-259.

<sup>5</sup> (35) “He will strike the earth with the word of his mouth forever; he will bless the Lord’s people with wisdom and happiness [...] (37) ...for God made him powerful in the holy spirit and wise in the counsel of understanding, with strength and righteousness...”

<sup>6</sup> See R.B Wright, “Psalms of Solomon,” in Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2.640-649; see also D. Flusser in Stone (ed), *Jewish Writings*, 573-574. On *Psalms* 17 in particular see G. L. Davenport, “The ‘Anointed of the Lord’ in *Psalms of Solomon* 17,” in Collins and Nickelsburg (eds.), *Ideal Figures*, 67-92.

<sup>7</sup> See Wright, “Psalms of Solomon,” 643.

<sup>8</sup> See. G. W. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 203-204; similarly P. Viteau, *Les Psaumes de Salomon: Introduction, text grec et traduction* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1911), 94-104, thinks that the attribution to Solomon is rather late (between the second century BCE and fifth century CE) and quite probably due to a Christian editor or copyist.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Is. 11.

the composition was tailored to fit the principal positive traits of Solomon while deliberately omitting the negative ones. A similar procedure can be seen in the variations on the image of Solomon that *Chronicles* provides in comparison with the nature of his portrait in *Kings*. In *Psalms of Solomon* 17, at least, the attribution has a formal and ideological role, which was extended by the final Hebrew editor or by the Jewish Greek translator to the whole of the *Psalms of Solomon*.<sup>10</sup> In the first century BCE, when the original Hebrew of the *Psalms* was already translated into Greek, a clear link existed between the title “Son of David” and Solomon, and *Psalms of Solomon* 17 was composed with that link in mind. Probably the attribution to Solomon of the whole of the *Psalms of Solomon* derived from it, but for our argumentation this fact is not too important. The author of Psalm of Solomon 17 was asking for a “Son of David” who would be a *Salomo redivivus* without the taint of his errors. Solomon, then, as the “Son of David,” was taken as the prototype of the messiah at least in some Jewish currents of thought. This ‘Son of David’ is described in earthly terms, except for his divinely taught wisdom which, nevertheless, is not described as esoteric.<sup>11</sup>

#### SOLOMON, OR THE SON OF DAVID, IN CHAPTER 60 OF THE *BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES* OF PSEUDO-PHILO

The *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* is a partial retelling of Old Testament history from Adam to Saul. It mixes biblical material with legendary and traditional expansions of the same material, such as genealogies, halakhic themes, dramatic speeches and poetic compositions. The present Latin text is a translation from Greek which, in turn, was translated from the original Hebrew. Its date and provenance are debated; probably it was composed in the second half of the first century CE in Palestine.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> On the mechanism of pseudepigraphic attribution see D. Dimant, “Pseudonymity in the Wisdom of Solomon,” in Fernández Marcos (ed.), *La Septuaginta*, 243-253, esp. 245.

<sup>11</sup> We observe no trait of the thaumaturgic / exorcistic ‘Son of David’ that we will study in the Synoptic Gospels. Therefore, we can conclude that in the brief span between the late first century BCE and the first century CE a substantial change took place.

<sup>12</sup> For a general overview see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Bible Rewritten and Expanded,” in Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings*, 107-110; D. J. Harrington, “Pseudo-Philo, a New Introduction and Translation,” in Charlesworth (ed.) *The Old Testa-*

In *Bib. Ant.* 60, the biblical text of 1 Sam 16:14-23, where it is narrated how David played the lyre to keep at bay the evil spirit that tormented Saul, has been expanded by adding a psalm that has a clearly exorcistic character. Although the ‘Son of David’ title does not appear anywhere in the Psalm, David warns the evil spirit about a descendant of his who will rule over it. Thus, even though the actual formula (“Son of David”) does not appear, it is alluded to. In this way the psalm offers, on one hand, further proof for the effective existence of the title ‘son of David’ applied in a particular way to Solomon and, on the other hand, an indication of Solomon’s transformation from an earthly king into a more esoteric figure.<sup>13</sup>

The psalm is considered to be composed of two interwoven themes. The first is an account of the creation of the world, whereas the second constitutes the exorcism.<sup>14</sup> However, this view of the text misses its real character; as a matter of fact the composition is not a real exorcism, but is only modelled on an exorcistic pattern. Thus, the first part shows the power of God, which is manifested through the creation, as is usual in exorcisms;<sup>15</sup> it includes a *historiola*,<sup>16</sup> which

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*ment Pseudepigrapha*, 2.297-377; J. H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research with a Supplement* (SBLSCS 7; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1981), 170-173; for the text and an English translation see M.R. James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* (New York: KTAV, 1971); H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, with Latin Text and English Translation* (AGJU; Leiden / New York / Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996); for a critical text, French translation and commentary see D. J. Harrington, J. Cazeaux, C. Perrot, P. Bogaert, *Pseudo-Philon. Les Antiquités Bibliques* (1: Text et traduction, 2: Introduction littéraire, commentaire et index; SC 229-30; Paris: Cerf, 1976). The dating is one of the most controversial issues; there are two points of view, the one, maintained by Harrington among others, who defends a pre-70 CE date, and the other, maintained by Jacobson, which claims a post-70 CE date, even for a post-135 CE date. Both positions have a rather feeble basis since they apparently read too much into the text. Nevertheless, Harrington's hypothesis seems to conform more with historical reality.

<sup>13</sup> For a translation and a commentary on this chapter of the work see M. Philonenko, “Remarques sur un hymne essénien de caractère gnostique,” *Semítica* 11 (1961), 43-54; Harrington, “Pseudo-Philo,” 1.373; Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 1.82, 187-188, 2.1173-1180; Cazeaux et al., *Pseudo-Philon*, 2.232-236.

<sup>14</sup> So Jacobson, *A Commentary*, 2.1174, who sees in the account of the Creation a reference to the rabbinic tradition about David's expertise in *מעשה בראשית*; the same author maintains that the exorcism derives naturally from the biblical episode.

<sup>15</sup> In addition to the parallels adduced by Jacobson (*A Commentary*, 174) 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> 2:2-4 provides another parallel in which the greatness of God is opposed to the delusion of the demon's power; on this text, see discussion in the Chapter 4, above.

<sup>16</sup> That is, a small story that furnishes a setting for the exorcism or the magical technique that usually follows afterwards.

precedes the adjuration, and the usual rhetorical questions addressed to the evil spirit, typical of a real exorcism.<sup>17</sup> Here, the interest of the author is not to provide a working instrument against demons, but to justify the affirmation about the Davidic descendant who will rule over the evil spirits.<sup>18</sup> The exact nature of that “Son of David” is controversial, since the commentators are divided as to whether the author is referring to Solomon or to a messianic figure (although there is little messianic interest in the work). If we date the text around the first century CE, we can link it directly with the dates of the traditions at work in the shaping of the Synoptic Gospels. In the New Testament the messianic figure of Jesus has power over demons and it is probable that this power is modelled on an exorcistic conception of Solomon, the esoteric ‘Son of David.’<sup>19</sup> Thus, our author heralds the birth of a ‘Son of David’ whose principal attribute is his dominion over the demons.

#### SOLOMON THE “SON OF DAVID” IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS

In the New Testament, the figure of King Solomon does not seem to play an important role. He is mentioned in Matt 12:42 and 6:29 (cf. Luke 12:27); in these texts, Jesus is speaking to his disciples about the futility of excessive preoccupation with daily life and he mentions Solomon and his wealth in a rather negative way, since all his glory was insufficient to give him equal status with the lilies. Given the context of warning, it seems clear that the author of the gospel disapproved of the wealth that made Solomon one of the Jewish glories of antiquity and was, thus, presenting a negative characterization of the king.

Besides these passages, there is no direct mention of Solomon in the Gospels. However, in the Synoptic Gospels the expression “Son of David” appears in contexts that suggest that the king was indi-

<sup>17</sup> *Bib. Ant.* 60:3: “and now, do not be troublesome” (*Et nunc molesta esse noli*).

<sup>18</sup> “But the new womb, from which I was born, will rebuke you, from which in time one will be born from my loins and will rule over you” (*Arguet autem te metra nova unde natus sum, de qua nascelur post tempus de lateribus meis qui vos domabit* [*Bib. Ant.* 60:3]).

<sup>19</sup> Josephus’ *Antiquities* 8:45-49 and *Wisdom of Solomon* 7:20 seem to be contemporary manifestations of the same tradition. *Bib. Ant.* 60 has the added value of being the primary Jewish attestation of such a tradition.

rectly present. Traditionally, this expression has been explained by scholars either in terms of the messianism that the editors wanted to see ascribed to Jesus of Nazareth or as an acknowledgment of his Davidic lineage.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps in the actual state of the texts such assertions hold true, but the insertion of the expression in these texts and its pre-history suggest that they were first applied to Solomon.

First, for the sake of clarity, we shall establish two groups of texts. The first group comprises Mark 10:46-52 and its parallels in Matthew (Matt 20:29-34; 9:27-31;) and Luke (Luke 18:35-43); the second one includes Matt 12:22-30, 42-45; and Matt 15:22. All these texts have a healing context and, with the exception of Matthew (Matt 12:22-30, 42-45), invoke Jesus of Nazareth in the same way: “have mercy on me (us), [Lord], Son of David”.<sup>21</sup> Let us examine each text and its setting.

In Mark 10:46-47, the healing of the blind beggar, Bartimaeus, is described; Jesus is addressed as the “Son of David.” Apparently, the text belongs to the overall scheme of Mark; Jesus is in continuous travel, with each stop used to teach and to perform healings and exorcisms as a sign. At the beginning of Mark 10, it is stated that the teacher is on his way towards Jerusalem, and the healing of Bartimaeus takes place in Jericho when Jesus is passing by. It is quite probable that this episode was taken from some external source, perhaps a Semitic one,<sup>22</sup> later to become part of the theological construction of Mark. The ailment healed by Jesus (blindness) and, finally, the use of the expression “Son of David” as a title or invocation characterize the story.

In Matt 20:29-34 and its doublet (Matt 9:27-31) the setting of healing is less dramatic and detailed. It seems quite certain that Matthew created the story of the healing taking as a source the Bartimaeus story of Mark, in order to complete the miracle cycle of

<sup>20</sup> About the origin and means of transmission of Jewish royal and messianic ideology, see D.C. Duling, “The Promises to David and their Entrance into Christianity: Nailing Down a Likely Hypothesis,” *NTS* 20 (1973), 55-77.

<sup>21</sup> υἱὲ Δαυὶδ Ἰησοῦ, ἐλέησόν με.

<sup>22</sup> See James H. Charlesworth, “The Son of David in Ante-Markan Traditions (Mk 10:47),” in L. B. Elder, D. L. Barr, E. Struthers Malbon (eds), *Biblical and Humane. A Festschrift for John F. Priest* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 125-151, esp. 133-134: “Since the evangelist Mark must translate Bartimaeus—a Semitic name that means ‘son of Timaeus’—as the son of Timaeus, Bartimaeus, there can be virtually no doubt that some of the tradition here goes back to an Aramaic tradition, and perhaps source.”

chapters 7-8.<sup>23</sup> What is interesting for us is the fact that Matthew retains the title "Son of David" in the healing context, rather than using only "lord" or a similar word.

In Luke 18:35-43, we see the same healing setting; it has been further simplified, since the background is less clear and defined. In the Lucan parallel the healing context is, as in the other texts, linked directly to faith, and the "Son of David" expression still has a formulaic value. All the texts, then, have in common the formulaic use of the expression "Son of David," but the link with Solomon, the "Son of David" *par excellence*, is not clearly present in them.

In the second group of texts, we have to proceed more slowly and cautiously. Matthew 12 has two sections that are particularly important for us: first, verses 22-24 and 26-27, and second, verses 42-45. In Matt 12:22-24 the title "Son of David" is a response by the crowds to the healing of the dumb and blind man; it seems that the original sense of the question asked in this passage was whether Jesus was healing in the name of Solomon or whether he was a Solomon *redivivus*.<sup>24</sup> The Pharisees, according to Matthew, have the answer: Jesus drives out the evil spirits in the name of Beelzebul, the ruler of demons. The rhetorical question with which Jesus addresses his adversaries (Matt 12:26-27) seems to indicate that the evangelist was aware of the polemic about the authority and power of Jesus as an exorcist; the mention of the queen of the South who came to hear the "wisdom of Solomon" and the affirmation that "what is here is greater than Solomon," combined with the repeated exorcistic setting which encloses all the chapters, point to the recognition at an early date of common powers to expel demons shared by Solomon and Jesus.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the polemical competition between Solomon and

<sup>23</sup> See D. C. Duling, "The Therapeutic Son of David: An Element in Matthew's Christological Apologetic," *NTS* 24 (1978), 392-420.

<sup>24</sup> Many Church Fathers saw Jesus as a kind of perfect Solomon; see Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos* in J. P. Migne *Patrologiae cursus completus omnium patrum, doctorum, scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum sive latinorum sive graecorum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1857-1866) vol. 27, p. 324, l. 12; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 8.1.53.

<sup>25</sup> E. R. Goodenough, in *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, (13 vols; Bollingen Series 37; New York, 1953-1968; 2.226) affirms: "Incomplete as I consider the pericope about the unclean spirit in both Matthew and Luke to be, Matthew's presentation of the three together seems to me probably original. In this case we have a direct association of Jonah with Solomon and the unclean spirits, that is, with the world with which magic usually dealt. I see no reason to suppose that this association originated in Christianity. It seems more likely that the power of Christ was being presented as greater than Jonah's or Solomon's in terms commonly intelligible among Jews as describing superhuman power."

Jesus found in later Christian writings reflects in an indirect and partial way the same tradition that would be preserved in Jewish claims of the superiority of Solomon's power over the demons. In the fifth to sixth centuries the controversy continued and the Jews still maintained that the name of Solomon was a powerful deterrent against demonic power, as Leontios of Byzance (485-542) said:

“to whom did the legion of demons say: if you throw us out, send us into that herd of pigs? To Solomon who built Jerusalem, or to the Lord Christ who carries all in his hand? But at once the Jews, lovers of demons, will say: so what! Is it not true that Solomon subdued the demons? Is it not true that he shut them up all one by one? do they not fear him even now? But, O Jews who conjure demons, you say these things in vain: for only the Lord Christ powerfully bound the violent one and tore in pieces his instruments. Because Solomon only did not rule over the demons as king, but also he was subdued by them, being completely destroyed at the end. [...] How, then, is the demons' slave the lord of demons?”<sup>26</sup>

It is likely that Leontios was interested in avoiding the use of the power of Solomon by his fellow Christians; this would be further proof of the specific weight of this tradition in everyday life and, indirectly, offer considerable support to the proposed interpretation of the passages under study: a Christian authority mentions Solomon and Jesus in a context of rivalry concerning power over demons; although he acknowledges the relationship between Solomon and the demons, he denies that it was established on an equal footing with that of Jesus. Besides, the polemical tone of the text indicates that the legend of the power of Solomon was still alive among both Jews and Christians.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Τινὶ εἶπεν ὁ λεγέων τῶν δαιμόνων· εἰ ἐκβάλης ἡμᾶς, ἐπιτρέψον ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν ἀγέλην τῶν χοιρῶν εἰσελθεῖν; Σολομῶντι, τῷ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κτίσαντι, ἢ τῷ Δέσποτι Χριστῷ, τῷ τὰ σύμπαντα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ βαστάζοντι; Ἄλλ' ἐρούσιν εὐθέως οἱ φιλοδαίμονες Ἰουδαῖοι· τί οὖν; ὁ Σολομῶν οὐκ ἐδεσπότευσε τῶν δαιμόνων; οὐχὶ πάντας ὑφ' ἐν ὧς ἓνα συνεκλείσεν; οὐχὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον τούτον δεδοίκοσιν; Ἄλλ', ὃ Ἰουδαῖοι μαγγανοδαίμονες, μάτην ταῦτα προβάλλεσθε· μόνος γὰρ ὁ Δέσποτης Χριστὸς κράταιως τὸν ἰσχυρον ἔδησε, καὶ τὰ σκευὴ αὐτοῦ διήρπασε. Σολομῶν γὰρ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐδέσποσε τῶν δαιμόνων βασιλικῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐδεσπότευθη πρὸς τὰ τέλη καταφθαρεῖς. [...] Πῶς οὖν δαιμόνων δέσποτης, ὁ τῶν δαιμόνων δούλος; (*Sermo I (in mediam pentecostem)* of Leon of Byzance [*PGM 86 bis 1908*]).

<sup>27</sup> As further proof, see *Dialogue with Trypho* 36:2,5-6; and especially *Disputatio cum Herbario Judeo* of S. Gregentius bishop of Taphra, in the sixth century (*PGM 86 642 C*): *Herb.* “Ὅτι μὲν ἐταπεινώσε συκοφάντην ἔχω σοι δεῖξαι, ὅτι οὐχ ἓνα μόνον ἐταπεινώσεν· ἀλλ' ἀπείρους μὲν τύραννους ποτήσας ὑπέταξε· πάν-

In Matt. 15:22-28 the setting changes slightly. The miracle performed is not a healing but an exorcism, to attain which the heathen woman invokes Jesus as “son of David.” The fact that the passage is derived from the episode of the Syrophoenician woman of Mark 7:24-30 is not relevant for our purposes, but the direct link between the title “Son of David” and an exorcism is consistent with the idea that we have developed above. It has been said that most of the Old Testament references to that title are late and applied to Solomon, so the use of the formula in New Testament passages appears to be something more than a penchant for a good-sounding title.

Finally a word must be said about Luke 11:14-32, which is a parallel to Matt 12:22-32 and Mark 3:20-30.<sup>28</sup> In this passage the wording of the source “Q” is quite well preserved; thus, in Luke 11:14-24, which narrates how a dumb demon is expelled and the controversy about which kind of authority Jesus uses to expel the demon, there is not even an indirect reference to Solomon as the prototype of an exorcist: in this passage neither the title “Son of David” nor the rhetorical question “is he the Son of David?” ap-

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των δὲ τῶν πονερῶν δαιμόνων ἐκράτησε, καὶ δεσμίους αὐτοὺς ἡσφαλίσατο. [...] *S. Gergentios*. ὀλομῶν ἑταπεινώσε δαίμονας; Οὐκ οἶδας τί διαγορεύεις. ἡρὸς καιρὸν μὲν ἡσφαλίσατο τούτους ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις, καὶ σφραγίσας κατέχωσεν. Ἄλλὰ γε τὸ τῆνικαῦτα μοι σκοπεῖ, ὅτι νοήτων καταπολεμηθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ ἠττηθεὶς περὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκινδυνεύσεν, ὡς ἡ Γραφὴ μαρτυρεῖ [...]. (*Herb*: [speaking about Solomon] “That he really humbled the denouncer, I can show you, because he did not humble only one, but he subdued innumerable tyrants, terrifying them; he become master of all the evil demons, and secured them as captives. [...] *S. Gergentios*: did Solomon humble the demons? you do not know what you are talking about. Certainly he secured them in jars at the right time, and, having sealed them, he buried them in obscurity. But it seems to me most likely that after he was subdued by the mental demons, and was defeated, he risked his own salvation, as Scripture attests.” This text is remarkable for two reasons: on the one hand, *S. Gergentios* acknowledges to some extent Solomon’s power over the demons as fact; on the other, the text seems to attest to a Jewish source for the legend about the shutting of the demons in jars, which appears also in the *Testament of Solomon*.

<sup>28</sup> On the passage in question see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke. Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 916-937. Notwithstanding his excellent analysis, neither he nor the standard textual commentary on the NT (B. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* [Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1975]) notes that at the beginning of the passage there seems to be a conflation of two texts, for the passage begins by speaking of a dumb demon and afterwards describes how the dumb man speaks when the demon is chased away. Perhaps the composite nature of the text is more complicated than it seems.

pears. However, Luke 11:20 (“the finger of God”) seems to be an echo of Ex 8:15 where the finger of God is mentioned, a passage that was in the Q source;<sup>29</sup> it has to be understood as a proof of the superior power of Solomon who does not need rings, charms or adjurations.<sup>30</sup> Thus, it seems that Luke’s intention was to play down the magical content of the passage; for that, he removed the rhetorical question “is he the Son of David?” and transformed the allusion to the wisdom of Solomon into a comparison between a wise man, Solomon, and a man who has the power to use the “finger of God” (Jesus). Notwithstanding this interpretation, the passage is more evidently “magical” on account of this expression, the presence of which in the Q source points to the sources used by the other evangelists and, then, to the sources that were aware of the tradition about Solomon, the powerful exorcist.

Besides that, the anthropomorphism of the expression, despite its likely Septuagintal origin, resembles the expression *δακτυλίον θεοῦ*, “signet of God,” and we have found a similar formula (*σφραγίς θεοῦ*) in some old Greek amulets, the source of which seems to be Jewish.<sup>31</sup> Of course, we are not suggesting that the passage should be interpreted in this way, but it is likely that the amulets referring to the seal of God had their origin in a special way of reading the LXX passage (by Jews) and then the Q source (=actual text of Luke) by the first Christians (=Jews). All these facts together provide further support for the existence of the magical-exorcistic tradition about Solomon and for its use in NT.

Several authors have studied the problems of these passages.<sup>32</sup> Although employing different perspectives, they agree that the title “Son of David” here does not necessarily indicate an expression or ac-

<sup>29</sup> LXX Ex 8:15 : εἶπαν οὖν οἱ ἑπαιδοὶ τῷ Φαραῶ Δάκτυλος θεοῦ ἐστὶν τοῦτο.

<sup>30</sup> So Fitzmyer, *Gospel*, 922, who notes that the same expression, “Finger of God,” has also been found in a Greek adjuration on an ostrakon from Ashmunen in Egypt (AE 306), which dates from the late empire period and mentions a woman called Maria.

<sup>31</sup> On these Greek amulets see Ch. 7, “Solomon the horseman.”

<sup>32</sup> In addition to the works already cited see D. C. Duling, “Solomon, Exorcism, and the Son of David: an Element in Matthew’s Christological Apologetic,” *HTR* 68 (1975), 235-252; E. Lövestand, “Jésus Fils de David chez les Synoptiques,” *Studia Theologica* 28 (1974), 97-109; L. R. Fischer, “Can This Be the Son of David,” in F. T. Trotter (ed.), *Jesus and the Historian. Written in Honor of Ernest Cadman Colwell* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), 82-97; K. Berger, “Die königlichen Messiasstraditionen des Neuen Testaments,” *NTS* 20 (1973), 1-44.

knowledge of the messiahship of Jesus. If the title “Son of David,” with specific exorcistic characteristics, was transferred from Solomon to Jesus, then we could think that the portrayal of Solomon as a healer/exorcist occurred at least as early as the first century C.E.<sup>33</sup> This would suppose the existence of a Jewish tradition in a Semitic garb and setting that portrayed Solomon as more than a healer, at least when characterized as the “Son of David.” Such a tradition would not differentiate between the healing and exorcistic aspects of the character, because they had been completely merged.<sup>34</sup> Although we can ask ourselves if the healing aspect in the NT is due to an overlap with an Hellenistic royal ideology that sometimes characterized the king as healer,<sup>35</sup> the existence of a Second Temple Jewish tradition, which linked special powers to the royal ideology and figure of the king, is quite likely. Solomon would constitute the expression of that ideology, which, after being modified, was passed on to the Christian messianic conception of Jesus;<sup>36</sup> Clement of

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<sup>33</sup> See M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1975), 80: “...it is clear that by Jesus’ time the Solomon legend had been shaped by popular stories about magicians’ powers and to some extent by knowledge of actual magicians, their practices and their perils. This illustrates the importance of magic in Jesus’ environment and helps to explain why Jesus’ powers were similarly interpreted. Moreover, that Solomon was not only a magician, but also King of Israel and son of David, may have helped some of those who thought Jesus a magician to believe that he might also be the Messiah, the promised son of David and King of Israel. Those of his followers who did think him the Messiah could easily draw on the Solomon legend to justify his dealings with demons, and to extend the story of his powers. Conversely, as time went on, the notion of Solomon as ancestor and antecedent of Jesus led Christians to attribute to him miracles taken from Jesus’ repertory.”

<sup>34</sup> Some of the scholars quoted, due to their theological interests, make a clear-cut distinction between the healing aspect and the exorcistic one.

<sup>35</sup> On the monarchical ideology in the antiquity, see E. R. Goodenough, “The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship,” *Yale Classical Studies* 1 (1928), 55-102; about the relation among the healing “Son of David,” the royal “Son of David” and the Hellenistic “divine man” in early Christianity see C. Burger, *Jesus als Davidsson. Eine traditions-geschichtliche Untersuchung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 44, 169.

<sup>36</sup> Thus, in chapter 66 (“Concerning the Prophecy of Christ”) of the Ethiopic book *Kebrä Nagast* it is said that Solomon was a model for Jesus: “Now, according to the interpretation of prophecy, the name Solomon signifieth in the secret speech ‘Christ.’” That notice about the true interpretation of the name of Solomon is followed by exegetical proofs from Song of Songs (see E. A. Wallis Budge (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba & her only Son Menyelck* [London / Liverpool / Boston: Medici Society, 1922], 105). Similarly, the Mandaean book *Ginza* makes Jesus the immediate successor of Solomon, the Son of David, ruler of demons: “(190) Then, King Solomon, the Son of David, is born and appears, and he is king over Judah and

Alexandria clearly links both figures by making the demons the touchstone in the legitimation of the messiah.<sup>37</sup> In addition to that, different Christian writers continued to link both figures by seeing Solomon as an precursor of Jesus. In this way the suspicious tone of their rivalry of powers was eliminated and tailored to suit Christian orthodoxy.<sup>38</sup> However, such a conception was also known to Christian Gnostic movements, which reflects its importance within the different currents of Christianity. Thus, the Gnostic Christian work *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (VII, 2: 63.4-17) seems to reflect a related tradition:

David was a laughingstock in that his son was named the Son of Man, having been influenced by the Hebdomad, as if he had become stronger than I and the fellow members of my race. But we are innocent with respect to him; we have not sinned. Solomon was a laughingstock, since he thought that he was Christ, having become vain through the Hebdomad, as if he had become stronger than I and my brothers. But we are innocent with respect to him.

In this text Solomon is described as a false Christ, a false messiah; it indicates that there was a tradition that linked the figure of Solomon

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a powerful ruler over Jerusalem. The demons and the devils (dews) submit to him and walk according to his will, until he glorifies himself and is ungrateful to his Lord for the good things. Then, the demons and the devils (dews) turn away from his words and the power is taken from him. (191) Then, Christ, the prophet of the Jews appears. He shouts to the planets and changes them to his side, and each one fights for him.” (see *Ginzā, Der Schatz oder Das große Buch der Mandäer*, übersetzt und erklärt von Mark Lidzbarski [Neudruck der Auflage von 1925; Quellen der Religionsgeschichte Band 15, Gruppe 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978], 28). Here, King Solomon is given the title “the son of David” and in some sense is made a model for and predecessor of Christ.

<sup>37</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Eclogae Propheticae* chapter 53, section 2: καὶ νύξ νυκτὶ ἀναγγέλλει γνῶσιν. ὁ διάβολος ἔδει ἐλευσόμενον τὸν κύριον, εἰ δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς εἶη, οὐκ ἠπίστατο· διὸ καὶ ἐπείραζεν αὐτόν, ἵνα γνῶ † εἰ δυνατὸς ἐστίν, ἂν φησὶ “καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς καιρὸν,” τουτέστιν ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν εὐρησιν εἰς τὴν ἀνάστησιν. ἔδει γὰρ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν κύριον τὸν ἀναστησόμενον. ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ δαίμονες, ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολομῶνα ὑπόπτεισαν εἶναι τὸν κύριον, ἔγνωσαν δὲ μὴ εἶναι, ἀμαρτόντος αὐτοῦ [and now at night he proclaims the knowledge. The devil knew that the Lord was going to come, but he did not know whether Jesus was he or not. Because of that he also tempted him to know † if he is powerful, if he says: “and he departed, biding his time,” that is, he put off the discovery till the resurrection. For he knew that the Lord was the one who was going to be resurrected. In the same way, the demons, when they suspected that Solomon was the lord, knew he was not, for he sinned].

<sup>38</sup> See e.g. Origen, *Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis* Book 10, Chapter 39, section 276; Theodoretus, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PGM 80, 1429.

with the messiah by transforming the king into a model for the messiah, a model that was rejected.<sup>39</sup>

### SOLOMON, THE "SON OF DAVID" IN JEWISH AMULETS AND MAGICAL BOWLS

Jewish amulets and magical bowls comprise a corpus of texts that shows actual magical and exorcistic practice in Late Antiquity. That practical character makes them important for the understanding of the title "Son of David" as it relates to Solomon in an exorcistic context. Furthermore, despite their relatively late date, they preserve traditions that are quite older and that were alive in a Jewish society and in Semitic garb.<sup>40</sup>

In the Babylonian bowls Solomon appears together with the title

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<sup>39</sup> Translation of R. A. Bullard and J. A. Gibbons in Robinson (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Library*, 368. In the Gnostic tractate *The Apocalypse of Adam* (V, 5; 78.27-79.19) we can observe a similar tradition to the one under study: "The fourth kingdom says [of him that] he came [from a virgin. ... Solomon sought her, he and Phersalo and Sauei and his armies, which had been sent out. Solomon himself sent his army of demons to seek out the virgin. And they did not find the one whom they sought, but the virgin who was given to them. I was she whom they fetched. Solomon took her. The virgin became pregnant and gave birth to the child there. She nourished him within a boundary of the desert. When he had been nourished, he received glory and power from the seed form which he had been begotten. And thus he came to the water" (trans. G. W. MacRae, *Nag Hammadi Library*, 282-283). This Gnostic text is difficult insofar as it appears to display no distinctively Christian trait; in this passage, therefore, we either in fact have such a trait, or we have a link with some kind of Jewish apocalyptic tradition that linked Solomon with a messiah, who was transformed into a gnostic redeemer by the author or redactor of the *Apocalypse of Adam*. The reference to the "army of demons" of Solomon seems to point to the general background of the tradition that linked Solomon with demonic power; such a tradition would be easily introduced within the Gnostic world of spiritual beings (aeons, angels, powers) or linked to astrology (see Ch. 8, "Solomon the Astrologer").

<sup>40</sup> As we shall see, the Babylonian magical bowls can be dated between 300-600 CE based on stratification. The Aramaic amulets found in Palestine can be dated around 300-700, although we cannot be certain because the provenance of many of them is unknown (see J. A. Montgomery, "Some Early Amulets from Palestine," *JAOs* 31 [1911], 272-281, who dates some of the amulets ca. 200-400 CE). Finally the amulets and recipes from the Cairo Genizah are to be dated still later, from the tenth century on. In any case that dating does not necessarily presuppose that the traditions contained in the texts are from the same period, if we take into account the conservative and traditional character of magical practice, which tends towards the preservation of magical formulae almost without change.

“Son of David” several times, always within an exorcism.<sup>41</sup> Thus we read:

(15) ...I will bind you with the bond with which the seven stars/planets [and the twelve signs of the zodiac have been bound unto the great day of judgment and unto the great ho]ur of redemption.

(17) ...the devils are bound..... [y]ou will do, with the bond of El Shadday and with the sealing of King Solomon the son of [David....] .... Amen.<sup>42</sup>

In the same way, other bowls refer to Solomon as the ‘King’, the ‘son of David’, which supposes more than genealogical note; his name together with both titles plays an important role in the spell. Each of the examples mentions either the action of sealing by Solomon or the signet-ring of the king.<sup>43</sup> Solomon is the “Son of David” and as such is represented as exorcist. To this principal trait another should be added: in the example quoted we see that the context shows an astrological interest which is reminiscent of Solomon the astrologer who is quite common in texts like the *Hygromanteia of Solomon* in which the zodiacal signs and the seven planets play a fundamental role.<sup>44</sup> Both traits, the astrological and the magical, have merged in this bowl and indicate the chronological endurance and geographical extent of the tradition. Another bowl seems to address the same combination of exorcistic and astrological material in the rather obscure expression “...the luck of which no one has mastered”; perhaps the Aramaic מְזוּלָה refers here to a planet or zodiacal constellation considered as the king’s fortune.<sup>45</sup> In a third text, Solomon

<sup>41</sup> For the text and translation see C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Dissertation Series 17; Missoula, Montana: SBL and Scholars Press, 1975); his work has to be checked against J. N. Epstein, “Glosses babylo-araméennes, I,” *REJ* 73 (1921), 27-58, and idem, “Glosses babylo-araméennes, II,” *REJ* 74 (1922), 40-72; see also J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (The Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section, vol. III; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1913); E. M. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts* (AOS 49; New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1967); Naveh & Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*; idem, *Magic Spells and Formulae*; L. H. Schiffman & M. D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*; P. Schäfer & S. Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).

<sup>42</sup> Isbell, *Corpus*, Text 7, 32-33.

<sup>43</sup> Isbell, *Corpus*, text 47, 108-109; text 48, 110-111; text 50, 114-115; text 51, 116-117; Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 231f.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Ch. 9, “Solomon the Astrologer.”

<sup>45</sup> Isbell, *Corpus*, text 47, 108-109: “This amulet is designated for the salvation, for the guarding, and for the sealing of the house of Parruk the son of Araznis, (and) all of his dwelling. This is the signet-ring of King Solomon the Son of (2) David), the luck of which no one has mastered...”

“Son of David” is described as the one who “worked the spells on male demons and female liliths,” and therefore the exorcistic-magical content of the title is reinforced again.<sup>46</sup> The fourth and fifth examples are almost identical in their formulation; in both a demon called ‘Aspanadas-diwa’ occurs and, given the similarity of that name with the more well known Ashmedai, we could suppose that both are the same.<sup>47</sup> Another bowl shows the same formula by which a house is protected against evil spirits by the seal of King Solomon, “Son of David.”<sup>48</sup> There is a Mandaean bowl that adjures the demons by “the seal of Solomon, the Son of David.” A Jewish model may underlie it, because it describes the use of a “bill of divorce” to dispose of a female demon; this very same formula is used in some Jewish bowls.<sup>49</sup>

Some authors think that the same tradition is at work in the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>50</sup> According to them, the ‘Son of David’ formula applied to Solomon would have in the bowls a clearer and purer development and persistence, without being mixed with the polemical interest that conditions its use in the Christian Gospels.<sup>51</sup> It is true that we have to cope with the impossibility of determining with total accuracy whether there is a direct link between the use of the “Son of David” title in the NT and in the bowls, but the traditional character of that kind of formula allows us to suppose that at least it was a quite widespread tradition and that at an early stage the title became indissolubly merged with Solomon within an exorcistic milieu. The chronology, although approximate, can support such a hypothesis because the date of the Palestinian Aramaic amulets is quite close to the final redaction of the Christian Gospels.

<sup>46</sup> Isbell, *Corpus*, text 48, 110-111; text 50, 114-115; text 51, 116-117.

<sup>47</sup> Isbell, *Corpus*, text 50, 114-115; text 51, 116-117. The last part of the demon’s name, “diwa,” is the Persian for demon, cf. the Armenian cognate *dew*.

<sup>48</sup> Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 231f; Fisher. “Can this be the Son of David,” 83-85, relates the reference to a certain Jesus (supposedly Jesus b. Perahia) and is greatly interested by the fact that two alleged Jewish competitors of Jesus the exorcist were named in the same bowl; thus she finds further support for her hypothesis about the nature of the “son of David” title.

<sup>49</sup> For the Mandaean text and the translation see Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 230-233, text 21. For the Jewish parallels see Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, bowl 5, 159, 162-163; J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, bowls 8, 11, 17.

<sup>50</sup> See Fisher, “Can This Be the Son of David?,” 83-87.

<sup>51</sup> About the Jewish-Christian polemic concerning Solomon and Jesus as exorcist see Lövestam, “Jésus, Fils de David,” 104-105.

It is interesting to note that, on the basis of the provenance of the bowls studied, the presence of Solomon the ‘Son of David’ was pervasive in Mesopotamia. However, it does not occur in Jewish texts that come from Palestine, which is curious because the origin of the tradition should be located there. We find Solomon in the following Aramaic amulet from Syria:

(1) And by the rod of Moses and by the front plate of Aaron ] (2) the High Priest and by the signet-ring of Solomon and[ ] (3) of David and by the horns of the altar and by the name (4) [of] the living and existent God: that you should be expelled, the [evil] (5) spirit and the evil assailant and every evil (6) des[troyer] from the body of Marian daughter of [Sarah] (7) and her foetus that is in her belly from th[is day] (8) to eternity, Amen, Amen, Selah [ ].<sup>52</sup>

In their final edition Naveh and Shaked refuse to suggest a restoration for the lacuna that follows the name of Solomon.<sup>53</sup> The formula “the king, son of David” could be reconstructed.<sup>54</sup> On a paleographical basis this reading is as possible as any other, and from the parallels in the Babylonian bowls we have analyzed it seems more plausible than the one proposed by Naveh and Shaked. If the reading is correct, we would have a parallel to the New Testament occurrences of the title, a closer parallel geographically speaking. The text would refer to the signet-ring of the king, the “Son of David,” which would prove the spread of the tradition in both the Palestinian and the Babylonian Jewish communities. Nevertheless, the absence of more examples could suggest that the Palestinian Jewish tradition was abandoning the special use of the “Son of David” title as a result of its importance in the Christian tradition.

#### SOLOMON THE “SON OF DAVID” IN CHRISTIAN AMULETS

Christian amulets in Greek or Latin comprise another textual corpus where the “Son of David” formula is applied to King Solomon. They date back to Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine period

<sup>52</sup> For the present translation and edition see Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 91-94, Amulet 27, lines 1-8; for a conjectural reading of the first lines see idem, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 22 n. 23; for the first edition see Montgomery, “Some Early Amulets from Palestine,” 272-281.

<sup>53</sup> However in *Amulets and Magic bowls*, 22 n. 23 they venture “by the shield of David,” which was not adopted in the form of the text quoted here.

<sup>54</sup> מלכה ברה דרוד.

(V-VII cent. CE), so their religious setting is Christian, although their pattern could be derived from Jewish models.<sup>55</sup>

This type of amulet had an apotropaic function, being employed against demons and diseases; they generally show images of animals thought to be harmful or related with evil. Thus, our first amulet, a magical nail, shows an owl, which usually symbolized evil; around the owl, we read, “The lion from the tribe of Judah, the root of David, Solomon, David, son of Jesse conquers.”<sup>56</sup> Although this amulet, made of copper and found in Carthage, shows a slightly different formula for the title, it proves that this title continued to be applied to Solomon within a Christian context.<sup>57</sup> Besides the variation of the title and the appearance of Solomon in an exorcistic milieu, the phrase “the lion of Judah” reminds us of other amulets, in which alongside the figure of the king riding a horse and killing a female demon a lion appears.<sup>58</sup> In those cases, the allusion to the lion of Judah, Solomon the king, Son of David, helps to reinforce the apotropaic strength of the amulet. The same titles applied to Jesus appear in another amulet, which is intended to fight the owl and the evil or demon symbolized by it:

The Lion from the tribe of Judah conquers you, the root of David, the Lord Jesus Christ will bind you, God’s arm and the seal of King Solomon, so that you, nocturnal bird, may not be able to enter into a pure soul and to have power over her whoever you are.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> So Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 1.68; 2.226.238; 7.198-200; 9.1044-67.

<sup>56</sup> J. B. de Rossi, *Bulletin di arch. crist.* 1869, 62, quoted in F. Cabrol / H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1924), 1.1837: *Vincit Leo de tribu Juda radix David Solomon, David filius Iesse*. Two very similar amulets found also in Carthago reads on the verso: *Bicit leo de tribu Juda, radix David*, and on the reverse: 1) *Invidia, Invidiosa, nihil tibi ad anima pura et munda, Micael, Raphael, Uriel, Gabriel † Victoria*. 2) *Invisa, invidiosa invicta devastator abis, quis ne non tuum flagellum fecerit totum frangi* (P. Perdrizet, *Negotium Perambulans in Tenebris: Études de démonologie greco-orientale* [Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l’Université de Strasbourg 6; Paris: Librairie Istra, 1922], 30). For Perdrizet the owl symbolizes the evil eye, the βᾶσκανος ὀφθαλμός or as it appears in the *Testament of Solomon*, the ὀφθαλμός πολυπαθής.

<sup>57</sup> They are dated from the fifth to the sixth century CE. The reformulation of the title could indicate a deeper Christianization, cf. Rev 5:5.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Ch. 7, “Solomon the Horseman.”

<sup>59</sup> Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, 1.1836 [amulets in De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. crist.*, 1869, 61-62]: *Vicit te Leo de tribu Juda radix David Dominus Jesus Christus ligavit te brachius Dei et sigillus Salomonis avis nocturna non valeas (accedere) ad animam puram et supra eam potestatem habere quisvis sis*. See also Perdrizet, *Negotium perambulans in Tenebris*, 29-30.

In spite of its undoubtedly Christian character, we have here a deeper re-working of the Jewish pattern that we have observed in the previous example; here the titles “Son of David” and “Lion of Judah” are applied to Jesus whereas the mention of Solomon’s seal indicates the exorcistic setting.<sup>60</sup> Thus, in the same environment we observe the combination of traditions linked to Solomon and an application of those same traditions to Jesus, characterized as lion of Judah and son of David. This phenomenon is equivalent to the one observed in the passages of the NT discussed above, but in the present case the polemic between the two exorcistic figures is omitted; we have here a syncretistic reinterpretation of the Jewish tradition of the magical “Son of David.”

#### SOLOMON THE “SON OF DAVID” IN THE *TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON*

As we have seen the *Testament of Solomon* constitutes one of the pseudepigrapha attributed to the king; it consists principally of demonological lore linked to the figure of the king.<sup>61</sup> Given its dating (third or fourth century CE) and contents (exorcism and magic), it is not surprising that the title “Son of David” occurs several times in the *Testament*. The distribution of these references is problematic since some are found either in the titles of the different recensions or within the body of the text as textual variants of different values; only a number of manuscripts agree in naming Solomon as “Son of David”, whereas even these references are not present in representatives of each of the three major recensions of the *Testament*, which lessen their value for our study of the title “Son of David.” Thus, for the sake of consistency, all examples of the title “Son of David” found in titles or as textual variants within the manuscript tradition of the *Testament* that are not considered as having sufficient value, will not be studied. In the same way, attestations of the formula “Son of David” that only appear in one of the three recensions of the

<sup>60</sup> The vocabulary (the verb “to bind” is a *terminus technicus*) combined with the expression “whoever you are” strongly reminds us of the *Testament of Solomon* where the king continuously asks the demons “Who are you?” as a procedure prior to the domination of the evil spirits; the writer of our amulet was aware of the tradition contained in it; on the *Testament of Solomon* and this formula see Ch. 4, “Solomon the Exorcist.”

<sup>61</sup> For an general introduction to the text see the Ch. 4, “Solomon the Exorcist.”

*Testament* will not be considered either, as their value is reduced because they occur in only part of the tradition.<sup>62</sup>

After leaving out all quotations of the title, the ‘Son of David’ formula only appears three times in circumstances that could be significant for the history of the tradition.<sup>63</sup> The first text is inserted within direct adjurations pronounced by king Solomon to subdue Asmodeus; the second text is placed within a moralizing story; the third one forms the finale of the *Testament* and is, perhaps, the least valuable as a witness to the use of the title “Son of David” since titles, colophons and summaries of manuscripts are prone to transformation and corruption:

*Test. Sol.* 5:10. I asked him again, saying: do not hide anything from me because I am Solomon, Son of David, and tell me the name of the fish you dread.<sup>64</sup>

*Test. Sol.* 20:1. And it happened that one of the artisans, an aged man, threw himself before me, saying: “King Solomon, son of David, have

<sup>62</sup> For the edition of the text, textual history and introduction see McCown, *The Testament of Solomon, passim*; the mention of the title in the manuscripts D 1:1, E 1:1, E 2:1, E 11:1, and in the titles of manuscripts P, Q and I and of Recension C XII:1, XIII:10-11 will be not be taken into account. M E 1:1, 2:1, 11:1 have little interest since they are Christianized, as the transformation of David into a prophet seems to attest (cf. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 2.233); M E 11:1 relates the reigns of Solomon and Zedekiah and the tradition about the liberation of the demons imprisoned in jars of bronze at the hands of the Babylonians. On the other hand, the titles of mss P, Q and I appear in a setting where there is an evident relation between Solomon the “son of David”, the demons and the building of the temple. In Recension C XII:1, the titular character might be attested since the demon Paltiel Tzamal addresses the king with it after being summoned into his presence; Recension C XIII: 10-11 shares the same character to a lesser degree because the king is the one who speaks; this recension lacks, therefore, the setting of dominion and respect that the recognition by the demon suggests. It should be noted that this text constitutes also a further witness to the tradition that narrates the destruction of some Salomonic writings at the hands of King Hezekiah; here the responsibility for that destruction laid on Solomon. Numerous sources from early Byzantine times and some rabbinic texts mention this tradition but without making the king responsible. Concerning some of these rabbinic traditions see D. J. Halperin, “The Book of Remedies, the Canonization of the Solomonic Writings and the Riddle of Pseudo-Eusebius,” *JQR* 72 (1982), 269-292.

<sup>63</sup> A fourth appearance could be noted at the beginning of the *Testament*, in which the archangel Michael addresses Solomon with the title “Son of David” when he tells to the king that his prayers have been heard (*Test. Sol* 1:7). The fact that this passage seems to be part of the structural framework of the exorcistic material of the *Testament*, makes it advisable not to include it as textual evidence for our hypothesis.

<sup>64</sup> ἐπιρώτησα πάλιν αὐτὸν λέγων· “μὴ κρύψῃς ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ ῥήμα, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶμι Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ καὶ εἶπε μοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἰχθύος οὗ σὺ σέβῃ.”

mercy on me, an old man.” and I said to him: “say, old man, what you want.”<sup>65</sup>

*Test. Sol.* 26:9. I Solomon, son of David, son of Jesse, wrote my testament and sealed it with the seal-ring of God.<sup>66</sup>

In *Test.Sol.* 5:10 the king addresses Asmodeus, asking him the name of the fish to which he is subjected; the king does so because he is the “Son of David”. On this occasion the coercion of the demon comes about as a result of the name of the king and his identification as the “Son of David” (“because I am Solomon, Son of David”). The tradition about Solomon, “Son of David,” master of demons is at work here; in these lines there is no mention of either the seal or the divine name and, therefore, the formula works as an authoritative and powerful title by itself. Even more interesting is *Test. Sol.* 20:1; in this text we have a small *historiola*, which precedes a lengthy discourse by the demon Ornias on human fate; it would constitute a perfect expression of the titular character of the “Son of David” formula. However, the text poses two difficulties that reduce its importance to some extent; on the one hand, the actual wording could be an echo of Mark 10:47; on the other, the elderly man’s petition has more to do with a plea for justice than with a cry for magical or exorcistic help. Some authors tackle the first difficulty by seeing in this text a statement independent of the NT,<sup>67</sup> others think of some kind of dependence on the NT that could only be oral.<sup>68</sup> Probably it would be more realistic to affirm that even if the text is considered to be an echo of the NT, it has been reinterpreted, changing the protagonist to Solomon, who is called “Son of David.” Besides, we should ask ourselves how we can explain an NT echo or oral dependence in a passage where Christian features are absent, since we cannot even adduce a polemic or apologetic intention on the part of the redactor. Therefore, Berger’s opinion seems

<sup>65</sup> και ἰδοὺ εἰς τῶν τεχνιτῶν γηραιὸς ἔρριπεν αὐτὸν ἐνώπιόν μου λέγων· “βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ, ἐλέησόν με τὸ γέρας.” καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· “λέγε, γέρον, ὃ θέλεις.”

<sup>66</sup> ἐγὼ οὖν Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δα(υεὶ)δ υἱοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ ἔγραψα τὴν διαθήκην μου καὶ ἐσφραγίσα αὐτὴν τῷ δακτυλίδιῳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>67</sup> See Berger, “Die königlichen Messiastraditionen des NT,” 7: “Vieles spricht dafür, daß es sich hier nicht um eine Nachahmung, sondern um eine Parallele zu dem ntl. ἐλεήσον υἱὲ Δαυιδ handelt. Zahlreich sind ferner die Belege aus Papyri und Inschriften, in denen Salomo als Sohn Davids, Prophet und Magier bezeichnet wird- jeweils in Kontext von Herrschaft über Dämonen.”

<sup>68</sup> See Duling, “Solomon, Exorcism,” 243.

correct: the text constitutes a further example of the title “Son of David” applied to Solomon within a *historiola*.

### CONCLUSIONS

The title “Son of David” appears in late biblical books, almost always applied to Solomon in a limited manner, being used principally as a device of pseudepigraphical authorship. In the first century BCE, the title acquired a messianic content in *Psalm of Solomon* 17, where the hoped for messianic ruler was modelled on King Solomon, stressing his sapiential attributes, but without mentioning any esoteric knowledge. In the first century CE the “Son of David” denotes either a messianic figure with strong thaumaturgic power or a thumaturge/exorcist as in *LAB* 60. Later on, the pre-Markan source preserved in Mark and parallels seems to indicate how Jesus, depicted either as a healer or an exorcist, is called “Son of David,” and it is more than likely that Solomon, the “Son of David,” was taken as the effective model for that tradition. From the third century on, Solomon, with the title “Son of David,” appears frequently in Greek, Latin and Hebrew amulets and in Aramaic bowls. Finally around the third or fourth century as well, the title “Son of David” applied to Solomon appears again in the *Testament of Solomon* as a title of magical power, lacking any messianic content. In consequence, in magical and exorcistic settings, the title “Son of David” used by the Jews was applied to Solomon as a motif expressing special power, while the Christians applied it to Jesus, transferring the title from the Jewish tradition, which depicted Solomon as an exorcist, to their messiah.<sup>69</sup> However, some Christian currents, such as those repre-

<sup>69</sup> A papyrus from the fourth or fifth century provides further proof for the titular use of the expression “Son of David” applied to Jesus in exorcistic contexts, see P. 3 (K. Preisendanz *PGM*, 2.219) where it is very likely that the magical name Σαλαμων stands for Solomon, although the writer of the exorcism was not aware of it; on this see Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, 5.596-597, where Σαλαμα or Solomon is mentioned in connection with Artemis. The exorcism seems to be a Christianized version of a Jewish or syncretistic model; we have a close parallel to this papyrus in the following Latin inscription on a bronze nail: ...*ter dico, ter incanto, in signu dei et signu Solomonis et signu donna Artemis* (R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica, graeca, latina* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1892] # 230, p. 541). See also P XXVIII a-c dated to the fifth-6th century CE from Oxyrhynchus (Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.154-155); this papyrus shares the same tradition that links Solomon, Artemis and the demons; again we have magical names of Jewish origin.

sented by the Gnostics and their historical successors the Mandaeans, continued to link in some way both figures who were considered important in some way for their cosmology and eschatology. This fact proves the persistence and transformation of earlier traditions centered around the “son of David” endowed with special power and dominion over demons and evil spirits.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

# SOLOMON THE HORSEMAN

### INTRODUCTION

The role played by Solomon in Late Antiquity is evidenced in affects not only literary documents but also the archaeological sphere, reflecting the everyday life of the more popular classes. The archaeological sphere indicates the importance of the figure of Solomon in certain contexts. In this chapter we will, therefore, examine some amulets on which a peculiar characterization of Solomon as horseman appears and which were particularly popular in Late antiquity. Apparently they were developed by a Hellenized Jewish population among which the use of magic, in a form that is heavily indebted to pagan sources, was widespread.<sup>1</sup>

These amulets usually show a horseman galloping to the right and about to pierce the heart of a female figure with a spear. The hair of the rider is confined by a band.<sup>2</sup> The oldest amulets of this type were made of haematite and had the inscription Σολομῶν around the horseman, and σφραγὶς θεοῦ, “seal of God,” on the reverse.<sup>3</sup> They show no evident trait of Christianization and so it is likely they had a Jewish origin.<sup>4</sup>

The first question that arises from these amulets is why the king was identified with a horseman killing an foe. Bonner explains it as the result of a process of mimicry of royal representations of

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<sup>1</sup> See C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor & London: University of Michigan Press, 1950), 208.

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed description see Bonner, *Studies*, 207-209.

<sup>3</sup> For examples of this type of amulet see A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques graeco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964), 261-264, amulets 369-377; G. Schlumberger, “Amulettes byzantines anciens,” *REG* 5 (1892) 73-93, esp. 84, 92; Bonner, *Studies*, plates XIV-XVI.

<sup>4</sup> See Bonner, *Studies*, 108; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 2.226-227. Notwithstanding all this, such characterization is later than the Macedonian conquest of the East, as Bickerman suggested: “Biblical angels do not ride horses, but the Macedonian kings and nobles were masters of equitation, and the orientals began to represent their own celestial beings as Macedonian horsemen” (E. J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* [Cambridge, Mass / London: Harvard University Press, 1988], 235).

Macedonian and Roman sovereigns in the guise of victorious horsemen; thus, earlier parallels to these amulets are to be found in certain coins of the last three Antonine emperors. However, other authors seek to locate the model of the amulets in ancient representations of an Anatolian god, called Ἡρώων.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, while the original source of the figure may be older, Bonner is right in seeing a closer model in the representation of the last three emperors of the Antonines. Amulets in haematite seem to be the oldest type of these Solomonian amulets but even they cannot be dated earlier than the third century. Since it takes some time for an official representation to become successful and to be adopted and readapted for another function, we can conclude that the transformation of that official model took place around the mid-third century CE in Syria-Palestine and Egypt.<sup>6</sup> An official motif of victory was reinterpreted and transformed into an apotropaic device in which King Solomon fights against a female demon. This transformation took place among Hellenized Jews and in a Hellenistic context because only in such a context would the representation of King Solomon as a mighty warrior have been plausible, despite the weight of the biblical tradition which, depicted Solomon and his kingdom in a peaceful way.<sup>7</sup>

#### THE AMULETS: ICONOGRAPHY AND INSCRIPTIONS

After these preliminary remarks, we shall take a closer look at the different types of amulets and the inscriptions on them. As has been said, on the earliest type of amulet, besides the drawing of the horseman, there is a short inscription which includes the name of the king and a mention of the seal of God, that is, the seal on which is en-

<sup>5</sup> Bonner, *Studies*, 210. For another hypothesis about the origin of the amulets see B. Bagatti, "Altre medaglie di Salomone cavaliere e loro origine," *RAC* 47 (1971), 331-342, especially 337-342; however, Bagatti tends to interpret the amulets too freely in order to relate them to the different demons and practices recorded in the *Testament of Solomon*. For the Anatolian hypothesis see P. Perdrizet "σφοραγίς Σολομώνος," *REG* 16 (1903), 42-61, especially 50-53. From the same author, see also, *Negotium perambulans*, 9-11.

<sup>6</sup> See Bonner, *Studies*, 221. Thus, the date for the effective presence and development of the figure of Solomon as magician and exorcist points to the third century CE and to a hellenized environment, when magic had established itself among the more cultured classes as well, as literary works, such as the *Vita Apollonii* of Philostratus (third century CE), attest.

<sup>7</sup> Even Josephus did not add martial prowess to his portrayal of Solomon (except for the section in *Jewish Antiquities* 8.160).

graved the name of God. The knowledge of the divine name is a tradition that later on was to attain considerable importance in Jewish mystical circles and play a specific role in magical practices; in the amulets that knowledge is related to the power it confers over the demons, a tradition that we can find in other texts supposedly authored by Solomon, such as the *Testament* or the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>8</sup>

Over time, the iconography and design of the amulets changed and evolved.<sup>9</sup> Thus, later examples of amulets show clear Christian reworking: the band has become a halo,<sup>10</sup> the upper part of the spear ends in a cross, and the iconic representation is enriched with several animals, such as a scorpion, snakes, a bird and sometimes a roaring lion walking to the right. Another type of amulet has on the reverse the evil eye either being attacked by a lion, snakes, and/or a scorpion, or being pierced by sharp instruments.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the importance of the iconography, the inscriptions which appear on the amulets comprise the principal link with traditions relating to Solomon. Although not every amulet has an inscription or charm, those which do seem to go back to a Jewish setting and, accordingly, it is necessary to look at the inscriptions to understand the inner workings of such traditions. The charms are simple and usually written in a rather defective Greek; angelic and magical names are present in various degrees. They are to be understood within an exorcistic or magical context.

Thus we can read on one amulet: "Seal of Solomon, keep away any evil from the one who wears you."<sup>12</sup> This inscription is written

<sup>8</sup> The theurgic use of divine names was common in magical practices as the Greek magical papyri show (e.g., Preisendanz, *PGM*, 1.64-184, 2.125-130).

<sup>9</sup> In fact the amulets' iconography re-adapted earlier themes and designs; for some partial iconographic parallels see O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole. Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund bislang unerschlossener ikonographischer Quellen* (Freiburg / Basel / Wien: Herder, 1993), *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> This halo should not cause surprise: throughout the entire Christian Orient, Solomon and, indeed, all the righteous kings of Judah were considered to be saints.

<sup>11</sup> For examples of each of the types see C. Bonner, *Studies*, 209-221, amulets 294-309, plates XXIV-XXV; G. Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine* (Paris: 1895), I, 118, n. 1; 122, n. 3; 124, n. 5; 125, n. 7; 126, n. 8; 127 n. 9, n. 10; 128 n. 11; 129, n. 12, n. 13; 130, n. 14.

<sup>12</sup> G. Schlumberger, "Amulettes," 74: σφραγίς σολομόνος ἀποδιοξον πᾶν κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ φοροῦντος; cf also idem, *Mélanges*, I, 118-119; the same amulet is studied by P. Perdrizet "σφραγίς σολομῶνος," 47-48, and by R. Heim, "Incantamenta Magica," 491.

around two lions rampant attacking an evil eye that is being pierced by three knives; a scorpion, a bird and a female demon are sketched as well. On the reverse, around the figure of the horseman who is spearing a female demon, we can read: “Flee, Oh hated one. Solomon pursues you, Sisinnios, Sisinnarios.”<sup>13</sup> In this amulet we observe the combination of the iconographic motifs described above along with the use of the name of Solomon within a small *historiola*; the ensemble works as an apotropaic device to keep away a female demon. This amulet, then, supposes a development of the haematite type, reflected both in the iconography and in the charm that explains the engraving and strengthens its power. The amulet is called an amulet of Solomon, not an amulet of God, as in the oldest type, in which only the image of the horseman piercing the demon, the inscription “seal of Solomon,” and a reference to God appeared. Thus, power over the demon is transferred from the name of God to the person of the king, who is described as a magus.<sup>14</sup> This development supposes that the present amulet, although graphically Christianized and chronologically later, contains nothing specifically Christian from the formulaic point of view and is related clearly to the general magical techniques of Late Antiquity. Finally, the mention of the names of Sisinnios and Sisinnarios together with Solomon shows that they were regarded as related and equally powerful at an early date and in a non-Christian setting; this association would continue into the Middle Ages, although sometimes the figures of Sisinnios and Sisinnarios could have an existence of their own. They can be found together in Greek charms; thus in a Greek work, entitled “Magical Treatise” by its editor, we read:

Seals of the Living God, Lord of heaven and earth, as he bound and bridled all demons’ power through the seal he sent to King Solomon [...] bind, Lord, the four princes and their armies; bind, Lord the thirty six kosmokratores [...], bind, Lord, Orniās, dragon-winged Onoskelis,

<sup>13</sup> G. Schlumberger, “Amulettes”, 75: φεύγε μεμισιμένοι σολομόν σε δίοκι σισίννιος σισιννάριος. This formula is totally Christianized in a papyrus from the fifth century CE (Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.212, P 5 b): “† Φεύγε, πνεῦμα μεμισημένον· Χριστός σε διώκει”. Here the female demon and Solomon disappear, being replaced by more neutral and Christian terms.

<sup>14</sup> The very name of God had tremendous power; the magician who fashioned the amulet indicated by his use of the name of Solomon that the king’s name also had the same kind of power; see K. Grözinger, “The Names of God,” 53-69, who shows how in Hekhalot literature the names of the angelic beings became the hypostases of power.

the damned Gillou [...] and make them disappear from the dreams of so-and-so by the elders, Sineisios, Sinodoros and Sisinios [...] and by the holy angel Abaraph and the holy angels, Michael, Gabriel, Ourouel, Raphael...<sup>15</sup>

In this charm, we find some threads of tradition that bring together Solomon, Sisinios and his companions, and the figures of different male and female demons: thus, on one side, we have Ornias, Onoskelis and the thirty six dekani (kosmokratores), who are present in the *Testament of Solomon* as some of the principal demons;<sup>16</sup> on the other, the female demon Gyllou as well as Sisinnios and his companions are mentioned as well. Perdrizet edited and translated a Byzantine story about an exorcism performed by Sisinios and his companions;<sup>17</sup> the story has many parallels in different languages of the Christian Orient. In it, Sisinios and his companions have been transformed into Christian saints and they are described as riding horses and pursuit of the female demon Gillou. It is evident that the story maintains the principal identifying trait that we have found in the Solomonian amulets, that is, the apotropaic figures appear as horsemen; therefore, it is almost certain that we are dealing with different developments of the same Jewish tradition.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Delatte, *Anecdota*, 98-99: "...Σφραγιδες Θεοῦ Ζῶντος, Κυρίου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὡσπερ ἔδθησεν καὶ ἐχαλίνωσεν πάσαν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν δαιμόνων διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος ἣν ἀπέστειλε τῷ Βασιλεῖ Σολομῶν [...], δῆσον, Κύριε, τοὺς δ' ἀρχηγούς καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν· δῆσον, ὕριε, τοὺς λσ' κοσμοκράτορας [...] δῆσον, κύριε, τὸν Ὁρνίαν, τὸν περοδοράκονταν τῆς Σκέλιδος καὶ τὴν κατάρατον Γίλλου [...] καὶ ἀφάνισον ἀπὸ τὸν ὕπνον τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδ(εῖνα), διὰ πρεσβείων τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Σινεσίου καὶ Σηνοδώρου καὶ Σισίνιου [...] καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀγγέλου Ἀβαράφ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Ὁουρουήλ, Ραφαήλ, [...]". Concerning Sisinnios and his companions, cf. below, n. 17. The angel Abaraph is called Arlaph in other amulets. This "Magical Treatise" is linked with the *Hymnomania of Solomon*; see Chapters 8 and 9.

<sup>16</sup> The demon Ornias plays an important role in the *Testament* for he is the first demon to be subdued by Solomon and the one who presents each new bound demon to him. Despite this, his name does not appear in the Hebrew legends about Solomon and the demons, which suggests that its origin has to be placed in a Greek setting: in fact, Ὁρνία is the name of Adonias, the adversary of Solomon, according to the Old Greek text of 3 Kingdoms, attested in the proto-lucianic text (mss boc2e2), that preserves a variant of the Hebrew text. If the demon's name has its origin in the biblical Adonias, the linking of Solomon with demonology was made at an early date, and in a completely Jewish setting; on this aspect see the Chapter 4.

<sup>17</sup> Perdrizet, *Negotium perambulans*, 13-26.

<sup>18</sup> On the relationship between the Greek text and the Jewish amulets see Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 111-122. It could be added that there is a clear pagan parallel to the the form of the Greek text edited by Perdrizet; thus A. A. Barb ("The Survival of Magic Arts," in A. Momigliano [ed.], *The Conflict be-*

The fact that all three figures are listed in the charm that we are analyzing indicates both the power attributed to them and that somehow they were considered as linked.<sup>19</sup> Both the traditions about Solomon and about Sisinius and his companions seem to have a Jewish origin.<sup>20</sup>

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*tween Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963], 100-125, 121) described an amulet found in a Roman tomb of the late third century as follows: “More interesting was the large silver sheet with a Greek charm against headache, or more precisely megrim (migraine), as the heading πρὸς ἡμικρανίαν shows. The charm is in the form of a little story: Antaura—that is the name of a female demon—arose from the sea crying out and shouting. Artemis of Ephesus (the goddess of magic, often identified with Hecate) met her, asked her where she was going, and exorcised her.” The questions of Artemis to the female demon are very similar to the ones that Sisinius and his companions make to Gyllou; besides, Solomon and Artemis appear together in various Greek and Latin amulets. It seems then, that the same kind of amulet co-existed in different religious ambiances. On the first Roman amulet see A. A. Barb, *Der Römische Limes in Österreich XVI* (1926), cols. 53-68 (*non vidit*); id. in *Jedermann-Hefte III* (Vienna, 1933), 26-33 (*non vidit*); on Artemis and Solomon see K. Preisendanz, “Solomo,” in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertums Wissenschaft*, Supp VIII (1956), col. 660-704, esp. 679; see also Cabrol and Leclercq (eds.), *Dictionnaire*, 1.1792-1798.

<sup>19</sup> We have other charms where Sisinius and Solomon appear together: (verse) Βι[σ]ισίν[ος] Βισισίννος κατ’ ἀπάτης: τὴν μύσεραν μηκέτι εἰσχυῖν· Σφραγί(ς) τοῦ Σολομόνος σε κατήρησεν. Μηχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Ουρηήλ, Ραφαήλ, δεσμεύουσιν σε. Ἄλμερβιμαχ (apud E. Peterson, *Εἰς Θεός. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* [Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, N.F.24 [=41]; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926], 121). In this particular case it is interesting to note the βι that is prefixed to the magical name and that could stand for the Hebrew ׀; the invocations would, then, be transliterations from a Hebrew source. Delatte (*Anecdota*, 249) transcribes another charm: “...I adjure you, Strankalia of many forms, the one who attacks small children, the one who has hard hands and drags the children and strangles them and they die. These are the names of of the holy angels who overcome Gilou and any impure spirit, male or female, that are pronounced in the Hebrew language: Michael, Gabriel, Ourouel and Rafael, Gzael, Manasamouel, Abesabek, Saleleel, Sabaoth, Adonae, Eloae [...]; I adjure you by the holy Sisinnios and Dionisios...” (...ὀρκίζω σε, Στραγκαλία πολυμόρφε, ἡ ἐπερχομένη ἐπὶ τὰ μικρὰ παῖδια, ἥτις ἔχει χεῖρας σκληρὰς καὶ σύρει τὰ νήπια καὶ πνίγει αὐτὰ καὶ τελευτῶσιν. ταῦτα εἰσὶν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων οἵτινες καταργοῦν τὴν Γίλου καὶ πᾶν ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα, ἀρσενικόν τε καὶ θηλυκόν, ἐβραΐδα φωνὴν διαλεγόμενον· Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Ουρουήλ καὶ Ραφαήλ, Γαζαήλ, Μανασαμουήλ, Ἄβεσαβέκ, Σαλελεήλ, Σαβαῶθ, Ἄδωναέ, [...]. ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Σισίννιον καὶ Διονύσιον...). For a very similar exorcism see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 299.

<sup>20</sup> In fact, Naveh and Shaked (*Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 104-122, amulet 15; 188-197, bowls 12a and 12b) quote three texts where the same names appear (׀׀׀׀׀׀, ׀׀׀, ׀׀׀); as the orthography of the Greek names can be explained as the result of a process of itacism of the Greek υ that would have transcribed the Semitic ׀, and the Hebrew or Aramaic names cannot be explained from a Greek original, it is likely that the original source was Jewish and written in a Semitic

Until now we have seen two types of amulets which have in common Solomon, depicted as a horseman vanquishing a demon. A third type of amulet, which is more developed, transforms the model but at the same time retains its primary traits. In the first example of this new type the figure of an angel spears what looks like a demon; the angel is clothed with a tunic, is winged and has a halo; the following phrase is inscribed around the drawing: "Flee, Oh hated one, the angel Arlaph chases you."<sup>21</sup> The charm is similar to the one studied above, the reference to King Solomon being replaced by a reference to the angel.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, two substitutions have taken place and both indicate a further Christianization of the model. However, on the other side of the amulet we can see two different scenes; in the upper part we have two human figures representing the sun and the moon, above them stars and flames. In the lower part a lion is attacking a prostrate figure (probably a female demon); around the lion the following charm is engraved: "Seal of Solomon, protect the one who wears you."<sup>23</sup> Again we are dealing with a seal of Solomon, but in this case the victorious horseman representing Solomon has been transformed into a lion, and we have seen elsewhere how Solomon the Son of David was called the lion of Judah.<sup>24</sup> Both amulets refer to the same stage of the tradition, the Latin one by means of the exorcism and the Greek by means of the illustration. Furthermore, the presence of the astrological figures is interesting insofar as it connects the amulet to astrological traditions that are placed under the authorship of Solomon, such as the *Hygromanteia* or the *Selenodromion*.<sup>25</sup>

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language (Hebrew or Aramaic). For the use of these names in the Middle Ages see J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Atheneum, 1987 [reprint]), 101-102, 139, 169. For another example see Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 99-105.

<sup>21</sup> Schlumberger, "Amulettes," 76-77: φεύγε μεμισμένοι Ἀρλαφ ὁ ἀγγέλος σε διόκι.

<sup>22</sup> In the magical texts collected by Delatte (*Anecdota Atheniensia*, 99) an angel called Ἀβαράφ occurs in an exorcism in which the figures of Σιαίνιος, Σηνοδώρος and Σινέσιος are also present (see above); K. Preisendanz ("Solomo," col. 683) notes the resemblance of the angel's name to the magical word αφαρα, αραφαι, αραφα (Preisendanz, *PGM XIII*, 777f), which is found in a Jewish setting as the names ἄβραάμ, ἄβραάχ, Ἰαώ suggest.

<sup>23</sup> Schlumberger, "Amulettes," 76-77: σφραγίς σολομόνος φύλατε τὸν φοροῦντα.

<sup>24</sup> In Ch. 6, "Solomon the Son of David," we studied an amulet in Latin where the king is called Lion of Judah.

<sup>25</sup> See Ch. 8, "Solomon the Astrologer."

