

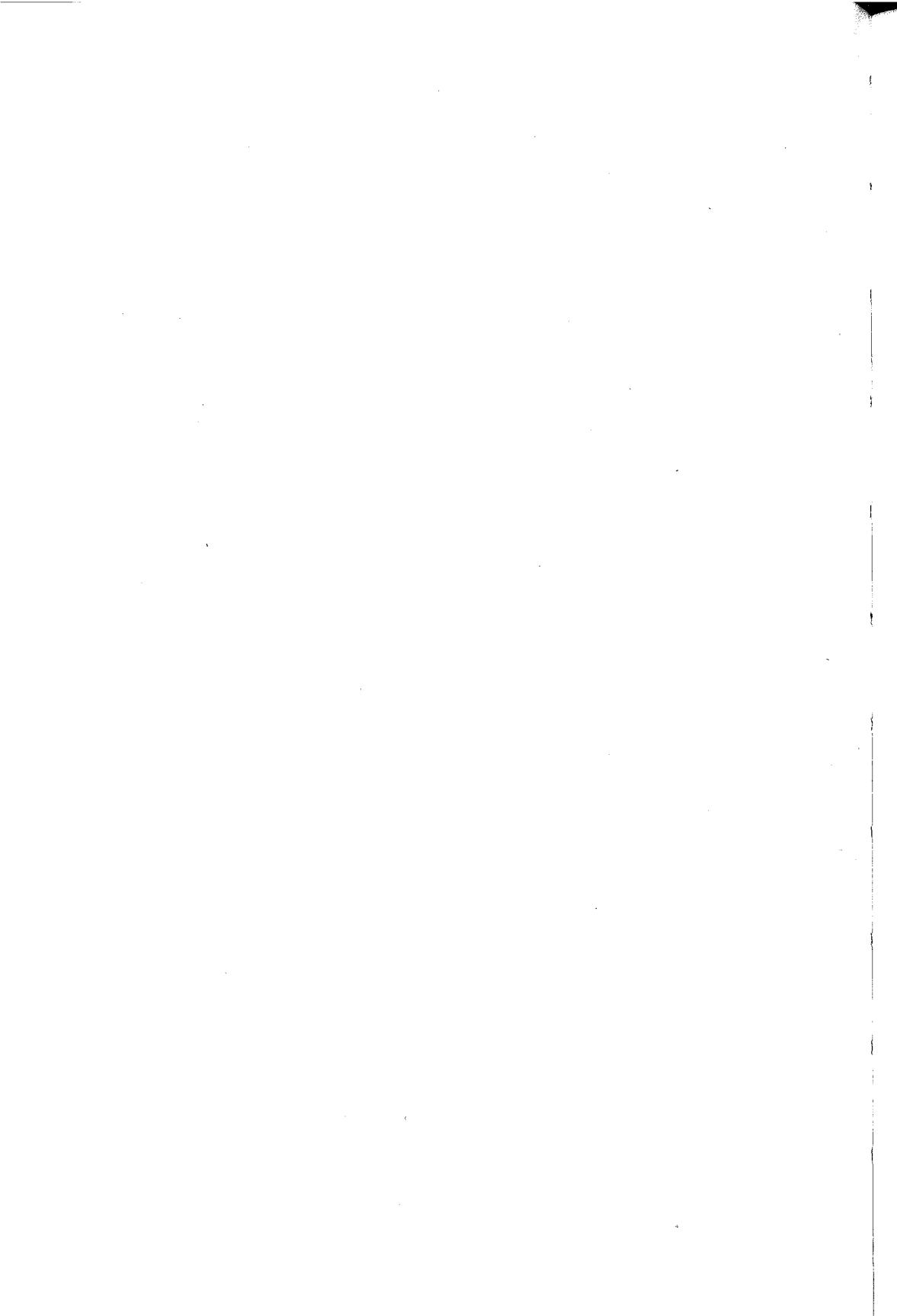
HANS DIETER BETZ

The “Mithras Liturgy”

Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum

11

Mohr Siebeck



Hans Dieter Betz

The “Mithras Liturgy”

Text, Translation, and Commentary

Mohr Siebeck

HANS DIETER BETZ, born 1931; student of Protestant theology at Bethel and Mainz (Germany), and Cambridge (England); 1957 Dr. theol., 1966 Habilitation at Mainz; 1963–1978 Professor of New Testament at Claremont, California; 1978–2000 Shailer Mathews Professor of New Testament, University of Chicago; emeritus since 2000.

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

GOETHE, *Faust I*, ll. 570–73

Preface

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

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

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Wherever needed, institutions provided support of various kinds. Thanks are due to Deans Clark Gilpin and Richard Rosengarten of the Divinity

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

Chicago, May 2003

Hans Dieter Betz

Abbreviations and Short Titles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Critical Signs used in the Papyrus Text

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

Introduction

I. The “Mithras Liturgy”: A Provocative Title

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

contentious territory, that of the methodological debate between the two most influential schools of classical scholarship at the time, the schools of Hermann Usener (1834–1905) in Bonn⁸ and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in Berlin (1848–1931).⁹ Dieterich represented the methodological approaches developed by Usener, his father-in-law and close collaborator. In Berlin, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff was deeply divided about the Usener school's extension of classical scholarship into the areas of popular religion ("Volksreligion"), folklore ("Volkskunde"), superstition ("Aberglaube"), and magic. On the one hand, Wilamowitz confirmed that the study of antiquity must include all of antiquity;¹⁰ on the other hand, he sensed the danger that classical philology could be neglecting the great Hellenic tradition by bogging down in what he contemptuously named "Botokudenphilologie."¹¹ Although he respected Usener, he saw in Dieterich's scholarship a tendency toward disintegration of the discipline of classical philology.¹² As a result, Wilamowitz and

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

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

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

¹¹ Reported by Pfister, "Albrecht Dieterichs Wirken," 183.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. *The Papyrus*

1. *Origin and Provenance*

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

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

¹⁷ Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 68.

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

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

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

a. Circumstances of Discovery

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some general information about the milieu of these collectors can be gleaned from one of Anastasi’s acquaintances, Giovanni d’Athanasii, commonly known as “Yanni,” who was a resident for eighteen years at Thebes, engaged in hunting after objects of antiquity.²⁵ He was born on the island of Lemnos, and his father was a merchant in Cairo. At the suggestion of English travellers who met him in Thebes, where he worked as an interpreter to an English collector by the name of Henry Salt, he wrote up a personal account of his activities. This account was published in London in the year 1836, together with a catalogue of Mr. Salt’s collection of antiquities.²⁶ D’Athanasii’s own collection was auctioned off in London by Leigh Sotheby in 1837.²⁷ These collectors speak of the manuscript scrolls as having been found in terracotta urns in or near tombs.²⁸

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

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

²⁶ *Ibid.*, ix, 151.

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

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 79, 151.

b. Date

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

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

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

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

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

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

c. Authorship

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

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

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

³¹ On the references to variants see below at n. 33.

³² For the full evidence see the Conspectus of the literary analysis, below, pp. 60–87.

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

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

2. *Editions*

The first edition of the Paris Papyri was published by Wessely in 1888, based on his collation made in Paris in August of 1883;³⁵ in 1888 he checked the papyrus again and published his corrections in 1889.³⁶ All subsequent editions depend on Wessely, although several papyrologists examined the papyri and proposed different readings: Wilhelm Kroll,³⁷ N. Novossadsky,³⁸ Karl Preisendanz,³⁹ Richard Ganszyniec,⁴⁰ and others.⁴¹

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

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

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

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

³⁷ Wilhelm Kroll, “Adversaria graeca,” *Ph.* 53 (1894) 416–28.

³⁸ N. Novossadsky, “Ad papyrum magicam bibliothecae parisinae nationalis adnotatio-nes palaeographicae,” *Journal of the Ministry of National Education*, Part 302, December 1895 (St. Petersburg: V. S. Balashev, 1895), 82–87.

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁴ See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 16, apparatus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵³ “Adversaria graeca,” 421.

⁵⁴ “Notes, Critical and Explanatory, on the Magical Papyri,” *CIR* 10 (1896) 409–13.

⁵⁵ “Griechischer Sprachbrauch,” *Ph.* 63 (1904) 4–5.

⁵⁶ “Zur Kritik der Papyrustexte,” *StPP* 4 (1905) 84–107, esp. 99–101.

⁵⁷ “Varia,” *NTFi* 10 (1922) 102–16.

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

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

⁶⁰ Review of Preisendanz’s edition, *ByZ* 31 (1931) 355–63.

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

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

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

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

Albrecht Dieterich's personal life was from the beginning destined to be that of a scholar.⁶⁴ He was born into a family of teachers and theologians on May 2, 1866 in Hersfeld (Hessen), where his father was a teacher at the local *Gymnasium* and married to Henriette Münscher, the daughter of the director who in turn was the son of a theology professor in Marburg. The oldest son, Albrecht, grew up in a home of liberal Protestant parents who were open to the delights of culture and the arts. Careful guidance by his father led to the baccalaureate (1884) and the beginning of his university studies in Leipzig. Having first taken up theology, he was soon drawn toward philosophy of religion and German literature, but then he turned toward classical philology (represented by Ernst Curtius, Otto Crusius, Justus Hermann Lipsius, Otto Ribbeck, and Rudolf Hirzel). In 1886 Dieterich went to Bonn, where the first lecture by Hermann Usener convinced him like by a strike of lightning that classical philology was to be his future: "Here lie the great problems, to which you must dedicate your life."⁶⁵ His main teachers were Franz Bücheler and Hermann Usener, but he also studied classical archaeology and art with Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz. What mostly interested him was the way Usener combined classical philology and history of religions, for instance in his book *Das Weihnachtsfest*.⁶⁶ Rather than letting him drift into "the great problems," however, his teachers trained him to prove himself as a philologist of the classical literature. Usener advised him to write a "Preisarbeit" (an essay competing for a prize) on Aeschylus, and after that Bücheler assigned to him the task of working up textual and commentary annotations to Papyrus Leiden J 384, published by Conrad Leemans in 1885.⁶⁷ Having won the two prizes, Dieterich expanded the second essay into his doctoral dissertation of 1888,⁶⁸ which ventures to explore on a purely

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

⁶⁵ Cited from Wünsch's article, xii: "Hier liegen die großen Probleme, denen du dein Leben widmen mußt."

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

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

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

philological level the yet mostly unknown magical literature of Hellenistic Egypt.⁶⁹ The Leiden Papyri J 384 and J 395 became PGM XII and XIII in the collection of Preisendanz;⁷⁰ they were again investigated by the papyrologist Robert W. Daniel who published them together with photographs in 1991.⁷¹

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

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

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

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

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

⁷² *De Hymnis Orphicis capitula quinque* (Marburg: Elwert, 1891).

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

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

In his teaching as a Privatdozent in Marburg⁷⁵ Dieterich treated a wide range of subjects pertaining to Greek language and literature, but he also lectured on Greek mythology and history of religion, going as far as the decline of ancient religions and the rise of Christianity. These explorations came to the fore in his next book dealing with the discovery of what became known as the Apocalypse of Peter.⁷⁶ This fragmentary parchment codex was discovered in a tomb at Akhmim. While Christian in provenance, it also draws together sources from Jewish and Greek traditions about the netherworld.⁷⁷ Besides a critical examination of the text and a German translation, Dieterich's work has three major chapters, the first of which outlines what he terms "Greek folk-religion concerning the realm of the dead" ("Griechischer Volksglaube vom Totenreich"); the second chapter on "Mystery cult teachings concerning blessedness and condemnation" ("Mysterienlehren über Seligkeit und Unseligkeit") demonstrates how old elements of folkreligion emerge in official literature and religion; the third chapter deals with "Orphic-Pythagorean Books on Hades" ("Orphisch-pythagoreische Hadesbücher"). Understandably, these topics quickly became controversial, but through the debates they also began profoundly to change scholars' perception of the field. In many ways, Eduard Norden (1868–1941),⁷⁸ Richard Reitzenstein

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

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

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

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

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

(1862–1931),⁷⁹ Eric Robertson Dodds (1893–1979),⁸⁰ Arthur Darby Nock (1902–1963),⁸¹ and André-Jean Festugière (1898–1982)⁸² became indicators of the new direction of classical studies. From a present perspective, it is impressive to see how many of Dieterich's suggestive and provocative ideas have later been confirmed or at least gained in probability. New discoveries of texts and archaeological remains such as the Orphic-Dionysiac gold tablets and the Derveni Papyrus⁸³ have moved classical studies in directions that would have delighted him. The most impressive symbol of Dieterich's continuing influence was the collaboration of many scholars in producing the collection of the Greek Magical Papyri. Like many other projects, Dieterich had originally suggested this work,⁸⁴ and its main editor, Karl Preisendanz who was one of Dieterich's former students dedicated it to his memory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸⁴ See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magiae*, 1.vi.

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

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

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

⁸⁵ *Apokalypse Anastasiae* (ed. Rudolf Homburg; BiTeu; Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1903).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁰ "Ἐὐαγγελιστής," *ZNW* 1 (1900) 336–38; reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 193–95.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁴ See above, n. 93.

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

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 146–60.

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

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

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

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

⁹⁸ Ibid., 146–47.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 152.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cumont's basic position is maintained emphatically by Reinhold Merkelbach and Robert Turcan. Merkelbach's commentary¹⁰⁴ is based on Dieterich's work, but he rejects Dieterich's title and proposes his own: "Die Pschai-Aion-Liturgie," which he groups together with the Leiden Papyrus (PGM XIII), calling them by various terms: "Weihezeremonien,"¹⁰⁵ "Einweihungszere-
monien,"¹⁰⁶ or "Die Pariser Unsterblichkeits-Liturgie."¹⁰⁷ Thus, while retaining the term "liturgy," he simply equates it with "ceremony." Turcan continues Cumont's denial that the Mithras liturgy has anything to do with Mithraism; he sees it marginally related to theurgical Neoplatonism.¹⁰⁸

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

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

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., v. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 6–7.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 25.

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

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

¹¹⁰ For further discussion, see below, section V of this Introduction.

¹¹¹ For discussion, see the commentary *infra*, on l. 699.

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹³ *Mutter Erde* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905).

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

¹¹⁵ See above, p. 4 n. 14.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 1 n. 4.

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

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

IV. Genre and Composition

1. Delimitation

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

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

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

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

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

2. *The literary genre*

a. *External genre designations*

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

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

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

b. Internal genre designations

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

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

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

3. Composition

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

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

¹²³ See the commentary on ll. 479–82 and 820.

not been undertaken.¹²⁴ Our own literary analysis¹²⁵ shows four distinguishable parts.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹²⁸ Terms designating purity are relatively infrequent in ML; see *καθαρός* 1. 569; *καθαρείως* ll. 760, 771; *ἀγιάζω* 522; *ἀγίασμα* 522; *ἀγιος* ll. 522, 668–69; *ἀγνεύω* 1. 784. By contrast, the notion of “spirit” (*πνεῦμα*) in association with fire (*πῦρ κτλ.*) is central.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. *Redaction*

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

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

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

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

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

V. The Religio-historical Context

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

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

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

¹³¹ For further discussion, see the commentary *ad loc.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³⁹ See the commentary below on ll. 475–84.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁴⁴ For assumptions regarding the author, see above, 10.

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

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

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

¹⁴⁶ A similar figure seems to have been the first century CE Isis priest and Stoic philosopher Chaeremon of Alexandria, who became Nero's teacher in 49 CE and who wrote a work called *Αἰγυπτιακὴ ἱστορία* which described the Egyptian priest's life as a fulfilment of Stoic ideals. See Pieter W. van der Horst, *Chaeremon: Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher; The Fragments collected and translated, with explanatory notes* (EPRO 103; Leiden: Brill, 1984); Michael Frede, "Chaeremon," ANRW II.36.3 (1989) 2067–2103.

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

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

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

¹⁵⁰ On Reitzenstein, see above, n. 79.

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

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

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

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

¹⁵³ Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 81.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵⁹ On Festugière, see above, n. 82.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, *La révélation*, 4.200–57.

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

exercise in “virtual reality” comparable to apocalyptic narratives, so that the whole journey is merely “symbolic.”¹⁶²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶⁷ See Preisendanz, 3.219–20 (index), s.v. Ἐρμῆς.

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

Greek Text*

f. 7 recto

475 Ἴλαθί μοι, Πρόνοια καὶ Ψυχή, τάδε γράφοντι
476 τὰ <ἄ>πρατα, παραδοτὰ μυστήρια, μόνῳ δὲ τέκνῳ
477 ἀθανασίαν ἀξιῶ, μύστη τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνά-
478/9 μεως ταύτης – χορὴ οὖν σε, ὃ θύγατερ, λαμβά-
480 νειν χυλοὺς βοτανῶν καὶ εἰδῶν τῶν μ[ελ]-
481 λόντων σοι <μηνυθήσεσθαι> ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ ἱεροῦ μου συντά-
482 γματος –, ἦν ὁ μέγας θ(εὸς)ς Ἡλιος Μίθρας ἐκέλευ-
483 σέν μοι μεταδοθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου
484 αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐγὼ μόνος αἰετὸς οὐρανὸν βαί-
485 νω καὶ κατοπτεύω πάντα. Ἐστιν δὲ τοῦ λόγου
486 ἥδε ἡ κλῆσις.
487 [Γ]ένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως· αεηιουω,
488 ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆ<ς> πρώτη. Π(όπτυσον τρίς), σ(ύρισον
τρίς), Φρ[·],

f. 7 verso

489 πνεῦμα πνεύματος, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεύματος
490 πρῶτον – μ(ύκωσον τρίς) – πῦρ, τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν
491 ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδώρητον, τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πυ-
492 ρὸς πρῶτον ηγη εη, ὑδωρ ὕδατος, τοῦ ἐν
493 ἐμοὶ ὕδατος πρῶτον ωωω ααα εεε, ούσια
494 γεώδης τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ ούσιας γεώδους πρώτη
495 υη υωη, σῶμα τέλειον ἐμοῦ τοῦ δ(ε)ῦ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ῦ(να), δια-
496 πεπλασμένον ὑπὸ βραχίονος ἐντίμου καὶ δε-

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

497 ξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου ἐν ἀφωτίστῳ καὶ διαυγεῖ
 498 κόσμῳ, ἐν τε ἀψύχῳ καὶ ἐψυχωμένῳ υῃ
 499 αὐτι ευωιε. Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξῃ μετερτα
 500 φωθ· μεθαρθρα φηριη – ἐν ἀλλῳ, ἕρεζαθ –
 501 μεταπαραδῶναι με τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει
 502 ἔχομένως τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ μου φύσει· ἵνα
 503 μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπεί-
 504 γουσάν με χρέιαν ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθάνατον
 505 ἀρχὴν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι ανγρε-
 506 φρενεσουφιριγχ· τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι
 507 ερονουῃ παρακουνηθ· τῷ στερεωτάτῳ
 508 ἀέρι εἴσοαῃ φεναβαθ· ἵνα νοήματι μετα-
 509 γεν<ν>ηθῶ κραοχραξ· ροῦμ εναρχομαι
 510 καὶ πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα νεχθεν
 511 αποτου νεχθιν αρπιη ηθ· ἵνα θαυμάσω
 512 τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ κυφε, ἵνα θεάσωμαι τὸ ἄβυσ-
 513 σον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν ὕδωρ νυω
 514 θεσω εχω ουχιεχωα, καὶ ἀκούσῃ μου ὁ ζωο-
 515 γόνος καὶ περικεχυμένος αἰθήρ αρνομηθφ.
 516 Ἐπεὶ μέλλω κατοπτεύειν σήμερον τοῖς ἀθα-
 517 νάτοις ὅμμασι, θνητὸς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ θνη-
 518 τῆς ὑστέρας, βεβελτιωμένος ὑπὸ κράτους
 519 μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρ-
 520 του, ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰώ-
 521 να καὶ δεσπότην τῶν πυρίνων διαδημά-
 522 των, ἀγίοις ἀγιασθεὶς ἀγιάσμασι, ἀγίας
 523 ὑφεστώσης μου πρὸς δλίγον τῆς ἀνθρωπί-
 524 νης μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως, ἦν ἐγὼ πάλιν
 525 μεταπαραλήμψομαι μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν
 526 καὶ κατεπείγουσάν με πικρὰν ἀνάγκην
 527 ἀχρεοκόπητον. Ἐγὼ δὲ δ(ε)ῦ(να), δην ἡ δ(ε)ῦ(να), κατὰ δόγμα
 528 θεοῦ ἀμετάθετον ευη μία εηι αω εἴαυ
 529 ὕνα ἰεω. Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἐφικτὸν θνη-
 530 τὸν γεγῶτα συνα<ν>ιέναι χρυσοειδέσιν
 531 μαρμαρυγαῖς τῆς ἀθανάτου λαμπηδό-
 532 νος ωην αεω ημα εωη υαε ωιαε,
 533 ἔσταθι, φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι, καὶ αὐτίκα <ἀνάλαβέ>
 534 με ὑγιῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ κατεπε[·]–
 535 γουσαν χρείαν. Ἐγὼ γάρ είμι δινός ψυχω[ν]
 536 δεμου προχω πρωα, ἐγώ είμι μαχαρφ[.]ν

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

f. 8 recto

543 τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς θνητῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, πάν—
 544 τα δὲ ὅψη ἀθάνατα. "Οψη γάρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας
 545 καὶ τῆς ὥρας θείαν θέσιν, τοὺς πολεύοντας
 546 ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεούς, ἄλλους
 547 δὲ καταβαίνοντας. Ή δὲ πορεία τῶν ὁρωμέ—
 548 νων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρός μου, θεοῦ,
 549 φανήσεται, ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐ—
 550 λός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργοῦντος ἀνέμου. "Οψη
 551 γάρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ὡς αὐλὸν κρεμάμενον εἰς
 552 δὲ τὰ μέρη τὰ πρὸς λίβα ἀπέραντον οἶον ἀπη—
 553 λιώτην, ἐὰν ἢ κεκληρωμένος εἰς τὰ μέρη
 554 τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου, καὶ ὁ ἔτερος ὅμοίως εἰς τὰ μέ—
 555 ρη τὰ ἐκείνου. ὅψη τὴν ἀποφορὰν τοῦ ὁράματος.
 556 "Οψη {σὺ} δὲ ἀτενίζοντάς σοι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ
 557 σε ὁρμωμένους.
 Σὺ δὲ εὐθέως ἐπίθες δεξιὸν
 558 δάκτυλον ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ λέγε·
 559 Σιγή, σιγή, | σιγή,
 σύμβολον θεοῦ ζώντας ἀφθάρτου.
 560 Φύλαξόν με, σιγή νεχθειρ θανυμελου.
 561 "Επειτα σύρισον μακρὸν σύρισον δύο), ἔπειτα πόππυ—
 562 σον λέγων·
 Προπροφεγγῆ μοριος προ—
 563 φυρ προφεγγῆ νεμεθιρε αρψεντεν
 564 πιτητμι μεωυ εναρθ φυρκεχω ψυ—
 565 ριδαριω τυρη φιλβα.
 Καὶ τότε ὅψη τοὺς
 566 θεούς σοι εύμενῶς ἐμβλέποντας καὶ μη—
 567 κέτι ἐπί σε ὁρμωμένους, ἀλλὰ πορευομέ—

568 νους ἐπὶ τὴν ἴδιαν τάξιν τῶν πραγμάτων).
 569 "Οταν οὖν ἴδης τὸν ἄνω κόσμον καθαρὸν
 570 καὶ δονούμενον καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν
 571 ἥ ἀγγέλων ὁρ<μ>ώμενον, προσδόκα βροντῆς
 572 μεγάλης ἀκούσεσθαι κτύπον, ὥστε σε ἐκ—
 573 πλαγῆναι. Σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε·

Σιγή, σιγή λόγος.

574 Ἐγώ είμι <ό> σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστήρ, καὶ ἐκ
 575 τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων ὁ Ευ, ὁ Ξερθευθ.
 576 Ταῦτά σοῦ εἴποντος εὐθέως ὁ δίσκος ἀπλω—
 577 θήσεται. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν σε τὸν β' λόγον,
 578 διπου σιγή β' καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα, σύρισον β'
 579 καὶ π(όπυσον) β', καὶ εὐθέως ὅψη ἀπὸ τοῦ δί—
 580 σκου ἀστέρας προσερχομένους (πεντα)δακτυ—
 581 λιαίους πλεύστους καὶ πιπλῶντας ὅλον
 582 τὸν ἀέρα. Σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· Σιγή, σιγή.
 583 καὶ τοῦ δίσκου ἀνοιγέντος ὅψη ἀπειρον
 584 κύκλωμα καὶ θύρας πυρίνας ἀποκε—
 585 κλεισμένας. Σὺ δὲ εὐθέως δίωκε τὸν ὑπο—
 586 κείμενον λόγον καμμύων σου τοὺς ὀφθαλ—
 587 μούς. Αόγος γ'.
 588 ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἀκου—
 σόν μου, τοῦ δ(ε)ῦ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ῦ(να),
 589 κύριε, ὁ συνδήσας
 πνεύματι τὰ πύρινα κληρόνα τοῦ (τετρα)—
 590 λιζώματος,
 πυρίπολε πεντιτερουνι,
 591 φωτὸς κτίστα — οἱ δὲ συγκλεῖστα — Σεμεσιλαμ,
 592 πυρίπονε ψυρινφευ,
 593 πυρίθυμε | Ιαω, πνευματόφως ωαΐ
 594 πυριχαρῆ | ελουρε,
 καλλίφως αζαΐ,
 Αἰών ακβα,
 595 φωτοκράτωρ πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι,
 596 πυ | ρισώματε φνουηνιοχ, φωτοδῶτα,
 597 πυ | ρισπόρε αρει εῖκιτα,
 598 πυρικλόνε | γαλλαβαλβα,

f. 8 verso

598 φωτοβία ιαιαιω,
 599 πυριδένα πυριχι | βοοσηια,
 φωτοκινήτα σανχερωβ,
 600 κεραυνο | κλόνε ιη αη ιωηιω,
 φωτός κλέος βεεγένητε,
 601 αύξηστέφωας σουσινεφι,
 602 ένπυρισχησίφωας | σουσινεφι αρενβαραζει μαρμαρεντευ.
 'Αστροδάμα, ἄνοιξόν μοι, προπροφεγγή, εμε-
 604 θειρε μθριομοτυρηφιλβα, δτι ἐπικαλοῦ-
 605 μαι ἔνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης και πικρᾶς και
 606 ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης τὰ μηδέπω χωρήσαντα
 607 εις θνητήν φύσιν μηδὲ φρασθέντα ἐν διαρ-
 608 θρώσει ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης γλώσσης ἢ θνητοῦ
 609 φθόγγου ἢ θνητῆς φωνῆς ἀθάνατα ζῶντα
 610 και ἔντιμα ὀνόματα·
 ηεω οηηω ιωω
 611 οη ηεω ηεω οη εω ιωω οηηε οηε
 612 ωοη ιη ηω οω οη ιεω οη ωοη ιεω οη ιεεω
 613 εη ιω οη ιοη αηη εοη οεω αιη αιη εω
 614 οη ιιη ηοη ωηη ηωηηε εωηια αηαεηα
 615 ηεεη εεη εεω ηεω οηεεοη ηεω
 616 ηυω οη εέω ηω αη αή εε οόο ιιωη.
 Ταῦτα πάντα λέγε μετά πυρός και πνεύμα-
 618 τοις τὸ πρῶτον ἀποτελῶν, εἴτα δμοίως τὸ
 619 δεύτερον ἀρχόμενος, ἔως ἐκτελέσης τοὺς
 620 ζ' ἀθανάτους θεοὺς τοῦ κόσμου. Ταῦτά σου εί-
 621 πόντος ἀκούσει βροντῆς και κλόνου τοῦ περι-
 622 ἔχοντος. Όμοιώς δὲ σεαυτὸν αἰσθηθήσει τα-
 623 ρασσόμενον. Σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε·
 σιγή λό(γος).
 624 Εἴτα | ἄνοιξον τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς και ὅψη ἀνεῳγυῖ-
 625 ας τὰς θύρας και τὸν κόσμον τῶν θ(εῶ)ν, δς ἐστιν ἐν-
 626 τὸς τῶν θυρῶν, ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεάματος ἥδο-
 627 νῆς και τῆς χαρᾶς τὸ πνεῦμά σου συντρέχειν
 628 και ἀναβαίνειν.
 Στὰς οῦν εὐθέως ἔλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ
 629 θείου ἀτενίζων εις σεαυτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα. Όταν
 630 οῦν ἀποκατασταθῇ σου ἡ ψυχή, λέγε·

631 πρόσελθε, | κύριε, αρχανδαρα φωταζα πυριφωτα ζα—
 632 βυθιζε ετιμενμερο φοραθην εριη προ—
 633 θρι φοραθι.
 Τοῦτο <σου> εἰπόντος στραφήσονται
 634 ἐπὶ σε αἱ ἀκτῖνες· "Εσειδε αὐτῶν μέσον. "Οταν
 635 οῦν τοῦτο ποιήσῃς, ὅψη θεὸν νεώτερον, εὐει—
 636 δῆ, πυρινότριχα, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ <χ>λα—
 637 μύδι κοκκίνη ἔχοντα πύρινον στέφανον.
 638 Εὐθέως ἀσπασαι αὐτὸν τῷ πυρίνῳ ἀσπαστικῷ·
 639 Κύριε, χαῖρε, μεγαλοδύναμε, με<γα>λοκράτωρ,
 640 βασιλεῦ, μέγιστε θεῶν, "Ηλιε, ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρα—
 641 νοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, θεῶν, ίσχύει σου ἡ πνοή,
 642 ίσχύει σου ἡ δύναμις, κύριε. Ἐάν σοι δόξῃ, ἄγ—
 643 γειλόν με τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, τῷ σε γεννήσαντι
 644 καὶ ποιήσαντι, ὅτι ἀνθρωπος ἔγώ ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ῖ(να),
 645 γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας τῆς δεῖνα καὶ ίχω—
 646 ρος σπερματικοῦ καὶ, σήμερον τούτου ὑπό σου
 647 με<τα>γεννηθέντος, ἐκ τοσούτων μυριάδων ἀπα—
 648 θανατισθεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατὰ δόκησιν θ(εο)ῦ
 649 ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ προσκυνῆσαι σε
 650 ἀξιοῖ καὶ δέεται κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην
 651 — ἵνα συμπαραλάβῃς τὸν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας
 652 καὶ ὥρας ὥρονόμον, φόνομα Θραψιαρι·

f. 9 recto

653 μοριοικ, ἵνα φανεὶς χρηματίσῃ ἐν ταῖς ἀγα—
 654 θαῖς ὥραις, εωρω ρωρε ωριωρ ρωρ ρωι
 655 ωρ ρεωρωρι εωρ εωρ εωρ εωρε. —
 Ταῦτα σου εἰ—
 656 πόντος ἐλεύσεται εἰς τὸν πόλον, καὶ ὅψη αὐτὸν περι—
 657 πατοῦντα ὡς ἐν ὁδῷ. Σὺ δὲ ἀτενίζων καὶ μύκωμα
 658 μακρὸν κερατοειδῶς, ὅλον ἀποδιδοὺς τὸ πνεῦ—
 659 μα, βασανίζων τὴν λαγόνα, μυκῷ καὶ κατα—
 660 φίλει τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγε, πρῶτον εἰς τὸ δεξι—
 661 όν·
 Φύλαξόν με προσυμηρε.
 662 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὅψη | Θύρας ἀνοιγομένας καὶ ἐρχομένας ἐκ τοῦ βά—
 663 θους ζ' παρθένους ἐν βυσσίνοις, ἀσπίδων

664 πρόσωπα ἔχούσας. Αὗται καλοῦνται οὐρανοῦ
 665 Τύχαι, κρατοῦσαι χρύσεα βραβεῖα. Ταῦτα ἰδὼν
 666 ἀσπάζου οὔτως·

Χαίρετε, αἱ ζ΄ Τύχαι τοῦ οὐρα-
 667 νοῦ, σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι, Ἱεραὶ καὶ
 668 ὁμοδίαιτοι τοῦ μινιμιρροφορ, αἱ ἀγιώτα-
 669 ται φυλάκισσαι τῶν τεσσάρων στυλίσκων.
 670 Χαῖρε, ἡ πρώτη, χρεψενθαης.