There are other examples similar to this amulet; they show small differences both in the wording of the charms and in the drawings. As it is not productive to study all of them, we will only add two other examples. The first amulet comes from Cyzicus and represents a rather complicated combination of all the models that have been studied so far.<sup>26</sup> On the obverse we again find Solomon the horseman spearing a demon; at his side the winged angel Araaph stands; the scene is surrounded by the charm: "Flee, O hated one. Solomon pursues you (and) the angel Araaph."<sup>27</sup> On the reverse, two crowned figures representing the sun and the moon face each other and a lion is attacking the demonic figure. The inscription reads as follows: "Michael, Gabriel, Ouriel, Raphael, protect the one who carries it; holy, holy, holy, PIPI, RPSSS."<sup>28</sup> The four angels play an important role in exorcisms and frequently appear together with Solomon.<sup>29</sup> However, what is more interesting is the presence of the word PIPI in what seems to be a partial quotation of the trisagion (Is 6:3) in a special form, since it uses the Greek letters that were usually employed in the Jewish Greek text of Aquila instead of the tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew characters.<sup>30</sup> This detail points to the persistence and use of ancient sources, with the biblical quotation still preserving the ancient method of transliteration; it constitutes a further evidence of the age of the charm and of its probable Jewish origin, despite the clear Christian peculiarities that the actual amulet exhibits, especially in respect of its iconography. The

<sup>26</sup> M. A. Sorlin-Dorigny, "Phylactère alexandrin," *REG* IV (1891), 287-296; Schlumberger, "Amulettes," 77; idem, *Mélanges*, 120, n. 3; Perdrizet, "Σφραγίς," 46-47; Bagatti, "Altre medaglie," 335-336; Cabrol and Leclercq (eds), *Dictionnaire*, 1.1849-1852; 5.591-593. In each of these works there are several examples of amulets; the amulet from Cyzicus, because of its interest, has been studied by each one of the authors quoted here.

<sup>27</sup> Sorlin-Dorigny, "Phylactère alexandrin," 287: φεύγε, μεμισσμένοι, Σολομών σε διόκι (καὶ) ἀγγέλος Ἄραάφ (note that the participle is feminine and is, therefore, addressed to a female demon). Perdrizet lists a similiar amulet found in Carthage with a similar inscription (Perdrizet, "Σφραγίς θεοῦ," 48).

<sup>28</sup> Sorlin Dorigny, "Phylactère alexandrin," 287: μιχαήλ, γαβριήλ, οὐριήλ, ραφαήλ, διαφύλαξον τὸν φοροῦντα ἅγιος ἅγιος πιπι RPSSS. Cf. also Good-enough, *Jewish Symbols*, 2.229.

<sup>29</sup> For example, each of these archangels is in charge of the first hour of a day of the week in the *Hygromanteia*: Michael is in charge of the first hour of the first day, Gabriel of the first hour of the second day, Ouriel of the first hour of the fourth day and Raphael of the first hour of the fifth day. On this work see the chapter 8, "Solomon the Astrologer."

<sup>30</sup> See Swete, *Introduction*, 39, n. 3.

pair formed by the angel and Solomon recalls the general structure of the *Testament of Solomon* where each episode of demonic invocation and exorcism is performed by the king with the help of an angel's name.

The second amulet presents an even more complicated design on which each of the elements described above appears.<sup>31</sup> The inscription of the obverse is interesting since it calls the amulet a seal of God, as we have seen in the oldest type of amulets: "Seal of the Living God, protect the one who wears it. Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord Sabaōth, the heaven and the earth are full of your glory."<sup>32</sup> The quotation of the trisagion has been slightly modified to make it more inclusive and complete;<sup>33</sup> moreover it has been transformed into a vocative expression, as the change of the possessive adjective indicates, so that it addresses directly the divinity on whom the amulet's power depends. All these changes are in accordance with the inner working of the magical techniques and, again, there is nothing specifically Christian about them. Besides, the continued use of the word 'Sabaōth' points to the common magical techniques where it was frequently employed. On the reverse, the inscription is almost identical to the preceding amulet: "Flee, O hated one (Araaph the angel pursues you and Solomon), from the one who wears it."<sup>34</sup> Again we have the female demon and the presence of the angel Araaph and Solomon, both of whom function as apotropaic figures. The absence of the word PIPi supposes that Christianization, when it occurs, is very superficial since the charm keeps the old wording.

The last type of amulet to be studied is very similar in its iconography to those studied so far.<sup>35</sup> On the obverse a horseman is spearing a female demon who is identified by her breast, which was not clear in the other amulets. Beneath the female demon there is a sketch of a lion walking to the right. Around these drawings, the following

<sup>31</sup> Perdrizet, "Σφραγίς," 48, n. 2-3; Peterson, Εἷς Θεός, 106-107.

<sup>32</sup> σφραγίς τοῦ ζόντος θεοῦ φύλαξον τὸν φοροῦντα. "Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος-Σαβαώθ πλήρις ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ σὴς δόξης.

<sup>33</sup> Cf Isa 6:3, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, κύριος σαβαώθ, πλήρης πάσα ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.

<sup>34</sup> φεύγε μισιμένι Ἀραάφ ὁ ἀγγέλος σε διόκι κὲ Σολομὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ φουρούνη(ος) (Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 99). See also Perdrizet, "Σφραγίς," 48-49.

<sup>35</sup> For the drawings and the inscriptions of the amulets see, Peterson, Εἷς Θεός, 103-104.

inscription can be read: “One God, who overcomes evil.”<sup>36</sup> In two other amulets of the same type studied by Schlumberger, there are on the reverse sketchy drawings of two lions attacking the evil eye and what appear to be snakes and a bird,<sup>37</sup> only two words are engraved: “Iao, Sabaō.” Every other example of that type of amulet has the same drawing on the obverse, but the reverse varies, since only a lion walking to the right is shown in some; moreover, the inscription is usually enriched by adding angelic names (Michael, Gabriel, Ouriel...), names of animals (horse, ibis, giraffe...) or nomina barbara.<sup>38</sup> However, the elements that persist in all the amulets allow us to suppose that they all follow a similar pattern and constitute an identical type in which the identification of the horseman with King Solomon is probable.

On a bronze amulet from the collection in the British Museum there is no drawing but a combination of the inscriptions of the amulets discussed above within a charm that asks the help of god, the archangels and Solomon to protect a woman called Babina daughter of Theodosia:

One god who overcomes Evil / Iao Sabaō / Solomon, Michael, Gabriel  
Ouriel, protect and the own possessions / (reverse) ... / as a lion [?] /  
as well as a bull / [?] as well as a snake / ... an angel tied / the Lord  
untied / he healed the mother; having heard he fled / protect Babina  
whom Thedosia bore.<sup>39</sup>

The sense of the obverse is plain and easily related to the other amulets. However, it is more difficult to understand and decipher the reverse; what can be said is that it narrates a small *historiola* involving different animals with the aim of protecting Babina. Since the lion and snake are present in each of the other amulets it is more than likely that the writer of this charm was drawing from a tradition shared by the other amulets described.

<sup>36</sup> εἷς θεός ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά.

<sup>37</sup> Schlumberger, “Amulettes,” 81, 82.

<sup>38</sup> For the actual drawings and examples of this kind of amulets see, Perdrizet, “Σφοραγίς,” 49-50; see also the plates in Schlumberger, “Amulettes,” 80-83; Bagatti, “Altre medaglie,” 332-335, studied them superficially; Peterson, Εἷς θεός, 103-105.

<sup>39</sup> O. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities* (London, 1901), p. 112 n.535, *op. cit* in Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire*, 1.1849-1850: εἷς θεός / ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά / ιαὼ σαβαὼ / ον σολομῶν / μιχαήλ, γαβριήλ, ουριήλ, / φύλαξον καὶ ἰδία / ἄν μὴ ἕαν ἧ / μεταύρου ἴτι / ὡς λελεὸν μὲν / ἧτι / ὡς ταυρὸς / μίχας εἶτ ὡς δράκων εἰλιες μαν / ἦμος ἔδησεν ἄγγ / ἔλος / ἔλυσεν κύρι/ ος ματηρα ἄπου/ γίσειν σφος ἄκο / ὕσας ἔφυγεν / φύλαξον βαβί / ναν ἦν ἔτηγεν θεδῶσια.

At this point in the discussion we can affirm that this kind of amulet seems to follow a well established model both in the drawing (the angel Arlaph and/or Solomon the horseman, the personified sun and moon, stars, the lion) and in the charm (use of an imperative followed by the name of King Solomon and/or an angel's name; self-definition of the amulet as Seal of Solomon). If every piece of evidence is put together, the result is that the existence of a tradition related to Solomon in his supposed capacities as exorcist was well established at least from the third century on, and that this tradition underwent almost no changes, judging from the persistence of the design of the amulet and the quantity of such amulets found.<sup>40</sup>

#### A SEMITIC PARALLEL

It has been proven that a tradition that depicted Solomon as a horseman spearing down a female demon existed in a Hellenized Jewish environment and that it was taken on by Christians almost without change. However, the channel of transmission of this tradition can raise some doubts about its Jewish character. In order to resolve this difficulty, the Babylonian Jewish bowls provide us with a partial parallel; thus, the text of several bowls describes the spearing of Lilith, a female demon, at the hands of an angel:

(5) I adjure you, Lilith Halbas (6) granddaughter of Lilith Razni [dwelling] in the house and the dwelling of Newanduk [the daughter of Kapni and s]haking boys and [g]irls. I adju[re you] (7) that you be struck in the membrane of your heart and with the spear of Qa[tr]o[s] who rules [over you].<sup>41</sup>

In this bowl, the exorcist is adjuring a female demon, a Lilith called Halbas whose maternal lineage is given for the purposes of identi-

<sup>40</sup> Besides the examples found in the different works quoted so far, further examples are added by Bonner, *Studies*, 209-221. For a different interpretation of these amulets see Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 2.227-232. 238, who overlooked on occasions the Christianization that the amulets underwent in different degrees, due to his particular theory about the existence of a syncretistic Jewish religious sect.

<sup>41</sup> אשבעית עליכי חלבע ליליתא בת ברתה דרזני ליליתא דיתבאע בביתה ודירתה דניונדוך [בת כפני וש] קפא דרדקי [וד] ררקתא משב[ענא עליכי] דתימחין בטורפס לילבככי ובמורניחיה דק[חר]ו[ס] דהוא שליט (C. D. Isbell, *Corpus*, 56, Text 17; his readings have to be checked against J. N. Epstein, "Glosses babylo-araméennes, I," *REJ* 73 (1921), 27-58; "Glosses babylo-araméennes, II," *REJ* 74 (1922), 40-72. Perhaps the name of the angel could be a transliteration of the Greek *ἀθάρατος*.

fication and who is harmful to children; allegedly the exorcist is seeking the spearing of the demon at the hands of an angel called Qatros who rules over her. Although the exorcist does not mention Solomon at this point in the text, it seems clear that the bowl attests to the same tradition that is at work in the Greek amulets analyzed above. Since the chronology of the Babylonian bowls (300-600 C.E.) overlaps that of the Greek amulets, it is likely that the same tradition was widespread and popular among magicians in both Greek- and Aramaic-speaking Jewry. In the Aramaic development the linguistic aspect is prominent, whereas in the Greek one the physical reality of the drawing has a major significance; this is because an amulet is small and portable whereas the bowls were more stationary, allowing the text to be given prominence, which is more in accordance with the inner working of Jewish magical techniques.<sup>42</sup> The number of Aramaic bowls where this tradition appears provides further proof for its popularity in Late Antiquity.<sup>43</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

A magical practice linked to Solomon existed from the third century CE in a Greek-speaking environment. The principal manifestation of that praxis is provided by several types of amulets where King Solomon, depicted as a warrior riding a horse, kills a female demon; the identification of the rider is provided by the charms inscribed on the amulets. The absence of specific Christian traits in the earliest amulets seems to demonstrate the Jewish origin of the models. Although later amulets underwent different degrees of Christianization, they show remarkable fidelity to the Jewish sources and models, a fidelity that was determined by the intrinsic conservatism of magic. The amulets show how the praxis developed in a

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<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the text-based nature of the bowls is not as important as that of the amulets and they work more as physical objects of power; nonetheless, they do use rhetorical and mnemonic components of the text. For a study of the rhetoric and formulae used in the Jewish amulets from the Cairo Genizah, see M. D. Swartz, "Scribal Magic and its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Incantations Texts from the Cairo Genizah," *HTR* 83:2 (1990), 163-80.

<sup>43</sup> For other bowls that preserve almost identical texts with some variation in the names of the angel and the female demon, see Isbell, *Corpus*, bowls 18-20, pp. 58-65; bowl 22, p. 69; see Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 231 for a Mandaean example of the same Jewish tradition.

popular setting independently of the literary traditions about Solomon.<sup>44</sup>

The Aramaic parallel furnished by the Aramaic Jewish bowls confirms, albeit only partially, the Jewish source of the amulets, since the charms written on the bowls ask for the cooperation of a magic figure, who has to kill a female demon with a spear. Furthermore, they provide a context for the use of the Greek amulets: it is likely that, as the bowls seem to indicate, these amulets were intended for the protection of women and children against female demons (liliths).<sup>45</sup> Later traditions about Sisinnios and his companions endorse this hypothesis and show how the characteristics of the figures were shared at the same time by several of them (Sisinnios, Solomon...).

These Greek amulets show a particular development of the exorcistic traditions we find in different texts. They demonstrate that those traditions were part of everyday life and that they could be formulated in very different ways.

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<sup>44</sup> However, we can also find references to the development of the praxis in literary texts; thus, in the Syriac Zosimus (fourth century CE), we find a notice about Alexander and his invention of a special alloy (electrum) with which he sowed the earth: "Then Alexander prepared a sort of engraved coins, formed with gold and silver, and he disseminated them in this earth [...] These coins that Alexander sows in the earth, the people who find them use them for the same thing, engraving on them the figure of Alexander riding a horse. They hang them around themselves, as amulets..." (M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, [vol II, *L'Alchimie syriaque*; Paris: 1893, reimp; Osnabrück, Amsterdam; Otto Zeller / Philo Press, 1967], 262-63). Although King Solomon does not appear, it is evident that the text is speaking of the praxis we have analyzed in various amulets.

<sup>45</sup> In the amulets Solomon appears always associated with a female demon, an association that we find in other texts. Perhaps it testifies to the antiquity of the traditions that identified the Queen of Sheba with a female demon. *Grosso modo*, it seems that both the Christian and the Jewish traditions did not completely adopt that transformation, although the Islamic tradition did so at an early date. Sometimes the Jewish texts hint at such an identification, but it is not so clear as it is in the Islamic tradition; on the demonizing of the Queen of Sheba in Islam see J. Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba. Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993); W. M. Watt, "The Queen of Sheba in Islamic Tradition," in J. M. Pritchard (ed.), *Solomon & Sheba* (London: Phaidon, 1974), 85-103. On the Jewish tradition see L. H. Silberman, "The Queen of Sheba in Judaic Tradition," in Pritchard (ed.), *Solomon & Sheba*, 65-84.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

# SOLOMON THE ASTROLOGER

### INTRODUCTION

We have seen how Solomon is portrayed in both *Wisdom of Solomon* and the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus as a type of sage that we have described as Hermetic, since the knowledge that both writings attribute to him displays the principal traits that characterized the Hermetic sciences, such as the sympathy among the elements of the cosmos, the importance of roots and stones, knowledge of the stars and constellations, and knowledge about spirits and demons. Their similarities to lists of secret things in apocalyptic literature provide a point of contact between both traditions and what we have called the “Hermetic” figure of Solomon. Within the Hermetic treatment of Solomon, the relation of the king to astrology is striking and important, as the numerous texts attributed or related to Solomon in which he is portrayed as astrologer seem to prove. The great majority of this material is in Greek, although there are also some witnesses in Hebrew and Aramaic; most of this material has not aroused much interest among scholars.

In the following pages we will investigate some of these texts and the image of Solomon they reflect in order to understand their links with the other stages of the Solomonic tradition that we have studied. For this purpose, we will analyse and study each text on its own, dealing with its structure, content, form and redaction, since the only path to follow is the one provided by the texts themselves. By doing so, we will be able to place each work within the traditions related to Solomon and, thus, to explain its function and origin.

Finally, an explanation is needed to justify the decision to make a distinction between the Hermetic characterization of Solomon, studied in Ch. 5, and the astrological characterization of the king, which we are about to study now. At first glance such a distinction is unnecessary; however, each of our chapters responds to a different setting. In “Solomon the Hermetic Sage” (Ch. 5), we studied the first appearance of a tradition that crystallizes in *Wisdom of Solomon* and the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus in the creation of a catalogue

of Hermetic lore that is attributed to the king; the importance of both texts lies in that their witness to the early date of this tradition and to its influence. Nevertheless, the treatment of the figure of Solomon developed so much that a new portrait was created, based not on an exegesis of the biblical text but on the tradition that resulted from that exegesis combined with external motifs. Astrology and magic came to the fore as protagonists; thus, we have here a Hermeticism of a different kind, which would function as a bridge between the image of Solomon in Late Antiquity and its further development in the Middle Ages. Several questions should be asked about the genesis, transmission, and importance of that tradition and about the role that Jewish elements play in it; in the following pages we will try to answer at least some of these questions.

Several texts will be object of our attention. We will first study two passages of the *Testament of Solomon* (chapters 8 and 18) in which we gain a glimpse into the way astrological material was introduced within the Solomonic traditions. We find here the association of the King with demons from an early date and its decisive role in the constitution of the new tradition. After this, we will study the *Hymnogramanteia of Solomon*, a fairly obscure Hermetic text with astonishing astrological content. In this text the astrological material is distributed around the structural framework provided by the pseudographical attribution to the king, which shows the strength of the links between Solomon and the astrological material. We will also study a brief fragment of the Mandaic *Ginza*, where Solomon appears linked to some astrological figures and which furnishes us with a parallel that shows how astrological material was reinterpreted in mythological terms. In the same way, a Syriac alchemic writing will be included in our study since it shows how astrology was always in close contact with the figure of Solomon in Late Antiquity. Finally a work called *Selenodromion of David and Solomon* will be studied, since it shows the attribution of an astrological genre to David and Solomon. In this text, demonology is totally absent; it represents the monotheistic adaptation of a pagan genre, the so-called *Lunarium*. The ascription of this work to Solomon seems to be an example of how the traditions about Solomon the astrologer evolved to the point where there was a real characterization of the king as knower of astrological lore, unconnected with demonology. With all these witnesses, it will become clear that, at least in certain circles, Solomon was viewed as a kind of mystic teacher, versed in astrology.

THE ASTROLOGICAL MATERIAL IN CHAPTERS 8 AND 18 OF  
*TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON*

As we have seen before,<sup>1</sup> Solomon was linked early on with demons and exorcism. This association had to be syncretistic by the very nature of the incorporated material. Thus, as the *Testament of Solomon* clearly shows, this demonology was enriched by contributions from different cultures, especially Jewish, Egyptian and Hellenistic. Among these contributions, it was natural that astrology, which played an important role within the realms of esoteric knowledge, was absorbed into the Solomonic traditions. The *Testament* exhibits this absorption in chapters 8 and 18, where the adaptation of the astrological traditions is absolutely central. However, astrology permeates the whole work, with minor astrological references within the framework provided by the exorcistic formula “who are you?”<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, it seems necessary to evaluate each of these minor references, so that later on we may study the longer pieces of astrological material from the perspective provided by our examination of the smaller units.

Besides some astrological allusions and the two long astrological passages in chapters 8 and 18, there are nine passages in which astrology is clearly located in the context of the identificatory formula “who are you?”<sup>3</sup> For example, in *Test. Sol.* 2:2 the demon Ormias answers King Solomon’s question about his constellation in this way:

And answering the demon says: in Aquarius; and I strangle the ones who reside in Aquarius, those who called the Zodiac sign Virgo because of the desire of women.<sup>4</sup>

Although the text is certainly difficult, the transformation of astrological into demonic material is, nonetheless, clear. In the same way, a female demon called Onoskelis attacks men with fair hair because

<sup>1</sup> See Ch. 4, “Solomon the Exorcist.”

<sup>2</sup> On this formula and the frame it provides see Ch. 4, “Solomon the Exorcist.”

<sup>3</sup> The passages are the following: *Test. Sol.* 2:2; 4:6; 5:4; 7:6; 14:7; 15:5-6.

<sup>4</sup> “καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ δαίμων λέγει· Ὑδροχόω· καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ὑδροχόω κεμένους δι’ ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν γυναιῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθένον ζῳδίων κεκληκότας ἀποπνίγω.” The original text is very corrupt and the present text represents an attempt by the editor to make it understandable (see McCown, *Testament*, 14). The translation of Duling (in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1.963) is not possible on syntactic grounds; see H. M. Jackson, “Notes on the Testament of Solomon,” *JSS* 19 (1988), 19-60, especially 27.

“they are of the same constellation as mine.”<sup>5</sup> The importance of astrological contact between men and demons is stated again in *Test. Sol.* 5:4 and 7:6 where Solomon asks the demon directly what his constellation is. The connection between stars and demons is thus clear in the Testament and was very likely made at an early moment. Finally *Test. Sol.* 14:7 and *Test. Sol.* 15:6 seem to suggest an angelic hierarchy based on a division of the heavens into seven parts. It is quite probable that such a division alludes to the seven planets of Hellenistic astrology.<sup>6</sup>

As we have said, the astrological material is not limited to these passages; in fact, chapters 8 and 18 consist of astrological material that has been taken over entirely from the astrological ideas of Late Antiquity; in chapter 8 we again find the tradition about the seven planets, reworked into a catalogue of demons whose names correspond to vices:

1. And again I glorified God who gave me this authority and I ordered another demon to come to me. And seven spirits went bound and entwined together, well formed in aspect and graceful. 2. And when I, Solomon, saw them I was amazed and I asked them: “Who are you?” And they said: “We are the heavenly bodies, world rulers of darkness.” 3. And the first says: “I am Deceit.” The second: “I am Strife.” The third: “I am Fate.” The fourth: “I am Distress.” The fifth: “I am Error.” The sixth: “I am Power.” The seventh: I the Worst. 4. And our stars look small in heaven and we are called as gods. We move together and we live together, sometimes in Lydia, sometimes in Olympus, sometimes on the great mountain.”<sup>7</sup>

Here a reference to the seven planets is certain. Although they have been transformed into demonic figures, their astrological background

<sup>5</sup> *Test. Sol.* 4:6: πρὸ πάντων δὲ τοῖς μελιχροῖς ὅτι οὗτοι συναστροῖ μού εἰσιν...

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., *Test. Sol.* 15:6: I am thwarted by the angel Rathanael who is seated in the third heaven (καταργοῦμαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου Ῥαθαναὴλ τοῦ καθεζομένου εἰς τρίτον οὐρανόν). Perhaps the angelic hierarchy of some Hekhalot works goes back to the same sources; in the same way the division of the *Book of the Secrets* could have been inspired by this astrological tradition of the seven planets.

<sup>7</sup> *Test. Sol.* 8:1-4: Κἀγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν τὸν δόντα μοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην καὶ ἐκέλευσα ἄλλον δαίμονα παρεῖναι μοι. καὶ ἦλθον πνεύματα ἑπτὰ συνδεδεμένα καὶ συμπλεγμένα, εὖμορφα τῷ εἶδει καὶ εὐσχημα. 2. ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομὼν ἰδὼν αὐτὰ ἐθαύμασα καὶ ἐπηρώτησα αὐτὰ: τίνες ἔστε; οἱ δὲ εἶπον: ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν στοιχεῖα κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους. 3. καὶ φησιν ὁ πρῶτος: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Ἀπάτη. ὁ δεῦτερος: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Ἔρις. ὁ τρίτος: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Κλωθῶ. ὁ τέταρτος: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Ζάλη. ὁ πέμπτος: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Πλάνη. ὁ ἕκτος: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Δύναμις. ὁ ἕβδομος: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Κακίστη. 4. καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἡμῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ φαίνονται μικρὰ καὶ ὡς θεοὶ καλούμεθα: ὁμοῦ ἀλλασσόμεθα καὶ ὁμοῦ οἰκοῦμεν ποτὲ μὲν τὴν Λυδίαν, ποτὲ δὲ τὸν Ὀλυμπον, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ μέγα ὄρος.

is evident, since they “are called like gods.” Besides, some of the new names of the heavenly bodies coincide with the ones quoted in the Gnostic treatise *On the Origin of the World*.<sup>8</sup> In this chapter the transformation of the astrological material is more important than in Chapter 18, since it is re-arranged to fit into the context of exorcism. It is particularly interesting that the seven spirits call themselves *κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότου* (“world rulers of the darkness”) since we find the same expression in a Christian Greek Papyrus of the fourth or fifth century, in which the astrological entities have been transformed into demonic ones.<sup>9</sup>

The transformation and adaptation of the astrological material is more evident in *Test. Sol.* 18 where the astrological deities called *decans* appear, since the astrological block was taken over, with changes in the names of the demons but preserving the overall contents and the interest in astrological medicine: the *decans* have been transformed into demons with power over different diseases, which the exorcist can cure through adjuration of those demons. This last aspect recalls the interest in such matters that the *Hygromanteia* clearly shows, because its interest in astrological plants is centered precisely on their curative powers.

The chapter of the *decans* is the most controversial and most quoted text of *Testament of Solomon* because the material that composes the chapter is clearly identifiable as a fragment of an older astrological tradition.<sup>10</sup> The name *decans* is not a definition but reflects the fact

<sup>8</sup> Cf., below, the notes concerning *On the Origin of the World* II, 5: 106.27-107.

<sup>9</sup> See Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.221, P 13: ...αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι καὶ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότου, ἢ καὶ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἢ καὶ πτώσις δαίμονος μεσεμβριναῖς ὥραις, εἴτε θίγους, εἴτε πυρέτιον... (“the powers and the authorities and the world rulers of the darkness”...). In P. 10 (Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.128), a Christian papyrus of the sixth century we read: ὀρκίζω αὐτὸ τοῦ[ς] ἑπτα κύκλους] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον.... τὸν δευτέρον [...] ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, ἅτινα ὠμόσατε ἐπὶ Σολομῶνος... (“I adjure you, the seven circles of the heaven: by the first... the second [...] I adjure you, the ones who swear by Solomon...”). The present translation differs from Preisendanz’s: “Ich beschwöre ihn, (den Geist) bei den [sieben Kreisen]...” It has to be noted that the *decani* that appear in *Test. Sol.* 18 also called themselves *κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότου*.

<sup>10</sup> See W. Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansterbilder. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sternbilder der Kulturvölker* (reprint of the 1936 edition; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969), 49-63, 272-281; H. G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberapyri* (München: C. H. Beck, 1968), 17-24; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L’astrologie grecque* (Paris: 1899), 215-235; W. Scott, *Hermetica. The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus* (reprint of 1924 ed.; 4 vols; Boston: Shambala, 1985), 1.410-420 [Stobaei *Hermetica*, Excerptum VI]; 3.363-373.

that each of these 36 ancient Egyptian divinities, if arranged around the celestial sphere, occupies an arc of ten degrees.<sup>11</sup> Their origin is unmistakably Egyptian, but at an early date they must have been adopted into the scheme of Hellenistic astrology, since Manilius, the first century CE author of the *Astronomica*, already knew a system of *decans*;<sup>12</sup> the number of 36 *decans* appear in the Graeco-Roman period, when Greek astrology took over older traditions and connected them to an astrological system based on the Zodiac and to the seven planets, through the so-called πρόσωπα (figures). In this process, the old divinities were given a more defined personality and acquired domain over a specified segment of time, that is, they became χρονοκράτορες (rulers of time);<sup>13</sup> in addition to this, they were considered as demons by lay people.<sup>14</sup> This astrological unit was subsumed under the exorcistic formula “who are you?”, and the *decans* were personalized; that is, they become personal and definite entities, equivalent to the other demons appearing in the *Testament*. This material has suffered an extensive reworking in respect of the names of the *decans* and its specific astrological content; the chapter on the *decans* is introduced as follows:

18. And I ordered another demon to come to me. And the thirty-six heavenly elements came to me, their heads like dogs. without form. Among them there were forms of men, bulls, dragons, and faces of beasts, birds and sphinx. 2. And seeing these I, Solomon, asked them, saying: “And who are you?” All at once with one voice they said: “We are the thirty six heavenly elements, the world rulers of the darkness of this age. 3. And you cannot hurt or shut us up, O king; but since God gave you power over all the aerial, terrestrial and subterranean spirits, then we present ourselves before you like the other spirits.”<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> On the Egyptian *decans* see Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie*, 215-231.

<sup>12</sup> On Manilius' *decans* see Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie*, 217-220.

<sup>13</sup> Thus Bouché-Leclercq (*L'astrologie*, 222) says: “les *décans* sont bien les étoiles, des étoiles fixes qui chacune à leur tour, suivant les saisons, ‘montent à l’orient du ciel’ au coucher du Soleil, et c’est ce que traduit exactement le terme ώροσκόποι (οί λαμπροί λσ’ ώροσκόποι).” This affirmation reminds us of Solomon’s knowledge of stars and seasons according to *Wisdom of Solomon* 7:18-19.

<sup>14</sup> See Festugière and Nock, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 3.36 (Stobaeus, Excerpt VI.10): Τούτους οὖν καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ δαίμονας· οὐδὲ γάρ ἴδιόν τι ἐστὶ γένος τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων, οὔτε ἄλλα σώματα ἔχοντες ἐξ ἰδίας τινός ὕλης οὔτε ψυχῇ κινούμενοι ὡπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐνεργεῖαι εἰσι τῶν τριάκοντα ἐξ τούτων θεῶν (“many call them demons; because neither the genre of the demons is a special genre, nor they have bodies of some special matter. nor are they moved by a soul as we are, but they are the energies of these 36 gods”).

<sup>15</sup> *Test. Sol.* 18:1-3: Καὶ ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι μοι ἕτερον δαίμονα. καὶ ἦλθον

The *decans* characterize themselves as στοιχεῖα and κοσμοκράτορες, that is, as astrological entities; but they are also characterized as spirits similar to the ones that have been summoned before. However, the king is not able to harm or imprison them, which is rather surprising, if we consider what such a statement means: the divine power awarded to Solomon by God has a limit. The affirmation of independence by the demons perhaps originated in the astrological character of the demons, who were perceived therefore as more powerful or, at least, as less prone to be influenced. After this general introduction, Solomon summons each of the *decans* as follows:

4. And I Solomon, after summoning the first spirit, said: “Who are you?” And he said to me, “I am the first decan of the Zodiac circle, I am called Ruax.” 5. I cause the heads of men to ache and I move up and down their temples. Should I hear, “Michael, imprison Ruax,” I retreat at once.<sup>16</sup>

The *decan*, now a demon who has power to cause illness, can be chased away, a fact that was denied in the introduction to the chapter on the *decans*. We can observe the same structure in the whole chapter. The interest in iatromagic (curative magic) coincides with the interest found in other texts that link Solomon and astrology, such as the *Hygromanteia*. In several cases the name of the angels or divine figures who thwart the demons has obviously been Hebraized, a remainder of the importance of such pseudo-semitic *nomina barbara* in the Greek Magical Papyri, where such names were interpreted as a mark of a Jewish tradition or source.<sup>17</sup>

Although the astrological source of the chapter is clear, the astrological content of *Test. Sol.* 18 is very blurred, at least in the text of recension A, which McCown printed, since he considered it the

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πρός με τὰ τριάκοντα ἕξ στοιχεῖα, αἱ κορυφαὶ αὐτῶν ὡς κύνες ἄμορφοι. ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἦσαν ἀνθρωπόμορφα, ταυρόμορφα, θηριοπρῶσοπα, δρακοντόμορφα, σφιγγοπρῶσοπα, πτηνοπρῶσοπα. 2. καὶ ταῦτα ἰδὼν ἐγὼ Σολομῶν ἐπηρώτησα αὐτὰ λέγων· καὶ ὑμεῖς τίνας ἔστε; αἱ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδὸν μᾶ φωνῇ εἶπον· ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν τὰ τριάκοντα ἕξ στοιχεῖα, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. 3. ἀλλὰ οὐ δύνασαι ἡμᾶς, βασιλεῦ ἀδικῆσαι οὐδὲ κατακλεῖσαι ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἔδωκέ σοι ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἀερίων πνευμάτων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, ἰδοὺ παραστήκομην ἔμπροσθέν σοι ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ πνεύματα (my translation).

<sup>16</sup> *Test. Sol.* 18:4: Καὶ γὰρ δὲ Σολομῶν προσκαλεσάμενος τὸ ἐν πνεῦμα εἶπον αὐτῶ· σὺ τίς εἶ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη μοι· ἐγὼ δεκανὸς ἄ τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου, ὃς καλοῦμαι Ῥύαξ. κεφαλὰς ἀνθρώπων ποιῶ ἀλγεῖν καὶ κροτάφους σαλεύω. ὡς μόνον ἀκούσω· Μιχαήλ, ἔγκλεισον Ῥύαξ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. *Test. Sol.* 18:6-16.

earlier reworking of the original work.<sup>18</sup> However, one of the three recensions of the *Testament*, recension B, adds two lines that support the astrological nature of the beginning of the *decans* chapter. This supplementary part continues the text: “from Aries and Taurus, Gemini and Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra and Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius and Pisces.”<sup>19</sup> If we insert this passage into the main body of the text, it acquires a new aspect: “the other spirits from Aries and Taurus, Gemini and Cancer...;” thus, all the spirits and demons are put under the aegis of the twelve signs of the Zodiac; because of this, the astrological material introduced into within the structural framework of the *Testament* would seem to reflect more than a casual interest in such insertions. However convenient a textual reading may be, we must take into account that this reading has to be supported by some supporting evidence. As we shall see, a fragmentary papyrus containing *Test. Sol.* 18:27-28, 33-40 justifies this textual choice.

Preisendanz was the first scholar to note the existence of a fragmentary papyrus that contained parts of *Test. Sol.* 18:33-40, but Daniel studied it in more detail and added other two small fragments (*Test. Sol.* 18: 27-28) that complete the text at our disposal.<sup>20</sup> It seems that the papyrus preserves a *rotulus*, that is a scroll that stretches vertically and not horizontally.<sup>21</sup> The format of the *rotulus* was not usually employed for literary works but rather for documentary works such as wills, bills, etc. Perhaps, then, we have here one of several *rotuli* that would have contained different chapters of the *Testament*, so their pseudepigraphical attribution would be reinforced by the use of a documentary format found in wills.<sup>22</sup> On palaeographical grounds the papyrus can be dated to around the five or sixth century, which makes it the oldest extant manuscript of the *Testament of*

<sup>18</sup> On the textual history of the *Testament* see McCown, *Testament*, 30-38, 105-108; Delatte, *Anecdota*, 211-227; Preisendanz, “Solomo,” 689.

<sup>19</sup> McCown, (*Testament*, 51) in the critical apparatus to 18:12 where Ms. P adds: ἀπὸ κριοῦ, καὶ ταύρου, διδύμου τὲ καὶ καρκίνου, λέοντος, καὶ παρθένου, ζυγοῦ τε καὶ σκορπιου (sic) τοξότου, αἰγωνέρωτος, ὕδροχόου, καὶ ἰχθύος.

<sup>20</sup> See Preisendanz, “Ein Wiener Papyrusfragment,” 161-167; Daniel, “The Testament of Solomon XVIII 27-28, 33-40,” 294-304.

<sup>21</sup> See E. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16; Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie, Première Partie; Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1978), 26-53.

<sup>22</sup> On this possibility see D. C. Duling, “Testament of Solomon: Retrospect and Prospect,” *JSP* 2 (1988), 87-112.

*Solomon*. Its importance for us lies in the fact that it preserves a text that closely follows recension B and that distributes the *decans* among the twelve signs of the Zodiac. In addition to that it supports the general value of Recension B for the whole of the text since this recension preserves readings that are clearly superior to A on many occasions.<sup>23</sup>

The papyrus, then, supports our text-critical choice of Recension B, as containing the better readings, in which the astrological material is intimately linked with the demonology of the *decans*.<sup>24</sup> Also, since the chapter on the *decans* circulated as an independent unit, it furnishes more evidence of the importance in certain circles of the combination of astrology, demonology and magical medicine in connexion with Solomon, at least from the fourth to fifth centuries onward. Thus, what is only suggested in *Wisdom of Solomon* 7:19 acquired gradual importance in other writing attributed to Solomon; in the *Testament*, the interest in demonology outweighs all other traditions. Gradually, the astrological material gained ascendancy as the central point of the Solomonic tradition; thus, the *Testament* shows how Solomon the exorcist could not be separated from the Solomon the astrologer. These two images coexisted from the beginning and we shall see how works like the *Hygromanteia* show the development of Solomon the astrologer and the importance of this image for subsequent understanding of the character of Solomon.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> There is disagreement about the priority of the different recensions; McCown defended the value of A, followed by B, and then by C; Daniel, on papyrological grounds, suggests that the order B, A, C would be more realistic, since McCown constantly had to supplement his text (mainly Rec. A) with Recension B. In at least one case the papyrus supplies the correct reading for the *Testament*; thus the Greek word Πύξ that McCown took as a second name for all of the decans from twentieth to the thirty-sixth, would be addressed to Solomon, as Preisendanz ventured ("Solomo," 678). As Daniel says ("Testament," 296): "The papyrus confirms Preisendanz's suggestion as to the the meaning of the word. Wherever the Mss. have ῥύξ (or ῥίξ or ῥίξι etc.) with or without a preceding καί (or κε or κι etc.) the papyrus has κύριε ῥήξ. From the 4th century on, ρήξ as a transliteration of *rex* occurs in Greek, generally to designate rulers of non-Byzantine kingdoms. The mss show various mis-spellings which arose from iotacism, the interchange of υ with η or ει, and the interchange of ς and ω. Thus an unrecognized ῥήξ could easily generate all the variants found in the tradition. Before the variants of ῥήξ, Rec. A sometimes has what seems to be a superfluous emphatic καί, and in the same position in N the variants of ῥήξ are preceded by κε, κι or κη. All of these must have arisen from the Christian abbreviation of κύριε, namely κε."

<sup>24</sup> So Daniel, "Testament," 295: "For the present chapter, however, we find the reverse situation: Rec. A seems to be shortened from a version which is common to Rec. B and the papyrus."

<sup>25</sup> The fact that manuscript *Harleianus 5596* contains the texts of the *Testament*

## SOLOMON THE ASTROLOGER IN THE HYGROMANTEIA OF SOLOMON

a. *General Introduction to the Text*

In another chapter we proposed the existence of a characterization of Solomon as Hermetic sage that was present both in Jewish and Christian texts. Among the Hermetic writings, there is one text that seems to support this hypothesis; it is placed under the aegis of King Solomon and is interesting because of the mixture of astrological and magical material that appears on it. Although this work is entitled *Hygromanteia* (“divination through water”), there is no mention of that magical art, but we do find all the elements characteristic of Hermetic literature.<sup>26</sup>

The date of the text that is preserved in the Ms. *Monacensis 70* (fifteenth century) is uncertain because no writer of either Late Antiquity or the Middle Ages quotes it. Heeg, the editor of the text,<sup>27</sup> was persuaded of the antiquity of the book and he thought, with Reitzenstein, that its author had to be a member of a Hermetic sect, since he had imitated the apocryphal authorship of the Hermetic texts;<sup>28</sup> for Heeg the origin was most likely Egyptian. In addition, the numerous chapters about the plants of the seven planets, the signs of the Zodiac and similar material, which comprise the principal parts of the book, point to the same Hermetic environment.

Similar writings were attributed to the Egyptian Nechepso, Al-

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and the *Hygromanteia* in a clearly intermingled fashion, could mean that demonology and astrology were viewed as complementary aspects of the traditions relating to King Solomon; for a detailed description of the contents of Harleianus and their distribution see, Delatte, *Anecdota*, 387-388.

<sup>26</sup> For a general introduction to the history of the text and its contents see Preisendanz, “Solomo,” 690-694.

<sup>27</sup> J. Heeg, “Excerptum ex codice monacensi graeco 70,” *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, VIII -2, 139-143, especially p. 140: *quando hic liber sit conscriptus, certis argumentis omnino comprobari non potest, praesertim cum a nullo neque antiquitatis neque mediae, quae dicitur aetatis scriptore citari videatur. Quamvis multae in hoc libello inveniuntur et formae et voces ex vulgari quem vocamus sermone Graeco depromptae, quae posteriora saecula Byzantina ostendant, tamen mihi persuasi ortum quidem esse in Aegypto illis fere temporibus quibus etiam magica illa scripta a Flavio Iosepho laudata totque illae papyri magicae Aegyptiae, sed retractatum esse sub finem aetatis Byzantinae in Italia inferiore [...]. Atque sine dubio ignotus eius libelli auctor addictus erat Hermeticae sectae.*

<sup>28</sup> Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 187, n.1: “*Schon der Anfang προσέχε ἀκριβῶς μοῦ υἱέ Ροβοάμ εἰς τὴν ἀκριβείαν τῆς τέχνης (vgl. in der Κορη κόσμου Stob., Ekl., p. 394, 25: προσέχε, τεκνὸν Ὁρῆ· κρυπτῆς γὰρ ἐπαλούεις θεωρίας und mehr die Manhnung die Manhnung, diese Schrift niemand zu zeigen, charakterisiert sie als Nachbildung Hermitischer Schriften.*”

exander of Macedon, Hermes Trimegistus and Enoch.<sup>29</sup> The importance attached to the properties of the plants corresponding to the Zodiacal signs is shared by the *Hygromanteia* and also by a text attributed to Thessalos.<sup>30</sup> In the Thessalos text, there are pharmacological observations, with measures of products and rules of preparation according to the disease to be treated, whereas the *Hygromanteia*'s formulae are more related to magical techniques.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the predominance of magical material links the *Hygromanteia* to the same traditions that, as we have seen, associated Solomon with esoteric knowledge.

The extant title is perhaps to be explained by the possible loss of some of the pages of manuscript from which our principal text was copied, since the contents have nothing to do with the techniques of hydromancy.<sup>32</sup> It is quite probable that the original text includ-

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<sup>29</sup> Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.137: "D'autre part, on lisait, dès le 1er siècle de notre ère, un ouvrage de Nèchepso sur la connexion des plantes et des astres, et les manuscrits astrologiques grecs et latins nous font connaître, sur le même sujet, un certain nombre de petits traités qu'ils attribuent, mais non sans désaccord, au roi Alexandre de Macédoine, à Hermès Trismégiste, à Hénoch, à Solomon (lequel s'adresse à son fils Roboam)."

<sup>30</sup> Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.143: "Il subsiste, sur les plantes des douze signes, deux sortes d'écrits qui se distinguent fort bien, non pas seulement parce qu'ils sont attribués d'un côté à Thessalos (Harpokration) ou à Hermès, de l'autre à Solomon, mais parce que la liste des plantes et la nature de l'exposé relatif à chaque plante diffère d'une manière très sensible dans les deux cas."

<sup>31</sup> Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.146: "Mais ce n'est pas la seule différence. Dans l'opuscule 'de Thessalos', les paragraphes sont uniquement composés de recettes médicales très précisés, avec indication des mesures (once, etc.) pour chaque ingrédient et du mode d'emploi en chaque maladie. Ces recettes sont purement médicales (potions, liniments, cataplasmes) et pourraient être empruntées à n'importe quel auteur sérieux: il n'est point question d'amulettes ou de charmes. Au contraire, dans le texte 'de Salomon', les recettes sont plus vagues et, d'autre part, elles concernent bien plutôt la magie que la thérapeutique; en outre la langue est beaucoup plus proche du grec populaire de l'époque byzantine et des temps modernes. [...] Il s'agit donc bien ici, non pas d'une simple variante, mais d'une tradition nettement diverse, d'une école rivale. Dans son état actuel, le texte 'de Salomon' est certainement plus récent que celui 'de Thessalos', mais il se peut qu'il remonte, en substance, aux premiers siècles de notre ère."

<sup>32</sup> However, it seems that Solomon was reputed to have been familiar with such techniques since there are examples of amulets that show the king performing the procedure of hydromancy, as Goodenough (*Jewish Symbols*, 2:232) states: "On one amulet accepted as Jewish by Frey, as well on many others, Solomon plays yet another role. Fig. 1059 shows him, named, as a magician in a long robe; here he stirs a pot and holds a lance or spear in his left hand. Before him is the caduceus of Mercury, and about him are various magical 'characters,' as well as a star. On the reverse is Triple Hecate; beneath her is a wheel going out from it

ed also the description of that and other magical practices, since three manuscripts transcribed by Delatte, describe the actual procedures of the hydromancy and lekanomanteia.<sup>33</sup> Two of them are late in form, but they preserve ancient traditions placed under the aegis of Solomon; the third manuscript preserves a copy of the *Hygromanteia* in which the magical and divinatory techniques to which the title makes reference appear. This last text provides the material to fill in the lacunae of *Monacensis 70*. Besides, despite the different wording in some parts of the tradition, the relationship is significant to us, all the more so if we take into account that the manuscripts of Delatte share a great deal of the same material, even though these manuscripts are later.

#### b. *The Technique of the Hydromancy*

It is almost certain that the so-called *Hygromanteia* coincides with *hydromanteia*, or *lekanomanteia*; these techniques are similar in their procedures and try to foretell the future by using a basin filled with water in which different demons are summoned either directly by the magician or indirectly, with the help of a boy who acts as medium.<sup>34</sup> Heeg furnishes us with some sources that help us to understand the mechanism that linked such traditions with Solomon, leaving aside the likely characterization of him as a Hermetic sage.<sup>35</sup> Augustine describes the technique as follows:

Since also Numa himself, to whom no prophet of God nor holy angel was sent, was forced to perform hydromancy, so that he saw images of gods, or better mockeries of the demons, from whom he heard what he had to arrange and observe whith regard to the sacred.<sup>36</sup>

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on either side, and in the field are a star, a caduceus of Mercury, a five branched menorah, and various 'Characters.' Solomon is here performing the rite of hydromancy, a form of magic in which demons were called to appear as reflections or shadows on the surface of the water of a pot."

<sup>33</sup> Delatte, *Anecdota*, 10-105 (*Ms 1265 Bibliothèque Nationale d'Athènes; Ms 115 de la Société Historique et Ethnographique d'Athènes*); 397-445 (*Harleianus 5596*).

<sup>34</sup> See Heeg, *Excerptum*, *CCAG VIII*, 2, 141-143; about lekanomanteia and hydromanteia see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité* (2 vols; Paris: 1879-1892, reprint; New York: Arno Press, 1975), 1.184-187; about the lekanomantia see Abt, *Die Apologie*, 171-177.

<sup>35</sup> Heeg, "Excerptum," 141-143.

<sup>36</sup> St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, VII, cap. 35: "Nam et ipse Numa, ad quem nullus Dei propheta, nullus santus angelus mittebatur, hydromantian facere compulsus est, ut in aqua videret imagines deorum vel potius ludificationes daemonum, a quibus audiret, quid in sacris constituere atque observare deberet."

In this text, Augustine does not describe the actual procedures of hydromancy but he does speak about the “mockeries of the demons;” he sees the role of the demons as the outstanding feature.<sup>37</sup> In the same way, the popular *Life of Alexander the Great* by Pseudo-Callisthenes, offers a detailed account of the technique and of the involvement of the demons:

This Nectanebus was experienced in magical technique, and making use of this power he lived in peace, being superior in magic to every people, since if a force of enemies attacked him, neither did he get ready an army, nor did he trouble the soldiers in fights against the enemies, but setting out a dish he performed *lekanomanteia*, and after putting spring-water in the dish, he shaped with his hands ships and manikins of wax; then he put them in the dish and dressed himself with a prophet’s garment, and while holding a rod and standing, he invoked the gods of charms, the aerial spirits and the subterranean demons. And by means of the charm, the mannikins became alive in the dish and in the same way were soaked. At the very instant they were soaked the true ships of the attacking enemies that were on the sea were destroyed because of the man’s great experience in magical power.<sup>38</sup>

Pseudo-Callisthenes describes how Nectanebus performed a technique that is called lekanomancy, as a result of which his enemies were destroyed. What interests us is that the demons again play an important part and that the account is incorporated within the

<sup>37</sup> See the definition of Hinemarus Remensis (Migne, *PLM*, 125:718): “The Hydromancers are those who call forth the demons’ shadows through the investigation of water, and they say that they see there either images or mockeries and hear other things from others” (*Hydromancii sunt qui in aquae inspectione umbras daemonum evocant, et imagines vel ludificationes ibi videre et ab aliis aliqua audire se perhibent*). This author also perceived the role of the demons as fundamental; furthermore, the word “mockeries” suggests to us that he believed that something actually happened during the procedures of hydromancy.

<sup>38</sup> Ps.- Callisthenes *Vitae Alexandri Magni*, I. cap. I: Οὗτος ὁ Νεκτανεβῶς τῇ μαγικῇ τέχνῃ ἔμπειρος ἦν, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει αὐτῆι χρώμενος, πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν τῇ μαγείᾳ περιγενόμενος εἰρηνικῶς διῆγεν εἰ γὰρ ποτε τούτῳ δύναμις ἐπέβη πολεμίων, στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἠὔτρεπιζεν οὐδὲ ὑπερασπιστὰς ἔσχυλλεν εἰς παρατάξεις πολεμικάς, ἀλλὰ τιθεὶς λεκάνην ἐποίει λεκανομαντείαν, καὶ τιθεὶς ὕδωρ πηγαῖον εἰς τὴν λεκάνην ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἔπλασσεν ἐκ κηρίου πλοιάρια καὶ ἀνθρωπάρια κήρινα· ἐτίθη δὲ εἰς τὴν λεκάνην, καὶ ἐστόλισεν ἑαυτὸν στολὴν προφήτου καὶ κατέχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ῥάβδον ἐβελλινὴν καὶ στὰς ἐπεκαλεῖτο ὡσανεὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν ἐπωδῶν καὶ τὰ ἀέρια πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους δαίμονας· καὶ τῇ ἐπωδῇ ἔμπνοα ἐγένοντο τὰ ἀνθρωπάρια ἐν τῇ λεκάνῃ καὶ οὕτως ἐβαπτίζοντο. εὐθέως δὲ βαπτιζόμενων αὐτῶν τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀληθῆ πλοῖα τῶν ἐπερχομένων πολεμίων διεφθείροντο διὰ τὸ πολὺπειρον εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα τῇ μαγικῇ δυνάμει.

pseudepigraphical life of Alexander who, curiously enough, was made the author of a similar text which appears in the Syriac Zosimus.<sup>39</sup> It is clear that the divinatory technique of hydromancy or *lekanomancy* was inextricably linked with demons and spirits. Consequently, given the early connection of Solomon with demons and astrology in a Hellenized setting, *lekanomancy* was easily included within knowledge associated with Solomon by combining the purely divinatory with the astrological and demonologic aspects inherent in the characterization of the king in Jewish tradition. In the texts we are about to study, interest fluctuates between the purely astrological material and magical material.

### c. *The Text*

#### c.1. *The Problems of the Text*

Because of the type of literature to which the *Hygromanteia* belongs there are serious problems in respect of its textual tradition. We are not dealing with texts that were preserved and carefully copied for their literary value or religious importance. These texts were widely used, functioning on occasions as manuals for the professional practitioner. Since they were, thus, not protected as either canonical or aesthetical significant compositions, they were prone to corruption or manipulation. Only the necessity of preserving the wording of names and procedures with as little variation as possible acted as a deterrent against textual corruption. However, this did not preclude the creative growth of material that could be added or removed purely on the grounds of fashion. Thus, this type of texts oscillates between verbal immutability and redactional change.<sup>40</sup>

As a result, the study of such textual traditions is complicated, since the classical approach of establishing a "secure" critical text is almost impossible; the words that Swartz applied to the prayers in

<sup>39</sup> Cf. also M. Psellus, *τίνα περὶ δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες*, (ed. I.F. Boissonade; Norimbergae: 1838, 42 [*op. cit.* in *CCAG*, 7:2,142]), who describes in detail the practice of lekanomancy, drawing on early Byzantine sources.

<sup>40</sup> Nock's insights about the textual character and transmission of the magical papyri could be applied to these texts: "Working copies have a history which is quite different from that of ordinary literature. In literature the form is essential; one may insert glosses, and one makes errors of transcription, but one seeks to preserve its shape. A working copy has to be useful, and so one modifies it and incorporates suggestions from other sources. So much we might conjecture, and in fact there is abundant evidence of these proceedings in our texts." (Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," in *Essays in Religion*, 1.177).

Hekhalot literature are equally useful for dealing with these texts:

The state of these texts precludes reliance on a classical “critical edition” by which an ideal text is reconstructed to be analysed by the scholars. Rather it is necessary in dealing with this material to negotiate among varying forms of the text. These variants are not restricted to problems of wording. Whole sections of given text may appear in one recension, and be absent in another.<sup>41</sup>

It is clear, then, that no reconstruction of the text should be attempted, because the result would be artificial and would reflect the editor’s prejudices and preferences rather than the “original” document. Therefore, the study of this kind of text has to be synoptic, considering each version in itself and, at the same time, placing it into the general picture provided by the analysis of the whole tradition. Accordingly, the *recensio* and *collatio* will be partial means of research, but they will not have as their final result, a *constitutio textus*; in the same way, we will not attempt the *emendatio* or conjecture, because there is no *Urtext* to reconstruct. The path to tread and to be followed when studying this kind of text is that of form- and redactional criticism, as Swartz saw clearly in his study of mystical prayer:<sup>42</sup>

This can be accomplished through form criticism of the text tradition particularly by identifying and distinguishing individual literary units with an eye to their formal characteristics and their relationship to their redactional content.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> M. D. Swartz, *Mystical Prayers in Ancient Judaism* (Tübingen: J.B.C. Mohr, 1992), 33.

<sup>42</sup> In fact the insights of P. Schäfer (“Tradition and Redaction in Hekhalot Literature,” *Hekhalot-Studien* [Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1988], 8-16, esp. 15-16) into the Hekhalot literature are applicable as well to our texts: “(1) the so-called Hekhalot literature is an extremely fluid literature which has reached different literary expressions in different manuscripts at different times and in different places. (2) The final literary product of a certain work is in most cases a fiction the redactional identity of which is questionable. (3) It is therefore a false presupposition to reconstruct the individual “works” of Hekhalot literature and to delineate one in comparison and contrast with another. (4) It is equally mistaken to attempt to establish the age of these “works” as final literary products. (5) In the tension between tradition and redaction the decisive weight must be placed on the tradition in each case. (6) The individual traditions have been combined into different and variable literary units. The relationship of such a literary unit to a certain “works” is of secondary importance. (7) The transmission of smaller and larger units of texts has to be described according to its different relationships and functions. (8) Divergent settings of a tradition are therefore not to be reduced to assumed “original forms” but have to be respected as autonomous stages of a development. (9) Any edition of texts of Hekhalot literature has to take into consideration that one text is an illusion.”

<sup>43</sup> Swartz, *Mystical Prayers*, 34. The same process could be applied to texts such

The inner development of the tradition and its different results (i.e. the different versions) will be our principal objectives. Consequently, in the first place, we will assemble all available information about the manuscripts in order to be able, afterwards to study their content and their place in the traditions relating to Solomon. Besides, some texts that bear witness to the same traditions but are not attributed to Solomon will be studied and compared in order properly to understand the inner workings of the material and traditions.

### c.2. *The Manuscripts*

Heeg, the editor of the text that we will take as our point of departure, knew of a total of five manuscripts the contents of which were clearly related to *Hygromanteia*;<sup>44</sup> thus, he gives the following list of codices:

1. *Cod. Taurinensis C*. It was a mixed manuscript formed from fragments of several codices written by several hands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We have only the beginning of the work and a brief description of its general content because the manuscript was lost in a fire.<sup>45</sup> Heeg thought that it was very different from the version he edited.<sup>46</sup>
2. *Cod. Monacensis gr. 70*<sup>47</sup> A fifteenth-century manuscript, which was

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as *Testament of Solomon*, where the existence of several recensions and the specific character of the text makes the *constitutio textus* difficult and perhaps not very profitable.

<sup>44</sup> See Heeg, "Excerptum," *CCAG* VIII:2, 138-140.

<sup>45</sup> See D. Bassi, F. Cumont, A. Martini, A. Olivieri, *Catalogus Codicum astrologorum graecorum IV; Praeter Florentinos, Venetos, Mediolanenses, Romanos descripserunt* (Bruxellis: 1903), 15-16: f.75v. Ἐρμηνεία Σολομώντος πρὸς υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἱεροβοάμ λέγων Ἐγὼ ὁ πατὴρ σου Σολομῶν ἐντέλωμαι σοι, ἀκριβῶτατέ μου υἱέ Ἱεροβοάμ, τὴν τῆς τέχνης σοφίαν καὶ βάλει αὐτὴν κατὰ νοῦν ἀκριβῶς κ.τ.λ.

Inc. Επίσκεψις τῶν ἑπτα πλανήτων καὶ ἄτινα χρῆ πραττεῖν ἐν ταῖς ὥραις αὐτῶν ἐν ἧ κυριεύουσι τὰς ζ' ἡμέρας τῆς εὐδομαδὸς (sic) καὶ ὥρας αὐτῶν. Τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ κυριεύη ὁ μέγας γίγας Ἥλιος... Sequitur invocatio Solis.- f.76. Προσευχή τοῦ νότυ καὶ τῶν ναυτικῶν ἀνέμων. - f. 76v Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τοῦ σεληνοδρόμιου.- f.77 Μέθοδος περὶ τῆς Σελήνης ἕτερα ὠφέλημος (sic). *Agit de Luna in singulis signis Zodiaci.- Sequuntur aliae methodi eiusdem generis.-* f.83v Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ εὐρίσκειν τὸ βασιλεύων (sic) Ζωδίων κατ' ἐναυτὸν ἡγουν τὸν καθ' ἓνα χρόνον.—Περὶ τῶν ζωδίων του οὐράνου—Des. ... καὶ εἰ ἄρχεται εἰς τὸν Ἰχθύν ἐν τῇ α' τοῦ Φε(βρουάριου) μήνος ὥρα γ' τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐκεῖ (?) τελειοῦται.

<sup>46</sup> Heeg, "Excerptum," *CCAG* VIII:2, 140: *Hic codex qui solum initium libri continuit, valde a Monacensi discrepasse videtur.*

<sup>47</sup> See F. Boll, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum VII. Codices Germanicos descripsit*, (Bruxellis: 1908), 3-5, for the description of the manuscript.

the basis for Heeg's edition;<sup>48</sup> it presents a fairly continuous text, written in Byzantine Greek that is sometimes difficult to understand.<sup>49</sup>

3. *Cod. Parisiensis gr. 2419*. This is a veritable compendium of magic, astrology and similar matters. Written in the fifteenth century, it contains only the beginning of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>50</sup>

4. *Cod. Atheniensis gr.*, that was in the hands of N. G. Politis. It was copied around the beginning of the eighteenth century; it contains *Σολομωνικὴν (Claviculam Salomonis)*, which Politis himself suspected was either the *Hygromanteia of Solomon* or a similar book, according to the few fragments edited.<sup>51</sup>

5. *Cod. Atheniensis gr.*, which also was in the hands of N. G. Politis, copied from an older exemplar on the island of Paros in the nineteenth century; it contained a *Ἱατροσοφικόν* (medical book), which seemed to have several points of contact with the *Hygromanteia*. In spite of all this, Heeg himself was not able to see either of these two last manuscripts.

Clearly, the textual basis of Heeg was rather limited and did not provide a clear idea of the popularity that this work enjoyed in the early Middle Ages, nor of the antiquity of the materials contained in it. Heeg was not aware of several other manuscripts that also contain the *Hygromanteia*, and, interestingly, other works attributed to Solomon, such as the *Testament*. Thus, to the manuscripts listed by Heeg we can add the following examples, which also have the *Hygromanteia* either completely or in part:

6. *Codex 1265 of the National Library of Athens*. This manuscript, copied at the end of the sixteenth century, contains, among other material, a magical treatise attributed to Solomon that is clearly related to the *Hygromanteia*.

7. *Manuscript 115 of the Historic and Ethnographical Society of Athens*. The manuscript was copied at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Besides diverse magical material, it contains a different version of the magical treatise of *Codex 1265*. Both manuscripts seem to be a later version of the text of the *Hygromanteia* edited by Heeg (*Monacensis 70*),

<sup>48</sup> Heeg, "Excerptum," *CCAG VIII*:2, 143-165.

<sup>49</sup> Boll (*CCAG VII*, 5) noted that similar tractates were found in *CCAG IV*, 134f, and *CCAG V*, 83ff.

<sup>50</sup> See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 187; *CCAG VIII*, cod. 4, p. 35; Delatte, *Anecdota*, 456 (description of the manuscript), 470-478 (Magical treatise of Solomon = *Hygromanteia*); McCown, *The Testament of Solomon*, 25-27 (very complete description of the manuscript and of its relationships); see also M. Berthelot and C. E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (2 vols; Paris: 1887-88; reprint London: Holland Press Ltd, 1963), 1.205-211 (description of the manuscript).

<sup>51</sup> See W. H. Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes* (Leipzig: 1890) 175, n. 8 (*non vidi*).

and provide supplementary material that sheds light on the inner working of the textual tradition.<sup>52</sup>

8. *Cod. Harleianus 5596, British Museum*. An important manuscript of the fifteenth century; besides other works, it contains fragments of two recensions of the *Testament of Solomon* and a *Treatise of Magic* attributed to Solomon that is a variant of the *Hygromanteia* of Heeg.<sup>53</sup>

9. *Codex Petropolitanus 3 (Cod. Academicus Musaei Palaeographi)*. It is a manuscript copied in the seventeenth century. Here we find, among other material, the beginning of the *Hygromanteia* of Heeg that is called "interpretation" (ἡρμηνεία), and the part of the *Testament of Solomon* that deals with the *decans*.<sup>54</sup>

10. *Codex Petropolitanus 4 (Cod. Bibl. Publicae 575)*. A manuscript copied in the seventeenth century that preserves a fragment of the *Testament of Solomon* (the one that lists the thirty six *decans*) and a fragment of the *Hygromanteia*. The two Petropolitani codices show a striking interest in both the *Hygromanteia* and the *decans* of the *Testament of Solomon*, which undoubtedly is much more than simple coincidence, as we shall see.<sup>55</sup>

11. *Cod. Mount Athos Dionys. Mon. 282*. This is a manuscript of the sixteenth century; it contains a version of the *Hygromanteia* that is incomplete.<sup>56</sup>

12. *Codex Atheniensis 30 (=cod. 167)*. Manuscript from the beginning of the nineteenth century; one of the works it contains is entitled "Prayer and exorcism of the prophet Solomon." It lists the names of the angels and demons who preside over the hour of each day of the week. The text is incomplete.<sup>57</sup>

13. *Manuscript U of Testament of Solomon (=cod. 1030 Biblioteca Ambrosiana)*. This is a manuscript of the sixteenth century; besides other material, it contains several incomplete fragments of the *Testament of Solomon* and two pages of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> For a description of both manuscripts, an account of their contents, and an edition of the magical *Treatise* see Delatte, *Anecdota*, 1-101; see also idem, *CCAG X*, 9-23, 41-46.

<sup>53</sup> See S. Weinstock, *CCAG IX*:1, 14-15; Delatte, *Anecdota*, 397-445; McCown, *Testament of Solomon*, 13-15; 18-20.

<sup>54</sup> See, M. Antonini and F. Jaugin, *CCAG XII*, 9, 18. See also A. Delatte, "Le traité des plantes planétaires," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Historie Orientales et Slaves IX* (1949) [*Mélanges Henri Grégoire*], 143-177.

<sup>55</sup> See Antonini and Jaugin, *CCAG XII*, 25, 33, 36. A third Russian manuscript (*Codex Petropolitanus 5*; *CCAG XII*, 39, 42) is clearly related both to these two manuscripts and to the version of the *Hygromanteia* edited by Delatte (see notes 24, 25), although the name of, and pseudepigraphical attribution to, Solomon do not seem to appear in this text. On this third Russian manuscript see Delatte, "Le traité des plantes planétaires d'un manuscrit de Léningrad," 145-177.

<sup>56</sup> See Delatte, *Anecdota*, 649-651; S. C. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, (2 vols; Cambridge: 1895-1900), 1.400.

<sup>57</sup> See Delatte, *CCAG X*, 53.

<sup>58</sup> See McCown, *Testament of Solomon*, 20-21.

14. *Manuscript Vat. ar.* 448 fols 39-45. This Arabic manuscript was described by Graf as an “ethical exhortation of Solomon to his son Rehoboam”; it is not clear whether this is the same work as the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>59</sup>

This list of manuscripts is by no means exhaustive; undoubtedly, there are more copies of the *Hygromanteia* lying in libraries due to bad cataloguing and other adversities. However, the existence of fourteen manuscripts that preserve the *Hygromanteia* completely or partially witnesses to both the popularity and importance of the work, as well as to its continuous copying until the nineteenth century; thus, we have two manuscripts of the fifteenth century, four of the sixteenth, three of the seventeenth, two of the eighteenth, and finally two of the nineteenth century. On linguistic and philological grounds they all seem to go back to Byzantine copies. Their geographical origin is also very diverse, which, again, indicates the popularity of the work. Besides, three of the manuscripts (numbers 3, 8, 13), which exhibit a clear inner relationship among themselves, seem to be of Italian provenance. Thus, it is likely that the tradition they reflect goes back to Byzantine copies, and it is well known that Italy was at the fringe of Byzantine dominion and that quite early traditions were preserved there, even when those tradition fell into oblivion in the rest of the empire.<sup>60</sup> Besides, at least several manuscripts also preserve either a complete copy of the *Testament of Solomon* or at least an abbreviated one that includes the list of the *decans*, demons that were clearly related to astrology.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> On this manuscript see Duling, “The Testament of Solomon: Retrospect and Prospect,” 97; Alexander, “Incantations and Books of Magic,” 373-374; both authors quote G. Graf, *Geschichte des christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Vatican, 1944), I.209-210 (*non videt*). According to Duling (“Testament,” 110), Graf notes other similar texts; if so, this would indicate the existence of a Semitic version of the *Hygromanteia*, which would provide further support for the popularity of the work and its antiquity, since the Karshuni version (Arabic text written in Syriac characters) may have as source a Greek one.

<sup>60</sup> I am employing here the linguistic notion that the borders of a linguistic zone are more conservative and less prone to changes and evolution than the center; the same tendency can be observed when establishing the history of a textual tradition.

<sup>61</sup> Thus, manuscript 10 (*Cod. Petropolitanus 4*) preserves a version of the *Testament of Solomon* that only includes the *decans*; see *Cod. Petropolitanus 19* (CCAG XII, 61), which, although it does not include the *Hygromanteia*, preserves a very similar version of the *Testament*. It has to be noted that the oldest manuscript (fifth to sixth century C.E.) we have of the *Testament of Solomon* is a papyrus that only has the list of *decans*; thus, it seems that the list of the *decans* had an independent develop-

Undoubtedly, the use of catalogues as a tool for understanding the relationship between different manuscripts of a tradition has some flaws, since we cannot compare the manuscripts themselves. However, this method surveys the contents of the different manuscripts; thus, we obtain an assessment of the arrangement of the materials in each manuscript, which allows us to assess their stability and persistence as individual units. According to this method, in our manuscripts the *Hygromanteia of Solomon* appears either alone or associated with a partial version of the *Testament of Solomon* that contains the list of the *decans*. In several cases it is incomplete containing only the first part with the pseudepigraphical ascription and a partial list of the demons and angels of each day.

In the following pages we will deal with the tradition as represented in the texts edited by Heeg and Delatte. By doing so, we can acquire a better comprehension of the inner working of the tradition and of its development.

#### d. *Comparison of the Different Texts*

##### d.1. *Preliminary Matters*

As seems evident from the precedent pages, a comparative study of the different texts that form the *Hygromanteia* is necessary. The ideal situation would be to have at our disposal complete copies of the manuscripts available and to compare all of them in a large synopsis. Unfortunately, we do not have complete copies or editions of the manuscripts at our disposal. Therefore, we shall proceed in a less ambitious manner: we will undertake a synoptic study of the different texts, even if the texts are clearly incomplete; although this procedure is far from ideal, it will allow us to understand the relationship between the different texts as they stand, as well as the development and growth of the tradition.

Heeg's text (*Monacensis 70*) will constitute the backbone of the comparison. Each of the other texts will be checked against it and will be evaluated accordingly. The reason for this is that *Monacensis 70* seems to preserve the oldest version of the work since it is clearly related to other Hermetic texts attributed to legendary figures, and its Greek is by far the best of the witnesses. Besides, the pseude-

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ment linked to the portrayal of Solomon as astrologer. About the papyrus fragment of the Testament of Solomon see Daniel, "The Testament of Solomon XVIII 27-28, 33-40," 1.294-304.

pigraphical attribution is more structured and complex in this text than in the others and, finally, its contents focus on astrology and magical-astrological medicine, whereas the other texts seem to tend more toward magical and exorcistic materials.

If *Monacensis 70* is our first touchstone, it will not be the only one: the pseudepigraphical references to Solomon and Rehoboam will also provide us with a supplementary check of the different texts. Thus, this synoptic study will be carried out in different stages: first, the different texts that share the pseudepigraphical attribution to Solomon will be compared against *Monacensis 70*; thereafter, the texts that seem to form a special derivation of the tradition will be studied by themselves, by means of a partial synopsis. It is evident that the method proposed raises some difficulties as to how to integrate the data provided by the two stages of the study, but it is the only approach that allows us to deal with related texts, which, nonetheless, will show up large differences in either the wording or the order of the materials.

As the texts to be studied are rather long, we will show only the actual results of the review, so that the flow of the discussion will not be interrupted by the synopsis; besides, the synopsis is a medium, a tool for research, not an end in itself.<sup>62</sup>

Finally, a word about the texts that will be object of our study. As has been shown in the review of the text's manuscripts, we do not have at our disposal every one, nor, on the other hand, would their study be of equal value, due to their fragmentary state. Therefore, from all the manuscripts and texts described, six have been selected and subjected to study.<sup>63</sup> Although it might have been interesting to have included more texts, it was not absolutely essential, since the six selected provided us with a textual basis large enough to study the development of the text and to draw some conclusions that shed new light on our understanding of the *Hygromanteia* and similar texts. Besides, given the natural tendency to expansion in this kind of text, the inclusion of more textual witnesses would not necessarily have made our study more complete, but only more complicated.

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<sup>62</sup> For the synopsis see Appendix 2; for the English translation of *Hygromanteia* see Appendix 1.

<sup>63</sup> According to our classification of manuscripts, numbers 2, 3, 8, 11.

### d.2. *Structure of the Text*

First of all, a word must be said about the state of the manuscripts under study. Only four manuscripts of the six preserve the beginning of the work, where the pseudepigraphical attribution to Solomon and Rehoboam is most developed, serving as the conducting thread for the whole text. Two of these four manuscripts (*Monacensis 70*, *Ath. Dion. 282*), preserve the beginning of the work and the pseudepigraphical material in a more complete form, although *Ath. Dion. 282* shows a clear tendency to shorten the astrological material and is, generally speaking, much abbreviated. The other two manuscripts (*Harleianus 5596*, *Paris. 2419*) also have a pseudepigraphical attribution; *Harleianus 5596* follows *Monacensis 70* quite closely, but it has a large quantity of extra material at a point where *Monacensis* is clearly fragmentary (see below). *Paris. 2419* has an abbreviated text for the first part, especially if we compare it with *Monacensis 70*, although the other two texts (*Harleianus 5596*, *Mount. Ath. Dion. 282*) are also longer than it. Finally, the other two manuscripts (*Cod. 1265 National Library of Athens*, *Cod. 115 of the Historical Society*) are lacking the entire beginning of the work; there is no pseudepigraphical attribution and they display a rather different ordering of the material. However, they coincide with *Harleianus 5596* and *Paris. 2419* in the parts that are missing from *Monacensis 70* and *Ath. Dion 282*, parts that deal specifically with the magical technique (hydromancy) to which the title of the work refers. All the texts are in the second person singular, as if they were addressed to Rehoboam.<sup>64</sup>

Now, we will establish the structure of the material that constitutes the *Hygromanteia* according to *Monacensis 70*, which will be supplemented if necessary by the other manuscripts. This structure is shared in general lines by the textual tradition that we have at our disposal. However, and for the reasons explained above, *Monacensis 70* and *Harleianus 5596* have provided us with the framework of the work, since they are less fragmentary than the rest of the manuscripts. On the whole, *Monacensis 70* has been followed, supplemented by *Harleianus 5596* in the places in which *Monacensis 70* is clearly fragmentary; to aid comprehension, it has been noted on each occasion which manuscript is being used. The long unit of magical material that Harleianus provides has a parallel in two manuscripts in Ath-

<sup>64</sup> Curiously enough, Rehoboam does not seem to have any role whatsoever in the different magical corpora.

ens (*Cod. 1265 National Library of Athens, Cod. 115 of the Historic Society*) but they are clearly expansive and have been Christianized.<sup>65</sup> Thus, the overall structure of the *Hygromanteia* is as follows:

1. Pseudepigraphical unit: Instruction of Solomon to his son Rehoboam (f. 240).
  - A. The seven planets and their dominion during every hour of the days of the week.
2. Pseudepigraphical unit: Instruction of Solomon to his son Rehoboam (f. 243).
  - A. Angels and demons who rule over every hour of the days of the week (f. 243v).
3. Pseudepigraphical unit: Instruction of Solomon to his son Rehoboam (f. 246).
  - A. Prayers to the seven Planets (f. 246v).
4. Abbreviated pseudepigraphical unit (f. 247v).
  - A. Prayer to the angel of each hour.
5. Pseudepigraphical unit: instructions of Solomon to his son Rehoboam (f. 248).
  - A. The characters of each planet (incomplete in *Monacensis 70*).
6. Pseudepigraphical unit: instruction of Solomon to his son Rehoboam (material from *Harleianus*).
  - A. Magical material.
7. Another technique (πρόξις) to summon the spirits: Pseudepigraphical instructions to Rehoboam (*Harleianus*, f. 30v).
  - (1). *Gasteromanteia*.
  - (2). *Pibaktoromanteia*.
  - A. Angels and demons of each day (*Harleianus*).
  - B. Other horoscopes of the day and night (?): hours of every day of the week and appropriate actions to be performed in them (*Harleianus*; same as above in *Monacensis 70*).
  - C. The plants of the Zodiac (*Monacensis*).
8. Pseudepigraphical unit: Instruction of Solomon to his Son Rehoboam.
  - A. The plants of the seven planets.

According to the above outline, the structure of the work is based on the direct invocation of Solomon to Rehoboam, which we have

<sup>65</sup> See Appendix 2 “Greek Synopsis of the *Hygromanteia*” for the whole text of *Harleianus* 5596; for the other two see Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 10-101.

called “Pseudepigraphical unit;” every one of these units includes direct mention of Rehoboam to whom concrete instructions about the use of the material are given; there is an exception, labelled “Abbreviated unit,” where Rehoboam is not specifically mentioned, although there is an instruction formulated in the second person as in the other units. However, despite the structuring role of these units, the first of them, which includes a dialogue between Solomon and his son, comprises the key to the structure of the work, since the “pseudepigraphical units” that follow clearly depend on it. This important passage reads as follows:

Pay attention, my very dear son Rehoboam, to the exactness of this art of mine your father Solomon, to the procedures, in which the whole technique of the divination through water lies, because it is necessary before anything [...] to master the observations of the planets and of the signs of the Zodiac and to follow them and to do them according to your will.

Rehoboam asks his father Solomon:

Father, where does the force of the acts lie?

Solomon responds:

The entire art, grace and force of what is sought remains in plants, words and stones. First of all, know the positions of the seven planets; because the seven planets lead the seven days of the week; let us begin from the week’s first day, that is, from the Sun’s day. And in the first period we assume that the Sun rules, and, in the same way, we will explain the others that follow.<sup>66</sup>

The similarities of this text with some Hermetic passages have been noted already. However, besides those points of contact with Hermetic tradition, this pseudepigraphical unit is important, since in it King Solomon and his son Rehoboam appear as interacting personalities. Accordingly, the use of the second person, which persists

<sup>66</sup> Heeg, “Excerptum,” *CCAG* VIII, 2: 143-144: Προσέχε, ὃ ἀκριβέστατε υἱὲ Ῥοβοάμ, εἰς τὴν ἀκριβείαν τῆς τέχνης ταύτης ἐμοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς σου Σολομῶντος ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἐν οἷς κεῖται ἡ ἀπάσα προσοχὴ τῆς ὑδρομαντείας, ὅτι χρὴ πρὸ πάντων [...] ἐπικρατεῖν τὰς ἐπιτηρήσεις τῶν πλανήτων καὶ τῶν ζῳδίων καὶ μετ’ αὐτὰ μετέρχεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸ βουλευτόν. Ῥοβοάμ δὲ φησι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Σολομῶντα· ὦ πάτερ, ἐν ποίοις πράγμασιν κεῖται ἡ ἐνεργεῖα τῶν πραγμάτων; Σολομῶν δὲ φησιν· ἐν βοτάνοις καὶ ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἐν λίθοις κεῖται ἡ ἀπάσα τέχνη καὶ χάρις καὶ ἐνεργεῖα τῶν ζητουμένων. πρὸ πάντων δὲ γίνωσκε τὰς θέσεις τῶν ἑπτα πλανήτων. εἰσὶ γὰρ ἑπτα πλανήται διέποντες τὰς ἑπτα ἡμέρας τῆς ἑβδομάδος· ἀρχόμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἧγουν τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς κυριακῆς. καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὥρᾳ ὑποτιθέμεθα κυριαεῦεν τὸν Ἥλιον, εἰθ’ οὕτως τὰς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν. See also “Synopsis,” first column, f. 247.

throughout the whole work, is abandoned for a moment, during the fictional dialogue that father and son conduct. This would-be dialogue is surrounded by explanatory material of the same type that we find in the other “pseudepigraphical units,” as it summarizes and describes the material that will follow. The force of the pseudepigraphical ascription of the whole text lies in this first passage and in the mention of the names of Solomon and Rehoboam. The following pseudepigraphical introductions structure the text around the apparent instructions to Rehoboam; the king speaks to his son and gives him detailed instructions so that he will be able to perform the techniques that are described and to understand the material properly. Thus, the pseudonymity of the text has formal and ideological functions and goes beyond simple attribution.

Every single “pseudepigraphical unit” follows the pattern established in the first, introducing the different units of material that compose the *Hygromanteia*. In the first block (*Monacensis* 70, ff. 240-243v) each day of the week is put under the patronage of one of the seven planets; every planet is in charge of the expected day, that is, each day is under the dominion of the planet from which the actual names of every day of the week derive. However, several details suggest that the actual ordering of the days of the week could have a Jewish background. Thus, the days are designated by ordinal numbers as in the Jewish week, with the exception of the so-called day of preparation (παρασκευῆς ἡμέρα) and the Sabbath. The fact that the seventh and last day is called Sabbath also seems to point to a Jewish week.<sup>67</sup> Besides the importance of its background, this block of material contains explicit instructions about the actions and activities to be or not to be undertaken in every hour, because each hour is also under the dominion of a planet.

The second block of material (*Monacensis* 70, ff. 243v - 246) describes the angels and demons who are in charge of every hour of every day of the week. Their names are a mixture of *nomina barbara*, Semitic sounding denominations and classic figures of angelology (Michael, Raphael, etc.) and demonology (Asmodai, Ornai, etc.). It

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<sup>67</sup> Although Constantine established the seven-day week in the Roman calendar, designating Sunday as the first day of the week, the days were not called by the ordinal numbers, but bore the names Moon’s day, Mars’s-day, Mercury’s-day and so on. Saturday or Friday were not called Shabbat and “day of preparation” respectively. Perhaps Friday was called “day of preparation” among Greek-speaking Jewish communities and the evangelists took this name from them.

is likely that much of the material contained in the text was linked to Solomon because of the traditional association of the king with demons. In fact, a late Greek ms. shows how the list of angels and demons was transformed into a handbook for exorcisms.<sup>68</sup>

Although these two blocks appear at the beginning of the arrangement proposed, their position could vary. Thus, in *Harleianus 5596* and in the two codices *Atheniensis*<sup>69</sup> we find both units at the end of the work. They preserve almost the same wording of the text and their inner structure. However, Ms. *Harleianus 5596* duplicates the content of the unit. At the beginning it has an abbreviated version, whereas it has a longer version at the end. Thus, both units were viewed as linked with the *Hygromanteia* and especially with Solomon, which suggests that our text has a rather long history and development behind it.<sup>70</sup>

The third and fourth units are composed of invocations or prayers to win the favor and cooperation of the seven planets and of the angels in charge of every hour. The prayers to the planets are clearly

<sup>68</sup> See Delatte, *CCAG* X, 53 (*Cod. 167 Bibliothecae Societatis Christianae*): F.1. Προσευχή καὶ ἐξορκισμὸς τοῦ προφήτου Σολομόντος περὶ τοὺς δαίμονας. Ἐξορκισμοὶ κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ὅπου κυριεύουν εἰς τὰς ἑπτα ἡμέρας τῆς ἑβδομάδος καὶ εἰς τὰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας ὥρας τοῦ νυκθήμερου διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὅπου καταγοῦνται. (“prayer and exorcism of Solomon the Prophet about the demons. Exorcisms against the demons who rule over the seven days of the week and in the twenty-four hours of a night and a day, by means of the holy angels who cause them to cease working”). Although the ms. is dated in the XVIII century, it is most likely that its use as a handbook is much older.

<sup>69</sup> *Codex 1265 of the National Library of Athens, Manuscript 115 of the Historic and Ethnographic Society of Athens.*

<sup>70</sup> The so-called *Horarium*, found in the Syriac *Testament of Adam* or in the Greek *Apotelesmata* and attributed to Apollonius of Tyana, also shows a remarkable interest in the prayers to be directed to God at every hour of the day and night. This text, which has different versions in Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Georgian and Ethiopic, is attributed to Adam and embedded in the Syriac *Testament of Adam* as well as in the Armenian version. The Greek version is usually attributed to Apollonius of Tyana. It has to be noted that both the Armenian and Greek texts are preceded in their manuscripts by astrological works dealing with the powers of stars and their relationship with the days of the week, which suggests that both *Hygromanteia* and *Horarium* emerge from the same kind of cultural setting. On the *Horarium* see, S. E. Robinson, *The Testament of Adam. An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions* (SBLDS 52; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 105-127; idem, “The Testament of Adam,” in Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:989-995; M. E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to the Patriarchs and Prophets* Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982), 39-80; idem, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve* (SVTP 14; Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996).

divided into two parts. First, God is invoked to obtain his help so that the planet will be subdued:

Prayer of Zeus.

Lord and God, all powerful father, creator of the visible and invisible, king of those who rule and lord of those who are lords, give us the power of your grace, so that Zeus may be subject to us, because all is possible for you, Lord.<sup>71</sup>

The divinity who is invoked, is described in monotheistic terms. The entire prayer is transformed and adapted from a pagan source by adding this invocation to a God who is described only as creator and supreme master. From the expression used we cannot ascertain the Christian or Jewish character of the prayer, since there are no unequivocal traces of either religion.<sup>72</sup> The second part of the prayer seems to be a slightly reworked pagan invocation of the different planets, described here as lesser divine figures:

I adjure you, Zeus, by your wisdom and your knowledge, by your curative force and your heavenly course, in which you orbit, and by these names, Anōph, Orsita, Atnox, Onigeui, Atziniel, Ankanitei, Tyneos, Genier, Kaniptza, so that you may bend your grace in subjection to me in this service that I am doing.<sup>73</sup>

In the above prayer, Zeus is considered first an actual divinity with certain attributes (wisdom, knowledge, healing powers), but at the same time he is described in astronomical terms (“your heavenly course”). It seems that there is an inner conflict that the author of the material chose not to resolve. This conflict does not seem to exist in the prayer to the angels, where the terms of the invocations are better defined:

I adjure you, angel so-and-so, you who rule over this hour and are appointed for the provision and the service of the human race, [an-

<sup>71</sup> Heeg, *CCAG* VIII, 155: Κύριε καὶ Θεέ, πάτερ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁρατῶν ἀορατῶν, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων, ἐπίδος ἡμῖν δύναμιν χάριτος. ἵνα ὁ Ζεὺς ὑποταγῇ ἡμῖν, ὅτι πάντα δύνάτα σοι, κύριε. See also the “Synopsis.” Column 1, fol. 246v.

<sup>72</sup> This fact alone shows that, despite its evidently Christian transmission, the *Hymnomantheia* remained relatively free of adaptations, except for a certain tendency towards the accretion of purely magical material and techniques.

<sup>73</sup> Heeg, *CCAG*, VIII 155: ὀρκίζω σε, Ζεῦ, εἰς τὴν σοφίαν σου καὶ εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν σου καὶ εἰς τὴν ἱαματικὴν σου ἐνέργειαν καὶ εἰς τὴν οὐρανίον πορείαν, ἐν ἧ περιπατεῖς, καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα: Ἄνωφ, Ὀρσιτά, Ἀτνόξ, Ὀνιγευί, Ἀτζινιέλ, Ἀνκανιτεῖ, Τυνεός, Γενιέρ, Κανιπτζά, ἵνα ὑποκλίνῃς ἐν ἐμοὶ τὴν χάριν σου εἰς τὴν δουλείαν ταύτην, ἐν ἧ ποιῶ. See also “Synopsis,” Column 1, fol. 246v.

gell] so-and-so, ready on any occasion, powerful, courageous, keen, I adjure you by God, who ordered you to watch this hour, that you might be my attendant together with the demon so-and-so, submissive to you, who was appointed beforehand to be a servant in this hour so that he might be my attendant and do this service because it is convenient, good and true.<sup>74</sup>

Both the angel and the demon are ruled by God. Their combination in a pair forcefully reminds us of the demon-angel pair we find in *Testament of Solomon*; it seems, then, that both texts share the same tradition, although it is not formulated in the same way. Nevertheless, in the *Hygomanteia*, knowledge about the hour of invocation is more important than knowledge of the name. Thus, although the tradition is the same, it has been worked into different trends: in the *Testament* knowledge of the demons' names gives power; in the *Hygomanteia*, however, power is achieved through the knowledge of the right time. This tradition seems to be attached to the Solomonic exorcistic cycle, since it concerns the power of demons and angels.

The following two units of material are clearly related to magical practices. The first ("the symbols of the planets") describes how the character corresponding to each planet is to be written. The *Codex Monacensis* does not preserve the whole text, which is broken at the description of the Moon's character. *Harleianus* fills in the lacuna with a slightly different text, which also includes the fumigations (θυμιάματα) and the seals (σφραγίδες) for each of the planets. This block is closed by a "pseudepigraphical attribution" (*Harleianus*) in which Solomon summarizes the knowledge that he has handed down to Rehoboam and announces the techniques his son still lacks:

Then, dearest son, you have learned the power of the planets, the days and hours in which each of the planets rules, the techniques of their prayers and the demons that are subjected to them (by which you are going to pray to the angels that rule over them and the demons who are subjected to the the angels). Still it remains to teach you to be learned

<sup>74</sup> Heeg, *CCAG*, VIII, 2.157: 'Ορκίζω σε, ὃ ἀγγέλε δεῖνα, ὅστις κυριεύεις τὴν ὥραν ταύτην καὶ εἰ σὺ βαλλόμενος πρὸς πρόβλεψιν καὶ ὑπουργίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους, δεῖνα, ὁ πάντοτε πρόθυμος, δυνατὸς καὶ ἀνδρείος καὶ ὀξύς, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν θεόν, ὃς σε ἔταξε φυλάττειν τὴν ὥραν ταύτην, ἵνα εἶσαι σύνεργός μου μετὰ τοῦ ὑποτακτικοῦ σου τοῦ δεῖνα δαίμονος, ὃς ἐπροετάχθη νὰ ἔναι δούλος εἰς τὴν ὥραν ταύτην καὶ ἐσὺς νὰ μοι συνεργήσεται καὶ νὰ ποιήσεται τὴν δουλείαν ταύτην, νὰ ἔναι δόκιμος, καλὴ καὶ ἀληθινή.; see "Synopsis," Column 1, fol. 248.

in the instruments that are used for the technique of the congregating of spirits, especially the sword and the garments and all the other things and all that will be said afterwards.<sup>75</sup>

At this point the contents of the *Hygromanteia* change radically; the astrological material is still important, but only as part of the procedures to be followed for the various techniques that are described. In consequence, Solomon appears under a new light and is transformed into a magician “avant la lettre,” very different from the other characterizations we have seen until now. The inclusion of this type of material probably took place at an early date (second or third century CE), since, as we shall see, the magical techniques recorded in this part of the *Hygromanteia* are paralleled by the Greek magical papyri and do not present significant traits of Christianization.<sup>76</sup>

It would be useful at this point of the discussion to note some details about the exact position of the magical material within the *Harleianus 5996*, which also preserves a copy of the *Testament of Solomon*. The distribution is quite strange since the works appear combined as follows: ff. 7-7v fragment of Recension C of the *Testament*, ff. 8-18 fragment of Recension A of the *Testament*, ff. 18v-39v *Hygromanteia*, ff. 39v-41v fragment of Recension C of the *Testament*.<sup>77</sup> This fact suggests that the whole of the *Hygromanteia* materials were seen as obviously linked with the traditions relating to Solomon; similarly the probable Italian origin of *Harleianus 5596*<sup>78</sup> points in the same direction as *Monacensis 70*, to a Byzantine reservoir of ancient traditions that remained isolated in what was once part of the Byzantine Empire, the south of Italy.

The description of the power of the plants of the Zodiac and of the seven plants of the planets (*Monacensis*, ff. 248-253) constitutes the two final blocks of astrological material.<sup>79</sup> In them Solomon

<sup>75</sup> Delatte, *Anecdota*, 406 (*Harleianus* f. 24): ἰδοὺ μεμάθηκας, φίλτατε υἱέ, τὴν δύναμιν τῶν πλανήτων, τὰς τεχνὰς τῶν ευχῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς ὑποτασσομένους (ἐν οἷς μέλλεις εὐχεσθαι τοὺς τε ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐπιστατοῦντας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας ὅπου ὑποτάσσονται τῶν ἀγγέλων)· λοιπὸν δέ σοι ἔτι εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ ὄργανα τὰ ὑπηρετοῦντα πρὸς τὴν τέχνην τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν πνευμάτων, δηλαδὴ τὴν μάχαιραν καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα δὴ καὶ οἶα ἐν τῷ καθέξῃς εἰρήσεται. See also “Synopsis,” col. 2, f. 24.

<sup>76</sup> For a more profound study of these and other materials that characterize as Solomon as a magician, see Ch. 9, “Solomon the Magician.”

<sup>77</sup> See Delatte, *Anecdota*, 387.

<sup>78</sup> See McCown, *Testament of Solomon*, 15.

<sup>79</sup> On this part of the text see Delatte, “Le traité des plantes planétaires,” 143-177.

describes the moment to harvest the plants, different ways of preparing them and their powers (ἐνέργειαι). The medicinal powers and the different combinations of preparations are depicted in very vivid terms, which seems to suggest that the text corresponds with actual practices of medicinal or magical botany. Thus, this part of the text would also have been destined ultimately for use as a repository of techniques and procedures that were intended to be carried out by real practitioners, much the same way as the *Testament of Solomon* is a tractate about demonology and exorcism in which, as we have seen, different demons and a detailed exorcistic procedure are described.

Although there are several texts that preserve similar traditions linking them to other legendary figures, our text differs from them in its greater propensity for magic. The catalyst for the inclusion of this kind of material was again, as in *Wisdom of Solomon* or the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus, a special exegesis of 3 Kings 5 where the four elements (air, earth, fire, water) are referred to allegorically. However, as the text combines magic and medicine in a greater degree than the mere exegesis of the biblical passage would allow, it suggests, then, that we have here a new development of the tradition, intimately linked with traditions that go much further than can be observed in *Wisdom* or *Antiquities*.

#### e. *Conclusions*

The *Hygromanteia* is a work in which an immense wealth of material related to Solomon has been preserved. Most of the material concerns astrology, although a large part of the work also deals with magic in the strictest sense of the term, since it describes different kinds of procedures and manipulations in order to reach a goal with the aid of supernatural forces and powers. This work is extremely interesting for us because it presents Solomon in the new guise of astrologer. In fact, the text is composed of different units from various sources, which seem to be older than the *Hygromanteia* itself. However, the structural framework of the text is formed by the pseudepigraphical attribution to Solomon and Rehoboam which is firmly stated by using two procedures: first, the different techniques and information are channelled through direct speeches and instructions of Solomon to Rehoboam, which summarize the contents of the blocks of astrological material and, secondly, the second person is used constantly throughout the work, in order to add weight to

the pseudepigraphical attribution. Also, by using the second person, Solomon seems to address at the same time the actual reader of the work, which is in this way transformed into a veritable handbook of astrology and astrological medicine.

The traditions contained in the *Hygromanteia* link Solomon with the ambiguous world of astrology and magic. Although both disciplines were held in high regard by the various peoples of Late Antiquity, it seems rather strange that such disciplines were connected to Solomon. It is likely that this relationship was established on three grounds: (1) in the first place, the traditional association of Solomon with demonology and exorcism, which would account for the list of the angels and demons ruling over every hour of the week. (2) Secondly, the characterization of Solomon as Hermetic sage would explain the passages about the power of the plants of each planet and signs of the Zodiac, because this passage is indirectly based on the theory of the sympathy of the whole cosmos. (3) Finally, a special exegesis of 3 Kings 5:13 (the allegory of the four elements) and 3 Kings 5:10 would have acted as the point of departure, as the following passage from *Qoheleth Rabbah* seems to attest:

It is written (1 Kings 5:10): “*And Solomon’s wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East and all the wisdom of Egypt.*” What, then, was the wisdom of the “children of the east”? They were skilled in astrology and divination from birds, and expert in augury.<sup>80</sup>

Although this passage aims to explain what was meant by the wisdom of the “children of the east,” and does so by interpreting the biblical text as referring to astrology, it also characterizes in an indirect way the wisdom of Solomon, relating it to astrology, although it is a “special” astrology since the proof text states so clearly that Solomon’s wisdom was superior. In any case, this text shows that an exegesis that somehow connected Solomon and astrology was known about and employed in a Jewish setting.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, the

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<sup>80</sup> For this translation see S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine. Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II-IV Centuries C.E.* (New York: Phillip Feldheim, 1942), 98.

<sup>81</sup> Using a midrash as a chronological tool to locate a tradition or text in time presents some risks: the final edition of *Qoheleth Rabbah* is to be dated around the eighth century CE in the land of Israel (see H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, [second ed.; trans. and ed. by Markus Bockmuehl; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996], 318). The *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana* (B. Mandelbaum (ed.); New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1962; I [Hebrew Section],

figure of Solomon as astrologer that is reflected in the *Hygromanteia* was not necessarily alien to Jewish conceptions;<sup>82</sup> in fact there are some examples of Jewish exorcisms that contain astrological material and where Solomon appears as well, in a way that reminds us clearly of the contents of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>83</sup>

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13 f.) that is dated to the fifth to sixth century CE, also depicts Solomon as astrologer.

<sup>82</sup> In this respect we can adduce the opinion of G. Scholem regarding about demonology in Kabbalah: "The names of the seven kings of the demons in charge of the seven days of the week, very popular in later Jewish demonology, were derived from Arabic tradition. [...] Other systems of demonology are connected with lists of the angels and the demons in charge of the night hours of the seven days of the week, or with the demonological interpretation of diseases such as epilepsy" (G. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, [New York: 1974] 324). Both demonological conceptions appear in the *Hygromanteia*, so it is quite likely that their source was much older than Scholem supposed and not necessarily of Arabic derivation. Scholem (*Kabbalah*, 187) also affirmed that "practical kabbalah did manifest an interest in the magical induction of the pneumatic powers of the stars through the agency of specific charms," a practice that could be paralleled by the prayers to the seven planets that we have in the *Hygromanteia*. Although the Kabbalah is later than the *Hygromanteia*, their respective traditions with reference to astrology could have been drawn from similar sources, if not from the same source. Perhaps late Judaism was less monolithic and rabbinically oriented than is generally believed, and in certain domains, such as that of esoteric knowledge, was more open to interaction with the trends of the day. Thus we can again state with Scholem (*Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* [New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America 1965], 34) that "the logical conclusion seems to be, given the historical circumstances, that initially, Jewish esoteric tradition absorbed Hellenistic elements similar to those we actually find in Hermetic writings." However, due to the special character of these texts and traditions we should adopt only as a hypothesis the probable Jewish origin of the text we have studied and not as an unshakable truth, as Goodenough (*Jewish Symbols*, 2:233-235) did, based on a cursory analysis of the text. On the importance of the astrology in Jewish literature see also J. H. Charlesworth, "Jewish Astrology in the Talmud, Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scroll and Early Palestinian Synagogues," *HTR* 70 (1977), 183-200.

<sup>83</sup> In an amulet from the Cairo Geniza (*T-S. K 1.18 / T-S. K 1.30*) that we have already quoted (see Ch. 4, "Solomon the Exorcist") Naveh and Shaked (*Magic Spells and Formulae*, Geniza 10, 152-157) give us an example of such a combination. This Amulet, which begins with a direct order to a sign of the Zodiac asking for protection, explicitly mentions the seven angels that are appointed over the seven days of the week, divides the different types of demons according to the primary element (fire, water, wind, earth) from which they originate, in a form that remind us of the Hermetic exegesis of 1 Kings 5, and, finally, it also mentions Solomon and the seven spirits (= planets?) that Ashmedai taught him about. It is clear that in this amulet we have a mixture of different traditions that previously we have found separately; although the copy of the amulet is late, the traditions it contains seem to be much earlier. It is noteworthy that the geographical provenance of the present amulet (Egypt) coincides with the likely origin of many of the astrological and magical traditions studied in the *Hygromanteia*; this detail

Finally a word is needed about the chronology of the text. The actual text, from the Greek in which it is written, is clearly Byzantine. As the Greek is quite correct and shows some Italian influence, it is likely, as we have just said, that the actual redaction was made in the south of Italy in the early Middle Ages. However, since in spite of its obvious Christian transmission it does not offer obvious signs of Christianization, it is likely that its actual form preserves much older material that could go back to the first centuries of the common era; therefore, the *Hygromanteia* could be considered as a repository of traditions, more or less transformed through the passage of time, that go back to the moment in which the traditions about King Solomon developed in a way that is very remote from the original biblical sources or the traditional link with demons. This development borrowed Hermetic teachings, philosophy and, as we can see in the *Hygromanteia*, astrology and magic. Since much of the material used is in different text attributed to other legendary figures, it is likely that there was a conscious effort to enrich the image of Solomon and that this took place in a highly syncretized environment with strong ties with Jewish or Jewish-Christian Hellenistic milieux.<sup>84</sup>

The significance of the *Hygromanteia* within the tradition relating to Solomon is quite striking, as it shows a developed form of the astrological material and of the astrological characterization of the king. Most often, such material only comprised notes referring to stars and planets that had been transformed into demons; however the *Hygromanteia* shows how the astrological component could and did acquire an importance of its own within the portrait of Solomon, to the extent that in the Middle Ages the image of Solomon according to this portrait was extremely popular and widespread, as the nu-

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argues against the Arabic source of these traditions, defended by Scholem (*Kabbalah*, 324). On this amulet from the Genizah see also Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 68-82, and especially 79, where they mention that *Sefer Raziel* (Amsterdam, 1701; p. 34b) contains a passage in which the angels, planets, and signs of the Zodiac for each day of the weeks are listed. The *Sefer Raziel* compiles older writings of the Hekhalot literature, but in its present version it is not much older than the edition of Amsterdam; on this book see Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 349-50.

<sup>84</sup> The fact that of the figures to whom these teachings were attributed two were pagan (Alexander the Great, Hermes Trismegistes) and the other two Jewish (Enoch, Solomon) is evidence of the widespread importance of such teachings and explains the pseudepigraphical attribution to Solomon.

merous references to Solomon in astrological manuscripts seem to prove.<sup>85</sup>

#### SOLOMON AND ASTROLOGICAL MATERIAL IN THE MANDAEAN *GINZA*

We have already seen how Solomon played a role in the Mandaean *Ginza* where the title son of David, demons and a direct mention of Jesus appear in very close contact.<sup>86</sup> It has been argued above that the Mandaean text is an additional witness to a very early association of the title Son of David with Solomon, and that it constitutes a further proof of the existence of a Jewish-Christian polemic about the exorcistic power of both figures. In the same way, the Mandaean *Ginza* also shows how certain astrological themes were related to Solomon. As Mandaism had a clear interest in astrology, it is not surprising that astrological traditions appear in its principal book; what is surprising is that this astrological material is related in an indirect way to Solomon. Thus, the *Hygromanteia* is not the only work to present astrology in connection with Solomon, nor the Greek environment the only one to exhibit such a link.<sup>87</sup>

The *Ginza* ("Treasure") is the principal and largest collection of writings of Mandaism; divided in two parts, the larger is called the "*Right Ginza*" and is composed of eighteen tractates of mythological, theological and didactic content, whereas the "*Left Ginza*" describes the ascent of the soul to the realm of light.<sup>88</sup> Mandaean literature in general, and this text in particular, presents many difficulties, principally in respect to the date and provenance of the traditions recorded. Among the earliest traditions are the beliefs in demonic beings and angels; the seven planets and the signs of the Zodiac are transformed into angels or demons.

The text that we shall study presents these seven planets in a context in which Solomon appears indirectly, forming part of a sort of cosmic genealogy. The text is as follows:

189. From Noah the man until the place of Jerusalem is built there are six generations. It exists in its prime one thousand years.

<sup>85</sup> See *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, *passim*.

<sup>86</sup> See Ch. 6, "Solomon the Son of David."

<sup>87</sup> Most probably such a relation also goes back to Jewish tradition, since, as Scholem affirmed, "the Jewish elements are much stronger than generally supposed" in Mandaean texts (see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 5).

<sup>88</sup> K. Rudolf, "Mandaism," in D. N. Freedman (ed.) *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (CD ROM Edition; New York: Doubleday, 1997).

190. Then, King Solomon, the Son of David, is born and appears; and he is king over Judah and the powerful ruler of Jerusalem. The demons and the devils submit to him and walk according to his will, until he glorifies himself and is ungrateful to his Lord for the good things. Then, the demons and the devils turn away from his words and the power is taken from him.

191. Then Christ, the prophet of the Jews appears. He shouts to the planets and converts them to his side, and each one fights for him.

192. The seven demons, the tempters, tempt the children of Adam. The first is Šamiš also [known] by the name (the Sun). The second is the holy spirit Estrā (Aphrodite), also [known] by the names Libat, Amamit. The third is Nbu (Mercury), the Messiah of lies, who falsifies the first glorification. The fourth is Sin (the Moon), Saurel by name. The fifth is Kewān (Kronos), the sixth Bēl (Zeus), the seventh Nerig (Ares).

193. The demons from the house of Šamiš grant to their adorers gold, silver and luxury. He sends messengers out into the world, and they lead the sons of mankind into worship of the Sun and the Moon.

194. The demons from the house of Libat let loose against men madness, adultery, fornication, concupiscence, passion, incantation and magic.

195. The demons of Nbu-Christus perfidiously attack by surprise the children of men. They take hold of them, they seize them and their families from their houses, they carry them off to the mountains and plains.[...]

196. The demons from the house of Kēwān throw lamentation, tears and false wisdom into the hearts of men and take them away from mercy.

197. The demons from the house of Nerig attack by surprise the children of men, they skin them, they cut their flesh to pieces and they spill their blood on the earth. They are called oppressors, clerics, priests and men of oracles.<sup>89</sup>

The structure of the text is clear: two parts can be differentiated in it: (1) a genealogy where Solomon and his power over demons have a prominent place and where both he and Jesus are viewed within the same genealogical scheme, and (2) a reference to the seven planets and the demons that fall within their influence. Thus, the second part, which mentions the seven planets and lists the demons that belong to each planet, immediately reminds us of the list of angels and demons who rule over each hour of each day, which, as we have seen, is ruled at its allotted time by a particular planet. In the *Ginza* text the planets are transformed into demons; in the *Hygromanteia* they are treated as kings of celestial, that is demonic, beings, whose favour

<sup>89</sup> Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, 28-29.

and good graces can be won. Both texts link this astrological material with Solomon, but in the case of the Mandaean text there is also a clear link with the tradition about Solomon's power over the demons. Whereas the *Hygromanteia* reinterprets this tradition and uses it, without mentioning it directly, the *Ginza* maintains it and relates it to the astrological material. The fact that both texts preserve the same material, albeit as the result of different processes, suggests that this combination was made early on and that the character of Solomon was already linked to astrology in the first or second century CE, the date of the earliest Mandaean traditions to arise in Palestine and Syria, which were brought orally to Mesopotamia.

That both texts refer to the same kind of traditions is evident, although there are some difficulties regarding their respective dates and provenances. However, we could resolve these difficulties if we had a third source that was easy to date and combined the traditions being studied. Such a source is a Greek magical tablet from the early third century CE. The text is as follows:

I conjure you, whoever you are, demon of the dead, by the god who created earth and heaven, Iona; I conjure you by the god who has authority over the subterranean regions, Neicharoplez...by...holy Hermes...Iao...Sabaoth...the god of Solomon, Suarmimouth...I conjure you by the god of this day in which I conjure you Aōabaōth. I conjure you by the god having authority over this hour in which I conjure you, Jesus.<sup>90</sup>

We have here a combination of all the traditions mentioned in a text the chronology of which is very early (third century CE) and whose provenance, although syncretistic, displays evident Jewish-Christian traits. The tablet has an invocation the form of which reminds us of a formula that is used very often in the *Testament of Solomon* ("Whoever you are");<sup>91</sup> it mentions Hebrew divine names,

<sup>90</sup> Ἐξορκίζω σέ ὅστις ποτ' εἶ, νεκυδαῖμον, τὸν θεὸν τὸν κτίσαντα γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν Ἰωνα. Ἐξορκίζω σέ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν χθονίων τόπων Νειχαροπληξ [...] ἁγίον Ἑρμῆν. ὀρκίζω σέ τὸν θεὸν τὸν τοῦ Σαλομόνος ..... Σαβαωθ Σουαρμιμουθ [...] ὀρκίζω σέ τὸν θεὸν τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἧς σέ ὀρκίζω Αωαβαωθ· ὀρκίζω σέ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ὥρας ταύτης ἧς σέ ὀρκίζω Ἰσοῦ. For the text see R. Wunsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln* (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 20; A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag: Bonn, 1912), 16-17. For the translation see Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, 63. The particular spelling of the name Jesus could mean that it was employed as a *nomen magicum*.

<sup>91</sup> Cf the formula "who are you?" and the hypothesis advanced in Ch. 4, "Solomon the Exorcist."

as well as Solomon and Jesus; and, finally, the references to the gods who have authority over specific days and hours, remind us again of the list of demons and angels who rule over each hour of each day of the week that we find in the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>92</sup> In consequence, this magical tablet supports the hypothesis of the existence of traditions linking Solomon with astrological material. Most probably this relation was due to the traditions about Solomon and the demons, which were included within the astrological material. These traditions about Solomon could appear at the same time or in isolation, but their accumulation in the same text is significant, since it seems to prove that the association of Solomon with astrology happened at an early date (second or third century CE, perhaps already in the first century CE) in a Hellenistic environment.

#### THE SYRIAC ZOSIMUS (BOOK XII OF ZOSIMUS)

Zosimus of Panopolis (modern Akhmim in Egypt) was a famous alchemist whose work can be dated to around the beginning of the fourth century. He seems to have been a clear exponent of the intellectual current of Late Antiquity as his personal creed was a mixture of Christian Gnosticism and Pagan Platonism; he derived his creed apparently from the philosophic *Hermetica*.<sup>93</sup> Although a prolific author, only fragments and extracts of his writings have survived. Some have reached us in their original Greek form within a *Corpus* of excerpts from Greek writers on alchemy, composed by a Byzantine scholar around the eighth or ninth century, and whose best witness is a Venetian Manuscript (M) of the eleventh century.<sup>94</sup> Besides these Greek excerpts, we have a Syriac translation of Zosimus in a Cambridge manuscript of the fifteenth century.<sup>95</sup>

Among his numerous writings there is a particularly important one addressed to a woman called Theosebeia. It is comprised of many

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<sup>92</sup> Thus, see the *Hygromanteia of Solomon* (Heeg, *CCAG* VIII, 149, f. 233): “Know, my dearest son Rehoboam, that one good angel and one evil demon are lords at each hour. If you want to do a good deed, adjure the good angel so that he may be an ally to you; if you want to do any other, bad, deed, adjure the demon, so that he may be your ally; and you will do so, if you want something. It begins easily in this way.”

<sup>93</sup> On Zosimus of Panopolis see Scott, *Hermetica*, 4:104-144.

<sup>94</sup> See Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 1.184, 2.234-237.

<sup>95</sup> See Berthelot, *La chimie*, 2.260-266.

books, the title of each book being a letter of the Greek alphabet. The major part of the work addressed to Theosebeia is preserved in the Syriac translation mentioned above; only the letter τ survives in the Greek original. It is precisely in this work that we find two fragments related to the traditions concerning Solomon that we are examining in this chapter. We will include them both here, since they show how different traditions about Solomon were known to Zosimus and how he used them according to context.

The first fragment indicates clearly that the traditions about Solomon and his power over the demons had widespread acceptance by the time of Zosimus. In the text Zosimus exhorts Theosebeia as follows:

So do not be pulled back and forth like a woman, as I have already told you in the books *According to Energy*. Do not roam about searching for God; but remain seated at home, and God, who is everywhere and not confined in the smallest place like the demons, will come to you. Being calmed in body, be calmed also in your passions, desire, pleasure, anger, grief and the twelve portions of death. And in this way, keeping yourself straight, summon the divine to you, and thus the one who is everywhere and nowhere will come to you. And without being told, offer sacrifices to the demons, but not offerings, not the ones that are pleasant and nourishing to them, but rather the ones that are repellent and destructive to them, which Membres told Solomon, king of Jerusalem, and especially the one that Solomon himself wrote as result of his own wisdom.<sup>96</sup>

In this text, Zosimus is explaining to Theosebeia how to reach the divine through quiet contemplation; he constructs a polemical structure in which God is opposed to the demons. Thus, God who is everywhere is compared with the demons who are confined in the smallest place; most probably this is an allusion to the tradition about the demons' confinement in jars or bottles at the hands of Solomon,

<sup>96</sup> For the text see Festugière, *La révélation*, 1:367-368: σὺ γοῦν μὴ περιέλκου ὡς γυνή, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἐξειπόν σοι, καὶ μὴ περριωέμβου ζητοῦσα θεόν, ἀλλ' οἴκαδε καθέξου, καὶ θεὸς ἤξει πρὸς σέ ὁ πανταχοῦ ὦν καὶ οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ ἐλαχίστῳ ὡς τὰ δαιμόνια· καθωζομένη δὲ τῷ σώματι καθέξου καὶ τοῖς πάθεισιν, ἐπιθυμία ἡδονῆ θυμῷ λύπη καὶ ταῖς δώδεκα μοίραις τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὴν διευθύνουσα προσκαλέσῃ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὄντως ἤξει τὸ πανταχοῦ ὄν καὶ ὀυδαμοῦ. καὶ μὴ καλουμένη πρόσφερε θυσίας τοῖς δαίμοσιν, μὴ τὰς προσφόρους, μὴ τὰς θρεπτικὰς αὐτῶν καὶ προσηνεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀποτρεπτικὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναιρετικὰς, ἃς προσεφώνησεν Μεμβρῆς τῷ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεῖ Σολομῶντι, αὐτὸς δὲ μάλιστα Σολομῶν ὅσας ἔγραψεν ἀπο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας·

a tradition that was known to our author, as we shall see. Besides, in the catalogue of evils that Zosimus lists, he makes an obscure reference to “the twelve portions of death,” which could be understood as an astrological reference to the planets of the Zodiac. Apparently, Zosimus is polemicizing against part of the traditions related to Solomon. In the last part of the text, he makes direct reference to the the tradition concerning Solomon’s composition of exorcisms, but he transforms it slightly since, according to Zosimus, Membres is the one who handed down such “sacrifices” to Solomon.<sup>97</sup> Since according to ancient traditions it was Membres one of the Egyptian magicians who fought against Moses, this allusion also has a negative component.

We can conclude then, leaving aside the transformations, that it is most likely that Zosimus knew both the traditions about Solomon and the demons as well as those that combined demonological lore with astrological material. This last point is supported by a text from the Syriac translation of the twelfth book of Zosimus; the text is as follows:

Among the Egyptians, there is a book called *The Seven Heavens*, attributed to Solomon, against the demons; but it is not correct (to say) that it is by Solomon, since these bottles had been brought at another time to our priests; that is what the language employed to denote them makes one suppose, because the expression “bottle of Solomon” is a Hebrew expression. At any moment, the great priest of Jerusalem gets them, according to the plain sense, from the lower abyss of Jerusalem. After these writings were spread everywhere, still unfinished, they were corrupted. It is he (*sc.* Solomon) who composed them, as I have said above. But Solomon only wrote a single book about the seven bottles, while some person invented and composed commentaries at different epochs to explain what this work contained; but in these commentaries there is some deception. All or almost all agree concerning the function of the bottles directed against the demons. These bottles acted like the prayer and the nine letters written by Solomon: the demons cannot withstand them.<sup>98</sup>

Evidently, as it now stands, the text has suffered corruption either as a result of its translation into Syriac or as a result of the previous

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<sup>97</sup> For a modern assessment of the apocryphal writings and the legends concerning Jannes and Jambres see A. Pietersma and R. T. Lutz, “Jannes and Jambres,” in Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2:427-442.

<sup>98</sup> M. Berthelot, *La chimie*, 2:264-265. The English translation has been made from the French translation of the Syriac original.

process of transmission of the Greek text. However, it still provides us with valuable data; in it, Zosimus refers to a book called *The Seven Heavens*, whose author is Solomon. Its contents are also clearly stated: it is a work of exorcistic material. Zosimus also mentions the existence of commentaries on that work, in which the only thing on which they seemed to agree was the existence of a work composed by Solomon about "the seven bottles," which is clearly exorcistic. To all these notices we can add the initial statement that the book was known among the Egyptians. Beginning with the last remark, several observations can be made about the text: the term "Egyptians" can be understood as a direct reference to the Gnostic movement of which the author was aware, and this seems to be confirmed by the repeated mention of the seven bottles. Thus, we read in a passage of the Gnostic tractate *The Testimony of Truth*, (IX,3 : 69.31-70.30):

They are wicked in their behaviour! Some of them fall away to [the worship of] idols. [Others] have [demons] dwelling with them as did David the king. He is the one who laid the foundation of Jerusalem; and his son Solomon, whom he begat in adultery, is the one who built Jerusalem by means of the demons, because he received [power]. When he [had finished building he imprisoned] the demons in the temple. He placed them into seven waterpots. They remained a long time in the waterpots, abandoned there. When the Romans went up to Jerusalem they discovered the waterpots, and immediately the demons ran out of the waterpots as those who escape from prison. And the waterpots remained pure thereafter. And since those days they dwell with men who are in ignorance, and they have remained upon the earth.<sup>99</sup>

The parallel is relevant because either Zosimus was aware of the Gnostic treatment of the Jewish tradition or of the Jewish tradition itself; in any case, the Gnostic text seems to prove that in Zosimus we have a combination of the exorcistic tradition about the imprisonment of demons in jars and, as we shall see, of astrological material.<sup>100</sup> The *Testament of Solomon* E XI.3 also mentions a very sim-

<sup>99</sup> S. Giversen & B. A. Pearson, "The Testimony of Truth," in J. M. Robinson (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 448-459, esp. 458.

<sup>100</sup> For a more detailed commentary of the passage see B. A. Pearson (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X* (Hag Hammadi Series 15; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), 110-113, 191-195; for general considerations about the Jewish traditions that have been absorbed into Gnostic writings see, idem, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions in the Testimony of Truth from Nag Hammadi (CG, IX, 3)," in B. A. Pearson (ed.), *Ex orbe religionum; studia Geo. Widengren* (pars 1; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 457-470;

ilar tradition, although the bottles are changed into bronze jars and the Romans into Babylonians.<sup>101</sup> Finally, there are two Christian exorcisms (fourth century CE?) from the Manuscript *Parisinus Graecus 2316* where this tradition appears:

I adjure you, the 960 spirits of the evil one's congregation, who swore to King Solomon, when he shut you up in the bronze jars by the archangel Gabriel, who has power over the evil [...].

I adjure you by the 1999 names who swore to King Solomon: when we hear the name of the Lord Sabaoth, we will flee from those. Solomon, who received wisdom from God, shut them up in bronze jars and sealed them with the name of God).<sup>102</sup>

It is interesting to note how the same exorcism is prone to transformation and corruption, although the essential structure remains intact.

In addition to that, Zosimus states that *The Seven Heavens* were similar to prayers and letters written by Solomon; as the exorcistic nature of these writings is clearly mentioned, one wonders whether Zosimus is referring here to prayers similar to the prayer we find in the *Hygomanteia* addressed to the seven planets or whether the so-called Characters (χαρακτήρες) should be identified with the letters to which Zosimus alludes. Besides, the title *The Seven Heavens* seems to refer to the seven planets, which have a significant role in astrology. In consequence, it is very likely that both Zosimus and the *Hygomanteia* refer to the same tradition, although Zosimus only hint at it. Besides, the text adds support to the existence of a shared tradition to which the whole textual corpus we are studying in this chapter would allude. Thus, we read:

[...]The seven bottles in which Solomon shut up the demons were made of electrum. It is necessary to believe, in this respect, the Jewish writings about the demons. The altered book that we possess and that is

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see also idem, "Gnostic Interpretation of the Old Testament in the *Testimony of Truth* (NCH IX, 3)," *HTR* 73 (1980), 315-317.

<sup>101</sup> McCown, *Testament of Solomon*, 119.

<sup>102</sup> ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὰ ἑνακοσία ἑξηκόντα πνεύματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ ὁμοίαντα τῷ βασιλεῖ Σολομῶντι, ὅτε ἀπέκλεισεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς χαλκὰς ὑδρίας διὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῆς βασκανίας.

ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὰ μυρία ἑνακόσια ἑνενηκόντα ὀνόματα ἅτινα ὠμόσατε τῷ βασιλεῖ Σολομῶντι, ὅτι ὅπου δὴν ἀκούσωμεν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου Σαβαώθ, φευξόμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείσε. Σολομῶν δὲ λαβὼν σοφίαν παρὰ θεοῦ ἐκλείσεν αὐτὰ εἰς ὑδρίας τὰς χαλκὰς καὶ ἐσφραγίσεν αὐτὰς τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 295-296).

entitled *The Seven Heavens* contains the following[?]. . . The angel ordered Solomon to make these bottles. It (the book) adds: Solomon made the seven bottles according to the names of the seven planets, in conformity with the divine prescriptions about the working of the stone, for the mixing of the silver, the gold and the copper of Cyprus, with the substance called orichalcus and copper of Marrah. [...] The wise Solomon knows also how to summon the demons; he gives a formula of conjuration and mentions the electrum, that is, the bottles of electrum on the surface of which he wrote this formula.<sup>103</sup>

In this text Zosimus makes references that reinforce our statements about the links between astrological material and Solomon. First, he insists on the Jewish character of the sources used. Thus, although noting the imperfect state of the book he has (“the altered book”), he proceeds to provide an (incomplete) list of its contents. We have as elements: (1) an angel who orders Solomon to make the bottles, a detail that reminds us of the introductory framework of the *Testament of Solomon*, in which the archangel Michael communicates to Solomon that the power over demons has been awarded to him; (2) the indication that each “bottle” was named after one of the seven planets; and finally, (3) he notes that Solomon knew how to summon the demons. The second point is particularly important for us, since it shows how Solomon was indeed related to knowledge of astrology and how this relationship could be modified according to the general content of a given composition. Thus, Solomon was associated with the seven planets at an early date. Zosimus, then, recognizes the existence of such traditions, but at the same time, he tries to polemicize against them, by limiting what should be accepted as genuine. It is likely that he was referring to works like the *Hygromanteia*; we can conclude then, that texts and traditions similar to the *Hygromanteia* were widespread, at least from the fourth century in Egypt, which lends considerable support to the value and importance of the *Hygromanteia* as a reliable witness to traditions linked to Solomon.

#### SOLOMON AND THE ASTROLOGICAL MATERIAL IN THE NAG HAMMADI TRACTATE *ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD*

The work entitled *On the Origin of the World* forms part of the Gnostic codices found at Nag Hammadi. The discovery of such a library

<sup>103</sup> M. Berthelot, *La chimie*, 2:264-265.

of Gnosticism forced scholars to rethink and to reassess this important religious and philosophical movement.<sup>104</sup> Our interest in these writings is due to the fact that Solomon appears in some of them, in contexts that could explain the development of the traditions we are studying. We have already analysed some of these occurrences, since they are relevant to other texts or traditions we are interested in, such as the competence of Jesus and Solomon as exorcists or the recording of the Jewish tradition about the shutting up of the demons in jars.<sup>105</sup>

*On the Origin of the World* is especially important for understanding Gnosticism.<sup>106</sup> Although the text seems to be a “well planned literary composition without extensive secondary alterations,”<sup>107</sup> it also shows an extraordinary mixture of Jewish, Manichaeic, Christian, mythological, magical and astrological material. We can place the composition of the text around the early fourth century in Alexandria. The principal ideas of the texts are centered on the creation of earthly man by the Archons as well as on the story of redemption by of Pistis Sophia; Jesus Christ clearly plays a secondary role, which makes this tractate essentially non-Christian, although his presence suggests that the tractate was at least superficially Christianized. Universal eschatology is central to the work, in which it is possible see a massive adoption of motifs and ideas from Jewish apocalypticism. The author of the work used several sources and traditions that are included within his narrative framework as references, quotations, summaries and so on. It is precisely because of this redactional technique that the text preserves three references

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<sup>104</sup> For a reassessment of Gnosticism following the discovery of the library see J. M. Robinson, “Introduction,” in idem, *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 1-26. More important for us is the possibility of the existence of a Jewish and / or Pagan Gnosticism prior to Christian Gnosticism: see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 1-8.

<sup>105</sup> These texts are *The Apocalypse of Adam*, V, 5; 78.27-79.19; *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth*, VII, 2: 63.4-17; *The Testimony of Truth*, IX,3: 69.31-70.30. S. Giversen (“Solomon und die Dämonen,” in M. Krause (ed.), *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honor of Alexander Bohlig* [NHS 3; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972], 16-21) has studied all the passages that involve Solomon and the demons and has noted that the figure of the king presented is clearly condemnatory. Although this is true, the fact that Solomon, or the so-called “Book of Solomon,” is quoted allows us to suppose that he had a positive reputation in certain matters.

<sup>106</sup> For a general introduction to the text see H. G. Bethge, “Introduction,” in Robinson (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Library*, 170-171.

<sup>107</sup> So Bethge, “Introduction,” in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, 170.

that are especially relevant to our study. Although two of these passages do not mention Solomon or have an interest in him, they share a set of traditions that we have seen linked to the king in other works and that appear again in the third text as directly related to Solomon.

In the first text, which forms part of a description of creation, we find an allusion to the seven forces of Chaos:

Seven appeared in Chaos, androgynous. They have their masculine names and their feminine names. The feminine name is Pronoia (Forethought) Sambathas, which is "week." And his son is called Yao: his feminine name is Lordship. Sabaoth: his feminine name is Deity. Adonaios: his feminine name is Kingship. Eloaios: his feminine name is Jealousy. Oraios: his feminine name is Wealth. And Astaphaios: his feminine name is Sophia (Wisdom). These are the seven forces of the seven heavens of chaos. And they were born androgynous...<sup>108</sup>

It is very likely that we have here a transformation of the seven astrological planets into seven primary powers; one of them, Sambathas, indicates that the original tradition was structured around the division of the week according to the seven planets, which recalls for us the interest of the *Hygromanteia* in such questions.<sup>109</sup> The mixture of Jewish names and *nomina barbara* reminds us both of the Greek Magical Papyri and of the *Hygromanteia*; besides, the androgynous character of these seven forces, which is important here as a Gnostic tenet, reminds us of the importance that an androgynous demon has in several exorcisms linked to Solomon and in the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>110</sup> The fact that Solomon does not appear in the passage does not lessen its value for us, since it proves the antiquity of such traditions, their composite character and their capacity for adaptation into different narrative, ideological and religious frameworks. Thus we can see the very same tradition, reinterpreted and connected

<sup>108</sup> *On the Origin of the World* II, 5; 101.25-102.5. For the translations of the passage quoted, see Bethge and Layton, "On the Origin of the World," in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, 174.

<sup>109</sup> The astrological division of the days of the week was known to the author, as *On the Origin of the World*, 117.30-118 proves: "Now the first Adam, (Adam) of Light, is spirit-endowed (*pneumatikos*), and appeared on the first day. The second Adam is soul-endowed (*psychikos*), and appeared on the sixth day, which is called Aphrodite. The third Adam is a creature of earth (*choikos*), that is, the man of the law, and he appeared on the eighth day [...the] tranquility of poverty, which is called Sunday..."

<sup>110</sup> See Heeg, *CCAG* VIII, 148, 149; see also Delatte, *Anecdota*, 90, 111, 116, 146, 402, 441, 471,

with Solomon in the second text, which carries on narrating the constitution of the cosmos:

Then Death, being androgynous, mingled with his (own) nature and begot seven androgynous offspring. These are the names of the males: Jealousy, Wrath, Tears, Sighing, Suffering, Lamentation, Bitter Weeping. And these are the names of the females ones: Wrath, Pain, Lust, Sighing, Curse, Bitterness, Quarrelsomeness. They had intercourse with one another, and each begot seven so that they total forty-nine androgynous demons.

Their names and their functions you will find in the “Book of Solomon”.<sup>111</sup>

In this text, the seven forces are transformed into androgynous demons; their names constitute a sort of catalogue that is very similar to the one we find in *Testament of Solomon* 8 (see below), with which it coincides in respect of the demon called “quarrelsomeness” (=Greek ἔρις). Again we have an explicit reference to forty-nine androgynous demons whose function, we are told, can be found in a “Book of Solomon.” Thus, it is quite evident that we have here the same mixture of astrological and demonological material that we find in the other texts studied; the astrological content has certainly been played down, but it is there nonetheless. Besides, the text seems to refer directly to a work that had to be very similar to the *Testament of Solomon*. In consequence, it is likely that these Gnostic texts also share the traditions connecting Solomon with astrology, as a logical development of his still earlier connection with demonology.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> *On the Origin of the World* (MDBI, II, 5: 106.27-107.3. For the translations of the passage quoted, see Bethge and Layton, “On the Origin of the World” in Robinson (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Library*, 177.

<sup>112</sup> *On the Origin of the World* 123.5 (Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, 186) gives a more complete description of the seven rulers: “Let us return to the aforementioned rulers, so that we may offer some explanation of them. Now, when the seven rulers were cast down from their heavens onto the earth, they made for themselves angels, numerous, demonic, to serve them. And the latter instructed mankind in many kinds of errors and magic and potions and worship of idols and spilling of blood and altars and temples and sacrifices and libations to all the spirits of the earth, having their coworker fate, who came into existence by the concord between the gods of injustice and justice.” The terms in which it describes the rulers remind us strongly of 1 *Enoch* 7-8.

SOLOMON THE ASTROLOGER IN THE *SELENODROMION OF DAVID AND SOLOMON*

We have seen how the astrological material was already linked at an early date (second or third century CE at least) with the traditions relating to Solomon and how the relationship between demonology and the king acted as kernel and trigger for the mingling of both traditions. Now, it is quite likely that at a certain point the astrological traditions “freed” themselves from that association and were linked directly to Solomon, who was then depicted as an astrologer. Perhaps such a change may lie behind the *Selenodromion of David the Prophet and his Son Solomon*. This work fits the astrological genre called *lunarium*, which enjoyed considerable popularity in Late Antiquity and afterwards according to the several examples we have found in different manuscripts.<sup>113</sup> The genre of *lunarium* or *selenodromion* (predictions based on the course of the moon) has a rather long history, since it shows a progressive development: in the earliest and simplest form, the different days of the lunar month were noted and it was stated for what each day was good or bad. Some of the associations between a particular day and a determined action go back to Hesiod’s *Works and Days* (700 BCE), where some days are linked with the birth of different gods or mythological figures.<sup>114</sup> The principle at work in the genre was the same as that of the sympathy among different realms of the cosmos, although here we have a sympathy among the birth of a particular figure, a day of the month and the actions that could be performed on such a day.

The work entitled *Selenodromion of David the Prophet and his Son Solomon* is representative of this genre, except for one detail: almost every reference to pagan gods is replaced by references to the birth of biblical figures or to biblical situations.<sup>115</sup> The biblical references range from Genesis to Samuel, and with it, the work has been consciously and totally Judaized. There is nothing specifically Christian

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<sup>113</sup> See Delatte, *CCAG* X, 121, for a list of the manuscripts that contain *lunaria*, attributed to different figures such as Aristotle (*CCAG* VIII, 3, 17), Esdras (*CCAG* VIII, 3, 88, Cod. Athen, 26), Melampodus (*CCAG* VIII, 4, 9).

<sup>114</sup> See F. Cumont, “Les Présages lunaires de Virgile,” *L’Antiquité classique* II (1933), 259-270; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 2.233-5.

<sup>115</sup> However, we observe the pagan origin of the text in day seven where the Greek god Apollo appears together with a mention of the killing of Abel by his brother Cain.

in the genre of the *lunaria* in general or in this *lunarium*. So it is quite probable that the *lunaria* with Old Testament adaptations were produced by Jews in a syncretistic Jewish setting.<sup>116</sup> Besides this fact, our *Selenodromion* shows clearly how astrology was linked with Solomon, to the point that the “pretext” of the demonological traditions has been dropped and the very name of the wise king and his father provides enough support for the pseudepigraphical attribution. Another detail strengthens the ascription of the work to King Solomon and his father David: the list of the days and the biblical figures and events related to them ends with the mention of Samuel the Prophet, so that the historical fiction is respected. This procedure of pseudepigraphical attribution seems to denote more careful planning than the apparent simplicity of the structure suggests.

The structure of the *Selenodromion* is indeed simple. Each day of the month is linked with a biblical episode or personality, although the author did not follow a strict sequence regarding genealogy or succession of events; however, the text provides detailed information of a miscellaneous nature, as we can see in the following example:

Day seven. On the same day Abel was killed by his brother Cain and Apollo was born. The same day is good for sowing, harvest, reaping medicinal plants and making petitions, for interceding for any one, for cutting off one’s hair in mourning. The one born will be dexterous in the skills, wise and strong; he is short-lived, excellent in selling and buying; he will have a sign on his right foot. If it is female, she will be a mid-wife. The fugitive will be saved, the sick dies quickly.<sup>117</sup>

Every day follows *grosso modo* the pattern provided for the example: 1. biblical reference; 2. good and bad action for that day; 3. characteristics of those born on the day, distinguished according to sex; 4. repeated mentions of fugitives, slaves or sick persons; 5. on occa-

<sup>116</sup> Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 2.235.

<sup>117</sup> Delatte, *CCAG* X, p. 123, f. 22v: Ἡμέρα ζ´ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἄβελ ἐφονεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Κάιν καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐγγενήθη. αὕτη ἡμέρα καλὴ σπέρνειν, θερίζειν, βότανα ἰατρικὰ σωρεύειν καὶ ἐντεύξεις ποιεῖν, πρόσωπα ἐντυγχάνειν, κείρειν κεφαλὴν. ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἔσται πάντεχνος, σοφὸς καὶ ἰσχυρὸς· ἔστιν δὲ ὀλιγοχρόνιος, εἰς τὸ πωλεῖν καὶ ἀγοράζειν δόκιμος· σημεῖον ἔξει ἐν τῷ ποδὶ τῷ δεξιῷ· εἰ δὲ θηλύ, ἔσται ἰατρικά. ὁ φυγὼν σωθήσεται. ὁ ἀσθενῶν ταχέως τελευτᾷ. For the whole Greek text and its English translation see Appendix 3, “The Selenodromion of David and Solomon. Text and Translation.”

sions, there are references to a dream or vision coming true.<sup>118</sup> The linking of a day to a specific action reminds us of the chapter of the *Hygromanteia* concerning the actions suited to every hour of every day of the week. The importance of the right time is stressed in both texts and recalls the description of Solomon in *Wisdom* 7:18-19; again the “Hermetic” background is at work here. One wonders if the authors of these works reinterpreted the Greek text of *Qoh* 3:1-8 as an astrological key, so that the appropriate wise moment (καίρος) of the biblical text was transformed into an astrological concept. Other possible parallels are provided by two pseudepigraphical works, the *Treatise of Shem* (first century BCE?) and the *Revelations of Ezra* (prior to ninth century CE?), which have some points in common with our text.<sup>119</sup> Both works belong to the astrological genre of the *calendologia*, which describe the year according to the day of the week on which that year began; several natural conditions (weather, harvest...) are foretold. Both texts are attributed to biblical figures and their astrological contents confirm the influence and importance of astrology in Jewish settings.

The *Selenodromion* constitutes a clear example of the Judaizing of a genre that at the beginning was alien to the Jewish spirit.<sup>120</sup> However, this is not so important as the fact that this work was attributed to Solomon and that this attribution was effected by the inclusion of Solomon’s name at the beginning and end of the work. This could mean that the linking of Solomon with astrology was so accepted among some Jewish circles that it was sometimes necessary to develop pseudopigraphical fictions as complex as the one we

<sup>118</sup> Evidently, the fifth point is absent from the example; see Appendix 3, for other days in which it does appear.

<sup>119</sup> About this works see Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, I: 473-486; 601-604.

<sup>120</sup> As Cumont (“Les présages lunaires de Virgile,” 264) clearly states: “Considérons d’abord les indications tirées de l’Écriture qui ont pris la place des natiuités païennes. Leur caractère artificiel et livresque saute aux yeux; c’est une construction arbitraire d’un érudit de cabinet. Les naissances des patriarches et autres événements mémorables de la *Génèse* et de l’*Exode* s’y succèdent conformément à la chronologie biblique et le mois offre ainsi, comme par miracle, dans ce trente jours un raccourci de l’histoire des Hébreux depuis Adam jusqu’à Samuel. D’autre part, ni dans ces premiers mots des trente paragraphes, ni dans les présages qui suivent, ne se rencontre aucune allusion à l’Évangile ou à l’Église. Ce type de *selenodromia* bibliques doit avoir été créé par un Juif qui a voulu rendre acceptables les almanachs des Grecs à ses corréligionnaires enclins à la superstition mais hostiles au paganisme, et si, comme nous le croyons, les *selenodromia* mythologiques ont été constitués en Égypte, ce Juif était probablement alexandrin.”

find, for example, in the *Hygromanteia of Solomon*. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to think that this association was made at an early date in Jewish settings that were in close contact with an environment where such beliefs were widespread, such as Hellenistic Egypt of the first centuries of the common era.

### CONCLUSIONS

From the preceding pages, it is clear that the astrological typology of King Solomon was more widespread and popular than we might at first have thought. The connecting of Solomon with astrological material took place at an early date (second or third century CE at least) and was based on traditional lore about Solomon and his portrayal as an exorcist. In the first stage, the different astrological entities, such as the signs of the Zodiac or the seven planets, were transformed into demons and subsumed within the demonology that was related to Solomon in works such as the *Testament of Solomon*; already then, it is evident that an astrologization of the material was taking place using such procedures as the distribution of the different demons among the signs of the Zodiac. In a second stage (*Hygromanteia*), the astrologization of the figure of Solomon is clear, although the basis of the demonology still operates in the arrangement of the days of the week and in the list of demons and angels who rule over each hour. Details such as the ordering of the days of the weeks and the careful pseudepigraphical fiction point to Jewish traditions. At a later stage, large blocks of purely magical material were included in the *Hygromanteia* and were adapted into the pseudepigraphical framework; the magical techniques described have many points in common with the procedures that appear in the Magical Papyri.

The development of the astrological tradition we have just outlined was progressive and, besides, it did not exclude the transformation of the very same astrological material, creating new developments and adaptations. Texts such as the *Ginza*, the Syriac Zosimus, and the Gnostic tractate *On the Origin of the World* show how such reworkings were made. The ubiquitous presence of Solomon in these texts is clear evidence of the popularity of the traditions being studied; Jewish, Christian, Gnostic and Hermetic writings accepted them in very different forms and, most importantly, at very different moments: it is likely that the original traditions went back to the

first centuries of the common era and that they were reworked several times until some of them reached the present stage at the beginning of the Middle Ages.

There was even further development of the figure of Solomon as astrologer in the Middle Ages; the numerous astrological manuscripts that preserve mediaeval writings attributed to Solomon or that repeatedly mention Solomon in connection with astrology prove as much.

## CHAPTER NINE

# SOLOMON THE MAGICIAN

### INTRODUCTION

In previous pages we have seen how Solomon was depicted as an astrologer and how he was connected with astrology from quite early times (at least from the second century CE on) in different texts and traditions. This characterization as astrologer does not seem to derive from Solomon as he appears in the biblical texts, except in a very indirect manner. Rather it seems that we have here a Jewish tradition that took the Bible as basis, making use of several astrological traditions that were quite common in the Graeco-Roman world of Late Antiquity. In the same way, the magical traditions that were ascribed to Solomon, as well as his characterization as magician, which became so popular in Late Antiquity among Jews and Christians alike, have very little to do with the “biblical Solomon.” As we shall see, we have here a relatively late development of the exorcistic and hermetic traditions that were applied to the ideal figure of King Solomon and that went beyond the characterization of the king as Hellenistic monarch, which probably was the basis for the new developments.

This characterization of Solomon as magician owes much to the magical traditions and techniques that were quite widespread in the Graeco-Roman world among Jewish, Christian and pagan people alike. Thus, it is quite syncretistic by nature and it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between what appears to be Jewish treatment of the character and any other material of non-Jewish origin that was absorbed into this new portrayal of Solomon. In consequence, at this particular stage of our study, we will have to be particularly careful in the way we address the different texts to evaluate precisely the possible source of the various materials and their final incorporation into the texts where Solomon is depicted as a magician.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On magic in Late Antiquity studied from different points of view see J. Goldin, “The Magic of Magic and Superstition,” in *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. E. Schüssler Fiorenza (University of Notre Dame Center

We have just noted above that quite probably the basis for this new magical characterization of Solomon emerged from his earlier characterization as a great exorcist, which, as we have seen already, arose at an early date (first century CE) in a clearly Jewish setting, although it was later enriched with syncretistic-Hellenistic traits. However, there is a trait that pertains exclusively to the Jewish background of the new magical characterization of Solomon: Solomon, like Moses and Abraham, besides being described as a magician, shares the status of leader of the Jewish people. However, this leadership trait is not combined with magical power in the other figures that were considered great magicians in Late Antiquity (Dardanos, Simon Magus, etc.).<sup>2</sup> Apart from Abraham and Moses, Solomon is portrayed as king *and* magician, in a way that is not supported by Hellenistic theories concerning the character of the monarchy and the endowment of kings with numinous (divine) power. This combination, then, of worldly power over people, and esoteric or magical power over demons, seems to be Jewish; perhaps, indeed, it is the most clearly Jewish characteristic of the traditions connected with Solomon that the king is endowed with a magical persona.

A word must be said about what may appear to be a somewhat artificial division into different types, according to which we have classified the different portraits of Solomon, especially with regard to the types of exorcist and magician. It seems rather difficult to distinguish between these, since they respond to very similar settings and the texts in which they appear share several characteristics, such

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for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity 2; Notre Dame / London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 115-147; H. Betz, "The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition vol. 3: Self-Definition in the Greco-Roman World*, eds. B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 161-170; Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," 100-125; P. Brown, "Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity: From Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages," in idem, *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 119-146; Abt, *Die Apologie*; M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973); H. Remus, "Magic, Method, Madness," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 11 (1999), 258-298; on Solomon and Magic, see C. C. McCown, "The Christian Tradition as to the Magical Wisdom of Solomon," *JPOS* 2 (1922), 1-24; D. C. Duling, "The Legend of Solomon the Magician in Antiquity," *Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes Biblical Society* 4 (1984), 1-27.

<sup>2</sup> On Jewish magic the Late Antiquity see P. Schäfer, "Jewish Magic Literature in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages," *JJS* 41 (1990), 75-91; Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen, passim*; on Moses and magic see J. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (SBL Monograph 16; New York: Abingdon, 1972), 135-164.

as the importance of demonology, angelology, the use of names considered to be hypostases of power, and so on. Although this division is clearly artificial in terms of the sources, it is not casual or trivial; it is based on the fact that there is a clear progression in the role played directly or indirectly by Solomon with regard to the results of the magical techniques. The Solomonic types described and studied in the second part of the present work oscillate between the passive and the active in respect of the actual aims of the techniques outlined in the texts. All the texts, and the images of Solomon they present, share to a greater or lesser extent the conception of a special knowledge that gives the king power and dominion over a supernatural reality, which by means of universal sympathy (the relationship between each and every element of the cosmos), is connected with this mundane reality. However, the Solomon depicted as exorcist, Hermetic sage and so on uses that knowledge in a passive manner, that is, with no intention of changing reality by subduing the forces submitted to the power that this special knowledge awards to its depositary; conversely, when Solomon is depicted as magician this knowledge is used and portrayed in an active manner, so that it enables dominion over supernatural realities and, accordingly, changes of the present world.