671 Χαῖρε, ἡ β΄, | μενεσχεης.

Χαῖρε, ἡ γ΄, μεχραν.

672a Χαῖρε, ἡ δ΄, | αραρμαχης.

Χαῖρε, ἡ ε΄, εχομμιη.

672b Χαῖρε, ἡ ζ΄, | τιχνονδαης.

Χαῖρε, ἡ ζ΄, ερουρομβριης.

673 Προέρχονται δὲ καὶ ἔτεροι ζ΄ θεοὶ ταύρων
 674 μελάνων πρόσωπα ἔχοντες ἐν περιζώ-
 675 μασιν λινοῖς κατέχοντες ζ΄ διαδήματα χρύ-
 676 σεα. Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι πολοκράτορες
 677 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὓς δεῖ σε ἀσπάσασθαι ὅμοίως ἐκα-
 678 στον τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι·

Χαίρετε, οἱ κνωδα-

679 κοφύλακες, οἱ Ἱεροὶ καὶ ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι, οἱ στρέ-
 680 φοντες ὑπὸ ἐν κέλευσμα τὸν περιδίνητον
 681 τοῦ κύκλου ἀξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ βροντὰς καὶ
 682 ἀστραπὰς καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν βολὰς ἀφι-
 683 ἔντες εἰς δυσσεβῶν φῦλα, ἐμοὶ δὲ εὐσεβεῖ
 684 καὶ θεοσεβεῖ ὄντι ὑγείαν καὶ σώματος ὀλοκλη-
 685 ρίαν, ἀκοῆς τε καὶ ὀράσεως εὔτονίαν, ἀταρα-
 686 ξίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεστῶσαις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέ-
 687 ρας ἀγαθαῖς ὄραις, οἱ κύριοι μου καὶ μεγα | λοκράτορες θεοί.
 688 Χαῖρε, δ πρῶτος, αἴερωνθι.

Χαῖρε, δ β΄, μερχειμερος.

Χαῖρε, δ γ΄, αχοιχιουρ.

690 Χαῖρε, δ δ΄, μεσαργιλτω.

Χαῖρε, δ ε΄, χιχρω | αλιθω.

Χαῖρε, δ ζ΄, ερμιχθαθωψ.

692 Χαῖρε, | δ ζ΄, εορασιχη.

“Οταν δὲ ἐνστῶσιν ἔνθα

693 καὶ ἔνθα τῇ τάξει, ἀτένιζε τῷ ἀέρι καὶ ὅψη

694 κατερχομένας ἀστραπὰς καὶ φῶτα μαρ-

695 μαίροντα καὶ σειομένην τὴν γῆν καὶ
 696 κατερχόμενον θεὸν ὑπερμεγέθη, φωτι-
 697 νὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὅψιν, νεώτερον, χρυσοκόμαν,
 698 ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ
 699 ἀναξυρίσι, κατέχοντα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μόσχου
 700 ὅμον χρύσεον, ὃς ἐστιν Ἄρκτος ἡ κινοῦσα
 701 καὶ ἀντιστρέφουσα τὸν οὐρανόν, κατὰ ὥραν
 702 ἀναπολεύουσα καὶ καταπολεύουσα. Ἐπειτα ὅψη
 703 αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὄμμάτων ἀστραπὰς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
 704 σώματος ἀστέρας ἀλλοιομένους. Σὺ δὲ εὐθέως
 705 <μυκῶ> μύκωμα μακρόν, βασανίζων τὴν γαστέρα,
 706 ἵνα συνκινήσῃς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις, μα-
 707 κρόνον εἰς ἀπόθεσιν μυκῶ, καταφιλῶν πάλιν
 708 τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγων·
 μοκριμο φεριμο—

f. 9 verso

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

723 καὶ | ἐποίησας μυστήριον.
 724 Ἐγώ εἰμι φερουρα | μιουρι.
 Ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρη—
 725 σμαδήσει. Υπέκλυτος δὲ ἔσει τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ
 726 οὐκ ἐν σεαυτῷ ἔσει, ὅταν σοι ἀποκρίνηται.
 727 Λέγει δέ σοι διὰ στίχων τὸν χρησμὸν καὶ εἰπὼν
 728 ἀπελεύσεται, σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεός, ὡς ταῦ—
 729 τα πάντα χωρήσεις αὐτομάτως, καὶ τότε
 730 μνημονεύσεις ἀπαραβάτως τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 731 μεγάλου θεοῦ ῥηθέντα, καὶ τὴν μυρίων στί—
 732 χων ὁ χρησμός.
 Ἐάν δὲ θέλῃς καὶ συμμύ—
 733 στη χρήσασθαι ὡστε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκεῖνον
 734 μόνον σύν σοι ἀκούειν, συναγνευέτω σοι <ζ>
 735 ἡμέρας καὶ ἀποσχέσθω ἐμψύχων καὶ βαλα—
 736 νείου. Ἐάν δὲ καὶ μόνος ἦς καὶ ἐγχειρῆς τὰ
 737 ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρημένα, λέγεις ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει
 738 ἀποφοιβώμενος. Ἐάν δὲ καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ θέ—
 739 λης, κρίνας, εἰ ἄξιός ἐστιν ἀσφαλῶς ὡς ἄν—
 740 θρωπος, χρησάμενος τῷ τόπῳ, ὡς <σὺ> ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ
 741 κρινόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀπαθανατο>ισμῷ, τὸν πρῶ—
 742 τον ὑπόβαλε αὐτῷ λόγον, οὐδὲ ἀρχή. Γένε—
 743 σις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αεγιουω.
 744 Τὰ δὲ ἔξης ὡς μύστης λέγε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς
 745 κεφαλῆς ἀ{υ}τόνῳ φθόγγῳ, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ,
 746 χρίων αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν τῷ μυστηρίῳ. Γί—
 747 γνεται δὲ ὁ ἀπαθανατισμὸς οὗτος τρίς τοῦ
 748 ἐνιαυτοῦ. Ἐάν δὲ βουληθῇ τις, ὡς τέκνον,
 749 μετὰ τὸ παράγγελμα {τω} παρακοῦσαι, <τῷ> οὐκέτι
 750 ὑπάρξει.
 Διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως.
 751 Λαβὼν | κάνθαρον ἡλιακὸν τὸν τὰς ιβ' ἀκτῖνας
 752 ἔχοντα ποίησον εἰς βησίον καλλάεινον
 753 βαθὺ ἐν ἀρπαγῇ τῆς σελήνης βληθῆναι,
 754 συνεμβαλὼν αὐτῷ λωτομήτρας σπέρμα
 755 καὶ μέλι λειώσας ποίησον μαζίον, καὶ εὐθέ—
 756 ως αὐτὸν ὄψῃ προσερχόμενον καὶ ἐσθί—
 757 οντα, καὶ ὅταν φάγῃ, εὐθέως θνήσκει. Τοῦ—
 758 τον ἀνελόμενος βάλε εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὑελοῦν
 759 μύρου ῥοδίνου καλλίστου, ὅσον βούλει, καὶ

760 στρώσας καθαρίως ἄμμον ἵερὰν ἐπίθεες
 761 τὸ ἄγγεῖον καὶ λέγε τὸ (ὄνομα) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγγους ἐπὶ
 762 ἡμέρας ζ' ἥλιου μεσουρανοῦντος·
 763 Ἐγώ | σε ἐτέλεσα,
 ἵνα μοι ἡ σου οὐσία γένη χρήσι—

f. 10 recto

764 μος, τῷ δ(ε)ῦ(να) μόνῳ
 765 ιε ια η εη ου εια·
 766 ἐμοὶ μόνῳ | χρησιμεύσῃς.
 767 Ἐγώ γάρ είμι φωρ φορ α
 768 φως φοτιζας
 769 — οἱ δέ· φωρ φωρ οφοδει—
 770 ξαας. —
 771 Τῇ δὲ ζ' ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) βαστάξας τὸν κάνθαρο(ν),
 772 θάψας ζιμύρνα καὶ οὖν Μενδησίφ καὶ βυσ—
 773 σίνῳ ἀπόθου ἐν κυαμῶνι ζωοφυτοῦντι.
 774 τὸ δὲ χρῖσμα ἔστιάσας καὶ συνευωχηθεὶς
 775 ἀπόθου καθαρείως εἰς τὸν ἀπαθανατισμόν.
 776 Ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ θέληης δεικνύειν, ἔχε τῇς κα—
 777 λουμένης βοτάνης κεντρίτιδος χυλὸν πε—
 778 ριχρίων τὴν δψιν, οῦ βούλει, μετὰ διδίνου,
 779 καὶ δψεται δηλαυγώς ὥστε σε θαυμάζειν,
 780 τούτου μείζον' οὐχ εὔρον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πρα—
 781 γματείαν. Αἰτοῦ δέ, ἢ βούλει, τὸν θεόν, καὶ δώ—
 782 σει σοι.
 783 ή δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασίς ἔστιν
 784 ήδε· Βαστάξας κενστρῦτιν τὴν προκειμένη(ν)
 785 βοτάνην τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ γενομένῃ λέοντι
 786 ἄρον τὸν χυλὸν καὶ μίξας μέλιτι καὶ ζιμύ—
 787 νη γράψον ἐπὶ φύλλου περσέας τὸ ὀκταγράμ—
 788 ματον δόνομα, ὡς ὑπόκειται, καὶ πρὸ γ' ἡμε—
 789 ρῶν ἀγνεύσας ἐλθὲ πρωίας πρὸς ἀνατολάς,
 790 ἀπόλειχε τὸ φύλλον δεικνύων ἥλιψ, καὶ
 791 οὗτως ἐπακούσεται τελείως. Ἀρχου δὲ αὐτὸν
 792 τελεῖν τῇ ἐν λέοντι κατὰ θεὸν νουμηνίᾳ.
 793 Τὸ δὲ δόνομά ἔστιν τοῦτο·
 794 ἵ εε οο ιαϊ.

789 Τοῦτο | ἔκλιχε, ἵνα φυλακτηριασθῆται, καὶ τὸ φύλλον
 790 ἔλιξας ἔμβαλε εἰς τὸ βόδινον. Πολλάκις
 791 δὲ τῇ πραγματείᾳ χρησάμενος ὑπερεθαύ-
 792 μασα.

Εἶπεν δέ μοι ὁ Θεός·

793 Μηκέτι χρῶ | τῷ συγχρίσματι,
 794 ἀλλὰ ρίψαντα εἰς ποταμὸν
 795 <χρή> χρᾶσθαι φοροῦντα τὸ μέγα μυστήριον
 796 τοῦ κανθάρου τοῦ ἀναζωπυρηθέντος
 797 διὰ τῶν κείζων ὄρνεων, χρᾶσθαι
 798 ἅπαξ τοῦ μηνός, – ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ ἔτος γένεται,
 πανσέληνον.

Ἡ δὲ κεντρῖτις βοτάνη φύ-

799 εται ἀπὸ μηνὸς Παύνι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς
 800 μελάνης γῆς, ὅμοία δέ εστιν τῷ ὄρθῳ
 801 περιστερεῶνι. Ἡ δὲ γνῶσις αὐτῆς οὔτως
 802 γίγνεται· Ἰβεως πτερόν χρίεται τὸ ἀκρο-
 803 μέλαν χαλασθὲν τῷ χυλῷ καὶ ἀμα τῷ θι-
 804 γεῖν ἀποπίπτει τὰ πτερά. Τοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου
 805 ὑποδείξαντος εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ Μενε-
 806 λαῖτῃ ἐν τῇ Φαλαγρυ πρὸς ταῖς ἀναβολαῖς
 807 πλησίον <τῆς> τοῦ Βη<σα>σάδος βοτάνης.
 808 "Εστιν δὲ | μονόκλωνον καὶ πυρρὸν ἄχρι τῆς ρίζης
 809 καὶ τὰ φύλλα οὐλότερα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν
 810 ἔχοντα ὄμοιον τῷ κορύμβῳ ἀσπαράγῳ
 811 ἀγρίῳ. "Εστιν δὲ παραπλήσιον τῷ
 812 καλουμένῳ ταλάπη, ὡς τὸ ἄγριον σεῦ-
 813 τλον.

Τὰ δε φυλακτήρια ἔχει τὸν τρόπον
 814 τοῦτον· τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν γράψον εἰς ὑμέ-
 815 να προβάτου μέλανος ζωμρνομέλανι,
 816 τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ δήσας νεύροις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζώου
 817 περίαψαι, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον εἰς ὑμένα
 818 λευκοῦ προβάτου καὶ χρῶ τῷ αὐτῷ

f. 10 verso

819 τρόπῳ. Εὐώνυμον τοῦ προσθυμηροι. πληρέστα-
 820 τον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει.

Translation*

475 Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche, who writes these
mysteries handed down, not for gain,
and for an only child I ask for immortality,
for an initiate of this our power
(furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daughter, to take
480 | the juices of herbs and drugs, which will be [made known]
to you at the end of my sacred treatise),
which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be handed over to
me by his archangel so that I alone may go to heaven as an
485 “eagle” | and behold [the] all.
This is the invocation of the prayer:
“First origin of my origin, AEĒIOYŌ,
first beginning of my beginning, PPP SSS PHR [.],
490 spirit of spirit, the first of the spirit | in me, MMM
fire god-given for my mixture of the mixtures in me,
the first of the fire in me, ĒY ĒIA EĒ,
water of water, the first of the water in me,
ŌŌŌ AAA EEE,
earth material, the first of the earthy material in me |
495 YĒ YŌĒ,
a perfect body of me, NN, whose mother is NN,
which, because of its fashioning by a noble arm and an
incorruptible right hand in a world without light and yet
radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul,
YĒI AYI EYŌIE;
500 now, if it seems right to you, METERTA | PHŌTH
(METHARTHÀ PHĒRIĒ, in another place) İEREZATH,
transfer me to the immortal birth and next, to my
underlying nature, in order that, after the present and

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

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

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

530 Since for me, being | mortal, it is out of reach to
ascend together with the golden radiances of the immortal
brilliance, ÖĒY AEŌ ĒUA EŌĒ YAE
ÖIAE, stand, O perishable nature of mortals,
and at once <take me back> safe after the inexorable
535 and pressing | need.
For I am the son PSYCHŌ[N] DEMOY PROCHŌ PRŌA,
I am MACHARPH [.]N MOY PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE.”

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

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

Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk of god, my father; and in a similar way the so-called pipe, |
 550 the origin of the ministering wind; for you will see it hanging from the sun-disk like a pipe. Toward the region of the west [it is the source of] the unending east wind, when it is assigned to the region of the east, and in the same way the other [west wind going] toward the regions of that one [scil., the east]. Then you
 555 will see the turn-about of the image [scil., the pipe]. |
 And you will see the gods intently staring at you and rushing at you. But you at once put your right finger on your mouth and say:
 “Silence! Silence! Silence!
 Symbol of the living imperishable god |
 560 Guard me, Silence! NECHTHEIR THANMELOU!”
 Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say:
 “PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ
 NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PITĒTMI MEŌY ENARTH
 565 PHYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIŌ | TYRĒ PHILBA.”
 And then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.
 570 Thus when you see that the world above is pure | but agitated, and that none of the gods or angels is threatening you, expect a great crash of thunder to be heard, with the result that you are shocked. But you say again:
 “Silence! Silence! (the formula)
 I am a star, wandering about with you,
 575 and shining forth out of the | deep,
 the XY, the XERTHEUTH.”
 Immediately after you have said this the sun-disk will be expanded. After you have said the second formula, where there is “Silence! Silence!” and what follows, make the hissing sound twice and the popping sound twice, and immediately you will
 580 see | a multitude of five-pronged stars proceeding from the sun-disk and filling all the air.
 But you say again: “Silence! Silence!” And when the sun-disk has opened, you will see the boundless circle and its fiery doors shut tight. |
 585 At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer.

The third prayer.

“Give ear to me, hearken to me, NN, whose mother is NN, O
 lord, you who have bound together with your spirit the
 590 fiery bars of the fourfold | root,
 O Fire-burner, PENTITEROUNI,
 Light-creator (others: Confiner), SEMESILAM,
 Fire-breather, PSYRINPHEU,
 Fire-spirited, IAĀ,
 Spirit-light, ĀAI,
 Fire-delighter, ELOURE,
 Light-beauty, AZAĀ,
 Aion, AKBA, |
 595 Light-ruler, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,
 Fire-body, PHNOUĀNIOCH,
 Light-giver, ...
 Fire-sower, AREI EIKITA
 Fire-thronger, GALLABALBA,
 Light-forcer, AIĀ,
 Fire-whirler, PYRICHIBOOSEĀIA,
 Light-mover, SANCHERĀB,
 600 Lightning-shaker, | IĒ ĀĒ IĀĒIĀ,
 Light-famous, BEEGENĀTE,
 Light-increaser, SOUSINEPHI,
 Fire-light-maintainer, SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI
 MARMARENTEU.
 Subduer of stars, open for me,
 PROPROPHEGGE EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTYRĀPHILBA.
 605 For I invoke, because | of the pressing and bitter and
 inexorable necessity, the immortal names, living
 and honored, which have not yet passed into mortal nature
 nor declared in articulate speech by human tongue or
 mortal speech or mortal sound: |
 610 ĀĒĀ OĀĒĀ IĀĀ OĀ ĀĒĀ
 ĀĒĀ EĀOĀ EĀ IĀĀ OĀĒĒ
 OĀĒ ĀOĀ IĒĀ OĀĒ IEEĀ EĀ IĀ
 OĀĒ IOĀĒ ĀĒĀ EOĀĒ OEĀ ĀIĒ
 ĀIĒ EĀ OI III ĀOĀ ĀYĀ
 ĀĀOĀĒ EĀ ĀIA AĀĀ EĀĀ |
 615 E EĀĒ EEĀĒ IĒĀĒ ĀĒĀ OĀĒĒOĀ

ĒEŌ ĒYŌ OĒ EIŌ ĒŌ
OĒ OĒ EE OOO YIŌĒ.”

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

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

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

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

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

At once greet him with the fire greeting:
640 “Hail, O lord, great power, great might, | king, greatest
of gods: mighty is your breath, mighty is your
power, O lord.

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

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

655 After you have said these things, | he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road. Gaze intently, and make a strong bellowing sound, like with a horn, giving off your whole breath and squeezing your loins,

660 bellow, and kiss | the phylacteries and say, first toward the right: “Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!”

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

665 the Fates | of heaven, and wield golden wands.

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

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

There also come forth another seven gods, who have the faces

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

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

Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS!

Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR! |

690 Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTŌ!

Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRŌALITHŌ!

Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHŌPS!

Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHE!"

Now when they take their place, on the one side and the other, in their order, gaze in the air and you will see lightning

695 bolts going down, and lights flashing, | and the earth shaking, and a god descending, immensely great, with a shining face, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic

and a golden crown and trousers, and holding in his right hand

700 a golden | shoulder of a young calf.

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

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

"MOKRIMO PHERIMO PHERERI, life of me, NN.

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

For ENTHO PHENEN THROPIŌTH commands you."

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

"Hail, O lord, O master of the water!

Hail, O founder of the earth!

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

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

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

Having been born again, I am passing away;

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

Having been born from a life-generating birth,

I am passing on, released to death –

as you have founded,

as you have decreed

and authored (the) mystery.

I am PHEROURA MIOURI."

After you have said these things, he will immediately respond

725 with a revelation. | Now you will grow weak in your soul,
and you will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He,
however, pronounces the oracle to you in verses,
and after speaking he will depart.
But you stand speechless, [wondering] how you will by yourself
730 comprehend all these things; for at a later time | you will
remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even
if the oracle contains myriads of verses.
But if you want to consult the oracle by using a fellow initiate,
so that he hears only the things spoken together with you,
735 let him be pure together with you for [seven] | days, and
abstain from meat and bath.
But if you are alone, and you are [directly] engaged with the
pronouncements of the god, you speak as inspired in ecstasy.
But again if you wish to show him, after you judge whether his
740 worth as a man is secure, | handling the occasion as though in the
immortalization ritual you yourself were being judged in his
place, recite for him the first prayer, of which the beginning
is "First origin of my origin, AEĒIOYŌ."
745 And say the successive things as an initiate, over | his head,
in a soft voice, so that he may not hear, as you are anointing
his face with the mystery.
This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if
anyone, O child, after the instruction wishes to disobey,
750 then for him it will no longer | be in effect.

Instruction for the performance:

Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall
into a deep, turquoise cup, at a time when the moon is
invisible; put in together with it the seed of the fruit
755 pulp of the lotus, | and after grinding it with honey,
prepare a cake. And at once you will see it [viz., the scarab]
moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it,
it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a
glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish;
760 and | spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, and set the
vessel on it, then say the name over the vessel for seven
days, while the sun is in midheaven:
"It is I who have consecrated you, that your substance may be
useful to me, NN alone, IE IA ĒĒĒ OY EIA, that you may
765 prove useful to me | alone, for I am PHŌR PHOR A PHŌS

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

On the seventh day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine and fine linen; and deposit it in a

770 flourishing bean field. | Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, deposit the ointment, in a pure way, for the immortalization.

If you want to show this to someone else, get the juice of the herb called Kentritis, and smear it, along with the rose oil, around the eyes of whomever you wish; | and he will

775 see so clearly that you will be amazed.

I have not found a greater procedure than this in the world.

Ask the god what you want, and he will give it to you.

The encounter with the great god is like this:

780 Having acquired the above mentioned herb | Kentritis, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion, take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-letter name, as given below. And having kept yourself pure for three days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise, |

785 lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun, and thus he [the sun god] will listen attentively. Begin to consecrate him on the new moon in the lion, according to the god['s reckoning].

The name is: "I EE OO IAI." Lick this up,

790 so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf, | throw it into the rose oil.

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

But the god spoke to me:

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

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

805 demonstrated to me, it [the plant] was found in the

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

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

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

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

Literary Analysis (Conspectus)

475–85 I. Exordium: a prayer

475 A. invocation of the deity by epithets

- 1. Providence
- 2. Psyche (world-soul)

475 B. presentation of petition

- 1. formula: *ἱλαθί μοι*
- 2. category: petition for mercy in view of offense
- 3. nature of offense
 - a. act constituting offense: putting into writing
 - b. object affected by offense
 - 1) regarding the text to follow (*τάδε*)
 - 2) regarding the content: sacred (oral) tradition
 - a) technical term: *τὰ μυστήρια*
 - b) specifications (play on words?)
 - (1) *τὰ <ἀ>πρατα*
 - (2) *παραδοτά*
 - 4. transmission of the tradition
 - a. identification of the author
 - 1) as owner
 - 2) as mediator
 - 3) as writer (*γράφοντι*)
 - b. identification of the recipient
 - 1) as apprentice
 - a) status: “the only” (*μόνω*)
 - b) designation: “child” (*τέκνω*)
 - 2) as “initiate” (*μύστη τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως*)
 - c. statement of petition
 - 1) category: intercessory
 - 2) identity of the petitioner
 - a) the author (1st person sing.)
 - b) action: *ἀξιοῦν*

3) identity of the recipient: the “initiate”
 478 4) object: immortality (*ἀθανασία*)

478–81 5. secondary insertion by the author

478/79 a. address of recipient
 1) identity (2nd person sing., *σε*)
 2) as apprentice (daughter, *θυγάτηρ*)

b. instruction for ritual
 1) need for application (*χρή*)
 2) term for application (*λαμβάνειν*)

480 3) names of ingredients
 a) juices of plants
 b) other ingredients (*εἶδη*)

481–82 c. reference to full information
 1) place: end of the present text (750–819)
 2) name for the present composition (*τό μου ἱερὸν σύνταγμα*; cf. 820)

482 6. chain of tradition of the ritual

a. authoritative hierarchy
 1) the highest deity
 a) attribute: “the great god,” *ὁ μέγας θεός*
 b) name: Helios Mithras

2) divine intermediary
 a) attribute: “archangel,” *ἀρχάγγελος*
 b) name: unnamed

3) the author of the present writing
 a) 1st person sing.: *μοι*
 b) status: “alone,” *μόνος* (cf. 476)
 c) position: grade of “eagle”

b. method of transmission
 1) command by Helios Mithras
 2) technical term: *μεταδοθῆναι*

484–85 7. purpose and goal

a. conjunction: *ὅπως*
 b. heavenly journey: *οὐρανὸν βαίνειν*
 c. vision of the universe: *κατοπτεύειν πάντα*

485–732 II. Main body of the ritual (*ἀπαθανατισμός*)

485–537 A. introductory prayer

485–86 1. identifying reference
 a. quotation formula: *ἔστιν δέ*

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

(1) the honored arm (*ὑπὸ βραχίονος ἐντίμου*)
 (2) the imperishable right hand (*ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου*)

497–98 c) cosmic polarities
 (1) light and darkness: *ἐν ἀφωτίστῳ καὶ διαυγεῖ κόσμῳ*
 (2) soulless and ensouled: *ἐν τε ἀψύχῳ καὶ ἐμψυχωμένῳ*

498–99 4) *voces magicae*

499–537 d. petition
 1) appeal to the divine will of the elements
(ἐάν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξῃ)
 2) *voces magicae*
 3) secondary gloss citing a textual variant
 from another source
 4) request

501–15 501–2 a) in general
 (1) technical term: *μεταπαραδίδωμι* (“hand over
 in return”)
 (2) recipient: petitioner (*με*)
 (3) main concern: rebirth
 (4) sources
 (a) immortal birth (*τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει*)
 (b) restitution of primordial nature
(ἐχομένως τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ μου φύσει)

502–13 b) in detail: 4 *ἴνα*-clauses

502–8 (1) first *ἴνα*-clause: vision
 (a) defective condition: Ananke formula
*(μετὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα
 κατεπείγουσάν με χρείαν)*
 (b) restitution: *ἐποπτεύω*
 (c) process: vision of the immortal beginning
(ἐποπτεύειν τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχήν [cf. 487])
 (d) sources of change
 aa. immortal spirit (*πνεῦμα*)
 bb. *voces magicae*
 cc. immortal water (*ὕδωρ*)
 dd. *voces magicae*
 ee. firm air (*ἀήρ*).
 ff. *voces magicae*

508–11 (2) second *ἴνα*-clause: thought
 (a) defective condition

- (b) restitution: rebirth of thinking
(νοήματι μεταγεννᾶσθαι)
- (c) *voces magicae*
- (d) source of change: spirit
(καὶ πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα)
- (e) *voces magicae*

511–12 (3) third ἔνα-clause: amazement

- (a) defective condition
- (b) restitution: θαυμάζειν
- (c) source of change: fire (τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ)
- (d) *vox magica*

512–13 (4) fourth ἔνα-clause: vision

- (a) defective condition
- (b) restitution: θεᾶσθαι
- (c) source of change: water
(τὸ ἀβυσσὸν τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν ὕδωρ)
- (d) *voces magicae*

514–15 c) final petition

- (1) request to listen: ἀκούειν
- (2) address to ether: ὁ ζωογόνος καὶ περικεχυμένος αἰθήρ
- (3) *voces magicae*

516–37 e. self-presentation of the initiate

516 1) intention of the self-presentation

- a) recourse to the promise of salvation
- b) realisation of the promise
- c) reference to time: “today,” σήμερον
- d) aim: ecstatic vision

- (1) technical term: “envision,” κατοπτεύειν
- (2) process: “with immortal eyes,” τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ὅμμασι

517–37 2) self-identification

517–20 a) according to human nature

- (1) condition of mortality by human birth
- (2) restitution: relative improvement
- (3) recourse to work of divine creator
- (4) divine attributes

- (a) ὑπὸ κράτους μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ
- (b) δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου

520–27

- b) according to initiation
 - (1) condition of immortality
 - (a) source: immortal spirit (*ἀθάνατον πνεῦμα*)
 - (b) resultant vision
 - (c) object: the god
 - aa. Name: Aion
 - bb. attributes
 - (aa) *ἀθάνατος*
 - (bb) *δεσπότης τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων*
 - (2) condition of sanctity
 - (a) source: consecration rituals
(*ἀγίοις ἀγιάσμασι*)
 - (b) resultant sanctity: *ἀγιασθείς*
 - (3) implications
 - (a) temporary strengthening of human soul-power (*ψυχικὴ δύναμις*)
 - (b) reference to eschatological restitution
 - aa. comparison: "again," *πάλιν*
 - bb. technical term: *μεταπαραλαμβάνειν*
 - cc. reference to time: the Ananke formula (see 503–4)
 - dd. quality: "complete," *ἀχρεοκόπητον*

527–29

- c) by name
 - (1) formula of self-identity: I, NN, son of NN
 - (2) reference to divine law: *κατὰ δόγμα ἀμετάθετον*
 - (3) *voices magicae*

529–32

- d) didactic explanation regarding the relationship of the human and the divine
 - (1) concerning human mortality: *θνητὸν γεγωνότα*
 - (2) citation of principle of incompatibility: *οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἐφικτὸν...συνανιέναι*
 - (3) poetic description of heavenly splendor: *χρυσοειδέσιν μαρμαρυγαῖς τῆς ἀθανάτου λαμπηδόνος*
 - (4) *voices magicae*