This dichotomy is quite clear in three different stages: exorcist, astrologer, and magician; each of these types participates somehow in the same material but the factor of passivity / activity works differently in each of them. The Solomon who is linked with exorcism has power over demons only with the aim of subduing and expelling them; it is a less active use of knowledge and its power because reality is only slightly changed; it returns to a previous stage that has been disturbed and transformed by the demonic possession. The Solomon who is linked with astrology is more “active,” since the knowledge and power that function in the supernatural world by means of “sympathy” transform it; it represents a middle stage, since this transformation comes indirectly from knowledge. Finally, the Solomon who is linked with magic is most “active,” since his knowledge and power over the supernatural world effect changes in the reality of this world. Thus, it seems clear that the different types according to which the figure of Solomon has been classified and analyzed are justified, since each of them represents a different dialogue between the supernatural world and the real world.

From what has been said above, it is clear that exorcism, astrol-

ogy and magic share many traits and interests; this is evident when studying the magical traditions of Late Antiquity. However, Jewish handling of those traditions displays some peculiarities that seem to derive from a clearly Jewish background and have consequences different from those found in non-Jewish texts: the Jewish magical and mystical traditions with an interest in demonology, angelology and the sacred names, whether of God, angels or demons, are a down-to-earth version of trends that also existed in apocalyptic texts. Whereas apocalyptic material deals with the problems posed by existence, in the future or within the future facts of history, the magician deals with them in the present, desiring power and control over fate in the present age.<sup>3</sup> For both, human life is bounded by a supernatural world of angels and demons but the magician does not worry about the inevitability of a final judgment; that is, magical tradition seems to care little about eschatology. The mystical text seeks to transcend time and place in order to attain contemplation of the divine, oblivious of this-worldly history. Therefore, the same ideological background evolves in three stages, each step being more other-worldly than the previous; magic is the popular and worldly trend, mysticism, the spiritual, apocalypticism lying in between these two.

From ancient times these magical traditions were nurtured mainly in a “popular” environment; perhaps because of that we have fewer glimpses of Solomon as magician in textual traditions, which would naturally represent a more intellectualized environment. Therefore, the magical characterization of Solomon was either unrecorded or disdained during the first two centuries CE. However, the strength of this magical tradition appears in the fact that several texts evidence some features of it. Thus, 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>, *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities* all bear witness to the underground existence of exorcistic traditions by the first century CE, traditions that share many characteristics with the purely magical texts that would appear at a later time.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> On the problem of fate and the various responses to it in Late Antiquity see E. R. Dodds, *Pagans and Christians in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

<sup>4</sup> Despite the rather casual manner that has been used above when speaking about the magical traditions linked to Solomon, the following *caveat* made by J. Gager has been taken into account: “...the use of the term “magic” tells us little or nothing about the substance of what is under description. The sentence, “X is/was a magician!” tells us nothing about the beliefs and practices of X; the only

A parallel phenomenon is apparent in the pagan milieu. Interest in magic and demonology is relatively rare in most literary works during the first two centuries, but as the third century progresses, this interest appears in both literary works and philosophical practices (theurgy). Many of the same practices that we find in pagan literature are also attested in Jewish sources. There is clear interdependence between magical and mystical techniques.<sup>5</sup> On this basis, the successful image of Solomon as magician and exorcist owes much to the portrayals of some pagan philosophers who, from the third century on, were acquiring the features of miracle workers and magicians. The point of departure in both cases was their characterization as wise men, being added to Solomon as king, philosopher, Hermetic sage, exorcist and, finally, magician. Therefore, the evolution attested in the *Life of Apollonius* by Philostratus and in the *Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers* by Eunapius, with the addition of thaumaturgic elements, can be transplanted to Solomon who officially took his place in the Hellenistic world as one of the great wise teachers of secret knowledge at a relatively late date, perhaps dur-

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solid information that can be derived from it concerns the *speaker's* attitude towards X and their relative social relationship—that X is viewed by the speaker as powerful, peripheral, and dangerous. Thus the only justifiable (answerable) historical question about magic is not “What are the characteristics of, for example, Greek magic?” but rather “*Under what conditions, by whom, and of whom does the term magic come to be used?*” (J. Gager [ed.], *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* [New York / Oxford: Oxford University Press], 25; emphasis mine). The sociological approach of Gager, even if somewhat extreme and reductionist, is very useful in the study of what is called magic; although Solomon is nowhere called magician, he is depicted as an extremely powerful one. Thus we will try to answer some of Gager's questions, while, at the same time, we look into the techniques our texts describe. Finally, we use the noun “magic” and the adjective “magical” for texts and techniques that deal with power and with the results and inner working of such power. In the same way, we have used the pair “popular” / “cult” ambience(s) for the sake of clarity and convenience; nevertheless we are well aware that such oppositions should not be carried too far.

<sup>5</sup> On this aspect in Hekhalot literature see P. Schäfer, “The Aim and Purpose of Early Jewish Mysticism,” in idem, *Hekhalot-Studien*, 279-295, especially p. 290 on the aim of early Jewish mysticism: “... A first conclusion, I think, is apparent. In regard to the heavenly journey, and especially in regard to the adjuration, the concern is with a direct and unobstructed contact with God or with his angel. God can be reached directly, fast and without detours. In both cases, the means of achieving this is magic. The world view which informs these texts is thus one which is deeply magical. The authors of the Hekhalot literature believed in the power of magic and attempted to integrate magic into Judaism. The central elements of Jewish life—worship and the study of the Torah—are determined, in these mystics' understanding of the world, by the power of magic.”

ing or after the third century CE.

Consequently, this process should be viewed as heavily indebted to the dialogue established between Jewish tradition and pagan practices on one side, and the adaptation of popular customs by the cultivated social classes on the other. To a certain extent, the new magical characterization that emerges is almost of a new figure that has very little to do with the biblical point of departure or the early exorcistic traditions that were linked to the king. As we shall see, the image of Solomon as magician is the least typically Jewish of all the portrayals we have studied so far, since it is made into a vehicle for a series of magical teachings and techniques that were common to magical praxis in Late Antiquity. In fact, rabbinic literature shows a clear tendency to “folklorize” the magical traditions related to Solomon, so that they become mere folk-tales and lose the practical character they have in the Greek texts to be studied.<sup>6</sup>

We shall examine several texts to show the development of the magical traditions linked to the wise king. The introduction to the magical handbook *Sefer ha-Razim* will be taken into account; in it, Solomon is described as the repository of a magical chain of tradition going back to Noah that has a lot in common with the techniques described in the magical treatise included in the *Hygromanteia*, which, according to the ascription of the work, is attributed to Solomon. We shall also study the magical treatise included in the *Hygromanteia*; we shall see how this magical material is linked with the other magical texts attributed to Solomon and with the magical techniques that appear in them. In the same way, a Greek magical papyrus (PGM 850-929), in which a technique called “Solomon’s collapse” is described, will be considered; in this technique the use of a boy as a medium recalls texts such as the *Testament of Solomon* and the *Hygromanteia* where the use of a boy as a medium also occurs.

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<sup>6</sup> A cursory reading of the compilation of Rabbinic material by L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 4.125-176; 6.277-302, makes the phenomenon clear; perhaps there is an exception in 6.287, where a magical technique involving the use of a sword is quoted, which seems to parallel the frequent use of swords in the magical treatise of the *Hygromanteia*.

SOLOMON THE MAGICIAN IN *SEPHER HA-RAZIM*a. *Introduction*

What have been called magic and magical practices were as popular in the Judaism of Late Antiquity as they were among the other peoples and cultures of the same period. Their applications and uses were truly manifold; love, business, war, hate, health: any aspect, whether high or low, of human life could be confronted by means of magic. Therefore, magic and magicians pervade every sphere of life; they do so because they were viewed as effective or, at least, they seemed to be effective, as the persistence of the same techniques, incantations and charms through Late Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and even the early modern period clearly witnesses. Jewish magic is clearly located within this ambiance and shares quite a few traits with regard to actual magical techniques, formulae and texts.

There has been considerable advance, recently, in the study of Jewish magic. Besides the work of Blau, which is still useful, and the texts edited by Gaster,<sup>7</sup> new studies and editions of texts have been produced and have shed new light on this aspect of Judaism, which had to some extent been neglected.<sup>8</sup> It is precisely within this new interest in Jewish magic that the work *Sepher ha-Razim* (*The Book of the Mysteries*) has to be understood.<sup>9</sup>

The text we possess is an eclectic one, to a certain extent made up by its editor, Margaliot, from different manuscripts and also from

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<sup>7</sup> Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*; M. Gaster, "The Sword of Moses," in *Studies and Texts in Folklore*, 1.288-337 (English Translation); 3.69-94 (Hebrew text).

<sup>8</sup> On the *status questionis* see Alexander, "Incantations and Books of Magic," in Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People*, 3/1.342-379; see also Schäfer, "Jewish Magic Literature," 74-91; for editions of texts see, Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, *passim*; idem, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, *passim*; Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, especially 11-61; Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, *passim*; for an analysis of some aspects of the Genizah texts see M. Swartz, "Scribal Magic and its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah," *HTR* 83:2 (1990), 163-180.

<sup>9</sup> For the English translation see M. A. Morgan, *Sepher ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (SBLTT 25, PS 11; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); for the Hebrew text and an introduction see M. Margaliot, *Sepher ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Jerusalem: Yedioth Achronot / American Academy for Jewish Research, 1966) [in Hebrew]; see also I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 14; Leiden / Köln: E. J. Brill, 1980), 225-234 (on the *Sepher ha-Razim*).

Genizah fragments.<sup>10</sup> It is usually dated around the late fourth century CE and is considered a veritable Jewish handbook of magical practices and incantations.<sup>11</sup> The work is divided into seven parts, each part referring to one of the seven heavens (רַקִּיעַ) of the Jewish cosmology that was current in the Hellenistic period. Each part describes a series of angels, their function, their “practical applications,” invocations and techniques to accomplish them.<sup>12</sup> Many of the incantations have similarities with some of the *formulae* that we can find in the *PGM* and in Greek texts linked with Solomon, such as the magical treatise included in the *Hygromanteia* of Solomon. It is noteworthy that both in the *Hygromanteia* of Solomon and in the *Sepher ha-Razim* the names of the angels and their description was of primary importance. In the *Sepher ha-Razim* the description either of the angels or of their power has a clear role in the practical spells that are recorded afterwards. They work by linking both parts of the incantations, in a manner similar to the way in which the angelology of the *Hygromanteia* links the astrological material with magical praxis. Equally, the coincidence of the spellings of the angels’ names with the ones found in the *PGM* seems to support the existence of a *continuum* of magical praxis and beliefs throughout Late Antiquity.<sup>13</sup>

It seems, then, that two types of material can be clearly distinct in this text: the first one is formed by a sort of cosmological framework that seems to have certain points of contact with *Hekhalot* lit-

<sup>10</sup> Again we face the same difficulties that we already mentioned in Ch. 9, “Solomon the Astrologer.” P. Schäfer (“Tradition and Redaction,” 15-16) warns us about artificially establishing texts and works; although his *caveat* principally concern *Hekhalot* literature, and is perhaps too extreme, it could be applied to the study of magic in general and to *Sefer Ha-Razim* in particular.

<sup>11</sup> So Margalioth, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 24; Gruenwald (*Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 226) dates it around the sixth or seventh century C.E.; due to the eclectic and, to a certain extent, artificial character of Margalioth’s text, any attempt to date the book on internal grounds should be very cautious (so Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim*, 10).

<sup>12</sup> For a study of the form and style of the incantations included in the work see J. H. Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln aus dem Buch der Geheimnisse* (Hildesheim / New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1975) [*non vidi*]. The section concerning the seventh heaven does not contain magical material but is a description of God sitting on his throne of glory.

<sup>13</sup> Besides, the fact that both the *Hygromanteia of Solomon* and the *Sepher ha-Razim* (see Margalioth, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 42, and Heeg, *CCAG VIII/2*, 140) entered Europe through Southern Italy in the sixth (*Hygromanteia*) or eighth (*Sepher ha-Razim*) century CE could mean that many magical traditions were preserved in Byzantine lands, unchanged, well into the Middle Ages.

erature. The second consists mainly of magical techniques only loosely linked with the first type of material; the main interest of the editors of the book was precisely this magical material.<sup>14</sup>

Besides the seven firmaments, the work has another differentiated part that consists of a sort of general introduction (פתיחה); it is a kind of catalogue of all the secret knowledge that is found in the book. It is precisely in this “introduction” that Solomon occurs at a certain point; consequently, we will study it in the following pages, locating it within the general development of the magical traditions linked with Solomon.

b. *Solomon the Magician in the “Introduction (פתיחה)” to the Sepher ha-Razim*

Despite the great importance of the *Sepher ha-Razim* for the study of Jewish magic, we are interested in it mainly because Solomon is mentioned once in the text. As we have said, he appears in the “introduction” (פתיחה), just at its end; however we shall analyze the whole introduction in order to demonstrate the importance of this brief mention. Margalioth made his edition of this part of the text from several manuscripts.<sup>15</sup> This introduction (פתיחה) functions as a kind of catalogue that anticipates the contents of the whole book, listing all the things that can be achieved through magic. The introduction begins as follows:

This is a book, from the Books of the Mysteries, which was given to Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mahallalel, the son of Kenan, the son of Enosh, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, by Raziel the angel in the year when he came into the ark (but) before his entrance.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Morgan, *Sepher ha-Razim*, p. 8-9; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 225-234. A very similar composition can be discerned in the *Hygromanteia of Solomon*; thus, there is a clear distinction between the astrological part, which functions as a sort of introduction, and the magical praxis recorded afterwards, which has many astrological features.

<sup>15</sup> *Oxford MS. Heb. C. 18/30*, which includes the introduction and a part of the first heaven (1:6); Adler JTSL ENA 2750, pp. 4-5, which includes the introduction as well; Margalioth also used the *Sepher Raziel* (Amsterdam: 1701) to complete *lacunae* and to correct some readings.

<sup>16</sup> זה עפר מספרי הרזים שנתן לנוח בן למך בן מתושלח בן חנוך בן ירד בן מהללאל בן קינן בן אנוש בן שת בן אדם, מפי רזיאל המלאך בשנת ביאתו לתבה (Margalioth, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 65). For the present translation see Morgan, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 17.

According to this text, the *Sepher ha-Razim* is only one of several books that logically we can suppose contained the same kind of knowledge. Besides, Noah is the recipient of a book that is given him by the angel Raziel, in a way that reminds us of Solomon and the seal being delivered at the hands of the archangel Michael (*Test.Sol* 1:5-7). It is probable that the origin of the tradition linking Noah with a book of secret lore may be found in *Jub.* 10:12-14:

And the healing of all their illnesses together with their seductions we told Noah so that he might heal by means of herbs of the earth. (13) And Noah wrote everything in a book just as we taught him according to every kind of healing. And the Evil spirits were restrained from following the sons of Noah. (14) And he gave everything he wrote to Shem, his oldest son, because he loved him much more than all of his sons.<sup>17</sup>

The text of *Jubilees* is found in a context (*Jub.* 10:1-11) where the demons are subdued and where the angels teach Noah how to heal the illnesses produced by the demons. There are evident parallels in the formulation of the tradition about Solomon and Noah and their connection with secret knowledge and universal wisdom.<sup>18</sup> Besides, both the beginning of the *Sepher ha-Razim* and of the *Testament of Solomon* comply with what seems to be a universal characteristic of magic: magic is always linked with tradition and is never original, but rather has existed from the beginning of time.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> English translation by O. S. Wintermute in Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2:76.

<sup>18</sup> The Qumran Aramaic text 4QElect of God (4Q534 [4QMess ar]), which seems to refer to the birth of Noah, could reflect a very similar tradition. On this text see Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 185; see also J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' Text from Qumran," *CBQ* 27 (1965) 348-372; for an English translation, see García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 263.

<sup>19</sup> So B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (repr. from 1948 ed.; Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), 74-75: "Tradition, which, as we have several times insisted, reigns supreme in primitive civilization, gathers in great abundance around magical ritual and cult. In the case of any important magic we invariably find the story accounting for its existence. Such a story tells when and where it entered the possession of man, how it became the property of a local group or of a familia or clan. But such a story is not the story of its origins. Magic never "originated," it never has been made or invented. All magic simply "was" from the beginning [...] In higher societies magic is often derived from spirits and demons but even these, as a rule, originally received and did not invent it. Thus the belief in the primaeval natural existence of magic is universal." Although it is evident that some of the ideas of Malinowski are outdated, the concepts about tradition and "eternal" existence of magic surprisingly still fit perfectly into the scenery drawn by our texts. Neither Solomon nor Noah are the inventors of magic, only its depositaries.

The introduction continues by describing the catalogue of knowledge that Noah learned from the Book of Secrets:

And [Noah] inscribed it upon a sapphire stone very distinctly. And he learned from it how to do wondrous deeds, and (he learned) secrets of knowledge, and categories of understanding and thoughts of humility and concepts of counsel, (how) to master the investigation of the strata to the heavens, to go about in all that is in their seven abodes, to observe all the astrological signs, to examine the course of the sun, to explain the observations of the moon, and to know the paths of the Great Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades, to declare the names of the overseers of each and every firmament and the realms of their authority, and by what means they (can be made to) cause success in each thing (asked of them), and what are the names of their attendants and what (oblations) are to be poured out to them, and what is the proper time (at which they will hear prayer, so as) to perform every wish of anyone (who comes) near them in purity. (Noah learned) from it rituals (that cause) death and rituals (that preserve) life, to understand the evil and the good, to search out (the right) seasons and moments (for magical rites), to know the time to give birth and the time to die, the time to strike and the time to heal, to interpret dreams and visions, to arouse combat, and to quiet wars, and to rule over spirits and over demons, to send them (wherever you wish) so they will go out like slaves, to watch the four winds of the earth, to be learned in the speech of the thunderclaps, to tell the significance of lightning flashes, to foretell what will happen in each and every month, and to know the affairs of each and every year, whether for plenty or for hunger, whether for harvest or for drought, whether for peace or for war, to be as one of the awesome ones and to comprehend the songs of heaven.<sup>20</sup>

After it is stated how the book is inscribed by Noah upon a sapphire stone, an enumeration of its contents begins. In a way, the two first items summarize the whole catalogue: Noah will learn wondrous deeds (פלאים עשה) and secrets of knowledge. After this heading, the text continues by describing the character of these secrets of knowl-

<sup>20</sup> ויכתבוהו באבן ספיר באר היטב וממנו למד מעשה פלאים ורוי דעת וערכי בינה <sup>20</sup> ומחשבות ענוה ועשתונות עיצה לעמוד על חקר מעלות מרומים ולשוטט בכל אשר בשבעה מעונות ולהיסחכל בכל המזלות וליחבונן במנהג חמה ולבאר חקרי לבנה ולידע מסילות עש כסיל וכימה ולהגיד מה שמות שותרי כל רקיע וממלכתן ובמה יצליחו לכל דבר ומה שמות משרתיהם ומה יתנסך להם ואי זו היא עונה תשמע להם לעשות כל חפץ כל הקרוב אליהם בטהרה. לידע מעשה מות ומעשה חיים להבין הרע והטוב לחקור עיתות ורגעים, לידע עת ללדת עת למות עת למכה ועת לרפואה לפתור חלומות וחזיונות לעורר קרב ולהשקיט מלחמות ולמשול ברוחות ובפגעים לשלחם וילכו עבדים, מחוכם להביט בארבע רוחות בקול רעמים לספר מה מעשה ברקים, להגיד מה יהיה בכל וחודש לעמוד על עסק כל שנה ושנה, אם לשובע אם לרעב אם לחבואה אם לבצורת אם לשלום אם למלחמה, חודש להיות כאחד מן הנוראים ולהשכיל בשירי מרום (For the translation, see Morgan, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 17-18).

edge, or rather, their actual aims; this description is centered on a complete unit of astrological material and disciplines, which consists principally in the knowledge of the heavens, the seven planets (שבעה מעונות), the astrological signs (מזלות), the course of the sun and the observations of the moon. That is, the knowledge of the book that has been given to Noah coincides with the astrological knowledge given by Solomon to his son Rehoboam in the *Hygromanteia*. Thus, we read in the *Hygromanteia* how Solomon warns his son about the need “to master the observation of the planets and of the Zodiac signs” and “to know the positions of the seven planets, because the seven planets lead the seven days of the week.”<sup>21</sup> Evidently, both texts describe very similar types of knowledge. Furthermore, if we recall the importance that is attached in the *Hygromanteia* to the knowledge of the names of the various demons and angels who rule over every hour of each day of the week and the insistence on knowing the right moment to perform different actions or accomplish different things, it is clear that both Solomon and Noah are made repositories of the same type of knowledge. Besides, the order of the different secret sciences that appear in the introduction to the *Sepher ha-Razim* is very similar, *grosso modo*, to the order that the *Hygromanteia* follows when Solomon describes them to his son Rehoboam. Consequently, both texts seem to attribute almost the same traditions to two different figures that have very little to do with one other, since Noah is a figure of a legendary antediluvian and “pre-Jewish” past whereas Solomon fits more easily into what could be called “Jewish” history. However, as we shall see, it is likely that a great deal of the knowledge that our text ascribes to Noah was first attributed to Solomon and only afterwards, and secondarily, to Noah.

There are some details that seem to support this transference: on the one hand, our text includes what seem to be echoes of biblical passages that are ascribed to Solomon. These echoes are introduced by the Hebrew לחקור עיתות ורגעים translated by Morgan as “to search out (the right) seasons and moments;” by translating the Hebrew עת as “season,” Morgan has obstructed its true relationship to the introduction of the disciplines that follow. It is quite likely that here עת does not mean “season” or even “time” in general but rather a very particular unit of time, namely, the “time of twenty-four as-

<sup>21</sup> See Ch. 8, “Solomon the Astrologer;” the texts quoted are found at the beginning of the *Hygromanteia*; for the complete translation see Appendix 1.

tronomical hours,”<sup>22</sup> or it may even denote the individual parts (hours) of a day. If so, the passage would refer to the exact hour when each procedure or technique has to be performed in order to be effective. What, then, could be defined as “free quotations” of Qoh 3:2,3 (“the time to give birth and the time to die, the time to strike and the time to heal; *ועת ללדה ועת למוח עת למכה ועת לרפואה*”) and of 1 Kings 3:9 (“to understand the evil and the good; *להבין להטוב והרוע*”) are logically linked through the introduction and reinterpreted in astrological and magical terms.<sup>23</sup> This reinterpretation again recalls the *Hygromanteia of Solomon* and its detailed list of the suitable hours to perform different procedures. The fact that these biblical allusions of *Sepher ha-Razim* refer to texts that were linked to Solomon cannot be due to mere chance. In the same way, part of the knowledge that *Sepher ha-Razim* gives to Noah, the dominion over demons and the ability “to watch the four winds of the earth” (*להביט בארבע רוחות הארץ*), is also linked with Solomon, both in the *Testament* and in other texts that refer to dominion over demons, as in the magical part of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps this passage of the *Sepher ha-Razim* understands these “winds” (*רוחות*) as spirits, that is as demons, as well.

If in the first part of the introduction there is no actual link between the biblical figure of Noah and the knowledge contained in the book, this relationship is established in the second part, although in a surprising manner, as we can see:

And from the wisdom of the secrets of this book, Noah learned and understood how to make gopher wood into an ark and to hide from the torrent of the flood waters, to bring (the animals) with him two by two and seven by seven, to take in some of every kind of food and every kind of provender. And he placed (the book) in a golden cabinet and brought it first into the ark, to learn from it the times of the day and to investigate from it the times of the night, and in which period he should arise to pour out entreaties. And when he came forth from the ark, he used (the book) all the days of his life, and at the time of his death he handed it down to Abraham, and Abraham to Isaac, and Isaac to Jacob, and Jacob to Levi, and Levi to Kohath, and Kohath

<sup>22</sup> See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1128.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Qohélet* 3:2, 3 (*ועת להרוג ועת לרפואה*) [...] *עת ללדה ועת למוח* and 1 Kgs 3:9 (*להבין בין טוב לרע*).

<sup>24</sup> In the *Hygromanteia* (*Harleianus 5596*; Delatte, *Anecdota*, 426-428) there is a complex demonological invocation to several groups of demons, who are divided according to the winds of the South, North, East and West.

to Amram, and Amram to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the sages and thus generation by generation until Solomon the King arose. And the books of the Mysteries were disclosed to him and he became very learned in books of understanding, and (so) ruled over everything he desired, over all the spirits and the demons that wander in the world, and from the wisdom of this book he imprisoned and released, and sent out and brought in, and built and prospered. For many books were handed down to him, but this one was found more precious and more honorable and more difficult than any of them.<sup>25</sup>

This text contains three different blocks of material; each part develops a different tradition and focuses on a specific point. The first part is completely devoted to Noah; in fact, it is the first time in the introduction that the Noah who appears in the text is explicitly and directly related with some aspect of the biblical Noah. However, even then, the introduction is chiefly concerned with the secret lore of the book from which Noah took the procedures to follow when preparing the ark for the flood. We have seen how *Jubilees* mentions a tradition about a book of remedies against the illnesses caused by demons, but the present text goes much further, leaving aside the role played by God and, to a certain extent, giving greater prominence to Noah and to *Sepher ha-Razim*. However, this part finishes by mentioning again how Noah learned the appropriate times (עִתוֹת) of the day and the night, which again can be directly related to the *Hygromanteia of Solomon* and its developed chronology of appropriate times. In this part of the introduction the transformation of biblical traditions works again as a device that introduces to the traditions about the appropriate times.<sup>26</sup>

The second part of the above text comprises a very special “chain of tradition,” similar to the one we find in *Pirke Avoth 1:1*; it seems quite likely that it has suffered some kind of edition and/or inter-

<sup>25</sup> מחכמת רזי הספר הזה למד נח והשכיל לעשות עצי גופר תבה להיסתר משטף מי מבול להביא עמו שנים שנים ושבעה ושבעה ולהכניס מכל אכל ומכל מאכל. ויתנהו בארון זהב ויבאהו תחילה לתבה לידע ממנו עיתות יום ולחקור ממנו עיתות לילה וביאזו עונה יעמוד להפיל שוועה: וכיצאו מן התבה בו היה משתמש כל ימי חייו ובעת מותו מסר לאברהם ואברהם ליצחק ויצחק ליעקב ויעקב ללוי ולוי לקהת וקהת לעמרם ועמרם למשה ומשה ליהושע ויהושע לזקנים וזקנים לנביאים ונביאים לחכמים וכן לדור ודור עד שעמד שלמה המלך וניגלו לו ספרי הרזים והשכיל למאד בספרי בינה ומשל בכל חפצו בכל הרוחות והפגעים המשוששים בעולם ואסר והתיר ושלח והביא ובנה והצליח מחוכמת הספר הזה, כי הרבה ספרים נמסרו בידו וזה נמצא יקר ונכבד וקשה מכולם.

<sup>26</sup> On the twenty-four hours and parallel texts such as the *Testament of Adam* see the chapter “Solomon the Astrologer.”

polation at the hands of its editor; thus, in its non-interpolated version Solomon would follow “elders”, linking the king indirectly with Noah.<sup>27</sup> If we take into consideration the traditions about Solomon that have been studied previously, it is clear that this “chain of tradition” reinterprets them from a quite different perspective. Thus, we have seen how Solomon the exorcist “owed” his powers over demons to Michael and to a ring given to him in response to his prayers; here, the role played by Solomon in the transmission and gathering of secret powers that the *Sepher ha-Razim* confers upon its users is, to a certain extent, secondary. However, by linking Solomon with Noah, the authority of the book and its contents are reinforced by reference to an older legendary figure, who, as we have seen in *Jubilees*, was related to secret knowledge from ancient times. Since Solomon appears as the last stage of the transmission of the *Sepher ha-Razim*, he is depicted as the principal depository of the knowledge it contains; as this secret knowledge goes beyond the exorcistic traditions of Solomon, it was linked with Noah to strengthen its pseudepigraphical claims, which, however, ultimately rested on Solomon. Apart from the *Jubilees* passage that we have quoted, Noah does not seem to play an important role in exorcistic and magical literature.<sup>28</sup> However, in the following Syriac bowl we find Noah and Solomon within an exorcism for the protection of men and women:

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<sup>27</sup> In this regard Morgan (*Sepher ha-Razim*, 19, n. 9) notes: “This genealogy is similar to the *Avoth* tradition but it puts Solomon the King after the prophets and the sages. Since they should follow Solomon, it seems that an original genealogy ending with Solomon (probably after “elders”) has been interpolated by an editor who wanted to claim knowledge of these secrets for the rabbis. Evidence for such and insertion is important because it casts some doubt on other Rabbinic elements in the text, and because of the fact that a Rabbinic editor let the pagan elements stand, illustrates an unfamiliar side of Rabbinic Judaism.” It is not pertinent to define any editor of the text as “rabbinic” or to suppose that the “rabbinic” elements are due to such an editor; it is more logical to think that any “rabbinic” element has been introduced with the aim of making the text less suspicious or the knowledge it contains less reprehensible for rabbinic “orthodoxy” (if such thing ever existed). Thus, we cannot suppose that the present text “illustrates an unfamiliar side of rabbinic judaism” but rather a current of non rabbinic Judaism, that, incidentally, might have been more important than “orthodoxy”.

<sup>28</sup> Thus we find a reference to Noah and to Gen 6:8 in some Genizah fragments (TS K1.152; TS K1.168.1-3; see Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantations Texts*, 38-39, 41-42, 66, 140), but it is made in a rather “uncompromising” manner, since the texts ask for the favor Noah found before God.

(10) [...] May it be bound and sealed by the seal by which the heaven and the earth are sealed, and by the seal by which Noah sealed his ark and by the seal of Solomon, (11) by which the demons and the dēws are sealed and by the great seal. May there be sealed, sealed, girded, and scattered these amulets that were written for the healing and the preservation of Khusrau son of Qaqay and Shelta daughter of Qayumta.<sup>29</sup>

This Syriac bowl is of interest because it furnishes us with a parallel to the relationship between Solomon and Noah that we found in the introduction to the *Sepher ha-Razim*.<sup>30</sup> In the present text both figures appear together in an exorcistic setting, which seems to suggest that they were viewed as somehow linked with respect to exorcism and magic. Thus, it is likely that both Solomon and Noah were linked in some kind of traditions and that the knowledge and powers attributed to one of them, were transferred without difficulty to the other.<sup>31</sup>

The third and last part into which we have divided the second part of the introduction to the *Sepher ha-Razim* links the new and purely magical traditions that the book develops with the exorcistic traditions about Solomon that we have found elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> However, here the exorcistic traditions are transformed into magical traditions, since Solomon is depicted as using the knowledge of the book not only to expel demons, but also to achieve active dominion over them, being able, through the book, to perform many things and to prosper. Solomon is represented here as a magician, with the same kind of powers over demons and with the same kind of practical purpose in mind. Many of the procedures described in the *Sepher ha-Razim* have the same practical aims of obtaining money, love, success, revenge, etc. and can be found as well in the magical treatise of the *Hygromanteia*, which is also attributed to Solomon.

<sup>29</sup> For the present translation and the Syriac text see Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 139-142.

<sup>30</sup> The presence of a cross among the magical signs engraved in the bowl makes the editors think that the bowl is Christian (*Magic Spells and Formulae*, 140). However, apart from this cross, there is nothing specifically Christian in the bowl, which seems, then, to follow Jewish patterns and traditions, such as the one that links Solomon and Noah.

<sup>31</sup> The fact that Noah opens the introduction to the *Sepher ha-Razim* and Solomon closes it seems to support the connection between both figures, a connection that was used by the editor of the text to structure the introduction and to reinforce the pseudepigraphical authority of the work.

<sup>32</sup> On these traditions see Ch. 4, 6-7, "Solomon the Exorcist," "Solomon the Horseman" and "Solomon the Son of David."

c. *Conclusions*

The introduction to the *Sepher ha-Razim*, which we have just studied, shows King Solomon in the new guise of magician. The presence in the texts of the tradition about the correct times (תע) to perform the procedures that are supposedly described in the *Sepher* reminds us of the distribution of hours we found in the *Hygromanteia*; in the same way, the appointing of different entities over each hour seems to point to the same traditions we find in the *Hygromanteia*, which are connected to Solomon. In the *Sepher*, Noah and Solomon are linked, a connection that is paralleled in at least one Syriac bowl.

On the basis of the introduction, the *Sepher ha-Razim* is attributed to Solomon. Generally speaking, the whole work agrees with many of the magical procedures that are described in the *Hygromanteia*, without the importance that the astrological material has in the *Hygromanteia*; in the same way, angelology is as fundamental in the *Sepher ha-Razim* as demonology is in the *Hygromanteia*. However, the Solomonic ascription of a Jewish magical handbook that can be dated around the fourth century CE and that in its actual language and form is unmistakably Jewish shows that the magical characterization we find in the Greek *Hygromanteia* was also known in Jewish groups with a Semitic mother-tongue and that this magical typology was heavily indebted to the magical techniques widespread in the world of Late Antiquity. This seems to suggest that the figure of Solomon as magician was developed at a later stage (second century CE on?) by incorporating materials not included in a previous exorcistic tradition. The importance of the introduction of the *Sepher ha-Razim* lies in the fact that this incorporation was not only made in the Greek-speaking Jewish world but also in the Semitic-speaking one and that this development witnesses to the success and acceptance of such magical practices despite the “official” rabbinic position, which was contrary to most of them.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The same dichotomy can be found in the Graeco-Roman world, where despite legislation and the adverse attitude of a part of the intellectual elite, magic was held in high regard by the majority of the population, without much regard to social status or educational background.

SOLOMON THE MAGICIAN IN THE *HYGROMANTEIA*a. *Introduction*

We have just seen how a Hebrew magical work dated to the fourth century CE and called *Sepher ha-Razim* was indirectly attributed to Solomon; this work depicts him as a magician and a master of secret knowledge. Now we shall analyze a magical treatise that forms part of the *Hygromanteia*, the Greek astrological work that we studied when analyzing the astrological characterization of the king.<sup>34</sup> As we have seen, the textual history and the composition of the *Hygromanteia* are quite complicated; although the astrological contents are an important part in all the branches of the textual tradition we have, there are some textual witnesses that also preserve a magical treatise within the astrological material that comprises the whole of the work. This magical treatise shares the pseudepigraphical attribution to Solomon that forms the structure of the *Hygromanteia* and the importance that astrology has in the rest of the work. In the following pages, we shall focus our study on two different aspects, one referring mainly to the structure of this magical treatise and the other to its contents. Thus, on the one hand we will analyze its structure, how it fits into the general structure of the whole *Hygromanteia*, and study whether this magical part always formed part of the *Hygromanteia*; on the other, we will study which magical techniques are attributed to Solomon, how they are linked to Solomon, how they transform the characterization of the king, and whether there are examples of this attribution in other texts that may provide us with parallels, so that we may be able to understand better the importance of the magical traditions within the different traditions linked with Solomon that we have studied in the preceding pages.

When we studied the different manuscripts that contain the different texts of *Hygromanteia of Solomon*, it was evident that we had a very fragmented textual tradition, where it was useless to try to establish a critical edition of the text. It is precisely in the magical parts of the *Hygromanteia* where the textual tradition is most fragmentary, so that first we need to establish what we will study. Of all the manuscripts that were listed in the chapter “Solomon the Astrologer,” only four (*Monacensis* 70, *Harleianus* 5596, *Parisinus* 2419, *Ath. Dion.* 282) were used to make the Synopsis that formed the basis for

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<sup>34</sup> See Ch. 8, “Solomon the Astrologer.”

our study of the contents and the structure of the *Hygromanteia* of Solomon,<sup>35</sup> only two of these four manuscripts (*Parisinus* 2419, *Harleianus* 5596) contain the magical treatise that now concerns us, and only one of them is reasonably complete (*Harleianus* 5596). Thus, at first sight, our purpose in studying this particular part of the *Hygromanteia* seems to be doomed to failure since it seems that we do not have enough textual evidence to allow that study; however, there are two other manuscripts that were listed previously<sup>36</sup> which, although also fragmentary, contain precisely the magical part of the *Hygromanteia*. Therefore, we will use these two manuscripts to study the magical treatise, in addition to *Parisinus*, as the means to verify the text of *Harleianus* 5596 that we will use as the textual basis due to its better text.<sup>37</sup>

#### b. *The Structure and Function of the Magical Treatise*

How does the “Magical Treatise” function within the whole *Hygromanteia*? Does it form part of its original layout? Does it follow the structure we found when studying the astrological material of the *Hygromanteia*? These are the principal questions we have to ask the text in order to locate it within the Solomonic traditions. Although answering them is not an easy task, we will try to do so by applying the same methods of analysis of forms and structure that have already been used in the rest of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>38</sup> Let us begin by setting out the general structure of the magical material of the *Hygromanteia*:

Pseudepigraphical introduction: instruction of Solomon to his son Rehoboam (material from *Harleianus*).

<sup>35</sup> See the Appendix 2 for the Greek Synopsis of the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>36</sup> *Codex 1265 of the National Library of Athens; Manuscript 115 of the Historic and Ethnographic Society of Athens*. See the list of manuscripts of the whole *Hygromanteia* in Ch. 8, “Solomon the Astrologer.”

<sup>37</sup> It has to be noted that the *caveat* against the “traditional” textual edition that we expressed in the Chapter “Solomon the Astrologer” has to be applied also when studying the present text. Therefore, we are not trying to establish a critical text or to draw a *stemma codicum* of the different texts; we are studying some traditions such as they appear in the several texts that we have at our disposal, so that we may be able to understand their role in the development of the different esoteric traditions linked with Solomon. Thus, when we define *Harleianus* 5596 as the better text, we do so on the basis of its fuller character and its basic fidelity to the general structure of the work.

<sup>38</sup> See Ch. 8, “Solomon the astrologer.”

## A. Magical material

- (1) Instructions to make a sword.
  - (2) Instructions to make a small drinking vessel (κονδυλίον).
  - (3) Instructions to make a small scroll (χαρτίον).
  - (4) Instructions to write with blood:
    - (a) Writing with the blood of a bat.
    - (b) Writing with the blood of a swallow.
    - (c) Writing with the blood of dove.
    - (d) Writing with the blood of bull.
  - (5) Instructions to make a figure out of wax.
  - (6) Instructions to make a figure out of clay.
  - (7) Knowledge of the moment in which it is necessary to attempt some actions.
  - (8) Interpretation about making clothes (ἱμάτια).
  - (9) About making garlands.
  - (10) About making the *ourania* (οὐράνια).
  - (11) About the ring.
  - (12) If you want to make a princess love you.
  - (13) If you want to find a treasure.
7. Another technique (πράξις) to summon the spirits: Pseudepigraphical instructions to Rehoboam (f. 30v).
- (1) *Gasteromanteia* (divination by a vessel).
  - (2) *Pibaktorumanteia* (divination by a vessel).

A. Angels and demons of each day (*Harleianus*)

B. Another horoscope of the day and night (?): hours of each day of the week and suitable actions to be performed in them (*Harleianus*; same as above in *Monacensis* 70).<sup>39</sup>

C. Plants of the seven planets (version of *Harleianus*).<sup>40</sup>

According to the above outline, the magical material follows the same structural patterns we have found in the rest of the *Hygomanteia*;<sup>41</sup> thus, a second person address to Rehoboam, which resumes the following material, occurs at the beginning of the magical instructions. The four manuscripts that preserve the magical material, completely or in part, agree *grosso modo* with its distribution and structure. Two of them (*Codex 1265 of the National Library of Athens, Manu-*

<sup>39</sup> These same material is found in the middle of *Monacensis*. See the Appendix 2 "Synopsis," p. X.

<sup>40</sup> The text of *Harleianus* 5596 is fragmentary at this point, but it has been completed from the text of *Codex Petropolitanus* 5, edited by Delatte ("Le traité des plantes planétaires," 145-177). The Greek text of the magical material can be found in the Greek synopsis of the *Hygomanteia* (see Appendix 2).

<sup>41</sup> On the general structure of the *Hygomanteia of Solomon*, see Ch. 8, "Solomon the Astrologer."

*script 115 of the Historic and Ethnographic Society of Athens*) are clearly expansive in respect of the quantity of magical material preserved, but they follow the order of *Harleianus 5596* and coincide almost exactly in the wording of the techniques described and in the spelling of the names of demons and angels. *Parisinus 2419* follows *Harleianus 5596* very closely, but it is clearly incomplete, since the final part of the material is lacking. However, *Parisinus 2419* is particularly important for understanding the structure of the *Hygromanteia* and of the magical material it includes; fortunately, this manuscript also preserves an abbreviated “pseudepigraphical introduction” in the same place as *Harleianus 5596*, that is, at the beginning of the block of magical material. Accordingly, it, too, is introduced by a unit comprising by a direct invocation of Solomon to his son Rehoboam, which we have called “pseudepigraphical introduction.” This “introduction,” like the others that appear throughout the rest of the *Hygromanteia*, together with the use of the second person, is the principal medium of attribution to Solomon. Besides, it is a powerful mechanism within the literary structure of the work, connecting the different blocks of material into a uniform whole. The “pseudepigraphical introduction” to the magical material shows this clearly:

Then, dearest son, you have learned the power of the planets, the days and the hours in which each of the planets rules, the techniques of their prayers and the demons that are subjected to them (by which you are going to pray to the angels that rule over them and to the demons that are subjected to the angels). It still remains to make known to you the instruments that are used for the technique of the congregating of spirits, especially the sword and the garments, and all the other things and all that will be said afterwards.<sup>42</sup>

Although the name of Rehoboam does not actually appear, it is clear that the vocative “dearest son” (φίλτατε υἱέ) refers to him. This unit clearly functions here as the trigger that links the magical material with what had appeared before; besides, it seems to demonstrate that the astrological and the magical material are different parts of the

<sup>42</sup> *Harleianus 5596*, f. 24<sup>v</sup> (Delatte, *Anecdota*, 406): ἰδοῦ μεμάθηκας, φίλτατε υἱέ, τὴν δύναμιν τῶν πλανήτων, τὰς τεχνὰς τῶν ευχῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς ὑποτασσομένους (ἐν οἷς μέλλεις εὐχεσθαι τοὺς τε ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐπιστατοῦντας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας ὅποῦ ὑποτάσσονται τῶν ἀγγέλων): λοιπὸν δέ σοι ἔτι εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ ὄργανα τὰ ὑπηρετοῦντα πρὸς τὴν τέχνην τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν πνευμάτων, δηλαδὴ τὴν μάχαιραν καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα δὴ καὶ οἷα ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς εἰρήσεται. For the whole Greek text see Appendix 2, “Greek Synopsis,” column 2, f. 24<sup>v</sup>.

same work, since this “pseudepigraphical unit” clearly summarizes the astrological material that precedes it and briefly introduces the magical material that will follow. Two additional details give further support to the unity of the different parts of the *Hygromanteia*: on the one hand, the astrological material functions as a kind of introduction to the magical techniques described afterwards, since these techniques presuppose all the astrological instructions as premises and conditions for their correct performance. On the other, both parts of the text share an additional trait that reinforces our hypothesis of the intrinsic unity of the *Hygromanteia*: the first part of both the astrological and the magical units has a clearly technical character. They explain the conditions, materials and times that will make it possible for Rehoboam to perform the techniques that are described afterwards; in the case of the astrological material, the previous description of the correct hours, their demons and angels, prayers to planets, etc. is ultimately important for the correct harvesting and use of plants with magical power. We find the same kind of structure within the magical material: first a detailed set of instructions to make different tools and instruments is described; afterwards, several techniques with various aims are described, in which the previously noted tools are essential. Consequently, according to the similarities of their inner structures, it is clear that the *Hygromanteia* as a whole forms a unit and that the magical material is not an appendix that was later added to the astrological material; both magic and astrology were worked into a literary composition at the same time, and by the same editor.

In the second “Pseudepigraphical Unit” the name of Rehoboam occurs explicitly in the text; within this “Pseudepigraphical Unit” there is also a set of instructions to invoke demons that shares some traits with the *Testament of Solomon*:

In many procedures, my very dear son Rehoboam, it is necessary to understand and know about the subduing of demons, since for the one who is going to subdue and to see the incorporeal spirits when they are incarnated great care is needed, as I will remind you here. Begin after the first day of the Moon, and refrain from intercourse with a woman, from meat, wine, fish and the other things; and when the eleventh of the moon comes first, fast for three days, only eating bread. And prepare some white linen clothes that have not been worn [...] And prepare also paper...<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Harleianus 5596*, f. 30; Delaite, *Anecdota*, 424: Ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν οὖν πράγμασι

This “Pseudepigraphical Unit” furnishes us with further proof of the unity of the work and of its links with Solomon, since in it there is a direct dialogue between Solomon and Rehoboam in which the king advises his son how to rule over demons by applying the techniques that have been described before. Besides, this unit introduces a long invocation to the demons of the four cardinal points, which are identified with the names of winds. This type of invocation was clearly alluded to in the introduction to the *Sefer ha-Razim*, which supposes a new link between the techniques that both texts attributed to Solomon.<sup>44</sup>

The inner unity of the *Hygromanteia* is important for the representation of the figure of Solomon since it supposes that both the characterizations of Solomon, as astrologer and as magician, go back to an earlier time, perhaps as early as the third or fourth century CE at least.<sup>45</sup> It also seems clear that both characterizations were quite intermingled, although it is quite probable that the astrological traits

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δέον διαλαβεῖν καὶ γινώσκειν περὶ τῆς ὑποτάξεως τῶν πνευμάτων, ὃ ἀκριβέστατε υἱὲ Ῥοβοάμ· ὁ γὰρ μέλλων ὑποτάξει καὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀσώματα πνεύματα σεσωματωμένα πολλῆς δέεται ἐπιμελείας, ὡς ἐνταῦθα ὑπομνήσω σε. ἄρχου ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας τῆς Σελήνης καὶ ἀπέχου ἀπὸ συνουσίας γυναικὸς καὶ κρέατος καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. καὶ ὅταν φθάσωσιν αἱ ἔνδεκα τῆς Σελήνης, ποιήσον τριήμερον νηστείαν, ἐσθίων μόνον ἄρτον. καὶ ἔχε προοικονομημένα ἱμάτια λινᾶ λευκὰ ἀφόρεστα.

<sup>44</sup> The demons are invoked according to the four cardinal points (ὄρκισμὸς τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὄρκισμὸς τοῦ βορέως, ὄρκισμὸς τῆς δύσεως, ὄρκισμὸς τοῦ νότου). See Delatte, *Anecdota*, 426-427 for the whole exorcism.

<sup>45</sup> It is quite evident that the present state of the texts is due to their reworking in the Byzantine period; however, both the original version of the text as well as the traditions it contains go back to the last centuries of paganism (third or fourth century CE), as the parallels with the magical papyri suggest. We could even defend an even earlier date as M. Smith did in his dating of two Greek Magical papyri (“A Note on Some Jewish Assimilationists: The Angels (P. Berlin 5025b, P. Louvre 2391),” *JANES* 16-17 [1984-1985], 207-212), because both his texts and the text that we are studying show the resilience of some magical praxis; thus, speaking about those two magical texts, he affirms: “The fact that not only the original, but also its major expansion in L, are entirely Jewish in nomenclature, argues for a date before the near-extirmination of the Egyptian Jews in 115-117. After that, indeed, Jewish material survived in manuscripts and undeniably continued to be used, but one would expect, when a text was being expanded, some admixture of pagan personnel. A first century A.D. date would be more likely, but perhaps, for the sociological background, one should go back to a yet earlier time [...] This would put us in the first two thirds of the first century B.C., roughly 350 years before the writing of P. Louvre 2391. Is this two large a gap? I think not. Many manuscripts written as late as A. D. 1500 contain texts of the ‘Lord’s Prayer’” (p. 212). The last affirmation could well be applied to the dating of the material contained in the *Hygromanteia*.

were earlier, and only when combined with the exorcistic traditions and the wisdom traditions that circulated around Solomon in different settings did the magical characterization acquire the importance it has in part of the *Hygromanteia*. Now, we need to study in depth some of the techniques that are associated with Solomon in the *Hygromanteia*.

### c. *The Magical Techniques of the Hygromanteia*

We have just seen how the different material of the *Hygromanteia* forms a unified block and how it shapes a figure of Solomon centered around magic and astrology. Now we will consider the several techniques that according to our text Solomon bestows on his son Rehoboam and we will relate them to magical techniques that appear in other texts, such as the *Testament of Solomon*, the *Sefer ha-Razim*, the *PGM*, and the so-called *Sword of Moses*. By doing so, we will show how the magical traditions attributed to Solomon have to be understood against the background of the magic of Late Antiquity; equally it will become apparent that, in spite of suffering some slight Christianization during its process of transmission,<sup>46</sup> our text seems to use Jewish sources that are highly syncretistic in their approach to the different magical techniques.

We have noted above that the contents of the magical material follow a quite defined distribution: they can be divided into two clear groups. In the first, Solomon apparently explains to Rehoboam how several materials and tools are to be prepared, following a detailed set of instructions. Among these instructions there are some details that interest us, since they shed some light on details of the tradition relating to Solomon as we have seen above. One of the passages that is especially relevant to us describes the process of making a sword, which later keeps appearing in the *Hygromanteia* as an essential instrument for the performing of all the techniques that are described afterwards. The instructions are quite detailed:

When you want to make the sword of the technique (with which you must draw the circle on the earth, and through which the pens of the

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<sup>46</sup> This process of Christianization is clear in a part of the tradition (*Codex 1265 of the National Library of Athens, Manuscript 115 of the Historic and Ethnographic Society of Athens*). *Harleianus 5596* and *Parisinus 2419* hardly evidence it at all, except in some clearly secondary interpolations that break the structural unit of the text, which mention Jesus Christ.

technique and the other things will be made) it is necessary to do so in this way: take iron that has brought death, a sword or a blade or something similar; then give it to the blacksmith so that he may make for you a sword that may please you [...] and fix it with a handle made of the black horn of a he-goat, and do not cut anything with it and do not put it within a scabbard, and keep it in a pure spot. It is necessary that the artisan remains pure until he finishes making it. And use it only because of its power, and not for anything else.<sup>47</sup>

The text is quite technical; it insists on the need for purity to make the sword. The importance of the sword within the *Hygromanteia* is evident, as the text clearly shows; there are parallels to this technique of the sword both in the *PGM* (*Sword of Dardanus*) and in purely Jewish works (*Sword of Moses*).<sup>48</sup> However, the sword about which these texts speak is not a material one, but consist of the knowledge of a series of names and invocations of great power, whereas the sword of which Solomon speaks in the text just quoted is a real one. This shift in the content of the sword technique could reflect a tradition based upon the biblical episode of the judgment of the two prostitutes (1 *Kings* 3:16-28), in which King Solomon uses a sword to find truth and administer justice. According to some rabbinic texts Solomon used the sword of his father David, on which the name of God was engraved, to test the nature of the woman; the procedures that the king followed could be seen as magical.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, in the light of this last parallel, the technique of the sword that the *Hygromanteia* associates with Solomon could have been inspired by a development of the biblical passage that was to lead to the transfor-

<sup>47</sup> Harleianus 5596 f. 24v; Delatte, *Anecdota*, 406: 'Οπηνίκα δὲ θέλεις ποιῆσαι τὴν μάχαιραν τῆς τέχνης (ἢ δεῖ σε ἐγχαράξαι τὸν κύκλον ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ δι' αὐτῆς γενήσονται), οὕτω δεῖ ποιεῖν. Λάβε σίδηρον τοῦ ποιήσαντα φόνον ἢ μάχαιραν ἢ σπάθην ἢ ἄλλο ὃ τι οὖν καὶ δός τὸ χαλκιᾷ ποιῆσαι σοι μάχαιραν ἀρέσκουσάν σε, κοφτερὴν ὡς αὐτήν (figura): καὶ μανίωσον αὐτὴν τραγείῳ κέρρατι μέλανι ποιήσας καλῶς αὐτήν ὀξυτάτην φύλαττε αὐτήν καθαρῶς πάνυ· καὶ μηδὲν δι' αὐτήν ἐκκόψης καὶ ἄς ἦναι χωρὶς θήκη· καὶ ἔχε αὐτήν ἐν τόπῳ καθαρῷ. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν τεχνίτην ἀνάγκη καθαρὸν ἕως τελειώσει αὐτήν ποιεῖν. καὶ χρῶ αὐτὴν ἔνεκεν ἐνεργείας αὐτῆς μόνον καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τι ἄλλο.

<sup>48</sup> On the *Sword of Dardanus* (*PGM* IV 1716-1870) see Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1:126-130; Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 69-71; this text uses many *nomina magica* that are clearly of Jewish origin. Besides, in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* 8:44 Dardanos is mentioned as one of the great wise men who were clearly superseded by Solomon. On the *Sword of Moses*, see Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, 1:288-337 (English translation), 3:369-94 (text).

<sup>49</sup> See Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 4:287-287, n. 33-34 and the sources quoted there.

mation of the spiritual sword mentioned in other magical texts into the real sword that the *Hygromanteia* speaks about. This transformation also reinforces the inner structure and connection of the different magical techniques linked to Solomon, since most of them mention the use of the sword and its key importance in the success of the magical procedures.

We have just seen that the “sword of Solomon” has considerable importance in framing the magical contents of the *Hygromanteia*. There are other techniques that have this same structural importance since they give name to the whole *Hygromanteia*; furthermore, they all share traits with other texts linked to Solomon and, what is more interesting, with a short text called the “Collapse of Solomon” that clearly shows the antiquity of these traditions. Thus, techniques of the *gasteromanteia* (divination by means of a vase), and of the *pibaktoromanteia* and of the so-called “procedure of the mirror” that appear in the *Hygromanteia*<sup>50</sup> seem to be variants of the divinatory technique of *lekanomanteia* (divination by means of a bowl) and of *Hydromanteia* (= *Hygromanteia*, or divination by means of water) that gives to the whole work its title. They all share its divinatory character and the presence of two figures, magician and student (always a “pure” boy); and we find precisely both features in the “Collapse of Solomon” (*PGM* IV 850-906), a magical text that was copied in the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, dated around the fourth century CE.<sup>51</sup> Although the text is quite long, it is worth quoting it in its entirety so that we may take a look at the technique that it describes in the following terms:

Charm of Solomon that produces a trance (works both on boys and on adults): I swear to you by the holy gods and the heavenly gods not to share the procedure of Solomon with anyone and certainly not to use it for something questionable / unless a matter of necessity forces you, lest perchance wrath be preserved for you.

Formula to be spoken: “[*nomina barbara*] Hear me, that is, my holy voice, because I call you upon your holy names, and reveal to me concerning the thing which I want, through the NN man or little boy, for otherwise I will not defend your holy and undefiled names. Come to me, you who became Hesics and were carried away by a river; inspire

<sup>50</sup> See Delatte, *Anecdota*, 429, 430, 432-34. About all those techniques see Ch. 8, “Solomon the Astrologer.”

<sup>51</sup> Since the papyrus is a copy from older writings, we can suppose that the actual date of the techniques is earlier; therefore, we could date the text to around the second or third century CE.

the NN man or boy concerning that which I ask you: [*nomina barbara*] Come to me through the NN man or little boy and tell me accurately since / I speak your names which thrice greatest Hermes wrote in Heliopolis with hieroglyphic letters: [*nomina barbara*] Enter into him and reveal to me concerning the NN matter.” After you have purified the designated man [by keeping him] from intercourse for 3 days, you yourself also being pure, enter together with him. After you have taken him up / to an open place, seat him on unbaked bricks, dress him and give him an anubian head of wheat and a falconweed plant so that he will be protected. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date plant, extend your hands/ up to heaven, toward the rays of the sun, and say the formula 7 times. Next make an offering of male frankincense after pouring out wine, beer, honey, or milk of a black cow onto grapevine wood. Then say the formula 7 times just into the ear / of the NN man or little boy, and right away he will fall down. But you sit down on the bricks and make your inquiry, and he will describe everything with truth. You should crown him with a garland of indigenous wormwood,/ both him and you, for god delights in the plant.

Dismissal of the lord: into the ear of NN: [*nomina barbara*] If he carries, sacrifice on grapevine charcoal a sesame seed [and] black cumin while saying:/ [*nomina barbara*] go away, lord, to your own thrones and protect him, NN, from all evil.” You learned thoroughly; keep it secret. The awakening [of the man or boy] is as follows: Stand away from the boy or man, having your palms spread on your buttocks, your feet together on the ground, recite [the following] often until he is moved either toward the right or toward the left: [*nomina barbara*].<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Σολομῶνος κατάπτωσις, καὶ ἐπὶ παίδων | καὶ τελείων ποιούσα· ὄμνυμί σοι θεοὺς τε ἁγίους καὶ θεοὺς οὐρανίους μη|δενὶ μεταδοῦναι τὴν Σολομῶνος πρᾶ|γματεῖαν μηδὲ μὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐχεροῦς || πράττειν, εἰ μὴ σε πράγμα ἀναγκαῖον | ἐπεὶ ξη, μὴ πῶς σοι μῆνις τηρηθῆι. | λόγος λεγόμενος· [*nomina barbara*] ἐπάκουσόν μου, τῆς ἀγ|ίας μου φωνῆς, ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι σου τὰ ἅγια | ὀνόματα, καὶ δήλωσόν μοι, περὶ οὗ θήλω | πράγματος, δια τοῦ δεῖνα ἀνθρώπου ἢ παιδίου, | ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀρκέσομαι σου τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἀμίαν|τα ὀνόματα. ἐλθέ μοι, ὁ γενάνεμος Ἐσιης | καὶ ποταμοφόρητος, ἔμπνευσον τῷ δεῖνα ἀν|θρώπῳ ἢ παιδί, περὶ οὗ σου πυνθάνομαι· | [*nomina barbara*] | δευρό μοι διὰ τοῦ δεῖνα ἀνθρώπου ἢ παιδίου | καὶ ἐξήγησόν μοι μετὰ ἀκριβείας, ἐπεὶ σου λέγω τὰ ὀνόματα, ἃ ἔγραψεν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει | ὁ τρισμέγιστος Ἐρμῆς ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμ|μασι· [*nomina barbara* with endings in -ουσιρι]· δήλωσόν μοι περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος | εἰσβάς εἰς αὐτόν. Τὸν δεῖνα ἄνθρωπον ἀγνίσας ἀπὸ συνουσίας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας γ' καὶ σὺ ἄμ' αὐτῷ ἀγνός εἰσέλθε, καὶ ἄρας αὐτόν εἰς ὑπαιθρον τόπον κάθισον αὐτόν εἰς πλίνθους ὡμάς καὶ στολίσας αὐτόν δὸς αὐτῷ ἀνουβιάδα τὸν στάχυν καὶ ἱερατικὴν [τὴν] βοτάνην εἰς τὸ φυλαχθῆναι αὐτόν. καὶ σὺ δὲ περιζῶσαι σεβενίνῳ ἀρσενικοῦ φοίνικος καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν πρὸς τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτίνας λέγε τὸν λόγον ζ', εἶτα ἐπίθου λίβανον ἀρσενικόν, εἰς ἀμπέλινῳ ξύλῳ σπέισας οἶνον ἢ ζύτον ἢ μέλι ἢ γάλα

The title itself of the text is significant: this “charm of Solomon that produces a trance” (Σολομῶνος κατάπτωσις) is described as powerful and is attributed to Solomon; as the only Solomon who gained a reputation in antiquity as exorcist and magician is King Solomon, we can suppose that the text is referring to him. The text describes carefully the invocation to be pronounced and the technical matters concerning purity, the use of various plants to gain protection against the entities invoked, and offerings of incense. The text is characterized by the invocation of demons (gods) in order to acquire knowledge, by the use of a boy as medium and catalyst between magician and gods, and by the extensive use of what can be labelled as magical botany, that is, descriptions of the types of plants that must be used during the whole procedure. Finally, the text insists on the purity of both magician and medium. Thus we have a text that can be dated to at least about the fourth century CE, attributed to King Solomon, and in which a magical technique of divination is described in detail. As there are no clear Christian traits in the text, we have to suppose that it belongs to a highly syncretized milieu and that the author of the text in its present form was either a pagan who was aware of the traditions associated with Solomon or a Jewish magician, since the text has at least one Jewish element, namely, its attribution to the king. We shall see now that there are several other texts that share these traits.

Every peculiarity that has been noted in the “Collapse of Solomon” can be found with some changes in the techniques of the *Hygromanteia of Solomon*, which was discussed above. In each, a boy who has to be pure is used by the magician (that is, Solomon or his son Rehoboam) as a medium. The so-called “divination through a vessel” (γαστερομαντεία) runs as follows:

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βοός μελαίνης, εἶτα οὕτως εἰς τὸ οὖς τοῦ δεῖνα ἀνθρώπου ἢ παιδίου ἐπιλέγε ζ' τὸν λόγον, καὶ εὐθέως πεσεῖται. σύ δὲ καθέξου ἐπὶ τὰς πλίνθοις καὶ πυνθάνου, καὶ πάντα ἀληθῆ διηγείται. χρῆ δὲ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν στεφάνῳ ἄρτεμισίας χλωρικῆς, αὐτὸν τὲ καὶ σε· ἥδεται δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῇ βοτάνῃ. ἀπόλυσις τοῦ κυριακοῦ εἰς τὸ οὖς τοῦ δεῖνα· [nomina barbara] ἐὰν δὲ βραδύνη, ἐπίθου εἰς τοῦς ἀνθρακας τοῦς ἀμπελίνους σήσαμον καὶ μελάνθιον λέγων· [nomina barbara], χώρει, κύριε, εἰς τοῦς οἰκείους σου θρόνους καὶ διαφυλάξον τὸν δεῖνα ἀπὸ πάσης κακίας. τελείως ἔμαθες· κρύβε. ἡ ἐξήχησις ἐστὶν ἡδε· στήκε ἀπὸ μακρόθεν τοῦ παιδὸς ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τῶν γλουτῶν ἐκτεταμέναις, κεκολλημένους ἔχων τοῦς πόδας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δίωκε πολλάκις, ἕως κινήθῃ ἢ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· On the present text, see Preisendanz, *PGM* 1:102-105; for the present translation see Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 55-56.

After taking a vessel, put it under the table; afterwards, throw under it a new woollen cloak and nuts from a green tree, juice of panacea, and a young shoot [...] and bring a pure boy [...] and (have) the boy look into the middle of the vessel; and say in his ear [...] I adjure you, evil and impure spirit, by the great name of God Sabaoth and by the revelation of God that he revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai, by the holy of holies and by the name of the holy angels Michael, Gabriel and Uruel and Raphael, by the name of the seven terrible angels [...] I adjure you by the God in whose presence the whole creation of visible and invisible things trembles to depart at once from this man [...] Then ask the boy if he sees a corporeal man in the middle of the vessel; and if he says, “It is in the middle”, immediately take a horn and close the mouth of the glass. And tell the boy to say to you what he sees from there. And the boy has the seal ring put on this...<sup>53</sup>

This text shares some elements with the “Charm of Solomon that produces a trance” that we examined above, although each text arranges them in a different order. Thus, the present text begins with some technical and practical instructions, whereas the “charm of Solomon” puts them after a long series of invocations and *nomina barbara*; both texts include long units of invocations, but while in the “Charm of Solomon” they are absolutely magical, in the *gasteromanteia* they refer to figures and motifs related to the Bible and Jewish-Christian magical traditions. In both texts, the role of the magician, who seems to function as a kind of master, and of the boy, who functions as medium and disciple, are evidently important.

Both texts, then, reflect the same traditions and in both texts these traditions are clearly linked to Solomon. However, Solomon does not himself perform the techniques attributed to him: in one case (*hygromanteia*) he supposedly gives instruction to his son, and the other (“charm”) is only attributed to Solomon, that is, he does not play

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<sup>53</sup> *Harleianus 5596* f. 36; Delatte, *Anecdota*, 429-430: Λαβὼν μίαν γαστέραν θές τὴν ἀπάνω εἰς τράπεζαν· εἶτα βάλε ὑποκάτωθεν μανδύλιον καινὸν καὶ καρυοφυλλάτον καὶ μόσχον καὶ χαλβάνην, [...] καὶ ἔπαρον ἕναν παρθένον παιδί· [...] καὶ νὰ ἐβλέπη τὸ παιδὶν μέσα εἰς τὴν γαστέραν. καὶ σὺ εἶπέ εἰς τὸ ξερβὸν του ὡτίον [...] τὸν ὀρκισμὸν· ὀρκίζω σε, πνεῦμα πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον, ἀπὸ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ Σαβαώθ καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ὁποῖαν ἀπεκάλυψεν τοῦ Μωυσέως εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινά, εἰς τὰ ἀγιάσματα τῶν ἀγιασμάτων καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, καὶ Ὑουρουήλ καὶ Ραφαήλ, καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἑπτα ἀγγέλων τῶν φοβερῶν [...] ὀρκίζω σας εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὃν τρέμει πᾶσα κτίσις ὀρατῶν καὶ ἀορατῶν ὅτι εὐθὺς νὰ χωρίσθης ἀπὸ τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐτοῦτον [...]. τότ' ἐρώτα τὸ παιδί ἐὰν ἐβλέπει ἀνθρώπον σαρκικὸν μέσα εἰς τὴν γαστέραν· καὶ ἂν εἶπῃ· μέσα ἐστίν, [...] καὶ τὸ παιδί νὰ ἔχη φυλακτῆριον ἀπάνω τοῦ ἐτοῦτο τὸ παρόν.

any direct role in it. This fact seems to suggest that this divinatory technique was at a very early date associated with Solomon, at least in certain circles, a date that could go back to the second century C.E. If the attribution of such a technique to Solomon was traditional, we can then understand the title of the *Hygromanteia* as a means to protect all the techniques this work contains under the aegis of a procedure that was linked to Solomon from ancient times. In this we can explain the inclusion of different versions or variants in the text, as well as its title. One of the variants, a passage describing Πιβακτορομαντεία (divination by means of a vessel), shows further points of contact with the “Charm of Solomon;” the text, slightly abbreviated, runs as follows:

Take a *pibatari*n (type of vessel) that has not been used [...] and have a pure boy with you [...] And have the sword of the art and make the throne of Solomon. And sit down, both you and the boy, in the hour in which the sun rises. And say the names eleven times in the boy’s ear [*nomina barbara*]. And when you have said them eleven times, adjure them in the following way: I adjure you, planets, whichever of you are sweet in deeds and occult to men [...], by the name of the flaming angel and of the sword that turns to and fro, by the name of your seven powerful kings and of the purple sheep and of the strong lion [...], so that I may ask you what I want. And then ask the boy [...].<sup>54</sup>

This version of the technique coincides with the “Charm of Solomon” in two additional details: both texts mention that the magician has to say the magical formula in the ear of the boy and that the boy has to be seated on a special structure (a throne in the above text and unbaked bricks in the “Charm”). This supports our hypothesis about the early linking of this divinatory technique with Solomon. Besides, the presence in the body of the invocation of a reference to the seven kings of the demons should be noted, as this reference

<sup>54</sup> *Harleianus* 5596 f. 37v; Delattre. *Anecdota*, 430: Επαρον ένα πιβατάριον ἀφόρεστον [...]. καὶ ἔχε ἕνα παιδί παρθένον μετὰ σοῦ. [...] καὶ ἔχε μάχαιραν τῆς τέχνης καὶ ποιήσον τὴν βίβαν τοῦ Σολομών. καὶ κάθισε ἐσὺ καὶ τὸ παιδί καὶ ἄς ἦναι ὥρα ποῦ ἀνατέλλει ὁ ἥλιος. Καὶ εἶπε ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ἑνδεκα φορὰς εἰς τὸ ὠτίον τοῦ παιδίου: Ασγη, Μωταργεμμη, Παγησεσεχη, Ισαχ, Ασακισουχαρ, Νουβαντα. καὶ ὡσάν ἀποπῆς τὰς ἰά φορὰς, ἄρχισε καὶ ὀρκίζε οὕτως: ὀρκίζω σας, στοιχεῖα τὰ ὁποῖα εἶσθε γλυκέα ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ἀπόκρυφα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, [...] εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ πυρίνου καὶ τῆς ῥομφαίας τῆς στρεφομένης, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἑπτὰ βασιλέων ὑμῶν τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ τοῦ πορφυροῦ προβάτου καὶ τοῦ λεόντος τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, [...] ὅτι νὰ σας ἐρωτήσω θέλω. καὶ τότε ἐρωτήσε τὸ παιδί ἂν ἤρθασιν.

is also to be found in a Jewish exorcism preserved in the Genizah.<sup>55</sup>

Finally, a last parallel to this technique has to be taken into consideration; it is found in Recension C of the *Testament of Solomon*.<sup>56</sup> This parallel strongly supports the relationship between the figure of Solomon and the magical technique of divination that appears in the other texts. In this Recension C of the *Testament* a voice from heaven communicates to Solomon the remedy for expelling the demon that is tormenting the boy:

And then one day, King Solomon, after seeing him and extending his hands towards heaven, said: “God of gods and only King of kings, reveal to me every torment of the boy by your terrible and all-hallowed name.” A voice came saying: “speak in the right ear of the boy these things: dafnōn, magata, palipoul;” write these things on a pure sheet of paper: [signa magica] and after having delivered them to fire, burn them for the purpose of fumigating him, while you hold in your hand the plant called ivy and the stone *iasafētē*; and in the fifth hour of the night, ask the boy and he will reveal to you all things.<sup>57</sup>

It is evident that the techniques that Recension C describes provide us with a direct link between the figure of King Solomon and the magical technique that we have studied in its different versions. Given the exorcistic interest of the *Testament of Solomon*, the aim of the technique is changed into exorcism, but even so, we can distinguish how the primary interest was also to learn (“he will reveal to you all things”). This passage of the *Testament* proves that a technique where Solomon uses a boy as medium was attributed to him in magical treatises. Since we can date the “Charm of Solomon” to at least

<sup>55</sup> T.S. K 1.30, l. 3 ff.; on this text, see Ch. 4, “Solomon the Exorcist,” where it is discussed.

<sup>56</sup> This recension is described by McCown as more interested in demonology as a means of revealing nature’s treasures and mysteries than in the medical aspects (McCown, *Testament of Solomon*, 32). *Parisinus 2419* contains a version of this recension as well as an abbreviated version of the *Hygromanteia*; on this version see the “Greek Synopsis” of the *Hygromanteia* in Appendix 2.