533–35

- e) resultant command
 - (1) address of mortal nature: *φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι*
 - (2) imperatives

- (a) concerning ascent: “stand” (εσταθι)
 - (b) concerning return: “take me back” (ἀνάλαβέ με)
 - (c) condition: “healthy” (ὑγιῆ)
- (3) references to time
 - (a) “at once” (αὐτίκα)
 - (b) Ananke formula (see 503–4, 525–26)
- 535–37
 - f) concluding formulae of self-identity
 - (1) first formula: “I am the son...” (έγώ εἰμι ὁ υἱός...)
 - (2) voces magicae
 - (3) second formula: “I am” (έγώ εἰμι...)
 - (4) voces magicae
- 537–38
 - B. prescription of breathing ritual
 - 1. address: 2nd person sing.
 - 2. actions: inhalation (ἔλκειν, ἀνασπᾶν)
 - 3. object: πνεῦμα
 - a. physical: πνεῦμα as breath
 - b. metaphysical: πνεῦμα as spirit
 - c. transmission: by the rays of the sun
 - 4. medium: sun rays
 - 5. repetition: 3 times
 - 6. quantity: δ δύνασαι
- 539–44
 - C. explanatory introduction to the ascent ritual
- 539–40
 - 1. address: 2nd person sing.: ὅψῃ
 - 2. action: vision (“you will see”)
 - 3. reality status: imaginative
 - 4. type of narrative: vision report in the prophetic future tense (ὅψῃ; cf. also 544, 549, 555, 565, 624, 635, 656, 693, 702)
 - 5. terms for imagined actions
 - a. ἀνακουφίζεσθαι
 - b. ὑπερβαίνειν εἰς ὕψος
 - 6. location: in midair
- 541
 - 7. physical sense-perception during ascent
 - a. negative
 - 1) hearing: no hearing of human or animal sounds
 - 2) seeing: no seeing of anything earthly
 - b. reference to time: ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ
 - c. positive: seeing of things immortal (πάντα δὲ ὅψῃ ἀθάνατα)
- 542–43
 - D. ascension narrative in seven scenarios
- 543–44
- 544–732
- 544–55
 - 1. first scenario: encounter with the planetary deities

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

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

573–75 e. command to recite protective formulae

- 1) the *σιγή*–logos (twice? cf. 559)
- 2) self-identification
 - a) formula *ἐγώ εἰμι*
 - b) attributes
 - (1) *σύμπλανος* *ὑμῖν ἀστήρ*
 - (2) *ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων*
 - c) *voces magicae*

576–85 f. appearance of three images

576 1) first image

- a) time reference: *ταυτά σοι εἰπόντος*
- b) description
 - (1) reference to time: *εὐθέως*
 - (2) the opening of the sun-disk:
 ὁ δίσκος ἀπλωθήσεται

577 2) second image

- a) preliminary rituals
 - (1) time reference: *μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν σε*
 - (2) recitation of the “second prayer”: *τὸν β' λόγον*
 - (3) redactional comment, explaining that the *σιγή*–logos is meant (573–75)
 - (4) performance of two sounds
 - (a) *συριγμός* twice
 - (b) *ποππυσμός* twice
- b) description
 - (1) time reference: *εὐθέως*
 - (2) action: “seeing,” *ὄψη*

579–82 3) third image

- a) preliminary ritual
 - (1) reference to repetition
 - (2) recitation of the *σιγή*–logos (573–75)
 - (3) action: “seeing,” *ὄψη*
- b) description of the open disk (cf. 576)

as a fireless circle with fiery doors closed

582–85 4. fourth scenario: the opening of the doors to the world of the gods

- a. time reference: *εὐθέως*
- b. command to close the eyes (cf. 624)

585–628

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

(1) action: ἐπικαλοῦμαι
 (2) Ananke formula: ἔνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης καὶ πικρᾶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης
 (cf. 503–504, 525–526, 534)

606–16 3) recitation of the secret names of the seven gods of the cosmos

606–10 a) description
 (1) as by nature non-human
 (2) as not pronounced in articulate speech
 (3) as speaking a non-human language
 (4) as divine: immortal, living, praiseworthy

610–16 b) list of 7 lines of vowel sequences

617–20 f. instruction concerning performance
 1) reference to previous list: ταῦτα πάντα
 2) kind of performance
 a) μετὰ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος
 b) line by line, twice from beginning to end
 3) explanation: each line contains the name of one of “the seven immortal gods of the universe”

620–23 g. effect
 1) reference to the recited prayer: ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος
 2) announcement
 a) in the cosmos: tremendous thunder
 b) for the petitioner: experience of terror

623 h. command to recite the σιγή–logos
 (cf. 559, 573–75, 582–85)

624–28 i. appearance of the image
 1) command to open the eyes (cf. 586–87)
 2) action: ὅψη
 3) object: the open doors
 4) description of the image: the doors are open and behind them appears the world of the gods
 5) response
 a) experience of ἡδονὴ καὶ χαρά
 b) the initiate’s πνεῦμα running with the gods and moving upwards (συντρέχειν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν)

626–28 5. fifth scenario: encounter with Helios

628–30 a. command to perform rituals
 1) time reference: εὐθέως
 2) actions

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

- (1) two attributes (titles)
 - (a) δέ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς
 - (b) θεὸς θεῶν
- (2) two attributes (verbs)
 - (a) ισχύει σου ἡ πνοή
 - (b) ισχύει σου ἡ δύναμις
- 642 (3) address: κύριε
- 642–55 2) presentation of petition
- 642–43 a) formalities of protocol
 - (1) submission to the divine will
 - (2) technical term for announcing the arrival of a visitor: ἀγγέλλειν
- 643 b) request for an audience
 - (1) person
 - (a) name: Mithras (not named)
 - (b) title: δέ μέγιστος θεός
 - (2) kin relationship between Helios and Mithras: τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι
- 644–49 c) self-identification of the petitioner
 - (1) rank (attribute): ἄνθρωπος
 - (2) person: ἐγώ
 - (3) name: NN
 - (4) recitation of *synthema* (cultic formula of self-definition
 - (a) concerning human birth
 - aa. mother
 - (aa) origin: mortal uterus
 - (bb) name: NN
 - bb. father
 - (aa) origin: sperm
 - (bb) no name
 - (b) concerning divine rebirth
 - aa. time reference: σήμερον
 - bb. reference to ritual
 - (aa) subject: god (Mithras)
 - (bb) term: μεταγεννᾶσθαι
 - cc. election
 - dd. immortalisation: ἀπαθανατίζειν
 - (cf. 741, 747, 771)
 - ee. time reference: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ
- 645–49

ff. authorisation

- (aa) divine will: *κατὰ δόκησιν θεοῦ*
- (bb) divine goodness

649–55 (5) expression of devotion

- (a) proskynesis
- (b) formulas of devotion
 - aa. attitude: *ἀξιοῦν καὶ δέεσθαι*
 - bb. expressing humility: *κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην*

651–55 d) secondary insertion

- (1) command to keep at hand the horoscope for day and hour
- (2) secret name of the regent
- (3) purpose: identifying opportune times for epiphany and divination
- (4) voces magicae (variations on vowels)

655–57 f. the departure of Helios

- 1) time reference: *ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος*
- 2) action: *δψη*
- 3) object: departure of the god
- 4) description of the image
 - a) motif: move to the pole (*ἔλεύσεται*)
 - b) image detail: wandering as on a road

657–61 g. performance of protective rituals

- 1) staring intently: *ἀτενίζειν*
- 2) doing the bellowing sound: *μύκωμα*
- 3) intensity
 - a) loud: *μακρόν*
 - b) as through a horn: *κερατοειδῶς*
 - c) special effort
 - (1) giving out all breath: *πνεῦμα*
 - (2) squeezing the stomach
- 4) kissing the phylacteries
- 5) recitation of formula
 - a) request: *φύλαξόν μοι*
 - b) vox magica
 - c) turning first to the right
 - [d) turning to the left side]

661–92 6. sixth scenario: encounter with the deities of the Bear constellations

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

- e) fifth greetings
 - (1) appeal: *χαῖρε*
 - (2) address: *ἡ ε'*
 - (3) magical name
- f) sixth greeting
 - (1) appeal: *χαῖρε*
 - (2) address: *ἡ ζ'*
 - (3) magical name
- g) seventh greeting
 - (1) appeal: *χαῖρε*
 - (2) address: *ἡ ζ'*
 - (3) magical name
- 673 e. description of the appearance of the seven black bull-headed gods (stars of the Little Bear)
 - 1) arrival: *προέρχεσθαι*
 - 2) iconography
 - a) figures: male gods (*Θεοί*)
 - b) number: seven
 - c) dress: linen loincloths
 - d) face masks: black bulls
 - e) name: *οἱ πολοκράτορες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*
 - f) symbols: golden diademes
- 674 f. prescription of performance of greeting
- 678–92 1) recitation of greeting to all
 - a) appeal: *χαῖρετε*
 - b) name: *οἱ κνωδακοφύλακες*
 - c) three attributes
 - (1) first: *οἱ ἵεροι καὶ ἀλκιμοὶ νεανῖται*
 - (2) second: *οἱ στρέφοντες ὑπὸ ἐν κέλευσμα τὸν περιδίνητον τοῦ κύκλου ἀξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*
 - (3) third: (*οἱ*)... *ἀφιέντες*
 - (a) cosmic phenomena: *βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπὰς καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν βολάς*
 - (b) punishment of the godless aliens: *εἰς δυσσεβῶν φῦλα*
 - (c) reward for the pious orant: *ἔμοὶ δὲ εὔσεβεῖς ὅντι <δότε> ὑγείαν...*
 - (d) time reference: *ἐν ταῖς ἐνεστώταις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις*
 - 679 681–87 d) address by title: *κύριοι μου καὶ μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί*
 - 688

688–92 2) recitation of individual greetings

688 a) first greeting
 (1) appeal: $\chi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\epsilon$
 (2) address: $\delta\pi\varphi\omega\tau\omega\zeta$
 (3) vox magica

689 b) second greeting
 (1) appeal: $\chi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\epsilon$
 (2) address: $\delta\beta'$
 (3) vox magica

c) third greeting
 (1) appeal: $\chi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\epsilon$
 (2) address: $\delta\gamma'$
 (3) vox magica

690 d) fourth greeting
 (1) appeal: $\chi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\epsilon$
 (2) address: $\delta\delta'$
 (3) vox magica

691 e) fifth greeting
 (1) appeal: $\chi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\epsilon$
 (2) address: $\delta\epsilon'$
 (3) vox magica

f) sixth greeting
 (1) appeal: $\chi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\epsilon$
 (2) address: $\delta\varsigma'$
 (3) vox magica

692 g) seventh greeting
 (1) appeal: $\chi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\epsilon$
 (2) address: $\delta\zeta'$
 (3) vox magica

692–732 7. seventh scenario: encounter with Mithras

692 a. time reference
 1) completion of the gods' procession
 2) arrangement in two groups on opposite sides

b. performance of ritual: $\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\zeta\epsilon\iota\tau\tau\omega\alpha\epsilon\omega\iota$

c. action: $\delta\psi\eta$

694–95 d. description of cosmic phenomena
 1) lightning bolts coming down
 2) lights flashing
 3) earth shaking

96–704 e. epiphany of Mithras
 1) location: higher sphere
 2) appearance by descent (*κατέρχεσθαι*)

696 f. iconography
 1) figure: Θεός
 2) size: ὑπερμεγέθης
 3) face: φωτινὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄψιν
 4) age: νεώτερος
 5) hair: χρυσοκόμης
 6) dress
 a) white chiton
 b) Persian-style trousers: ἀναξυρίδες
 c) golden crown

697 7) insignia
 a) mythological (Mithraic): *κατέχων τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μόσχου ὅμον χρύσεον*
 b) astrological
 (1) identification of the bull's shoulder with the Bear constellation
 (2) function
 (a) moving and turning the heavenly vault
 (b) as moving upward and downward seasonal revolutions

698 8) cosmic features
 a) time reference: ἔπειτα
 b) action: ὅψη
 c) reference to eyes: giving off lightnings
 d) reference to body: giving off shooting stars

702–4 g. performance of rituals

704 1) reference to time: εὐθέως

705–7 2) first ritual: bellowing sound
 a) name: μύκωμα μακρόν
 b) intensity
 (1) long and loud
 (2) straining the belly: βασανίζειν τὴν γαστέρα
 (3) arousing the five senses
 (4) until total exhalation: εἰς ἀπόθεσιν

707–11 3) second ritual: protective
 a) kissing the phylacteria
 b) recitation of a prayer

707

708

709 (1) invocation
 (a) *voces magicae*
 (b) address: ζωὴ μου

710–11 (2) self-identification by name: NN
 (3) requests (three)
 (a) μένε σύ
 (b) νέμε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου
 (c) μή με καταλείψῃς

712–17 (4) appeal to divine authority
 (a) command: ὅτι κελεύει σοι
 (b) *voces magicae*

712 h. greeting of Mithras

712 1) preliminary rituals
 a) intense look: ἀτενίζειν τῷ θεῷ
 b) bellowing sound: μακρὸν μυκάμενος

713–17 2) recitation of the greeting prayer
 a) address by title: κύριε
 b) formula of three greetings

713 (1) first greeting
 (a) appeal: χαῖρε
 (b) address by attribute: δέσποτα ὄδατος

714 (2) second greeting
 (a) appeal: χαῖρε
 (b) address by attribute: κατάρχα γῆς

714 (3) third greeting
 (a) appeal: χαῖρε
 (b) address by attribute: δύναστα πνεύματος

715 (4) attributes/*voces magicae*: λαμπροφεγγη,
 προπροφεγγη

715–17 3) *voces magicae*

717–24 i. presentation of petition
 1) address by title: κύριε

717 2) request for an oracle response: χρηματίζειν

718 3) naming of the issue: NN

719–24 4) self-presentation of the petitioner
 a) address by title: κύριε

719 b) recitation of the *synthema* of initiation, in three parts
 719–22 (1) first part: rebirth and death (three statements
 of polarity)
 (a) first: παλινγενόμενος ἀπογίγνομαι

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

d. ritual preconditions: prior sanctification

- 1) both together: *συναγνεύειν*
- 2) duration: seven days
- 3) abstentions
 - a) from meat: *τὰ ἔμψυχα*
 - b) from bath: *βαλανεῖον*

736–38 2. second option: prophecy without medium

- a. status: optional (*ἐὰν δὲ ...*)
- b. type: mystagogue alone: *μόνος ἦς*
- c. modus
 - 1) direct handling of the god's response: *ἐγχειρεῖν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρημένα*
 - 2) as in ecstasy: *ώς ἐν ἐκστάσει ἀποφοιβώμενος*

738–46 3. third option: prophecy by showing cultic symbols

- a. status: optional (*ἐὰν δὲ ...*)
- b. type: fellow-initiate present, but not medium
- c. modus
 - 1) showing of symbols: *δεῖξαι* (sc. *τὰ δεικνύμενα*)
 - 2) role of associate: interpreter of symbol
- d. conditions
 - 1) evaluation by the mystagogue: *κρίνας*
 - 2) criteria
 - a) worthiness as initiate: *εἰ ἀξιός ἐστιν*
 - b) genuineness as human being: *ἀσφαλῶς ὡς ἀνθρωπος*
 - 3) standard: same as applied in the immortalisation ritual
(*ἀπαθανατισμός*, cf. 650, 747, 771)
- e. ritual performance
 - 1) prayer
 - a) recitation
 - b) name: “first origin of my origin” (486–537)
 - 2) other formulae: *τὰ δὲ ἔξης*
 - a) standard: *ώς μύστης*
 - b) modus
 - (1) over the head: *ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς*
 - (2) *sotto voce*: *ἀτόνῳ φθόγγῳ*
 - (3) inaudible for the associate: *ἴνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ*
 - 3) anointment
 - a) type: eye-salve (*χρίειν τὴν ὄψιν*)
 - b) name of the anointment: *μυστήριον* (see 751–78)

746–50 4. additional stipulations

746–48 a. name of the ritual: ἀπαθανατισμός
(cf. 646–47, 650, 741, 771)

748–50 b. frequency: three times a year

748–50 c. warning against misuse

750–819 1) address: ὦ τέκνον

750–819 2) situation envisaged

750–819 a) time: after the instruction (μετὰ τὸ παράγγελμα)

750–819 b) technical term: παρακούειν

750–819 3) solution: exclusion from the ritual, τῷ οὐκέτι ὑπάρξει

750–819 B. additional instruction

750 1. section title: διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως

751–819 2. two preparatory rituals

751–78 a. first ritual: the sun-scarab ointment

751–78 1) reference: χρίειν 746; cf. χρῆσμα 770;
περιχρίειν 773–74; σύγχρισμα 793

751–57 2) first stage

751–57 a) acquiring ingredients: λάβων

751–57 (1) a sun-scarab: κάνθαρος ἡλιακός

751–57 (2) a deep turquoise cup: βησίον καλλάενον βαθύ

751–57 (3) seed of the fruitpulp of the lotus:
λωτομήτρας σπέρμα

751–57 (4) honey

753–55 b) preparation

753–55 (1) time: darkness, newmoon

753–55 (2) dropping ingredients into cup

753–55 (3) grinding it all up

753–55 (4) making small cake: μαζίον

755–57 c) application

755–57 (1) putting cake before scarab

755–57 (2) feeding it

755–57 (3) result: killing it instantly

757–71 3) second stage

757–71 a) acquiring ingredients

757–71 (1) dead scarab

757–71 (2) glass vessel

757–71 (3) quantity of excellent rose-oil

757–71 (4) “sacred sand”

757–71 b) preparation

757–71 (1) picking up dead scarab

- (2) dropping into glass vessel
- (3) spreading “sacred sand” “in a pure way”
- (4) placing vessel on the sand

761–71 c) consecration

- (1) time: high noon
- (2) duration: seven days
- (3) modus: pronouncing formula “over the vessel”
- (4) recitation of formula
 - (a) name: ὄνομα (761)
 - (b) addressing the scarab
 - (c) action: ἐγώ σε ἐτέλεσα
 - (d) purpose: ἵνα μοι ἡ σου οὐσία χρήσιμος
 - (e) self-identification: NN (τῷ δεῖνα μόνῳ)
 - (f) voces magicae
 - (g) purpose: ἐμοὶ μόνῳ χρησιμεύσῃς
 - (h) self-identification
 - aa. formula ἐγώ εἰμι
 - bb. secret name
 - cc. redactional comment noting
a variant reading

767–71 d) preservation

- (1) time: on the seventh day
- (2) scarab
 - (a) removal
 - (b) burial ritual
 - aa. embalming with myrrh and
Mendesian wine
 - bb. wrapping in linen
 - cc. deposition in field of blooming bean plants
- (3) ointment
 - (a) time: after dining
(ἔστιάσας καὶ συνευωχθείς, 756–57)
 - (b) deposition in pure manner:
ἀπόθου καθαρείως
 - (c) purpose: for use in the main ritual
(ἀπαθανατισμός)

772–75 4) supplemental ritual

- a) status: optional (ἐάν δὲ ἀλλῷ θέλης...)
- b) modus: to show it (δεικνύειν) to someone else
- c) preparation of eye-salve

(1) substance: juice of the plant *kentrītis*
 (cf. 778–86, 798–810)

(2) mixing it with rose oil (cf. 790)

d) application: around the eyes (?)

e) result: clear sight (ὅψεται δηλαυγῶς)

f) amazement: ὥστε σε θαυμάζειν

776–78 5) conclusion

776–77 a) “commercial”: τούτου μεῖζον’ οὐχ εὔρον ἐν τῷ
 κόσμῳ πραγματείαν

777–78 b) theological maxim: αἰτοῦ δέ, ἀ βούλει, τὸν θεόν,
 καὶ δώσει σοι

778–92 b. second ritual: the plant *kentrītis*

778–79 1) section title: ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασις

2) acquisition of ingredient

a) plant name: *kentrītis*

b) reference: τὴν προκειμένην (l. 773)

780 c) time: zodiac conjunction of sun and moon in Lion
 (cf. 786–87)

781–82 3) preparations

a) ink

(1) juice of *kentrītis* plant

(2) mixture with honey and myrrh

782–83 b) leaf of the *persea* plant

(1) acquisition of a leaf

(2) writing the eight-letter *vox magica* on it

(3) reference: 788

783–85 4) application

a) preliminary ritual

(1) sanctification (ἅγνεύειν)

(2) duration: three days

b) time: early morning at sunrise

c) action

(1) licking off the *Persea*

(2) showing the leaf to the sun (Helios)

d) effect: the god (Helios) will listen attentively
 (καὶ οὕτως ἐπακούσεται τελείως)

786–92 5) additional instructions

786–87 a) time references

(1) reference: 780

(2) beginning of preparation

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

798–813 c. third item: botanical information about the *kentritis* plant
 1) reference: 773, 778–86
 798–804 2) earlier data
 a) seasonal growth: from the month of Pauni
 b) geographical occurrence: region of the “black earth”
 c) comparable other plant: erect *verbena*
 d) identification
 (1) formula: ἡ δὲ γνῶσις αὐτῆς οὕτως
 (2) method: the wing of an ibis smeared with the
 black juice of the plant will, when touched,
 lose its feathers at once

804–13 3) new information
 a) authorisation: divine revelation
 (τοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου ὑποδείξαντος, cf. 792)
 b) geographical occurrence: region of Menelaitis
 in Phalagry
 c) environment: river banks, near the Besas plant
 d) description in detail
 (1) single stem
 (2) reddish to the root
 (3) leaves crinkled
 (4) fruit looking like that of wild asparagus
 (5) comparable other plant: *talapes*, a kind of wild beet

813–19 4. Third ritual: the phylacteries

813 a. reference: 659–61, 708

814–17 b. modus: *τρόπος*
 c. for the right arm
 1) material
 a) skin of a black sheep
 b) ink: black myrrh ink
 2) preparation
 a) inscription (?) (missing, cf. 661: *προσυμερι*)
 b) tying with sinews of the same sheep
 c) to be worn on right arm

817–19 d. for the left arm
 1) material
 a) skin of the white sheep
 b) ink: same as above (?)
 2) preparation
 a) inscription: *προσθυμερι*
 b) to be worn on on left arm

819–20 IV. Epilogue: statements concerning the document

- A. technical name for the document: ὑπόμνημα
(cf. *σύνταγμα* 480–81)
- B. statement of completion: *πληρέστατον*
- C. paragraphos sign after 820

Commentary

I. The Exordium (ll. 475–85)

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

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

A. The Invocation (l. 475)

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

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

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

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

⁴ Wessely, *Zauberpapyrus*, 56; Dieterich (1; 219).

Preisendanz's reading of Ψυχή has generally been accepted.⁵ Although the first letter is somewhat uncertain, a decision in favor of Ψ is fairly secure; it is also supported by contextual evidence. Both names occur elsewhere in the PGM,⁶ but none of the passages attest the two names together, so one will have to look for parallels outside the corpus. (2) If one opts for Πρόνοια καὶ Ψυχή, the question is whether the two names refer to two different deities, or to one deity identified by two epithets consisting of hypostatized abstractions. (3) The fact that at no other place the ML refers again to the two names raises the question how the author intended to relate the invocation to the rest of the ML.

These three problems can be solved in conjunction. The context, in which both Πρόνοια and Ψυχή play an important role, seems surprising only at first sight. Influences of Stoicism elsewhere in the beginning sections of the ML make it most likely that the author refers to the “world-soul.”⁷ Based on Plato's *Timaeus*,⁸ the concept of the world-soul was developed especially by

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

⁶ For Πρόνοια see LVII.36: μεγαλόδοξε Πρόνοια (Isis); cf. ll. 17 and 30, where a black Τύχη may be mentioned. Ψυχή occurs mostly together with Eros: IV.1724–25, 1730–31, 1733–34, 1738–39, 1741–43; XII.20; XIII.192. For Τύχη see IV.665–66 (the seven Tychai are Hathors); elsewhere it is often identified with Isis, cf. IV.2601, 2665, 3000, 3167; VII.506; VIII.51; XII.254; XIII.781; XXI.16; LVII.18 (cf. 30); and Luther H. Martin, “Tyche,” *DDD* 877–78 (Lit.).

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

⁷ So following Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.158, 233): “Es ist die Weltseele gemeint, die alle beseelt.”

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

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

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

⁹ See *SVF* I § 172 (44,19–21) about the association of *mens mundi*, *providentia*, *πρόνοια*; *SVF* II, § 613 (187,13); § 933 (268,13); § 1064 (312,35); Marcus Aurelius, 12.24; Philo, *Aet.* 47–48, 50–51; *Prov.* 2.9. For the passages dealing with the world-soul see also Pease, Cicero, 2.686–87; Joseph Moreau, *L'Âme du monde de Platon à stoïciens* (Paris: "Les belles lettres," 1939); Long & Sedley, 1.319–20; Albrecht Dihle, *TDNT* 9 (1973), s.v. *ψυχή*, section A.3–5; Hermann Dörrie, "Der Begriff 'Pronoia' in Stoia und Platonismus," *FZPhTh* 24 (1977) 60–87; Michael Frede, "Chairemon," *ANRW* II.36.3 (1989) 2067–2103, esp. 2094–95; Robert T. C. Parker, "The Origins of Pronoia: A Mystery," in *Apodosis: Essays Presented to Dr. W. W. Cruickshank* (London: St. Paul's School, 1992), 84–94; Peter Steinmetz, "Die Stoia," in *Die Philosophie der Antike* (Basel: Schwabe, 1994), 4.539, 606–8, 610, 950–51; Myrto Dragona-Monachou, "Divine Providence in the Philosophy of the Empire," *ANRW* II.36.7 (1994) 4417–90, esp. 4424; Peter Frick, *Divine Providence in Philo of Alexandria* (TSAJ 77; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); Richard L. Gordon, "Pronoia," *DDD* 664–67.

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

¹¹ Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.55.

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

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

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

¹³ The expression Ἰλαθί μοι occurs also I.341; II.165; IV.457, 948, 1988, 2826. Parallel is Ἰλεώς μοι γενοῦ, see III.567; IV.3124; V.420; cf. Ἰλαος I.304; III.206, 213; these parallels indicate that the god is asked to smile with kindness at the orant.

¹⁴ See LSJ, s.v. Ἰλημ, which mentions Theocritus 15.143; Lucian, *Epigr.* 41 [OCT; Jacobitz 22]; *Anthol. pal.* 12.158 [Meleager] (Ἰλαθί, ἄναξ, Ἰληθί); Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 1.357, 689. More common is the Attic Ἰλεως, occurring also in the NT (Heb 8:12 [Jer 31:34 LXX]); cf. 2:17; Matt 16:22; cf. Ἰλάσθητι μοι, Luke 18:13). See Friedrich Büchsel, *TDNT* 3 (1938) 300–1; BDAG, s.v. Ἰλεως; cf. Ἰλάσκομαι.

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

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

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

¹⁶ Dieterich (50): “... muß es für höchst wahrscheinlich gelten, daß die Worte Ἰλαθί μοι Πρόνοια κτλ. den Beginn der rituellen Aktion selbst ausmachten und zur Eröffnung der Kulthandlung selbst geschrieben wurden; daraus folgt dann, daß τάδε γράφοντι τι ... nicht mehr der echte Wortlaut der Liturgie sein kann: das Wort γράφοντι wäre die ganz äußerlich eingetragene Änderung dessen, der den heiligen Text ab schreibt ...”

¹⁷ Pointed out by Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.155–56.

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

The term “mysteries” (*μυστήρια*) refers to the text of the ML, that is by implication, to the ritual as a whole (ll. 476, 723); differently, in a supplemental section (ll. 746, 794), the term refers to an ointment used in the ritual.¹⁸ The *μυστήρια* are “handed over” (*παραδοτά*) as “sacred tradition” (*παράδοσις*). While these terms belong to the familiar mystery-cult language,¹⁹ the words *τα πρατα* in the papyrus²⁰ have been emended by scholars in different ways. Preisendanz and Eitrem²¹ emend as <ἀ>*πρατα*, translated as “unverkäuflich,” in Greek a rare term according to LSJ (s.v.) who render it as “unsold, unsalable.” If ἀ*πρατα* were accepted as correct, the author could have intended a contrasting pun.²² Differently, Merkelbach,²³ following Usener²⁴ and Riess,²⁵ contracts the words into *πατροπαράδοτα* (“handed down by the father”), but, if one wants to contract, plausible would also be *πρωταπαράδοτα* (“handed down first” or “handed down as most important”).²⁶ In theory, of course, *πρατα* could simply be the result of an error by the scribe who forgot to erase it after he had corrected himself by writing *παράδοτα*. While all of these emendations are possible, none seems compelling.

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

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

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

²⁰ Wessely, 56.

²¹ See Preisendanz, *app. crit., ad loc.*

²² Cf. the parallel in Thessalos of Tralles (ed. Friedrich, 45): *παραδοῦναι πολλὰ παράδοξα*.

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

²⁴ See Dieterich, *app. crit., ad loc.*

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

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

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

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

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

²⁸ I.192: ταῦτα οὖν μηδενὶ παραδίδου, εἰ μὴ μόνω [σο]ι λογινῷ υἱῷ σου ἀξιοῦντι τὰ [παρ] ἡμῶν ῥηθέντα ἐνεργῆ[ν]ματα. Cf. IV.2519: κρύβε, νύέ. See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 41.

²⁹ At any rate, the author is male, a *υέός* (IV.535, 644–55, 719–24).

³⁰ See Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 225.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁴ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.233), adducing the parallel in l. 192 as support.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰ The term, here a reconstruction, is used in other passages, indicating instruction; see IV.913, 977; III.177: [χρή σε ἐπ]ιθύειν.

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

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

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

The transmission of esoteric knowledge from father to daughter also reflects older Egyptian practice⁴² which continues in Greco-Egyptian and Hermetic sources. In these texts Isis is the most important example. In the Memphitic tradition contained in the aretalogy of Kyme, Isis is educated by Hermes (l. 3), but is called the daughter of Kronos/Geb (l. 5), while in other sources she is regarded as the daughter of Thoth/Hermes.⁴³ A Hermetic source for father-daughter transmission is found in the prologue of the *Kyranides*, where Harpokration of Alexandria addresses his natural histories to

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

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

⁴³ See Müller, *Ägypten*, 21, 26–27.

his daughter.⁴⁴ Female magicians are of course known from many quarters of Greek and Hellenistic⁴⁵ as well as from Jewish religion.⁴⁶

The language of the instruction is technical. The often occurring verb λαμβάνειν (“take”) indicates the acquiring and using of ingredients, one of which is “plant juice” (χυλὸν βοτανῶν), specified further in the supplement (ll. 773 and 781).⁴⁷ The term εἰδῶν, from τὸ εἰδός (pl. εἰδη) seems strange as compared with other occurrences in the PGM;⁴⁸ here it refers either to drugs or to utensils.⁴⁹ Since in the supplement (ll. 772–813)⁵⁰ only ingredients and no utensils are detailed, the translation should be accordingly (“drugs”).⁵¹ The term μηνυθήσεσθαι (“be informed”) is supplied by Preisendanz who argues for it on the basis of the parallels in PGM IV.2016, 2046–47, 2069.⁵² The information is to be found ἐν τῷ τέλει (“at the end”), where the cross-reference is indicated (τὴν προκειμένην [l. 779]). Concluding his statement (l. 482), the author refers to his composition as a whole by the phrase τοῦ ἱεροῦ μου συντάγματος. The term σύνταγμα is literary, combining the compositional with the functional (“composition”): the text is put together from sources, and it serves as a prescription for the performance of the ritual.⁵³

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

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

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

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

⁴⁷ For further references, see below on l. 773.

⁴⁸ For εἰδός see also III.190–91; VIII.5, 18; XIII.1077; 21.47–48.

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

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

⁵¹ See for references LSJ, s.v. εἰδός, IV.

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

⁵³ Cf. I.45–47: τὰ πάντα καταλειπόμενα ἡμῖν ἐν] βιβλοις μυρίαις συντάγματα.

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

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

⁵⁵ See also III.80: Μίθρα; 100–1: ναὶ, μέγιστε Μίθρα; 462: χαῖρε, "Ηλιε Μίθρα; V.4: Ζεῦ Ηλιε Μίθρα Σάραπι; Ostracon 2.8–9: Μίθρευ Μίθρα. The name Helios occurs in the PGM also in many other combinations.

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

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

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

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

The next word (l. 484) is controversial. The papyrus contains *αιητης*, which has been emended and interpreted in various ways. Preisendanz emends to *αὶ<τ>ητής* (“petitioner”),⁶³ rejecting Dieterich’s reading as *αἰητός*

⁵⁸ Fauth (151–54), discussing Julian’s *Hymn to Helios*, Or. IV.149A–D. Accordingly, Helios provides for unity between the gods, but “without confusion into unity” (*δίχα συγχύσεως εἰς ἔνωσιν*); cf. I.57A. At 155A Julian mentions worshiping Mithras as a novelty and with some ambiguity concerning his relationship to Helios.

⁵⁹ The term *μεταδίδωμι* is technical in this context, a synonym of *παραδίδωμι*; see for parallels I.130 (μηδενὶ [ἀλλῳ μεταδῶς, ἀλλὰ κρύβε, ...]); IV.853; VII.457; XII.93. Cf. BDAG, s.v. *μεταδίδωμι*.

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

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

⁶² Cf. I.188; IV.1520–21, 2961; differently XII.37; LXII.25–26. See also Thessalos of Tralles, prooemium; furthermore 1 *En.* 19.3 (OTP 1.23): “(So) I, Enoch, I saw the vision of the end of everything alone; and none among human beings will see as I have seen.”

⁶³ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.158, 233) follows Preisendanz, and translates: “der ich darum gebeten habe.”

(“eagle”).⁶⁴ Preisendanz’s correction is attested in papyri,⁶⁵ but it would be unique in the PGM.⁶⁶ Dieterich argued (50, 220–21) against Cumont⁶⁷ and Reitzenstein⁶⁸ that *αἰγτός* is philologically not impossible⁶⁹; in addition, in a new reading of the papyrus Martinez favors the letter *ε* instead of *η*, so that the interpretation as the Mithraic title of “eagle” (*αἰετός*) claimed by the author is highly likely.⁷⁰ That this title could easily be connected with the following statement of purpose was pointed out by Weinreich.⁷¹

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

⁶⁴ For other proposed corrections see Preisendanz, *app. crit., ad loc.*; *ideim, WSt* 41 (1919) 140.

⁶⁵ See LSJ, Suppl., s.v.; Preisigke-Kießling, s.v.

⁶⁶ Cf. XII.144: *αἰτησις*; XIII.287: *ἡτήσω αἰτησίαν*; IV.434, 1290, 1930; XXII.b.30: *ἐξαἰτησις*; IV.462, 1294; VI.29: *ἐξαιτεῖσθαι*. More frequent in the PGM is *ἰκέτης* (II.87; XIII.637).

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

⁶⁸ Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 172, 174) reads *ἀλήτης* (“wanderer”).

⁶⁹ For Doric *αἰτός* see LSJ, s.v.: “Dor. for *ἀετός*, *αἰετός*.”

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

⁷¹ In Dieterich, 220–21.

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

⁷³ I.67 (cf. 184: *σπεύδω γάρ εἰς ούρανόν*). For instances of this terminology, see Lucian, *Peregr.* 39: *ἐλιπον γάν, βαίνω ἐς “Ολυμπον*; similarly Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.30. See Betz, *Lukian*, 38ff., 123, 128ff., 167–69. Cf. Vettius Valens, *Anth.* VI.1.9 (ed. Pingree [BiTeu, 1986] 231, 6–7): ... τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπόντας ούρανοβατεῖν ἀθανάτοις ψυχαῖς καὶ θείαις. Cf. also Lucian, *Sacr.* 9; *Timon* 49; *Astr.* 13; Philo, *Opif.* 69–71: *ἀθεροβατέω, ούρανοβατέω, συμπεριπολέω*. For the terminology, see Abraham P. Bos, “Immanenz und Transzendenz,” *RAC* 17 (1996) 1041–92, esp. 1045–46.

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

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

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

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

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

1. Before the prayer begins, a statement of identification (ll. 485–86) separates it from the preceding exordium and defines the prayer by the proper terms: ἔστιν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ἥδε ἡ κλῆσις (“This is the invocation of the prayer”). λόγος⁷⁷ refers to the prayer as a whole, κλῆσις to the invocation.⁷⁸

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

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

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

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

⁷⁷ The λόγος contains the things to be spoken (τὰ λεγόμενα).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The second line (l. 488) addresses the other cosmological concept: ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς πρώτη (“first beginning of my beginning”).⁸⁵ Again, the term ἀρχὴ refers to both the primordial beginnings of the cosmos and the individual beginning of the initiate.⁸⁶ The oldest parallels to this notion of primordial ἀρχὴ are found in pre-Socratic philosophy, esp. the Orphic Fragments⁸⁷ and Anaximander. Anaximander used the terms γένεσις and ἀρχὴ together in referring to the origin of the universe, the sun, moon, stars, earth (... ἀρχὴ τε καὶ στοιχεῖον ... τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἀπειρον ... ἐξ ὧν ἡ γένεσις ἐστι τοῖς οὖσι), including the human being (ὁ ἄνθρωπος) who originated from the same ἀρχαῖ.⁸⁸ As the sources of Plato, Aristotle, and Simplicius indicate, these ideas were handed down in philosophical traditions dealing with the origins of the universe.⁸⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

from the PGM⁹⁰ as well as from other magical sources.⁹¹ The second, a hissing sound is indicated by the three letters, again with dots over them: σσσ, equalling σύρισσον τρίς. It is called συριγμός (“hissing”) and occurs elsewhere in the PGM and in other magical marterials.⁹² The ritual sounds belong to the field of “music,” here reflecting cosmic music, about which the Pythagoreans had more to say.⁹³

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

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

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

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

⁹² For συριγμός in the ML, see l. 561; also VII.323, 769; XIII.48–49, 50, 418–19, 421, 602, 946; συρίζειν in the ML ll. 561, 578; IV.1902–3, 2733; XIII.88, 193, 292, 531, 602; XXXVI.368: εεε τηη λ' σ'σ' σ'γ'ν'.

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

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

⁹⁴ See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.* Wünsch saw here the name of the god Φρῆ. Preisendanz himself (Dieterich, 221; *WSt* 41 [1919] 140–41) conjectured φρ[ιμαξα]. Eitrem suggested φρ[ι]υ.

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

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

⁹⁶ For *ῥίζωμα* (“root”), see 1.205; IV.1189–90; cf. *τετραλίζωμα* below, ll. 589–90. See Christoph Riedweg, “Orphisches bei Empedokles,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 41 (1995) 34–59, esp. 53.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

spirit).¹⁰⁶ The sound was meant to be either a roaring or bellowing, or as a hard blowing through the nose, depending on how one interprets the adverb *κερατοειδῶς* in l. 657.¹⁰⁷

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹² The phrase is also a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM.

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

¹¹⁴ Cf. in the ML 1. 506: *ἀθανάτων ὕδατι*. Especially interesting are the expressions *ὑδατῶδες* and *ὑγροπυρινοψυχρὸν πνεῦμα* in IV.1142, 1146. For the *hapaxlegomena*, see above, nn. 111, 112.

¹¹⁵ See for this expression *SVF II* # 438 (144.18): *εῖναι γεώδη τὴν οὐσίαν*.

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

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

¹¹⁸ This differs from Philo's doctrine of God's perfect benefits bestowed on the soul; see, especially Philo, *Migr.* 33: *ὅσα ἀν ... ὁ θεὸς ἔρδη, τέλεια καὶ διάκλητρα καὶ πάντων ἄριστα γεννᾶται*. Cf. also 1 Thess 5:23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following statement (ll. 495–97) legitimates the claim that the body has been created perfectly with metaphors from creation mythology. The human body came about “because of fashioning by a noble arm” (*διαπεπλασμένον ύπὸ βραχίονος ἐντίμου*). The phrase is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, although there are similar expressions elsewhere.¹²¹ That the human body is a *πλάσμα* the PGM states in passages defining the human being;¹²² these passages are close to Hermetic¹²³ or Jewish language.¹²⁴ The “noble arm” refers to the right arm. In the PGM it is the arm on which to affix the charms.¹²⁵ In the OT and Judaism the arm of God is a frequently used symbol of his power, but usage does not include the adjective *ἐντιμος*.¹²⁶ The expression “of his incorruptible right hand” (*δεξιας χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου*)¹²⁷ which follows comes from the same language background.¹²⁸ Merkelbach has suggested the LXX as

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

¹²² Cf. IV.2379, 2388, where the forming (*πλάσσειν*) of a wax figurine is described.

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

¹²⁴ See IV.3024–28: ... καταβάτω σου ὁ ἄγγελος, ὁ ἀπαραίτητος, καὶ εἰσκρινέτω τὸν περιπτάμενον δάιμονα τοῦ πλάσματος τούτου, ὁ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ ἔστι τῷ παραδείσῳ, ὅτι ἐπεύχομαι ἀγιον θεὸν ἐπὶ "Αὔμαν. XII.244–45: τίς μορφὰς ζώων ἔπλασεν, τίς δὲ εὑρει κελεύθους; Cf. LXX Gen 2:7–8, 15, 19. With the question/answer format in PGM XII.244–45 cf. Ps 93:9 (MT 94:9); moreover, Ps 118:73 (MT 119:73): αἱ χεῖρες σου ἐποιησάν με καὶ ἔπλασάν με; Wisdom chapter 15, especially v. 16 (referring to idols): οὐδεὶς γάρ αὐτῷ ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπος ἴσχυει πλάσαι θεόν.

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

¹²⁶ In the OT the metaphor of God’s “mighty hand and outstretched arm” (*vel sim.*) is found frequently (Ps 44:3; 77:15–16; 89:9–11,14; 98:1; 136:12; etc.), which the LXX renders as *ἐν χειρὶ κραταῖ* καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ (LXX Ps 135:12); the adjective *ἐντιμος* is not used in this connection (for *ἐντιμος* see 1.286; IV.610, 3272; XIII.298; XXII.a.26, referring to Jewish angelic names). Philo interprets the *σύμβολον* in *Spec.1.145–50; Leg. 3.133–37*. For the NT, cf. Luke 1:51; John 12:38; Acts 13:17; *1 Clem* 28.2; 60.3; cf. also the Christian exorcism PGM 17.6–7: ... τὸν β[ρ]αχ[ι]λονα τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ χεῖρα. For the OT evidence see F. J. Helfmeyer, “*ΥΠΝοι zeroa*,” *ThWAT* 2 (1975) 650–60, section III; BDAG, s.v. *βραχίων, χείρ*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³¹ See IV.990–92 (φωτίζοντα καὶ διαυγάζοντα); XIII.165 (Φῶς … καὶ διηγασεν τὰ πάντα). Cf. 2 Pet 1:19: ὡς λύχνῳ φαίνοντι ἐν αὐχμηρῷ τόπῳ, ἐώς οὖν ἡμέρᾳ διαυγάσῃ καὶ φωτφόρος ἀνατείλῃ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις.... 2 Cor 4:6; 6:14 may also be related.

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

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

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

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

elements: $\varepsilon\alpha\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\mu\bar{\nu}\ \delta\alpha\xi\eta$ ("if it deems right to you").¹³⁶ Such appeals are part of Hellenistic prayer language.¹³⁷

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

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

¹³⁶ Usener reads ἐὰν δὴ; see Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*

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

¹³⁸ So following the reading of Dieterich, who in an additional note supplied by Weinreich (Dieterich, 221) presents a rather fanciful explanation of the formula: "so zu schreiben und zu verstehen: μετερταφωθ (μεθαρθαφηρη ἐν ἀλλῳ) ἵερεζαθ. Zur Entstehung dieser *voces*: αφωθ ist genommen aus ἀφωτιστω in 4,5, θαρθαφ aus ἀφθάρτου in 4,5, so auch oft sonst, z.B. 4,11 αγγρες ἀγοεοκόπητον 4,26."

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

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

¹⁴¹ Cf. Brashear ("Greek Magical Papyri," 3601) who, following Karl F. W. Schmidt (GGA 193 [1931] 449), refers to φωούθ (IV.1683) as a parallel, meaning in Egyptian "große Schlange."

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

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

¹⁴⁴ LSJ (s.v.) adduces Iamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* 32.226) as a parallel; it refers to the Pythagoreans' preservation of the mysteries: they left their main doctrines unwritten and passed them on to their successors ἀπέρι μυστήρια θεῶν μεταπαραδίδοντες.

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

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

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

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

¹⁴⁶ With the *pap.* reading *εχομενος*, Dieterich (4, 1.8) proposes ἔχόμενον, Sudhaus ἔχομένως, which Preisendanz accepts and translates: “und gleich darauf wieder meiner eigentlichen Natur.” Weinreich (in Dieterich, 221) reports Preisendanz’s suggestion to read γενέσει ἔχόμενος... φύσει, ἵνα... Preisendanz (*app. crit., ad loc.*) notes that the text makes sense, if the following ἵνα-clause constitutes the beginning of a new sentence (see below, n. 153). Martinez comments that both emendations make good sense phonetically, ἔχομένως reflecting the common interchange *εο/ω* (Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.275) and ἔχόμενον reflecting the interchange of final silent letters (Gignac, *ibid.*, 131–32). Cf. Merkelbach’s translation (*Abrasax*, 3.160): “mich wiederum zu übergeben der Neugeburt in die Unsterblichkeit, entsprechend meiner vorhandenen Natur.”

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

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

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

¹⁴⁸ Cf. l. 783: *ώς ὑπόκειται*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶⁰ Cf. the synonym κατοπτεύειν which occurs in ll. 485, 516. For ἐπόπτης see VII.351, 572; XII.237; ἐποπτος I.259, 261. Cf. also CH I.3. See Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.235–36, referring also to the ritual breathing of the πνεῦμα. For literature see Erich Fascher, “Epoptie,” *RAC* 5 (1962) 973–83; Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 43, 69, 91–92, 136 n. 35; 157 n. 14; 157 n. 59; 163 n. 18.

vision of the primordial beginning.¹⁶¹ The following passage confirms this interpretation.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶⁴ A *hapaxlegomenon*, unexplained.

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

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

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

¹⁶⁸ An unexplained *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM; however, Wiedemann (in Dieterich, 37, n. 1) explains as Egyptian: *ḥey* “son of the”; *ȝböt* “month”

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

¹⁷⁰ Cf. l. 533: during the ascent mortal nature must be left behind (Ἐσταθή, φθαρτή θροῦται φύσις). See also *CHL11*: X. 5–8, 12, 15–19; *Asyl.* 28; *Exc.* IV.10.

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

¹⁷¹ The pap. reads μεταγενηθῶ which Dieterich corrects to μεταγεννηθῶ; so also Reitzenstein, Merkelbach.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁷⁷ For ἱερὸν πνεῦμα see also III.8; cf. ἄγιον πνεῦμα XII.174.

spirit.¹⁷⁸ The concluding *voices magicae* (ll. 510–11) read νεχθεν αποτου νεχθιν αρπιν ηθ.¹⁷⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

dawn” brings to mind the god Nun,¹⁸⁴ or the Greek waters of Styx.¹⁸⁵ The final *voices magicae* νυν θεσω εχω ουχιεχωα are unexplained.¹⁸⁶

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

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

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

¹⁸⁴ So Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.236. On Nun see Reinhard Grießhammer, “Nun,” *LÄ* 4 (1982) 534–35.

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

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

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

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

¹⁸⁹ Martinez observes that in the NT “life-giving” and “pouring out” is connected with the πνεῦμα; for references see BDAG, s.v. ἔκχέω, ἔκχυστις; ζωοποίειν, 1.a (Joh 6:63; 2 Cor 3:6; 15:45; 1 Tim 6:13; ζωογονέω, with v.l.).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹⁶ For *βελτιοῦν*, *βελτίωσις* see, e.g., Plutarch, *Virt. prof.* 85C–D; Philo, *Decal.* 17; Fug.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹⁹ See above on ll. 496–97.

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

²⁰¹ The principle is that of *ὅμοιος τῷ ὅμοιῳ*. Cf. 1 Cor 2:10–15, esp. 13.

²⁰² The god of eternity, Aion, plays an important role in the PGM; in the ML he is identical with Helios-Mithras (594–95; cf. III.70–95, 100–101, 462; V.4). Cf. also I.164, 200–1 (attributes: *αἰώναῖος, αἰώνων <τ>ινοκράτωρ, αἰώνοπολοκράτωρ*), 309; IV.1163, 1169, 1206, 2198, 2314, 3168; V.156, 468; VII.510 (σὺ γάρ εἶ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παλινγενοῦς Αἰώνος), 584; XII.246–47; XIII.71, 299, 329, 582, 996–97. For literature see Arthur Darby Nock, “A Vision of Mandulis Aion,” *HThR* 27 (1934) 53–104; repr. in *Essays*, 1.357–400, esp. 377–396; Festugière, *Révélation*, 4.152–75, 184–85; Nilsson, *GGR*, 2.348, 498–505, 536, 682, 686; Betz, *GMPT*, 331–332; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 192–230; Merkelbach & Totti, *Abrasax*, 2.168–169; 3.56–58 and passim; Daniel & Maltoni, *Supplementum Magicum*, 2.227–228; Kotansky, *Amulets*, 115–16; Michel, *Gemmen*, #114; H. J. W. Drijvers, “Aion,” *DDD* 13–14; Günther Zuntz, “Aion Plutonios (Eine Gründungslegende von Alexandria),” *Hermes* 116 (1988) 291–303; idem, *Aion. Gott des Römerreiches* (AHA.W.PH 1989.2; Heidelberg: Winter, 1989); idem, *ΑΙΩΝ im Römerreich*. Die archäologischen Zeugnisse (AHA.W.PH 1991.3; Heidelberg: Winter, 1991); idem, *Αἰών in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (WSt.B 17; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992). Zuntz does not discuss the PGM, however, but considers a special investigation for it to be necessary (44, n. 66).

ML, Aion is mentioned again in the “third prayer” as the heavenly gatekeeper (l. 594).²⁰³ His attribute is δεσπότης τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων (“lord of the fiery diadems”).²⁰⁴ While δεσπότης is attested only here in the ML (l. 521), seven golden diadems are mentioned in l. 675.²⁰⁵

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

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

²⁰⁴ According to Jordan (by letter), the pap. seems to read πυρετῶν instead of πυρίνων.

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

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

²⁰⁷ For ἀγιάσμα see LXX Amos 7:13: εἰς δὲ βαιθήλ οὐκέτι μὴ προσθῆς τοῦ προφητεῦσαι, ὅτι ἀγιάσμα βασιλέως ἔστιν καὶ οἶκος βασιλείας ἔστιν. For references see BDAG, s.v. ἀγιάσμα.

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

The following part of the convoluted sentence construction is even more difficult (ll. 522–24): ἀγίας ὑφεστώσης μου πρὸς δλίγον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως²¹⁰ (“which holy [power] supports for a short while my human soul-power”).²¹¹ The term ὑφίστημι (“support”), a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, appears to come from philosophy, especially Stoicism, where it plays a significant role.²¹² Constructing ὑφίστημι with a genitive object is unusual, which may be due to the comment having been inserted after the preceding formulaic statement, in order to clarify the question of how the consecration affects the human soul. Thus far, the author has not mentioned the soul (ψυχή) in connection with anthropology, so that it makes sense that he wishes to bring it in at this point. He apparently does not share the Platonic doctrine of the immortal soul incorporated in the mortal body; instead the soul shares human weakness and mortality. This is why the soul is in need of support by divine power which by way of consecration injects holiness into the soul. That supportive power, however, lasts only for a short while, after which it wanes and must receive another charge by new consecrations. Therefore, once the initiate has reached the state of holiness, that state cannot last forever, but only for a

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

²⁰⁹ Comparable is the application to Christian baptism; for references see PGL, s.v. ἀγίασμα, listing Gregory of Nyssa, Clement of Alexandria.

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

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

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

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

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

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

²¹⁴ The term occurs only here in the PGM; see l. 501 (*μεταπαραδιδόναι*); but cf. ll. 483 (*μεταδιδόναι*), 508–9, 647 (*μεταγεννᾶν*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²²⁰ See *SVF* II, # 914 (265.14), Diogenianus, *apud Eusebius, Praep. ev.* 6, p. 263c: οὕτω δέ καὶ τὸ χρεῶν εἰρῆσθαι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον καὶ καθῆκον κατὰ τὴν εἰμαρμένην. For parallels, see CH, *Exc. XXIII.46* (Kore Kosmou, eds. Nock & Festugière, 4.16): χρεωκοπεῖσθω τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν τὸ περιέργον ἐπιθυμίας καὶ φόβους καὶ λύπαις καὶ ἐλπίσι πλάνοις (“The curiosity of their souls shall be frustrated by desires, fears, troubles, and misguided hopes”). Cf. *Barn.* 2.6: ἀνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ὁν.

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

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

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

²²⁴ See Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*

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

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

²²⁵ The pap. reads αμετάθετον, corrected by Dieterich (4–5, n.).

²²⁶ See *SVF* II, # 913 (264.26), from Chrysippus (*De fato* [περὶ είμαρμένης]) concerning the three Moirai, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos: Ἀτροπον δὲ ὅτι ἀμετάθετος καὶ ἀμετάβλητος ἔστιν ὁ καθ' ἔκαστα διορισμὸς ἐξ ἀιδίων χρόνων. Heimarmene is explained as the divine Logos divided into the three Moirai, doing the διοικοῦν in the cosmos. Similarly, II, # 914 (265.18–19).

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

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

²²⁸ Plutarch, *Quest. conv.* 5.2 (675 B): οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν Ὄλυμπίαν, ἔφην, ἀξιόν ἔστιν ὥσπερ είμαρμένην ἀμετάστατον καὶ ἀμετάθετον ἐν τοῖς ἀθλήμασιν ἐκπεπλῆγθαι. Text and translation cited according to the LCL edition by Paul A. Clement & Herbert B. Hoffleit, *Plutarch's Moralia* (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 8.388–89.

²²⁹ It is not certain whether the pap. reads εἴαν or εἴαν. Preisendanz (*app. crit., ad loc.*) opts for εἴαν, which he, following Dieterich (5, 221–22), takes to be a corrupted palindrome ωεἴαν | -ι | ναϊεω.

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

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

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

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

²³³ For *θνητός* see ll. 517–18, 543, 614. The verb *γεγώτα* is part. perf., contracted *γεγώς* for *γεγονώς*. Smyth, *Grammar*, 200 (§ 704b) treats this form as a poetic second perfect participle, "contracted from *γεγάως*."

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

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

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

²³⁷ Cf. the epigram of Ptolemaeus (*Anth. pal.* 9.577), and Franz Boll's essay of 1894, "Das Epigramm des Ptolemaeus," reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, 143–55.

²³⁸ Cf. *μαρμαραυγή*, a *vox magica*, in XIII.111, 195, 535, 669; *μαρμαριφεγγή* I.260–61 (*μαρμαριωθ*); *Orph. Frag.* 100 (ed. Kern, 166), calling it a *vox Orphica* and referring to *Orph. Hymn.* 7.10–11 (*αὐγάζοντες δεὶ Νυκτὸς ζωφειδέα πέπλον, μαρμαργεῖς στίλβοντες*); Damascius, *De princ.* 213. See also the references in LSJ, s.v.

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

The section on self-presentation concludes (ll. 533–35) with the suppliant addressing his human nature: ἔσταθι, φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι, καὶ αὐτίκα <ἀνάλαβέ> με ὑγιῆ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ κατεπε[ί]γουσαν χρείαν (“Stand, O perishable nature of mortals, and at once <take me back> safe after the inexorable and pressing need”). Because of some textual problems,²⁴⁴ translators differ in restoring and translating the text. The context (cf. ll. 525–26) requires a verb describing the ascent and addressing mortal nature, so that he orders his mortal nature²⁴⁵ to “stand,” including the reminder that such a transition is not without danger.²⁴⁶ What the author seems to say closely resembles an explanation in *CH* X.5–6:

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

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

²⁴⁰ Pap. reads λαμπηδωνος, corrected by Dieterich (4).

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

²⁴² See below, on ll. 537–38.

²⁴³ Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) sees a repeating sequence: ω ηναεω ηναεω ηναεω ηναεω ιαε.

²⁴⁴ The pap. reading φθαρτη must be corrected to φθαρτὴ; pap. αυτικα με υγιη is uncertain because a verb is missing; Wessely conjectures ὑγιη <καθίστη>; Dieterich (6) takes ὑπει (ὑψει) as the verb; Reitzenstein emends ἀποδέχου, Eitrem ἀνάλαβε, Preisendanz ἀνάλαβε; Jordan sees in the pap. μα instead of the editors’ με.

²⁴⁵ For the expression φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσι cf. ll. 502, 607; for βροτοι see V.409, 413; VI.11; VII.674, 677.

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

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

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

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

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

²⁴⁷ Translation by Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, 31; the edition of Nock & Festugière, 1.124, n. 25 refers to the parallels in *CH* I.1 and XIII.7; cf. also *CH* XVI.6–9. For Philo’s similar teaching at this point, see *Vit. Mos.* 2.267: μεταβαλὼν τὰ στοιχεῖα πρὸ τὸ κατεπεῖγον τῆς χρείας; *Spec. leg.* 3.1–3, and Peder Borgen, *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1996), 309–20; idem, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* (Nov.T.S 86; Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997), 18, 194–205, 225–42.

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

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

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

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

²⁵² Pap. reads μαχαρφ[.]ν. Cf. 672: αρμαχηγης. See Dieterich (6), *app. crit.*, for conjectures.

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

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

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

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

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

²⁵⁴ For this formula, see the passages and literature in Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 165–70; idem, *Antike und Christentum*, 178, 179–84.

²⁵⁵ See on these issues, Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 152–74, 175–86.

²⁵⁶ On general cosmology see the comprehensive surveys and bibliographies by Carsten Colpe, Ernst Dassmann, Josef Engemann, Peter Habermehl, Karl Hoheisel, “Jenseits,” *RAC* 17 (1996) 246–407.

²⁵⁷ See the comprehensive articles by Carsten Colpe and Peter Habermehl, “Jenseitsfahrt I (Himmelfahrt),” *RAC* 17 (1996) 407–66; and “Jenseitsreise,” *ibid.*, 490–543, esp. 504–5 on the ML. Still informative is the article by Wilhelm Bousset, “Die Himmelsreise der Seele,” *ARW* 4 (1901) 136–69, 229–73; repr. as *Die Himmelsreise der Seele* (Libelli 71; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960); furthermore Cumont, *After Life*; idem, *Lux Perpetua*; Betz, *Lukian*, 38–40, 128, 167–69; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*; idem, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism*; Morton Smith, “Ascent into Heaven and the Beginning of Christianity,” *Eranos* 50 (1981) 403–29; repr. in his *Studies*, 2.47–67, esp. 52–54; Ioan P. Culianu, *Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascension of the Soul and Its Relevance* (EPRO 99; Leiden: Brill, 1983); idem, *Out of this World: Otherworldly Journeys from Gilgamesh to Einstein* (Boston: Shambhala, 1991); Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Collins & Fishbane, *Death; Löhr, Verherrlichung*, 105–13.

²⁵⁸ See the parallel in ll. 628–29: στὰς οὖν εὐθέως ἔλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου. For the breathing ritual see Apuleius's (*Metam.* 8.27) description of a similar ecstatic ritual: “In the midst of all this one of them started to rave more wildly than the rest, and producing rapid gasps

prayer, the spirit is a fundamental concept in the ML.²⁵⁹ Since *πνεῦμα* can mean both “spirit” and “breath,” the spirit is to be drawn in with the breath. Also in accordance with ancient teachings is the idea that the spirit is transmitted by the rays of the sun (*αἱ ἀκτῖνες*). While the sun rays are important in several ways in the PGM, their role as transmitters of divine spirit and its inhalation is affirmed several times.²⁶⁰ Related are ancient speculations about the role of the “sun dust,” that is, small dust particles hovering in the air and glittering in the sun.²⁶¹ In ancient Egypt they were regarded as means for the soul to climb up to heaven.²⁶² Greek philosophers called the particles *ξύσματα*, regarding them as souls floating upwards in the air.²⁶³ However, at this point

from deep down in his chest, as though he had been filled with the heavenly inspiration of some deity, he simulated a fit of madness” (Inter haec unus ex illis bacchatur effusius ac de imis praecordiis anhelitus crebros referens, velut numinis divino spiritu repletus, simulabat sauciā vecordiam ...). Cited according to the LCL edition and translation by J. Arthur Hanson, *Apuleius, Metamorphoses* (2 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1989), 2.112–13. For the ML, see Sarah I. Johnston, in: Schäfer & Kippenberg, *Envisioning Magic*, 181–83; Radcliffe Edmonds, “Did the Mithraists Inhale? A Technique for Theurgic Ascent in the Mithras Liturgy, the Chaldaean Oracles, and Some Mithraic Frescoes,” *Ancient World* 32 (2000) 10–24. Breathing rituals seem to go back to early shamanism; see Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (trans. by Willard R. Trask; BollS 76; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 110–44, 412–13. On inspiration as a whole and with further literature, see Klaus Thraede, “Inspiration,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65.

²⁵⁹ See above, on ll. 489–90.