<sup>57</sup> Καὶ δὲ ἐν μίᾳ τῶν ἡμέρων ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν ἰδὼν καὶ ἐκπετάσας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· “θεὲ θεῶν καὶ μόνε βασιλεῦ βασιλέων, ἀποκάλυψόν μοι τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς πᾶσαν βάσανον διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ πανάγιον.” ἤλθε δὲ φωνὴ λέγουσα· “πρόσειπε εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν οὖς τοῦ παιδὸς τάδε· δαφνῶν· μαγατά· παλιπούλ· ἐγγραφον δὲ ποιήσον ἐν ἀγεννήτῳ χάρτη ταῦτα· \*\*\* καὶ παραδούς πυρὶ ὑποκάπνισον αὐτῷ, ἔχων δὲ καὶ βοτάνην τὴν λεγομένην κισσὸν καὶ λίθον ἰασαφήτην ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου· καὶ ἐν πέμπτῃ ὥρᾳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐρώτησον τὸν παῖδα, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ σοι ἅπαντα” (McCown, *Testament of Solomon*, p. 8, l:5-14; my translation).

around the third century CE, this attribution is quite early and is connected directly with the magical praxis of Late Antiquity. Thus Solomon was viewed as a “magician” from an early date, and this characterization was mingled with other characterizations such as those of astrologer and exorcist.

#### d. *Conclusions*

The texts that have been studied have provided us with an image of Solomon that is completely different from that of the biblical sources. They all depict Solomon as a figure who shares all the traits of a magician and emphasize knowledge and the practical aspects of magical power as principal elements.

It is likely that this picture of Solomon is the latest of all the images we have studied; it seems to be the final stage of the development of the figure of the king, a development based on both the exorcistic traditions that were linked with Solomon and the reinterpretation of the biblical theme of his wisdom, first in Hermetic terms and afterwards in magical ones. This transformation must have taken place around the third century in Jewish and/or Jewish-Christian settings that were highly syncretistic in thought and religion. Although the actual manuscripts of several of the texts studied are late, as are the sixth- or seventh-century Byzantine texts to which they witness, this does not invalidate the hypothesis, since even the present condition of the texts indicates that they are reworkings of much earlier material, which could go back to the third or fourth centuries. One fact that seems to strengthen our hypothesis is that every text mentions a technique (hydromancy), which has a parallel in a papyrus, the text of which was copied in the fourth century. The use of a boy as medium is common to them all; besides, a boy plays a role in the structure of the *Testament of Solomon* as an introductory figure and also in the *Hygromanteia* itself, where Rehoboam is understood to be a student of secret lore who is taught by Solomon. As the introduction to the *Sefer ha-Razim* provides us with parallels to many of the techniques described in the *Hygromanteia*, and they are also linked to Solomon, the characterization of Solomon as magician seems to have been known in Jewish circles where Semitic languages were spoken, which presupposes that it was quite popular among Jews in general in Late Antiquity. This popularity con-

tinued into the Middle Ages among Christian magicians, the clearest example being the Latin *Clavicula Salomonis* and its translations into several European languages and into Hebrew (*Maphteah Shelomo*).

## CHAPTER TEN

### CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages we have described how the biblical figure of King Solomon was understood and how it developed into an altogether new figure. As we have seen, even in the historical books of *Kings* there is a certain ambivalence in the treatment and consideration of Solomon. On the one hand, he is the wise king *par excellence*, touched by divine wisdom, and the glorious king who built the Temple of God, an honor denied even to David. On the other hand, he is transformed into the first person who is ultimately responsible for the secession of the north, on account of his marriage with foreign women and other offenses that the final Deuteronomistic editor regarded as capital. In a way, the development of the figure of Solomon over the following centuries follows the same lines of characterization, which are taken as the point of departure for constructing a complex typology of the king, a typology the evolution of which is linked to the changing circumstances of the Jewish groups from which it emerged.

The three characterizations that already appear in *Kings* as inextricably associated with the portrait of Solomon, namely, the wise king, the builder of the Temple, and the sinner, sometimes occur together, sometimes separately, in the typology of the king. Thus, we have seen that the Chronicler was silent about the sins of Solomon, downplayed to some extent his wisdom and depicted the construction of the Temple as his principal exploit. Even so, the Chronicler also took away some of this merit and assigned it to David, as the person responsible for the preparations that made the building possible. To a certain extent, in the postexilic period the conception of Solomon oscillates between his characterization as wise king and his portrayal as glorious builder of the Temple. Thus, whereas *Chronicles* focuses on the building aspect, *Proverbs* and *Qoheleth* highlight the importance of Solomon's legendary wisdom. But both descriptions share one important detail: Solomon is viewed first and foremost as a king, both glorious and famous.

The Jewish literature of the Second Temple adopted the principal traits with which Solomon had been depicted, but adapted them

to the new cultural and historical setting of Hellenism and the inclusion of Palestine in the Greek Mediterranean *oikoumene* supposed. The figure of Solomon was affected by those changes and the older traits of wise king, temple-builder and sinner began to be transformed by the new ways of thinking. Although some writers, like Ben Sira, continued with the traditional description of Solomon that had appeared in the Scriptures, others began to change it in subtle ways. Thus Eupolemus, the Jewish historian of the second century BCE who wrote *Concerning the Judaeian Kings*, depicted Solomon as King of kings and continues the “canonization” of David already initiated by the Chronicler, as a result of which the responsibility of Solomon for the construction of the Temple was considerably diminished. As the Temple was still the center of the Jewish homeland and of Jewish life, the figure of Solomon was still closely associated with its construction. However, little by little his portrait as wise king acquired greater weight as the Greek translation of *Kings* (second century BCE) clearly suggests. There, Solomon is transformed into a Hellenistic ruler, endowed with divine wisdom over the whole cosmos; the wording of the texts suggests that Hellenistic theories of kingship were taken into account, and the preeminence of the characterization of Solomon as wise is proved by the miscellanies of 3 *Kingdoms* 2, which insist on that aspect, using specialized Greek terms. Besides these miscellanies, the wording of 3 *Kingdoms* 5 shows clearly that the wisdom attributed to Solomon was viewed in a holistic way: it was an all-encompassing wisdom, with knowledge and dominion over the four realms of nature, air, earth, fire, water. Although it is evident that the Greek translation contains all the material concerning the building of the Temple and its description, there is a clear reinterpretation of the text with regard to the characterization of Solomon. Since we can date the Greek translation of *Kings* to the second century BCE and locate it in Alexandria, we can say as well that around this date the figure of Solomon began to be actively reinterpreted in Jewish communities that were deeply Hellenized and in which there was a clear tendency to syncretism. In this milieu, Solomon was depicted as being endowed with a practical wisdom that encompassed all the aspects of the cosmos. It seems that this perspective acquired further importance and became clearly predominant after the destruction of the Temple.

Thus, already in the first century CE the characterization of Solomon as king endowed with a special kind of wisdom was well

established, as *Wisdom of Solomon* 7 shows: Solomon was viewed as an Hermetic sage, a master of all physical things (*magister omnium physicorum*), with knowledge and power even over the spirits, that is, the demons. In his *Jewish Antiquities*, Josephus develops the characterization of Solomon as wise king, but besides adding what we have called Hermetic features, he explicitly mentions Solomon skill as exorcist, noting that even in the historian's own time Solomon's exorcistic powers remained intact. It is quite likely that both texts knew of a Jewish tradition in which Solomon was depicted as a powerful exorcist. This tradition must have existed before being added to the characterization of Solomon as Hermetic sage, which was favored by the older exorcistic tradition. As 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> shows, the Qumran sectarians were aware of such a tradition, which was linked with an identification formula ("who are you?"). This formula is also associated linked with Solomon in the *Testament of Solomon*, where it functions as the structuring device of the work. Although 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> is dated to the first century CE, according to paleographical analysis, and the *Testament of Solomon* can be dated to around the fourth century CE, the similarities in the use of the formula are so striking that the same chain of tradition is to be suspected. Besides, parallels furnished by *Hekhalot* and apocalyptic texts attest the existence of such an identificatory formula.

However, we have also seen how the characterization of Solomon as exorcist had other developments, such as the one that links the title "Son of David" with Solomon, or the amulets in which Solomon, depicted as a horseman, pierces a female demon with a lance. The title "Son of David" was applied to Solomon at an early date and already by the first century CE was clearly linked with the portrait of Solomon as exorcist. Around the same time it was also applied to Jesus, establishing a competition between both figures as exorcists, a competition that was continued by Jews and Christians, as we have seen in the polemical writings of Greek fathers from the third century on. Jewish bowls and amulets also witness the presence of the title "Son of David" applied to Solomon in exorcisms from the third century on. Several Christian amulets provide further support for it.

The Greek amulets in which Solomon appears as subduing demons show the popularity of the exorcistic characterization of Solomon and its presence in every-day life. The parallels furnished by several Jewish and Mandaean bowls suggest that this portrait of

Solomon was also known in Jewish-speaking circles. Besides, it seems likely that they gave rise to the later iconography of Saint George and the dragon.

The esoteric images of Solomon are completed by his characterization as astrologer and magician. Both arise from the relationship established between Solomon and the special kind of practical wisdom that we have described in connection with Solomon as Hermetic sage. Thus, astrological details were incorporated into the *Jewish Antiquities*, *Wisdom of Solomon* and the *Testament of Solomon*, but they do not shape a new characterization of the king. This characterization comes to light in the *Hygromanteia of Solomon*, which describes Solomon as the master of astrological knowledge. This work, as well as Ch. 18 of the *Testament of Solomon*, has a new demonology in which the demons are transformed into astrological entities over which Solomon has practical knowledge, being able then to control them. Although this astrological characterization of Solomon was popular in Hellenized and syncretistic Jewish settings, it was also widespread in communities that used Aramaic and Hebrew, as clearly suggested by various pieces of evidence from Aramaic bowls and Hebrew amulets. Even in rabbinic texts (*Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*, *Qohelet Rabbah*) this characterization of Solomon as astrologer was alluded to, which proves that it was also known in less Hellenized Jewish communities.

Solomon and astrology appear in intimate connection at least from the second century CE and this relationship again has as its main basis the characterization of Solomon as wise king. Solomon is represented as astrologer because it was believed that he knew about the times relating to the planets and their servants, the demons and angels. When he is represented as magician, his knowledge becomes completely active, so that is able to manipulate the reality to his advantage, or at least to the advantage of any one who could use his writings and the knowledge / power that they bestowed. His characterization as magician seems to be the last step in the development of the wisdom trait: Solomon becomes a magician when knowledge / wisdom becomes identified with power or gives access to power. This identification was always latent in the practical wisdom that Hellenized Jewish communities attributed to the king, and was favored by the exorcistic traditions about the king's power over demons, which were widespread at least from the first century CE. This magical representation of Solomon was widespread in non-

Greek speaking communities as well, but there the exorcistic tradition was predominant and we have only hints of Solomon as magician, as in the introduction to the *Sepher ha-Razim*, which has many points of contact with the magical arts attributed to the king in the *Hygromanteia of Solomon*. It seems that the rabbis interpreted and transformed Solomon's practical wisdom into knowledge of the Torah, thus describing him as a paradigm of a rabbinic sage. They praised Solomon's great mastery of the Torah and deliberately downplayed the esoteric traditions about Solomon's wisdom, traditions that, in spite of everything, survived on the fringes of the every-day life of even the rabbinically-oriented communities of Palestine and Babylon, as the bowls and amulets clearly show. If we go beyond the boundaries of rabbinic orthodoxy, we find works like the *Sepher ha-Razim*, which clearly show how magic and the magical view of Solomon permeated the necessities of daily life, which were otherwise overlooked. The rabbinic sources are aware of the traditions that describe Solomon as exorcist, astrologer, or magician, but these traditions are downplayed by being transformed into legendary stories. Thus, the practical contents of the Greek works attributed to Solomon are absent from the rabbinic texts, as they are also absent from the Islamic adaptations of those traditions.

The popularity that the astrological and magical characterization of Solomon enjoyed in syncretistic and Hellenized Jewish circles was continued in Christian astrology and magic, which transmitted many of the works attributed to Solomon and preserved the esoteric traditions and procedures associated with them. Although these works were slightly re-worked during their transmission, they display their Jewish origin, and comprise the handbooks of astrologers and magicians all around the Mediterranean until the nineteenth century. If we had to establish an approximate chronology for this development it would be the following: in the middle of the second century BCE, Hellenized communities of Alexandria began to transform the figure of Solomon as wise king into a Hellenistic king with attributes of the Hermetic sage. This change was very gradual and incorporated other Jewish traditions that associated Solomon with power over demons. Initially (first century CE), the exorcistic traditions were apotropaic in their aims and they remained such in the less Hellenized environments and practices that the Aramaic bowls and the Hebrew amulets of later periods reflect. Afterwards, in the more Hellenized Jewish communities, the Hermetic characterization trans-

forms the passive and protective goals embodied in the figure of Solomon as exorcist into images in which the king plays an active role, first as astrologer, then as magician. This final change could have taken place around the second or third century, and is paralleled by Philostratus' description of the philosopher Appolonius of Tyana. Afterwards, from the fourth century on, Solomon was described both as astrologer and magician, and these characterizations enjoyed considerable popularity in syncretistic Hellenized Jewish circles. Later, "Christian" magicians and astrologers transmitted the very same writings and attributions, which survived as the handbooks of medieval and modern practitioners of the esoteric. In fact, works such as the so-called *Clavicula Salomonis*, *Maphteah Shelomo*, seem to have had those traditions and writings about Solomon as their source.

APPENDIX ONE

A TRANSLATION OF THE *HYGROMANTEIA OF SOLOMON*

*The little key to the entire art of divination through water, discovered by several craftsmen and the holy prophet Solomon, in which he seems to write to his son Rehoboam*

Pay attention, my very dear son Rehoboam, to the exactness of this art of mine—your father Solomon—, to the procedures, in which the whole matter of divination through water lies, because it is necessary before anything [...] to master the observations of the planets and of the signs of the Zodiac and to follow them and perform them according to your will.

Roboam asks his father Solomon:

Father, where does the force of the acts lie?

Solomon responds:

The entire art, grace and force of what is sought dwells in plants, words and stones. First of all, know the positions of the seven planets; because the seven planets lead the seven days of the week; let us begin from the first day of the week, that is, from the Sun's day.<sup>1</sup> And in the first period we assume that the Sun rules, and, in the same way, we will explain the others that follow.

Inquiry.

Inquiry about the seven planets and about what it is necessary to do in the periods when they are masters of the seven days of the week.

On the Lord's day the Sun is master.

On the first day, the sun rules, first hour [...].

On the second, Aphrodite [is mistress]: [it is a good hour] for getting the love of those who have absolute power, great men and tyrants.

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<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς κυριακῆς. Literally 'from the day of the lord.' Evidently it is a Christian form, but the author employs it in a pagan setting, applying the adjective to the Sun, the Lord of the ἄστρα.

At the third hour, Hermes: they favor the fortune of those who have absolute power.

At the fourth hour, the Moon; [a good hour] for you to associate with the all-powerful.

At the fifth hour, Kronos; [a good hour] for you to reject fortune.

At the sixth hour, Zeus; [a good hour] for you to be bound before the powerful ones.

At the seventh hour, Ares; take care to do nothing.

At the eighth hour, Helios; labor, because you lack wealth.

At the ninth hour, Aphrodite; and the lords likewise.

At the tenth hour, Hermes; [an hour] for you to retreat.

At the eleventh hour, the Moon; [a good hour] so that you may begin a meeting.

At the twelfth hour, Kronos: you will not do anything at all.

At the thirteenth hour, Zeus: speak in aid of friends.

At the fourteenth hour, Ares: you will thwart a deed.

At the fifteenth hour, Helios: you will dream of a king.

At the sixteenth hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for you to dream of a princess.

At the seventeenth hour, Hermes; you will not do anything at all.

At the eighteenth hour, the Moon: a good hour for business.

At the nineteenth hour, Kronos: take care not to do anything.

At the twentieth hour, Zeus: make friendships among the all powerful.

At the twenty-first hour, Ares: make difficulties.

At the twenty-second hour, Helios: [a good hour] for being introduced to the king.

At the twenty-third hour, Aphrodite: present yourself to the princess.

At the twenty-fourth hour, Hermes: rest.

On the second day, the Moon rules.

At the first hour, the moon is mistress and it is good for writing a contract for selling and for the market-place.

At the second hour, Kronos [is master]: a bad hour.

At the third hour, Zeus: a good hour so that you will open workshops.

At the fourth hour, Ares: [a good hour] so that you will avoid workshops.

At the fifth hour, Helios: [a good hour] so that you will begin selling.

At the sixth hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for dealings.

At the seventh hour, Hermes: [a good hour] so that you will go on a journey.

At the eighth hour, the Moon: [a good hour] so that you will buy something in the market.

At the ninth hour, Kronos: [a good hour] so that you will thwart [something].

At the tenth hour, Zeus: try to set up a business.

At the eleventh hour, Ares: [a good hour] for you to make your fortune.

At the twelfth hour, Helios: set up a business.

At the thirteenth hour, Aphrodite: rest yourself.

At the fourteenth hour, Hermes: act for the profit of life.

At the fifteenth hour, the Moon: worry about your business enterprises.

At the sixteenth hour, Kronos: do not worry at all.

At the seventeenth hour, Zeus: write and speak as well.

At the eighteenth hour, Ares: he is an impediment and he goes against [you].

At the nineteenth hour, Helios: begin all legal procedures.

At the twentieth hour, Aphrodite: rest and worry.

At the twenty-first hour, Hermes: set the thing in motion and stir it.

At the twenty-second hour, the Moon: vote the disposition.

At the twenty-third hour, Kronos: do not worry about anything.

At the twenty-fourth hour, Zeus: open your workshop.

On the third day, Ares is master.

At the first hour of the third day, Ares is master. It is good so that you will work with paper and you will win the war and other things.

At the second hour, Helios: [a good hour] for you to earn money.

At the third hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for you to a demonstration.

At the fourth hour, Hermes: [a good hour] so that you will march to battle.

At the fifth hour, the Moon: [a good hour]; you will march and escape.

At the sixth hour, Kronos: be aware of your enemy.

At the seventh hour, Zeus: [a good hour] to become visible to your enemies.

At the eighth hour, Ares: help yourself.

At the ninth hour, Helios: you take the money from the fortress.

At the tenth hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for domination.

At the eleventh hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for protesting.

At the twelfth hour, the Moon: the hour of spoiling.

At the thirteenth hour, Kronos: be careful of everything.

At the fourteenth hour, Zeus: [a good hour] to suffer calumny.

At the fifteenth hour, Ares: [a good hour] to act for salvation.

At the sixteenth hour, Helios: no gain at all.

At the seventeenth hour, Aphrodite: jealousy manifests itself.

At the eighteenth hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for escaping.

At the nineteenth hour, the Moon: [a good hour] for overcoming the adversary in a law suit.

At the twentieth hour, Kronos: [a good hour] for attacking the enemy.

At the twenty-first hour, Zeus: [a good hour] for keeping concealed.

At the twenty-second hour, Ares: pray to the god.

At the twenty-third hour, Helios: manifest yourself in battle.

At the twenty-fourth hour, Aphrodite: an enviable hour.

On the fourth day, Hermes is master.

At the first hour of the fourth day, Hermes is master: it is good for making things disappear and suchlike and for teaching a child.

At the second hour, the Moon: [a good hour] for resting and being of good cheer.

At the third hour, Kronos: a useless hour.

At the fourth hour, Zeus: [a good hour] for practising alchemy.

At the fifth hour, Ares: [a good hour] for proclaiming concealed things.

At the sixth hour, Helios: [an hour] for despising the ravager.

At the seventh hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for influencing on a woman.

At the eighth hour, Hermes: [an hour] for making a tribunal.

At the ninth hour, the Moon: [a good hour] for going out with a woman.

At the tenth hour, Kronos: be careful!

At the eleventh hour, Zeus: begin the path concerning that which you desire.

At the twelfth hour, Ares: do not do anything.

At thirteenth hour, Helios: begin the above instruction.

At the fourteenth hour, Aphrodite: begin the prayer.

At the fifteenth hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for dreaming.

At the sixteenth hour, the Moon: [a good hour] for making wands.

At the seventeenth hour, Kronos: a useless hour.

At the eighteenth hour, Zeus: [a good hour] for punishing certain people.

At the nineteenth hour, Ares: [a good hour] for taking retribution.

At the twentieth hour, Helios: hour useful to all.

At the twenty-first hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for dreams.

At the twenty-second hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for the learning of letters.

At the twenty-third hour, the Moon: an hour of the installment.

At the twenty-fourth hour, Kronos: a useless hour.

On the fifth day, Zeus is master.

At the first hour of the fifth day, Zeus is master. And it is good for performing cures on men and beasts.

At the second hour, Ares: a useless hour.

At the third hour, Helios: [a good hour] for appearing in front of kings.

At the fourth hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for appearing in front of queens.

At the fifth hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for the learning of rhetoric.

At the sixth hour, the Moon: [a good hour] for suspicions.

At the seventh hour, Kronos: in this hour, keep watch!

At the eighth hour, Zeus: good and blessed hour.

At the ninth hour, Ares: hour to make people jealous.

At the tenth hour, Helios: [a good hour] for doing good to the body.

At the eleventh hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for healing a woman.

At the twelfth hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for being very far away from home.

At the thirteenth hour, the Moon: [a good hour] for making a fortune.

At the fourteenth hour, Kronos: a useless hour.

At the fifteenth hour, Zeus: an hour for any healing.

At the sixteenth hour, Ares: [a good hour] for making an incision.

At the seventeenth hour, Helios: [a good hour] for the king's service.

At the eighteenth hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for serving the princess.

At the nineteenth hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for not being afraid of robbers.

At the twentieth hour, the Moon: a useful hour.

At the twenty-first hour, Kronos: a useless hour.

At the twenty-second hour, Zeus: in this useful hour, do what you want.

At the twenty-third hour, Ares: [a good hour] for throwing [yourself] into battle.

At the twenty-fourth hour, Helios: do [things] concerning the very rich and powerful.

On the day of preparation Aphrodite is mistress.<sup>2</sup>

At the first hour of the day of preparation, Aphrodite is mistress: thus, do things concerning love and affection.

At the second hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for indications of public recognition.<sup>3</sup>

At the third hour, the Moon: good for anything.

At the fourth hour, Kronos: obstacle to love.

At the fifth hour, Zeus: [a good hour] for gifts and good relations.

At the sixth hour, Ares: [a good hour] for producing the jealousy of love.

At the seventh hour, Helios: good and lovable hour.

At the eighth hour, Aphrodite: good hour to make love.<sup>4</sup>

At the ninth hour, Hermes: an hour for indication of courtship.

At the tenth hour, the Moon: a beautiful hour if you want to do something.

At the eleventh hour, Kronos: it is a useless hour.

At the twelfth hour, Zeus: [a good hour] for making a covenant.

At the thirteenth hour, Ares: in this hour, begin the courtship.

<sup>2</sup> παρασκευῆ, in Judaism, the Day of Preparation, before the Sabbath or Passover, cf. Mark 15.42, and Luke 23.54 (ἡμέρα παρασκευῆς).

<sup>3</sup> προξενήματα; I have translated προξένησις as an alternative.

<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι ἀγαπήν; perhaps it could also mean "a good hour for making a friendship."

At the fourteenth hour, Helios: [a good hour] for binding the androgynous [demon].

At the fifteenth hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for making bonds of love.

At the sixteenth hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for having dreams of love.

At the seventeenth hour, the Moon: a good hour.

At the eighteenth hour, Kronos: [a good hour] to have dreams of love.

At the nineteenth hour, Zeus: [a good hour] for acting in favor of any good disposition.

At the twentieth hour, Ares: do not do anything at all.

At the twenty-first hour, Helios: good hour.

At the twenty-second hour, Aphrodite: hour of love.

At the twenty-third hour, Hermes: hour for alchemy.

At the twenty-fourth hour, the Moon: [a good hour] for being in need.<sup>5</sup>

On the Sabbath day, Kronos is master.

At the first hour of the Shabbat, Kronos is master and it is an hour so that you will harm your enemy, that is, so that you will make the man ill.

At the second hour, Zeus: [a good hour] so that you will produce the shipwreck of someone.

At the third hour, Ares: [good hour] so that you will set up enchantments.

At the fourth hour, Helios: [a good hour] so that you will attack those who have power.

At the fifth hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] so that you will cause the androgynous one to be hated.

At the sixth hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for finding a useful treasure.

At the seventh hour, the Moon: [a good hour] for speaking with demons.

At the eighth hour, Kronos: [a good hour] for performing divination through dishes.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *περὶ ὑστερήσεως*; it seems to be a Christian term; cf. Mark 12.44, Phil 4.11.

<sup>6</sup> *λεκανομαντίας*.

At the ninth hour, Zeus: [a good hour] for performing necromancy.

At the tenth hour, Ares: [a good hour] for people to be drowned at the sea.

At the eleventh hour, Helios: [a good hour] for you to provoke the wrath of adversaries in a lawsuit.

At the twelfth hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] so that you will produce fear and enmity.

At the thirteenth hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for the useful finding of secrets.

At the fourteenth hour, the Moon: [a good hour] for seeing the ones who have died a long time ago.

At the fifteenth hour, Kronos: [a good hour] for seeing by divination through water.<sup>7</sup>

At the sixteenth hour, Zeus: [an hour] useful for education.

At the seventeenth hour, Ares: [an hour] that is very hurtful.

At the eighteenth hour, Helios: a useless hour.

At the nineteenth hour, Aphrodite: [a good hour] for getting profit from dice.

At the twentieth hour, Hermes: [a good hour] for hindering any beautiful thing.

At the twenty-first hour, the Moon: an useless hour.

At the twenty-second hour, Kronos: [a good hour] for having visions.

At the twenty-third hour, Zeus: [an hour] useful for enjoyment.

At the twenty-fourth hour, Ares: an hour of war and enmity.

Know, my very dear son Roboam, that one good angel and one evil demon are lords at each hour. If you want to do a good deed, adjure the good angel, so that he may be an ally to you; if you want to do any other, bad, deed, adjure the demon, so that he may be your ally; and you will do so, if you want something. It starts easily in this way.

	Angels and demons of the Lord's day	
In the first h.	angel Michaēl	demon Asmodai.
in the 2nd h.	angel Argphnaēl	demon Ornai.
in the 3rd h.	angel Perouēl	demon Pērrath.
in the 4th h.	angel Iōraēl	demon Silēdon.

<sup>7</sup> ὑγρομαντίαν.

in the 5th h.	angel Piel	demon Sitros.
in the 6th h.	angel Iōchth	demon Zephar.
in the 7th h.	angel Pel	demon Manier.
in the 8th h.	angel Ioran	demon Osmie.
in the 9th h.	angel Kataċl	demon Pnix.
in the 10th h.	angel Bidouēl	demon Gērat.
in the 11th h.	angel Ēmdiēl	demon Nēsta.
in the 12th h.	angel Sanaċl	demon Peliōr.
in the 13th h.	angel Opsiċl	demon Ho Istos.
in the 14th h.	angel Teraċl	demon Apios.
in the 15th h.	angel Lysiel	demon Nēgmos.
in the 16th h.	angel Nalouēl	demon Arax.
in the 17th h.	angel Orkiēl	demon Nēstriaph.
in the 18th h.	angel Periēl	demon Askinos.
in the 19th h.	angel Iarēl	demon Kinopigos.
in the 20th h.	angel Athouēl	demon Araps.
in the 21st h.	angel Thamaniēl	demon Tartarouēl.
in the 22nd h.	angel Bradaċl	demon Melmeth.
in the 23rd h.	angel Klinos	demon Mēthridanou.
in the 24th h.	angel Iōn	demon Phrodainos.

Angels and demons of the second day

In the first h.	angel Gabriċl	demon Mamonas.
in the 2nd h.	angel Pharsaphaċl	demon Skoliōn.
in the 3rd h.	angel Pindōēl	demon Thetidōph.
in the 4th h.	angel Kopiēl	demon Arban.
in the 5th h.	angel Kelekiel	demon Azan.
in the 6th h.	angel Tariēl	demon Memachth.
in the 7th h.	angel Mniēl	demon Skamidinos.
in the 8th h.	angel Ezekiēl	demon Stirphan.
in the 9th h.	angel Iōēl	demon Giram.
in the 10th h.	angel Sinaēl	demon Menaktinos.
in the 11th h.	angel Menaēl	demon Menaktinos.
in the 12th h.	angel Rochaēl	demon Mexiphon.
in the 13th h.	angel Arċsiċl	demon Outolōch.
in the 14th h.	angel Traphēdoēl	demon Nyktidōn.
in the 15th h.	angel Akinatiēl	demon Ouistos.
in the 16th h.	angel Organiēl	demon Kasierōph.
in the 17th h.	angel Rōmatiēl	demon Kēsiepopos.
in the 18th h.	angel Selpidōn	demon Androphai.

in the 19th h.	angel Outitōm	demon Niōech.
in the 20th h.	angel Metabiēl	demon Entauros.
in the 21st h.	angel Akbaēl	demon Syritōr Phlinaphe.
in the 22nd h.	angel Eikoniēl	demon Kyknit.
in the 23rd h.	angel Genekiēl	demon Kēnops.
in the 24th h.	angel Krotiēl	demon Sarkidōn.

Angels and demons of the third day

In the first h.	angel Samouēl	demon Kakistōn.
in the 2nd h.	angel Isamēl	demon Lithridōn.
in the 3rd h.	angel Phrereēl	demon Mailōth.
in the 4th h.	angel Eudēl	demon Sarapidie.
in the 5th h.	angel Piktōēl	demon Tartarouēl.
in the 6th h.	angel Okaēl	demon Kerinoudalos.
in the 7th h.	angel Gnathaēl	demon Klinotios.
in the 8th h.	angel Perganiēl	demon Tyrrytōr.
in the 9th h.	angel Gestiēl	demon Plēlatan.
in the 10th h.	angel Legmiel	demon Sythlos.
in the 11th h.	angel Nachōēl	demon Osthridie.
in the 12th h.	angel Oknan	demon Omimot.
in the 13th h.	angel Gorphil	demon Aprox.
in the 14th h.	angel Patiēl	demon Skōēn.
in the 15th h.	angel Partan	demon Prophai.
in the 16th h.	angel Saltiēl	demon Achlitōl.
in the 17th h.	angel Abaēl	demon Ornan.
in the 18th h.	angel Stragiēl	demon Chalmōth.
in the 19th h.	angel Opadouēl	demon Touddedēn.
in the 20th h.	angel Marniēl	demon Tephra.
in the 21st h.	angel Mēthniēl	demon Niran.
in the 22nd h.	angel Stirōel	demon Rakirō.
in the 23rd h.	angel Ismatiēl	demon Irgotie.
in the 24th h.	angel Triziōēl	demon Gegaōr.

Angels and demons of the fourth day

In the first h.	angel Ouriēl	demon Loutzipher.
in the 2nd h.	angel Arakēl	demon Goukoumōr.
in the 3rd h.	angel Miemphiēl	demon Eispniryx.
in the 4th h.	angel Trōsiel	demon Midōkēt.
in the 5th h.	angel Chartisiel	demon Ntadadiph.

in the 6th h.	angel Sphykinoēl	demon Skintogēr.
in the 7th h.	angel Oulōdias	demon Phnidōtas.
in the 8th h.	angel Kalbagiel	demon Karatan.
in the 9th h.	angel Skitamiēl	demon Miag.
in the 10th h.	angel Tirōēl	demon Gatzar.
in the 11th h.	angel Miel	demon Pnidōr.
in the 12th h.	angel Charakiēl	demon Toiblas.
in the 13th h.	angel Ydrōēl	demon Taxipōn.
in the 14th h.	angel Sidrēl	demon Ophitan.
in the 15th h.	angel Parapiēl	demon Abluchos.
in the 16th h.	angel Mourouēl	demon Malakis.
in the 17th h.	angel Kourtaēl	demon Bleminch.
in the 18th h.	angel Koupeēl	demon Cheirōn.
in the 19th h.	angel Peraniēl	demon Ephippas.
in the 20th h.	angel Santaēl	demon Orkistaph.
in the 21st h.	angel Katziēl	demon Loginaph.
in the 22nd h.	angel Louliēl	demon Pharōs.
in the 23rd h.	angel Saltaēl	demon Roktat.
in the 24th h.	angel Gabtel	demon Opnax.

Angels and demons of the fifth day

In the first h.	angel Raphaēl	demon Meltiphrōn.
in the 2nd h.	angel Perniphel	demon Ochlos.
in the 3rd h.	angel Kisphaēl	demon Ouēros.
in the 4th h.	angel Kaliēl	demon Thaphōt.
in the 5th h.	angel Glōstas	demon Tzippat.
in the 6th h.	angel Mnimeēl	demon Amōr.
in the 7th h.	angel Chalriēl	demon Orphōr.
in the 8th h.	angel Skiaēl	demon Outaēt.
in the 9th h.	angel Misoēl	demon Ergōtas.
in the 10th h.	angel Dalbōth	demon Azouboul.
in the 11th h.	angel Chartōēl	demon Aplēx.
in the 12th h.	angel Kiphar	demon Sigōs.
in the 13th h.	angel Sitioēl	demon Asmōdas.
in the 14th h.	angel Bokiel	demon Ouōch.
in the 15th h.	angel Senoēl	demon Nikokep.
in the 16th h.	angel Oriator	demon Kopinos.
in the 17th h.	angel Chumeriēl	demon Kaēte.
in the 18th h.	angel Orphniēl	demon Lastōr.
in the 19th h.	angel Kidouēl	demon Epiē.

in the 20th h.	angel Goth	demon Organ.
in the 21st h.	angel Phisnael	demon Nierier.
in the 22nd h.	angel Karaaēl	demon Oualielos.
in the 23rd h.	angel Kōndar	demon Galielōr.
in the 24th h.	angel Kispōl	demon Choukan.

Angels and demons of the Day of Preparation

In the first h.	angel Agathouēl	demon Gouliōn.
in the 2nd h.	angel Nidouēl	demon Bizēk.
in the 3rd h.	angel Amphiloēl	demon Zorzorath.
in the 4th h.	angel Kanikel	demon Raphiōph
in the 5th h.	angel Seliniel	demon Ermag.
in the 6th h.	angel Karkanpher	demon Kerinoudalos.
in the 7th h.	angel Aniel	demon Tabaltalis.
in the 8th h.	angel Mouriēl	demon Thapnix.
in the 9th h.	angel Tophatiēl	demon Eliasem.
in the 10th h.	angel Skirtouēl	demon Amich.
in the 11th h.	angel Armōēl	demon Galgidōn.
in the 12th h.	angel Oтраēl	demon Ephirit.
in the 13th h.	angel Talkidonios	demon Staget.
in the 14th h.	angel Roudiēl	demon Anthēros.
in the 15th h.	angel Thēkiel	demon Pēzētos.
in the 16th h.	angel Glukidōl	demon Aprich.
in the 17th h.	angel Psalmatios	demon Niphōn.
in the 18th h.	angel Stauphnēl	demon Otrichos.
in the 19th h.	angel Deaukōn	demon Chimeri.
in the 20th h.	angel Asphodoēl	demon Melu.
in the 21st h.	angel Petilōl	demon Kapnithel.
in the 22nd h.	angel Gorgiel	demon Tachman.
in the 23rd h.	angel Bataaniēl	demon Oukisem.
in the 24th h.	angel Poliōn	demon Ouniphēr.

Angels and demons of the Sabbath

In the first h.	angel Sabapiel	demon Klēndatōr.
in the 2nd h.	angel Salōēl	demon Cheirim.
in the 3rd h.	angel Besaēl	demon Spindōr.
in the 4th h.	angel Abaēl	demon Keriak.
in the 5th h.	angel Gielmōn	demon Nikem.
in the 6th h.	angel Retaēl	demon Mōriēl.
in the 7th h.	angel Pelaphiēl	demon Suniberōm.

in the 8th h.	angel Samōsan	demon Aphios.
in the 9th h.	angel Pletanix	demon Thorios.
in the 10th h.	angel Marmichaēl	demon Stelpha.
in the 11th h.	angel Ntecharinx	demon Kupōs.
in the 12th h.	angel Arkiēl	demon Skar.
in the 13th h.	angel Geabiēl	demon Tēchar.
in the 14th h.	angel Pitriel	demon Akrōk.
in the 15th h.	angel Golgoēl	demon Argitan.
in the 16th h.	angel Sanipiēl	demon Atomeos.
in the 17th h.	angel Belaraēl	demon Gnōtas.
in the 18th h.	angel Opiael	demon Merkou.
in the 19th h.	angel Ophniēl	demon Enaritar.
in the 20th h.	angel Patriēl	demon Niouchan.
in the 21st h.	angel Ianiēl	demon Amphou.
in the 22nd h.	angel Kondiēnēl	demon Mankōs.
in the 23rd h.	angel Ouxounouēl	demon Moigrōn.
in the 24th h.	angel Thanaēl	demon Nigrisph.

I impress upon you a method so that you, very dear Roboam, may know that it is completely necessary to know the hour in which you want to accomplish your will: first, utter the prayer of the planet that it is found in that hour; afterwards, adjure the angel and the servant, that is, the demon. The prayer of Kronos is the following:

#### Prayer of Kronos.

Eternal God, ungovernable power, you who regulate all for our salvation, give us grace so that I may subdue the terrible planet to my will. I adjure you, Planet Kronos, by your path and your sky,<sup>8</sup> by your inheritance and your heaven, by your shining and your power, and by these names of yours, Gasial, Agounsael, Atasser, Beltoliel, Mentzatzia, to give me grace, force and power in the hour in which you rule.

#### Prayer of Zeus.

Lord and God, all powerful father, creator of the visible and invisible, king of those who rule and lord of those who are lords, give us the power of your grace, so that Zeus may be subject to us, because all is possible for you, Lord. I adjure you, Zeus, by your wisdom and

<sup>8</sup> ἄέθων (?).

your knowledge, by your curative force and your heavenly course in which you orbit and by these names, Anōph, Orsita, Atnox, Onigeui, Atziniel, Ankanitei, Tyneos, Genier, Kaniptza, to incline your grace in subjection to me in this deed that I am doing.

#### Prayer of Ares.

Fearful God, indescribable God, invisible God, whom no one among men saw or can see, whom the abysses saw and they shuddered, and the animals were killed. Show grace to us, so that we may subject the planet Ares. I adjure you, fiery Ares, by the god who has created the sensible essences and the whole fiery army; I adjure you by your forces and your course, and by your shining and by these names, Outat, Nouēt, Chorēzē, Tiniaē, Dachli, Ampira, Noliem, Siat, Adichaēl, Tzanas, Plēs̄ym, to give me your grace because of this service.

#### Prayer of Helios

King of those who rule and Lord of those who are lords, the origin that is prior to the beginnings, ever-flowing power, inconceivable light, boundless light, the only provider of wealth, the dispenser of the mercy, observe us through your grace and kindness so that we may be able to subdue Helios, the planet now present and to hold fast his force. I adjure you, untouched, unextinguishable, splendour of the day, Helios, by your temporal cycle, by your four seasons, and by your course, by your rays, by your wings, by your powers and by these your names: Glibiōd, Antikon, Lithetioud, Touldōrag, Ēmnōan; by these names I adjure you; do not disobey me,<sup>9</sup> but through your grace, assist me in this service.

#### Prayer of Aphrodite.

Unique good God, warder of the evil by love of men, you who infinitely posses an inscrutable sea of goodness, besides which is the good heart of friendship, I prostrate myself in front of your love of men, so that you may give us power and grace, so that you may give me useful and practicalbe power force [and] this planet, so that I may do these things; I adjure you, very beautiful and sweet Aphrodite, by your grace and your course and your power and your sweetness and by these names, Ēmreth, Labm, Suar, Satēr, Toid,

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<sup>9</sup> For this meaning of παρακούω, cf. LXX Isa 65.12.

Toutimar, Pesphodōn, Sirōph, Kakem, Setiap. By these [names] I adjure you not to disobey me but at least to give me your grace, in order that I may be able to do such-and-such a thing.

#### Prayer of Hermes

Almighty lord, searcher of wisdom and knowledge, craftsman of heavenly things and of those that are above the heavens, all-seeing and powerful, give us your grace, such as that of the planet Hermes, which you left behind so that we could do such and such: I adjure you, all wise, very learned and intelligent, easily-detected and very wakeful Hermes, by your wisdom and your eloquence and by the sphere in which you walk about, and by these name,: Nēphan, Piout, Nomēn, Selak, Merepōn, Stemēnos, Kazētok, Miōt, to incline your grace and power in subjection to me for this deed I want to accomplish.

#### Prayer of the Moon

Lord, master you who are lord of the living and the dead, you who created man with wisdom so that he might be master of the creatures that came into being through you, with piety and understanding, attend to me, so that I, your slave, may be able to receive the grace and subject the planet Moon and perform the deed I am set upon. I adjure you, Moon, very ripe purple adornment of the sky and relief of the night. I adjure you by your course, and by your renewal and by your unmeasurable steps in which you come down, and by these names, Sabaēl, Boaēl, ōnitzēr, Sparou, Sōtrērcha, Gabēd, Outoupōn, Kaipolēs, Gōmedēn, Marēbat. By these [names] I adjure you, Moon, to incline your grace and power in this deed that I am undertaking.

#### Prayer of the angels

When you want to adjure an angel or demon in the hour in which they rule, adjure them in this way:

I adjure you, Angel so-and-so, you who rule over this hour and are appointed for the provision and the service of the human race, [angel] so-and-so, ready on any occasion, powerful, courageous, keen, I adjure you by God, who ordered you to watch this hour, to be my attendant together with the demon so and so, submissive to you, who was appointed beforehand to be a servant in this hour, that he

might be my attendant and perform this service because it is fitting, good and true.

Know, my very dear son Roboam, that, when you want to prepare a deed, you must make sure that you know the planet and the hour. First pronounce the prayers, then adjure the angel and the demon of that hour, so that he might be your attendant in what you want to accomplish, finally make the planet's symbols (characters) with black ink and incense of each kind. And the one who has power, the lord of the hour, grants it to you.

The symbols of Kronos.

Make the symbols of Kronos with the dross of lead and with vinegar and fumigate the *tiaphe* with them [...]. Write them on parchment made from a he-goat.

The symbols of Zeus.

Make the symbols of Zeus with silver dross and with extract of roses prepared with honey, and fumigate them with myrrh and write them on parchment made from an unborn ox.<sup>10</sup>

The symbols of Ares.

Write the symbols of Ares with pure vermilion<sup>11</sup> and with extract of roses prepared with honey, and fumigate them with dried human blood and write at the top on the skin of a vulture<sup>12</sup> or seal, and the one who holds power grants it to you.

The symbols of Helios.

Write the symbols of Helios either with gold or with yellow orpiment divided in two and water: fumigate them with the nut of a twig<sup>13</sup> and write them either on parchment of a human skin or on a horse's skin.

The symbols of Aphrodite.

The symbols of Aphrodite are [...], and write them either with bat's blood or with genuine *lazouriou* and with extract of roses prepared with honey on the skin of a dog or on unborn deer and fumigate them with mastic and gum-ladanum.

[The symbols of Hermes.]

The symbols of Hermes are written with the blood of a bull, an

<sup>10</sup> Reading βοινοῦ ἀγέννητου.

<sup>11</sup> κινναβάρι, cinnabar, bisulphuret of mercury whence vermilion is obtained (cf. Liddell and Scott, 953).

<sup>12</sup> γυπὸς form related to γυπή?

<sup>13</sup> μωσχοκάρυον, μώσχος (twig, young shoot), καρύον (any kind of nut).

ass or of cattle, or with blood and water on virgin parchment; fumigate them with a hare's hide and frankincense.

[...]

[The plants of the planets.]

The plant of Aries is the water milfoil;<sup>14</sup> its sauce, mixed with essence of roses, has extraordinary power when the same sign of the Zodiac rules and it will restore to health in three days the mortal blow from a sword. If it is put on the body, the evil spirits are useful to the one who has it. It also does good to the one who has it. The root, being put around the right arm, gives the one who wears it extreme grace and all grief will be chased away from the one who wears it.

The plant of Taurus is the trefoil; gather it, when the same sign of the zodiac—that is, the Bull—rules. It has these powers: throw its fruit on an unborn bull's hide and wear it when you come into the presence of kings, powerful lords and rulers; you [will] have honor. Their leaves, put on the body <....>. Its sauce heals the eyes and any ocular sickness. Its root, when it is worn, chases away demons and “ageloudas.”<sup>15</sup>

The plant of Gemini is the corn-flag; when the same zodiac sign rules, gather its flowers and throw them on the bed of a newborn infant, then wear them and you will be loved by the lowly and the great. The leaves, when they are worn, will heal the one possessed by a demon. Give the upper root to man or beast to eat and he/it will love you, the lower root and you will be hated.

The plant of Cancer is the mandrake; gather it, when the same zodiac sign—the Crab—rules. The flowers, when the ears are anointed, heal all kinds of headache. Give its root to a barren woman to eat, two wheat-grains from the first day, of the purification till the fourteenth day and she will conceive; she also has to wear some of the plant.

The plant of Leo is the so-called balōte;<sup>16</sup> gather this on the day when its zodiac sign rules, and, after taking the juice, anoint a crushed

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Liddell-Scott, 1154, Dsc 4.114. On the Hermetic origin of these chapters, cf. Festugière, *Révélation*, 1.143-154, and also Boll, *CCAG* VII:231-233.

<sup>15</sup> ἀγελοῦδας. Cf. Ducange s.v. Γυλλω, and the history of Saint Sisinnios and his companions in Perdrizet, *Negotium perambulans*, 16-19.

<sup>16</sup> βαλωτή. Cf. Ducange, in Liddell-Scott p. 305 βαλωδες, a bark like cassia (?).

kernel of stone pine and tie [it]. And they will be extraordinarily solid. Wear the root and you will catch many fish. If you mix the juice from the leaves with oil, it will be [used] instead of a special balsam.

The plant of Virgo is thorn apple;<sup>17</sup> gather it in the hour and day in which Virgo rules. And gather its leaves and fruits, mix them with enough hard fat, anoint those who suffer from a flux and they will be healed. And gather the plant's branches, make a crown and bring it to a young woman and if she laughs, it will become withered and she is not a virgin. And if it has a gloomy look or it breaks, then she is a maiden. If you put its root together with a wolf's hide and you wear it, you will be unconquerable, prevailing over all.

The plant of Libra is the *belonikē*.<sup>18</sup> Gather it when Libra rules. Indeed it has great powers. Its fruit, if drunk, heals those possessed by demons, epileptics, those who look like stone, and colics of intestines. Its leaves, if eaten, are amazingly curative of any illness suffered by the one who eats it. The root, if fumigated, heals *synachia*,<sup>19</sup> catarrh and charms.<sup>20</sup> Again, tie it around a fox hide, wear it on your right arm, and you will not fear marauders or demons.

The plant of Scorpio is the "dog's tongue."<sup>21</sup> Gather it when Scorpio rules. It has an extraordinary and awful power. Pick the seed up and hang it around a deer while you desist from any evil deed and you will appear fearful and of high repute. And what you may say as false, they will believe you like a god. After having kneaded the leaves, take the juice and mix it with oil from a white lily, anoint any wound and it will be incredibly healed. Put the root in your hand and dogs will not struggle with you. Again, after having kneaded the entire plant, make an ointment with sufficient fat and anoint those who suffer from a flux, and in three days they will be healed. If you give some of the root to any wild animal to eat, it will be tamed. It has other powers; whatever the attempt might be, it will make them evident.

The plant of Sagittarius is the *anakardios*:<sup>22</sup> gather it when the sign

<sup>17</sup> στρύχνον. This term denotes several different plants: thorn-apple, deadly-nightshade, hound's berry, Cf. Liddell and Scott, 1656.

<sup>18</sup> βελονίκη.

<sup>19</sup> συνάχια.

<sup>20</sup> μάγια.

<sup>21</sup> κυνόγλωσσον.

<sup>22</sup> ἀνακάρδιος.

of the Zodiac—the archer—rules. After having rolled up its entire root with a fox hide, wear it on your head and you will conquer any teacher, judge, umpire, king and ruler. After having kneaded the leaves, make a wax and put it on any inflammation and ailment of the kidneys and it will be healed so contrary to expectation that all will marvel. Its root has another power: being put in a house it brings success and good luck to that house. Do not marvel at the good luck of the plant but at the God who grants favors.

The plant of Capricorn is the so-called stinking tutsan.<sup>23</sup> Gather this when its sign of the Zodiac rules. If you give some of the plant to a woman to drink, she will live a few days. If you wear its leaves, all wild beasts will flee from you. Still more,<sup>24</sup> if anyone wears the plant and a great number of beasts and lions surround him, they will approach him as (they would approach) a god and will not hurt him and will not touch him; neither will they harm him, if they were dreamed of as well.<sup>25</sup> Give some of the root to an epileptic to eat, he will be healed in three weeks and will have fearlessness in whatever place he finds himself, during the day and at night, at any moment and in any place. If he wears it as an amulet, gift of prophecy will come suddenly upon him from the god.

The plant of Aquarius is the so-called ranunculus.<sup>26</sup> After having kneaded the leaves and having kept the juice, give it to someone, if you long to make some suffer convulsions and die. Gather its root and throw it on a fish skin, when Aquarius rules, and throw it on a vessel and it will suffer shipwreck, in the place from which it departed. The one who wears the flowers is healed. The same plant has other powers. If you knead the leaves and mix them with wheat flour and put it on putrefactions and warts of wounds, in three hours it removes them.

The plant of Pisces is the *Aristolochia*.<sup>27</sup> When the same zodiac sign rules, gather it. It has great virtues. Its fruit, drunk with wine and honey, chases away all sickness from the body. The root, when fumigated and worn, drives away any demon and mist, and chases

<sup>23</sup> Liddell and Scott, 1809: a plant smelling like a he-goat, stinking tutsan, pimpinell.

<sup>24</sup> τὸ δὲ μεγαλύτερον. Ὁν μεγαλύτερον cf. *CCAG* V:101, 107. The sense is not clear; the translation is tentative.

<sup>25</sup> ἕάν και με ταυτα κοιμηθη. The sense and the grammar are not clear.

<sup>26</sup> Hairy crow-foot.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Liddell-Scott, 241. A plant which promotes child-birth.

away all sickness and plagues from the one who eats its root. It has an antidote against all venomous animals. If any man bitten and infected by any snake or poison carries out these procedures and puts it on, he will be healed without delay.

There are as well the plants of the seven planets, my very dear son Roboam, and when you want to throw them, cast them out at the hour when the planet rules, whereas it is lowered. And pronounce the names and the prayers and after them you will do wonders which no man can utter with his tongue.

The plant of Zeus is the *Chrysankathon*.<sup>28</sup> Gather it at the hour in which Zeus rules and name the angels and also say the prayers and you will have fearful and awful cures. Give the root to eat on three mornings; it will heal epileptics. If you give the root together with frankincense to an epileptic to wear, the demon will go away. Give the root to drink together with indigo to those who suffer from sickness and foaming; it will heal them straightaway. After having kneaded some of the leaves, take the juice and anoint cuts, sword blows and wounds; and in fourteen hours you will treat it. If you give the plant's head to be worn, no man will fear to be attacked with magical arts. If there is a man who suffers from drinking poison, give him the plant's head to drink with water and honey and he will be healed.

The plant of Ares is the *pentasitēs*.<sup>29</sup> Gather it in the hour of Ares and wear it on your weapons, wrapped in a wolf's hide and if a thousand enemies encircle you, they will be not able to harm you, but you will be delivered from them unharmed. After having kneaded and drained the leaves, give them to drink together with wine to and any man or woman suffering from haemorrhage, and he/she will be healed so wonderfully that all will wonder at the plant's power. Take the root to any war and any line of battle and you will win and be saved unharmed so that you will marvel at the divine power. The one who wears the plant's flower will be deemed fortunate by all men and he will be admired and mighty in power.

The plant of Kronos is the heliotrope. Gather it at the hour that Kronos rules. Gather it and say the prayer and summon the angels who are lords. And the plant has this power. If you give some of

<sup>28</sup> χρυσάγκαθον (?).

<sup>29</sup> πεντασίτης.

the flower to someone to eat in secret, warmth and cold will enter into him. If you give two flowers, he will have it two days; if three, three days; if four, four days, and so on. If you throw its leaves on the pillow of someone in secret, he will not wake up, unless you take it from his pillow. If you give him some to eat, he will go in sickness until death all the moments of his life and he will not wake up until you give him some of the plant of Zeus to eat. Wear its root yourself as an amulet against *ageloudas*.

The plant of Helios is called *Helioskopos*,<sup>30</sup> among the Italians *tzirasolem*.<sup>31</sup> When the sun is there, it turns aside its heads, on account of which it is called *helioskopos*. Gather this plant in the hour in which Helios rules; after the prayers, throw the flowers as well as its fruit on an eagle's skin and carry it with you. And wherever there is any treasure, it will be disclosed straight away, as in the twinkling of an eye. And you see that gold and silver and again the earth closes itself at once. You, after having marked for yourself the place, dig it up and you will find what you saw. After kneading the leaves and mixing the plant with extract of roses prepared with honey, anoint your face and walk. And any wild man or marauder will worship you like a god and will honor you. Wear the root tied to the hide of an ass. You will pacify angry lords and kings. If you put on a seal's skin and wear it, you will be admired and honoured by kings, princes and powerful ones. The plant has these virtues unhinderedly.

The plant of Aphrodite is called man orchid. Gather it in the hour when Aphrodite rules, after the prayer and the angels. And take the flowers and the fruit and, having wrapped it up in a deer's hide, wear it on your right arm and you will be loved by all women. After kneading its leaves, throw extract of roses prepared with honey and anoint your face and walk. You will be successful in beginning any marriage.<sup>32</sup> If you say something, it will be believed; if you name a fresh apple and you give it to any woman you long for, it will be loved and an agreement will be unanimously approved by both man and woman.<sup>33</sup> If you give the ground-up root to those who love each

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Liddell-Scott, 769: an hermetic plant.

<sup>31</sup> τζιρασόλεμ. Italian for sunflower.

<sup>32</sup> καὶ οἷας ὁμιλίας καὶ ὑπανδρίας ἀρξασθαι κατευδοθεῖ; the passage is rather obscure and very likely corrupt.

<sup>33</sup> τῆς δὲ ρίζας τὸ δροσότερον μῆλον ἐὰν ὀνοματίσης καὶ δώσης οἷας γυναικὸς θέλεις, ἀγαπηθήσεται καὶ ἔλθωσι πρὸς συμφωνίας ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνδρὸς διὰ γυναικὸς. The sense is not clear and the translation is tentative.

other, together with an invocation and the hours of Kronos, at once they will hate each other and fight.

The plant of Hermes is the cinquefoil. Also gather it in the hour when Hermes rules, after the prayer and the names. And gather the flowers and the fruit, wrapping them in a heart of <sup>34</sup> [...] and wear it on yourself, you will be invisible. And if you do so you will not be despised. After drying its leaves, making it like dust and mixing it with oil, anoint any bruise of an eye, darkening, mist, cloud-like opacity of works and bird-like blindness, and immediately you will heal. If you wear some of the fingers of the root, you will heal any ailment of hands and fingers. If you eat some of the root's fingers, you will have a good memory and be skilled in making speeches. And if you hear something, it will not be forgotten. And after wrapping the root up again in a dog's hide, wear it, and no dogs will kick you. And wrapping the root up in fish skin, wear it and you will catch fish, as many as you want. And after wrapping the root up in *blantion*<sup>35</sup> and unmixed fat, walk and you will hunt down animals and wild herds. This plant has these virtues and many more without argument. But the root, if eaten completely, chases away any sickness of the body and leads toward the improvement of life. Wear the root with medicinal frankincense; and you will be guarded against any magic or meddling of evil men.

The Moon's plant is the peony, called "*Lunaria*" among the Italians. Gather this in its hour in conformity with prayer, the names of the angels, the hour, the month, the wind and special sign of the Zodiac of its house, which is Cancer. It has these powers: if you throw its heads together with a cock's comb, all the things you approach will be done at once, and all the services you undertake, you will bring to success, and also in any business, presiding over gain in trade. When the moon waxes, if you mix its fresh leaves with money, gold, silver or other coin and with those treasures (as much business as you will make), your treasure will increase after a short time and you will become the possessor of many riches. If you mix its minced leaves with the money of your enemy, it will disappear. Equally, if you give a man some of these leaves, he will have good luck. If you eat the same leaves, then the fresh things will improve in reverse

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<sup>34</sup> καρδιαν κάτου ἢ κάτης μαύρας; the expression is so unclear that no translation can be provided.

<sup>35</sup> βλαντίου (?).

order.<sup>36</sup> If you coat the plant's shoot and the root with the same metal, covered completely, in a smelting-furnace,<sup>37</sup> you will find pure, very bright and excellent silver. The plant has many other powers and virtues.

The end. Amen.

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<sup>36</sup> ἔάν αὐτὰ φάγει καὶ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν τὰ δροσερὰ εἰς προκοπὴν ἔλθῃ. Again the sense is not clear and the translation remains tentative.

<sup>37</sup> ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ, see LXX 3 Kgdms 8:51.

APPENDIX TWO

GREEK SYNOPSIS OF THE *HYGROMANTEIA OF SOLOMON*

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Το κλειδιον της πασης τεχνης της υγρομαντειας ευρεθεν υπο διαφορων τεχνιτων και του αγιου προφητου Σολομωντος, εν η φαινεται γραφειν προς τον υιον αυτου Ροβοαμ.

Αρχη της αποτελεσματικης πραγματειας της συναξεως και επαγωγης των πνευματων.

Το κλειδι της πασης τεχνης της υγρομαντειας ευρεθεν υπο διαφορων ποιητων, συντεθεν παρα του Σολομωντος εν η φαινεται γραφειν προς τον υιον αυτον τον Ροβοαμ.

Πρόσεχε, ω ακριβεστατε υιε Ροβοαμ, εις την ακριβειαν της τεχνης ταυτης εμου του πατρος σου Σολομωντος εν τοις πραγμασι, εν οις κειται η απασα προσοχη της υγρομαντειας, οτι χρη προ παντων [...] επικρατειν τας επιτηρησεις των πλανητων και των ζωδιων και μετ' αυτα μετερχεσθαι και ποιειν κατα το βουλητον.

Προσεχε, ακριβε μου υιε Ροβοαμ, τοις παρ'εμου ειρημενοις του πατρος σου Σολομωντος εις την ακριβειαν της τεχνης ταυτης εν η κειται πασα η μεθοδος της αποτελεσματικης πραγματειας, δι'ης γνωσει παντα οσα δυνατα ανθρωπω γνωναι σωφρονι τε και σοφω και περι τα θεια σπουδαιω.

Προσεχε, ακριβε μου υιε Ροβοαμ, εις την ακριβειαν της τεχνης εμου του Σολομωντος του πατρος εν η γνωσει τας ωρας της αστρονομικης τεχνης, ποτε κυριευει ο καθεις των πλανητων και την χαριν του καθενος πλανητου.

Προσεχες ουν, ακριβεστατε μου υιε Ροβοαμ, εις την ακριβειαν της τεχνης ταυτης εν τοις πραγμασι εν οις η απασα περιοχη της υδρομαντειας, χρη δε προ παντων επιτηρειν τας επικρατησεις των πλανητων και των ζωδιων και μετα ταυτα μετερχεσθαι και ποιειν τα βουληματα,

Ροβοαμ δε φησι προς τον πατερα αυτου Σολομωντα· ω πατερ, εν ποιαις πραγμασι κειται η ενεργεια των πραγματων; Σολομων δε φησιν· εν βοτανοις και εν λογοις και

Φησι προς αυτον ο Ροβοαμ· ω πατερ, εν ποιαις πραγμασι κειται η ενεργεια των πραγματων; Σολομων δε αποκριθη· εν βοτανοις και εν λογοις και εν λιθοις·

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εν λιθοις κειται η  
 απασα τεχνη και  
 χαρις και  
 ενεργεια των  
 ζητουμενων. προ  
 παντων δε  
 γνωσκε τας  
 θεσεις των επτα  
 πλανητων. εισι  
 γαρ επτα  
 πλανηται  
 διεποντες τας  
 επτα ημερας της  
 εβδομαδος  
 αρχομεθα απο της  
 πρωτης ημερας  
 της εβδομαδος,  
 ηγουν της ημερας  
 της κυριακης. και  
 εν τη πρωτη ωρα,  
 υποτιθεμεθα  
 κυριευειν τον  
 Ηλιον, ει θ' ουτως  
 τας εξης ερουμεν.

Πρωτον μεν χρη  
 ειδεναι τας ωρας  
 τας αστρονομικας  
 της τεχνης ταυτης  
 δηλαδη ποτε  
 κυριευει εκαστος  
 πλανητων και  
 ποιας ημερας και  
 ποιας ωρας ετι τε  
 τας χαριτας και  
 τας δυναμεις ας  
 εκαστος των  
 πλανητων εχει, ετι  
 τε τους αγγελους  
 αυτου και τους  
 δαιμονας, ετι τε  
 τους οικους των  
 ζωδιων αυτων.  
 ωσαυτως τα τε  
 θυμαματα αυτων  
 εκαστου τουτων  
 και τα σημεια και  
 τας σφραγιδας  
 αυτων εκθησομεν.

προ παντων δε  
 γνωσκειν τας  
 θεσεις των ζ'  
 πλανητων· ουτοι  
 γαρ προσερχονται  
 τας ζ' ημερας της  
 εβδομαδος, εισιν  
 και τα ονοματα  
 αυτων ταυτα·  
 Κρονος, Ζευς,  
 Αρης, Ηλιος,  
 Αφροδιτη, ΕΡμης,  
 Σεληνη.

Επισκεψις των  
 επτα πλανητων και  
 τινα χρη πραττειν  
 εν ταις ωραις  
 αυτων, εν η  
 κυριευουσιν τας  
 επτα ημερας της  
 εβδομαδος

Επτα δε ημερον  
 ουσων πασων, - δι'  
 ων γινεται μην, εξ  
 ων τελειται ο ολος  
 ενιαυτος -τουτου  
 ενεκα και επτα  
 πλανηται εν τοις  
 αστρασιν και επτα  
 σφαιραι γεγωνασι.  
 ων δε ημερων  
 εκαστη εχει και  
 τον δεσποζοντα  
 αυτης πλανητα·  
 επτα γαρ ουσαι. οι  
 επτα και τουτων  
 αστερες  
 κατακυριευουσιν.

Περι των ζ'  
 ημερων της  
 εβδομαδος... Τιναν  
 πλανητην κταται η  
 καθε ημερα και τα  
 των πλανητων  
 ωφεληματα·  
 ερμηνεια θεου  
 κυριουοντος παντα  
 και κελευσαντος  
 ουτως. περι των ζ'  
 πλανητων της ολης  
 εβδομαδος και  
 περι των  
 κυριουοντων τας  
 ημερας και τινα  
 κταται η καθε μια  
 ημερα κια τινα  
 ενεργειαν εχει ο  
 καθε εις πλανητης.  
 αρχομεθα ουν απο  
 τον Κρονον,  
 επειτα και τους  
 εξης ερουμες.

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<p>ζ'. Το μες σαββατον εσι τον ανωτατον Κρονον αναφερεται ου εστιν σεμνιον τουτι (signum Saturni). και κυριευει τη πρωτη ωρα, της πρωτης ημερας ητις χρησιμος εις το ποιησαι δια βλαβην ανθρωπου και κατα εχθρων εναντια· και του ερωτησαι τα πνευματα εν τω ύελίνω αγγειω τω μεστω υδατος και του ποιησαι περι θησαυρου και του αρξασθαι παιδιν μαθειν γραμματα. τας δε αλλας ωρας εχουσιν οι λοιποι των πλανητων κατα ταξιν αχρι τοις επτα και παλιν κυριευει ο Κρονος και αυθις οι λοιποι. αναφερεται δε εις μονον τον Κρονον το σαββατον και οι λοιποι των πλανητων των ωρων κυριεουσιν.</p>	<p>Το σαββατον, ωρα, πρωτη κυριευει ο Κρονος· και εστι τοτε ωρα χρησιμος εις το ποιησαι δια βλαβην ανθρωπου και του ποιησαι εναντιοτητα εχθρων· και ιαν ερωτησης εις την αγαστερα πνευμα και ινα ποιησης περι θησαυρου· και εις το ποιησαι παιδιον μαθειν γραμματα.</p>	<p>Ημεραν σαββατον κυριευει ο Κρονος εν ολη τη αυτη ημερα, κυριευει και εξαιρετως ωραις α', η', ιε', κβ', της αυτης ημερονυκτης του σαββατου. ουτως και οι λοιποι εξ κυριεουν εν ταις ημεραις αυτων και ωραις ομοιως. εστι δε εν τη ημερα, και ωραις αυτου ο Κρονος ενεργητικος και ευτυχος, του ποιησαι εναντιον κατα εχθρων και ομιλησαι πνευμα εν τη γαστερα, και παιδας μαθειν γραμματα.</p>	

Ημερα κυριακη κυριευει ο Ηλιος, τη πρωτη ημερα, κυριευει ο Ηλιος ωρα α [...]. τη δευτερα, η Αφροφιτη· καλον φερουσα εις αγαπην αυθεντων και μεγασιτων και τυραννων. εις τας γ Ερμη· και ωφελουσι δια

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συντυχίας  
 αυθεντων. εις τας δ  
 η Σεληνη· δια να  
 ομιλησεις μετα  
 αυθεντων. εις τας ε  
 Κρονος· δια να  
 αποκοψεις  
 συντυχίας. εις τας ζ  
 Ζευς δια να παγεις  
 εμπροσθεν  
 αυθεντων. εις τας ζ  
 Αρης·  
 παραφυλασσου  
 μηδεν ποιησεις. εις  
 τας η Ηλιος καμε  
 οτι χρηζεις περι  
 εξουσιας. εις τας θ  
 Αφροδιτη· και δια  
 δεσποινες ομοιως.  
 εις τας ι Ερμης δια  
 να ποιησεις  
 αναφοραν. εις τας  
 ια Σεληνη· αρχου  
 να ποιεις  
 ομιλιαν. εις τας ιβ  
 Κρονος μηδεν  
 ποιησεις ουδεν. εις  
 τας ιγ Ζευς και  
 λεγε εις βοηθειαν  
 φιλων.

ε'. Η δε πεμπτη εις  
 τον Δια αναφερεται  
 ου εστι σημειον  
 τοδε (signum Iovis).  
 και κυριευει και  
 αυτος ουτος της  
 πρωτης ωρας της  
 αυτης ημερας, ητις  
 εστιν χρησιμος εις  
 το ποιησαι περι  
 ανδριας και ου  
 δοξασθηναι εν  
 ανθρωποις και εις  
 το αφανισαι  
 γοητειας και εις  
 θηραν ποιησαι τι,  
 και περι ιατρειας  
 ανθρωπων και  
 σχεδον επι παντος  
 εστιν επιτευκτικος  
 πραγματος.

Ζευς εστιν  
 ωφελιμος εις το  
 περι ανδρειας  
 ποιησαι και εις το  
 δοξασθηναι  
 εμπροσθεν  
 ανθρωπων και εις  
 το ποιησαι  
 αφανισμον μαγειων  
 και εις κυνηγιν  
 παντοιου  
 πραγματος και εις  
 ιατρειαν  
 ανθρωπων.

Ζευς κυριευει την  
 ε', ωραις α', η', ιε',  
 κβ'· και εστι τοτε  
 χρησιμος εις το  
 ποιησαι περι  
 ανδριας και εσι το  
 δοξασθηναι  
 εμπροσθεν  
 ανθρωπων και  
 γυναικων και εις το  
 αφανισαι μαγια και  
 εις το κυνηγαν και  
 εις το ιατρειαν  
 ανθρωπων και εν  
 παντι πραγματι.

Ημερα, δευτερα,  
 κυριευει Σεληνη.τη  
 α ωρα, κυριευει η  
 Σεληνη και εστι  
 καλη δια να  
 ποιησεις γραφην  
 εις πουλησιαν και  
 αγοραν. εις τας β  
 ωρας Κρονος· ωρα  
 κακη.εις τας γ  
 Ζευς· ωρα καλη  
 δια ν' ανοιξεις  
 εργαστηρια. εις τας  
 δ Αρης· δια να  
 εμποδισεις  
 εργαστηρια. εις τας  
 ε Ηλιος· δια να  
 ποιησεις αρχην  
 πουλησιας. εις τας  
 σ Αφροδιτη· δια  
 συναλλαγματος. εις  
 τας ζ Ερμης δια να  
 πορευθης εις  
 ταξειδιον. εις τας η  
 Σεληνη· δια να  
 αγορασεις. εις τας  
 θ Κρονος· δια να  
 εμποδισεις. εις τας  
 ι Ζευς· επιχειρισου  
 πραγματεια,. εις  
 τας ια Αρης· να  
 κατασβησεις τυχην.  
 εις τας ιβ Ηλιος·  
 επιχειρισου  
 πραγματεια,. εις  
 τας ιγ Αφροδιτη·  
 αναπαυου. εις τας  
 ιδ Ερμης· ποιει δια  
 κερδος ζωης. εις  
 τας ιε Σεληνη·  
 μεριμνα περι  
 πραγματων.εις τας  
 ις Κρονος· μηδεν  
 μεριμνας.  
 εις τας ιζ Ζευς· και  
 γραφε και λε γε. εις  
 τας ιη Αρης  
 εμποδιζει και  
 αντιβαδιζει. εις τας  
 ιθ Ηλιος αρχου  
 πασης υποθεσεως.

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εις τας κ Αφροδιτη  
 ανπαου και  
 μεριμνα. εις τας κα  
 Ερμης κίνα και  
 σαλευε το πραγμα.  
 εις τας κβ Σεληνη  
 ψηφισαι υποθησιν.  
 εις τας κγ Κρονος  
 μηδεν μεριμνας. εις  
 τας κδ Ζευς ανοιγε  
 το εργαστηριον  
 σου.