²⁶⁰ On *ἀκτῖνες* see in the ML ll. 634, 751; also IV.461, 906, 1114, 1129; XIII.142, 447–48; XIV.3. Cf. XII.176: *ἀκτινοπτοι*; IV.2286: *ἀκτινοχαῖτι*; IV.1110: *ἀκτινωτὸν θεόν*; Hymn 17.37 (Preisendanz, 2.251). See also the gem in Hopfner, *OZ* I, § 733. The epithet of Helios as *εχεβυκρωμ* (XIII.78, 333, 446–47, 590 [*αχεβυκρων*]) may come from the Egyptian for “splendor of the sun” (see Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 98; Brashear, “Greek Magical Papyri,” 3581). On Pindar’s 9th Paian, addressed to ‘Ακτίς ἀελίου (“Keen-eyed ray of the Sun”), see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.199–205; 2.150–60.

²⁶¹ See the close parallel in IV.1115–66, which greets the god Aion-Helios as *τὸ πᾶν σύστημα τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος*, “the whole system of the aerial spirit” (1115–16), who inspires by the spirit *εἰσερχόμενόν με καὶ ἀντισπάμενόν μου* (“entering into me and drawing me to it” [1121–22]). The god appears as surrounded by sun-rays (1129), sending them down to earth by glittering sun-dust. On this passage see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 200, 208–10.

²⁶² See Eliade, *Shamanism*, 487–94; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 9, n. 48, referring to Jan Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAI.Ä, 7 [Glückstadt: Augustin, 1970]), 25: “Ich steige auf zum Himmel. Ich klimme empor auf den Sonnenstrahlen.” There are also monumental representations showing rays proceeding from the sun. Cf. of Isis in the areatalogy of Cyme, 44: “I am in the rays of Helios” (*Ἐγώ εἰμι ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγαῖς*). See Müller, *Ägypten*, 73–74. Cf. Heb 1:3: Christ as *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης*.

²⁶³ Aristotle, *De an.* I.2 (404a): *οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι τὰ καλούμενα ξύσματα, ἀ φαίνεται ἐν ταῖς διὰ τῶν θυρίδων ἀκτῖσιν*, quoting Leucippus (D.-K. 67 A 28 [II.78.16–29]), and Pythagoreans (D.-K. 58 B 40 [I.462.27–30]). See Rohde, *Psyche*, 2.162, 189–90; Franz-

the ML does not speak of “souls” ($\psiυχατι$), but of “you” and the element of “spirit” as bringing about the ascension. This point was already made by Dieterich who explains it as evidence of Stoic influence.²⁶⁴

The ritual is to be performed three times by drawing in the air as hard as possible.²⁶⁵

C. Introduction to the ascension narrative (ll. 539–44)

Before the beginning of the actual ascent narrative, the author includes an instruction about what is going to happen after the performance of the breathing ritual (539–44). This section reveals the author’s own understanding

Joseph Dölger, “Die Apostel als Strahlen der Sonne Jesu,” *AuC* 6 (1950) 30–51; Cumont (*After Life*, 101–1, 159–64) pointing to Diogenes Laertius 8.27; Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.42.99–43.104; Julian, *Or.* 5.172C, and to the Neoplatonists’ concept of “soul-vehicle” ($\deltaχημα$); see also Plutarch, *sera num. vind.* 563F, 565E–566A; the Nag Hammadi “Treatise on the Resurrection” (*Epistula ad Reginum*), NHC I,4, p. 45, 29–40 (Trans. in Robinson, *Library*, 55); furthermore Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 13; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.237. For the whole subject, see Franz Rüsche, *Das Seelenpneuma. Seine Entwicklung von der Hauchseele zur Geistseele, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Pneumalehre* (SGKA 18.3; Paderborn: Schöningh, 1933); Gérard Verbeke, *L’Evolution de la doctrine du pneuma dans stoïcisme à S. Augustin* (Louvain: Editions de l’Institut Supérieur; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1945), 321–37: “Les papyrus magiques”; Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, chapter 3 and Excursus 8, 177–226, 487–89 (esp. on levitation); Clemens Zintzen, “Bemerkungen zum Aufstiegsweg der Seele in Jamblichs *De mysteriis*,” in *Platonismus und Christentum. Festschrift für Hermann Dörrie* (JAC.E 10 [1983], 312–28); John F. Finamore, *Jamblichus and the Theory of the Vehicle of the Soul* (ACSt 4; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985).

²⁶⁴ Dieterich (58–59): “If he [scil. the human person] is to be returned to the $\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}n\alphaτος$ $\gamma\acute{e}νεσις$ and have a vision of the $\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}n\alphaτος$ $\alpha\rhoχή$, then he can accomplish this only in this way that the immortal $\pi\nu\acute{e}μα$ in him, the immortal water, the firm, and the air in him have a vision of the sacred fire, the dawn’s abysmal flood, that in him blows $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{e}ρον$ $\pi\nu\acute{e}μα$, the holy spirit. Later prescriptions show how this elevation by the $\pi\nu\acute{e}μα$ is really to be understood: he must draw in from the sun rays’ $\pi\nu\acute{e}μα$, then he gets lifted up toward the light and enters into the upper region of the air.” (“Wenn er der $\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}n\alphaτος$ $\gamma\acute{e}νεσις$ wiedergegeben werden und die $\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}n\alphaτος$ $\alpha\rhoχή$ schauen soll, so kann er das eben nur dadurch, daß das unsterbliche $\pi\nu\acute{e}μα$ in ihm, das unsterbliche Wasser, das Feste und die Luft in ihm schaut das heilige Feuer, des Aufgangs abgrundtiefe Flut, daß in ihm weht $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{e}ρον$ $\pi\nu\acute{e}μα$, der heilige Geist. Man sieht aus einigen nachfolgenden Vorschriften, wie e i g e n t l i c h die Erhebung durch das $\pi\nu\acute{e}μα$ gemeint ist: er muß von den Strahlen $\pi\nu\acute{e}μα$ einziehen, dann erhebt er sich zum Licht und kommt mitten in die Luftsphäre.”)

Dieterich (59–61; also 232–33) refers to Rohde, *Psyche*; Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa*, 197. Rohde (2.301–31, esp. 311, 319–24) names as the most important passages, Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.44.105–47.114; *Somn. Scip.*, *Resp.* 6.9–29 (esp. 6.26–29 on the spirit); Seneca, *Marc.* 25.1.2; *Ep.* 93.5.

²⁶⁵ For $\alpha\acute{n}ασπᾶν$ and $\alpha\acute{n}τισπᾶν$ see IV.1122, 2498; V.322. For ritual acts to be performed three times, see below, l. 747; for the phrase $\delta\acute{ο}ναστι$, see XIII.945: $\delta\acute{ο}σον$ $\delta\acute{ο}ναστι$.

of the ritual as a whole, which he interprets as levitation, a phenomenon described by several ancient authors.²⁶⁶ An especially close parallel is Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.15–16, reporting about the levitation among the Brahmins in India: “they regard any rites they perform, in thus quitting the earth and walking with the sun” (τῷ Ἡλίῳ ξυναποβαίνοντες τῆς γῆς δρῶσιν) “as acts of homage acceptable to the god.” By “extracting fire from the sun rays” (ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἐπισπῶνται), “the fire is then seen raised aloft in the air and dancing in the ether” (οὕτω μετέωρον τε δρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ καὶ σαλεῦον ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι), allowing the Indian sages to levitate (μετεωρεῖν) two cubits in the air.²⁶⁷

First (l. 539), the ascending person is addressed with a term often occurring in the following narrative: ὅψῃ (“you will see”).²⁶⁸ The text interestingly predicts that he will be able to see himself: ὅψῃ σεαυτὸν ἀνακουφίζομενον [καὶ] ὑπερβαίνοντα εἰς ὄψος, ὅστε σε δοκεῖν μέσον τοῦ ἀέρος εἶναι (“and you will see yourself being lifted up and ascending to the height, so that you seem to be in midair”).²⁶⁹ The terminology is known from elsewhere in the PGM; ἀνακουφίζειν is found only here in the PGM, but frequently elsewhere.²⁷⁰

What consequences does this ascension have for sense-perception? – Leaving behind the body means that there will be no physical hearing or seeing

²⁶⁶ See Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 21, 27 n. 1; Betz, *Lukian*, 42, 54, 90–99, 167–68; Speyer, *Frühes Christentum*, 1.359–60.

²⁶⁷ Cf. *Vit. Apoll.* 6.10, where the claim is made that levitation is typical for Indians, but not for Greeks (cf. ἀεροβατέω in Lucian, *Icar.* 13). On levitation see also Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles* (above, nn. 73, 263); Festugière, *Révélation*, 3.171 (comparing *CH XIII*).

²⁶⁸ Pap. has ὅψῃ, but Dieterich (6), based on Robert Helbing (*Grammatik der Septuaginta* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907], 61), reads δοκεῖ, noting that both sound the same when read aloud; on p. 222 he points to parallels in early Christian literature. Both forms are frequent in contemporary Koine texts; see Gignac, *Grammar*, 2.357–58. Preisdanz, however, keeps ὅψῃ (see also ll. 544, 555, 565, 624, 635, 656, 693, 702; for the prophetic future see also 485 [κατοπτεύω], 512–13).

²⁶⁹ Pap. reads δοκεῖ..ε | σον, which Wessely emends as δοκεῖ α[σ]σον, and Kroll as δοκεῖν μέσον. See Dieterich (6, *app. crit.*). Regarding δοκεῖν μέσον τοῦ ἀέρος εἶναι cf. the seven men in *CH I.16* who are μετάροιοι.

²⁷⁰ For ὑπερβαίνειν εἰς ὄψος cf. ll. 484–85; also III.480; IV.971, 2509; 13.5; for μέσος τοῦ ἀέρος cf. l. 634. For ἀνακουφίζειν see Lucian, *Hermet.* 3; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 3.1.3; 3.21.4. Philo uses the term in describing intellectual ecstasy (*Spec.* 3.4); cf. also *Deus* 85; *Agri.* 76; Plotinus., *Enn.* 6.7.22; Porphyry, *Abst.* 4.20. For further evidence see *TLG*, s.v.; LSJ, s.v.; Jean-Pierre Mahé, “Mental Faculties and Cosmic Levels in the Eighth and the Ninth (NH VI,6) and Related Hermetic Writings,” in: Søren Giversen, Tage Petersen, Søren Podemanns Sørensen, eds., *The Nag Hammadi Texts in the History of Religions: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen, September 19–24, 1995* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 26 [2002]), 73–83.

(ll. 541–43): οὐδενὸς δὲ ἀκούσει [ο]ὗτε ἀνθρώπου οὔτε ζῷου ἀλλ<ου>, οὐδὲ ὅψη οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς θνητῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, πάντα δὲ ὅψη ἀθάνατα.²⁷¹ (“You will hear nothing either of a human or of another living being, nor in that hour will you see any of the mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all immortal things.”) Instead of human sense-perception, there will be higher forms of perception (ll. 543–44), like the way the gods hear and see.²⁷² The ancients understood that during an ecstatic seizure (“in that hour”)²⁷³ normal sense-perception ceases, so that room was made for higher forms of recognition;²⁷⁴ in the ML, specifically, the focus is on vision of the divine world.²⁷⁵ Regarding the suppression of the physical senses so that the inner self can detach, ascend and experience noetic sensory impressions, the similarity to Hermetic doctrines is striking (cf. *CH* I.1).

D. Ascension narrative in seven scenarios (ll. 544–731)

As Dieterich has observed, the preparatory sections lead up to a narrative of a ritual consisting of seven scenarios, representing seven stages in the ascension. Their presentation combines ritual elements of prayer and actions with a narrative structure. The ritual elements are prescriptive, the narrative is descriptive. It describes, on the one hand, the stages of the ascension in the future tense (ὅψη, “you will see”), so that the author shows the entire journey in terms of a predicted future, conditional, of course, on the correct performance of the ritual acts. On the other hand, at each of the stages he narrates what the practitioner sees, stated in the present tense, like descriptions of pictorial panels. The precise relationship between the distinct elements of

²⁷¹ Pap. reads αλλ', corrected by Preisendanz to ἀλλού; pap. has τηωρα not τηι (Wessely), the ω of ὥρα corrected from η (ήμέρα?); cf. ll. 544–45. Calhoun suggests that the problem may be the result of a scribal error: ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ; the phrase is repeated in the following line. Martinez points to the parallel in Mark 13:11 (Luke 12:12).

²⁷² Cf. the uses of ἀκούειν at ll. 514, 572, 587–88, 621, 734, 745. For an improvement of sight during Menippus' ascension, effected by Empedocles, see Lucian, *Icarom.* 13–14.

²⁷³ Cf. the reference to time in ll. 544–45 (see also on the textual problem, above n. 14). For ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ see similar expressions in I. 652; III.52; VII.471–72; XI.a.23; XIII.393–94.

²⁷⁴ For the enabling of higher γνῶσις by πνεῦμα/νοῦς and the formula νοῦς λόγος γνῶσις, see III.585–611; IV.510. For Stoic teaching on the subject, see *SVF* II, ## 863–72 (232.30–234.26); Cicero, *Nat. d.* 2.83 and Pease, *Cicero*, 2.757 with notes. On the material as a whole, Franz K. Mayr, “Hören,” *RAC* 15 (1991) 1023–1111, esp. on the Platonic and Stoic views, 1023–57.

²⁷⁵ See ll. 484–85, 501, 504, 516–17, 531, 541–42, 609, 620. The term ἀθάνατα forms a kind of conclusion in ll. 516–17, 539–44.

ritual and narrative constitutes the major problem for the analysis, since it determines the reconstruction of the ascension ritual, and thereby effects the understanding of the text as a whole. Two scholars have so far proposed detailed analyses of the composition, which need to be considered first.

Based on literary and archaeological evidence collected by Cumont in his collection (*Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*), Dieterich argues for a formulary of a ritual, which he calls a “liturgy,”²⁷⁶ belonging to the mystery cult of Mithras. Dieterich assumed some kind of Egyptianization of Mithraism in Egypt as part of the general hellenization of the native religion; he thus regarded this “liturgy” as syncretistic in nature, containing also influences of Stoicism as well as traces of ancient Iranian religion.²⁷⁷ At any rate, what can be reconstructed is the world view which results from a confluence of Greek ideas of a “Stoic-Peripatetic provenience,” the cult of Mithras, and Egyptian instructional wisdom.²⁷⁸ “From where and in which form it came into the Mithras mysteries thus developed, we are, of course, no longer able to trace. The world view was needed to this extent and in this specialized application for the construction of a sacramental act of an ascension of the initiates from the earth to the highest god. Those who created this liturgy were Mithras devotees who held fundamentally Greek ideas.”²⁷⁹

Dieterich (82–85) cautiously distinguished between the original “liturgy” itself that can be extracted from the formula, and its secondary reworking by the author who uses the older Mithraic liturgy for his own construction of a magical ritual (“Zauberritual”) designed to obtain oracular revelations. Dieterich also resisted committing himself to determining precise ritual sections which the magician may have omitted; he also repeatedly asked whether there

²⁷⁶ For the problem of using this technical term, see the Introduction above, pp. 2, 28–31, 32–37.

²⁷⁷ Dieterich (80–81): “Es wird uns jetzt noch begreiflicher, daß wir schon mehrfach gerade stoische Termini in dem Texte feststellen mußten. Der Einfluß der Stoa auf die religiösen Gebilde hellenistischer Zeit in Ägypten wird immer häufiger und deutlicher erkannt....” “Wie die teilweise Ägyptisierung des Mithrasdienstes vor sich gegangen ist, werden wir im einzelnen schwerlich noch nachweisen können. Aber ein gut Stück Geschichte des Mithraskultes erfassen wir doch, wenn wir die Schichtung der einzelnen Elemente in unserem Texte erkannt haben.”

²⁷⁸ Dieterich (82): “... hineingestellt in das griechische Weltbild stoisch-peripatetischer Provenienz, und überall ziehen sich die beiderseits parallel vorhandenen Lehren an, wie z. B. die Elementenlehre, die so ähnlich in der Stoa, im Mithrasdienst, in ägyptischer Weisheit vorhanden sind.”

²⁷⁹ Dieterich (82): “Von wo und in welcher Form sie zuerst in das so ausgebildete Mithrasmysterium kam, können wir natürlich nicht mehr erschließen. Das Weltbild in dieser Ausdehnung und Spezialisierung wurde zur Konstituierung des sakramentalen Aktes eines Aufstieges der Mysterien von der Erde zum höchsten Gott gebraucht. Die diese Liturgie schufen, waren Mithrasgläubige mit griechischen Grundanschauungen.”

ever was a ritual of descension at the end, whether the whole was merely a sacramental formula to be used repeatedly, and whether the author had a real “Ritualbuch” at his disposal, from which he excerpted parts. Important as these questions are, one cannot offer more than subjective speculations. Dieterich did, however, regard it as certain “that a genuine Mithras liturgy of an ascension of the soul and its immortalization, an ἀπαθανατισμός, has been inserted into a magical ritual for the exploration of the future. Therefore, the attribution of subsidiary sentences or components to one or the other is relatively unimportant. About the major parts of the liturgy there cannot be any doubt.”²⁸⁰ Dieterich (88–92) also points to literary and archaeological evidence which testifies that a seven-stage ascension of the soul through the astral world²⁸¹ was part of the Mithraic ritual.²⁸² Thus, he sees seven stages in the ritual of the ML, each introduced by a prayer.

The problem with this part of Dieterich’s interpretation is that the seven stages in the ML only partly conform to the Roman Mithraic mosaics from Ostia (Mitreo delle sette sfere). Most important are the representations of the seven gates.²⁸³ On one mosaic (Merkelbach, fig. 24), the symbols of the zodiac, six on each side, frame the seven gates. On the side walls of the room stand the images of the seven planetary gods: Iupiter, Mercurius, Luna, Mars, Venus, Saturnus, perhaps Sol on the back wall. Another mosaic (Becatti, pl. XXIV–XXV; Merkelbach, fig. 22) shows a ladder-type arrangement of seven squares with the symbols of the grades of initiates, together with the seven planets, known also to Celsus (Origen, *Cels.* 6.22):²⁸⁴ (1) *Corax* (raven), cup, herald’s

²⁸⁰ Dieterich (85): “Wenn das sicher ist, daß in die zur Erforschung der Zukunft ausgestaltete Zauberhandlung eine echte Mithrasliturgie der Himmelfahrt der Seele und ihrer Unsterblichkeit amchung, ein ἀπαθανατισμός, eingelegt ist, so sind die Zuweisungen einzelner Sätze von verhältnismäßig geringer Wichtigkeit. Über die Hauptstuktur der Liturgie wird dann ein Zweifel nicht auftreten.”

²⁸¹ For the seven stages in Mithraism, see Robert Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus. Récherches de l’Hellenisation philosophique de Mithra* (EPRO 47; Leiden: Brill, 1975); Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 13–21 (fig. 22, 24, 25); idem, *Mithras*, 235–36, 295 (fig. 38). Cf. Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (2nd ed.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), 114–25.

²⁸² Dieterich (89–92) refers to the floor mosaic in the Mithraeum in Ostia (Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, figure 77 [2.244; cf. 1.63]), Porphyry, *Antr. nymph.* 5–6 (Cumont, *ibid.*, 2.39–40), Celsus (Origen, *c. Cels.* 6.21–22; Cumont, *ibid.*, 2.31); and Julian, *Or.* 5, p. 172d (Cumont, *ibid.*, 2.20). See also Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, 313–14; idem, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 65–68.

²⁸³ For the figures and explanations, see Giovanni Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. 2: *I Mitrei* (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1954), plates XIX–XXV; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 58–59, 62–63, 64–65 (fig. 22, 24, 25).

²⁸⁴ Origen, *Cels.* 6.22: τοιόνδε τὸ σύμβολον· κλῆμαξ ἐπτάπυλος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ πύλῃ δύδοντι. See Chadwick, *Origen*, 333–36.

wand of Mercurius; (2) *Nymphus* (destroyed), lamp, diadem of Venus; (3) *Miles* (soldier), Persian cap, helmet, spear of Mars; (4) *Leo* (lion), fire shovel, sistrum, thunderbolt of Jupiter; (5) *Perse* (Persian), short-sword, sickle of Luna; (6) *Heliodromus*, torch, wreath rays of the sun-god, and the whip for leading the horses; (7) *Pater*, bowl and wand of the *magos*, cap of the Persian priest, sickle of Saturnus. The upper field shows a mixing-bowl (*κρατήρ*), surrounded by branches and the donor's inscription: *Felicissimus ex voto fecit*. Finally, another mosaic (fig. 25) shows a front portal with seven gates; the middle gate is higher and wider, with a hanging lamp in the center, while three gates on each side are divided by columns. The large middle field shows a mixing-bowl; on its left side a raven (*corax*), a small sickle of Luna, and the spear of Mars; on the right side a serpent (*nymphus*) and a lion (*leo*). Further upwards are what may be water basins, the image of Jupiter with his thunderbolt, and on top the head of Saturn, veiled, and holding his sickle. The side walls contain images of a torchbearer on each side, and the seven planets.

The iconography of these mosaics clearly reflects Roman Mithraism with its synchronization of the seven grades and the astrological signs. Notably, Mithras is not represented, and the *pater* is identified with Saturn. Also, the three mosaics have been designed considerably differently. Perhaps Helios/Mithras occupied the eighth field which is, however, unfortunately destroyed. The seven spheres are, therefore, different from those in the ML. An identification of Mithras and Saturn reflects Roman adaptation, just as ML shows Egyptian influences when it identifies Helios and Mithras. To be sure, the main difference is that the ML does not parallel the seven scenarios with the seven grades of initiates.²⁸⁵ At least one agreement stands out, however: the sixth grade is that of the “sun-runner” (*heliodromus*), corresponding to the fourth scenario of the ML, and the symbol of the sun-god is at a lower level as compared with a supreme god who may perhaps be Helios/Mithras.

To conclude, Dieterich was right in assuming that at this point there is evidence of some kind of connection between the ML and the Mithras cult. The author must have had some knowledge about Mithraic rituals. Since he was initiated in a mystery cult, it could indeed have been an Egyptian adapta-

²⁸⁵ The question of the relationship between images and cultic functions, which does not need to be discussed here in detail, has been reopened by the discovery of the Mithraic cult vessel in Mainz. The red-colored *krater* shows several cult symbols, especially figures of the seven grades; for description and color representations see Heinz Günter Horn, “Das Mainzer Mithrasgefäß,” *Mainzer Archäologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1994) 21–66; for the interpretation Reinhold Merkelbach, “Das Mainzer Mithrasgefäß,” *ZPE* 108 (1995) 1–6; Roger Beck, “Ritual, Myth, Doctrine, and Initiation in the Mysteries of Mithras: New Evidence from a Cult Vessel,” *JRS* 90 (2000) 145–80.

tion of Mithraism, but it could have been just as well some other mystery cult which had appropriated Mithraic elements. Beyond this, a cosmology of seven spheres or seven heavens was shared by many cosmologies in the Greco-Roman world,²⁸⁶ wherein the number seven as such possessed sacred and magical potency.²⁸⁷

According to Dieterich, the seven stages of the ascension in the ML are set forth in the following manner:

- (1) First stage (ll. 544–55), introduced by the (first) prayer to the gods and winds in charge of the day; the initiate rising to midair;
- (2) Second stage (ll. 556–69), introduced by the “second” prayer; the initiate rising to before the gates, the opening of the sun disk;
- (3) Third stage (ll. 569–85), introduced by the “third” prayer to key-holding Aion and the seven planetary gods; opening of the gates, and vision of the world of the planetary gods;
- (4) Fourth stage (ll. 585–628), introduced by the (fourth) prayer to Helios; the appearance of Helios;
- (5) Fifth stage (ll. 628–61), introduced by the (fifth) prayer to the Τύχαι; the appearance of the Τύχαι;
- (6) Sixth stage (ll. 662–92), introduced by the (sixth) prayer to the pole lords; the appearance of the pole lords;
- (7) Seventh stage (ll. 693–732), introduced by the (seventh) prayer to Mithras; the appearance of Mithras.

At each stage the ascending initiate is shown what Dieterich calls “liturgical pictures” (“liturgische Bilder”). The identification of the significance of these

²⁸⁶ For literature and passages, see Franz Boll, “Hebdomas,” PRE 7 (1912) 2547–78, esp. 2552; Bousset, “Himmelsreise der Seele,” *passim*; Hans Bietenhard and Adolf Lumpe, “Himmel,” RAC 15 (1989) 173–212, esp. 178, 184–85, 202. The apocalyptic and gnostic parallels have been collected by Adela Y. Collins, “The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses,” in Collins & Fishbane, *Death*, 59–93; *adem*, “Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature,” ANRW II.21.2 (1984) 1221–87. For Hermetism, see CH I.16, 25–26; *Ascl.* 19; *Orac. Chald.* frag. 164 (ed. Des Places).

It should be noted that Morton Smith was one of the first to connect the ascension through six (or seven) heavens in the Hekhalot literature with the Mithras Liturgy (“Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati,” in Alexander Altman, ed., *Biblical and Other Studies* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963], 142–60). For further literature see Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 58; 120; 152, n. 6. While a dependency of these texts upon each other is unlikely, the connection between them may have come through Hellenistic syncretism or Neoplatonism.

²⁸⁷ Frequent in the PGM. See Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, 33–35, 82–83; for Philo see Karl Staehle, *Die Zahlenmystik bei Philon von Alexandreia* (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1931), 39–50; cf. 50–52. On the importance of the number seven in philosophy, see Alberto Grilli, *Stoicismo, epicureismo e letteratura* (Brescia: Paideia, 1992).

pictures was one of the major contributions of Dieterich's work (92–95). According to him, intertwined with words and actions, such pictures played a major role in ancient cultic procedures. They are genuine but stylized representations of cultic scenarios, through which the initiate will remember the actual performances he or she participated in. In other words, the seven scenarios constitute a gallery of pictures which together contain the complete program of an ascension for the initiated reader of the text. In this sense one may compare the scenarios with the gallery of pictorial symbols in the mosaics from Ostia, not to mention the cultic program depicted on the Mithraic reliefs and frescoes. At this point (94–95) Dieterich's discussion offers no more than a cautious and suggestive sketch, as he expected forthcoming negative criticism of his daring ideas.²⁸⁸ Today, these ideas can be substantiated by a wealth of material unearthed by archaeologists and interpreted by historians of art and religion. Basically, four ideas deserve to be singled out: (1) the constitutive role of paintings in the performance of rituals, alongside words and actions;²⁸⁹ (2) the conservative function of such pictures, in effect freezing the major parts of a ritual;²⁹⁰ (3) the analogical nature of the pictures showing the unknown through the medium of the known;²⁹¹ (4) the significance of sequences or

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 95: "Man macht sich ja trotz meiner deutlichen Erklärungen vermutlich wieder, wie schon öfter, die Mühe, mich in dem zu widerlegen, was ich nie habe beweisen wollen." Cf. Dieterich's bitter complaint (29–30). Correctly, however, Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 173–74) praises Dieterich's idea concerning cult images as one of his major achievements.

²⁸⁹ Dieterich (94): "Es wird klar sein, was ich unter liturgischen Bildern verstehe. Und jedes solche Bild – das habe ich bereits am Anfang meiner Untersuchungen betont, um die Aufmerksam der Leser auf diese Bilder zu lenken – jedes Bild, mag es noch so sehr nur als Bild in seiner Umgebung erscheinen, war einmal der Ausdruck eigentlichster religiöser Anschauung. Jedes solche Bild ist einmal für eine Zeit volle Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit gewesen." Cf. his remarks at p. 26.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 95: "Wo uns solche Bilder in einem Denkmale einer festen und immer wiederholten Kultaktion vorliegen, da können wir am ersten erwarten, echte und treu bewahrte Formen religiösen Denkens anzutreffen. Nichts ist konservativer, als es die Formeln und Handlungen des Kultus sind: der Kultus bewahrt so viel reiner und ursprünglicher die Tatsachen der wirklichen Religiosität als der Mythus."

²⁹¹ Ibid., 94: "Menschliches Denken kann das Verhältnis des Menschen zur Gottheit nicht anders auffassen denn nach der Analogie menschlicher Verhältnisse. Nur im Bilde ihm bekannter Vorgänge kann er das Unbekannte erschauen, nur nach dem Bilde der Formen irdischer Beziehung der Wesen und Dinge zueinander kann er das ersehnte Unwirkliche gestalten. So geschieht aller Fortschritt des Denkens, auch des religiösen Denkens."

Ibid., 95: "Wenn ich nun die Reihe der Bilder, in denen die Mithrasliturie die Vereinigung des Menschen mit Gott gestaltet und aufgefaßt zeigt, zu erläutern und zwar hauptsächlich durch Analogien in der eigentlichen Bedeutung und dem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang verständlich zu machen versuche, so muß ich nochmals ausdrücklich bemerken, daß durch Anführung von Analogien und Parallelen keinerlei Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen dem einen und dem anderen Kulte auch nur präjudiziert werden soll."

galleries of pictures interpreting each other and the whole.²⁹² In short, Dieterich conceives of the liturgy as an imaginative performance, in which the practitioner ritually produces ecstatic experiences of a visionary nature.

Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, vol. 3) provides in his commentary a rather different analysis, although Dieterich's influence is obvious enough. Although he calls the text a "liturgy," he denies any connection with the Mithras cult and associates it with the Alexandrian god Pschai-Aion.²⁹³ Consequently, what he names the "Pschai-Aion-Liturgie" is interpreted throughout as a text of Egyptian religion, to be sure, stemming from hellenized Egypt and influenced by Platonic and Stoic ideas.²⁹⁴ He then identifies the god Pschai-Aion of this liturgy with Sarapis-Aion, another great god of Alexandria, predominant in the Leiden cosmogony (PGM XIII). Treating the "Pschai-Aion-Liturgie" in the same volume²⁹⁵ alongside the god-of-nine-forms (ἐννεάμορφος),²⁹⁶ Merkelbach obtains a broad comparative basis for his construction of an Alexandrian "synthetic" deity named Abrasax.²⁹⁷ The problem with this combination is that of the divine names assembled only Aion occurs in the ML. Also, both texts, the ML and PGM XIII, are rather different and cannot be harmonized as Merkelbach does.

Other problems concern Merkelbach's theory of the origin of the ML. He describes at length the basic world view of late antique astral religion, which reflects mainly Stoicizing ideas about cosmology and astrology.²⁹⁸ This world view, he argues, has been "transposed into a ritual,"²⁹⁹ which was performed much like a drama in a theater. In other words, Merkelbach accepts Dieterich's idea of a "ritual," but he postulates a realistic performance, including theatrical tricks to bring about "magical" effects.³⁰⁰

²⁹² Ibid., 95: "Es kommt mir nur darauf an, eine Bilderreihe in ihren Zusammenhängen aufzuweisen, mit denen diese und andere antike Liturgien, soweit die möglichst vollständig herangezogenen Fragmente dieser anderen erkennen lassen, ihren religiösen Gedankeninhalt gedeckt haben. Die Probleme, die die einzelnen Gruppen der Bilder stellen, habe ich weder lösen können noch wollen"

²⁹³ On this god, see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.59–68: "Pschai-Agathos-Daimon und der Neungestaltige." See also the Introduction, above, 34–35.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 25–28.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 56–58.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 60–65.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 28–29, 66–68. The name occurs in XIII.156, 466. See the glossary in Betz, *GMPT*, 330.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 25–28.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 28: "Diese Gedanken sind in ein Ritual transponiert ..." See also 39–40: "Die religiösen Gedanken werden in heiligem Spiel dargestellt ... In der Zeremonie wird ein Gedanke der stoischen Philosophen übernommen und in ein Kultspiel umgesetzt."

³⁰⁰ For examples of such tricks, see *ibid.*, 29–32. Already Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 173) compares the performance with theatrical and cinematic special effects.

Who then produced this “sacred drama”? Merkelbach offers some suggestive ideas which, however, remain entirely speculative, because they have no basis in the text themselves.

“Even a pious Stoic would not have needed a special ceremony to demonstrate the immortalization of the breath of life; philosophically speaking the immortality of the *πνεῦμα* existed without ceremony. But primitive people had an immense need of bringing their thoughts and hopes to expression by play. They were not satisfied by expressing their ideas through words. Words only would have been to them something merely theoretical and incomprehensible. Thus, they transposed their ideas into performances. What was put before their eyes in a sacred play became a reality to be grasped with one’s own hands; only this was to them clear enough, and what occurred visibly in the play was to them as good as reality.”

For whom was the drama performed? “The drama must have been conceived and composed for a person of high rank....” Originally it was “a ceremony of consecration for a priest of high rank or even a king, which in Egypt was often the same. Later the ritual will have been adapted, so that it could be used for initiations of lower ranks.”³⁰¹

1. First scenario: the planetary deities (ll. 544–55)

The first scenario assumes that the ascent has reached its first stage: “Οψη γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς ὥρας θείαν θέσιν (“for you will see the divine constellation on that day and hour”).³⁰² The practitioner has now been elevated to midair (l. 540). The fortuitous day and hour have been determined (ll. 516, 543) by a horoscope,³⁰³ identifying the constellation of the stars of the day and the hour.³⁰⁴

³⁰¹ Ibid., 39–40. The translation of the quotations is mine.

³⁰² Pap. has *τηωρα*, *ω* from *ώρα* may be corrected from *η* (= *ἡ*(μέ)*ρα*); so Preisendanz, *app. crit.*

³⁰³ Dieterich (7, *app. crit.*) mentions the technical term *ἀστροθεσία*, “star constellation.” Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.237) takes this to be the new birth constellation of the initiate, identifying *θέσις* with *γένεσις*; this constellation is to rule over his rebirth and further life, for which see l. 651–52: τὸν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ὥρονόμον.

³⁰⁴ On the gods of the days and the hours, see III.401–611, IV.1648–96; XXXVII.18–26. For discussion see Dieterich, 61–62; Ernst Maass, *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und in den Provinzen: Aus der Kultur des Niederganges der antiken Welt* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1902), esp. 271–72; Wilhelm Gundel, “Stundengötter,” *HBVK* 12 (1913) 100–31; Idem, “Horogeneis,” *PRE* 8 (1913) 2411–14; Franz Boll, “Hebdomas,” *PRE* 7 (1912) 2547–78, esp. 2560; Wilhelm and Hans Georg Gundel, “Planeten,” *PRE* 20 (1950) 2017–2185, 2151; idem, *Astrologumena*, 266–74; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 37–41, 47; Otto Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); Nilsson, *GRG* 2.497–98; Wolfgang Hübner, “Zwei griechische Texte über

At this point, he is told that he will have his first vision (ὄψη, “you will see”).³⁰⁵ The objects of his vision are described first in a general way: τοὺς πολεύοντας ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεούς, ἄλλους δὲ καταβαίνοντας (“the presiding gods arising into heaven, and others setting”). In the planetary week, these are the gods who control and fix the days and the hours.³⁰⁶ More specifically, the reader is shown a verbal picture which focuses on two elements. The first of these describes the way of the gods through the sun-disk (ll. 547–49): ἡ δὲ πορεία τῶν ὁραμένων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρός μου, θεοῦ, φανήσεται (“Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk of the god, my father.”). According to philosophical cosmology the “visible gods” (οἱ ὁρώμενοι θεοί) are the stars.³⁰⁷ That these gods will appear through the sun-disk is a strange comment,³⁰⁸ unless the author describes a pictorial representation in which the sun illuminates the course of the stars; in ll. 579–82 the sun serves as a kind of gate, through which the stars appear (ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου). The sun-disk is of course Helios,³⁰⁹ addressed here by the epithet “my father” (πατήρ μου).³¹⁰

die Tages- und Stundenherrscher,” *ZPE* 49 (1982) 53–66; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.77–83, 238; Hans Georg Gundel and Alois Kehl, “Horoskop,” *RAC* 16 (1994) 597–662.

³⁰⁵ For this term mostly introducing other stages, see ll. 539, 556, 624, 635, 656, 693, 702.

³⁰⁶ See also XIII.213, 216, 718, 722; cf. IV.676; XIII. 846: πολοκράτωρ; πόλος occurs often in the PGM (see IV.656). See Boll, “Hebdomas,” *PRE* 7 (1912) 2560; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 41, 61.

³⁰⁷ Cf. also IV.1134: χαίρετε, τὰ πάντα ἀερίων εἰδώλων πνεύματα. Dieterich (62) refers to Plato, *Tim.* 40d: θεοὶ ὄρατοι; cf. also *Leg.* 7.821b, 11.931a; Ps.-Plato (Philip of Opus), *Epin.* 984d; Theophrastus, *Piet.*, Frag. 13 (ed. Pötscher, from Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.26–28); see Jacob Bernays, *Theophrastos' Schrift über die Frömmigkeit* (Berlin: Hertz, 1866), 44. See also Wis 13:1–9. In Philo the terminology is frequent; for the Hermetica, see *CH* IV.1; V.10; VII.2; XIV.3; Exc. I.2; XXIII.21; for Christian literature, Rom 1:20; Col 1:16; Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 6:1; *Titall.* 5:2; for further literature Wilhelm Michaelis, *TDNT* 5 (orig. 1954) 368–70, s.v. ὄρατος, ἀόρατος; *BDAG*, s.v.

Cf. Preisendanz's (*app. crit.*) alternative suggestion to read ὄρ[μ]ωμένων (?) in light of ll. 557, 567, 571.

³⁰⁸ Differently, Dieterich (62): “Unmittelbar danach erwähnt der Papyrus einen merkwürdigen Anblick, der dem Aufsteigenden werden soll. Der Weg der Planeten erscheint durch die Sonne, d. h. man sieht, wie er durch die Sonne geht....” Cf. *1 En.* 36 (*OTP* 1.29): ... and I saw there open gates of heaven, with small gates above them, in the direction of the east. Through one of these small gates pass the stars of heaven and travel westward on the path which is shown to them.” See also *1 En.* 33:3 and the references in the notes by S. Uhlig, *JSHRZ* 5:6, 569–71.

³⁰⁹ For the δίσκος see ll. 551, 576, 579–80, 583; XIII.142, 152, 252, 461, 515; cf. IV.34–35: ἡλιόδισκος.

³¹⁰ For this epithet of Helios see also ll. 535, 536; and Karl Kerényi, “Vater Helios,” *Erjb* 10 (1943) 81–124; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 6–7.

The second focus of the picture (ll. 549–55) is also strange: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργούντος ἀνέμου. ὅψη γάρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ὡς αὐλὸν κρεμάμενον. (“And in a similar way the so-called pipe, the origin of the ministering wind; for you will see it hanging from the disk like a pipe.”) This part of the vision has given rise to much discussion, even to adventurous speculations.³¹¹

Dieterich’s interpretation (62–64), however, is most careful and contains important clues. He recognizes that some sort of image is being described, for which he refers to monuments of ancient art, in particular the winds on Mithraic monuments. Before getting to these monuments, he points to two texts: (1) a fragment of Anaximander; and (2) some lines in a hymn to Helios (PGM IV.436–66).

Regarding (1), the doxographical summary of Anaximander’s cosmology by Aetius contains an expression, αὐλὸς πρηστῆρος, “heat pipe.”³¹² According to Aetius, this expression comes from the cosmology of Anaximander which contained a description of the sun as being full of fire, “which in part appears through an opening like through a heat pipe.”³¹³ This pipe is also the source of thunderstorms and winds.³¹⁴ There can hardly be any doubt that Anaximander’s cosmology, transmitted by Stoic sources, is the origin of the mysterious “pipe” in the ML. By implication, the “pipe” became part of the image that the author of the ML describes. Also, the added comment “so-called” (καλούμενος) seems to indicate that “the pipe” has become a kind of traditional image among those familiar with this material.

Regarding (2), it is obvious that the beginning lines of the hymn to Helios shares some language with the ML: ἀεροφοιτήτων ἀνέμων ἐποχούμενος αὔραις,

³¹¹ So Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.238) who refers to parallel texts in Lucian, *Icar.* 26, a passage already mentioned by Dieterich (62, n. 3): “One sees ‘pipe’ or ‘flute’, better still a double-flute (δίαυλος), and a hanging wind-bag...” Fantastic is Carl Gustav Jung (*Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens* [Leipzig & Wien: Deuticke, 1912], 93–95), for whom the hanging pipe is – what else? – a phallus.

³¹² Dieterich, 62, n. 2: “Anaximander nahm an der Sonne und dem Monde eine Öffnung an, durch welche das Feuer ströme wie durch einen αὐλὸς πρηστῆρος.” He refers to Diels, *Doxographi*, 348; 355.b.21–22: ἔχοντα μίαν ἐκπνοήν οἷον πρηστῆρος αὐλόν. See also D.-K. 12 B 4 (I.90.1), translating it “Glutwindröhre.”

³¹³ Aetius, *Placitis*, II.20.1 (Diels, *Doxographi*, 348.a.7–8: ... διὰ στομίου τὸ πῦρ ὥσπερ διὰ πρηστῆρος αὐλοῦ; cf. idem, II.24.2 (354.a.3–4): ... τοῦ στομίου τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς διεκπνοῆς ἀποκλειομένου (D.-K. 12 A 21 [I.87.10–17]); idem, II.25.1 (355.b.21–22): ἔχοντα μίαν ἐκπνοήν οἷον πρηστῆρος αὐλόν (D.-K. 12 A 22 [I.87.20–21]); also Seneca, *Nat.* 2.18 (D.-K. 12 A 23 [I.87.28–34]).

³¹⁴ See Aetius, *Placitis* III.3.1 (Diels, *Doxographi*, 367); III.7.1 (374.a.19–22); Seneca, *Nat.* 2.18 (D.-K. 12 A 23–24 [I.87.24–36]). Cf. Philostratus’ (*Vit. Apoll.* 3.14) report about the Indians that they let out the winds from a jar (ὅ τῶν ἀνέμων πίθος), analogous to the bag (ἀσκός) of Aeolus.

“Ηλίε χρυσοκόμα, διέπων φλογὸς ἀκάματον πῦρ, αἰθερίαισι τριβαῖς μέγαν πόλον ἀμφιελίσσων ... (“Borne on the breezes of the wand’ring winds, golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame’s unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths around the great pole...”). The hymn states common tradition, but neither this nor other hymn fragments speak about “pipes.”³¹⁵

As for the Mithraic monuments, it is evident from the collections by Cumont,³¹⁶ Vermaseren,³¹⁷ and Merkelbach³¹⁸ that the four winds are represented as heads of deities blowing air from the four corners of the world,³¹⁹ but none of the reliefs shows a pipe. This is true especially of the stele of Carnuntum, Dieterich’s starting point, where he sees the heads of the wind gods blowing into pipes.³²⁰ The nature of Cumont’s explanation is, however, puzzling, because the monuments themselves do not show evidence of heads blowing into pipes.³²¹ Perhaps, he relied on a quotation from Arnobius, which he adduces.³²² Finally, Preisendanz’s reference (*app. crit., ad loc.*) to old world maps showing the windpipes turns out to be inconclusive.³²³

³¹⁵ Trans. by Edward N. O’Neil, in Betz, *GMPT* 46, with parallels. For the winds see also IV.1606–7, 1957–58; VIII.74–75; XII.87, 238. Cf. for the musical instrument of αὐλός XXXVI.159.

³¹⁶ Dieterich (63–64) relied on Cumont (*Textes et monuments*, I.94–95).

³¹⁷ Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, 2.419 (index, s.v. “wind”).

³¹⁸ See Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 118, 133, 206–7, 228–29, and figures 74 (pp. 324–25), 90 (p. 336), 91 (p. 337), 101 (p. 342–43); 116 (pp. 354–55). On Helios sending out the winds, see also his *Isis Regina*, 197, 356, 381, 457.

³¹⁹ This view was common in antiquity and the European Middle Ages; see the articles by G. Roeder, “Winde,” in Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924–37) 508–11; H. Steuding, “Windgötter,” *ibid.*, 511–17; Franz Cumont, “Les vents et les anges psychopompes,” in Klauser & Rücker, *Pisciculi*, 70–75; idem, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (BAH 35; Paris: Geuthner, 1942), 146–76: “Les vents dans la sculpture funéraire”; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 13–14; Robert Böke, “Winde,” *PRE* 2. Reihe, 8 (1958) 2211–2387.

Cf. also the interest by the apocalypticists in the origin of the winds (e.g., *1 En.* 18:2; 34:1; 41:4; 76:1–14; etc.; see S. Uhlig, *JSHRZ* 5:6 [1984] 547, 653–56; *OTP*, index, s.v. Winds).

³²⁰ Dieterich (63): “... gewöhnlich blasen diese Köpfe in ein Rohr, eine Art Trichter, *entonnoir*, wie es Cumont mehrfach bezeichnet (I 95). Auf der Stele von Carnuntum (mon. 228^{bis} c) sind es Rundfiguren, die *une trompe allongée* blasen.”

³²¹ Also, Franz Cumont’s comprehensive essay, “Les vents dans la sculpture funéraire” (see above, n. 319), does not offer evidence of the pipes.

³²² Cumont (*Textes et monuments*, 1.94–95): “Le caractère particulier de chacun des Vents est rendu avec une certaines précision... Ils y étaient représentés par quatre personnages nos ... et soufflant dans dans une trompe allongée.” In his notes (94, n. 10; 95, n. 10), Cumont adduces Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 6.10: *Venti... hominum formae sunt bucinarum animantes tortus intestinis et domesticis flatibus*, and Porphyry, *Antr. nymph.* 26.

³²³ The work named is by Konrad Miller, *Mappae mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten* (6 vols.; Stuttgart: Roth, 1895–98), vol. 3, fig. 68.

In ll. 550–55 the author moves on to explain the functions of “the pipe,” which serves as “the origin of the ministering wind.” It is important to note that there is only one wind, not the usual four, its function being “service” (*λειτουργεῖν*).³²⁴ The following lines provide more details of that service: εἰς δὲ τὰ μέρη τὰ πρὸς λίβα ἀπέραντον οἷον ἀπηλιώτην, ἐὰν δὲ κεκληρωμένος εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου, καὶ ὁ ἔτερος ὅμοιας εἰς τὰ μέρη τὰ ἔκεινου, ὅψη τὴν ἀποφορὰν τοῦ δράματος.³²⁵ (“Toward the regions of the west [it is the source of] the unending east wind, when it is assigned to the regions of the east, and in the same way the other [west wind going] toward the regions of that one [scil., the east], you will see the turn-about of the image [scil., the pipe].”)³²⁶ In view of the importance of the directions of these winds elsewhere in the PGM,³²⁷ the one pipe is their sole source, and changes in the direction of the pipe produces changes in the wind. The meaning of the concluding statement (ll. 555–56) is especially controversial.³²⁸ The term ἀποφορά can mean “turning about,” referring to the change of direction of the image,³²⁹ or to the “removal” of the sight altogether.³³⁰

³²⁴ This term occurs only here in the ML; there is, however, a close parallel in IV.1127: *χαῖρε, στούχειων ἀκοπιάτου λειτουργίας δίνησις*, “Hail, revolution of untiring service by (the) elements” (my translation). Cf. also 1 En. 34:2–3 (OTP 1.29): “There (also) I saw three open gates of heaven; when it blows cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain, through each one of the (gates) the winds proceed in the northwesterly direction. Through one gate they blow good things, but when they blow with force through the (two) other gates, they blow violence and sorrow upon the earth.” Cf. 1 En. 76 (OTP 1.55–56), where twelve winds and their gates are described. In Heb 1:14 angels are described as *λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα*.

³²⁵ Cf. E. Riess, “Notes, Critical and Explanatory on the Greek Magical Papyri,” *JEA* 26 (1940) 53, who punctuates *οἶον, ἀπηλιώτην ἐὰν*.

³²⁶ Translators differ considerably at this point; my translation follows Festugière: “... dirigée en fait du côté de l’Ouest, à l’infini, en tant que vent d’Est; si la direction assignée est du côté de l’Est, en ce cas le vent opposé (le vent d’Ouest) se portera semblablement vers cette région: tu verras le mouvement tournant de l’image.” (1.304–5).

³²⁷ For the southwest wind (*λίψ*, Latin *Africus*) see PGM, especially, III.105; IV.552–54, 1605, 2436, 3183; VIII.10; XIII.642, 827, 860; for the east wind (*ἀπηλιώτης*, Latin *subsolanus*), see II.105, 113; III.28, 137; IV.58, 552, 1603, 3175; VII.541 (*ἀπηλιωτικοῦ*), 994 (*ἀπηλιωτικά*); VIII.9 XIII.642, 823, 837, 855; XXII.b.26; XXXVI.214. The verb *κληροῦν* points to the “assigned” station.

³²⁸ In l. 556 pap. reads *οψή συ δε*, which Dieterich (7) and Preisendanz take to be a possible dittography of l. 557; thus they omit *συ*.

³²⁹ So Dieterich: “so wirst du in ähnlicher Weise die Umdrehung (Fortsbewegung) des Gesichtes sehen”; Preisendanz: “das Bild (der Aulosröhre) gewendet sehen”; Festugière (see above, n. 326); Meyer: “you will see the reverse of the sight” (9, n.).

³³⁰ So Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.163): “dann wirst du sehen, wie diese Vision wieder entschwindet.” Cf. V.332–33: *ἀπενέγκας αὐτὸν εἰς ἀώρου μνῆμα*, “taking it [the package] away to the grave of someone untimely dead.”

2. Second scenario: the threat of the planetary gods (ll. 556–68)

Connected by δέ and the reference to vision (δύῃ), the second scenario presumes the same location as previously: δύῃ δὲ ἀτενίζοντάς σοι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἐπί σε ὀρμωμένους (“And you will see the gods intently staring at you and rushing at you”). In other words, the second scenario takes place at the same cosmic stage of the planetary deities (cf. ll. 544–47). If the author’s vision is informed by iconography, he would merely shift his focus to another part of the picture. What is in focus now is the hostile nature of the planetary gods which are “staring at him” (ἀτενίζειν)³³¹ and “moving against him” (ὁρμᾶσθαι).³³²

The scenario’s brief description of the threatening nature of the planetary deities during ascension refers to a motif known in a variety of forms from ancient Greek religion,³³³ Hellenistic mystery cults³³⁴ and Gnostic literature,³³⁵ and Jewish apocalypticism and mysticism.³³⁶

³³¹ This term is almost technical in the PGM. See in the ML ll. 556, 629, 657, 693, 712; also IV.3218, 3222; XXXVI.268. Cf. CH I.7, where ἀντώπησέ μοι ([the god] “looked at me”) results in an ecstatic vision.

³³² See for this term ll. 547–48, 557, 567, 571.

³³³ See, especially, the Orphic-Dionysiac gold tablets, referring to underworld “guards” attempting to hold up and prevent initiates from entering into the Fields of the Blessed (Texts B 1, lines 5–11; B 2, lines 5–6; B 10, lines 7–9; B 11, lines 9–11). For the texts see Christoph Riedweg, “Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt. Beobachtungen zur Kommunikationssituation und narrativen Technik der orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen,” in: Fritz Graf, ed., *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 359–98, esp. 392–98; Hans Dieter Betz, “Der Erde Kind bin ich und des gestirnten Himmels”. Zur Lehre vom Menschen in den orphischen Goldplättchen,” ibid. 399–419, esp. 402–3, repr. in *Antike und Christentum*, esp. 226–27.

³³⁴ See Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.23: *accessi confinium mortis et calcato Proserpinae limine per omnia vectus elementa remeavi...* (“I approached the boundary of death and treading on Proserpine’s threshold, I was carried through all the elements, after which I returned...”); cf. Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 296–303; Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 2.6, and my *Lukian*, 92; also *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 148.

³³⁵ In Gnosticism, the “archons” attack Jesus and the redeemed on their ascension. For passages and literature see Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, 9–58; Günther Bornkamm, *ThWNT* 4 (1942) 818–20 with notes; Kurt Rudolph, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism* (trans. Robert McL. Wilson; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977), 171–80, 244; David Aune, “Archon,” *DDD* 82–85.

³³⁶ For texts and interpretation, see Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*, 33–37 (on 1 Enoch 14–15: passing through fiery flames), 53–58 (on *Asc. Isa.*: threat by angels); 87–89 (on Hekhalot Zutrat, Hekhalot Rabbati), 150–52, 163, 185–86; 191–99 (on 3 Enoch); *Asc. Isa.* 9.1, ed. Enrico Norelli, *Ascensio Isaiae* (2 vols.; CChr.SA 7–8; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 1.335 (Greek version); 2.449–51 (commentary, bibliography). *Asc. Isa.* 10.23–27 mentions “passwords” for passing through. Schäfer (*Übersetzung*, 1, §§ 1–2, p. 4): “Als die Fürsten der Merkava und die Šerafim der Feuerflamme mich sahen, richteten sie ihre Augen auf mich. Sogleich schreckte ich zurück, erzitterte, fiel lang hin....” See § 39 and Hekhalot Rabbati, § 247–48 (Schäfer, *Übersetzung*, 2.220–22). On the whole motif,

Faced with the threat, the initiate is ordered to perform a protective ritual (ll. 557–58), involving first a gesture: σὺ δὲ εὐθέως ἐπίθες δεξιὸν δάκτυλον ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα (“but you at once put your right finger on your mouth”). This ritual occurs only here in the PGM. It is Egyptian in origin, having an analogy in the motif of the child Harpocrates with his finger in the mouth.³³⁷ As told in the ML, however, the question is which ritual the text envisions. Does the child have the finger *in* or *on* the mouth? Is the gesture suggesting silence or adoption? The evidence is far from clear. PGM III.707–8 speaks, in an Egyptian context, of Harpocrates having his finger on the mouth (Αρποκράτην ἔχοντα ἐπὶ στόματος [τὸ δάκτυλον]).³³⁸ According to Plutarch (*Is. Os.* 16), however, Isis gave him the finger instead of her breast, supposedly putting the finger *into* his mouth, which suggests a different meaning.³³⁹ Whatever the “original” meaning may be, in the present context the gesture symbolizes silence.³⁴⁰ The right finger is, of course, to be preferred;³⁴¹ that it has to be performed immediately is typical of many other rituals as well.³⁴²

Next (ll. 558–60) comes the recitation of the σιγή-Logos,³⁴³ a prayer cited in full: σιγή σιγή σιγή, σύμβολον θεοῦ ζῶντος ἀφθάρτου· φύλαξόν με, σιγή

see Johann Maier, “Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalyptik und ‘Gnosis’,” *Kairos* 5 (1963) 18–40.

³³⁷ The child Harpocrates/Horus with the finger in the mouth is shown already in the Pyramid texts; see Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 663c, 1214c, 1320c.

³³⁸ See for representations Betz, *GMPT*, 49, n. 83; Bonner, *Studies*, index, s.v. Harpocrates; Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 104–35 (Bibl.); Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 275; Dimitri Meeks, “Harpokrates,” *LÄ* 2 (1977) 1003–11; Tran Tam Tinh, Bertrand Jaeger, Serge Poulin, “Harpokrates,” *LIMC* 4:1 (1988) 415–45; 4:2 (1988) 242–66; Karl Groß, “Finger,” *RAC* 7 (1969) 909–46, esp. 929–930 (with references); William Brashear, “Horos,” *RAC* 16 (1992) 579. Cf. Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 2.122.

³³⁹ Griffiths (*Plutarch*, 327) comments critically on a theory advocated by Maspéro who took this ritual to symbolize adoption.

³⁴⁰ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 238) suggests that the initiate wants to imitate Harpocrates. For Harpocrates’ finger on the mouth as a sign of silence see Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 68 (378B–C): διὸ δὲ τῷ στόματι τὸν δάκτυλον ἔχει περικείμενον ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σωπῆς σύμβολον (“For this reason does he hold his finger fixed on his mouth, as a symbol of reserve and silence”; Trans. Griffiths, *Plutarch*, 224–25; see also his comments, 535–36). This and other attestations show the common understanding of the sign (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.10.57 [LCL 5.57]); Ovid, *Metam.* 9.692; Catullus, 74.4; Apuleius, *Metam.* 4.28). Damascius (*Vit. Isid.* 107; ed. Zintzen, 146–49) reports the story that the theurgist Heraiskos was born with his finger grown into his lip, as with Horos and Helios before him. The finger had to be separated by surgery, but a mark was left for the rest of his life.

³⁴¹ See for the preference of the right side, Betz, *Lukian*, 38, n. 6; BDAG, s.v. δεξιός.

³⁴² See ll. 557, 576, 579, 628, 638, 724, 755–57. Cf. for the significance in miracle stories Bultmann, *HST*, 225; Betz, *Lukian*, 157, nn. 3–4; BDAG, s.v. εὐθέως, εὐθύς.

³⁴³ The σιγή-Logos seems to be the second prayer after ll. 484–537; it occurs also, in slightly different form, in ll. 573–75, 578, 582, 623. See Heinrich Schmidt, *Veteres philosophi quomodo iudicaverint de precibus* (RVV 4.1; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1907), 64–65; Odo

νεχθειρ θανμελου. (“Silence! Silence! Silence! Symbol of the living imperishable god. Guard me, Silence! NECHTHEIR THANMELOU.”)³⁴⁴ The threefold invocation calls forth a deity by that name. Actually, because there are two invocations, the matter is more complicated. Since in the first invocation no other name is given, Silence is to be thus addressed, because it is the manifestation of the deity’s presence, rather than a name.³⁴⁵ For exactly this reason, the epithet σύμβολον (“you are a symbol”) indicates the status of silence as that of a “symbol.” While the conventional invocation of a deity uses “symbols” and “names,”³⁴⁶ this first invocation is different in that there is no name but only two epithets, the first of which is “silence,” classified as “symbol”; the second is a theological formula using two attributes: (ό) θεός ζῶν ἀφθαρτος (“the living imperishable god”).³⁴⁷

Casel, *De philosophorum graecorum silentio mystico* (RVV 16.2; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1919), 105–6; Pieter W. van der Horst, “Silent Prayer in Antiquity,” *Numen* 41 (1994) 1–15 (with bibl.).

³⁴⁴ In commenting on this translation, David G. Martinez proposes instead: “symbol of the god who lives incorruptible” (*Baptized for Our Sakes: A Leather Trishagion from Egypt* (P. Mich. 799 [BzA 120; Stuttgart & Leipzig: Teubner, 1999]), 13–14, n. 38). His translation, however, turns into a relative clause what is a common epithet (ό) θεός ζῶν, appended by ἀφθαρτος, so as to explain what “living” means (see below, n. 347).

³⁴⁵ For silence as a deity, see VII.766; for commanding silence III.198, 204; for silence generating silence IV.1782; IX.12; see also I.87; Hymn 5.31 (and *passim*); III.228. Cf. CH 1.30–31; XIII.2, 8 (λοιπὸν σιώπησον, ὃ τέκνον, καὶ εὐφήμησον), 16 (ἡσύχασον, ὃ τέκνον), 22; *Ascl.* 1, 25, 32; NHC VI.6.56.10–15. See also the peculiar passages in Ignatius, *Magn.* 8.2, where Christ is called God’s λόγος, ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών; *Eph.* 19.1, mentions the τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἀτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. For gnostic parallels, see Heinrich Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* (BZNW 8; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1929), 6–16, 24–28; William Schoedel, *The Epistles of Ignatius* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1985), 120–22; BDAG, s.v., στήν.

³⁴⁶ According to Preisendanz (*app. crit., ad loc.*), Dieterich and Hopfner treat the statement as a gloss, but this is by no means evident. See Dieterich, 64 n. 3; 233. In the PGM, σύμβολα and ὀνόματα are needed in invocations (see III.701; IV.945, 2292, 2304, 2311, 2322; VII.560, 786, 883; LXX.10). The term σύμβολα is now attested on the gold tablet from Western Sicily (3rd c. BCE [?]); see Riedweg, “Initiation,” B 11 (397, line 19). On σύμβολον and σύνθημα, see Dieterich, 213–18, 256–58; Walter Müri, “ΣΥΜΒΟΑΟΝ. Wort- und sachgeschichtliche Studie,” in his *Griechische Studien* (ed. Eduard Vischer; SBA 15; Basel: Reinhardt, 1976), 1–44; Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 294–308; Burkert, *Ancient Mysteries*, 18, 45–47, 90, 98, 100; Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 150–53; *idem*, *Antike und Christentum*, 238–39, 243.