Ημερα, τριτη γ'. Η δε τριτη εις  
 κυριευει ο Αρης. τη μονον τον Αρεα  
 α ωρα, της τριτης αναφερεται ου εστι  
 κυριευει ο Αρης σημειον  
 και εναι καλον δια (signum Martis) εν  
 να καμης χαρτι να η κυριευει και  
 νικας εις πολεμον αυτος της πρωτης  
 και εις τα ε' ξη' ι' ζ. ωρας ωσπερ και οι  
 εις τας β Ηλιος δια ετεροι, εν η  
 να λαβης σολδον. αρμοζει ποιησαι  
 εις τας γ φυλακτηριον εις  
 Αφροδιτης να χαρτι και επι  
 ποιησεις επιδειξιν. πολεμον βασταζειν  
 εις τας δ Ερμης να και ου μη φοβον  
 πορευθης εις εχη εν τω πολεμω  
 πολεμον. εις τας ε και εις το μαχεσθαι  
 Σεληνη να μετα μαχαιρων και  
 πορευθης και να καταπολεμειν τους  
 φυγης. εις τας ς υπεναντιους ετι [τε]  
 Κρονος προσεχε εις τολμην και  
 τον πολεμον. εις μαχην αυτη η ωρα  
 τας ζ Διος εστιν επιτηδειος  
 εμφανισθηναι κατ' και εις το  
 εχθρων. εις τας η φλεβοτομησαι  
 Αρης ποιησαι ωφελιμος οτι εστιν  
 βοηθειαν σου. εις του Αρεως και εστι  
 τας θ Ηλιος να πανυ καλον εις  
 λαβης σολδον ωφελειαν  
 καστρου. εις τας ι φλεβοτομειν.  
 Αφροδιτη εις το  
 ποιησαι  
 δυναστειαν. εις τας  
 ια Ερμης εις το  
 προφαζεσθαι. εις  
 τας ιβ Σεληνη ωρα  
 του σκυλευσαι. εις

Αρης ωφελει εις το Αρης κυριευει την  
 ποιησαι χαρτιν του τριτην, ωραις α', η',  
 μη φοβεισθαι ιε', κβ' ωφελει ινα  
 πολεμον και οταν ποιησης γραφην  
 βουλεσαι πολεμισαι του μη φοβεισθαι  
 μετα μαχαιρας και και οταν βουλει  
 εις την πολεμισαι μετα  
 φλεβοτομian μαχαιρας εις  
 ωφελιμος και εις φλεβοτομian και  
 τολμην και πασαν εις πασαν τολμην  
 μαχην επιτηδειος. και μαχην  
 ωφελιμος.

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τας ιγ Κρονος  
 παντοτε φυλασσου.  
 εις τας ιδ Ζευς εις  
 το διαβληθηναι. εις  
 τας ιε Αρης εις το  
 ποιησαι δια  
 σωτηριαν. εις τας ις  
 Ηλιος ουδεμα  
 ωφελεια. εις τας ιζ  
 Αφροδιτη ζηλος  
 επιφαινεται. εις τας  
 ιη Ερμης εις το  
 φυγηναι. εις τας ιθ  
 Σεληνη· εις το  
 νικησαι τον  
 αντιδικον. εις τας κ  
 Κρονος εις το  
 ελθειν κατα του  
 εχθρου. εις τας κα  
 Ζευς εις το  
 αποκρυβηναι. εις  
 τας κβ Αρης  
 προσευχου τω θεω.  
 εις τας κγ Ηλιος  
 φανηθι εν πολεμω.  
 εις τας κδ  
 Αφροδιτη ωρα  
 επιζηλος.

α'. Η ημερα πρωτη  
 εστιν του Ηλιου  
 (signum Solis), οια  
 δη και πρωτος  
 φωστηρ  
 ονομαζεται· ος τη ς  
 πρωτης ωρας και  
 αυτος κυριευει και  
 αυτος της πρωτης  
 ωρας εν η χρη σε  
 ποιειν τι προς το  
 υποταξει λαον  
 προς σαυτον· και  
 εις πουλησιν και  
 αγορασιν και του  
 αιτησαι αξιωμα και  
 του δανεισαι και  
 δανεισασθαι  
 χρηματα και τα  
 ομοια τουτοις.

Ηλιος κυριευει  
 ημερα, πρωτη·  
 εστιν ωφελμιος εις  
 το ποιησαι χαρτιν  
 και βασταζειν αυτο  
 και δεισθαι χαριν  
 απο εξουσιας και  
 εις το ανοιξει  
 θησαυρος και εν  
 παντι πραγματι.

Ο Ηλιος την  
 κυριακην ημεραν,  
 ωραις α', η', ιε',  
 κβ'· ειναι ωφελμιος  
 εις το γραφειν και  
 βασταζειν ινα  
 αιτησης χαριν απο  
 εξουσιαν και εις το  
 ανοιξει θησαυρον  
 και του ποιησαι  
 κρισιν και του  
 δησαι τας  
 γλωσσαλγιας και  
 του ποιησαι  
 εκδικησιν και  
 ποιησαι  
 φανερωθηνα  
 πραγματα.

Αφροδιτη δε  
 ωφελει εις το  
 ποιησαι περι  
 αγαπης γυναικος η  
 ανδρος και των  
 ομοιων.

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β'. Η δε δευτερα  
ημερα εις Σεληνην  
(signum Lunae)  
αναφερεται ως  
δευτερευοντα  
φωστηρα και αυτην  
εν κοσμῳ. και  
κυριευει και αυτος  
της πρωτης ωρας  
εν η χρη σε ποιειν  
τι προς το  
υποταξει λαον  
προς σαυτον· και  
εις πουλησιν και  
αγορασιν και του  
αιτησαι αξιωμα και  
του δανεισαι και  
δανεισασθαι  
χρηματα και τα  
ομοια τουτοις.

Η Σεληνη κυριευει  
την δευτεραν,  
ωραις α', η', ιε',  
κβ'· ωφελιμος εστι  
του ποιησαι  
γραφην και  
υποταξει εχθρους  
και του ελεγξει  
λαους προς εαυτον·  
και εις πουλησι και  
αγορασιν και  
αιτησαι οφφικιον  
και δανισασθαι  
πραγμα.

Ημερα τεταρτη  
κυριευει ο Ερμης.  
Τη α ωρα, της  
τεταρτης κυριευει ο  
Ερμης εστιν δε  
καλον εις το  
ποιησαι περι  
αφανοτητος και τα  
εξης και εις  
μαθησιν παιδιου.  
εις τας β Σεληνη·  
εις το αναπαυθησαι  
και ευθυμησαι. εις  
τας γ Κρονος ωρα  
ανωφελος. εις τας δ  
Ζευς εις το ποιησαι  
αρμμιας. εις τας ε  
Αρης εις το  
αναγγειλαι  
αποκρυφα. εις τας  
ς Ηλιος εις το  
κροσευσαι  
καταφρονεισθαι.  
εις τας ζ Αφροδιτη·  
εις το δυναστευσαι  
γυναικα. εις τας η  
Ερμης εις το  
ποιεσθαι περι  
κριτηριου. εις τας θ  
Σεληνη· εις το

δ'. Η δε τεταρτη  
εστι του Ερμη. και  
αυτος τη πρωτη  
ωρα, κυριευει και  
ωφελει εν παση  
οδῳ και εν  
κυνηγεσει· και εις  
σοφιαν επιτηδειος  
η αυτη ωρα και εις  
μεταλλα και του  
ποιησαι τι και εις  
το ομιλειν κετα  
μεγαλου ανδρος  
και εις κινδυνον  
θαλασσης και τυς  
ταξειδιον αυτης.  
και εν τη ωρα,  
ταυτη  
μνηστευθησεται τις  
γυνην, επιλησεται  
του αλλοτριου. εστι  
δε αρμοδιος η αυτη  
ωρα του  
καθυποταξει τα  
πνευματα και  
συναγαγειν αυτα εν  
τῳ κυκλῳ οτε  
μελλει του εργου  
αρξασθαι.

Ερμης εις σοφιαν  
και εις μεταλλα και  
εις το ποιησαι δια  
να ομιλησης μετα  
μεγιστανων· και εις  
κινδυνον θαλασσης  
και του υποταξει  
πνευματα εσω εις  
πολον· και εις το  
κινήσαι εις  
ταξειδιον δια  
θαλασσης εις  
πουλησιν και εις  
αγοραν· και του  
αιτησασθαι  
οφφικιον και του  
δανεισαι πραγματα  
και το ομοια.

Ο δε Ερμης  
κυριευει την δ',  
ωραις α', η', ιε', κβ'·  
και ενι ωφελιμος εν  
παση οδῳ, εν  
σοφια, και  
επιστημη και περι  
κριτηριου και εσι  
μαθησιν  
γραμματων και εις  
μεταλλα. εαν δε εν  
τουτῳ τῳ αστρῳ  
μνηστευθη τις γυνη  
μετα του ανδρος  
επιλησεται των  
αλλοτριων. [f.29v]  
ωφελει εις ο  
ποιησαι δια ομιλιαν  
ανδρος ωσαυτως  
και εις κινδυνον  
θαλασσης του  
υποταξει πνευμα  
μεσον του κυκλου  
του τζερχολου και  
του κινήσαι εν  
ταξειδιῳ.

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αυλισθηναι μετα  
 γυναικης. εις τας ι  
 Κρονος  
 παραφυλασσου. εις  
 τας ια Ζευς αρχου  
 της οδου, περι οτι  
 θελεις. εις τας ιβ  
 Αρης μηδεν  
 πραξης τι. εις τας  
 ιγ Ηλιος αρχου  
 επανω ομιλιας. εις  
 τας ιδ Αφροδιτη  
 αρχου ευχης. εις  
 τας ιε Ερμης εις το  
 ποιησαι περι  
 ενυπνιων. εις τας ις  
 Σεληνη εις το  
 ποιησαι δεματα. εις  
 τας ιζ Κρονος ωρα  
 ανωφελος. εις τας  
 ιη Ζευς εις το  
 αποκρυβηναι. εις  
 τας ιθ Αρης εις  
 ανταποδοσιν  
 ποιησαι. εις τας κ  
 Ηλιος ωρα  
 ευχρηστος εις παν.  
 εις τας κα  
 Αφροδιτη εις  
 ενυπνια. εις τας κβ  
 Ερμης εις μαθησιν  
 γραμματων. εις τας  
 κγ Σεληνη ωρα  
 καταδοσεως. εις  
 τας κδ Κρονος ωρα  
 αχρηστος.

Ημερα, πεμπτη  
 κυριευει ο Ζευς. τη  
 α ωρα, της πεμπτης  
 κυριευει ο Ζευς και  
 εναι καλη εις το  
 ποιησαι περι  
 ιατρειας παντος  
 ανθρωπου και  
 ζφου. εις τας β  
 Αρης ωρα  
 αχρηστος. εις τας γ  
 Ηλιος εις το  
 φανηναι εμπροσθεν  
 βασιλεων. εις τας

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δ Αφροδιτη· εις το  
 φανηται εμπροσθεν  
 αρχοντισσας. εις  
 τας ε Ερμης εις το  
 μαθηθαι  
 ρετορικην. εις τας ς  
 Σεληνη· δια  
 μετατοπησεις. εις  
 τας ζ Κρονος ωρα,  
 φυλασσου. εις τας  
 η Ζευς ωρα καλη  
 και ευλογημενη. εις  
 τας θ Αρης ωρα  
 επιβαλειν ζηλον. εις  
 τας ι Ηλιος εις το  
 ποιησαι σωματος  
 ωφελειαν. εις τας  
 ια Αφροδιτη· εις το  
 ποιησαι ιατρειαν  
 γυναικος. εις τας ιβ  
 Ερμης εις το  
 αποδημησαι  
 μακραν. εις τας ιγ  
 Σεληνη· εις το  
 ποιησαι  
 επιτυχιαν. εις τας ιδ  
 Κρονος ωρα  
 ανωφελος. εις τας  
 ιε Ζευς ωρα εις  
 πασαν ιατρειαν. εις  
 τας ις Αρης εις το  
 ποιησαι τομην. εις  
 τας ιζ Ηλιος περι  
 θεραπειας  
 βασιλεων. εις τας  
 ιη Αφροδιτη· περι  
 θεραπειας  
 δεσποινης. εις τας  
 ιθ Ερμης εις το μη  
 φοβεισθαι ληστας.  
 εις τας κ Σεληνη·  
 ωρα ευχρηστος. εις  
 τας κα Κρονος ωρα  
 ανωφελης. εις τας  
 κβ Ζευς ωρα.  
 χρηστη ποιει ο  
 βουλει. εις τας κγ  
 Αρης περι του  
 βαλειν μαχην. εις  
 τας κδ Ηλιος ποιει  
 περι χρησιμοτατων  
 και αυθεντων.

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Ημερα, παρασκευη  
 κυριευει η  
 Αφροδιτη. τη α  
 ωρα, της  
 παρασκευης  
 κυριευει η  
 Αφροδιτη και  
 ποιει περι αγαπης  
 και αγαπησεως. εις  
 τας β Ερμης δια  
 μηνυματων  
 προξενηματων. εις  
 τας γ Σεληνη  
 αγαθη εις παν  
 πραγμα. εις τας δ  
 Κρονος εμποδον  
 της αγαπης. εις τας  
 ε Ζευσ εις  
 δωρηματα και  
 ομιλιας αγαθας. εις  
 τας ς Αρης εις το  
 ποιησαι ζηλον της  
 αγαπης. εις τας ζ  
 Ηλιος ωρα καλη  
 και αγαπητικη. εις  
 τας η Αφροδιτη  
 ωρα καλη εις το  
 ποιησαι αγαπην. εις  
 τας θ Ερμης ωρα  
 δια μηνυματων  
 μνησιων. εις τας ι  
 Σεληνη ωρα καλη  
 εαν θελης ποιησαι  
 τι. εις τας ια  
 Κρονος ωρα  
 ανωφελος εστιν. εις  
 τας ιβ Ζευσ εις το  
 ποιησαι συνθηκας.  
 εις τας ιγ Αρης  
 ωρα αρχου της  
 μνηστειας. εις τας  
 ιδ Ηλιος εις το  
 δησαι ανδρογυνον.  
 εις τας ιε  
 Αφροδιτη εις το  
 ποιησαι δεματα της  
 αγαπης. εις τας ις  
 Ερμης του ποιησαι  
 ενυπνια της  
 αγαπης. εις τας ιζ  
 Σεληνη ωρα

σ'. Η δε εκτη εις  
 Αφροδιτην" το δε  
 σημειον (signum  
 Veneris).  
 εξουσιαζει και  
 αυτη τη πρωτη  
 ωρα,, ως και οι  
 λοιποι. η πρωτη  
 ωρα ιστιν χρησιμος  
 εις το ποιησαι περι  
 φιλτρου και εις  
 αγαπην μεγαλην  
 γυναικος και  
 ισχυραν· ει γαρ εν  
 ταυτη τη ωρα,  
 αγαπηθησονται  
 τινες, ουδεποτε  
 αλληλων  
 επιλησονται. εστιν  
 δε παρων πλανητης  
 εις αγαπην  
 δοκιμωτατος.

Η δε Αφροδιτη  
 κυριευει την  
 παρασκευην  
 ημεραν, ωραις α',  
 η', ιε', κβ'· εστι  
 ωφελιμος εις το  
 ποιησαι περι  
 αγαπης γυναικος η  
 του αγαπαν ο ανηρ  
 την γυνην αυτου·  
 εαν ουν εις την  
 ωραν αυτου  
 αγαπηθωσι, ουκει  
 απολυθησονται απ'  
 αλληλων. εστι δε ο  
 αστηρ δι' αγαπην  
 και ποθον αγαθον.

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αγαθη. εις τας ιη  
 Κρονος ποιησαι  
 ενυπνια της  
 αγαπης. εις τας ιθ  
 Ζευς ποιησαι προς  
 πασαν καλην  
 υποθησιν. εις τας κ  
 Αρης μηδεν  
 πραξης ουδεν. εις  
 τας κα Ηλιος ωρα  
 αγαθη. εις τας κβ  
 Αφροδιτη· ωρα της  
 αγαπης. εις τας κγ  
 Ερμης ωρα δι'  
 αρχιμυαν. εις τας  
 κδ Σεληνη· περι  
 υστερησεως.

Ημερα, τω  
 σαββατω κυριευει  
 ο Κρονος. τη α  
 ωρα, του σαββατου  
 κυριευει ο κρονος  
 και εναι ωρα δια  
 να ποιησεις βλαβην  
 του εχθρου, ηγουν  
 να ποιησεις να  
 αρρωσται ο  
 ανθρωπος. εις τα β  
 Ζευς να ποιησεις  
 ναυαγιον τινος. εις  
 τα γ Αρης να  
 ενορθωσης  
 φαρμακια. εις τα δ  
 Ηλιος να βαλεις  
 μαχην εις  
 αρχοντας. εις τας  
 ε Αφροφιτη να  
 ποιησεις να μισηθη  
 ανδρογυνον. εις  
 τας ς Ερμης περι  
 του ευρειν  
 θησαυρον  
 ωφελιμον. εις τας  
 ζ' Σεληνη· να  
 ομιλησεις μετα  
 δαμωνων. εις τας  
 η' Κρονος να  
 ποιησεις  
 λεκανομαντιας. εις

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τας θ' Ζευς να  
 ποιησεις  
 νεκρομαντιας. εις  
 τας ι Αρης ινα  
 καταποντισθη  
 λαος. εις τας ια  
 Ηλιος δια να  
 ποιησεις οργιτα  
 αντιδικων. εις τας  
 ιβ Αφροδιτη να  
 ποιησεις φοβον και  
 εχθραν. εις τας ιγ  
 Ερμης περι  
 ευρεσεως  
 αποκρυφων  
 ωφελιμον. εις τας  
 ιδ Σεληνη περι του  
 ιδεν τους απ'  
 αιωνος θανεντας.  
 εις τας ιε Κρονος  
 περι του ιδειν εις  
 την υγρομαντιαν.  
 εις τας ις Ζευς  
 ωφελιμος εις  
 παιδειαν. εις τας ιζ  
 Αρης πανυ  
 κακοποιος. εις τας  
 ιη Ηλιος ωρα  
 αχρηστος. εις τας  
 ιθ Αφροδιτη εις το  
 ποιησαι κερδος εις  
 αξαρι. εις τας κ  
 Ερμης εις το  
 ποιησαι εμποδον  
 παντος καλου. εις  
 τας κα Σεληνη  
 ωρα ανενεργητος.  
 εις τας κβ Κρονος  
 εις το ποιησαι  
 θεαματα. εις τας κγ  
 Διος ωφελιμος εις  
 καρπωσιν. εις τας  
 κδ Αρης ωρα  
 μαχης και εχθρας.

Γινωσκε, ω  
 ακριβεστατε υιε  
 Ροβοαμ, οτι κατ'  
 εμμια, ωρα,  
 κυριευει εις

Ιστεον, ως ειρηται,  
 ως των επτα  
 πλανητων οι μεν  
 εισιν αγαθοι, ως ο  
 Ζευς, η Σεληνη και

Γινωσκε οτι εκ των  
 επτα πλανητων  
 εισιν αγαθοι τρεις  
 Ζευς, Αφροφιτη  
 και Σεληνη

Γινωσκε οτι εκ των  
 ανωθεν πλανητων  
 - και μετα των  
 κακων κακοποιοι

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αγγελος αγαθος και εις δαιμων πονηρος. εαν θελεις ποιησαι αγαθον εργον, ορκιζε τον αγγελον τον αγαθον, ινα ενι σοι συνεργος. ει δε θελεις να ποιησεις περι πραγματος ετερου πονηρου, ορκιζε τον δαιμονα, να εναι συνεργον σου, και ουτωςπραξεις, ει τι βουλει ευκολως αρχεται ουτως.	η Αφροδιτη· κακοποιοι δε μονοι ο Κρονος και ο Αρης επικοινοι διοτι μετα των αγαθοποιων εισιν αγαθοι. αγαθυνονται γαρ εν τοις αγαθοποιοις τοις ζωδιοις σκηουντες οικημασιν, κακυνονται δε τοις κακοποιοις εντυχοντες ζωδιοις και δια τοτο κακοποιοι λεγονται.	κακοποιοι δε δυο· Κρονος και Αρης επικοινοι δε δυο· Ερμης και Ηλιος.
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[MONACENSIS 70]

Τη κυριακη αγγελοι και δαιμονες.

τη α' ωρα,	αγγελος Μιχαηλ	δαιμων Ασμοδαι.
ωρα, β	αγγελος Αργφναηλ	δαιμων Ορναι.
ωρα, γ	αγγελος Περουηλ	δαιμων Σιληδων.
ωρα, δ	αγγελος Ιωραηλ	δαιμων Πηθραθ.
ωρα, ε	αγγελος Πιελ	δαιμων Σιτρος.
ωρα, σ	αγγελος Ιωθ	δαιμων Ζηφαρ.
ωρα, ζ	αγγελος Πελ	δαιμων Μανιερ.
ωρα, θ	αγγελος Ιοραν	δαιμων Οσμε.
ωρα, ι	αγγελος Καταηλ	δαιμων Πνιξ.
ωρα, ια	αγγελος Βιδουηλ	δαιμων Γηρατ.
ωρα, ιβ	αγγελος Ηδιηλ	δαιμων Νηστα.
ωρα, ιγ	αγγελος Σαναηλ	δαιμων Πελιωρ.
ωρα, ιδ	αγγελος Οψηλ	δαιμων Ο' Ιστος.
ωρα, ιε	αγγελος Τεραηλ	δαιμων Απιος.
ωρα, ισ	αγγελος Λυσιελ	δαιμων Νηγγμος.
ωρα, ιζ	αγγελος Ναλουηλ	δαιμων Αραξ.
ωρα, ιη	αγγελος Ορκιηλ	δαιμων Νηστριαφ.
ωρα, ιθ	αγγελος Περιηλ	δαιμων Ασκιнос.
ωρα, κ	αγγελος Ιαρηλ	δαιμων Κινοπιγος.
ωρα, κα	αγγελος Αθουηλ	δαιμων Αραψ.
ωρα, κβ	αγγελος Θαμανηλ	δαιμων Ταρταρουηλ.
ωρα, κγ	αγγελος Βραδηλ	δαιμων Μελμεθ.
ωρα, κδ	αγγελος Κλινος	δαιμων Μηθριδανου.
	αγγελος Ιων	δαιμων Φροδαινος.

της δευτερας αγγελου και δαιμονες.

τη ωρα, α	αγγελος Γαβριηλ	δαιμων Μαμονας.
ωρα, β	αγγελος Φαρσαφαιλ	δαιμων Σκολιων.
ωρα, γ	αγγελος Πινδωηλ	δαιμων Θετιδωφ
ωρα, δ	αγγελος Κοπιηλ	δαιμων Αρβαν.
ωρα, ε	αγγελος Κελεκιελ	δαιμων Αζαν.
ωρα, σ	αγγελος Ταριηλ	δαιμων Μεμαχθ.
ωρα, ζ	αγγελος Μνιηλ	δαιμων Σκαμιδινος.
ωρα, η	αγγελος Εζεκιηλ	δαιμων Στιρφαν.
ωρα, θ	αγγελος Ιωηλ	δαιμων Γιραμ.
ωρα, ι	αγγελος Σιναιηλ	δαιμων Μενακτινος.
ωρα, ια	αγγελος Μεναιηλ	δαιμων Μεκακτινος.
ωρα, ιβ	αγγελος Ροχαηλ	δαιμων Μεξιφον.
ωρα, ιγ	αγγελος Αρησιηλ	δαιμων Ουτολωχ.
ωρα, ιδ	αγγελος Τραπηδωηλ	δαιμων Νυκτιδων.
ωρα, ιε	αγγελος Ακινατιελ	δαιμων Ουιστος.
ωρα, ισ	αγγελος Οργανιελ	δαιμων Κασιερωφ.
ωρα, ιζ	αγγελος Ρωματιηλ	δαιμων Κησιεποφαι.
ωρα, ιη	αγγελος Σελπιδων	δαιμων Ανδροφαι.
ωρα, ιθ	αγγελος Ουτιτωμ	δαιμων Νιωεχ.
ωρα, κ	αγγελος Μεταβιηλ	δαιμων Ενταυρος.
ωρα, κα	αγγελος Ακβαηλ	δαιμων Συριτωρ Φλιναφε.
ωρα, κβ	αγγελος Εικονιηλ	δαιμων Κυκνιτ.
ωρα, κγ	αγγελος Γενηκιηλ	δαιμων Κηνοψ.
ωρα, κδ	αγγελος Κροτιηλ	δαιμων Σαρκιδων.

της τριτης αγγελου και δαιμονες

τη ωρα, α	αγγελος Σαμουηλ	δαιμων Κακιστων
ωρα, β	αγγελος Ιασμηλ	δαιμων Λιθριδων.
ωρα, γ	αγγελος Φρερεηλ	δαιμων Μαιλωθ.
ωρα, δ	αγγελος Ευδηλ	δαιμων Σαραπιديه.
ωρα, ε	αγγελος Πικτωηλ	δαιμων Ταρταρουηλ.
ωρα, σ	αγγελος Οκαηλ	δαιμων Κερινουδαλος.
ωρα, ζ	αγγελος Γναθαηλ	δαιμων Κλινοτιος.
ωρα, η	αγγελος Περγανιηλ	δαιμων Τυρρουτωρ.
ωρα, θ	αγγελος Γεστιηλ	δαιμων Πληλαταν.
ωρα, ι	αγγελος Λεγμιελ	δαιμων Συθλος.
ωρα, ια	αγγελος Ναχωηλ	δαιμων Οσθριديه.
ωρα, ιβ	αγγελος Οκναν	δαιμων Ομμιοτ.
ωρα, ιγ	αγγελος Γορφυλ	δαιμων Απροξ.
ωρα, ιδ	αγγελος Πατιηλ	δαιμων Σκωην.
ωρα, ιε	αγγελος Παρταν	δαιμων Προφαι.
ωρα, ισ	αγγελος Σαλιτιελ	δαιμων Αχλιτωλ.
ωρα, ιζ	αγγελος Αβαηλ	δαιμων Ορναν.
ωρα, ιη	αγγελος Στραγιηλ	δαιμων Χαλωθ.
ωρα, ιθ	αγγελος Οπαδουηλ	δαιμων Τουδεδην.
ωρα, κ	αγγελος Μαρνιηλ	δαιμων Τεφρα
ωρα, κα	αγγελος Μεθνιηλ	δαιμων Νιραν.

ωρα, κβ	αγγελος Στιρωηλ	δαιμων Ρακιωρ.
ωρα, κγ	αγγελος Ισματιηλ	δαιμων Ιργοτιε.
ωρα, κδ	αγγελος Τριζιωηλ	δαιμων Γεγαωρ.

## Της τεταρτης αγγελιοι και δαιμονες

τη ωρα, α	αγγελος Ουριηλ	δαιμων Λουτζιφερ.
ωρα, β	αγγελος Αρακηλ	δαιμων Γουκουμωρ.
ωρα, γ	αγγελος Μιεμφιηλ	δαιμων Εισπνιρυξ.
ωρα, δ	αγγελος Τρωσιελ	δαιμων Μιδωκητ.
ωρα, ε	αγγελος Χαρτισιελ	δαιμων Νταδαδιφ.
ωρα, σ	αγγελος Σφυκινονηλ	δαιμων Σκιντογηρ.
ωρα, ζ	αγγελος Ουλωδιας	δαιμων Φνιδωτας.
ωρα, η	αγγελος Καλβαγιελ	δαιμων Καραταν.
ωρα, θ	αγγελος Σκιταμιηλ	δαιμων Μιαγ.
ωρα, ι	αγγελος Τιρωηλ	δαιμων Γατζαρ.
ωρα, ια	αγγελος Μιελ	δαιμων Πνιδωρ.
ωρα, ιβ	αγγελος Χαρακιηλ	δαιμων Τοιβλας.
ωρα, ιγ	αγγελος Υδρωηλ	δαιμων Ταξιπων.
ωρα, ιδ	αγγελος Σιδρηλ	δαιμων Οφιταν.
ωρα, ιε	αγγελος Παραπιηλ	δαιμων Αβλυχος.
ωρα, ισ	αγγελος Μουρουηλ	δαιμων Μαλακις.
ωρα, ιζ	αγγελος Κουρταηλ	δαιμων Βλεμιγχ.
ωρα, ιη	αγγελος Κουπεηλ	δαιμων Χειρων.
ωρα, ιθ	αγγελος Περανηλ	δαιμων Εφιππας.
ωρα, κ	αγγελος Σανταηλ	δαιμων Ορκισταφ.
ωρα, κα	αγγελος Κατζιηλ	δαιμων Λογιναφ.
ωρα, κβ	αγγελος Λουλιελ	δαιμων Φαρως.
ωρα, κγ	αγγελος Σαλταηλ	δαιμων Ροκτατ.
ωρα, κδ	αγγελος Γαβτελ	δαιμων Οπναξ.

## Της πεμπτης αγγελιοι και δαιμονες

τη ωρα, α	αγγελος Ραφαηλ	δαιμων Μελτιφρων.
ωρα, β	αγγελος Περονιφελ	δαιμων Οχλος.
ωρα, γ	αγγελος Κισφαηλ	δαιμων Ουηρος.
ωρα, δ	αγγελος Καλιηλ	δαιμων Θαφωτ.
ωρα, ε	αγγελος Γλωστας	δαιμων Τζιππατ.
ωρα, σ	αγγελος Μνιμεηλ	δαιμων Αμωρ.
ωρα, ζ	αγγελος Χαλριηλ	δαιμων Ορφωρ.
ωρα, η	αγγελος Σκιαηλ	δαιμων Ουταητ.
ωρα, θ	αγγελος Μισοηλ	δαιμων Εργωτας.
ωρα, ι	αγγελος Δαλβωθ	δαιμων Αζουβουλ.
ωρα, ια	αγγελος Χαρτωηλ	δαιμων Απληξ.
ωρα, ιβ	αγγελος Κιφαρ	δαιμων Σιγως.
ωρα, ιγ	αγγελος Σιτισηλ	δαιμων Ασιμωδας.
ωρα, ιδ	αγγελος Βοκιελ	δαιμων Ουωχ.
ωρα, ιε	αγγελος Σενοηλ	δαιμων Νικοκεπ.
ωρα, ισ	αγγελος Οριατορ	δαιμων Κοπινος.
ωρα, ιζ	αγγελος Χυμεριηλ	δαιμων Καητε.

ωρα, ιη	αγγελος Ορφνηλ	δαιμων Λαστωρ.
ωρα, ιθ	αγγελος Κιδουηλ	δαιμων Επιη.
ωρα, κ	αγγελος Γοθ	δαιμων Οργαν.
ωρα, κα	αγγελος φισναελ	δαιμων Νιεριερ.
ωρα, κβ	αγγελος Καρααηλ	δαιμων Ουαλιελος.
ωρα, κγ	αγγελος Κωνδαρ	δαιμων Γαλιελωρ.
ωρα, κδ	αγγελος Κισπωλ	δαιμων Χουκαν.

Της παρασκευης αγγελοι και δαιμονες

τη ωρα, α	αγγελος Αγαθουηλ	δαιμων Γουλιων.
ωρα, β	αγγελος Νιδουηλ	δαιμων Βιζηκ.
ωρα, γ	αγγελος Αμφιλοηλ	δαιμων Ζορζοραθ.
ωρα, δ	αγγελος Κανικελ	δαιμων Ραφιωφ.
ωρα, ε	αγγελος Σελινιελ	δαιμων Ερμαγ.
ωρα, σ	αγγελος Καρκανφερ	δαιμων Κερινουδαλος.
ωρα, ζ	αγγελος Ανιελ	δαιμων Ταβαλταλις.
ωρα, η	αγγελος Μουριηλ	δαιμων Θαπνιξ.
ωρα, θ	αγγελος Τοφατιηλ	δαιμων Ελιασεμ.
ωρα, ι	αγγελος Σχιρτουηλ	δαιμων Αμιχ.
ωρα, ια	αγγελος Αρμωηλ	δαιμων Γαλιγιδων.
ωρα, ιβ	αγγελος Οτραηλ	δαιμων Εφιριτ.
ωρα, ιγ	αγγελος Ταλκιδονιοσ	δαιμων Σταγερ.
ωρα, ιδ	αγγελος Ρουδιηλ	δαιμων Ανθηρος.
ωρα, ιε	αγγελος Θηκιελ	δαιμων Πηζητος.
ωρα, ισ	αγγελος Γλυκιδωλ	δαιμων Απριξ.
ωρα, ιζ	αγγελος Ψαλματιοσ	δαιμων Νιφων.
ωρα, ιη	αγγελος Σταυφνηλ	δαιμων Οτριχος.
ωρα, ιθ	αγγελος Δεαυκων	δαιμων Χιμερι.
ωρα, κ	αγγελος Ασφοδηλ	δαιμων Μελυ.
ωρα, κα	αγγελος Πετιλωλ	δαιμων Καπνιθελ.
ωρα, κβ	αγγελος Γοργιελ	δαιμων Ταχμαν.
ωρα, κγ	αγγελος Βαταανηλ	δαιμων Ουκισεμ.
ωρα, κδ	αγγελος Πολιων	δαιμων Ουνιφρηρ.

Του σαββατου αγγελοι και δαιμονες

τη ωρα, α	αγγελος Σαβαπιελ	δαιμων Κληνδατωρ.
ωρα, β	αγγελος Σαλωηλ	δαιμων Χειριμ.
ωρα, γ	αγγελος Βεσαηλ	δαιμων Σπινδωρ.
ωρα, δ	αγγελος Αβαηλ	δαιμων Κεριακ.
ωρα, ε	αγγελος Γιελμων	δαιμων Νικεμ.
ωρα, σ	αγγελος Ρεταηλ	δαιμων Μωριηλ.
ωρα, ζ	αγγελος Πελαφιηλ	δαιμων Συνιβειρωμ.
ωρα, η	αγγελος Σαμωσαν	δαιμων Αφιοσ.
ωρα, θ	αγγελος Πλετανιξ	δαιμων Θοριοσ.
ωρα, ι	αγγελος Μαρμιχαηλ	δαιμων Στελφα.
ωρα, ια	αγγελος Ντεχαριγξ	δαιμων Κυπωσ.
ωρα, ιβ	αγγελος Αρχιηλ	δαιμων Σκαρ.
ωρα, ιγ	αγγελος Γεαβιηλ	δαιμων Τηχαρ.
ωρα, ιδ	αγγελος Πιτριελ	δαιμων Ακρωκ.

ωρα, ιε	αγγελος Γολγοηλ	δαμων Αργιταν.
ωρα, ισ	αγγελος Σανιπιηλ	δαμων Ατομεος.
ωρα, ιζ	αγγελος Βελαραηλ	δαμων Γνωτας.
ωρα, ιη	αγγελος Οπιαελ	δαμων Μερκου.
ωρα, ιθ	αγγελος Οφχινηλ	δαμων Εναριταρ.
ωρα, κ	αγγελος Πατριηλ	δαμων Νιουχαν.
ωρα, κα	αγγελος Ιανιηλ	δαμων Αμφου.
ωρα, κβ	αγγελος Κονδινηηλ	δαμων Μανκως.
ωρα, κγ	αγγελος Ουξουνουηλ	δαμων Μοιρωων.
ωρα, κδ	αγγελος Θαναηλ	δαμων Νιγρισφ.

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Η καλή ερμημεια

Μεθοδον σου γουν  
εγχαρασσω του  
γινωσκειν σε  
ακριβεστατα,  
Ροβοαμ, οτι χρη  
παντως γινωσκειν  
την ωραν εν η  
βουλει ποιησαι το  
σον θελημα·  
πρωτον ειπε την  
προσευχην του  
πλανητου εκεινου  
του ευρισκομενου  
εν εκεινη τη ωρα,,  
επειτα ορκιζε  
[f. 246<sub>v</sub>] τον  
αγγελον και τον  
υπηρετην, ηγουν  
τον δαιμονα. εστι  
δε η προσευχη του  
Κρονου αυτη.

Οταν βουλει.  
φιλτατε υιε  
Ροβοαμ, ποιησαι τι  
ευστοχως και  
ορθως, δει σε  
πρωτον ειδεναι τας  
προσευχας των  
πλανητων των επτα  
και προσευξασθαι  
προς ον βουλει  
ποιησαι και κατα  
το πραγμα  
προσευχου την  
ευχην του  
πλανητου εκεινου  
τον αγγελον οστις  
κυριευει εν τω  
πλανητη οπως  
υποταξη τον  
δαιμονα τον οντα  
υπηρετην της  
πρωτης ωρας, ετι  
τε θυμιασας τα  
θυμιαματα του  
πλανητου,  
προευξαι κινας τα  
γονατα κατεναντι  
του Ηλιου· δος  
δοξαν τω Θεω,  
λεγε το πραγμα  
οπερ μελλει ποιησαι  
και γονυλι [των]  
προσευχου.  
ειρησεται  
εμπροσθεν εν τω  
καθεστηκοτι.

Οστις δε βουλεται  
ποιειν ευστοχως τι  
και αληθως, εχειν  
οφειλει τας  
προσευχας των επτα  
πλανητων, και οταν  
θελη ποιειν τι.  
πρωτον μεν  
ευχεσθαι την ευχην  
του εκαστου  
πλανητου προς τον  
θεον επιμελως και  
εν φοβω θεου και  
νηστευειν ημερας γ'  
· επειτα επικαλειν  
και τον αγγελον  
αυτου τον  
κυριευοντα ινα  
υποταξη το  
δαιμονιον τον  
υπηρετην της ωρας.  
Βλεπε τι ερμηνευει  
περι της προσευχης  
των ζ' πλανητων.  
- FF 30 et sqq. vacant.

MONACENSIS

HARLEIANUS

P A

Προσευχη του Κρονου

Ο θεος ο αιωνιος, το ασχετον κρατος, ο παντα οικονομων επι τα της ημων σωτεριας,δος ημιν χαριν, ινα υποταξω τον δεινα πλανητην εις το εμον θελημα. ορκιζω σε πλανετα Κρονε, εις την οδον σου και εις τον αεραν σου και εις την κληρονομιαν σου και εις τον ουρανον σου και εις την λαμψιν και ενεργειαν σου και εις τα ονοματα σου ταυτα: Γαλιαλ, Αγουσσαελ, Ατασσερ, Βελτολιελ, Μεντζτζια, ινα μοι δωσεις χαριν και ενεργειαν και δυναμιν εις την ωραν, εν η κυριευεις.

Προσευχη του Διου.

Κυριε και Θεε, πατερ παντοκρατωρ, ο δεμιουργος ορατων αορατων, ο βασιλευς των βασιλευντων και κυριος των κυριευοντων, επιδος ημιν δυναμιν χαριτος, ινα Ζευς υποταγη ημιν, οτι παντα δυναται σοι, κυριε. ορκιζω σε, Ζευ, εις την σοφιαν σου και εις την γνωσιν σου και εις την ιαματικην σου ενεργειαν και εις την ουρανιον πορειαν,

Περι του Κρονου.

Ο Κρονος εχει αγγελον α' Κτητοηλ, δαμνοναν α' Βελζεβου.

Ευχη. Κυριε, ο θεος ημων, ο μεγας και υψιστος, ο ποιησας και πλασας τον ανθρωπον, ον η αβυσσος ειδε και ετρομαξεν και οι ζωντες απενεκρωθησαν. εν τω ονοματι αυτου και εις την δυναμιν αυτου την μεγαλην, ορκιζω σε, Κρονε, εις το υψος του ουρανου και εις το βαθος της θαλασσης, ινα μηδεν με παρακουσης. ορκιζω σε, Κρονε, εις την αρχαιοτητα σου και εις την πρωτειαν σου. ορκιζω σε, Κρονε, εις το φριγιον σου, οπερ εχεις εξουσιαν εις πασας βλαβας και θεσαυρους διδοναι, και τα παντα καλως υποκλινον. παλιν ορκιζω σε εις τα ονοματα σου ταυτα. Ορθων, Οκπη, Τομων, Ουλιοβ, Βεριμ, Ουγραν, Σαρομ, Οδηλ, Σιετ, Σαταδ. δια τούτων των ονοματων, να με υποκλινης την χαριν σου και την ενεργειαν σου, εις το πραγμαν, ο μελλωπραξει την ωραν τούτην, να ευρεθη δοκιμον και αληθινον.

Περι του Διου.

Ο Ζευς εχει αγγελους β' Σερπερηλ και Ραφαηλ, δαμνονας τρεις Ποντηρ, Τολετορ και Ορνιελ.

Ευχη. Ο θεος μεγας και αινετος και ανεξηρηνετος, ος ουκ εχει μετρον του υψους της θεοτητας αυτου, δεομαι ουν ο αναξιος και παρακαλω το υψος της ευσπλαγχνιας σου, να με υπακουσης και εις αυτην την πραξιν και το εργον, εν ω ποιω, ινα εστιν ωφελιμον εις ακρος ορκιζω σε, Ζευ, ανδρειωτατε και

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εν η περιπαταις, και εις τα ονοματα ταυτα· Ανωφ, Ορσιτα, Ατνοξ, Ονιγυει, Ατζινιελ, Ανκανιτει, Τυνεος, Γενιερ, Κανιπτζα, ινα υποκλινης εν εμοι την χαριν σου εις την δουλειαν ταυτην, εν η ποιω.

Προσευχη του Αρεως.

Ο θεος ο φοβερος, ο θεος ο αδιγητος, ο θεος ο αθεωρητος, ον ειδεν ουδεις των ανθρωπων ουδε ιδειν δυναται, ον οι αβυσσοι ιδοντες εφριξαν και οι ζωντες απενεκρωθησαν. Χαριτωσον ημας, ινα δυνηθωμεν υποταξαι τον Αρεα τον πλανητην. Ορκιζω σε εις τας ενεργειας σου και εις την οδοιποριαν σου και εις την λαμψιν σου και εις τα ονοματα ταυτα· Ουτατ, ΝΟυητ, Χορηζη, Τινιαη, [f.247.] Δαχλι, Αμπιρα, Νολιεμ, Σιατ, Αδιχαηλ, Τζνας, Πλησυμ, ινα μοι δωσης την χαριν σου δια ταυτην την δουλειαν.

ωφελιμωτατε, εις τον αμετρητον αστραγαλον του θεου, να μηδεν με παρακουσης ορκιζω σε, Ζευ εις τας χαριτας των βοτανων παντων, ινα με υπακουσης ορκιζω σε, Ζευ ανω εις τας στρατειας σου και εις τας ανδρειας σου και εις την δυναμιν σου και εις τας θαυμαστας σου χαριτας και εις τα ονοματα σου ταυτα· Μισθαν, Μισαου, Αλου, Σιγνω, Πελχαουλ, Ααβων, Δεσουδε, Αζαηρ, Μηρων. Δια ταυτα σου τα ονοματα τα μεγαιστα και ανδρειωμενα, να με υποκλινης την χαριν σου και την ενεργειαν σου εις την πραξιν, ην μελλω πραξαι, να ευρεθη δοκιμον και αληθινον.

Περι του Αρεως.

Ο Αρης χειει αγγελον α' Μαγουηλ, δαιμονας β', Χαληβ και Σιλουαμ.

Ευχη. Κυριε ισχυρε κα δυνατε, ο οργιζομενος [και] ξηραινεται βυθος και το βλεμμα σου το ισχυρον συντριβει ορη, δι' ου εφοβηθησαν ορη και συνετρομασαν αβυσσοι και προσεκυνεσαν παντες οι των αγγελων χωροι. εις το ονομα σου, κυριε μου, ορκιζω εγω ο δουλος σου και εις το κρατος της βασιλειας σου θαρρω και πασαν πραξιν επιχειριζομαι. ορκιζω σε, Αρες πολεμικε, εις την καρδιαν του λεοντος του δυνατου και εις την καυσιν του πυρος την καιομενην, ινα με υπακουσης. ορκιζε σε. Αρες αιματωδη και αποτολμε, εις τον αεραν, και εις την γην και εις τον ομφαλον γης πασης, ινα με υπακουσης, ο χαιρομενος επι την απωλειαν και επι τας ευτυχιας σου χαιρων. ορκιζω σε εις αυτον, ον τρεμεις συ και πασα κτισις των πλανητων και εις τα ονοματα σας ταυτα· Εουλα, Ασηρ, Πησηροθ, Αλβαναηλ, Ηδερ, Ομηρ, Σκονατοθ, Καληνος, Αλμαναθ· δια ταυτα σου τα ονοματα, να με υποκλινης την χαριν σου και την ενεργειαν σου, εις το ευρεθη η εργασια, εν η ποιω, δοκιμος και αληθινη.

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Προσευχη του Ηλιου.

Βασιλευ των βασιλευοντων και κυριε των κυριεοντων, η υπεραρχιος φυσις, δυναμις αεναιε, φως ακατανοητον, φως απειρων, ο μονος πλουσιοπαροχος, ο χορηγος του ελεους, επισκεψαι ημας δια της σης χαριτος και ευεργεσιαι, οπως τον παροντα πλανητην τον Ηλιον, [ινα] δυνηθωμεν υποταξαι και κατασχειν αυτου την ενεργειαν· ορκιζω σε Ηλιε αφαιυστε, ακατεργαστε, ημεροφεγγης, εις τον χρονικον σου κυκλον και εις του τεσσατας σου καιρους και εις τας ενεργειαις σου και εις τα ονοματα σου ταυτα· Γλιβιδ, Αντικον, Λιθειουδ, Αχριπαλ, Ελβιουλ, Αυτιουρ, Νοτιωλοσην, Οωγην, Γωδασωρ, Τουλδωραφ, Ηνωαν· εις ταυτα τα ονοματα ορκιζε σε μη παρακουσης μου, αλλα δια της χαριτος της σης συνεργησον εις ταυτην την δουλειαν.

Προσευχη της Αφροδιτης.

Περι του Ηλιου.

Ο Ηλιος εχει αγγελους ε' Μιχαηλ, Οριελ, Φιλουελ, Σαυριελ, Δοκιελ, δαιμονας δε τρεις Θονιελ, Αριανηλ, Πηθουανος.

Ευχη. Εις το ανομαν του θεου του παντοκρατορος υψιστου, εσεν κυρι Ηλιε, ο φωτιστης και ο ποιων την ημεραν, ο βασιλευς παντων των αστερων, οπου ησαι αιτιος των οφθαλμων των ανθρωπων και του ουρανου ακοιμητος οφθαλμος. ω εσυ, Ηλιε, ο τρεφων και καρπιζων παντα τα βοτανα και παντα τα δενδρα [ευπρεπειαν]. και κοσμιζεις τον παντα κοσμον, ο διωκων τα εναντια και τα εν τη σκοτεια, και διαχωριζεις τα ωραιοα εκ των ασχημων. ω εσυ Ηλιε των ατιμητων πραγματων η κοσμησις και των μαργαριτων και χρυσιων και λιθων πολυτελων η ωραιοτης και η ευπρεπεια και η δοξα των βασιλεων και των κριτων διανουσις ορκιζω σε, Ηλιε, κυρι Ηλιε, αφηλαφιστε, ακατανοητε, ο βλεπων ουρανου τας δυναμεις και κατανων τα μεγαλαιοα τοψ υψιστου. ορκιζω σε εις την λαμπαδαν, οπου λαμπεις εμπροσθεν του θεου Σαβαωθ, ινα μηδεν με παρακουσης. ορκιζω σε εις τα ονοματα σου ταυτα· Πηθακου, Δηριελ, Σινα, Ομαδοηλ, Λιαροφαρ, Φρικουτ, Ελλελ, Καδων, Αδραφορ, Ειημην, Τωναλιανος, Γαραρουηλ. Δια ταυτα σου τα ονοματα, Ω Ηλιε, να με υποκλινης την χαριν σου και την ενεργειαν σου εις την παρουσαν μου πραξιν, ινα ευρεθη δοκιμος και αληθινος.

Περι της Αφροδιτης.

Η Αφροδιτη εχει αγγελους β', Αναηλ, Κυρσοηλ, δαιμονας τρεις Βαβετ, Βαλτασαρ, Προτητηκατορ.

Ευχη. Εις το ανομαν του θεου του υψιστου και του πολυποθητου, ω εσυ

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Ο θεος ο μονος αγαθος, ο ανεξικακος εν φιλανθρωπια., ο υπεραγειρον εχων της αγαθοτητος το ανεξιχνιαστον πελαγος, παρ' ου της φιλιας η ευσπλαγchia, προσπιτω τη ση φιλανθρωπια., ινα δωσης ημιν δυναμιν και χαριν, ινα την ενεργειαν χρηστην και πεπληρωμενην δωσης εις εμε τον πλανητην τουτον, δια να ποιησω ταδε: ορκιζω σε, ωραιοτατη και γλυκεια Αφροδιτη εις την χαριν σου και εις την οδον σου και εις την ενεργειαν σου και εις την γλυκυτητα σου και εις τα ονοματα ταυτα: Ηρεθ, Λαβαμ, Συναρ, Σατηρ, Τονιδ, Τουτιμαρ, Ρεσφοδωμ, Σιρωφ, κακεμ, Σετιαπ. εις ταυτα δε ορκιζω σε, ινα μη παρακουσης μου, αλλα την σην χαριν εμοιγε δωσης, οπως το δεινα ποιησω.

παν ευμορφοτατη, κυρια Αφροδιτη, οπου ησαι εσεβασμενη εις την ανδρειαν της αγαπης και τυραννιζεις τα σπλαγchna της σαρκος των ανθρωπων. ω εσυ ο πανκρατεις τον ερωτα και μοιραζεις την αγαπην. πανωραιοτατη κυρια Αφροδιτη, η παντα ποθον κρατουσα της καρδιας των ανθρωπων, ανδρων τε και γυναικων μετα επιθυμιας και κινουσα τα σπλαγchna των ανθρωπων. ω δεσποινα και στεφανωμενη εις την δυναμιν την ιδικην σου, να τυραννηθωσιν εκεινοι, οπου θελω εγω. και υποκατων των ποδων μου να πισουν. ορκιζω σε, Αφροδιτη, εις τον θεον οπου σε εποιησεν και εστησεν σε εις τον ουρανον, ινα μηδεν με παραλουσης. ορκιζω σε, Αφροδιτη, εις το σημειον ο εχεις εις την καρδιαν σου, και εις τον στεφανον σου, και εις τον ουρανον σου, ινα μηδεν με παρακουσης. ορκιζω σε, Αφροδιτη, εις τα ονοματα σου ταυτα: Μουτοκραν, Μασγοραν, Κινουελ, Πυργετων, Λιθικων, Ιραζηλ, Ιακορ, Λαδοκον, Παρηνος, Φρεκτιουζ, Φαλοπορ, Κριπτοφν, Αλιωπαν, Αστογεν, Ιαστηρ, Ζαγλατον, Κριγενης, Οουλαν. δια ταυτα σου τα ονοματα, να με υποκλινης την χαριν σου και την ενεργειαν σου εις την παρουσαν μου πραξιν.

Προσευχη του Ερμου.

Περι του Ερμου.

Ο Ερμης εχει αγγελους..... .

Παντοκρατωρ κυριε, ο ευρετης της σοφιας και της γνωσεως, [f.247<sub>v</sub>] ο των ουρανιων και υπερουρανιων τεχνητης, παντεποπτα και παντοδυναμε, ενεργητησον ημιν χαριν, οian του σου πλανητου Ερμου εγκαταλιπες, ινα δυνηθωμεν πραξαι το δεινα: ορκιζω σε, Ερμης πανσοφε, λογιωτατε και συνετωτατε, ευσυναπτε και εγρηγορωσατε, εις την σοφian σου και

Ευχη. Ονοματα του παντεφορου θεου. ο εν υψηλοις κατοικων και τα ταπεινα εφορων. ο κυριος των πνευματων και βασιλευ, επιδος εμοι τωι αμαρτωλω την χαριν ταυτην, κυριε, ινα γενησωμαι και υποταξω των χαριτων του τοιουτου πλανητου. ω εσυ κυριε Ερμη διαλεκτικωτατε και πασης σοφιας και τεχνης πρακτικε, εξ ου και δοκιμον εσται, ο διαχωριζων και διδων καθενος την τεχνην και το εργοχειρον. ω εσυ ο

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εις την λογιότητα σου και εις την ζωνην, εν η περιπατεεις, και εις τα ονοματα ταυτα· Νηφάν, Πιουτ, ΝΟμην, Σελακ, Μερεπων, Στεμνος, Καζητοκ, Μιωτ, ινα μοι υποκλινης την χαριν σου και την ενεργειαν σου εις την πραξιν ταυτην, εν η βουλομαι ποιησαι.

της σοφιας εμπειρε και δοκιμε στρατιωτων, οτι χωρις εσεν ολα τα στρατευματα νεκρα εισιν και ακινητα. ω εσυ Ερμη συστατε και φιλοσοφε και ρητορ των ρητορων, οπου κρατεις την διανοητικην δυναμιν. ορκιζω σε, Ερμη, εις τον θεον, οπου σε εποιησεν και εστησεν σε εις τον ουρανον. ορκιζω σε εις τον θησαυρον κα εις την αρρητον σοφιαν του θεου και εις τον βραχιωνα αυτου τον υψηλον και αμετρητον. ορκιζω σε εις ολας τας μυριαδας των αγγελων, ινα με υπακουσης. ορκιζω σε εις τα ονοματα σου ταυτα· Ποβραξ, Λελισφακ, Γελσταματ, Χασιλον, Ασεχουηλ, Τερατουον, Σφεληκον, Τζημανην, Βαρνηδων. δια ταυτα σου τα ονοματα νε με υποκλινης την χαριν σου κια την ενεργειαν σου εις την παρουσαν μου πραξιν και δοκιμασιαν, ινα ευρεθη δοκιμον κια αληθινον.

Προσευχη της Σεληνης.

Περι της Σεληνης.

Δεσποτα κυριε, ο δεσποζων Ζωντων τε και νεκρων, ο εν σοφια, κατασκευασας τον ανθρωπον, ινα δεσποζη των υπο σου γενομενων κτισματων εν οσιοτητι και συνεσει, συνεργησον μοι, ινα δυναθω ο δουλος σου χαριν λαβειν και υποταξαι τον πλανητην την Σεληνην και τελειωσαι το εργον, ο επεχειρισθην ορκιζω σε Σεληνην, του ουρανου ωραιοτατη πορφυρα και της νυκτος παραμυθια. ορκιζω σε εις την οδον σου και εις την ανακαινισιν σου και εις αναμετρους βαθμους, εν οις κατερχει, και εις τα ονοματα ταυτα· Σαβαηλ, Βοαηλ, Ονιτζηρ, Σπαρου, Σωρτηρχα, Γαβηδ, Ουτουπων, Καιπολης, Γωμεδιν, Μαρηβατ. εις ταυτα σε ορκιζω, Σεληνη, ινα μοι υποκλινης την χαριν σου και την ενεργειαν σου εις την δουλειαν ταυτην, εν η επιχειριζομαι

Η Σεληνη εχει αγγελους σ' Γαβρηλ, Σελουελ, Χαρηλ, Αμφηλ, Σηνελ, Περδικημ· δαιμοναν α' Οταροηλ. Ευχη. κυριε παντοκρατωρ, υψιστε και συστατικε και βασιλευ των παντων, ο ποιησας και πλασας τον ανθρωπον, ο τον ουρανον κοσμησας μετα αστρων και την γην στολισας τα ανθη και τα ειδη, δι' ου πασα κτισις ορατη και αορατος φρισει και τρεμει απο προσωπου της δυναμεως σου, εσεν δεομαι και εσεν παρακαλω εγω ο αναξιος δουλος σου, ινα με υπακουσης και του τοιουτου πλανητου την χαριν υποταξης μοι. ω εσυ κυρια Σεληνη, του κοσμου ταξις κια επιγνωσις κια του ουρανου μορφη και της νυκτος παραμυθια και των βιαζομενων πνευματων η δεσποινα. ω εσυ κυρια Σεληνη, υποδειξις, του χρονου σημειον και κυρια πασων εορτων και πανηγυρεων. ορκιζω σε, Σεληνη, εις το υψηλον θρονον του θεου και εις τας ηλιακας σου ακτινας και εις την αναστασιν του Χριστου, ινα μηδεν με

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παρακουσης. ορκιζω σε, Σεληνη, εις τα Χερουβιμ και Σεραφιμ και εις ολας τας ταξεις των αγιων αγγελων και εις τα ονοματα τα χαριτωμενα παντα: Γαλαηλ, Βενοηλ, Αγραμμαηλ, Αδεμαηλ, Θειεληφοηλ, Αριφαηλ, Ζηχιθοελ. δια ταυτα σου τα ονοματα να με υποταξης την χαριν σου και την ενεργειαν σου εις ταυτην την πραξιν, ην θελω εγω ποιησαι την ωραν ταυτην, να ευρεθη δοκιμον και αληθινον.

Προσευχη των αγγελων.

Οταν θελης να ορκισης αγγελον και δαιμονα εις την ωραν, ην κυριευουσιν, ορκιζε αυτους ουτως.

Ορκιζω σε, ω αγγελε δεινα, οστις κυριειεις την ωραν ταυτην και ει συ βαλλομενος προς προβλειψιν και υπουργιαν του ανθρωπινου γενους, δεινα, ο παντοτε προθυμος, δυνατος και ανδρειος και οξυς, ορκιζω σε εις τον θεον, ος σε εταξε φυλαττειν την ωραν ταυτην, ινα εισαι συνεργος μου μετα του υποτακτικου σου του δεινα δαιμονος, ος επροεταχθη να εναι δουλος εις την ωραν ταυτην και εσυσ να μοι συνεργησεται και να ποιησεται την δουλειαν ταυτην, να εναι δοκιμος, καλη και αληθινη.

Γινωσκε, ω ακριβεστατε υιε Ροβοαμ, ινα οταν βουληθης του επιχειρισαι εργον τι, τυχαινη να γινωσκεις τον πλανητην του και την ωραν, και πρωτον ειπε τας προσευχας, τοτε ορκιζε τον αγγελον και τον δαιμονα της ωρας εκεινης, να εναι συνεργον σου εις εκεινο το θελεις ποιησαι τοτε ποιησαι τας χαρακτηρας του πλανητου μετα των μελανιων και καπνισματων του καθ'ενος, και ο εχων εξουσιαν της, ο κυριος της ωρας παρεχει σοι.

Επει τοιουν σοι μαθειν εξης εγενετο τας τε ενεργεια: αυτου και τας χαριτας εκαστου των πλανητων ημερας τε αυτων και ωρας, δει δη σε πρωτον προσευχεσθαι γονυκλιτων και θυμιων εκαστου τουτων τα αρμοζοντα θυμιαματα, ειτα πραττειν ο βουλη περιων ειρηται εμπροσθ [εν], οτε και τας χαρακτηρας αυτων και τα σημεια κατας σφραγιδας εκθησομεν.

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PARISINUS

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Ἰσθι δε οτι δωδεκα ζωδια εστιν  
 κυκλω του ουρανου, α και οικoi  
 των πλανητων λεγονται. εκαστον  
 των ζωδιων κυριευει μηναν ενα  
 εκαστος των πλανητων εν τουτω  
 διερχομενος αποτελει την ιδιαν  
 ενεργειαν. κατα ταξιν γαρ  
 τεταχται παντα ταυτα ινα μηδεν  
 ματαιιον η ανωφελες γενηται ητοι  
 η κενον εν τω κοσμω. και πρωτον  
 μεν αρχεται απο του Κριου και  
 μενει επι τουτου των ζωδιων ολον  
 τον Μαρτιον μηναν· επειτα και τα  
 λοιπα ακολουθως, ων τα σημεια  
 και ονοματα αυτων εισιν ταυτα  
 (Signorum sigla). Αυτα τα ειρημενα  
 δωδεκα ζωδια του ουρανου οικoi  
 πλανητων καλουνται· ταυτα  
 περιερχεται η Σεληνη ημερας  
 τριακοντα δαι ποιει εν ενι τουτων  
 των Ζωδιων ημερας δυο ημισυ και  
 παλιν ερχεται. και οταν βουλη  
 ευρειν εν ποιω ζωδιω εστιν η  
 Σεληνη, πρωτον σκεπτου τας  
 ημερας ταυτας ποσαι εισιν· ειτα  
 κρατει τον μηναι ου περιπατεις  
 και πορευου εναντι πινακος και  
 ευρης εν τω κανονι εν ποιω ζωδιω  
 η Σεληνη καταγεται και μαθησει  
 τινα χαριν εχει εν τω καιρω εκεινω  
 εκαστον των ζωδιων.

Χρη ειδεναι και τουτων των  
 ζωδιων ποια εστιν χρησιμα και  
 ποια εναντια και ποια μεσαια,  
 ωσπερ και περι των πλανητων  
 ελεχθη. χρησιμα Κριος, Διδυμοι,  
 Παρθενος, Ιχθυες μεσα δε Ταυρος,  
 Ζυγος, τοξοτης, Υδροχοος  
 αχρηστα δε Καρκινος, Σκορπιος,  
 Λιγοκερως, Λεων.

Οπηνικα δε βουλη ποιησαι τι  
 ευχρηστον ευστοχως και ορθως,  
 πρωτον ευρε τον πλανητην τις  
 εστιν, ειτα το Ζωδιον εν ω χαιρει  
 αυτος ει συνεστι, ειτα ευχαριστους  
 ημερας των μηνων. και ει μεην  
 ομοφωνουσιν οι πλανηται των  
 ζωδιων και αι ημεραι ευχαριστοι,  
 ποιει το βουλη· ει δ'εναντιωσιν,  
 απεχε ημεραις εκειναισ

## M HARLEIANUS

## PARISINUS

## Λ

Τα δωδεκα ζωδια τιναν ωφελειαν  
εχει εκαστον τουτων.

Κριος ωφελει εις το ποιησαι χαρτιν να το  
φορης εις αυξησιν και διασυρμον τεχνης  
και εις το ζητησαι χαριν απο οιου δε  
τινος βουλει και ινα παγης προς  
θαλασσαν.

Ο Κριος εστιν χρησιμος εις το  
ποιησαι χαρτι και βασταζειν προς  
βασιλεις και μεγαστανους και  
στρατηγους. ωφελει δε δια πρασιν  
και εις οδηγιαν τεχνης του αιτησαι  
χαρισμα απ' αυθεντου η απο φιλου,  
και του περασαι θαλασσαν.

Ταυρος εις το φιλιας ποιησαι χαρτιν εν  
τη ωρα, της Αφροδιτης και εις το  
ζητησαι χαριν γυναικος ηπαγημονης και  
εις το, ει τις βουλεται, ταυτην ζημωσαι.

Ο Ταυρος εστιν χρησιμος εις το  
ποιησαι φιλιαν εν τη ωρα, της  
Αφροδιτης η χαρτιον περι τουτων η  
αλλο τι και του ζητησαι χαριν παρα  
γυναικος εγαπημενης και εις υπερ  
βουλεται τις ζημωσαι αυτην.

Ο Διδυμος ωφελει εις το ποιησαι  
παιδας μαθειν γραμματα εν τη ωρα,  
του Κρονου, και εις συμβιβασιν του  
λαβειν γυναικα ο ανηρ και του  
ποιησαι χαρτιν περι κρισεως ακι περι  
του μιλησαι ανδρι μεγαστω και του  
εκβαλειν βοτανas εν ωρα, του Αρεως  
η του Ερμου.

Διδυμος εις το παιδας μαθειν γραμματα  
και δια συμβιβασιν του λαβειν γυναικα ο  
ανηρ· και εις το ποιησαι χαρτιν δια  
κρισιν και ομιλησαι μετα μεγαστανω ακι  
του εκβαλειν βοτανas εν τη ωρα, του  
Αρεως και Ερμου.

Ο Καρκινος εις το ποιησαι χαρτιον  
υπερ βοηθειας δαιμονιζομενων η  
δαιμονιζοντων εν τη ωρα, του Ερμου·  
και του εξαλειψαι γοητειas και του  
ποιησαι δια θηραν εν τη αυτη ωρα  
του Ερμου.

Καρκινος εις το ποιησαι χαρτιν περι  
δαιμονιζομενου εν τη ωρα, του Ερμου  
και του αφανισαι μαγεια εν τη ωρα, του  
Διουs.

Ο δε Λεων ωφελει εις το  
απονεκρωσαι τινας του εαυτων  
εχθρουs και του ποιησαι χαρτι η  
αλλον τι περι καταλαλειas ανθρωπων  
ινα με καταλαλωσιν· και του ποιησαι  
τινα χαρτι βασταζειν εν τω πολεμω  
εν τη ωρα, του Αρεως και του  
ποιησαι ενδειξιν μετα σπαθης.

Λεων εις το απονεκρωσαι εχθρουs  
και ινα ποιησης χαρτιν εις  
γλωσσοφαγιαν και τα ομοια· και  
ποιησαι χαρτιν του βασταζειν εις  
πολεμον και ποιησαι δοκιμασιαν  
μετα σπαθης.

M HARLEIANUS

PARISINUS

A

Ο Παρθενος ωφελει εις το εμβαλειν τα πνευματα εν τω αγγειω εχοντι το υδωρ και ερωτησαι αυτα περι θησαυρου εν τη ωρα, του Κρονου και του αγαγειν τα πνευματα και ομιλησαι εν τω κυκλω και τα παραπλησια τουτοις.

Ο Ζυγος ωφελει εις φοβερισμον και του ποιησαι ιδειν ονειρους και εις το ενυπνιασαι την γυναικα ο ανηρ η και αναπαλιν και ειρηνευσαι ανθρωπους μαχομενους και ποιησαι περι ειρηνης αυτων και του ειρηνευσαι ανδρογυνον μεμισημενον η οταν σκανδαλισθη εν τη ωρα, της Αφροδιτης.

Ο Σκορπιος εστιν ευχηστος και επιτηδειος εις το ποιησαι περι εξολοθρευσεως εχθρων και περι του εργα ποιησαι εργαστηριον πραγματων και εις το δησαι ανδρας και εις το λυσαι ομοιωσ· και εις το ποιησαι φλακτηριον εν χαρτιω και βασταζειν του μη φοβεισθαι τιναν εχθρον.

Ο τοξοτης εστιν ωφελιμος εις το ποιησαι αρουρας καρποφορειν εσπαρμενας, εαν δε εν τω λαβης αργυρια εν τη χειρι σου, πληθυνθησονται, η χρυσιον η αλλον τι τουτοις ομοιον. και εις τα μη κακοθελησαι τιναν του εχθρους και του ποιησαι χαρτιν με φοβεισθαι τιναν των ανθρωπων, αλλα μαλιστα φαινεσθαι μεγαν και φοβερον.

Ο Αιγοκερωσ εστιν αρμοδιος εις το εξολοθρευσαι τινα τους εχθρους και τους οικους αυτων εν τη ωρα, του Αρεωσ και του ποιησαι μισηθηναι ανδρογυνον, η αλλους τινας φιλους ηγαπημενους εν τη ωρα, του κρονου.

Παρθενος εις το ερωτησαι πνευμα εις την αμουλαν και ερωτησαι περι θησαυρου εν ωρα, Κρονου κα εις το ποιησαι ομιλιαν πνευματος εσω εις πολον και τα ομοια.

ζυγος εις το φοβερισμον και εις το ποιησαι ιδειν ονειρα· και του λαβειν ειρηνην ανθρωπους μαχομενους και του ημερωσαι ανδρογυνον σκανδαλιζομενον εν ωρα, της Αφροδιτης.

Σκορπιος εις το εξολοθρευσαι εχθρους και εις ο αργησαι εργαστηριον· και του δησαι και λυσαι ομοιωσ και ινα ποιησης χαρτιν εις το ποιησαι του μη φοβεισθαι εχθρον.

Τοξοτης εις το ποιησαι χοραφια καρπωθηναι· εαν δε εν τω λαβης αργυρια εν τη χειρι σου πληθυνθησονται· και εις το μη κακοθελησαι τιναν τον εχθρον· και του ποιησαι χαρτιν ινα η φοβησαι ανθρωπους, αλλ' ινα φαινεσαι ενδοξος και φοβερος.

Αιγοκερωσ εις το εξολοθρευσαι εχθρους συν τοις οικοις αυτων εν τη ωρα, του Αρεωσ και εις το ποιησαι χαρτιν δια μειστειας ανθρωπων ηγαπημενων εν ωρα, του Κρονου.

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Ο Υδροχοος εστιν ωφελιμος του ποιησαι με φοβασθαι θαλασσαν και του γαληνην ποιησαι αυτην και του ποιησαι δεσμον φιλιας και αγαπης ισχυρον και δυνατον.

Οι ιχθυες εισιν δοκιμοι εις το ποιησαι χαρτιν ινα τις κερδαινη μετα των κυμβων η αλλων τινων τουτοις ομοιων και εις στιχηματα εν τη ωρα, του Ερμου. και του ποιησαι περιπατειν αφανως και του ποιησαι νεκυομαντειαν η υγρομαντειαν και τα ομοια τουτοις εισιν επιτηδειοι. ρι"ϋϋρι"οιϋ

Επειδη, ω φιλτατε νιε Ροβοαμ, εμαθες εκαστου των πλανητων δυναμιν τε και ενεργειαν, δει δη σε τον λοιπον, οταν βουλη πραξαι, ονομαζειν και τους αγγελους αυτων και τους δαιμονας οιτινες κυριευουσιν επ'αυτοις, οιδε εισιν οι αγγελοι και δαιμονες εκαστου των πλανητων, ημερα τε αυτων και ωρα.

Η πρωτη ημερα: ωρα πρωτη κυριευει ο Ηλιος. και επικαλου τους αγγελους αυτου ινα σοι επεξουσιασωσι και υποταξωσιν τα δαιμονια της αυτης ωρας λεγων ουτωσ:

Τα δωδεκα ζωδια τιναν ωφελειαν εχει εκαστον τουτων.

Ο Κριος εστιν χρησιμος εις το ποιησαι χαρτι και βασταζειν προς βασιλεις και μεγατανους και στρατηγους. ωφελει δε δια πρασιν και εις οδηγιαν τεχνης του αιτησαι χαρισμα απ'αυθεντου η απο φιλου, και του περασαι θαλασσαν.

Ο Ταυρος εστιν χρησιμος εις το ποιησαι φιλιαν εν τη ωρα, της Αφροδιτης η χαρτιον περι τουτων η αλλο τι και του ζητησαι χαριν παρα γυναικος εγαπημενης και εις υπερ βουλεται τις ζημιωσαι αυτην.

Υδροχοος εις το ποιησαι χαρτιν του με φοβεισθαι θαλασσαν και εις το ποιησαι αυτην γαληνην και εις το ποιησαι δεσμον αγαπης στερεον.

Ιχθυες εις το ποιησαι χαρτιν του κερδιζειν μετα ζαριων, ομοιως και ετερων στιχηματων εν ωρα, του Ερμου· και εις το ποιησαι περιπατειν απαρηγαντως και του ποιησαι υγρομαντειαν και λεκανομαντειαν και τα ομοια.

Οταν βουλη ποιησαι τι, οφειλεις ιαν ησαι καθαρος και αγνος και πεπλυμενος εις υδωρ γλυκυ και ενδεδυμενος ιματιοις λευκοις και καθαροις. χρη δε επιλεγειν και ονομασιας αγγελων του καθενος των πλανητων, ινα υποτασσουν τους δαιμονας οιτινες υπαρχουσιν εμποροι της ωρας.

Κριος ωφελει εις το ποιησαι χαρτιν να το φορης εις αυξησιν και διασυρμον τεχνης και εις το ζητησαι χαριν απο οιου δε τινος βουλει και ινα παγης προς θαλασσαν.

Ταυρος εις το φιλιας ποιησαι χαρτιν εν τη ωρα, της Αφροδιτης και εις το ζητησαι χαριν γυναικος ηπαγημονης και εις το, ει τις βουλεται, ταυτην ζημιωσαι.

M HARLEIANUS

PARISINUS

A

Ο Διδυμος ωφελει εις το ποιησαι παιδας μαθειν γραμματα εν τη ωρα, του Κρονου, και εις συμβιβασιν του λαβειν γυναικα ο ανηρ και του ποιησαι χαρτιν περι κρισεως ακι περι του μιλησαι ανδρι μεγιστω και του εκβαλειν βοτανας εν ωρα, του Αρεως η του Ερμου.

Ο Καρκινος εις το ποιησαι χαρτιον υπερ βοηθειας δαιμονιζομενων η δαιμονιζοντων εν τη ωρα, του Ερμου και του εξαλειψαι γοητειας και του ποιησαι δια θηραν εν τη αυτη ωρα του Ερμου.

Ο δε Λεων ωφελει εις το απονεκρωσαι τινας του εαυτων εχθρους και του ποιησαι χαρτι η αλλον τι περι καταλαλειας ανθρωπων ινα με καταλαλωσιν και του ποιησαι τινα χαρτι βασταζειν εν τω πολεμω εν τη ωρα, του Αρεως και του ποιησαι ενδειξιν μετα σπαθης.

Ο Παρθενος ωφελει εις το εμβαλειν τα πνευματα εν τω αγγειω εχοντι το υδωρ και ερωτησαι αυτα περι θησαυρου εν τη ωρα, του Κρονου και του αγαγειν τα πνευματα και ομιλησαι εν τω κυκλω και τα παραπλησια τουτοις.

Ο Ζυγος ωφελει εις φοβερισμον και του ποιησαι ιδειν ονειρους και εις το ενυπνιασαι την γυναικα ο ανηρ η και αναπαλιν και ειρηνευσαι ανθρωπους μαχομενους και ποιησαι περι ειρηνης αυτων και του ειρηνευσαι ανδρογυνον μεμισημενον η οταν σκανδαλισθη εν τη ωρα, της Αφροδιτης.

Ο Σκορπιος εστιν ευχρηστος και επιτηδειος εις το ποιησαι περι εξολοθρευσεως εχθρων και περι του εργα ποιησαι εργαστηριον πραγματων και εις το δησαι ανδρας και εις το λυσαι ομοιωσ και εις το ποιησαι φλακτηριον εν χαρτιω και βασταζειν του μη φοβεισθαι τιναν εχθρον.

Διδυμος εις το παιδας μαθειν γραμματα και δια συμβιβασιν του λαβειν γυναικα ο ανηρ και εις το ποιησαι χαρτιν δια κρισιν και ομιλησαι μετα μεγιστανων ακι του εκβαλειν βοτανας εν τη ωρα, του Αρεως και Ερμου.

Καρκινος εις το ποιησαι χαρτιν περι δαιμονιζομενου εν τη ωρα, του Ερμου και του αφανισαι μαγεια εν τη ωρα, του Διου.

Λεων εις το απονεκρωσαι εχθρους και ινα ποιησης χαρτιν εις γλωσσοφαγιαν και τα ομοια και ποιησαι χαρτιν του βασταζειν εις πολεμον και ποιησαι δοκιμασιαν μετα σπαθης.

Παρθενος εις το ερωτησαι πνευμα εις την αμουλαν και ερωτησαι περι θησαυρου εν ωρα, Κρονου κα εις το ποιησαι ομιλιαν πνευματος εσω εις πολον και τα ομοια.

Ζυγος εις το φοβερισμον και εις το ποιησαι ιδειν ονειρα και του λαβειν ειρηνην ανθρωπους μαχομενους και του ημερωσαι ανδρογυνον σκανδαλιζομενον εν ωρα, της Αφροδιτης.

Σκορπιος εις το εξολοθρευσαι εχθρους και εις ο αργησαι εργαστηριον και του δησαι και λυσαι ομοιως και ινα ποιησης χαρτιν εις το ποιησαι του μη φοβεισθαι εχθρον.

M HARLEIANUS

PARISINUS

A

Ο τοξότης ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι ἀρουρας καρποφορεῖν ἐσπαρμένας. εἰάν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ λαβῆς ἀργυρία ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου, πληθυνθήσονται, ἢ χρυσιὸν ἢ ἄλλον τι τοῦτοις ὁμοῖον. καὶ εἰς τὰ μὴ κατορθέησαι τινὰν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι χαρτὶν με φοβείσθαι τινὰν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα φαίνεσθαι μέγαν καὶ φοβερόν.

Ο Αἰγοκερῶς ἐστὶν ἀρμόδιος εἰς τὸ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι τινὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς οἰκοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ, τοῦ Ἀρεῶς καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι μισήθηναί ἀνδρογυνοῦν, ἢ ἄλλοις τινὰς φίλους ἠγαπημένους ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ, τοῦ Κρόνου.

Ο Ὑδροχοὸς ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος τοῦ ποιῆσαι με φοβασθαι θάλασσαν καὶ τοῦ γαλήνην ποιῆσαι αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι δεσμόν φιλίας καὶ ἀγαπῆς ἰσχυρόν καὶ δυνατόν.

Οἱ ἰχθυεὺς εἰσὶν δοκιμοὶ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι χαρτὶν ἵνα τίς κερδαίνῃ μετὰ τῶν κυμβῶν ἢ ἄλλων τινῶν τοῦτοις ὁμοίων καὶ εἰς στιχημάτα ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ, τοῦ Ἑρμίου. καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι περιπατεῖν ἀφανῶς καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι νεκυομαντεῖαν ἢ υἱρομαντεῖαν καὶ τὰ ὁμοῖα τοῦτοις εἰσὶν ἐπιτηδεῖοι.

Ἐπειδὴ, ὦ φίλτατε υἱε Ροβοάμ, ἐμαθὲς ἑκάστου τῶν πλανητῶν δυνάμιν τε καὶ ἐνεργεῖαν, δεῖ δὴ σε τὸν λοιπὸν, ὅταν βούλῃ πράξαι, ὀνομαζεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας οἵτινες κυριεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. οἶδε εἰσὶν οἱ ἀγγελοὶ καὶ δαίμονες ἑκάστου τῶν πλανητῶν, ἡμέρα τε αὐτῶν καὶ ὥρα.

Ἡ πρώτη ἡμέρα· ὥρα πρώτη κυριεύει ὁ Ἥλιος. καὶ επικαλοῦ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ ἵνα σοὶ ἐπεξουσιασῶσι καὶ υποταξῶσιν τὰ δαίμονια τῆς αὐτῆς ὥρας λέγων οὕτως·

Τοξότης εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι χοραφία καρπωθῆναι· εἰάν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ λαβῆς ἀργυρία ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου πληθυνθήσονται· ἔ<sup>7</sup>δὶ ὕκαί εἰς τὸ μὴ κατορθέησαι τινὰν τὸν ἐχθρόν· καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι χαρτὶν ἵνα ἢ φοβῆσαι ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ' ἵνα φαίνεσαι ἐνδοξὸς καὶ φοβερός.

Αἰγοκερῶς εἰς τὸ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι ἐχθροὺς σὺν τοῖς οἰκοῖς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ, τοῦ Ἀρεῶς καὶ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι χαρτὶν διὰ μεσιτείας ἀνθρώπων ἠγαπημένων ἐν ὥρᾳ, τοῦ Κρόνου.

Ὑδροχοὸς εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι χαρτὶν τοῦ με φοβείσθαι θάλασσαν καὶ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι αὐτὴν γαλήνην καὶ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι δεσμόν ἀγαπῆς στερεόν.

Ἰχθυεὺς εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι χαρτὶν τοῦ κερδιζεῖν μετὰ ζαριῶν, ὁμοίως καὶ ἑτέρων στιχημάτων ἐν ὥρᾳ, τοῦ Ἑρμίου· καὶ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι περιπατεῖν ἀπαρμυγαντῶς καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι υἱρομαντεῖαν καὶ λεκανομαντεῖαν καὶ τὰ ὁμοῖα.

Ὅταν βούλῃ ποιῆσαι τι, οφείλεις ἵαν ἦσαι καθαρὸς καὶ ἄγνος καὶ πεπλυμένος εἰς ὕδωρ γλυκὺ καὶ ἐνδεδυμένος ἱματίοις λευκοῖς καὶ καθαροῖς. χρῆ δὲ ἐπιλεγεῖν καὶ ὀνομασίας ἀγγέλων τοῦ καθενὸς τῶν πλανητῶν, ἵνα υποτασσῶσιν τοὺς δαίμονας οἵτινες ὑπαρχοῦσιν ἐμποροὶ τῆς ὥρας.

M HARLEIANUS

PARISINUS

A

Ορκισμος αγγελων·

Ορκίζω υμας, ω αγγελοι οιτινες παρα Θεου προσταχθεντες κυριευετε ο δεινα και ο δεινα ταυτη τη ωρα, προς την των ανθρωπων υπουργιαν και προθυμως και ασκνωσ και ανδρειως και ισχυρωσ ινα μοι συεργησητε καθυποταξαι τους δαμονσ ταυτησ της ωρασ και εις την εμην ελθωσιν υπηρεσιαν

και θελησιν υπηρετησαι πραγμα η εργον ου αν θελω αρξασθαι, του αποβηναι δοκιμον και αληθεσ και αδολον εις δοξαν του παντοδυναμου Θεου του ισχυρου, ω τιμη πρεπει κια αινοσ απαυστον εις τον αιωνα του αιωνοσ, αμην.

Εκαστησ ημερασ αγγελοι και δαμονεσ.

Ο Ηλιοσ εχει αγγελουσ ε'· Μιχαηλ, Αριηλ, Φυλονελ, Σαυριηλ, Δουνιελ· και δαμονασ γ'· Χθουνηλ, Αριαηλ και Επιθουανον. υ ἴκαι επικαλου τουσ αγγελουσ ονομασι λεγων ινα σοι υποταξωσι τουσ ειρημενουσ δαμονασ οτε τι ποιειν εθελεισ ο εις Ηλιον αναφερεται. ουτω ωσαυτωσ ποιει και τουσ λοιπουσ, ονομαζε τουσ αγγελουσ αυτων και τουσ δαμονασ.

Σεληνη ημερα, δευτερα· αγγελοι και δαμονεσ. Η Σεληνη ημερα, δευτερα, ωσ ειρηται· και εχει αγγελουσ ζ'· Γαυριηλ, Σαλουηλ, Χαριελ, Εμφιλοηλ, Σπενδονι, Περδικοιμ, Ουγαριελ· και δαμονα ενα Ταρταρουελ.

Ημερα, τριτη· αγγελοι και δαμονεσ. Ο Αρησ τη τριτη· και εχει αγγελουσ β'· Ουριλ, Σαβεελ· και δαμονα ενα Σβιρουελ.

Ο Ερμησ τη τετραδη· εχει αγγελουσ τρεισ Μαδαδοελ, Περτικεελ, Αποδοκιελ· και δαμονασ δυο· Χαλιβ, Σιλουανηλ.

Ηλιοσ εχει αγγελουσ πεντε· Μιχαηλ, Αριηλ, φιλουηλ, ΣΑβριηλ, Δονιηλ, και δαμονασ τρεισ Χρονηηλ, Αριανηλ κα Οποθουα [...]

Τη δευτερα, Σεληνη εχει αγγελουσ πεντε· Γαβριηλ, Σελγιηλ, Χαριηλ, Εφηλοηλ, Πιδυκημ· και δαμονα ενα τον Ταρταροηλ.

Αρησ εχει αγγελουσ β'· Ουρουηλ και Βειηλ· και δαμονα ενα τον Ζεβερουηλ.

Ερμησ εχει αγγελουσ γ'· Μαντουηλ, Πελτικοηλ, Αποδοκιηλ· και δαμοναν εναν τον Χαριουν.

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Τη πεμπτη· αγγελιοι και δαιμονες.  
Ο Ζευς τη πεμπτη και εχει αγγελος  
δυο· Σερπ εφηλ, Ραφαηλ· και  
δαιμονας δυο· Ποδηλουλατορ και  
Ορνιελ.

Ζευς εχει αγγελους δυο· Σερπηφιηλ και  
Ραφαελ· και δαιμοναν ενα τον Ορκειηλ.

Ημερα, παρασκευη· αγγελιοι και  
δαιμονες.  
Η Αφροδιτη εχει αγγελους δ'· Αναελ,  
Γαθουελ, Πηλακουελ, Κυρσοουελ,  
Κυρσοελ· και δαιμονας γ'· Βαβητ,  
Βαλτασαρ και Προτιζηκατουρ.

Αφροδιτη εχει αγγελους τρεις Αναηλ,  
Γαθουε και Κηρσοηλ· και δαιμονας  
δυο· Σαβητ και Βαλτασαρ.

Ημερα, σαββατω· αγγελιοι και  
δαιμονες,  
Ο Κρονος σαββατω· και εχει αγγελον  
ενα· Βεελ· και δαιμονα ενα· Ζεβουλ.  
Ουτοι εισιν οι αγγελιοι και οι δαιμονες.

Κρονος εχει αγγελον ενα τον  
Κτινοτοθεν· και δαιμοναν εναν τον  
Βεελζεβουηλ.

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Αι χαρακτηραι του Κρονου.

Τα τε θυμιαματα και οι χαρακτηρες  
και σφραγιδες των πλανητων εισιν  
ουτοι.

Τας χαρακτηρας του Κρονου ποιησε  
μετα της σκουριας του μολιβδου και  
μετα οξους και καπνιζε τιαφην αυτας.  
Γραφε δε αυτας εις χαρτι τραγινον.

Του Κρονου τα θυμιαματα εστιν  
ταυτα· μελαν θυμιαμα, ονυχες ονου  
μελανος, κεφαλη οφεως, πεπερι, αλοη  
και θυμιας εις την ιδιαν ωραν αυτου,  
τα δε σημεια εστι ταυτα (signa)· η δε  
σφραγισ (signum).

Αι χαρακτηραι του Διου.

Του Ζευ.

Τας χαρακτηρας του Διου ποιησε μετα  
αργυριου σκουριας και μετα  
ροδοσταγματος και καπνισον αυτας  
συμυραν και γραψε αυτας εις χαρτι  
βοιον αγεννητον.

Του δε Διου τα θυμιαματα ταυτα  
εισιν· Ξυλοβαλαμον, κινναμωμον,  
οπιον, κανφορα, κοκκια  
περιστερωνος. οι δε χαρακτηρες εισιν  
ουτοι (signa)· η δε σφραγισ αυτου  
(signum).

Αι χαρακτηραι του Αρεως.

Τας χαρακτηρας του Αρεως γραψε  
μετα κινναβαρεως καθαρας και μετα  
ροδοσταγματος και καπνισον αυτας

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αιμα ανθρωπινον χηρον και γραφε  
επανω εις φωκης η γυπος δερμα και ο  
εχων εχουσιαν διδωσι σοι.

[f. 248<sub>v</sub>] Αι χαρακτηραι του Ηλιου.

Τας χαρακτηρας του Ηλιου γραψε  
μετα χρυσιου η μετα αρσενικου  
σχιστου και υδατος καπνισον αυτας  
μοσχοκαρυον και γραφε αυτας εις  
χαρτι κοιταριου ανθρωπου η εις δερμα  
ιπλου.

Αι χαρακτηραι της Αφροδιτης.

Της Αφροδιτης αι χαρακτηραι  
υπαρχουσι και γραφε αυτας μετα  
αιματος νυκτεριδος η μετα λαζουριου  
αδολου και ροδοσταγματος εις χαρτι  
κινος η εις χαρτι ελαφινον αγεννητον  
και καπνισον αυτας μαστιχην και  
λαδανον.

[Αι χαρακτηραι του Ερμου.]

Του Ερμου αι χαρακτηραι γραφονται  
μετα αιματος βοος η ονου η προβατου  
η μετα ιαριου και υδατος εις χαρτι  
παρθενων και καπνισον αυτες λαγνωου  
δερμα και λιβανον.

[.....]

Του Ηλιου.

Του Ηλιου τα θυμαματα εστι  
ταυτα· μοσχοκαρυον, κασια, ανθη  
των ροδων, λοκκια στυρακος. οι  
δε χαρακτηρες (signa) · η δε  
σφραγισ αυτου (signum).

Του Αρεως

Του δε Αρεως τα θυμαματα εστι  
ταυτα· αιμα γαλης, εγκεφαλος  
κυπος, ανθρωπινον αιμα,  
εγκεφαλος κορακος. τα δε σημεια  
των χαρακτηρων εισιν ταυτα  
(signa) · ηδε σφραγισ (signum) .

Του Ερμου τα θυμαματα.

Του δε Ερμου τα θυμαματα εστι  
ταυτα· λιβανος καθαρως λευκος  
μοσχατον, κηρος σφηκων,  
λαδανον, καλαμου ριζα  
αρωματικου. τα δε σημεια των  
χαρακτηρων (signa) · η δε  
σφραγισ (signum).

Της Σεληνης.

Της Σεληνης τα θυμαματα εστιν  
ταυτα· κηρος λευκος καθαρως  
μελισσης, κροκος, δαφνης ριζα· ει  
δ' ουκ εστιν αυτη, κυνοβατου  
κορυφη και ασφοδελου ριζα. τα  
δε σημεια των χαρακτηρων

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ιδου μεμαθηκας, φιλτατε υιε, την δυναμιν των πλανητων, τας τεχνας των ευχων αυτων και τους δαιμονας τους υποτασσομενους (εν οις μελλεις ευχεσθαι τους τε αγγελους τους επιστατουντας αυτων και τους δαιμονας οπου υποτασσονται των αγγελων) · λοιπον δε σο ετι ειδεναι και τα οργανα τα υπηρετουντα πορς την τεχνην της συναγωγης των πνευματων, δηλαδη την μαχαιραν και τα ιματια και τα αλλα οσα δη και οια εν τω καθεξης ειρησεται.

Περι του ποιησαι μαχαιραν.

Οπηνικα δε θελεις ποιησαι την μαχαιραν της τεχνης (η δει σε εγχαραξαι τον κυκλον εν τη γη και δι' αυτης γενησονται), ουτω δει ποιειν. Λαβε σιδηρον του ποιησαντα φονον η μαχαιραν η σπαθην η αλλο ο τι ουν και δος το χαλκια ποιησαι σοι μαχαιραν αρεσκουσαν σε, κοφτερην ως αυτην (figura) · και μανικωσον αυτην τραγειω κερατι μελανι ποιησας καλως αυτην εξυτατην φυλαττε αυτην καθαρωσ πανν· και μηδεν δι' αυτην εκκοψης και ας ηναι χωρις θηκην· και εχε αυτην εν τοπω καθαρω. ειναι δε και τον τεχνιτην αναγκη καθαρον εως τελειωσει αυτην ποιειν. και χρῶ αυτην ενεκεν ενεργειας αυτης μονον και ουκ επι τι αλλο.

Περι πως να ποιησης κονδυλιον.

Οταν θελῃς ποιησαι κονδυλιον της τεχνης, λαβων την ειρημενην μαχαιραν απελθε εις τον τοπον οπου ειναι οι καλαμοι ανυδροι. και γονυκλιτησας λεγε· ω αγγελοι Σαβαωθ, Αδωναι, Ελωι, Τετραγραμματον, εσου εις την βοηθειαν. επειτα κοψον τον καλαμον εν πρωτοις. και ποιησον

Απο του νυν διδω σοι ορδιον της παρουσης τεχνης εις το ποιησαι παντοποιον εργον.

Χρη πρωτον ποιησαι την μαχαιραν της τεχνης, τη οποια, μαχαιρα, μελλει ποιησαι παντοιον πολον και παντοιαν πνευματον κλησιν· εχει δε ουτως, λαβε σιδηρον εκ σπαθης η μαχαιρας της ποιησασης φονον και ποιησον εν τουτου μαχαιραν και μανι'ικωσον ταυτην εκ κερατος αιγος. εστω δε η μαχαιρα οξεια και εστω εις το μανικαιον πεπηγμενη μη εχουσα ηλον. εστω δε η αιγα μελανη. μεθ' ο ποιησης τουτον, φυλαττε αυτον εκτος θηκης και ορα μη κοψης τι των βρωματων η ετερον τι μετ'αυτο, αλλ' εν ασφαλει κατεχε τοπω.

Ει δε βουλη ποιησαι κονδυλιν απο πτερον ορνεου τινος, ανασπασον αυτο απο της πτερυγος αυτου· ανασπων δε λεγε ταυτα· Αναη, Αγλει. Τετραγραμματον, Κυριε και Θεε, εσο εις την βοηθειαν μου και ειτι γραψω, εις το γενεσθαι εν παντι επιτυχουμενον εισειτι αν γραψω. και πελεκησας αυτο

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τον κονδυλον της τεχνης μετα της ειρημενης μαχαιρας και φυλαττε καθαρωσ. και οτε θελεις γραφειν, γραφε δι' αυτης τα διαδηλωθησομενα σημεια α μελλεις γραφειν εν τισι των ματιων.

Εαν χρη να καμης χαρτι παρθενον.

Οταν θελγς ποιησαι χαρτιον καλον τε και καθαρον και παρθενον, ποιησον αυτο εξ αρρενος ζφου μεπο θηλαζοντος και λαβων αυτο σφαξον τη μαχαιρα, της τεχνης επιλεγων και τα ονοματα· Ολαι, Αλβαι, Αρρενεταν, Ιαζαχ, Σεμαμεφορα, Ιεου, Ιαχ, Νερου, Αρουθ, Μπαπουχ, Αττα, Αδωναι, Ιεου, Ιαου, Βαου, Ια, Ιαβα, Τετραγραμματος, Μεσοφαρ, αγιον ονομα δυνατον και καθαρον, καθαρισον και αγνισον τουτο το δερμα απο παντος μολυσμου και ρυπου και πασης ακαθαρσιας ινα καθαρον ειη και καλον και δοκιμον ο τι περ αν γραψω εν αυτω, αμην. μετα δε το εκδειρα αυτο, πλυνε αυτο εν υδατι καθαρω και γλυκει τρεχοντι επτακις, επιλεγων και τα αναγεγραμμενα ονοματα, βαλε το εις ασβεστον και βαλε το εν ηλιω εως αν ξηρανθη και στεγνον γενηται. ειτα φυλαττε και γραφε εν αυτω οποταν βουλη.

Περι αγεννετον χαρτιν.

Οταν θελγς ποιησαι χαρτιον αγεννετον, λαβε αυτο πριν πεσειν χαμαι εις την γην, αλλ' εκ της κοιλιας του ζφου μηπω θηλαζοντος και λαβων αυτο, καλαμον ποιησον· καλαμιον μαχαιραν μετα της μαχαιρας της τεχνης και εκδειρον αυτο μετα της καλαμενιας μαχαιρας λεγων ταυτα τα ονοματα· Μιραν, Ελωε, Ιελ, Ελωι, Αλεφατα, Εμμανουηλ, Αδωναι, Ειαν, Ειαρεων, Ιετελμουκο, Αλβαι, Μανε, Τετραγραμματος, Σαλβαωθ, Σαλβαι, μονογενες, προτοτοκε αγγελε Αδριελ,

ποιησον κονδυλιν· και αρας αυτο υπαγε εις υδωρ τρεχαμενον και πλυνον αυτο επτακις εστω δε το υδωρ γλυκυ και φυλαξον και αυτο.

Οταν δε βουλη ποιησαι χαρτιν καθαρον και παρθενον, δει ευρειν αρνιον αρσενικον η εριφιν οπερ ουκ ηρξατο θηλασαι· και λαβων αυτο σφαξον με την μαχαιραν της τεχνης. σφαπτων δε λεγε ταυτα· Αληη, Αλσης, Ανερετον, Ιοτζεθ,, Σεμειμεροφοραζ η Αρου η Αναρου, Μερουκατο Τα κατα Αδοναηλ η Εου Αου Ηα Τετραγραμματος και Σοφαρ, αγιον ονομα δυνατον και φοβερον, καθαρισον απο πασης ακαθαρσιας το δερμα τουτο εις το γενεσθαι εν παντι ο γραψω επ' αυτω δοκιμον και αληθινον. ειτα εκδειρας καθαρισον αυτο και πλυνον υδατι γλυκει και βαλε εν ηλιω ινα ξερανθη· και αρας φυλαξον και εχε προς το γραψαι.

Ει δε βουλη ποιησαι χαρτιν αγενντον, αρνον εκ της κοιλιας του ζφου λαβε και νη εασης αυτο πεσειν εις την γην· και ποιησον μαχαιραν απο καλαμην και εκδειρε αυτον μετ' αυτην. εκδερων δε τουτον λεγε ταυτα· Μηρους, Ελος, Ολυω, Ελου, Αλβαταν, Εμανουηλ, Αδωναη, Εδηον, Αγαιρεον, Γατηλμιονιω, Αλβαμανε, Τετραγραμματος, Σαλβαωθ, Σαβαωθ, Σαλβαη, μονογενης, πρωτογονε αγγελε Αδρηηλ, του γενεσθαι εις την βοθηειαν μου ινα κατευοδουμαι.....καμετα

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ελθε εις την βοηθειαν μου, αγνισον,  
καθαρισον το δερμα τουτο απο παντος  
μολυσμου και ρυπου κα ακαθαρσιαις  
και ο τι θελω δι 'αυτου ποιησαι  
κατευοδωθειη και ευτυχες μοι γενοιτο.  
μετα δε το εκδειραι πλυνον επτακις  
υδατι γλυκει καθαρω τρεχοντι· και  
βαλων ασβεστον τιθου εν ηλιω· εασον  
αχρις αν στεγνωση. επειτα λαβων  
φυλαττε και εχε δια της χρειας σου και  
οταν βουλη γραφε.

εκδειραι πλυνε επτακις υδατι γλυκει.  
ειτα βαλε ασβεστον καθαρον και  
κρεμασον εν ηλιω εως ξερανθη· επειτα  
φυλαξον

Ει βουλη τι ποιησαι μετα αιματος  
ρομφαιας, λαβε αυτην εις τας χειρας  
σου και την μαχαιραν εν τη ετερα,  
χειρι λεγων ουτως Αρουθ,  
Καραταραρων, Γελμαν, Γεζετ, Ορκιηλ,  
Σεμπολαματω, Μεν, Μεν, Νιμεια,  
Ανοηλ, Σελτιφερα, Οια, Οια.  
παναχραντον Αδωναη κυριον, ορκιζω  
σε, ρομφαια, εις τα λεχθεντα σοι  
ονοματα, ινα απομεινη η χαρις σου εν  
τω αιματι σου, ιν'ειτι θελησω γραψαι  
να ευρεθη δοκιμον και αληθινον. ειτα  
σφαξον αυτην και βαλε το αιμα εις  
υαλινον αγγειον. και γραφε ο αν  
βουλη. την δε ρομφαιαν θαψον εις την  
γην.

Περι του γραφειν μετα αιματος  
νυκτεριδας.

Λαβων την νυκτεριδα εν τη χειρι σου  
τη αριστεραη και την μαχαιραν της  
τεχνης εν τη δεξια, σου λεγε ταυτα τα  
ονοματα· Αρουθ, Αραρουθ, Καραταρι,  
ιελεμαν, Ιεσεκαν, Ερχεελ, Σεπιλαματον,  
Μεν, Μω, Νοιμι, Ιανωελ, Ζιλτιφιρα, ια,  
ια, παναχραντον Αδωναη κυριον,  
ορκιζω σε, νυκτερις, εις τα λεχθεντα  
ονοματα ταυτα,  
ινα μεινη η χαρις σου εν τω αιματι  
τουτω και η δυναμις και εργασι σου,  
ινα ο τι περ αν εθελω γραψαι δι `  
αυτου ειη δοκιμον και ευτυχες και  
αληθινον. ειτα σφαξον αυτην και τιθει  
το αιμα αυτης εν υαλινω αγγειω· την  
δε νυκτεριδα θαψον εν τη γη τη  
καθαρα..

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Περι του γραφειν μετα αιματος  
 χελιδonos.  
 Λαβων την χελιδona και την μαχαιραν  
 εις το δεξιον σου χειρι λεγε ταυτα τα  
 ονοματα· αγγελε Αδωναι, Παντασερ,  
 Σαμιορ, Φεφγαι, Πενθαλιορ, ειητε εις  
 την βοηθειαν, μου, του ειναι τοδε το  
 αιμα ευτυχες και αληθες και δοκιμον  
 εις ο τι γραψω. και σγαξας αυτην τιθει  
 το αιμα αυτης εν αγγειω υελινω  
 καθαρω· και γραφε εις την ερμηνηιαν  
 αυτου οτε σοι χρεια γενηται..

Περι αιματος περιστερας.

Οταν βουλη ποιησαι αιματι  
 περιστερας, λαβων αυτην και την  
 μαχαιραν της τεχνης εις την δεξιαν σου  
 λεγε ουτως Αγλα, Ελωι, Ελ, Ωθιθω,  
 Λααζανι, Ελαι, Ελωτιον, Μιχαηλ,  
 Ουρουελ, της μεγαλης βουλης αγγελε,  
 ειης εις την βοηθειαν μου. ειτα σφαξον  
 αυτην και χρω ως προειρηται.

Μετα αιματος βοειου.

Οταν θελης γραφειν μετα αιματος  
 βοειου, λαβων την μαχαιραν εις την  
 δεξιαν σου χειρα και το ζων λεγε  
 ουτως ταυτα τα ονοματα· Ελκιζεηλ,  
 Ελιελιχ, Αλφιλ, μελεχ, Σαδαι, Θεοφιλε.  
 αλφα και ω, ΣΑλβαι, Παντοκρατορ,  
 της μεγαλης βουλης αγγελε, ειης εις  
 την βοηθειαν μου εν ταυτη τη πραξει  
 ην μελλω γραφειν -και τα λοιπα. ειτα  
 σφαξε το ζωιον, εμβαλε εις τουαλινον  
 αγγειον απο του αιματος τουτου και  
 χρω. το δε ζων θεραπευσον του μη  
 αποθανειν.

Ει δε βουλη μετα αιματος χελιδonos  
 γραψαι, ποιει ουτως λαβε την χελιδona  
 και λεγε· ω αγγελε Αδωνη, ελθης εις  
 την βοηθειαν μου, ειτα σφαξον αυτην  
 μετα την μαχαιραν της τεχνης και τιθει  
 το αιμα ως και περι της ρομφαιας  
 ειρηται.

Ει δε βουλει γραψαι μετα αιματος  
 περιστερας, λαγεν την περιστεραν και  
 λεγε ουτως Ελωη, Ελωτιον, Μιχαηλ,  
 ελθε εις την βοηθειαν μου εις ο  
 βουλομαι. επειτα σφαξας χρω.

Ει δε βουλη μετα αιματος γραψαι  
 βοειου η προβειου, λαβε την μαχαιραν  
 και το Ζων εκεινον και λεγε ουτως  
 Λαμεκ, Σανταη, Θεοφηλος, ελθε εις  
 την βοηθειαν μου εν ταυτη τη πραξει.  
 ειτα σφαξον αυτον και λαβε το αιμα  
 ως ανωτερω

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Εικονα μετα κηρου να ποιησης

Οταν μελλης ποιησαι εικονα μετα κηρου παρθενου η δακτυλιδιον η τοιουτο τι, εστω ο κηρος απο συμβολον μελιτος λαβων αυτο καθες εν των ιερω ιστασθαι αγρις τρεις ημερας τον κηρον λευκον, θυοντος και του ιερως. ειτα λαβων αυτο ποιει την εικονα η αλλον τοιουτον επιλεγων ταυτα τα ονοματα· αγγελε Αδωναι, Ελωι, Αγλα, Αγλαι, Αλβαι, Μπολες, Αλπανδι, Οφιαι, Ελμονιου, Ελιχαι, χαρις διανεσεως και σοφια παρακλητος, Εμπεσμεηλ, Ανααδων, Ανερενετον, Σεμ, Αμφορας, Ιωαταλ, Ανα, Ανιμεχε, Ιερεφριων, Παντοκρατορ, Αληλουια, Θεος, Θεοφιλος, Θεοδοτος, Θειδοας, Φεριων, Ελ, Ων, Αλι, Κυριε Παντοκρατορ, δους τον νομον Μωση, επακουσον μου εν τουτω τω πραγματι ο θελω ποιησαι δια του κηρου τουτου ινα εις παντα επιτυχες γενοιτο και αληθεστατον. ειτα μαλαττε τον κηρον, πλατων ποιησε την εικονα η αλλο ο τι αν η και εσται σοι επιτυχεστατον. ανευ γαρ των ειρημενων αν τι ποιησης, ες ματην επονησας.

Εικονα πηλου να ποιησης.

Οταν μελλης ποιησαι εικονα απο πηλου η βησαλον η αλλον τοιουτον, χρη δη τον πηλον εκεινον ειναι απο του παταμου. ακι οταν απελθης κομισαι τον πηλον ανατρεχε τον ποταμον εναντιως η αυτος μεταφερεατι και αιρου τον πηλον απατητον και καθαρων. δραξον τη χειρι σου τη δεξια, και λεγε ουτως ορκιζω σε, γη, εις τον ποιησαντε σε και στησαντα σε εν τω τοπω σου και σφραγισαντα σε επτα σφραγισι και πλασαντα εκ σου τον ανθρωπον ινα μεινη η χαρις σου εν τω πηλω τουτω ονπερ ελαβα εν τη χειρι μου και ινα μοι δουλευση ισα και αληθως και καλως εις το θελω ποιησαι

[Ει] τα της ερμηνειας σοι γραφει ινα ποιησης εικονα μετα κερου παρθενου, εστω σοι ο κηρος απο πηταν ασπην απο μελισσιου εκτος μελιτος. και βαλε αυτον εσι εκκλησιαν εις το λειτουργηθηναι φορας τρεις. μετα δε το λειτουργηθηναι λεγε ταυτα τα ονοματα· ω αγγελε Αδωναι, Ελωη, ελθε, ελθε εις την βοηθειαν μου, Αγλα, Αγλαη, Ελβαη, Πολλαις, Αλβαναη, Οφναη, Ελημουηλ, Ελοχε, χαρις διασυνεσεως, σοφιας παρακλητικος, Πησημελ, Ανατον, Ανηρηνητον, Σεμμεφορας, Ιοσταλ, Αναανημη, Γεγεριρων, παντοκρατορικον ονομα Αληλουια, Θεος, Θεος Φηλος, Θεος, Δοτος, Θεηδομας, Φηριων, Αλλων, Ελων, Υιε παντοκρατορ ο δους τον νομον Μωυσεως, επακουσον μου εν τουτω τω πραγματι ο μελλω ποιησαι δια του κηρου τουτου ινα γενηται επιτυχουμενον και δοκιμον. ειτα πλασον τον κηρον και ποιησον την εικονα ηπερ σοι γραφει και ευδοκιμησης. εκτος δε τουτων παντων εστιν ανωφελως και ατεχνως δεδρασμενον.

Ει δε μετα πηλου ερμηνευει σοι τι, ποιει ουτως. δει εκεινον τον πηλον εκ του ποταμου ειναι. και οταν απερχεσαι εις το λαβειν αυτον, υπαγε ανατριχα του ποταμου αγρις αν ευρης τοπον αμαλαγον. ειτα δραξον μετα της δεξιας σου χειρος και λεγε ουτως ορκιζω σε, γη, ινα με διακονησης εις τον αγγγελον τον Ζαρηραηλ. ειτα τριψας πλασε εικονα η βησαλον η αλλον τι και γραφε.

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δια σου, ορκίζω σε, γη, ινα με  
 διαλουσης ισα και καλα και στερεως  
 ωσπερ συ ει η στερεα. ω αγγελε  
 Ραφαηλ, εις εις την βοθηιαν μου.

Καιρου επιγνωσις εν φ δει επιχειρειν  
 τινων πραξεων. Περι της Σεληνης, εις  
 αγαπην.

Της Σεληνης αυξανομενης επιτηδειος ο  
 καιρος προς φιλτρον γυναικος προς  
 ανδρα· αρχομενης δε † λινεγω τη γη  
 της ολιωσεως ουσης, ωρα, Ερμου,  
 χρησιμος εις φιλτρον ανδρος προς  
 γυναικα. ει δε θελεις ποιησαι δεσμον  
 φιλιας και αφαπης, περι την πρωτην  
 πεμπτην της πανσεληνου· ει δε περι  
 μισους, ποιησον ημερα, τετραδη της  
 πανσεληνου εν τη ωρα, του Κρονου. ει  
 δε περι εξουσιας τη πρωτη τετραδη  
 της Σεληνης εν τη ωρα, του Ερμου. ει  
 δε περι πραξεως τεχνης, ποιησον  
 ημερα, πρωτη της Σεληνης, ει δε περι  
 γλωσσοδεματος και καταλαλιας, τη  
 πρωτη κυριακη της πανσεληνου εν τη  
 ωρα, του Διος. ει δε βουλη ποιησαι  
 μεγαλην αρχοντισσαν αγαπησαι σε, τη  
 πρωτη κυριαη της Σεληνης εν ωρα, της  
 Αφροδιτης. ει δε θελεις ομιλησαι μετα  
 πνευματων, ποιησον οταν η Σεληνη  
 εστι ημερων ιδ' και αντικρυς του Ηλιου  
 εν τη ωρα, του Ερμου, και ελευσονται.

Ερμηγεια περι του ποιησαι τα ιματια

Τοιουν αρκτηον ημας λεγειν πως δει  
 ποιειν τον βουλομενον ομιλειν τους  
 πνευμασιν και τινας ταξεις οφειλει  
 ποιειν ετι τι ποιον δειν ειναι τον  
 επιστημονα τινα τε ιματια ενδεδυσθαι,  
 τινα διαιταν διαιτασθαι αυτον  
 μελλοντα του πραγματος αρξασθαι.  
 πρωτον μεν δη και κυριον και  
 αναγκαιον ειναι τον τεχνητην η τον  
 αρξασθαι μελλοντα ομιλειν τοις  
 πνευμασιν και αγαγειν αυτα εν τω  
 ρηθησομενω κυκλω καθαρον και

Ερμηγεια του γινωσκειν τον καιρον εν  
 φ δει ποιησαι την ταξιν εκαστης  
 ερμηγειας.

Ει δε θελεις ποιησαι περι του αγαπαν  
 η γυνη τον ανδρα, εν τη γεμωσει της  
 Σεληνης οφειλει ποιησαι· ει δε  
 τουναντιον ηγουν ο ανηρ την γυναικα,  
 ποιησον ημερα, τριτη εν ωρα, της  
 Αφροδιτης. ει δε βουλη ποιησαι δεμαν  
 αγαπαης, τη πεμπτη της ολιγωσεως. ει  
 δε βουλη ποιησαι περι εξουσιας, την  
 τετραδην της γεμωσεως. ει δε περι  
 πραξεως τεχνης, την δευτεραν της  
 γεμωσεως. ει δε περι πραξεως τεχνης,  
 την δευτεραν της γεμωσεως. ει δε περι  
 γλωσσοδεματος, την κυριακην την  
 ολιγωσεως. ει δε θελεις να σε αγαπηση  
 αρχων μεγας, την κυριακην της  
 ολιγωσεως εν ωρα, του Διος. ει δε  
 θελεις ποιησαι μεγαλην αρχοντισσαν  
 αγαπησαι, την πρωτην κυριακην της  
 γεμωσεως, εν ωρα, της Αφροδιτης. ει  
 δε βουλη ομιλησαι μετα πνευματων,  
 ποιησον οταν εστιν η Σεληνη ημερων  
 ιδ' αντικρυ του Ηλιου εν ωρα, του  
 Ερμου, και ελευσονται.

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σεμνου βιου και τροπου και ηθους η  
 δαιμονα διαιτητικον εγκρατη και  
 σωφρονα πορνειας και τοιαυταις  
 ασελγειαις και ακολασιαις μη  
 κεχρημενον, αλλ' ολων αναισχυντων  
 και παντων των κακων αμετοχον. και  
 νομιζετο ο τοιουτος, μαλιστα δε  
 ανατιρορητως εχετο οτι συναξει και  
 ομιλειν μετα πνευματων ου δυνασαιτο  
 και αμεταβατως ποιησασθαι  
 καθ'εαυτον πασαν βουλην· τα γαρ  
 πνευματα οι τε δαιμονες καιπερ ουκ  
 αγαθοι οντες ουδε τι καθαρου βιου και  
 πολιτειας μετοχοι ουδε τινος σεμνου  
 τροπου μετοχοι, αλλα πασης κακωσεως  
 και δυστυχιας και πειρασμου αιτιοι  
 αλλα χαιρουσιν και ραδιως τω ορισμω  
 εφελκονται και τη πραξει και ορκισμω  
 του εξορουντος σεμνου βιου και  
 εναρετου οντος και μαλιστα αγαθου  
 εργου και ευγνωμονος. επι δε τω μη  
 ευρειν τινα τοιουτον, ευρε οντα οιον- ει  
 μεν εργωδες εστιν, αλλα αναγκη γε -  
 παντως απεχομενον επι πλειστου  
 καιρου των ατοπηματων και  
 προκεκαθαρμενον. ο γαρ εαυτον  
 αγνισας και διαιτησας ετι τε  
 εξομολογησαμενος παντα οσα τε και  
 οια πεποιηκεν αμαρηνματα, και μηδεν  
 ως οιηται καταλιπων και αποχην των  
 κακων ποιησαμενος, τουτων δε των  
 προειρημενων ημιν επιστημων  
 δυνασεται τουτου ποιησαι. και  
 αισχυντος μη απειπατω δε τις ακουων  
 ταυτα ως δυσχερη. οφειλει δε ειναι και  
 τον τεχνητην καθαρον και πεπλυμενον  
 υδατι γλυκει καθαρω μελλοντα ποιειν  
 την μεθοδον του κυκλου και εχειν  
 ιματια καθαρα ελυκα λινα επ'αυτω  
 τουτω επεξεργασμενα και παρα  
 καθαρων παρθενων νενεσμενα και  
 υφαμμενα, τον τε εκτος μεν χιτωνα  
 λινουν και τον εντος χιτωνισκον και  
 το ιματιον και τα υπο τοις ποσιν  
 αναξιελδια και απαξ απαντα αυτου τα  
 ιματια λευκα λινα καθαρα αφορετα.  
 προ ημερων δε τριων πριν η του  
 κυκλου αρξασθαι οφειλει νηστευσιν δι

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ὄλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀχρὶς δυσμῶν ἡλίου  
καὶ ἐπιτολῆς ἀστερῶν, ἐσπερας δὲ  
ἐσθίειν ἀρτοῦ μονοῦ καθάρου οὐγγίας  
τεσσαράς καὶ ὕδατος μεταλαμβάνειν  
ἀρκούντος. καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖ ἕως ἡμέρας  
τρὶς ἀπέχόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
παντῶν βρωμάτων, καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ  
ἡμέραν ἐκκαθαρὸν σεαυτὸν πλυνὼν  
ὕδατι γλυκεῖ καθάρῳ. ἀρχοῦ δὲ τοῦ  
ἐργοῦ ἡγοῦν τῆς τεχνῆς τῆ ἰα' ἧς  
Σελήνης ἵνα τελευτήσῃ τὸ ἐργὸν ἐν τῇ  
ιδ' καὶ ἡμισυ ἡμέρας αὐτῆς, ἐν ἧ δὴ  
ἐστὶ ἡ πανσεληνός, διαγων τὰς  
εἰρημένους ἡμέρας ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, καὶ  
ἡρεμῆ, οὐδεὶς σε γινώσκῃ τοῦτο  
ποιοῦντα πλὴν τοῦ μυστικοῦ σου  
μαθητοῦ.

Τὰ δὲ σημεῖα αὐτὰ μελλεῖς γράφειν ἐν  
τοῖς ἰματίοις ἐστῶσαν γεγραμμένα ἐκ  
μοσχού, κροκοῖ καὶ κίναβαρεως καὶ  
ροδοσταγματος, καὶ ἐστῶσαν πάντα  
καθάρᾳ. ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα γράφῃ συν  
τοῖς εἰδεσὶ τοῖς εἰρημένους ἐν τῷ  
περόνῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χιτῶνος τοῦ  
μεγάλου ἢ ἐν τῇ τραχηλίᾳ, (signa) · τὰ  
δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τὰς καλτζαῖς ἡτοῖ τοῖς  
σκαλτζονίοις (signorum duo versus).  
Περί τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ στέμμα.

Ἐπεὶτα ἔχε οἰκονομισμένον χαρτὶν  
παρθένον ὡς προεῖρηται ὀπισθεν, ἐξ  
ερύφου ἢ ἄλλου τίνος καὶ ποιῆσον  
στέμμα ὡς ὑποδιξομαι, τοῦ φερεῖν κατὰ  
κεφαλῆς. κυκλόθεν δὲ τοῦ στεμματός  
γράφῃ ταῦτα· Ἀγλαί, Ἀγλαί, Ἀγλαατ,  
Ἀγλαοθ, (pentalpha) , Ἐλωί, Ἐλιμ,  
Ἐλωα, (signum) , Βισμῳ, Ἰλον,  
Παντοκράτωρ. ἴδου δὲ καὶ τὸ στέμμα  
(figura).

Ἀρξόμεθα γοῦν πῶς μελλεῖς  
εὐδοουσθαί ἵνα ὁ μιλῆς μετὰ  
πνευματῶν, καὶ τὰς τάξεις αὐτῶν μελλεῖς  
ποιεῖν.

Ἐν πρώτοις οφείλει σ' εἶχειν ἰματὰ  
λίνα, ὁμοίως καὶ ζουπουνὶν λίνον καὶ  
καλτζὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εἶχειν γεγραμμένα  
τὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα εἰς τὰς καλτζὰς  
(signa) . καὶ τὸ ἀπέξω ὅλον ἐστῶ καὶ  
ἐκεῖνον λίνον ἀσπτόν καὶ εὐμορφόν.  
ἐστῶ δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὡσπερ κοτὰ  
γυναικεία. καὶ γράψῃ ἀνω πρὸς τὴν  
τραχηλίαν τῆς κοτᾶς τὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα  
μετὰ κίναβαρεως καὶ ροδοσταγματος  
(signa). ἐπεὶτα ἔχε οἰκονομημένον  
χαρτὶν παρθένον καὶ ποιῆσον κορόνα  
μίαν, ὡσπερ ἐστὶ γεγραμμένη, καὶ ἐν  
τῷ κυκλῷ αὐτῆς γράψων ταῦτα τὰ  
ὀνόματα· Ἀγλα, Ἀγλατα, Ἀγλήη,  
Ἀγλαοθ (duo signa) . Ἐλοη, Ἐλοι, Ἐλοη,  
Δησμοηλ, Παντοκράτωρ.

Περί του ποιησαι την ουρανιαν.

Επειτα εχε χαρτιν αγεννητον βοικον καθαρον, εξ ων ειρηκαμεν· γραφον εν αυτω την υποδεδειγμενην ουρανιαν του Σολομωντος ως εχει κατα ακριβειαν· και μη διαμαρτης των στιχων και στιγμην· ταυτη γαρ κειται πασα η δυναμις της εισαγωγης των πνευματων και η σωτηρια σου και η φυλακη σου. γραφον δε ταυτα τους προειρημενους ειδεισιν, ωσαυτως ως και επι των αλλων.

Σκοπει δη ταυτην την ουρανιαν του Σολομωντος, ινα ποιησης αυτην ωσπερ ορα,ς κατα ακριβειαν μεμετρημενην μετα του διαβητου· δηλαδη τους μην τεσσαρας πολους εξ ενος μερους εγγιζοντας αλληλοις τα δε εσωθεν ερυθρα μετα μοσχου, κροκου και κινναβαρεως και ροδοσταγματος, τα δε εξοθεν μελανα. ωσαυτως και τους αλλους τεσσαρους πολους ποιησης παραπλησιως εγγιζοντας τον δε εναν τον ανω απεχειν απο των τεσσαρων πολων, επι πολυ πλησιαζειν δε τοις τεσσαρσιν πολοις, τον δεκατον πολον τον εσχατον πλησιαζειν τοις αλλοις τεσσαρσιν πολοις, απεχειν δε των αλλων τεσσαρων επι πολυ. και την περικυκλωσιν των ολων πολων οφειλει ποιειν δια μελανος το δε εσω, ηγουν τας γραμμας, ερυθρον, ετι τε τα δεματα ατινα εστιν κβ' οφειλει ποιησαι και αυτα μετα μελανος ηως τα περιεχοντα και περιεχομενα εν τη κυκλοτερει θεσει της ουρανιας. τα δε γραμματα κα τα σημεια απαντα και ταυτα ερυθρα οφειλει ποιησαι μετα των ειρημενων ειδων. ουκουν προσεχε καλως και επιμελως ινα ποιησης ως ορα,ς αντικρυς και μη διαμαρτης της αν τυχουσης γραμμης η στιγμης ως γαρ ειρηται, εν ταυτη κειται πασα η δυναμις της εισαγωγης των πνευματων και η φυλακη και η σωτηρια του εξορκουντος. ηντινα οφειλει βασταζειν εις τον κολπον σου οταν μελλης εμβηναι εν τω κυκλω και περι μεν ουρανιας αποχρωντως ειρηται. *Figura imperfecta.*

επειτα εχε χαρτιν βοειον αγεννητον και γραψε επανω εις αυτον ταυτην την ουρανιαν, μετα μοσχου, κροκου και κινναβαρεως

(....) και ροδοσταγματος ηντιναν ουρανιαν οφειλεις εχειν δεδεμενην εσω εις το στηθος οταν εμπης μεσα εις τον πολον. ταυτην δε την ουρανιαν οφειλεις γραψαι εις τα ιδ' ημισυ ημερας της Σεληνης. και οταν γραψης νηστευει και απεχου κρεατος, οινου και ελαιου και των ομοιων· εξομολογησου παντα σου τα αμαρτηματα και διαγε μετα ησυχιας ολην την ημεραν εκεινην και λεγε ψαλμον προς Κυριον τον Θεου σου. και προσεχε ακριβως προ του ελθειν τας ιδ' ημισυ ημερας της Σεληνης, τρεις ημερας αρξου νηστευειν εως του πρωτου αστρου, κια νηστευει καθ' ημεραν, εσθιων δε αρτον, ουγγιας δ' την ημεραν. και παρον κηρον παρθενον και ποιησον δακτυλιδιον και ενδυσον αυτον απο το εξωθεν μερος χαρτιν παρθενον και γραψε ανω με το κοντυλιν της τεχνης ταυτα τα ονοματα κυκλω· Κωλιων, Σαβαωθ, Βιανημ, Ελλοα, Σουγηω, Ακρω. εχε δε και υποδηματα των χειρων σου μετα βογατου και γραψε προς τας παλαμας τα σημεια ταυτα ουτως... vacant ff. 219<sup>v</sup>-233<sup>v</sup>.

## HARLEIANUS 5596

Περι του δακτυλιδιου.

Λαβων κηρον παρθενον ποιησον δακτυλιδιον ωσπερ ορας, του φορειν εν τω δεξιω σου δακτυλω της χειρας σου, περιενδυσας αυτω χαρτιον παρθενον· επιγραφε αυτω μετα κονδυλιου της τεχνης ταυτα τα ιβ' ονοματα· Λεων, Σαβαωθ, Βιωνια, Ελωι, Αωα, Ιαω, Ιασου, Σουιεωα, Αενιου, Οουνιου, Ιου, Ιρω. *Figura cum annulis pentalphra.*

Εχε δε και ενδυματα των χειρων σου απο λευκου δερματος πεποιημενα λεπτα, ατινα εργαζονται οι τας διφθερας ποιουντες, και γραφον ταυτα τα σημεια εις τας παλαμας σου επανω του δερματος (*tres pentalphrae*).

Ταυτα δε γραφε εν τω υπενδυτη σου μετα των ειρημενων ειδων (*tres versum signorum*).

Ταυτα τα σημεια γραφε εις τα υποδηματα των ποδων σου (*tres versum signorum*).

Ταυτα τα κατωθεν σημεια γραφε εις πανι βαμπακενιον λευκον καθαρον μεθ' ου παρεξεις εσκεπασμενην εν τω στηθει την ουρανιαν του Σολομωντος (*signorum sex versus*).

Επειδη εμαθες ενος εκαστου ειδους την τεχνην και την μεθοδον και ποια αττα δει ειναι τους τε χαρακτηρας και τα σημεια εκαστου των ενδυματων και οσα αλλα ειτηται λεπτομερως, λοιπον δη ημιν ειη φαναι και περι του τοπου εν ω μελλεις καθιστασθαι μετα του σου μαθητου, αλλου τινος μη ειδοτος. ουκουν πορευου ενθα ουν ευρης τοπον αρμοδιον εις το ποιησαι τον κυκλον ον υποθησομαι. εστω δε ο τοπος η εν κορυφη ορους η βουνου η εν

αλσει η εν πεδιω η εν σπηλαιω η εν θαλαση πλησιον η εν αλλω η εν λειμωνι η ενθα παλαια τις εφονευθη η εν οιω δηποτ' ουν τοπω καθαρω και απατητω η εν ποταμω πλησιον η εν τριοδω μακρα των ανθρωπων, εντα μη ακουης φωνην αλεκτορος, ινα μη τις δε ευρων εμποδιση.

Και οπηνικα ο Ηλιος γινεται αντικρυς της Σεληνης, λαβε την μαχαιραν της τεχνης φορων και το ειρημενον δακτυλιον και χαραξον εν τη γη τον κυκλον. εστω δε η γη καθαρα και σεσαρωμενη καλως, δηλονοτι εις το δεξασθαι τα σημεια του κυκλου τα εγχαραχθησομενα μετα της μαχαιρας. οταν δε σαρωθη καλως και γενηται επιτηδεια και αρμοζουσα της τεχνης, εχε ετοιμους δυο γαστρας πληνιους καινας καθαρας και πληρωσον αυτας ανθρακιας απτουσης μη ποιουσης καπνον και βαλον ενδον τα θυμιαματα ταυτα· ξυλαλον, κοστον αρωματικον, λιβανον αρσενικον, καθαρον μοσχατον, μοσχοκαρφιν, μοσχοκαρνον, κροκον· βαλε δε και απο το χορτον τουτον της μυλοφαγias και απο μελανος καροφυλλου και απο ριζας του ασφοδελου και απο αματος ανθρωπου αδικως φονευθεντος. και θυμιασας ευθεως καβε την μαχαιραν τη τεχνης και ποιησον τον κυκλον ενδοθεν και το τετραγωνον εξωθεν ως υποδειξομεν. και εστω το πλατος και το μηκος τοσον οσον χωρησαι ανθρωπους δυο, τον δασκαλον και τον μαθητην· και ποιησον την θεραν του τετραγωνου και του κυκλου τοσην οσον εμβαινειν και εκβαινειν εξ αυτης, εστω δε η θυρα αφορωσα προς νοτον και φυλαττε μη πατειν τα γραμματα της πωλης εξερχομενον και εισερχομενον. και ει μεν συμβη η ιδ' της Σεληνης εν νυκτι, εχε λυχνους τρεις καινους καθαρους μεγαλους και λαμπαδας εν τουτοις, ινα βλεπης αναγινωσκων τους ορκισμους ινα μη σβεσωιν ταυτα τας λαμπαδας τα πνευματα. θες δε αυτους ενδον παρα σεαυτω ινα ορας τους ορκισμους αναγινωσκων. ει δε ημερα, γενοιτο, οι [??] χρειαν εχεις τουτον των λυχνων η των λαμπαδων.

Ποιησας δε τον κυκλον τουτου του σχηματος εισελθε ενδον μετα του σου μαθητου ασφαλισαμενος την θυραν μετα την μαχαιραν της τεχνης, εχων παντα τα ανω σοι γεγραμμενα, δηλαδη ενδεδυμενος και τα ιματια και οσα αλλα απεφηναμεθα της τεχνης. εχετω δε ο μαθητης ε' ἴν κωδωνι μικρον, ο τινες φασιν καμπανον, ινα κρουη αυτο κατ' ολιγον πριν εισελθειν εν τω κυκλω. εστωσαν (?) δε γεγραμμενα (*cam-*

panella figurae: κοδονη) εν τῷ κωδῶνι γυποθεν μετα αιματος νυκτεριδας ταυτα τα ονοματα: Μπεθ, Ελαα, Μπερες, Ελι, Τσοσ, Παρουσομ, Παρ, Μαν, Μπεμα, Ων, Μπα, Μπυριον, Χαιροαμ.

Εμβας δε ενδον του κυκλου καθισον εν τη αναπαυσει σου· επειτα στρεφον το προσωπον σου κατα ανατολας λεγων τα κεχωριτομενα του Θεου· αγιος, αγιος, αγιος Κυριος Σαβαωθ, ωσαννα εν τοις υψιστοις. Κυριε Θεε αγιε, παντοκρατορ, ου το υψος της θεοτητος ουδεις δυναται κατανοησαι· δεομαι του αγιου ονοματος σου, δος μοι χαριν τῷ δουλῷ σου οπως δυνηθῶ υποταξαι ινα εις τους ποδας μου πεσωσι τα πνευματα των δαιμονιων εις τα ονοματα ταυτα· Ελ, Ελι, Ελωι, Αδωναι, Μελεχ, Σαδαι, Σαβαωθ, Ελ, Ελι, Αι, Λεματον, Λαμταν. Ιωδε, Βαρε, Τετραγραμματον, Αλφα και ω, αρχη και τελος, Ιωσεβ, Μπεσελ, Ασεχας, Ραβ, Μπαλαττειν, Αλτκιση, Σελ, Αρπα, Εωθ, Δεμουθ, Μεσουρ, Αδαμ, Σωρ, Λαις, Μιλα, Φαλουε, Φιλαε, Ανα, Αβωνα, Ραμ, Μπηραμ, Μπω, Λαν, Ζω, Ισαλεμ, λεθαταε, Εν, Κετα, Ελ, Ζεφυρι, Ρεσ, Φαριν, φακα, φανι, Σιλαε, Ιαρουι, Καρα, Μπαρουχ, Ατα, Αδωναι, Μελεχ, Σατι, Μπενε, Ατα, Ελωιμ, Εμαγωρ, Αβρασον, Αθιθιελ, Αωιμ, Μπεσελ, Αμων, Εμουν, Εμεθ, Ουδαδ, Δαμαωτ, Δαχι, Δαμα, Πιναθσμιχα, Μποραθ, Οκιελ, Ατ, Τα, Ιθαι, Ων, Ρων, Ωρ, Τεσου, Ειμουρ, Ταειρ, Ατ, Δαθ, Διδι, Μαλκι, Βενωρα, Ειαλ, Ια, Ια, Ουσμαχ, Μπαρουχ, Βεελ, Μπαρχιελ, Σεμεωλ, Ελωιμ, Ωρα, Αμιτς, Ραν, Χαμουν, Ελιων, Τετραγραμματον, Γραφατον, Ζελεων, Ειλαδμ Ων, Ναβαρ, Μπαηρ, Ανα, Αβουνα, Ινων, Καινα, Καιαμ, Λεωλαμ, Χαι, Φακον, Ζηβ, Λατον, Αι, Ια, Ζαγνων, Δεμανε, Ελωα, Ελωι, Ελεμι, α και ω, αρχη και τελος.

Ορκιζῶ υμας, πνευματα, εις τον Θεον ος καθεται επι των Χερουβιμ, ου πας ο κοσμος ορατος τε και αορατος υπακουει. ορκιζω υμας, δαιμονες, ινα ελθετε εμπροσθεν μου, εις οποιον αν ειητε τοπον ειτε εν ορει η εν βουνῷ η εν πεδιῷ η εν αλωι η εν σπηλαιῷ η εν ποταμῷ η εν ποιῷ τινι τοπῷ, ινα ελθετε ταχιστα αυτη τη ωρα η εξωθεν του κυκλου τουτου. σφιγγω και οριζω υμας εις τον θεον ον λειτουργουσιν αγγελοι, αρχαγγελοι, αρχαι, θρονοι, κυριοτητες τα Χερουβιμ και τα πολυομματα Σεραφιμ, Εσουσαι και αι δυναμεις, ατινα ου πανονται διηνεκωσ κραζειν ημιν και λεγειν το· αγιος, αγιος, αγιος, Κυριος Σαβαωθ, πληρεις ο ουρανος και η γη της δοξης σου, ωσαννα εν τοις υψιστοις, ευλογημενος ο ερχομενος εν ονοματι Κυριου· ινα, οπου αν ευρισκεσθε, να ελθετε εμπροσθεν μου παραχροημα, ανευ βλαβης της φυξης και του σωματος σου και ανευ κακωσεως, εν ειδει ωραιῷ και εν μορφῇ ανθρωπινῷ. ορκιζω υμας, δαιμονες Κοντοστορ, Τζιζανιελ, Χαλεκιελ, Ραμπαελ, Λουτζιφερ, Βεελζεβουλ, Ασμεδαι, Ορνιελ, Παγαθερ, Γαρπαζεκι, Δασματαρ, Μαστραωθ ευθεως, οπου αν ευρισκεσθε, ελθετε ενταυθα ταχεως, προθυμῶσ ακι σκοκῶσ, οτι ορκιζω υμας, πνευματα, εις τον ουρανον και εις την γην και εις τα αγια μυστηρια του Θεου. ορκιζω υμας, πνευματα, ανω εις του επτα· πληνητας του ουρανου, οπου ευρισκεσθε, ελθετε προς με ευθεως χωρις αργιας και υπομονης. ορκιζω υμας εις τον αερα και εις το πυρ και εις το υδωρ, εις την γην τε και θαλασσαν και εις τους ποταμους, οπου αν ευρισκεσθε, η εις τον ουρανον η εις την γην η εις ορος η εις βουνον η εις πεδιον η εις πελαγος η εν θαλασση η εν λιμνῇ, μακραν η πλησιον οπου αν ητε και οπου αν ευρισκεσθε· ελθετε ωδε και με βραδυνετε. ορκιζω υμας, πνευματα, εις τον μεγαν αρχιστρατηγον Μιχαηλ· ορκιζω υμας εις τον μεγαν αρχιρατηγον Βαρχιελ· ορκιζω υμας εις τον μεγαν αγγελον Ουρουελ· ορκιζω υμας, πνευματα, εις τους δυο μεγαλους αρχεγγελους Γαβριηλ ακι Ραφαηλ. ινα ελθετε ωδε προθυμῶσ, ταχιστα, συντομωτατα.

Ταυτα λεγων σκοπει περιεραζομενους προς τα τεσσαρα μερη του κοσμου· ειτα ουν μελλεις ιδειν εγερθηνα ιως νεφρῇ· συ δε θαρρων και με δειλιων ορκιζε παλιν λεγων ουτωσ ορκιζω υμας, πνευματα, ανω εις τους ορκισμους παντας ουσ ηκουσατε, και εις τα αγια των αγιων ινα ελθητε εμπροσθεν μου μετα προθυμιας χωρις φοβου και βλαβης της ψυχης μου και του σωματος μου εν ειδει ανθρωπινῷ, ημεροι, πραεις,

ευειδεις, προσηγεις, και ουχι μετα φοβου η εκπροπληκτικης ορασεως.

Ει δε αργησουν ινα πλησιασωσι σε, επιθες την δεξιαν σου χειρα προς την ουρανιαν και τη αριστερα, σου χειρι δεικνυ τον τοπον προς το μερος ενθα ακουσης ταραχην των πνευματων και λεγε ταυτα τα ονοματα· Μπαρακιελ, Δαμαριελ, Παραριελ, Βεδαριελ, Ωχθριελ, Βαθυκαριελ, Νοραμιελ, Αλφιελ, Ρομπιλεμ, Ρεφαφιμλ, Αμπουνα, Ρανιελ, Στεφαναηλ, Αδουκιν, Δοναλιελ, Μορκιλεν, Πατσαραλιμ, Δουραλεη, Ελμεημ, Ιεθ, Δαριδιν, Ρασαηλ, Ελερομ, Αφαι, Ται, Αρενιελ, Εμαελ, Μπορκεω, Ρειλην, Αναελ, Ισεμεελ, Ρασιελ, Σαδιελ, Ραδεναβιλ, Μπερασεμ, Αλμερακι, Δαναταν, Μπενιελ, Κεραμπιελ, Αναβλιελ, Περμπαελ, Αλαναναελ, Αμηνμ, Βαθυκιμ, Μπελιουρα, Μυρακ, Ανιρεφαηλ, Ραμ, Ραμαηλ, Καιδαραχυ, Μπεραελ, Αμιελ, Μεφιοραμ· Κανανα, Μπαρانيελ, καρναβιελ, Ιεταιελ, Ασξιελ, Αλαμιελ, Καραμιελ, Ανφιμελ, Ταχιλ, Ιελιελ, Μαρταε, Ουχαι, Αναραναρε, Ζεσεμε, Ζεαγουρδεελ, Αουλε, Αλεμπαε, Κοναριελ, Ουδοτιελ, Ελμει, Αουρα, Ατ, Ιαφιλ, Αναριελ, Ραμιελ, Τζαραελ, Αιφιελ, Ον, Κεσπανολη, Μεταρεελ, οβελ, Μουλομεελ, ο βασιλευς της ανατολης, των τεσσαρων βασιλεων πρωτος και εξουσιαστης, ορκιζω υμας εις τα ρηθεντα ονοματα ινα ελθετε ταχιστα εμπροσθεν μου δια της δυναμεως τουτων των ονοματων, και σε πρωτον, Ασμοδαε, μετα της συνοδιας σου και συντροφιας σου, ανω εις την δυναμιν του Θεου του Αβρααμ, του Θεου του Ισαακ, του Θεου του Ιακωβ, εις το ονομα του Θεου του Ισραηλ. ορκιζω υμας, οιτινες εκπεπτωκατε εκ του ουρανου. συ ουν πρωτος ο λεγομενος Ασμεδαι, ορκιζω σε και σφραγιζω σε και σφιγγω σε εις τον ερχομενον κριναι Ζωντας και νεκρους, ου φανετος ουρανοι εντυλιχθησονται και οι αστερες πεσουνται· ορκιζω υμας εις την σαλπιγγα ην μελλει σαλπισειν ο αγγελος της αναστασεως. ορκιζω σας, Λουτζιφερ, ορκιζω σε, Ασταρωθ, ορκιζω σε, Βεελζεβουλ, ορκιζε σε, Ασμεδαι. υμεις οι πρωτοθρονοι των δαμμωνων, απο τον τεσσαρων μερων του κοσμου, οπου αν ευρισκασθε και οπου αν ητε, ινα ελθετε εμπροσθεν μου μετα πασης ιλαροτητος και ημεροτητος χωρις φοβου και αλλου τινος οδυρματος μου και καταπληξεως η βλαβης της ψυχης μου και του σωματος, ινα ελθετε πραεις, ημεροι, αλωθεις, προσηγεις, ευομιλοι, μειλιχιοι, αληθεις μαλιστα εν ανθρωπινω ειδει, και ινα ποιησετε ευθεως, ακοντως, προθυμως οπερ εγω θελω, δι' ουν ηλθον ενταυθη και περι ου προσεκαλεσαμην υμας.

Οταν δε ειπης παντα ταυτα, βλεπεις ερχομενον ωσπερ συνταγμα και συναθροισμα· και αυτος καθισον εν τω κυκλω και ευθυς πλησιασουσι εγγιστα του κυκλου, ομως ου δυνησονται εμβηναι ενδον. συ δε μη κινηθης απο του σου τοπου, αλλα καθου θαρσαλεως ματε γενναιου παραστηματος και οριζε αυτους ινα σοι ποιησωσιν το θελημα σου. και πρωτον ερωτησον αυτους ινα σοι ειπωσιν ποιος εστιν ο αυθεντης αυτων· και οταν σε δειξωσιν και αυτον ομολογουντες εμφανισωσιν, ειπε αυτους ινα ομοσωσιν ανω εις την εκεινου κορυφην και εκεινος ιαν ομοση εις την βασιλικην αυτου στολων και εις το οφθικιον της βασιλειας αυτον και ανω εις την κεφαλην αυτου μετα παντων των αξιωματικων, του ειναι αυτους εις την υποταγην και εις το θελημα σου.

Ειδας ουν τι τ'εστον η ταξις ινα φερης τα πνευματα εν τω ειρεμενω κυκλω και ομιλης αυτοις.

Εαν θελης ποιησαι μιαν αρχοντισσαν να σε αγαπηση.