³⁴⁷ For the epithet ό ζῶν θεός, see IV.959, 1038, 1553; VII.823; XII.79; cf. IV.609. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.238) believes that the epithet comes from the LXX (Tobit 13:2; Wis 12:1: τὸ γάρ ἀφθαρτόν σου πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσιν); the epithet occurs in the NT as well; see Thomas Gelzer et al., *Lamella Bernensis. Ein spätantikes Goldamulett mit christlichem Exorzismus und verwandte Texte* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 124; Stuttgart & Leipzig: Teubner, 1999), 67–68; Aune, *Revelation*, 1.102; Gustav Stählin, “Beteuerungsformeln im Neuen Testament,” *NovT* 5 (1962) 115–43, esp. 142, n. 2; Martinez, *Baptized*, 12–15;

The invocation is followed (l. 560) by the petition, φύλαξόν με (“guard me”),³⁴⁸ and concludes with second address, σιγή (“silence”), and *voces magicae*, νεχθειρ θανμελου,³⁴⁹ which may be intended as the secret name of the deity.³⁵⁰

Further ritual acts in ll. 561–65 mark the climax of the protective ritual and the transition to the next scenario. The practitioner is ordered: ἔπειτα σύρισον μακρὸν σ' σ', ἔπειτα πόππυσον.³⁵¹ (“Then make the long hissing sound, next make the popping sound.”) As discussed above, these sounds were part of the magical repertoire (see on l. 487). The first is called συριγμός, its performance συρίζειν, a hissing or whistling.³⁵² The second sound is named ποππυσμός, its performance ποππύζειν, a pop-pop sound.³⁵³

Finally, a special formula of *voces magicae* is to be recited (ll. 562–65): λέγων· προπροφεγγῆ μοριος προφυρ προφεγγῆ νεμεθτρε αρψεντεν πιτητμι μεων εναρθ ευρκεχω ψυριδαρια τυρε φιλβα.³⁵⁴ Peculiar is that in the ML there are three formulae beginning with προπροφεγγη, but otherwise different (see also ll. 603–4, 714–17). Apparently, the author cites three different formulae, rather than variations of the same formula.³⁵⁵ If so, what then is the function of beginning with προπροφεγγη?³⁵⁶ Why are there at least some similar

BDAG, s.v. ζάω 1.a.e. Cf. also CH I.9, 21; CI.17; CVIII.14; Ascl. 41. – For ἀφθαρτός, see on ll. 497, 519–20.

For the Egyptian background of the epithet “living god” see Martinez, *P. Mich. XIX*, 12–15, esp. p. 13, n. 38, and on the ML passage p. 14, n. 38.

³⁴⁸ For this petition, see also l. 661: φύλαξόν με, with the *vox magica* προσυμηρι. Petitions or orders for protection are, of course, frequent in the PGM. See Preisendanz, 3.198 [index], s.v. φύλασσω. Cf. 2 Thess 3:3; 1 John 5:21.

³⁴⁹ The *vox magica* is found only here; it is unexplained.

³⁵⁰ See on this point, Betz, *Antike und Christentum*, 159–62.

³⁵¹ According to Dieterich (6), the pap. reads σ' σ', obviously indicating a long hissing sound. Cf. the doubling of the sound see l. 578: σύρισον β'. See also Preisendanz, “Miszellen,” *WSt* 41 (1919) 141–42: “Kürzungen.”

³⁵² There is disagreement: Dieterich (7) and Preisendanz (see his *app. crit., ad loc.*) translate it as “pfeifen” (whistle), but others (Meyer, Merkelbach) as “zischen” (hissing); Festugière: “pousse deux longs sifflements.” Merkelbach’s (*Abrasax*, 3.60) hypothesis that ποππύζειν and συρίζειν allude to the name Pschai appears to be rather speculative, especially in the light of the order in l. 561.

³⁵³ Dieterich (7), Preisendanz, Merkelbach translate “schnalzen” (“smack”), Festugière: “fais claquer ta langue,” Meyer: “a popping sound.”

³⁵⁴ Cf. Preisendanz, *app. crit., ad loc.*, who suggests that ισπροφυρ may be πορφύριος.

³⁵⁵ So rightly Martinez.

³⁵⁶ The term προπροφεγγῆ has been translated by Preisendanz as “the one who shines before” (“Voranleuchtender”), but Eitrem (“Die vier Elemente in der Mysterienweihe,” SO 4 [1926] 39–59, esp. 51) prefers “the one who existed prior to light.” Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 27) sees here a possible connection with Mithras the god of fire, for which he cites Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 104; Mary Boyce, “On Mithra, Lord of Fire,” *Acta Iranica* 4 (1975)

(sound-)words, with their spelling and place in the sequences different? Why is the author not concerned about consistency in spelling and order? Is the main concern the chanting of similar sounds? So far nobody seems to have found answers to these questions or, assuming that the word division is correct, to the meaning of the individual words. For the purpose of comparison, the three formulae are put side by side below:³⁵⁷

562–65

603–4

714–17

προπροφεγγη

προπροφεγγη

λαμπροφεγγη

μοριος

εμεθιερε

προπροφεγγη

προφυρ

μοριομοτυρηφιλβα

εμεθιρι

προφεγγη

αρτεντεπι

νεμεθιρε

θηθ

αρψεντεν

μιμεω

πιτητιμ

υεναρω

μεω

φυρχεχω

εναρθ

ψηρι

φυρκεχω

δαριω

ψυριδαριω

φρη

τυρηφιλβα

φρηλβα

The result of the various procedures is narrated in ll. 565–68: καὶ τότε ὅψη τοὺς θεούς σοι εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέποντας καὶ μηκέτι ἐπί σε ὀρμωμένους, ἀλλὰ πορευομένους ἐπὶ τὴν ιδίαν τάξιν τῶν πραγμάτων. (“And then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.”) The gods’ gracious look (εὐμενῶς ἐμβλέπειν) is an obvious contrast to their hostile staring (ἀτενίζειν, l. 556). They return to their normal affairs and to their normal course in accordance with the cosmic order.³⁵⁸ With this change, the second scenario comes to its end.

69–75; Julien Ries, “Le culte de Mithra en Iran,” ANRW II.18:4 (1984) 2002–2115, esp. 2767–68.

³⁵⁷ The word division follows Preisendanz.

³⁵⁸ For τάξις as a cosmological term see also IV.693; VII.829. This meaning seems to be rooted in Plato, *Tim.* 30a (cf. *Gorg.* 504a); it became technical in Hellenistic cosmology, for which see Ps.-Aristotle, *Mundo* 391b11; *CH* I.26; V.3–5; IX.8; XI.7; XII.14,21; XVIII.8; Exc. XX.1; XXIII.16; XXIV.2; XXV.8,14; XXVI.29; Philo, *Leg.* 2.73; and often (see Borgen, *Philo-Index*, s.v.). See Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 107–8; PGL, s.v. 3.e. Also the apocalyptic literature shows interest in the stability and order of the planetary world (see, esp. *1 En.* 2.1, and the passages in Uhlig, *JSHRZ* 5:6 [1984] 510–11).

3. Third scenario: the sun disk (ll. 569–85)

After the planetary gods have been pacified, the third scenario begins with the usual orientation (ll. 569–71): ὅταν οὖν ἴδης τὸν ἄνω κόσμον καθαρὸν καὶ δονούμενον καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ὅρ<μ>ώμενον... (“Thus when you see that the world above is pure and agitated, and that none of the gods and angels is threatening....”) The references to time and vision of the objects seen lead to the conclusion that the ascending initiate has moved up to a higher stage above the planetary deities. That stage is called by a strange name: ὁ ἄνω κόσμος καθαρός καὶ δονούμενος (“the world above, pure and agitated”). Understandably, the higher cosmos is clear of impurities,³⁵⁹ but the meaning of δονούμενος is puzzling.³⁶⁰ In parallel passages, δονεῖν refers to cosmic shaking and agitating, but this meaning does not seem to fit here,³⁶¹ unless it is related to the following warning that thunder is to occur. If this is assumed, the question arises how it is connected with the preceding καθαρός (“pure”), and with the following statement, καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ὅρ<μ>ώμενον (“and none of the gods or angels threatening”).³⁶² In the former instance, δονούμενος seems unrelated, unless one adjusts it by translating καὶ δονούμενος as “but agitated.” The latter instance stands in anticipation of ll. 556–57, speaking of the attack by the planetary gods, except that the angels were not previously mentioned.³⁶³ Therefore, the entire comment, καὶ μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ὅρ<μ>ώμενον, because it interrupts the continu-

³⁵⁹ The expression κόσμος καθαρός is *hapax* in the PGM; for κόσμος in the ML, see ll. also 498, 620, 625, 776. In the context of Hellenistic cosmology, “purity” could mean either that the higher regions of the universe are pure because they consist of ether or fire, or, more specifically, that the higher cosmos is free from the threatening planetary gods. See *SVF* II # 327 (116.36), # 440 (145.1–14); # 558–573 (176–79); Dio Chrysostom 36.42–44; Philo, *Plant.* 20; *Mos.* 1.113; *CH* I.10; VI.4; XI.19; Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* 5.34 (ed. Saffrey & Westerink, 5.125,5–10); *Plat. Tim.* 3.142d (ed. Diehl, 2.11.18–24); cf. already Plato, *Phaed.* 111b. See Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 108–10.

³⁶⁰ The pap. reads δονουμενον. Dieterich (8–9) proposed μονούμενον, “einsam” (“solitary”), Crönert (*StPP* 4 [1905] 100): δινούμενον (“sich im Kreis bewegend”), Preisendanz keeps δονούμενον, “sich im Kreise bewegen” (“moving in a circle”). Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.165) translates “rauschen” (“rustle”); I am adopting Martinez’s proposal of “agitated” (in anticipation of the thunderclap).

³⁶¹ Cf. IV.2533–34, in a prayer to Selene, whose terrifying shout lets the cosmos tremble: τὰ κοσμικὰ πάντα δονεῖται. In a prayer to Aphrodite (IV2936–37) the reference is to sexual arousal: στρεφθείς τ’ οὐκ ἀνεπαύσατ’ ἐλισσόμενός τε δονεῖται. In the context of cosmic thunder the term occurs also in *Orph. Frag.* 248a5 (265, ed. Kern): θυμῷ πάντα δονεῖται.

³⁶² The pap. reads ορμενον, the correction to ὄρμώμενον is by Wessely, Dieterich (8), and Preisendanz (*app. crit., ad loc.*) in accordance with ll. 557, 567.

³⁶³ Angels (ἀγγελοι) are mentioned only here in the ML, but they can be compared with hostile angels in Jewish apocalyptic and Hekhalot literature (see above, on l. 556).

ation from δονούμενον to the warning of thunder (l. 570), may be a redactional gloss that has been inserted as a reminder of the change which has taken place since ll. 556–57.

Given this situation, the initiate is forewarned (ll. 571–73), προσδόκα βροντῆς μεγάλης ἀκούσεσθαι κτύπον, ὥστε σε ἐκπλαγῆναι. (“Expect a crash of great thunder to be heard, with the result that you are shocked.”). The thunder indicates that the initiate now stands in the sphere where the weather, especially thunderstorms, occur.³⁶⁴ The subject of thunder has fascinated antiquity in many quarters and led to brontology, a department of astrology/astronomy.³⁶⁵

Certainly, therefore, the terror caused by the thunder indicates new danger,³⁶⁶ and a new ritual of protection is required. The formula is set forth in ll. 573–75. First, the σιγή-*logos* appears again: σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε: σιγή σιγή λό(γος).³⁶⁷ (“But you, say again: ‘Silence! Silence!’ [formula].”) Second, and different from l. 558, a statement of self-identification follows (ll. 574–75): ἐγώ εἰμι <δ> σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστήρ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ἀναλάμπων ὁ Ήν, ὁ Ξερθευθ. (“I am [the] star, wandering about with you, and shining forth out of the deep, the XY, the XERTHEUTH.”)³⁶⁸ Using the formula of self-identification,³⁶⁹ the initiate presents himself as one of the wandering stars of the firmament.³⁷⁰ The idea of becoming a star after death was, however, popular in many quarters of ancient religions, especially ancient Egypt,³⁷¹

³⁶⁴ For references to thunder (βροντή) see below, ll. 621, 681; XXXVI.356; cf. βροντάω V.151; VII.366, 994; XII.60; βροντάζω IV.1039, 1160; VII.235; VIII.93; βρονταγωγός IV.182; βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ IV.3102.

³⁶⁵ See Franz Boll, “Finsternisse,” PRE 6 (1909) 2329–64, esp. section 5; Wolfgang Speyer, “Gewitter,” RAC 10 (1978) 1107–72 (1120–21 on the PGM, 1120 on Mithraism, 1150–53 on apocalypticism); cf. on apocalypticism Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, “Die sieben Donner. Erwagungen zu Offb 10,” SNTUA-17 (1992) 215–29; OIP, index, s.v. Thunder.

³⁶⁶ For the term ἐκπλαγῆναι and its significance for the miraculous, see also VII.921; BDAG, s.v. ἐκπλήσσω. See moreover Dieterich, *Abrahas*, 53–54; *Mithrasliturgie*, 64–65.

³⁶⁷ Pap. reads the symbol Α, meaning λόγος. The question is whether there is importance in the fact that the call to Silence happens twice instead of thrice, as in l. 558.

³⁶⁸ This reading according to Preisendanz supported by Jordan who points to the parallel in XII.297–98: τὸν Ξερθευθ, ... τὸν Ξερφωναρ.

³⁶⁹ See for parallels in the ML, above on ll. 535.

³⁷⁰ The term σύμπλανος is unique in the PGM, and rare in Greek (see LSJ, s.v.). See Paul Capelle, *De luna stellis lacteo orbe animarum sedibus* (Diss. Halle; Halae Saxorum: Karras, 1917), 19–36 (especially 32, n. 3; 33–36), who refers to important passages in SVF II # 817 (224–25): *in modum siderum vagari in aere*; Cicero, *Resp.* 6.16 (*Somn. Scip.*); CHX.7; Meleager, *Anthol. pal.* 5.191.2 (LCL, ed. Paton, 1.222–23); Philostratus, *Ep.* 56; συμπλανάομαι, “roaming around with (erotic),” Plutarch, *Amat.* 3 (750B); *Ant.* 29.2. For ἀστήρ cf. also PGM IV.580, 764 (?).

³⁷¹ The technical term is *synastria*; see Franz Boll, *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums* (ed. Viktor Stegemann; Leipzig: Köhler & Amelang, 1950), 115–24; also Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.239.

Greek religions,³⁷² and Jewish apocalypticism.³⁷³ Dieterich (65) has raised the question about the more precise nature of the stars envisaged. Because they cannot be the planets, he suggests shooting stars, and this may well be correct.³⁷⁴ If so, they would emerge as lights³⁷⁵ out of the depth of the cosmos.³⁷⁶

As a result of performing the preceding formula, the initiate is told that he will view three images related to the sun-disk (576–77): *ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως ὁ δίσκος ἀπλωθήσεται*. (“Immediately after you have said this, the sun-disk will be expanded.”) This first image is the sun-disk in its fully expanded form. The meaning of *ἀπλοῦσθαι*, a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, can be established on the basis of the parallel *ἀνοίγειν* (“open”) in ll. 583–85.³⁷⁷

³⁷² See, in particular, the Orphic gold tablets, which assume that the initiate, “a child of starry heaven,” will after death become a star. See Riedweg, “Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 395 (text B 2, line 9: ‘Αστέριος ὄνομα [“Asterios is my name”]); Betz, *ibid.*, 405; *idem*, *Antike und Christentum*, 228. Furthermore, see Dieterich, 65; Rohde, *Psyche*, 2.131; Cumont, *After Life*, 160; *idem*, *Lux Perpetua*, 171–88, 209–18; Martin P. Nilsson, “Die astrale Unsterblichkeit und die kosmische Mystik,” *Opuscula selecta* (SSIA, 3; Lund: Gleerup, 1960), 250–65; Erwin Pfeiffer, *Studien zum antiken Sternglauben* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ 2; Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1916), 113, 129; Wilhelm Gundel, “Kometen,” *PRE* 21. Halbbd. (1921) 1143–93, esp. 1150–53; Franz Boll and Wilhelm Gundel, “Sternbilder, Sternglaube und Sternsymbolik bei Griechen und Römern,” in Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924–37) 867–1071, esp. 1062–65; Nilsson, *GGR* 1.692, n. 2; 2.490–91, 494–96; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.369.

³⁷³ See Dan 12:1–3; 1 En. 104:2; As. Mos. 10:9; Ps.-Philo, *L.A.B.* 33:5 (OTP 2.348); Wis 3:7; 4 Macc 17:5 (OTP 2.562); Rev 1:16, 20; 2:1; 3:1. See Volz, *Eschatologie*, 396–401: “Die Lichtnatur der Heiligen”; Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 143; George W. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HThS 26; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 144–69; Gruenwald, *Apocalypticism and Gnosticism*, 128–30; Tzvi Abush, “Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience,” in Collins & Fishbane, *Death*, 15–39; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 184–85; Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien*, 183–84.

³⁷⁴ For a discussion of the options of planets, fixed stars, and shooting stars, see Dieterich, 65; cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.239) who seems to think of fixed stars. On fixed stars, see the comprehensive articles by Franz Boll, “Fixsterne,” *PRE* 6 (1909) 2407–31; on shooting stars, Wilhelm Gundel, “Kometen,” *PRE* 11 (1921) 1143–93.

³⁷⁵ *ἀναλάμπειν* occurs only here in the PGM. The terms *ἀναλάμπω*, *ἀνάλαμψις* are known from cosmological contexts (shining of the sun), also as metaphor (light of the mind). See, e.g., Plutarch, *Alex.* 30.3; Ps.-Heraclitus, *Ep.* 6.3; *T. Levi* 18.4; Philo, *Opif.* 33; *Deus* 32; *Agr.* 162; *Plant.* 40; *Migr.* 123; *Somn.* 1.11; *Mos.* 1.212; 2.27; *Spec.* 1.90; 2.140; 4.52; Origen, *Cels.* 5.33.

³⁷⁶ Comparable to the emergence of the seven virgins, see ll. 575, 662–63. Elsewhere in the PGM, *βάθος* refers to the subterranean sphere, possibly the depth of the sea; see IV.1211; XXXVI.146. See BDAG, s.v. *βάθος*, 1.

³⁷⁷ Translations, therefore, vary: Dieterich, Preisendanz: “sich entfalten”; Festugière: “le disque se sera ouvert”; Meyer: “will be expanded”; Merkelbach: “sich öffnen.” LSJ (s.v. *ἀπλώω*, 2) gives some instances for the meaning “to be expanded.” For the sun-disk see ll. 548, 551, 579–80, 583. See Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 12.

The second image is preceded by a reference to time and the performance of rituals (ll. 577–79): *μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν σε τὸν βέλόγον, ὅπου σιγή βέκαι τὰ ἀκόλουθα, καὶ σύρισον βέκαι πόππυσον* βέ.³⁷⁸ (“After you have said the second formula, where there is ‘silence’ twice and what follows, make the hissing twice and the popping sound twice.”) As the redactional comment clarifies,³⁷⁹ at the beginning comes the formula elsewhere called the “second logos,” that is, the *σιγή σιγή*-logos cited in l. 573–75.³⁸⁰ The second ritual is the *συριγμός*, to be done twice, and third the *ποππυσμός*, also to be done twice (see ll. 561–62).

The instant result is the vision of the second image (ll. 579–82): *καὶ εὐθέως ὅψη ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ἀστέρας προσερχομένους (πεντα)δακτυλιαίους πλείστους καὶ πιπλῶντας ὅλον ἀέρα.*³⁸¹ (“And immediately you will see a multitude of five-pronged stars proceeding from the sun-disk and filling all the air.”) The adverbial *εὐθέως* is a reminder that the vision is miraculous, when from the sun-disk a plethora of five-pronged stars comes forth, filling the air. The symbol of the five-pronged stars has been used since ancient Egypt³⁸² and has become part of the cosmology of the ancient world.³⁸³ The air is the sphere above the planetary realm in which the shooting stars are flying about.³⁸⁴

The third image follows in ll. 582–85, again preceded by rituals: *σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγή σιγή.* (“But you say again ‘Silence! Silence!’”) Apparently, the *σιγή*-logos of ll. 573–75 is to be repeated. Then the vision occurs (ll. 583–87): *καὶ τοῦ δίσκου ἀνοιγέντος ὅψη ἀπειρον κύκλωμα καὶ θύρας πυρίνας ἀποκεκλεισμένας.*³⁸⁵ (“And when the sun-disk has opened, you will see the

³⁷⁸ Pap. reads the abbreviations β and π'β'' [stroke over β]; cf. l. 488.

³⁷⁹ The wording, *ὅπου σιγή βέκαι τὰ ἀκόλουθα*, is typical of redactional commentary.

³⁸⁰ The pap. reads *σιγή βέ*. Dieterich (8) assumes that the “second formula” (ll. 558–59), the pronunciation of *σιγή σιγή σιγή* three times, is identical with the one in ll. 573–75, which has *σιγή σιγή* twice.

³⁸¹ Pap. reads ε' δακτυλιαίους. Cf. the discussion by Wilhelm Kroll, *Ph.* 54 (1895) 562–63. – Eitrem proposes *προερχομένους*.

³⁸² The five-fingered star has the phonetic value *sbz* (“star”) or *ntr* (“god”). See Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd ed.; Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 487, n. 14; Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 2.358. For a later interpretation of the star as θεός ἐγκόσμιος, εἰμαρμένη, or number five, see Horapollo, *Hier.* 1.13 (ed. Francesco Sbordone, *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica* [Napoli: Loffredo, 1940], 35–36); see also B. van de Walle and J. Vergote, “Traduction des *Hieroglyphica d'Horapollon*,” *CEg* 18 (1943) 39–89, esp. 54–55. I am indebted for these references to Thomas Dousa.

³⁸³ See W. Drexler, “Horogeneis Theoi,” in Roscher, *Lexikon*, vol. I/2, p. 2742–43; Wilhelm Gundel, “Horogeneis,” *PRE* 8 (1913) 2411–14, esp. 2412.

³⁸⁴ For the air, see ll. 508, 541, 693. How the air is related to “ether” (*αἰθήρ* [l. 515]) is unclear. See Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 89; Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy*, 15–35.

³⁸⁵ Pap. has *ἀνοιγέντος*, which Dieterich (8) reads as *ἀνυγέντος*, but why Preisendanz keeps *ἀνυγέντος* is unclear because οι/υ is one of the most common phonetic exchanges

boundless circle and its fiery doors shut tight.”) The opening of the sun-disk means the same as ἀπλωθήσεται (l. 576–77) and must not be confused with the opening of the sun’s doors which is to occur later (ll. 625–26). The question is whether we are to think of two doors or of two wings of one door. The image suggests the latter which has a parallel even in Homer.³⁸⁶ If ἄπυρον is to be read, one would have to conclude that the fire is behind the closed doors;³⁸⁷ thus it is invisible, and the sun-disk appears as fireless.³⁸⁸ If, however, ἀπειρον is correct, as we prefer, it would point to the boundlessness of the κύκλωμα. With this, the third scenario is concluded.

4. Fourth scenario: the opening of the doors to the world of the gods (ll. 585–628)

Compared with the previous scenarios the fourth one is distinguished by several extraordinary features. At the beginning, following a ritual of closing the eyes, stands the recitation of the “third prayer,” addressed to the god Aion: σὺ δὲ εὐθέως δίωκε τὸν ὑποκείμενον λόγον καμμύων σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, “At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer.” While the com-

(so Martinez, referring to Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.272–73). Also απυρον, read by the pap., is disputed, but Preisendanz (*WSt* 41 [1919] 143) defends it against Dieterich’s (8) correction to ἀπειρον, and Diels’ to διάπυρον; F. Zucker (*ByZ* 31 [1931] 362) ἔμπυρον (“feurig,flammend”). Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.168) follows Dieterich; Martinez agrees: “fireless does not make sense here, and u and ει in the Greek of this period sounded like our long e and were exchanged (not nearly so frequently as οι/u, however (see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.273–73). On the important cosmological term ἀπειρον see Walter Burkert, “Iranisches bei Anaximander,” *RhM* 106 (1963) 97–134; repr. in *Kleine Schriften II: Orientalia* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 192–229, esp. 204, 207–11, 213–14, 220, 227.

The pap. reads αποκεκλιμενας, corrected by Dieterich (8) to ἀποκεκλειμένας.

³⁸⁶ Homer, *Od.* 24.12: ἡδὲ παρ’ Ἡελίοι πύλαι. Cf. for the former, i.e. of two doors, the Pythagorean image of the eyes as ἡλίου πύλαι (Diogenes Laertius 8.29); Burkert (see previous note), 203–4 with n. 33, suggests a possible Indo-Iranian background. See Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, II, 44–45; LSJ, s.v. πύλη, II. Cf. Janet Spittler’s question (in a seminar) whether the image may be related to the phenomena of solar eclipses (see also PGM VII.846–60 Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, §§ 141–42, 184).

³⁸⁷ Pap. has αποκεκλιμενας. For the “fiery doors” (θύραι πυρίναι), see ll. 625–26, 662; cf. 1 *En.* 14.15–22; 71.5–7; 75.4. That the sun consists of fire was the teaching of philosophy since the Presocratics (Anaximenes, Parmenides, Empedocles); see D.-K. 3.384, index s.v. ἡλιος. For πυρίνος as referring to the highest sphere of the deity, see ll. 521, 584, 589, 637, 638. That the sun-disk has doors reminds Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.240) of the stage in the theater, but it could just as well a pictorial representation of some kind. For the concept of heavenly doors, see Lucian, *Icar* 22–27 and the rich collection of material in Weinreich, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, esp. 239, 343–70.

³⁸⁸ The term ἄπυρον occurs elsewhere in the PGM, but not with reference to the sun-disk; see III.613; IV.2378; VII.168; XXXVI.295. See Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 12. – κύκλωμα as a cosmological term occurs only here in the PGM; cf. LSJ, s.v.; for κύκλος as “sun-disk” see IV.1326; VII.300, 368; XII.56; as referring to the sun-beetle XII.44.

mand to perform a ritual at once at the beginning of a scenario is familiar from earlier instances, but the order to close the eyes is new.³⁸⁹

The prayer to be recited is called “third” (*λόγος γ'*).³⁹⁰ It is a petitionary prayer addressed to the god Aion whose name is mentioned in the prayer (l. 594).³⁹¹ The prayer (ll. 587–616) shows the usual composition, opening with an invocation (ll. 587–88), followed by an aretalogical list of epithets (ll. 588–603), a petition (ll. 603–4), a statement of need (ll. 605–6), and a list of secret names (ll. 606–16).

The invocation uses the formula: *ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἀκουσόν μου, κύριε*, “Give ear to me, hearken to me, O lord.” The terms are technical in prayer formulae,³⁹² and, as in the previous prayers, no name is used, but only the divine title *κύριος* (“lord”).³⁹³ Also, the self-identification of the petitioner is offered by way of the symbol Δ , signifying *τοῦ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα*, “N.N.”³⁹⁴ The aretalogy (ll. 588–602) takes the form of 21 epithets,³⁹⁵ the first being a participle clause revealing the reason for calling this deity: *ο συνδήσας πνεύματι τὰ πύρινα κληθρα τοῦ (τετρα)λιζώματος* (“you who have bound together with your spirit the fiery bars of the fourfold root”). Disputed readings of the papyrus have produced controversy regarding the meaning.³⁹⁶ The problem

³⁸⁹ Further instruction is given below, ll. 617–20 (cf. for the opening of the eyes l. 624). For this gesture see IV.177, 586, 958. It is attested in the LXX, the NT, also in Philo, *Somn.* 1.164–65: *καμμύσαντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὅμμα* (note the context of mystery-cult language). Cf. 1 En. 1.2: “... while his eyes were open, and he saw.” See BDAG, s.v. *καμμύς*; Thomas Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 44, 101, 188–90.

³⁹⁰ Pap. has γ . The comment belongs to the redactional numbering of the prayers; see ll. 486–537 (first), 558–60, 573–75, 582–85 (second prayer).

³⁹¹ On Aion see above, ll. 520–21.

³⁹² See for other instances, IV.786 (ML), 1064, 1787, 1948, 3064, 3227, 3268, etc.; further instances in Preisendanz, 3.92 (index), s.v. *ἐπακούειν*; BDAG, s.v. *ἐπακούω* (with bibliography).

³⁹³ The title *κύριος* is frequent in the PGM; in the ML it occurs ll. 588, 631, 639, 640, 642, 687, 713, 717, 718, 804. See Preisendanz, 3.126 (index), s.v. *κύριος*; BDAG, s.v., 2.b (bibliography); Dieter Zeller, “*Kyrios*,” DDD 492–97 (bibliography). Cf. *δεσπότης*, IV.521, 713.

³⁹⁴ Pap. has Δ *τῆς Δ*. See on this formula above, at l. 495.

³⁹⁵ Perhaps, the number is significant: 3 X 7; see Dieterich, 65.

³⁹⁶ Pap. reads *κληθρα*, which Dieterich (8) reads as *κλεῖθρα* (followed by Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.166). See also Wilhelm Cröner, *Memoria Graeca Herculaneensis* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 39, n. 3. Especially difficult has been the reading of the pap. *ΤΟΥΔΑΙΖΩΜΑΤΟΣ*, first read by Wessely as *ΔΛΙΖΩΜΑΤΟΣ*, connected with *τετραγώνου*; Dieterich (*Abrasax*, 48; *Mithrasliturgie*, 8) reads *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δισώματος* (“des Himmels, Zweileibiger,” [“of the heaven, of two bodies”]); Kroll and Diels (in Dieterich [8]) read *διαζώματος* (agreed by Burkert [in Betz, *GMPT*, 49, n. 84]); Cröner (*StPP* 4 [1905] 100) has *τετραδίσματος*. Preisendanz (*WSt* 41 [1919] 143–44) reads *τετραλιζώματος*.

may be solved, if the readings relate to the Aion theology in other parts of the ML. Since this theology shows influences of Stoic cosmology, the terminology should be related to this possible background.

The expression ὁ συνδήσας πνεύματι could be derived from a stoicizing cosmology: συνδεσμός occurs in the cosmology of Chrysippus, but the connection with πνεῦμα is not attested.³⁹⁷ However, the expression might not be only Stoic, since the question of which bond holds the cosmos together was discussed by the Presocratics,³⁹⁸ Plato,³⁹⁹ the Stoics,⁴⁰⁰ Philo,⁴⁰¹ the *Hermetica*,⁴⁰² and the NT.⁴⁰³ The term τὰ πύρινα κλῆθρα (“the fiery bars”) refers to the bars locking the doors of the sun (l. 584).⁴⁰⁴ The hardest problem for interpretation is the term τοῦ τετραλύγματος, if that is the right reading. As Eitrem and Merkelbach affirm, the change from the letter ρ to λ can happen easily, so that τετραριζώματος is a strong possibility.⁴⁰⁵ The four roots, how-

and translates “des viermal gebunden Gürtels” (similarly Weinreich [in Dieterich, 223], “viermal gewundener Gürtel” [“belt wound fourfold”]; whereas Hopfner has “des vierfach gestützten Himmels” [“of the heaven supported fourfold”]). Eitrem and Merkelbach correct the spelling to τετραριζώματος, but translate differently: “the roots of the four elements” (Eitrem), “des auf den vier Wurzeln (Säulen) ruhenden Alls” (“of the universe standing on the four roots [pillars]”) (Merkelbach).

³⁹⁷ See *SVF* II, ## 147 (45.2); 148 (45.10); 174 (50.22); 207 (68.19); 208 (69.6); 216–17 (71.3,22,36); 945 (272–73); also for definitions III, # 22 (214.1–2), Diogenes Babyloni; III, # 22 (247.24), Antipater Tarsensis.