ορκιζω υμας κατα της δυναμεως του Παντοκρατορος Θεου Σαβαωθ, Αδωναι, ος εστιν Θεος Αβρααμ, Θεος του Ισαακ, Θεος του Ιακωβ, οστις εξελεξατο παρα πασας τας γενεας και παρα παντα τα εθνη τον Ισραηλ, φτινι παρεδωκεν ο Θεος τα Θεια μυστηρια· ορκιζω υμας εις τον Θεον τον φοτεινον ου το βαθος της σοφιας αμετρητον και της λαμπροτητος αυτου ανεξιχνιαστον, τον μαστιγωσαντα ενδεκα πληγαις την Αιγυπτον και αγαγοντα τον λαον αυτου εξ αυτης ορκιζω υμας κατα της διαρρηξασης ραβδου την ερυθραν θαλασσαν και του Μωυσην προσταξαντος ταυτα ποιησαι και διαγαγειν ταον λαον αυτου δια θαλασσης· ορκιζω υμας κατα της δυναμεως του

θεου της φοβερης η ελυτρωσαρο Κυριος τον Λαον αυτου εν χειρι κραταια, και εν βραχιονι υψηλω· ορκιζω υμας, πνευματα εις τα αγιασματα της του θεου σκηνης και εις τας γεγραμμενας δακτυλω θεου πλακας ορκιζω υμας, δαιμονες, εις την τραπεζαν των αρτων του αγιου θυσιατηριου και εις την σταμνον την το μαννα εχουσαν και εις τα αγια των αγιων και εστα ψαλμωδιας των αγιων αγγελων και εις τους υμνους των ιερεων· ορκιζω υμας εις την πιστιν ην εκεκτητο ο πατριαρχης Αβρααμ και εις την λειτουργιαν του διακαιου Μελχισεδεκ και εις την ταξιν του Ααρων. ω υμεις, δαιμονες οι οικουντες την πορνειαν και οι διαννοουμενοι αγαπην ανδρος προς φιλιαν των γυναικων, ορκιζω υμας και σφιγγω και αποσφραγιζω υμας κατα των ρηθεντων ονοματων και κατα των ρηθεντων ορκισμων, του με βραδυναι υμας εν τινη τοπω εν ψ ευρισκεσθε· ευρισκετε την οδεινα ηντινα εγω θελω και αγαπω, υπαγετε του παραλαβειν την αυτης καρδιαν και εγειρετε τον λογισμον αυτης προς με τον οδεινα· μη εχη ενθυμησιν πατρος η μητρος η αδελφου η αλλου τινος τν συγγενων αυτης η φιλου αρσενιλου η θηλυκου, αλλα την ενθυμησιν και επιθυμιαν εμου του οδεινα· και ινα ποιησετε αυτην αγαπηση με πανυ σφοδρα αγαπην ανεπιλησμονα, σφοδρα, σφοδρα, και τοιανδε ωστε μη δυνασθαι μητε φαγειν μητε πειν μητε κομηθηναι, μητε αλλην τινα ανεσιν εχη εως ου θελω εγω· ειη εις την ορεξιν μου και την επιθυμιαν μου· και ινα ερχεται και ευρισκη με οπου αν εγω υπαρχω και ινα αυτη δοκη και φαινηται μηδενα τιναν αλλον ανθρωπον επι της ειναι, αλλα εμενα μονον. ω υμεις, δαιμονες, αφητε επ' αυτην τεχνητας πεντε οιτινες διδαξουσιν αυτην την ορεξιν μου και το θελημα της καρδιας μου· και ινα διδασκωσιν αυτην νυκτα και ημεραν την ενθυμησιν μου βαλλοντες εν τη καρδια αυτης, το ορεκτον εν τοις οφθαλμοις αυτης ακαταπαυστα, εν τοις ποσιν αυτης το ταχυνον, εν τη κεφαλη αυτης το αχορταστον, εν ταις βασιλικαις αυτης φλεψι το ανικητον, ινα ερχεται και να ευρισκη με, οπου αν εγω ω. το λοιπον μη αμελειτε, αλλα ταχεως υπαγετε κατα ταχος οσον συντομω-  
τατα.

Εαν θελης να τους στειλης να σου κομισωσι θησαυρον.

Επι τον θρονον του θεου τον φοβερων και αορατων και εις τους αγιους αγγελους τους πρωτοστατας Μιχαηλ και Γαβριηλ, Ουρουηλ, και Ραφαηλ, και εις τα Χερουβιμ και Σεραφιμ· ορκιζω υμας, δαιμονες, εις το ονομα του Θεου το τετραγραμματων οπερ εστι Αγλα Αγλαατα Αγλαι Αγλαωρ· ορκιζω υμας δαιμονες, ακι οριζω και σφιγγω ακι συμβουλλων υμας εις την χρισιν παντων των βασιλειων ακι εις τα στεμματα αυτων και εις το χρισμα του παναγιου πνευματος οπερ αυτον εχρισθησαν και οι προφηται εχρισθησαν. ορκιζω υμας, δαιμονες, εις τα μυστηρια των αγιων εκκλησιων και εις τα ορασεις και αποκαλυψεις των αγιων προφητων και εις τον υμνον των τριων παιδων Ανανια, Αζαρια και Μισαηλ και εις την αγιαν και ευπροσδεκτον τω Θεω προσευχην αυτων ητις εσβασε την τοσαυτην φλογα της καμινου και εις δροσον αυτην μετεβαλεν επι της βασιλειας Ναβουχοδοноσορ... cetera desunt: paginula vacua est.

Ετερη πραξις περι του αγαγειν τα πνευματα.

Εν πολλοις μεν ουν πραγμασι δεον διαλαβειν και γινωσκειν περι της υποταξεωσι των πνευματων, ω ακριβεστατε υιε Ροβοαμ· ο γαρ μελλων υποταξαι και ιδειν τα σωματα πνευματα σεσωματωμενα πολλης δεεται επιμελειας, ως ενταυθα υπομνησω σε, αρχου απο της πρωτης ημερας της Σεληνης και απεχου απο συνουσιας γυναικος και κρεατος και οινου και ιχθυων και των λοιπων. και οταν φθασωσιν αι ενδεκα της Σεληνης, ποιησον τριημερον νηστειαν, εσθιων μονον αρτον. και εχε προοικονομημενα ιματια λινα λευκα αφοτεστα και υποκαμισον αοφρεστον και καλτζας και υποδηματα κι μιαν κανδυλαν εν τη κεφαλη αφορεστην· και να ηναι γεγραμμενα ταυτα· τα ονοματα μετα μελανιου της τεχνης Αρεα, Αγλα Αγλαι, Αγλαωθ, αγλερι,

Αγλω, Αγλατας, Αγλααα, Αγλαζια, Αγλωθ, Αγλαι, Αγλατε, Αγλωσιω, Αγλαατα, Αγλαρω. εχε δε ακι χαρτιον αγεννητον βοος αρσενικου οικονομημενον μετα μαχαιρας της τεχνης και μετα μελανιου της τεχνης γραφε ταυτας τας εικοσιτεσσαρας σφραγιδας μετα των ονοματων και βαστα αυτας εις το στήθος σου καθως ειναι γεγραμμεναι αντικρυς.

Ελ, Ραχαχου, Βαχανου, Ιρρεχ, Αμπαιμ, Ραββες, Εεμεθ, Ελωχχιμ, Λαχαστριλεν, Αδωναί, Λεερααθιουσα, Γιακουμ, Ελοληνσου, Μισανααδ, Μιμπαγιαδ.

Εχε ουν τοπον οικονομημενον, οικον παστρικον μοναξικον η απερισκοπον και αδιαβατον τοπον· και πλυνον πρωτον το κορμι σου απο τας ια' της Σεληνης εως τας ιδ' ημισυ γλυκυ νερον και καθαρον, ολιγον ζεστον· και ωσαν ελθουν αι ιδ' ημισυ της Σεληνης, εαν εστιν ημερα να βλεπης να ανασνωσης τους ορκεισμοους, καλον· ει δε νυκτα, να εχης λαμπαδας αναπτομενας μετα φανων, και χρισον ολον το σωμα σου μοσχον καθαρον και ζαμπετι και καρυοφυλλον, καρουν ινδικον και μυριοφυλλον· και μετα ταυτα παντα χρισον το σωμα σου, ειτα βαλε τα καινουργια φορεματα της τεχνης καπνισμενα μετα λιβανιου καθαρου και την πολιαν εις την κεφαλην. και ποιησον το τζερκιον μετα μαχαιρας της τεχνης και βαλε και το φυλακτηριον εις το χεριν σου, να το βαλης απανω εις το στήθος σου. εχε δε και καρβουνα ζωντανα απτομενα, και εχε τεσσαρα πηλινα γαστρια καινα καθαρα και βαλε εις αυτα καπνισματα ταυτα· μοσχον, στυρακα, στακτην ξυλαλοης, σπιγα ναρδου, κροκον, μοσχοκαρουν και βαλ' τα εις τα γαστρια να καπνιζονται. και σεβα εις το κερικιον ευθυς οταν η Σεληνη ηναι αντικρυς του Ηλιου και αρχου και λεγε τους εξορκεισμοους προς τα τεσσαρα μερη του κοσμου. και θελεις ιδειν τα ερχονται ωσπερ ανθρωποι εχοντες και τον βασιλεαν τους και ορκιζε αυτους κατα το ζητουμενον πραγμα σου, οπερ αιτεις εξ αυτους να ποιησωσιν το ζητουμενον πραγμα ευθεως αμα, αμα.

Ιδου και ο κυκλος ουτος εστιν· και ποιησον ωσπερ ορας κατα ακριβειαν. *Figura deest*

Ορκεισμος της ανατολης.

Εσεις, πνευματα της ανατολης Λουτζιφερ, Πελτζαφαται, Γαωση, Σακοβολας, Τζελοσιωδ, Πολλαικυναις, Περριοραθ, Οονεκι, Ορθαι, Ορνια, Αβεχε, Βιναιε, Λαμπορες, Παρατον, Βηκαρτον, Ονισκελια, Λικατες, Πληξετεφω, Κακιστη, Καιμπλανες, Ριεριδιων, Σχοζινοξεν, Χωζει, Οπηραλ, Μιαρερ, Κυνας, Λασυρλαμπητα, Μιγαδελ, Μεντιφρον, Πορκικι, ερχεσθε, ερχεσθε, ερχεσθε, μη βραδυνετε, αλλ' εκ παντος τοπου ενθα ευρισκεσθε, ταχυνατε.

Ορκεισμοους δευτερος του Βορεως.

Ω εσεις, δαιμονες του Βορεως Ασμοδαι, Λεοντοφ, Τριαβολ, Γαμεις, Ανατοχ, Ουλφας, Γαβααπ, Αιωθ, Γαλιος, Βιαρα Ινωπηξ, Μαχωθ, Ταρταρωνι, Ζαμαρφα, Αβλικον, Σκαβαδιωδ, Δαμορον, Φιεβλας, Βαρσεφιαλ, Αργουσουλ, Ιπεσιφων, Κιναχας, Δριοκοντα, Αζεβου, Αβιζουθ, Μιεσηρ, Σφαδωραπο, ερχεσθε, ερχεσθε και μην βραδυνετε εκ παντος τοπου οπου αν ευρισκεσθε.

Ορκεισμος της δυσσεως.

Ορκιζω σας, δαιμονες και πνευματα της δυσσεως ΑΣταρωθ, Βελβее, Κιτωηλ, Νικοτε, Πθορα, Φοβοκιλ, Μηρτος, Αρτηρ, Μουβεσουηλ, Απολοχας, Ελβεπριζ, Σφραγιελ, Πορκικι, Νωα, Πωχ και Πριουχ, Βασιγων, Εξουνεαργη, Ιαπερ, Μελιδους, Βαναχωρ, Ιοροηλ, Ιαζιμου, Τραξδατι, Οπρινας, Βοδιμεν, Ακοσγω, Σαβρικελ, Φθικερ, Βιχερον, Αχθιοβ, ερχεσθε, ερχεσθε, ερχεσθε οπου αν ησθε και μη βραδυνετε, απο παντος μερους.

Ορκισμος του νοτου.

Ω εσεις, πνευματα και δαιμονια του νοτου· Βερζεβουλ, Αρκανηλ, Αχωνιωθ, Ζιρθεουηλ, Ηφλαχ, Εφιπτα, Μελτος, Καριτερο, Υποπαλτ, Λιστιθω, Καλιουθ, Βοιδονατεκαν, Μαλεκαπων, Λισκαξ, Βελιουχ, Πελγιαβ, Γαβων, Εισγονελ, Ρενδιτων, Χαμελουλ, Διγμασων, Υπερικφιμας, Ουκασλαβιταν, Πτεθαμα, Βεβυκις, Ουρτι, κεθαψον, ερχεσθε, ερχεσθε, ερχεσθε εκ παντος τοπου οπου αν ησθε, εντ ταχει, παρευθυς.

Ετερος ορκισμος.

Ορκιζω σας και σφραγιζω σας και αναθετω σας και καταβαλλω σας απο τα αγια και φοβερωτατα ονοματα του Θεου Παχατα, Ατακηλ, Σεμηλ, Αφορεχ, Οχτζιε, Ακαι, Ενων, Τετραγραμματον, αλφα και Ω, Λαγριτων, Αινον, Εχλιαν, Οκιζοκιμους, Αρατατηρ, Λιταου, Μικαδερ, Γιλει, Αδωναι, Νωλι, Ελυε, Ιαλε, Σαλαδικη, Ιαιλαδα, Ιαλκε, Σαβαωθ, Ιουρξ, Εγικαξι, Οχειθ, Αναθων, Αλλινα, Βασυνα, Σαβαωθ, Ισαξιπιων, Ονεαρ, Φετζιτιμι, Νιελι, Αδωνα, Φηιτον, Αναρυμολγεω, Γιακρων, Ιριχα, Αναμπων, Αβσεελτιων, Ποουχ, Μιραθων, Συναγρων, Σκαρλωι, Αλκε, Αρφεων, Αλππρα, Γενητον, Γραιμον, Εγλωαφερε, εις ταυτα τα ονοματα σας ορκιζω ω εσεις, δαιμονες και πνευματα των τεσσαρων μερων του κοσμου, να σωματωθητε, να παρετε προσοψιν ανθρωπινην, ημερον και ευμορφον, να ερχεσθε εμπροσθεν μου να ποιησετε το θελω. ορκιζω και δενω και σφιγγω και αναθετω σας απο του ονοματος του Θεου το εντιμον και φοβερον Ρετιναιμ, και απο το μεγαλοπρεπεστατον και μεγαλειοττον και ενδοξον ονομα Κυριου Φανακημ, και απο το πολυτιμον Κυριου Σεμφορας. φοβηθητε και εντραπητε τας ονομασις Κασιδωρε, Ααμανονια, Ρεντινα, γεαθαλαμια, Σεγανε, Αγαρια, Ρωαθια, Θελαμια, Αδιριω και Καριων, ω εσεις, δαιμονες, φανητε εμπροσθεν μου και μη μου παρακουσετε δια τα αγια και εντιμα ονοματα του Θεου ταυτα· Αγλα, Αγλαι, Αγλατασε, Θεον, Ελιω, Λοχεμ, Τετραγραμματον, Ισαακ, Βαλμιδαλας, Σιλανας, Ιλαβολαμ, Βελαμελαδωνακι, Αχακε, Τζτωτζω, Εαρων, Αντανωδα, Αρεαττα, Παλιχαδαλ, Ομιστικον, Συμουλ, Μελααυτα, Χογιμα, Μαθεα, Ραχεμ, Εμονελ, Εμανουηλ, αλφα και ω, σφιγγω και βιαζω σας και δενω σας δις τους αγιους αγγελους Μιχαηλ και Ραφαηλ και δια των αγιων αγγελων Μαφιηλ, Σερπεφουηλ, Γιμαηλ, Λαδωναηλ.

Μετα τον ορκισμον τουτον θελεις ιδειν να ερχονται φουσατον· και μηδεν δειλιασης, αμη ειπε τους να σταθουν εξω του κερκολου και τιμησον αυτους καλως ηλθατε. ο τι ζητεις λεγε τους.

Τελος περι του εισαγειν δαιμονας.

[γαστερομαντεια]

Λαβων μιαν γαστεραν θες την απανω εις τραπεζαν· ειτα βαλε υποκατωθεν μανδυλιον καινον και καρουφυλλατον και μοσχον και χαλβανην, ακι αναψον κερια τεσσαρα και επαρον εναν παρθενον παιδι· και εστω πλησιον εκει ο σεληνιαζομενος και η γαστερα ευκαιρη· και νε εβλεπη το παιδιν μεδα εις την γαστεραν. και συ ειπε εις το ξερβον του ωτιον του σεληνιαζομενος και εις το δεξιον ετουτον τον ορκισμον· ορκιζω σε, πνευμα πονηρον και ακαθαρτον, απο το μεγα ονομα του Θεου Σαβαωθ και απο την αποκαλυψιν του Θεου την οποιαν απεκαλυψεν του Μωυσεως εις το ορος το Σινα, εις τα αγιασματα των αγιασματων και εις τα ονοματα των αγιων αγγελων Μιχαηλ, Γαβριηλ και Ουρουηλ και Ραφαηλ, και εις τα ονοματα των επτα αγγελων των φοβερων οπου ανακατωνουν ολους τους ανεμους αυτοι να σε ανακατωσουν να σε ευγαλουν απο τους τξε' αρμοσεις και μυελους ετουτου του ανθρωπου και να ευγησ απο τον ανθρωπον ετουτον· και εχω να σε πεμψω εις αλλον

τοπον. και εις εκεινον τον φοβερων Θεων και εις τας χαριτας του Παναγιου Πνευματος και εις την παρουσιαν αυτου και εις τα δακρυα των αγιων και εις τους θρωνους ους εθρηνησαν εις ον σταυρον του Χριστου μου ορκιζω σε, πονηρον δαιμονιον, κατα την ωραν ετουτην να εξεβης απο τον ανθρωπον ετουτον να σεβης μεσα εις την γαστεραν ετουτην και να σε πεμψω εις τον οδεινα τοπον. ετι δε ορκιζω σας και εις τας θαυματουργιας των αγγελων και αγιων και εις τας ευχας αυτων και εις την χαριταν οπου εχαριτωθησαν. ορκιζω σας εις τον θεον ον τρεμει πιασα κτισις ορατων και αορατων οτιν ευθυς να χωρισθης απο τον ανθρωπον ετουτον να σεβης μεσα εις την γαστεραν ταυτην δια να σε πεμψω εις τον οδεινα τοπον. τοτ' ερωτα το παιδι εαν εβλεπει ανθρωπον σαρκικον μεσα ιες την γαστεραν· και αν ειπη· μεσα εστιν, εχε κεριον ευθυς και στουπωσε το στομα του υαλιου. και ειπε του παιδιου να του ειπη να μην ευγη απο εκει. και το παιδι να εχη φυλακτηριον απανω του ετουτο το παρον. και εις την γαστερα καμε χαρτιν και γραφε μιαν πενταλφαν και βαλε 'ς το στομα το υαλιου απανω 'ς το χειλι.

### [Πιβακτορομαντεια]

Επαρον ενα πιβαταριν αφορεσον και αμε εις βρουσιν τρεχουσαν αντικρυς του Ηλιου και γεμισον αυτο νερον, αλαλον, ασυντυχον, και ανυποστροφον, εις τας ε' της Σεληνης η εις τας επτα η εις τα ιγ' η εις τας ιζ' η εις κα' η εις κε' η εις κθ'. και εχε εναν παιδι παρθενον μετα σου. και τοτε απογεμισον την γαστερα εως ανω λαδιν της δαφνης. και εχε μαχαιραν της τεχνης και ποιησον την βιναν του Σολομων. και καθισε εσυ και το παιδι ακ ως ηναι ωρα που ανατελλει ο Ηλιος. Και ειπε ταυτα τα ονοματα ενδεκα φορας εις το ωτιον του παιδου· Ασγη, Μωταργεμμη, Παγησεεσχη, Ισαχ, Ασακισουχαρ, Νουνβαντα. και ωσαν αποπης τας ια' φορας, αρχισε και ορκιζε ουτως ορκιζω σας, στοιχεια τα οποια εισθε γλυκα εν τοις εργοις και αποκρυφα τοις ανθρωποις, οπου στρεφετε τα πρωσω παντα ωσαν θελετε, εις το ονομα του αγγελου του πυρινου και της ρομφαιας της στρεφομενης, εις το ονομα των επτα βασιλεων υμων των δυνατων και του πορφυρου προβατου και του λεοντος του ισχυρου, να ελθη η συντροφια σας εδω οτι να σας ερωτησω θελω. και τοτε ερωτησε το παιδι αν ηρθασιν. και θελει ιδειν φουσατον και τοτε ειπε να φερουσιν τον θρονον του ρηγος τους και καθιζη ο ρηγας και ολον το φουσατον του και αρχισουν να γευθουσιν. και σαν γευθουσιν, ειπε· ορκιζω σας εις το ονομα του Αβρακι και του Παρηλ και του Ασριελ, οτι να μην σηκωθητε απ' εδω οσον να ερωτησω ει τι θελω. και φερετε το οφθικιον σας και το βιβλιον σας της διαθηκης σας να ομοσετε απανω εις εκεινο οπου εγω σας θελω ερωτησει να μην μου ειπητε ψευδες, αλλα μετα αληθειας να με ερμηνευσετε και πασης καθαροτητος, και απανω εις τους πρωτοθρονους σας και αρχηγους σας βαβητ, Βαλτασαρ, Παλτασαρ, Βεελζεβουλ, Σιεχαπον.

### Ετερη πραξις του καθρεπτου.

Οφειλεις ευρειν παιδιν παρθενου καθαρων χρονων οκτω επισταμενον και γραμματα· και λαβων μαχαιριν μαυρομανικον και καθρεπτην απελθε εις τοπον ιδιον και μη υπο τινος θεωρουμενος και ποιησον κατω εις την γην μετα μαχαιριου ωσπερ ταφου ομοιωμα και γυρωθεν του κολουριου πενταλφας. και πηξον το μαχαιριον εις την μεσην. και θεσε τον καθρεπτην απανω εις την κορυφην του μαχαιριου και ας το κρατη το παιδι με τα χειρια του και να 'πωταται εις ολα τα ονοματα απο οσους θεωρει εντος του καθρεπτου· και να το λεγη του διδασκαλου· πλην το παιδι να με αρη το υς οφθαλμους του ινθεν κα'κειθεν, αλλα παντα να ορα, μεσα εις τον καθρεπτην. οφειλει [Γ. 39] ο τι λεγει ο διδασκαλος να λεγη και το παιδι.

αρχη· Ζηρα, Ζηρα, Ζηραμ Ζαμαρα, Ζαμαρα, Ζαμαρα, Φιατε, Φιατε, Φιατε, Ζητω, Ζητω, Ζητω· αμεν, αμεν, αμεν. κυρα βασιλισσα Συμπιλια, οριζει ο μαστορης τα εις

τα ονοματα ταυτα και εις το † ανεκφενετο και εις την δυναμιν της παρθενιας του παιδος ετουτου, να γυρισης τον καθρεπτην ετουτον να τουν καμης μαυρον, κοκκινον και κιτρινον, και να γενη και μια στρατα δημοσια εδω μεσα· να ελθη ο κοτζος καβαλλαρης ο μαγερας να τον ιδω· σαν ελθη· μαγερε, οριζει ο μαστορης να στειλης τον δουλον σου απανω εις το υψηλοτατον βουνι οπου να ειναι, να φερη εδω τρι καλα προβατα εδω. απερχει και ερχεται. ερωτησις μαγειρε, οριζει ο μαστορης να τα σφαξης και να δεχθη το αιμα τους εισε χρυσον βατζελιν και νατο πιης να χαρης και να τα γδαρης, αλλα καμης οπτα, αλλα μαγερευτα. ερωτησις μαγειρε, οριζει ο μαστορης να φερης θρονια χρυσα, ταυλαν, μεσαλια, κουπαις αργυραις, ψωμι καλον, κρasi καλον να θεσης να ηναι ετοιμα.

Ερωτεςις του διδασκαλου και αποκρισις του παιδιου· μαγειρε, οριζει ο μαστορης να ελθη η κυρα βασιλισσα η Συμπιλια ομου με του λαου της να καθιση, να φα., να πιη, να ευφρανθουν.- και σαν ιδη οτι ποιησαν ουτως και εφαγαν, ειπε· κυρα βασιλισσα Συμπιλια, οριζει ο μαστορης οτι να στειλης τον δουλον σου κατω 'ς την Λακεδαιμονιαν 'ς τον βασιλεα Σολομων να του δοση το βιβλιον οπου ειναι με το στομωμα στομωμενον και με το τριγραμμα βουλλωμενον να το το φερη εδω να ομοσης εσυ και οι αρχοντες σου καλα, πιστα και αληθινα, απο ειπι σας ερωτησω, να με ειπουν την πασαν αληθειαν. και σαν ομοσουν, το απιδι παντοτε [f. 39<sup>v</sup>] να βλεπη μεσα εις τον καθρεπτην και να ερωταται υπο του διδασκαλου εις ολα τα κεφαλαια· και καθως ιδη εντος του καθρεπτου αποκρινεται. ειτα λεγη ο διδασκαλος αρχοντες, εις τον ορκον οπου ωμοσατε και εις την κρισιν την θελετε κριθη, να με ειπητε την πασαν αληθειαν. τοτε ερωτα ει τι θελεις. και ει μεν επιτυχης 'ς το πρωτον, καλον· ει δε μη, ποιησης αυτο απο αρχην εως τριτης φορας. και το παιδιον να ηναι καθαρον και καλοφθαλμον. και ειπε αυτους υπαγετε 'ς το καλον πασασεν εις την ιδιαν κατοικιαν σας και ωσαν σας εκκαλησω να ερχεσθε μετα χαρας. ας σεκωθη το παιδιον, επαρε τον καθρεπτην, χαλασε και τον κυκλον με ταις πενταλφαις.

[Demons and angels of the hours of the week, ff. 41/43 = Monacensis 70]

[actions adequate to the different hours of the week's day, ff. 43v/49 = Monacensis 70]

[MONACENSIS 70]

Του Κριου το βοτανον εστιν το μυριοφυλλον· εχει δε δυναμιν θαυμαστην ο ζωμος αυτου σμιγεις μετα ροδινου ελαιου, οταν κυριευει το αυτο ζωδιον, και πληγην θανασιμον απο μαχαιρας δια τριων ημερων υγη αποκαταστησει· του δε ζωμου αυτου αλειφομενον τα πνευματα τα κακα λυσιτελουσι προς αυτον εχοντα αυτα. ποιει και ευ εχοντα προς αυτον. η δε ριζα περιαπτομενη τον δεξιον βραχιονα χαριεστατον ποιει τον βασταζοντα αυτην και πασα λυπε απο τον φορουντα διωχθησεται.

[f.249] Το βοτανον του Ταυρου εστι το τριφυλλιον· τουτο δε επαρον, οταν κυριευει το αυτο ζωδιον, ηγουν ο Ταυρος. εχει δε ενεργειας τοιαυτας τον καρπον αυτου και τα ανθη βαλε εις δερμα αγεννητον βοος και βασταζε οταν υπαγεις εις βασιλεις και εις αυθεντας και αρχοντας και εχεις μεγαλην τιμην. τα δε φυλλα αυτων αλειφομενα [...]· ο ζωμος τους οφθαλμους και παντα πονον οφθαλμων ιαται. η δε ριζα περιαπτομενη δαιμωνιας και αγελουδας αποδιωκει.

Το βοτανον των Διδυμων εστι το ξιφιον· οταν δε κυριευει το αυτο ζωδιον, επαρον αυτου τα ανθη και βαλε αυτα εις κοιταριν παιδιου γεννηθεντος και βασταζε και εση ηγαπημενος απο μικρων εως μεγαλων. τα δε φυλλα αυτου περιαπτομενα δαιμονιζομενους ιαθησεται. την δε ριζαν αυτου των ανωθεν δος φαγειν ανθρωπω η ζωφ, και αγαθησει σε, την δε κατω ριζαν επιδος και μισηθησονται.

Το βοτανον του Καρκινου εστιν η μανδραγορα· ταυτην επαρον, οταν κυριευει το αυτο ζωδιον ο Καρκινος. τα ανθη, τα ωτα αλειφομενα πασαν νοσον κεφαλαλγιας ιαται. την δε [f.249] ριζαν αυτης διδου φαγειν γυναικι στειρα, σιταροκουκκα δυο

απο πρωτης ημερας της καθαρσεως αυτης και μεχρι ημερων δεκα τεσσαρων και σπληνηεται, και ας βασταζει και εκ της βοτανης.

Το βοτανον του Λεοντος εστιν η βαλωτη λεγομενη· ταυτην επαρον εις την ημεραν, οπου κυριει το ζωδιον αυτης, και τον ζωμον λαβων αλειψον κοκκαλα συνεθλασμενα και δησον. και στερεωθησονται παραδοξως. την δε ριζαν βασταζε και αγρευσεις πλειστους ιχθυας. ει δε και σμιξεις τον ζωμον των φυλλων μετα ελαιου, εσται αντι βαλσαμου ιδιου.

Στρυχνος βοτανον εστι της Παρθενου· ταυτην επαρον εις την ωραν και ημεραν, οταν κυριει η Παρθενος και επαρον τα φυλλα αυτης και των καρπων και εσμιξον στεαρ αρκιον και αλειψον ρευματιζομενους και παραυτικα ιαθησονται. και επαρον τα κλαδη της βοτανης και ποιησον στεφανον και φορησον νεανιδα, και ει μεν γελαση, εφθαρη και ουκ εστι παρθενος ει δε στυγνασει η κλαυσει, εστι παρθενος την δε ριζαν αυτης εαν κλεισεις μετα δερματος λικου και βασταξεις, εση ακαταγωνιστος νικων παντας.

[f.250] Του ζυγου το βοτανον εστιν η βελονικη· ταυτην επαρον, οταν κυριει ο ζυγος. εχει γουν ενεργειας μεγαλας ο καρπος αυτης πινομενος δαιμονιζομενους και σεληνιαζομενους και λιθιωντας και στροφους κοιλιας ιαται. τα δε φυλλα αυτης εσθιομενα παντα πονον τον εσθιοντα παραδοξως ιαται. η δε ριζα καπνιοζομενη συναχια και καραρρους και μαγια ιαται. παλιν την ριζαν περιαψον εν δερματι αλωπεκου, και δησον εν τω δεξιω βραχιονι και εση μη φοβουμενος ληστας ητε δαιμονας.

Του Σκορπιου το βοτανον εστι το κυνογλωσσον· τουτο επαρον, οταν ο Σκορπιος κυριει. εχει δε δυναμιν θαυμαστην και φρικτην. επαρον γουν τον σπορον αυτου και περιαψον αυτον εν ελαφινω απεχομενος απο παντος πονηρου πραγματος και φανει φοβερους και ενδοξους. και οτι αν ειποις ως ψευδες, ως θεον σε πιστευσουσι. τα δε φυλλα τριψας επαρον τον ζωμον και σμιξον μετα κρινου ελαιου. και αλειψον πασαν πληγην και παραδοξως ιαται· την δε ριζαν βαλε εν τη χειρι σου και κυνες ου λακτισουσι σε. παλιν την βοτανην ολοκληρον τριψας ποιησον αλειψην μετα στεατος αρκιου και αλειψον ρευματιζομενους και εν τρισιν ημεραις ιαθησονται. ει δε εκ της ριζης δωσεις φαγειν παντι ζωω αγριω, ημερωθησεται. εχει δε και ετερας ενεργειας. απερ η πειρα φανερωσει αυτας.

[f.250] Του Τοξοτου το βοτανον εστιν η ανακαρδιος ταυτην επαρον, οταν το ζωδιον ο τοξοτης κυριει. και τυλιξας την ριζαν αυτης ολην μετα αλωπεκος δερμα και βασταζε κατα κεφαλης και εση νικων παντας διδασκαλους, δικαστας, κριτας, βασιλεις και τυραννους. τα δε φυλλα τριψας ποιησον κηρωτην και τιθει εις πασαν φλεγμονην και πονον νεφρων και ιαθησεται παραδοξως, ωστε θαυμαζειν παντας. εχει δε και αλλην ενεργειαν η ριζα αυτης τιθεμενη εν οικια, ευτυχιαν και ευδαιμονιαν εν τω οικω εκεινω παρεχει· και μη θαυμασης την ευτυχιαν της βοτανης, αλλ' εις τον θεον τον διδοντα τας χαριτας.

Του αιγοκερου το βοτανον εστιν το λεγομενον τραγιον· τουτο επαρον, οταν το ζωδιον κυριει. εαν γαρ εκ ου καρπου δωσης γυναικι πιειν, ολιγας ημερας ζησεται. ει δε τα φυλλα αυτου βασταξεις, απαντα τα θηρια φευξονται απο σου· το δε μεγαλωτερον, εαν τις την βοτανην βασταξει και περικυκλωσουσιν αυτον θηρων πληθη και λεοντων, ως θεω αυτω προσεγγισουσιν και ου προσψαυσουσιν αυτον. αλλ' ουδε βλαιψουσιν αυτον, εαν και με ταυτα κοιμηθη. την δε ριζαν δος φαγειν επιληπτικω, εν τρισιν εβδομασι και ακρως ιαθησεται και αφοβιαν ε'ι'ι'ξει, εν ω τοπω ευρισκεται εν νυκτι και εν ημερα, και εν παντι καιρω και εν παντι τοπω. ει δε βασταξει αυτο ως φυλακτηριον, προφητικη χαρις εκ θεου επελευσεται.

[f.251] Του Υδροχου το βοτανον εστι το λεγομενον βατραχιον· τουτο τριψας τα

φυλλα και τον ζωμον φυλαξας επιδος ει τινος χρηζεις ινα ποιησει αυτω σπασμωδειν και θανατον κατεργαζεται. επαρον δε αυτον την ριζαν και βαλλε εις δερμα ιχθυος, οταν ο Υδροχοος κυριευει και βαλε εις πλοιον και ναυαγησει, εν ω τοπω απελθη. τα δε ανθη αυτου βασταζομενος ιαται. εχει δε και ετερας ενεργειας η βοτανη αυτη. εαν τα φυλλα τριψεις και μετα αλευρου επισμιξεις και βαλε εις σηπεδονας και ηλους τραυματων, εν τρισιν ωραις αυτου απαλλαττει.

Του Ιχθυος το βοτανον εστιν η αριστολοχια· οταν γουν κυριευει το ζωδιον, επαρον αυτο. εχει δε χαριτας μεγαλας ο καρπος αυτου πιθεις μετα οινου και μελιτος πασαν νοσον του σωματος αποδιοκει. η δε ριζα καρνιζομενη και βασταζομενη παν δαιμονιον και πασαν αχλυν απελαυνει και πασαν νοσον και μαστιγας απο τον εχθιοντα την ριζαν αυτης εκδιωκει. εστι δε και αυτη αντιφαρμακον παντων των ιοβολων. οιος γαρ ανθρωπος δαχθεις και εκ παντος οφεως ειτε δηλητηριου μιανθεις, ταυτα ποιων και θησας αυτα επανω, παραυτικα ιαθησεται.

MONACENSIS

HARLEIANUS

P Λ

[f.252] εισι δε και τα βοτανα των επτα πλανητων, ω ακριβεστατε Ροβοαμ, και οταν βουλη εμβαλειν αυτα, εξεβαλεν αυτα εις την ωραν, εν η κυριευει ο καθεις πλανητης εις την ωραν αυτου. και ποιησον τας ονομασις και τας προσευχας και πραξεις μετ' αυτων θαυμασιως, α ουκ εξον ανθρωπω λαλειν γλωσση.

Το βοτανον του Διος το χρυσαγκαθον· τουτο ευγαλε εις την ωραν, εν η κυριευει ο Ζευς, και ονομαζε τους αγγελους και ειπε και τας προσευχας και εχει ιατρειας φρικτας και φοβερας. την ριζαν εαν δωσεις φαγειν πρωιας ζ', σεληνιαζομενους ιαθησεται. ει δε δαιμονιζομενη δωσεις βασταζειν μετα λιβανου την ριζαν, φυγησεται το δαιμονιον.

τους πιπτοντας εκ του παθους και αφριζοντας, ποτιζε την ριζαν μετα λουλακιου και παραυτικα ιαθησεται. εκ δε των φυλλων τριψας λαβε τον οπον αλειψον τομας και κρουσματα ξιφων και πληγας. και δια ιη' ωρων θεραπευσεις. την δε κεφαλην του βοτανου εαν δωσης βαστασαι, ανηρου φοβηθησεται πειραθηναι υπο μαγιων. ει δε εστιν ανθρωπος και πασχει εκ φαρμακοποσιων, επιδος επι την κεφαλην της βοτανης πινειν μετα υδατος και μελιτος και ιαθησεται.

Το βοτανον του Αρεως εστιν ο πεντασιτης τουτο ευγαλον εις την ωραν του Αρεως και βασταζε εκ τα ξιφη αυτου, εντετυλιγμενα εις δερμα λυκου και εαν περικυκλωσουσι σε μυριοι εχθροι, ου δυνησονται του βλασαι σε, αλλα διασωθηση αβλαβης υπ' αυτων. τα δε φυλλα τριψας και ξηρανας δος πειν μετα οινου, η ανδρος η γυναικος εχοντος αιματος ρευσεις εκ του σωματος, και ιαθησεται θαυμασιως, ωστε θαυμαζειν παντας την του βοτανου δυναμιν. την δε ριζαν βασταζε προς παντα πολεμον και προς πασαν παραταξιν και επινικησεις και αβλαβης διασωθηση, ωστε θαυμαζεις την θειαν ενεργειαν. ο δε βασταζων το ανθος της βοτανης ζηληθησεται υπο παντων [f.252] των ανθρωπων και περιβλεπτος εσται και δυνατος εν δυναμει.

Το βοτανον του Κρονου εστιν το ηλιοτροπιον· τουτο επαρον εις την ωραν ηνπερ κυριευει ο κρονος. ευγαλε και λεγε την προσευχην και επικαλου τους αγγελους τους κυριευοντας. και εχει το βοτανον την ενεργειαν ταυτην. εαν απο του ανθεος δωσεις φαγειν κρυφιος, ελευσεται εν αυτω θερμοσια και ριγος. εαν του δωσεις δυο ανθη, ηξει αυτου διτταιος, ει δε τρια τριτταιος, ει δε τεσσαρα τεταρταιος και τα εξης εαν δε αυτων τα φυλλα βαλλεις τινος εις προσκεφαλον αυτου κρυφιος, ουκ εγερθησεται, εξω αν λαβοις απο τα προσκεφαλα αυτου. ει δε δωσεις αυτω φαγειν, ελευσεται εις αρρωστιαν εως θανατου μεχρι παντων των χρωων της ζωης αυτου και ουκ εγερθησεται μεχρι δωσης φαγειν εκ της βοτανης του Διως. την δε ριζαν επανω σου βασταζε ως φυλακτηριον των γυλουδων.

[f.50v] Το βοτανον του Κρονου ονομαζεται εκατοντακεφαλον και εχει θαυμα 'ς ταις ενεργειαις. τουτο ευγαλε οταν ο αυτος πλανητης κυριευη, το σαββατον. και εις την ωραν του κυριευοντος αγγελου μετα την προσευχην του Κρονου . και ωσαν το ευγαλης, βαστα ενα κουκιν εν τη κεφαλη και ουκ αδικηθης υπο παρανομου κριτου. επαρε ενα κουκι εκ της ριζης εις δερμα τραγου και πιανε τους βραχιονας σου και ληστας εν οδω ου φοβασαι, αλλα ως θεον σε προσκυνουν. επαρε ενα κουκιν εκ της ριζης του, δησον εις ασπρον μεταξωτον πανι και μετα ολιγου αειζωου και ολιγου μαδραγουρας βοτανης και ευρε πετεινον ασπρον και δεσε αυτα εις τον λαϊμον του και ακολουθα τον και παγαινε τουτον ενθα υφορασαι οτι εστι θεσαυρος και σκαλιζει και ει δεν ειναι μακρεα, στεκει και δεικνυει τον τοπον και λαλει. επαρε επτα κουκια εκ της βοτανης και ενα κουκιν μοσχου ακρατου και ενωσον· και εκινον οποιος κειται απο ιερων νοσον ποτισον επτακινς και

ιαται. η δε ριζα ποτιζομενη  
 επιληπτικους ιαται. ει δε θελεις να  
 μαθης μυστηριον τινος ανθρωπου οταν  
 κοιμαται, θες το εις την κεφαλην και  
 ομολογει ο τι και αν επραξε. ει δε εις  
 κεφαλεν πονει, επαρον απο τα φυλλα  
 και κοπανισον και ενωσον μετα  
 ροδοσταγματος και αλειφε την  
 κεφαλην και ιαται. ει δε εις  
 δυσεντερειαν, επαρον μισον εξαι εκ  
 των σπορων και σμιξας μετα  
 κουραλιου (και ας ην τετριμμενο) ,  
 και ας φαγη και ιαται. ει δε χει  
 δαιμονιον φοβερον, επαρον εκ του  
 σπορου αυτου και κυπεριν στρογγυλεν  
 και τριψας δος μετα οινου πιειν εκ  
 τριτου, και βασταζετω και εκ της ριξης  
 αυτης και ιαται. εις δε του  
 βασανιζομενους εκ του δαιμονιου της  
 λεγομενης Ονοσκελιδος, επαρον εκ της  
 ριξης και εκ του σπερματος και  
 τυλιξον μετα ονου δερμα και  
 βασταζον εν τω τραχηλω και ου  
 πειραζει σε ακεραιον. ο βασταζων,  
 κυνες ποτε ουχ υλακτουςιν αυτον. και  
 τα ανθη αλεφομενος το προσωπον,  
 μολυσματα απεχει και το φυλλον  
 αλεφομενος, βασκανια απεχει. και εαν  
 ευγαλης αυτην μετα προσευχην του  
 αγγελου και εις την ωραν αυτου του  
 διεποντος αγγελου, θαυμασεις.

Το βοτανον του Ηλιου καλειται  
 ηλιοσκοπος, παρα δε ιταλοις  
 τζιρασόλεμ· επειδη ενθα εστιν ο Ηλιος,  
 κλινει τας κορυφας αυτου, δι' ου  
 ηλιοσκοπος καλειται. ταυτην την  
 βοτανην ευγαλον εις την ωραν, εν η ο  
 Ηλιος κυριευει, μετα τας προσευχας  
 και τα ανθη και τον καρπον αυτον  
 βαλε εις δερμα αετου και βασταζε μετα  
 σου. και ενθα ενι θησαυρος, παραντικα  
 ανεωχθησεται, ως εν ριπη οφθαλμου.  
 και ειδεις το χρυσιον η το αργυριον  
 εκεινο και ευθυς παλιν η γη κλεισει. ου  
 δε σημειωσαμενος τον τοπον  
 ανωρυξον και ευρεις, οπερ ειδας τα δε  
 φυλλα τριψας και σμιξας ροδοσταγμα,  
 και αλειψον σου το προσωπον και

Του δε Ηελιου λεγεται αυγια. αυτη  
 ευρισκεται \*\*\* μακροθεν την νυκτα  
 ως φως φεγγει † μετα κοσκουνου  
 μεταξωτου αρσημιου μετα τοχου και  
 σαγινης ευρισκουσιν αυτο. ευγανης και  
 αυτο τη ωρα, οπου κυριευει ο Ηλιος  
 μετα προσευχης του αγγελου. και αυτη  
 η βοτανη ενθα ο Ηλιος εστι κλινει την  
 κορυφην· φραγγικα λεγεται  
 οπουσασαωλης. χει χαριν ολοκληρον,  
 εαν βασταξης και πορευθης οπου ει  
 θησαυρος και σταθης απανω και μενης  
 ακινητος τυλιξον με ασπρον πανι και  
 μετα αρσενικου θυμιαματος και βαστα  
 εν τη δεξια. σου χειρι και στασου ενθα  
 εσι χρημα· ο τοπος ανεωχθησεται και  
 θεασεις το κεκρυμμενον· και τον τοπον

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πορευου. και πας ανθρωπος αγριος η λησται ως θεον σε προσκυνησουν και τιμησουσι. την δε ριζαν βασταζε ενδεδεμενην μετα δερματος ονου. θυμωμενους αυθεντας η βασιλεις ημερωσεις. ει δε μετα δερματος φωκης ενδυσης και βαστασης, υπο βασιλεων και αρχοντων και μεγιστανων θαυμασει τε και τιμηθησει. εχει δε η βοτανη τας ενεργειας ταυτας ακωλυτως.

[f.253] Το της Αφροδιτης βοτανον λεγεται σατυριον· ταυτην ευγαλον εις την ωραν, οταν κυριευει η Αφροδιτη, μετα της προσευχης και των αγγελων. και επαρε τα ανθη και τον καρπον αυτης και εντυλιξας εις δερμα ζορκαδιου [και] βασταζε εις τον δεξιον σου αγκωνα και εση φίλτος σου πασων των γυναικων. τα δε φυλλα αυτης τριψας [και] βαλε ροδοσταγμα και αλειφου τας οφεις και πορευου. και οιας ομιλιας και υπανδριας αρξασθαι κατευοδωθει. και ει ειπης, πιστευθησεται, της δε ριζας το δροσοτερον μηλον εαν ονοματισης και δωσης οιας γυναικος θελεις, αγαπηθησεται, και ελθωσι προς συμφωνιας ομοιως και ανδρος δια γυναικος. την δε ριζαν ψημενην ει δωσης επι αγαπημενους μετα ονομασιας και Κρονικη ἴς ωρας, παραντικα μισηθησονται και εσονται εις μαχην. Το Ερμιου το βοτανον εστι το πενταδακτυλον· και ευγαλε εις την ωραν, οταν κυριευει ο Ερμης, μετα την προσευχην και τας ονομασιας. και επαρον τα ανθη και τον καρπον και εντυλιξας εις καρδιαν κα'του η κατης μαυρας και βασταζε επανω σου και εση αφανης. και ει αν ποιησεις, ου καταγνωσθησεται. τα δε φυλλα αυτου ξηραντας και ποιησας ως κονιν και μιξας μετα ελαιου αλειψον, παντοιαν πληγην οφθαλμου, σκοτησιν, αχλυν γιαλουπι, νεφελιον πονηματον, ορνιθοτυφλιαν και ευθυς θεραπευσεις.

σημαδευσον. και τα ανθη και τον καρπον βαλε εις γαλης δερμα και περιαπτε εις τον βραχιονα σου· δειξει γαρ αγαπην και ειρηνην μετα παντων· μετα βασιλεις και μεγιστανους αγαπην πολλην ανακτηση.

εκ δε των δακτυλων της ριζης εαν βαστασης, παντα πονον χειρων και δακτυλων ιασεις. ει δε φαγης εκ των δακτυλων της ριζης, εση μνημονευτικος και πητορικος εν λογοις. και ει τι αρα ακουσεις, λαθησις ου γενησεται. και παλιν την ριζαν εντυλιξας μετα δερματος κυνος [και] βασταζε και ου λακτισουσι σε κυνες. και παλιν την ριζαν εντυλιξας μετα δερματος ιχθυος, βασταζε και αγραν ιχθυων πιασεις, οσους αν βουλη. και παλιν την ριζαν εντυλιξας μετα βλαντιου και ακρατου μοσχου πορευου και κυνηγησεις ζωα και κτηνη αγρια.

[f.253] ταυτας γαρ τας ενεργειας και πλειονας εχει η βοτανη αυτη ακωλυτως. αλλα και η ριζα καθεκαστην εσθιομενη παντοιαν νοσον του σωματος αποδιωκει και εις προκοπην βιου αγει. βασταζε δε την ριζαν μετα παιωνιας λιβανου. και εση φυλασσομενος εκ πασης μαγειας και περιεργειας πονηρων ανθρωπων.

Της Σεληνης η βοτανη εστι η γλαοφωτη· παρα δε ιταλοις λεγεται λουναρια. ταυτην ευγαλον εις την ωραν αυτης μετα της ευχης και των ονοματων αγγελων, ωρων, μηνος, ανεμου και ζωδιου ιδιου οικου αυτης, ο εστιν Καρκινος. εχει δε ταυτας τας χαριτας οτι εαν την κορυφην αυτου βαλλεις μετα περικεφαλαιας αλεκτωρου, οιας πραγματειας εγγισεις, ευθυς πεπραχθησεται και οιας

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δουλειας αφει, ευωδοθησει. και εις  
 πασαν πραγματειαν κερδεμπορος. των  
 δε δρωσερων αυτης φυλλων εαν  
 αυξουσης Σεληνης συμμιξεις μετα  
 χρηματων η χρυσιου η αργυριου και  
 ετερου χαραγιου και μετα των  
 χρηματων εκεινων, οιας πραγματειας  
 αγορασεις, μετ' ολιγον αυξηθησεται ο  
 θησαυρος σου και γενεις κυριος  
 πολλων πραγματων. παλιν τα εψημενα  
 αυτης φυλλα ει μιξεις εις χρηματα  
 εχθρου σου, αφανισθησονται. ομοιως  
 και εαν ανθρωπω δωσης εκ των αυτων  
 φυλλων, ευτυχησει. εαν αυτα φαγει και  
 το αναπαλιν τα δρωσερα εις προκοπην  
 ελθη· την δε ραβδον της βοτανης και  
 την ριζαν εις οιον μεταλλον εν  
 χωνευτηριω περικεκαλυμμενον και  
 χωνευσεις, ευρησεις αυτο καθαρον και  
 εκλαμπρον και δοκιμον χρυσιον. εχει  
 δε η βοτανη και ετερας ενεργειας  
 πολλας και χαριτας.  
 Τελος. Αμην.

APPENDIX THREE

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF THE *SELENODROMION*  
*OF DAVID AND SOLOMON*

[f.22] Ἀρχὴ τοῦ σεληνοδρομίου τοῦ προφήτου Δαβὶδ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Σολομῶντος.

.....τὸ γεννηθὲν ἄρσεν ἐπίορκον καὶ παράβουλον· εἰ δὲ θῆλὸν ἔστιν, πράξει παράβουλα εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους γονεῖς. ὁ φυγῶν δυσκόλως εὗρεθήσεται. ὁ ἀρξάμενος ἀσθενεῖν τελευτᾷ. τὸ ἐνυπνίον σου, εἴαν ἴδῃς, μὴν τὸ ἀναγγείλῃς.

Ἡμέρα ζ´ ἐν αὐτῇ ἰάιν ἐφονεύθη καὶ Νεβρώδ ἐγεννήθη. καὶ ἔσται καλὴ εἰς πᾶν πρᾶγμα πραγματεῦσθαι, τέχνας μανθάνειν, σώματα καὶ τετράποδα ὠνήσασθαι, κυνηγᾶν, ἀλιεῦν, γάμους ποιεῖν, σπέρνειν, θερίζειν. ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἔσται κακοπάθητος καὶ δυσανάτροφος· εἴαν δὲ κοράσιον γεννηθῆ, ἀλλότριον καὶ δραπεικόν. ὁ ἀσθενῶν ὑγιαίνει καὶ [f. 22v] ὁ φυγῶν μετὰ ἡμέρας εὗρεθήσεται· καὶ τὸ ἐνυπνίον ἀποβήσεται ἐν τάχει.

Ἡμέρα ζ´ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἄβελ ἐφονεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Κάιν καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐγεννήθη. αὕτη ἡμέρα καλὴ σπέρνειν, θερίζειν, βοτᾶνα ἰατρικὰ σωρεῦν καὶ ἐντευξίς ποιεῖν, πρόσωπα ἐντυγχάνειν, κείρειν κεφαλῆν. ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἔσται πάντεχνος, σοφὸς καὶ ἰσχυρὸς· ἔστιν δὲ ὀλιγοχρόνιος, εἰς τὸ πωλεῖν καὶ ἀγοράζειν δόκιμος· σημεῖον ἔξει ἐν τῷ ποδὶ τῷ δεξιῷ· εἰ δὲ θῆλὸν, ἔσται ἰατρὶνα. ὁ φυγῶν σωθήσεται. ὁ ἀσθενῶν ταχέως τελευτᾷ.

Ἡμέρα η´ ἐν αὐτῇ Μαθουσαλάς ἐγεννήθη· αὕτη ἔστι καλὴ πωλεῖν καὶ

[f. 22] Beginning of the Selenodromion of David the prophet and his son Solomon.

.....In the fifth [...] the begotten male (is) forsworn and reckless. If it is female, she will make a comparison with parents. The fugitive will be found with difficulty. The person who has begun to be sick dies. Your dream, if you see it, do not disclose.

Day 6. On the same (day), Cain was killed and Nimrod was born. And it will be good for carrying out any procedure, learning techniques, buying animals and beasts, hunting, fishing, making marriages, sowing, harvesting. The newborn will be troublesome and ill-educated. If a girl is born, (she will be) likely to run away and be strange. The sick person heals and [f. 22v] the fugitive after a [...] days will be found. And the dream will turn out true quickly.

Day 7. On the same day Abel was killed by his brother Cain and Apollo was born. The same day is good for sowing, harvesting, collecting medicinal plants and making petitions, for interceding for someone, cutting off one's hair in mourning. The newborn will be skilled in all things, wise and strong; he is short-lived, excellent in selling and buying; he will have a sign on his right foot. If female, she will be a midwife. The fugitive will be saved, the sick person dies quickly.

Day 8. On the same (day) Methuselah was born. The same (day) is good for

ἀγοράζειν πᾶν πρᾶγμα ὃ θέλεις. ὁ γεννηθεὶς ὠφέλιμος, καὶ ζήσεται ἕτη οἷ. ὁ φυγῶν εὖρεθήσεται. ὁ ἀσθενῶν ὑγιαίνει ἐν τάχει.

Ἡμέρα θ´ ἐν αὐτῇ Χάμ ἐγεννήθη· αὕτη ἐστὶν μέσον δύο, οὔτε καλὴ οὔτε κακὴ. ἐν αὐτῇ εἰ τι βούλει, ποιήσον μετὰ προσοχῆς. ὁ φυγῶν δεμένος ἀχθήσεται. ὁ νόσων ἀρξάμενος μακρονοσεῖ. τὸ λαβόμενον κρυβήσεται· καὶ τὸ ἐνυπνιον διὰ ἡμέρας θ´ ἀποβήσεται.

[f.23] Εἰς τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας Νῶε ἐγεννήθη· αὕτη ἐστὶν καλὴ ἀγρῶν γεωργεῖν, σώματα ἀγοράζειν, παιδιά εἰς μάθεσιν διδόναι. τὰ γενόμενα εὐτυχὰ καὶ πολυχρόνια. ὁ φυγῶν εὖρεθήσεται. τὸ ἀπολόμενον κρυβήσεται. ὁ νοσῶν ἀρξάμενος τελευτᾷ· καὶ τὸ ἐνυπνιόν σου ἀποβήσεται ἐν τάχει.

Εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας ια´ \*\*\* ἐν αὐτῇ εἰ τι βούλει, πράττε· μὴ φοβοῦ πλέειν, γάμους ποιεῖν, πραγματεύεσθαι, θεμέλια ὀρύττειν, πωλεῖν, ἀγοράζειν. ὁ φυγῶν ταχέως εὖρεθήσεται. ὁ νοσῶν ἀρξάμενος ταχέως ὑγιαίνει· εἰ δὲ μακρονοσεῖ, τελευτᾷ.

Εἰς τὰς ιβ´ τῆς Σελήνης, Νῶε τὴν θυσίαν προσήγαγε τῷ Θεῷ· αὕτη ἐστὶ καλὴ θυσίαν ποιεῖν, σπέρνειν, θερίζειν. δούλους μὴ ἀγοράζης ὅτι φεύγουν καὶ ἀπολοῦνται. τὰ γενόμενα [γεννωμένα] δυσανάτροφα· ἐὰν δὲ εἰς ἡλικίαν φθάσουν, εἰς πολλὰ καλὰ περιπεσοῦνται. ὁ νοσῶν ἀρξάμενος τελευτᾷ ἐν τάχει.

Εἰς τὰς ιγ´ ....

Εἰς τὰς ιδ´, Νῶε εὐλόγησε τὸν Σῆμ· αὕτη ἐστὶ καλὴ ἐν πάντι πρᾶματι ὃ ἐὰν ποιήσης· ὅσοι δὲ ἐν κριτηρίῳ εἰσι βραδέως ἀπολυθήσονται· ἀπο

selling and buying anything you want. The newborn (is) useful and will live seventy five years. The fugitive will be found. The sick person heals quickly.

Day 9. On the same (day), Ham was born. The same (day) is intermediate, neither good nor bad. In the same [day], if you want something, do it with care. The fugitive will be brought back bound. The one who begins to be sick deteriorates. What has been taken will be hidden away; and the dream will come true in nine days.

[f. 23] On the tenth day Noah was born. The same (day) is good for ploughing the fields, buying animals,<sup>1</sup> giving children over to education. Whoever is born will be fortunate and long-lived. The fugitive will be found. What has been destroyed will be hidden. The sick person dies, and your dream will quickly come true.

On the eleventh day [...]. On the same (day), if you want something, do it; do not be afraid of sailing, making marriages, engaging in business, digging foundations, selling, buying. The fugitive will be found quickly. The one who begins to be sick will heal quickly; but if he deteriorates in his sickness, he dies.

On the twelfth day of the Moon, Noah offered sacrifice to God. The same (day) is good for making sacrifices, sowing, harvesting. Do not buy slaves because they will flee and die. Those who are born (will be) ill-educated. If they hurry to the prime of life they will encounter many good things. The one who begins to be sick dies quickly.

On the thirteenth day [...].

On the fourteenth day, Noah blessed Shem. The same (day) is good for anything you may do: All who are in the court will be slowly destroyed; they will

<sup>1</sup> Literally “bodies” (σώματα).

μάχης φιλίαν ποιήσουσιν. γάμους ποιεῖν, πραγματεῦεσθαι. [f.23v] τὰ γενομένα εὐτυχὰ καὶ πολυχρονία. ὁ φυγῶν εὐρεθήσεται. ὁ ἀσθενῶν ὑγιαίνει καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποβήσεται ἐν τάχει.

Εἰς τὰς ιε', αἱ γλῶσσαι τῶν οἰκοδομούντων τὸν πύργον εἰς πολλὰς μετηλλάγησαν· αὕτη ἡμέρα καλὴ καὶ ἀγαθὴ κάμινον συσκευάζειν, ἀκάνθας τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐκκαθαίρειν, σίδηρα χαλκίζειν, οἴκους οἰκοδομεῖν· εἰς μάθεισιν παραδίδειν, ὑφαίνειν, πωλεῖν ἀγοράζειν. ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἔσται μοχθηρὸς, παντευχῆς καὶ γλωσσώδης. ὁ φυγῶν δεμένος εὐρεθήσεται ἐν τάχει.

Εἰς τὰς ις', Ναχὼρ ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὠδύνησεν γεννηθῆναι· αὕτη ἡμέρα καλὴ παραδίδονται εἰς μάθειν τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ εἰς ὄργανα· σπερνεῖν, θερίζειν, ἄγρους ἀγοράζειν, θεμέλια τιθέναι. ὁ γεννηθεὶς μέγας ἔσται καὶ μέθυσος εἰς νεότητα καὶ εἰς γῆρας· ἔξει σημεῖον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν· τὸ γεννηθὲν κοράσιον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ \*\*\*.

Εἰς τὰς ιζ', τὰ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα κατεστράφησαν· αὕτη ἡμέρα καλὴ θερίζειν, κουρεύειν τὸν πώγωνα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν· εἰς ὁδοιπορίαν μὴ ἐξέλθῃς μὴδε εἰς δικαστήριον μὴτε ἀντιφωνητῆς γεννηθῆς. τὰ γενόμενα [f. 24] ὀλιγόχρονα. ὁ νοσῶν ἀρξάμενος κινδυνεύσει καὶ ἐπὶ κινδύνου τελευτήσει. καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποβήσεται ἐν τάχει.

Εἰς τὰς ιη', Ἰσαὰκ ἐγεννήθη· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κήπους ἀρδεύειν, φρέατα ὀρύσσειν. τὰ γεννηθέντα παιδιά προγνωστικὰ ἔσονται. ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἀναστήσεται· καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἔσται.

Εἰς τὰς ιθ', Ἰακώβ ἐγεννήθη· αὕτη ἡμέρα καλὴ μισθοὺς ποιεῖν. τὰ γενόμενα πολύχρονα· εἰ δὲ μὲν ἄρσεν ἔστιν, ζήσεται πολὺ· ὁ

make friendship in battle; [it is good] to make marriages, to be engaged in business. [f. 23v] The born will be fortunate and long-lived. The fugitive will be found. The weakened one will heal; and the dream will come true quickly.

On the fifteenth (day), the languages of the ones who built the tower were changed into many. The same day is good and fair for preparing the furnace, clearing thorns from the field, forging iron tools, building houses, devoting oneself to learning, weaving, buying, selling. The one born [on this day] will be wretched, with ability in all skills and talkative. The fugitive will be found quickly and tied.

On the sixteenth day, Nahor was born and suffered pain in being born. The same day is good to give oneself to the learning of music and instruments; (it is good) for sowing, harvesting, buying fields, laying foundations. The one born will be great but intemperate in his youth and his old age. He will have a sign on his head. The girl born in the same day [...].

On the seventeenth day, Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed. The same day is good for harvesting, for having one's hair and one's beard cut; do not go out walking or to the court of justice, and do not become one who answers for another. Those born are short-lived. The one who begins to be sick will be in danger, and from the peril will die. And the dream will come true.

On the eighteenth (day) Isaac was born. In the same day [it is good] to water the gardens and dig wells. The children born are prescient. The weakened will recover; and the dream will be good and fair.

On the nineteenth (day) Jacob was born. The same day is good for making money. Those born are long-lived. If it is a male, he will live long. The

ἀσθενῶν ὑγιαίνει· καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποβήσεται καλόν.

Εἰς τὰς κ', εὐλόγησεν ὁ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν Ἰακώβ· ἐν αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ εὐχὴν ἀποδιδόναι καλόν, σπόρον ἐκβάλλειν, ἄγρους ἀρδεύειν, οἶνον καὶ μέλι διαχεῖν, πωλεῖν ἀγοράζειν καὶ τοῖς μείζοσιν ὀμιλεῖν. ὁ φυγῶν εἰς μύλον εὐρεθήσεται. τὰ γενόμενα εὐτυχὰ καὶ πολύχρονα· καὶ ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἀναστήσεται.

Εἰς τὰς κα', ὁ Ἡσαὺ εὐλογήθη παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαακ· αὕτη ἡμέρα εἰς οὐδὲν χρησιμεύει, εἰ μὴ μόνον χοίρους καὶ κριοὺς καὶ βόας καὶ ἵππους εὐνουχίζειν. τὰ [f. 24] γεννηθέντα τέκνα μισητὰ ἔσονται. ὁ φυγῶν καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον κρυβήσονται. ὁ νοσῶν βαρέως κινδυνεύει· καὶ τὸ γενόμενον πορνικόν, μεστὸν κατάρσας καὶ κακοτέχον ἔσται.

Εἰς τὰς κβ', ὁ πάγκαλος Ἰωσήφ ἐγεννήθη· ἐν αὐτῇ καλόν ἔστιν πωλεῖν καὶ ἀγοράζειν, ἄγρους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐργάτας μισθοῦσθαι. τὰ γεννηθέντα ὡς νεόφυτα θάλλουσι. ὁ φυγῶν καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον μισοφανεῖς ἔσονται. ὁ ἀσθενῶν ὑγιαίνει· καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποβήσεται ἐν τάχει.

Εἰς τὰς κγ', Βενιαμὴν ἐγεννήθη· αὕτη ἡμέρα καλὴ καὶ ἀγαθὴ εἰς πάσαν πρᾶξιν ποιητικὴν, οἰκίαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ὁ φυγῶν εἰς ἰκετείαν ἤξει. ὁ νοσῶν ὑγιαίνει, τὰ γεννηθέντα τέκνα ὀλιγόζωα ἔσονται. τὸ ἀπολλύμενον εὐρεθήσεται καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποβήσεται.

Εἰς τὰς κδ'· ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ ἐγεννήθη \*\*\* καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν παιδίον ὀλόκληρον τοῖς γονεῦσι ἔσται καὶ ζήσεται ἔτη πθ'. ὁ ἀποδημήσας στρατιώτης ἐν πολήμῳ ἀχθήσεται ὑγίης· ὁπραγματεύσας, εἰς κέρδος ἔσται. [f.25] ὁ νοσῶν ταχέως τελευτᾷ. τὸ ἀπολλύμενον ταχέως εὐρεθήσεται· καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον αὐτῆς ἀποβήσεται.

weakened heals. And the dream will turn out true in a good manner.

On the twentieth (day), Isaac blessed Jacob. On the same day it is good to concede a prayer, cast seed, water the fields, pour wine and dissolve wine and honey, sell, buy and associate with many. The fugitive will be found in the mill. Those born are fortunate and long-lived. And the feeble will recover.

On the twenty-first (day), Esau was honored by Isaac. The same is useful for nothing but castrating young pigs, rams, bulls and horses. The brood born will be hateful. The fugitive and the lost will be hidden. The person who is very sick is in danger. What is created will be libertine, full of curses and artful.

On the twenty-second (day), the very handsome Joseph was born. On the same (day) it is good to sell and to buy, to take care of the house, to pay the workers. Things born thrive like young plants. The fugitive and what is lost will appear as hateful. The sick heals; and the dream will quickly come true.

On the twenty-third (day), Benjamin was born; the same day is good for any practical procedure, and for taking care of the house. The fugitive will come to supplication. The sick heals. The creatures born will be short-lived. What is lost will be found, and the dream will turn out true.

In the twenty-fourth (day), on the same day Joshua son of Nun was born [...] and the child born will belong wholly to his parents and will live for eighty-eight years. The soldier who is away from home at war will be brought back in good health. The one who has been engaged in business, will make a profit. The sick will die quickly. What is lost will be found quickly. And her dream will come true.

Εἰς τὰς κέ', Φαραὼν ἐγεννήθη παντὸς πράγματος ἀπέχου· μήτε πωλεῖν μήτε ἀγοράζειν, μήτε πλέειν, μήτε εἰς ὁδὸν ἐξελεθεῖν ἢ δοκλους ἀγοράζειν. τὸ γεννηθὴν παιδίον ὑπὸ σιδήρου τελευτᾷ. ὁ ἀναχωρήσας δοῦλος εὐρεθήσεται. ὁ νοσῶν δυσκόλως ὑγιαίνει. ὁ κλέψας οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται· καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον εἰς ἡμέρας ἢ δελοῖ.

Εἰς τὰς κς', Μωυσῆς ὁ προφήτης ἐγεννήθη· αὕτη καλὴ καὶ ἀγαθὴ εἰς πάσαν πράξιν, πωλεῖν, ἀγοράζειν, σπέρνειν, θερίζειν, πλέειν καὶ κυνηγᾶν, εἰς μάθεσιν τέχνης διδόναι. τὸ γεννηθὲν ὑποκίνδυνον ἔσται καὶ πάντα νοσεῖ. ὁ φυγῶν καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον καὶ ὁ κλέψας οὐχ εὐρεθήσονται. ὁ νοσῶν ὑγιαίνει καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποβήσεται.

Εἰς τὰς κζ', οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξῆλθον ἐξ Ἰαίγυπτου· αὕτη καλὴ εἰς πάσαν πράξιν, πωλεῖν, ἀγοράζειν, γάμους ποιεῖν. τὸ γεννηθὲν ὀλιγόχρονον, ἔαν ἄρσεν ἔσται· εἰ δὲ θηλύ, ζωτικόν. καὶ ὃς ἔαν ἄρρωστήσεται ταχέως ὑγιαίνει· καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποβήσεται.

[f. 25v] Εἰς τὰς κη', τὴν ὀρτυγομήτραν ἔβρεξεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ· αὕτη καλὴ εἰς πάντα, ἄγρους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τοῖς μεζουσιν ὀμιλεῖν, παιδία εἰς μάθεσιν διδόναι. ὁ ἀναχωρήσας δοῦλος εὐρεθήσεται. ὁ νοσῶν ὑγιαίνει· καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον εὐρεθήσεται· καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποβήσεται.

Εἰς τὰς κθ', Ἀβραὰμ ἐγεννήθη· καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἦλθον εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπαγγελίας· αὕτη ποιητικὴ εἰς πάντα· ἄγρον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· πράγματα ποιεῖν· διαθήκην γραφεῖν. ὁ νοσῶν ὑγιαίνει· καὶ τὸ γενόμενον δύσκολον ἔσται. τὸ ἀπολλύμενον

On the twenty-fifth (day), Pharaoh was born. Avoid any activity: no selling or buying, no sailing, no going out onto the road or buying slaves. The child born (will) die by iron. The slave who fled into the wilderness will be found.<sup>2</sup> The sick person heals with difficulty. The robber will not be found. And the dream manifests itself in seven days.

On the twenty-sixth (day), Moses the prophet was born. The same (day) is good for any action, for selling, buying, sowing, harvesting, sailing and hunting, dedicating [oneself] to learning a technique. Those born will be in all kind of danger and sick. The fugitive and the lost and the one who steals will not be found. The sick heals and the dream will come true.

On the twenty-seventh (day), the children of Israel went out from Egypt. The same [day] is good for any deed, for selling, for buying, for marriage. The newborn is short-lived if it is male; if it is female, [it will be] full of life. And whoever is sick quickly heals. And the dream will come true.

[f. 25v] On the twenty-eighth (day), God showered quails upon the children of Israel. The same [day] is good for anything, for taking care of the fields, speaking with the great, giving the children over to education. The slave who has fled will be found. The sick heals; and what is lost will be found; and the dream will turn out true.

On the twenty-ninth (day), Abraham was born, and the Jews entered into the promised land. The same [day] is productive for anything, for taking care of the fields, doing business, making a will. The sick heals; and what is born will be disobedient. What is lost will not be

<sup>2</sup> This verb ἀναχωρέω designates a kind of civil resistance by serfs and slaves in Egypt during Late Antiquity.

οὐχ εὔρεθήσεται· καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον  
αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθινόν.

Εἰς τὰς λ', Σαμουὴλ ὁ προφήτης  
ἐγεννήθη· αὕτη καλὴ καὶ ἀγαθὴ· ὅτι  
θέλεις, πράττε· εἰς ὁδὸν ἐλθεῖν,  
ὄρνεα, μελίτσια ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ  
μετάξια προκαθαίρεσθαι. ὁ γεννη-  
θεὶς μέγας ἄνθρωπος ἔσται, ἄρχων  
ἔνδοξος καὶ πόρνος· εἰ δὲ θῆλὸν ἔστι,  
ἀναιδέστατον καὶ κακὸν ἔσται καὶ  
πονηρὰ ἔργα πράξει. ὁ φυγὼν μετὰ  
χρόνους εὔρεθήσεται. τὸ ἀπολλύ-  
μενον κρυβήσεται. ὁ νοσῶν ὑγιαίνει.  
καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποβήσεται καὶ  
ἡμέρας δέκα.

Σέλος τοῦ σεληνοδρομίου τοῦ προ-  
φήτου Δαβὶδ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ  
Σολομῶντος.

found. And her dream is not true.

On the thirtieth (day), Samuel the  
prophet was born. The same (day) The  
newborn will be a great man, a ruler of  
high repute but a fornicator. If he is  
male, he will be very shameless and evil  
and will do bad deeds. The fugitive will  
be found after some time. What is lost  
will be hidden. The sick heals. And the  
dream will turn out true in ten days.  
End of the Selenodromion of David the  
prophet and his son Solomon.



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