³⁹⁸ See Empedocles (D.-K. 31 A 54 [I.293.26–27]): τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας συνδεδέσθαι τῷ κρυστάλλῳ; Democritus (D.-K. 68 A 135 [II.122.7]) concerning the σύνδεσις of the atoms.

³⁹⁹ Plato, *Tim.* 31b–c; 41b; *Resp.* 10.616c; Ps.–Plato, *Epin.* 984b–c; cf. with reference to the city *Leg.* 11.921c; *Resp.* 7.520a.

⁴⁰⁰ For the Stoic doctrine of συνδεσμός, see Karl Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie. Neue Untersuchungen zu Poseidonios* (München: Beck, 1926), 411–12; idem, “Poseidonios,” PRE 43. Halbhd. (1953) 588–826, esp. 608–11, 659–61; Pohlenz, *Die Stoia*, 1.74–75; 2.42–43; Walter Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter* (SBA 9; Basel: Reinhardt, 1959), 97–105.

⁴⁰¹ Philo (*Her.* 197–200) discusses the composition of frankincense out of four ingredients, symbolically representing the four elements; according to *Plant.* 9–10 the binding agent is the λόγος.

⁴⁰² CH I.18; Exc. V.4 (cf. V.6); XXIII.39; XXVI.16.

⁴⁰³ Col 2:19; 3:14; Eph 4:3–6. See BDAG, s.v. συνδεσμός, συνδέω; Gottfried Fitzer, *TDNT* 7 (1964) 856–59.

⁴⁰⁴ Elsewhere in the PGM, the term κλεῖθρον is connected with underworld figures like Tartarus, Cerberus, and Hades (IV.1465, 2261, 2294, 2337; cf. κλείστρον XXXVI.317 [cf. 314]). Interesting is Reitzenstein’s (*Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 238) reference to *Sib. Or.* 8:122, where Aion has the epithet κλειδοφύλαξ είρκτης μεγάλης. See also Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 28–29; and below, note 407.

⁴⁰⁵ Eitrem, in Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.240 (with reference to Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.102–7), but he prefers τετραλύγματος (see above, n. 396).

ever, were a key concept in the cosmology of Empedocles who used the metaphor to explain the function of the four elements:⁴⁰⁶

τέσσαρα γάρ πάντων ῥίζωματα πρῶτον ἄκουε
Ζεύς ἀργῆς "Ἡρη τε φερέσβιος ἡδ' Αἰδωνεύς
Νῆστις θ' ἡ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον.

Hear first the four roots of all things;
shining Zeus, life-bringing Hera,
Aidoneus and Nestis who with her tears fills the springs
of mortal men with water.

What appears here in a poetic form became part of Hellenistic cosmologies, in which the fiery sun, the term *συνδεῖν*, and even the *κληδοῦχος* ("key-holder") have their place.⁴⁰⁷ Merkelbach's comment calls attention to their syncretistic nature.⁴⁰⁸ Accepting the reading *τετραλιζώματος* as equalling *τετραριζώματος*, he bases an Egyptian interpretation on the reference to the four pillars (*τέσσαρες στυλίσκοι*) in l. 669. "According to the Egyptian viewpoint the world rests on four pillars, and these are rooted in four ῥίζωματα."⁴⁰⁹ Indeed, the combination of the older Egyptian worldview with a Hellenistic cosmology would fit as part of the syncretistic Aion-theology of the ML.

Following the first epithet, the remainder of the aretology comprises 20 epithets (ll. 590–602), each of them combining a Greek honorific title with non-Greek *voices magicae*. These epithets, all of them relating to fire (*πῦρ*), light (*φῶς*) and spirit (*πνεῦμα*), when discussed one by one, throw further light on the syncretistic Aion-theology of the ML.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁶ Empedocles, D.-K. 31 B 6 (I.311.15–312.2), from Aetius 1.3.20; cited according to Kirk & Raven, 323, # 417. See also Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy*, 13–14, 355, 385. Cf. Pythagoras: ἀέναου φύσεως ῥίζωμα (D.-K. 58 B 15 [I.455.10]); CH XVI.4 refers to fire, water and earth as coming from one root (*ῥίζα*).

⁴⁰⁷ See Kirk & Raven, 327–30: "The Four Roots and Love and Strife;" also 332–34, and furthermore 370, 376, 380–81, 383, 399, 432. For Dike and Ananke as *κληδοῦχος* see Parmenides (D.-K. 28 B 1 [I.229.9]; Kirk & Raven, 284, # 359): τῶν δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἔχει κληδᾶς ἀμοιβόν. Cf. Matt 16:19 (δύσω σοι τὰς κλείδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν); 23:13 (χείστε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων).

⁴⁰⁸ Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3,240.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. As for the Egyptian sources, Merkelbach refers to Dieter Kurth, "Den Himmel stützen". *Die 'Tw3pt' Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975), 90–99. See also Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 15.

⁴¹⁰ See Dieterich, 65–67. Remarkably, the great encomium to Wisdom (*σοφία*) in Wis 7:22–23 (LXX) contains 20 epithets describing the spirit (*πνεῦμα*); the relationship to philosophical Aion theology is evident from many parallels, especially the formula in v. 18. Cf. furthermore Proclus' Hymn 1 (to Helios), ll. 1–2: Κλῦθι, πυρὸς νοεροῦ βασιλεῦ, χρυσήνιε Τιτάν, κλῦθι, φάους ταμία...; for commentary see Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles*, 491–93; van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*, 152–56.

πυρίπολε πεντιτερουνι

πυρίπολος (“fire-burning”) is found only here in the PGM. LSJ (s.v.), refers to πυρίπολος as associated with lightning (κεραυνός) in Euripides. *Suppl.* 640.

πεντιτερουνι is corrected by the scribe from πεντετερουνι; it is unexplained and not attested elsewhere in the PGM.

φωτὸς κτίστα (οἱ δέ· συγκλεῖστα) σεμεσιλαμ

φωτὸς κτίστης (“creator of light”) is unique in the PGM, but may be related to Parmenides’ idea that fire created light (D.-K. 28 A 34 [I.223.35–36]; Kirk & Raven, 278–81); there may be a connection with Pythagoras’ “ten opposite principles,” one of which is φῶς-σκότος (cf. Kirk & Raven, 257, # 328). Cf. XIII.334–37. Interesting is the redactional gloss: οἱ δέ· συνκλεῖστα (“others have: confiner”); the pap. has συνκλιστα. Perhaps this gloss is motivated by κλήθρα 1. 589; cf. συγκλείειν, XIII.360.

σεμεσιλαμ is a known Semitic epithet, meaning “eternal sun”; for passages in PGM see Preisendanz, 3.230 (index) s.v.; for further material see Adolf Jacoby, “Ein Berliner Chnubisamulett,” *ARW* 28 (1930) 269–85, esp. 276–81; Bonner, *Studies*, 58; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles*, 328 (index); Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 310, 311, 312 and index; Daniel and Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, 1.27–28 (n. 10.4); Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.209; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 26–27, 29, 73, 77, 85, 115, 176; Maria G. Lancellotti, “ΣΕΜΕΣ(Ε)ΙΑΑΜ. Una messa a punto,” *ZPE* 132 (2000) 248–54 (bibl.).

πυρίπνοε ψυρινφευ

The adjective πυρίπνους (“fire-breathing”) occurs also in IV.2559, 2727; VII.831; LXXVII.19; πυριπνός I.34.

ψυρινφευ appears only here in PGM; cf. ψυρινθ, IV.341.

πυρίθυμε ιαω

The adjective πυρίθυμος (“fire-spirited”) occurs only here in the PGM; according to the *TLG* it is a *hapaxlegomenon*.

ιαω names Iao, frequently mentioned in the PGM; see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.3–4, 29, 35, 42–44; 213, 214, 215; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 264 (index); David Aune, “Iao,” *RAC* 17 (1996) 1–12.

πνευματόφως ωαΐ

The adjective (“spirit-light,” or “shining spirit” [LSJ]) occurs only here.

ωαΐ may be a variation of ιαω (palindrome?); see III.573, 574, 575, 582.

πυριγαρῆ ελουρε

The adjective πυριγαρῆς (“rejoicing in fire” [LSJ]) occurs only here in the PGM; according to the *TLG* it is a *hapaxlegomenon*.

Pap. reads ελουρε, a *hapax*, but Martinez considers ερουρε; ερου is attested in combination IV.672, 1589; V.432 and may be related to the decan Ἐρού or Ἐρώ (see below on l. 672; for combinations with ερου see Preisendanz, index, 3.220, 254).

Preisendanz, however, reads ελουρε and takes it to be a vocative ἔλουρε (ἀλούρε, “cat”), assuming an exchange αι/ε. The connection with αλούρος (“cat”) was seen already by Wessely and Dieterich (8, *app. crit.*). Dieterich (8, 223) has doubts, however,

whether among all the *voces magicae* suddenly a Greek term should occur; he, therefore, takes it to be a scribal addition. Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.240: "Der Sonnengott ist der große Kater;" so also Harrauer, *Meliouchos*, 13, n. 5, referring to the cat-spells in III.1–164; IV.9–10, 1648; VII.846; XII.107.

Martinez observes that πυριχαρῆ could be a vocative as well; –η as a vocative ending is attested for Koine Greek (Gignac, *Grammar*, 2.137).

καλλίφως αζαῖ

The attribute occurs only here ("light-beauty"); according to the *TLG* it is a *hapax-legomenon*, but cf. καλλιφεγγῆ at PGM IV.1303.

αζαῖ is found only here, unexplained. Cf. αζαζαεισθαιλιχ, VII.819; for other combinations with αζα- see Preisendanz, 3.244 (index). Brashear ("Greek Magical Papyri," 3578) calls attention to the Jewish angel named Azza.

αἰών αχβα

αἰών is apparently used here as an epithet (the pap. reads αῖων), but of course the name Aion is known from the ML elsewhere (see at ll. 520–21). Dieterich (66–67, 233) refers to the images of Aion-Kronos, and to bibliography.

Dieterich (8) reads αχβα, now affirmed by Martinez; the epithet occurs only here. Preisendanz reads αχβα, which Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 30) explains as a combination of Egyptian Ah ("Glanz") Ba ("soul").

φωτοκράτωρ πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι

This epithet ("ruler of light," LSJ: "lord of light") occurs only here; according to the *TLG* it is a *hapaxlegomenon*.

πεππερ πρεπεμπιπι is explained by Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 30) as an anaphorical manipulation of Pre, the Demotic name of the sun-god Re, ending with πιπι, the pseudo-reproduction of the Hebrew tetragrammaton פָּנָן. See also III.575 (cf. 335); IV.1984–85; XVII.a.1–2. For the problem see Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1942), 120, n. 38; Marc Philonenko, "Languipède alectorocéphale et le dieu IAO," *CRAI* (1979) 291–304; Meyer, in Betz, *GMPT*, 49, n. 85; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.240–41) who refers to Jerome, *Ep.* 25 (cited in *Abrasax*, 2.29), and Paul de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra* (repr. of the 1887 ed.; Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), 228–29. Jordan sees here an imperfect palindrome μεπμερπεμπεμ.

πυρισώματε φνουηνιοχ

πυρισώματος ("fire-bodied") occurs only here.

φνουηνιοχ is unexplained, and is found only here.

φωτοδῶτα

Pap. reads φωτοδῶτα, corrected by Dieterich (9, 223) to φωτοδότα, but Preisendanz keeps φωτοδῶτα. The attribute φωτοδότης ("light-giver") occurs also in Simplicius, *In Epict.* 1.410 (ed. Hadot). Preisendanz compares IV.3235: πυριδῶτα (pap. has πυριδωρα). The *vox magica* is missing.

πυρισπόρε αρει εϊκιτα

The adjective πυρισπόρος (“fire-sower”) occurs only here in the PGM, but according to the *TLG* it is also attested as attribute of Dionysus in *Hymn. Orph.* 45, line 1; 52, l. 2; Oppianus, *Cyn.* Book 4, l. 304.

αρει εϊκιτα are unexplained *hapaxlegomena*.

πυρίκλονε γαλλαβαλβα

The pap. reads πυριχλονε, corrected by Dieterich (8; cf. idem, *Abraxas*, 49: πυριχλονε). The adjective πυρίκλονος (“fire-thronging” [LSJ]) occurs only here; cf. l. 621: κλόνος. γαλλαβαλβα is found only here.

φωτοβία ιαιαιω

The pap. reads φωτοβία ιαιαιω, corrected by Dieterich to φωτόβιε, ιαιαιω, Preisendanz-Henrichs to φωτοβίαιε ιαιω. Martinez takes φωτοβία as a vocative of φωτοβίας (first declension, masc.; see LSJ, s.v. (“powerful of light”), found only here.

ιαιω may be a variation of ιαιω see l. 593; so Crönert, *StPP* 4 (1905) 100; Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 1, 267, 282, 471.

πυριδηνα πυριχι βοοσηια

The pap. reads πυριδεινα. The adjective πυριδηνος (“fire-whirling”) is found only here. πυριχι βοοσηια are unexplained *hapaxlegomena*; Preisendanz suggests πυριχι [τών].

φωτοκινήτα σανχερωβ

The attribute φωτοκινήτης (“light-mover”) is found only here.

σανχερωβ is found only here; Dieterich (223), Jacoby (apud Preisendanz, *app. crit., ad loc.*) and Brashear (“Greek Magical Papyri,” 3589) suggest the interpretation σαν Χερουβ.

κεραυνόκλονε ιη αη ιωηιω

The adjective κεραυνόκλονος (“lightning-shaker”) occurs only here; cf. l. 621: κλόνος and above πυρίκλονε.

The vowel sequence ιη αη ιωηιω is unexplained.

φωτὸς κλέος βεεγένητε

The expression φωτὸς κλέος (“light-famous”) is found only here. Pap. reads βεεγένητε, which Dieterich (10; also *Abraxas*, 49,5) takes to be βαίεγένητε, meaning “Leben-gezeugter” oder “Lebenerzeuger,” “life-begotten or life-begetter” (from Egyptian βαī meaning “life” or “soul”), a word inserted by an Egyptian magician-redactor. Preisendanz keeps βεεγένητε.

αὐξηστήφως σουσινεφι

The attribute αὐξηστήφως (“light-increasing”), with trema in the pap, appears only here. σουσινεφιεν is unexplained; Dieterich (10) reads σουσινεφι as in IV.602; XII.293: σουσηνη; σουσι ΧLI.3; LXXII.35: ιεφι[. According to Dieterich (10), Jordan and Martinez, there is indeed a space between σουσινεφι and εν, which suggests ἐν(for ἐμ)πυρισχησιφως (as in LSJ, s.v. ἐμπυρισχησιφως, “deriving light from the empyrean”).

ἐνπυρισχησίφως σουσίνεφι αρενθαραζει μαρμαρεντευ

For the attribute ἐνπυρισχησίφως see above. Preisendanz (see also in Dieterich, 223) prefers σουσινεφιεν πυρισχησίφως (“der Licht durch Feuer erhält”), whereupon follows the expansion σουσινεφιαρεν.

σουσίνεφι αρενθαραζει μαρμαρεντευ: the *voces magicae* are found only here, but see l. 601 for σουσίνεφι; combinations using μαρμαρ- are found elsewhere.

Thus ends the invocation; the following attribute ἀστροδάμα, without a *vox magica*, belongs to the following petition.⁴¹¹ The prayer to Aion leads to the presentation of the petition (ll. 603–4) and the reason for the petition (ll. 604–6). The transition from the preceding aretology to the petition seems to be provided by the address of the god as ἀστροδάμα (“subduer of stars”).⁴¹² The petition itself is brief: ἔνοιξόν μοι (“open [for] me”), referring to the closed doors of the sun (ll. 583–85).⁴¹³ Following the petition is a recitation of the προπροφεγγη-formula: προπροφεγγη εμεθειρε μαρμαροτυρηφιλβα.⁴¹⁴ The question, which, given our present knowledge, cannot be answered, is whether this formula is to be recited here in an abbreviated version, or whether the abbreviation is to be completed in accordance with one of the longer versions (see above, on ll. 562–65).

The reason for the petition is given in a long sentence in ll. 604–10, containing two statements, introduced by: δτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἔνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης καὶ πικρᾶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης … (“for I invoke, because of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity …”). The term ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (“invoke”) is technical in prayer language and occurs in the PGM frequently.⁴¹⁵ The subsequent statement is another instance of the “ananke formula” (see ll. 503–4, 526–27, 534–35). The related statement

⁴¹¹ I accept this suggestion made orally by Fritz Graf.

⁴¹² The attribute ἀστροδάμας appears only here in the PGM. Cf. *Orph. Frag.* 47 (ed. Kern; D.-K. I, 18, 6; Zuntz, *Persephone*, 346–47 [tablet C]): τὸν πάντα δαμαστά. This tablet C was re-edited by Alberto Bernabé and Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal, *Instrucciones para el más allá. Las laminillas órficas de oro* (Madrid 2001), 273–77: παντοδαμάστα; see also Tablet A1–2, line 4, and on it Zuntz, *Persephone*, 313–17. Furthermore, Epimenides B 2 (D.-K. I, 33, 4).

⁴¹³ Cf. in the ML also ll. 662 (opening of doors), 624 (opening of the eyes). Commands to open (ἔνοιγειν) occur often in the PGM (see esp. IV.968, 1180; XIII.327–33; XXXVI.298, 312–20; LXII.27–31). The whole matter is related to the Hellenistic miracle *topos* of door openings; see Otto Weinreich, “Türöffnungswunder bei Zauber und Gebet,” in his *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), esp. 183–89, 201–4; Betz, *Lukian*, 169–71 (with further bibliography).

⁴¹⁴ The pap. reads μαρμαρο; according to Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) the papyri often read 8 (or: oo) for the letter omicron (Jordan offers omega with underscoring). Preisendanz reads the formula as μαρμαροτυρηφιλβα. For τυρηφιλβα, see also l. 565.

⁴¹⁵ See Preisendanz, 3.95–96, (index) s.v. ἐπικαλεῖν; BDAG, s.v. 1.

regarding the deity called upon seems well-constructed and looks like a quotation from another context:

τὰ μηδέπω χωρήσαντα εἰς θνητὴν φύσιν
μηδὲ φρασθέντα ἐν διαρθρώσει ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης γλώσσης
ἢ θνητοῦ φθόγγου ἢ θνητῆς φωνῆς
ἀθάνατα ζῶντα καὶ ἔντιμα ὄνόματα.

the immortal names, living and honored,
which have not yet passed into mortal nature
nor have been declared in articulate speech
by human tongue or mortal speech or mortal sound.

This strange statement, which is unique in the PGM,⁴¹⁶ is formulated in parallel lines and contains a theory about the nature of the divine vowel sequence to follow. Accordingly, mortal nature (φύσις)⁴¹⁷ corresponds to articulate speech (γλῶσσα),⁴¹⁸ mortal sound (φθόγγος),⁴¹⁹ and mortal voice (φωνή). Therefore, the truly divine names of the gods must be totally different,⁴²⁰ that is, pure sound as in the vowel sequences (ll. 610–16).

Outside of the PGM, however, there are similar statements reflecting a background in prophecy or mystery-cult ideas.⁴²¹ Especially important is the parallel in 1 Cor 2:9:

⁴¹⁶ Cf., however, XIII.763–64: τὸ κρυπτὸν ὄνομα καὶ ἄρρητον (ἐν ἀνθρώπου στόματι λαλῆναι οὐ δύναται). See for discussion and further materials my article, “Secrecy in the Greek Magical Papyri,” *Antike und Christentum*, 152–74.

⁴¹⁷ On the phrase θνητὴ φύσις, see ll. 502, 533.

⁴¹⁸ The pap. reads διαιθρώσει, corrected by Usener (in Dieterich, 11) and Kroll (*Ph.* 53 [1894] 421) to διαρθρώσει. The term διάρθρωσις (“articulation”) is technical in discussions of language theory; see Plato, *Prot.* 322a; *Leg.* 12.963b; Aristotle, *Part.* 2.17.660a; LSJ, s.v.. For the use of φράζειν in connection with ὄνομα, see XIII.640–41: ἐφελκυσάμενος πνεύμα πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι φράσον τὸ ὄνομα τὸ πρῶτον ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἀπηλιώτῃ; for φράζειν cf. also I.91, 319; IV.198–200, 945, 1971; XIII.641. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.241; cf. 1.148) refers to a parallel in the mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa (2nd c. CE), where he says that the theurgists invoke the gods σιγμοῖς τε καὶ ποππυσμοῖς καὶ ἀνάρθροις (ἐνάρθροις codd.) καὶ ἀσυμφώνοις ἡχοῖς (*Musicis scriptores Graeci*, ed. K. Jan [BTeu; Leipzig: Teubner, 1895], 277: Excerpta ex Nicomacho 6). For further material see Willy Theiler, “Die Sprache des Geistes in der Antike,” in: *Sprachgeschichte und Wortsbedeutung. Festschrift für Albert Debrunner* (Bern: Francke, 1954), 431–40; Klaus Thraede, “Inspiration,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65.

⁴¹⁹ For the use of φθόγγος see ll. 745; also VII.775, 778; XII.253; XIII.393, 545–46, 776; XXI.12.

⁴²⁰ The expression ἔντιμα ὄνόματα occurs in the singular also IV.3272.

⁴²¹ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.241) points to the parallel in Thessalos of Tralles (ed. Friedrich), prooemium, p. 23, line 2; also Totti, *Texte*, 117 (# 45): in the description of a visit with Asclepius, the officiating priest causes the god to appear by invoking him by his secret names: προαγαγὼν διὰ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ὄνομάτων τὸν θεόν, “bringing forth the god through his ineffable names.”

ἢ ὁ φθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὗτος οὐκ ἤκουεν
καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη,
ἢ ἡ τούμασέν ὁ θεός τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτοῦ.

What the eye has not seen and the ear has not heard,
and in the human heart has not arisen (this is)
what God has provided for those who love him.

The passage, interpreting the revelation of God's wisdom (v. 7–9a), is introduced as a quotation from scripture, but no such scripture verse can be identified in extant texts. This does not mean that such a text could not have existed.⁴²² There are similar but not identical passages in the apocalyptic and gnostic Apocrypha. The origin of the passage constitutes an unresolved problem.⁴²³

With the vowel sequences (ll. 610–16) the prayer to Aion has come its end.⁴²⁴ What follows in ll. 617–20 is an interesting instruction concerning performance of recitation. Several items are stipulated, the first of which is: ταῦτα πάντα λέγε μετὰ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος. (“Recite all of these with fire and spirit.”) Apparently, this instruction refers to rhetorical enthusiasm, corresponding to fire and spirit mentioned in the prayer, and comparable to Paul's reference to ἀπόδειξις πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως (“demonstration of spirit and power,” 1 Cor 2:4).⁴²⁵

The second rule says that: ... τὸ πρῶτον ἀποτελῶν, εἴτα ὅμοιως τὸ δεύτερον ἀρχόμενος, ἔως ἐκτελέσῃς τοὺς ζ' ἀθανάτους θεοὺς τοῦ κόσμου⁴²⁶ (“... the first time performing to the end; then in the same way when you begin the second time, until you have gone through the seven immortal gods of the universe”). How is this to be understood? Preisendanz (*app. crit., ad loc.*)

⁴²² Cf. also the contrasts in 1 Cor 2:4: ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖ[ς] σοφίας [λόγους] ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδειξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως.

⁴²³ For a collection of parallel passages and discussion of the problems, see Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck], 1986), 36–41; Wolfgang Schrage, *Die Elia-Apokalypse* (JSRZ 5:3; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1980), 195–96; idem, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum NT, VII; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 1.238–46. The passage from the ML will have to be added to these collections.

⁴²⁴ David Jordan's observation (letter of December 17, 2002) is important at this point: “Several of the clusters of vowels have diacriticals, again as if to show pronunciation, e.g. 615 ὄηεοη or 616 ᾠή εε οοο. These marks are faint in the photograph and were probably written in a lighter ink, perhaps even added later by a second scribe. It is sometimes hard to distinguish them from natural discolorations on the fibers. Perhaps they were unrecognizable before the Paris conservators removed the shellac from the papyrus.”

⁴²⁵ Cf. also John the Baptist's baptism with the holy spirit and fire (Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16; Acts 1:5; 2:1–4).

⁴²⁶ Pap. reads ζ.

suggests that the 23 times 7 letters refer to 23 epithets in the list ll. 590–605, but this list has only 21 epithets. Or is, more likely, the vowel sequence to be chanted seven times, so that the seven gods of the universe are addressed?

Whatever the answer may be, following the conclusion of the prayer, the text announces its effect (ll. 620–23): *ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος ἀκούσει βροντῆς καὶ κλόνου τοῦ περιέχοντος*. (“When you have said these things, you will hear thunder and shaking in the surrounding realm.”) Claps of shattering thunder⁴²⁷ figure prominently into events in the cosmic realm.⁴²⁸ It certainly will shake up the initiate: *ὅμοιώς δὲ σεαυτὸν αἰσθηθήσει ταρασσόμενον* (“in the same way you will experience yourself being shaken”).⁴²⁹

Confronting the terror, the initiate is to repeat the *σιγή*-logos: *σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγή λό(γος)*⁴³⁰ (“But you say again: Silence (prayer).”) The prayer so-called has been recited before (see ll. 558–60, 573, 582), but the wording is somewhat different. Which version should then be used? Most likely is the first complete form (ll. 558–60).

Then the practitioner is told to open his eyes and experience the vision (ll. 624–28): *εἴτα ἀνοιξον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὄψη*. (“Then open your eyes, and you will see.”) The opening of the eyes ends their closing which had been ordered at ll. 586–87. As usual, the vision is announced by *ὄψη*. Its object is presented as a description of an image: *ἀνεῳγυῖας τὰς θύρας καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν θεῶν*,⁴³¹ ὃς ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῶν θυρῶν, ὡστε ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεάματος ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα σου συντρέχειν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν. (“You will see the doors opened and the world of the gods, which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends”). The doors in the sun, reported as closed in ll. 584–85, are now open, so that the initiate can take a look inside of heaven, the world of the gods. The opening of the doors of heaven is a *topos* of vision accounts of all kinds, especially in apocalyptic literature.⁴³² Viewing this image turns the previous

⁴²⁷ For *βροντή* see above, on ll. 571–72; for *κλόνος* ll. 597, 599–600.

⁴²⁸ The term *τὸ περιέχον* is technical in cosmologies (PGM VII.508: *τὸ περιέχον, ὃ ἐστιν γῆ καὶ οὐρανός*); XIII.139, 163 (*Θεοὶ ζ’, οὔτινες τὸν κόσμον περιέχουσιν*), 345, 443–44, 474, 517, 698, etc.). See Plato, *Tim.* 31a; *Crit.* 118a; *CH Exc.* XXIII.11, 67, 69; and LSJ, s.v. *περιέχω*, 1.b.

⁴²⁹ *αἰσθηθήσει* is a peculiar term, for which Preisendanz refers to Helbing, *Grammatik der LXX*, 98.

⁴³⁰ Pap. has the symbol Δ; see above on l. 573.

⁴³¹ Pap. reads *ἀνεῳγυῖας* and the abbreviation θν with a stroke above for θεῶν; cf. below, l. 648, and Preisendanz, 2.270.

⁴³² Cf. also Homer, *Od.* 24.12ff. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.241) points to the description of the *ὑπερουράνιος τόπος* in Plato, *Phaedr.* 246b–252c, esp. 246e. See also, e.g., Mark 1:10 // Matt 3:16 // Luke 3:21; John 1:51; Acts 7:56; 10:11; Rev 3:7, 20; 4:1; etc. See BDAG, s.v. *ἀνοιγω*, 2; OTP 2, index s.v. “Heaven, gates of”; Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven*:

fear into pleasure and joy, so that his spirit that he had inhaled before (see ll. 537, 628) runs with him and carries him along on his ascent.⁴³³ With this experience of aesthetic enthusiasm, the fourth scenario has come to an end.

5. Fifth scenario: the encounter with Helios (ll. 628–61)

The fifth scenario shows the initiate at a higher level of the cosmos. He is now ready to encounter the god Helios who has been mentioned before as Helios Mithras (l. 482) as well as the sun disk (548 [πατήρ], 551, 576, 579–80, 583). His relationship with Aion and Mithras appears complicated, but for the author these deities are, in the final analysis, identical.⁴³⁴ As often, the scenario begins with a spatial orientation and commands to perform rituals (ll. 628–29): *στὰς οὖν εὐθέως ἔλκε ἀπὸ τοῦ Θείου ἀτενίζων εἰς σεαυτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα*. (“Now stand still and at once draw spirit from the divine into yourself, while you gaze intently [at the god Helios].”)⁴³⁵ The standing still arrests the upward movement (ll. 627–28). The ritual drawing in from the divine refers to the sun as the source of the spirit (cf. ll. 537–38); the gazing (*ἀτενίζειν*) has been mentioned before (see above, on l. 556). This leads to the precondition for the next step: *δταν οὖν ἀποκατασταθῆ σου ἡ ψυχή* ... (“Then when your soul has been restored ...”). While the initiate’s self had been shattered because of the thunder (ll. 622–23), an additional inhalation of the divine spirit will now restore his soul (*ψυχή*). The concept of the soul as an individual’s self has been mentioned before,⁴³⁶ although not in ll. 622–23. At any rate, the term needs to be taken in a non-Platonic sense as describing the spirit-self (*πνεῦμα*), as

A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity (London: SPCK, 1982), 53, 78, 359, 369, 372, 378, 389, 415; Aune, *Revelation*, 1.279–82.

⁴³³ For *ἀναβαίνειν* see 1.546; for *συντρέχειν*, a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM, cf. *σύμπλανος*, l. 574. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.241) calls attention to the parallel in Plato’s *Phaedr.* 248a, where the immortal soul is taken up by the rotation of the cosmos.

⁴³⁴ See for a general discussion the Introduction, above, 34–38.

⁴³⁵ Translations differ at this point: Dieterich: “Tritt nun hin sogleich und ziehe von dem Göttlichen gerade hinblickend in dich den Geisthauch”; Preisendanz: “Nun bleib stehn und ziehe gleich von dem göttlichen Wesen, es unverwandt anblickend, in dich den Geisthauch”; Meyer: “So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you look intently”; Merkelbach: “Stelle dich also auf, blicke auf die Gottheit und ziehe ihren Lebenshauch in dich selbst”; Festugière: “Reste en place cependant, et aussitôt, de ce monde divin, le fixant du regard, attire à toi le souffle.”

The sentence construction is awkward, but it should be clear that what is to be drawn in from the divine (Helios) is the spirit, and what is to be gazed at is the deity (Helios). Cf. *Barn.* 5.10 about the inability of humans to gaze into the sun rays: *ἐμβλέποντες οὐκ ἴσχύουσιν εἰς τὰς ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι*.

⁴³⁶ See ll. 475, 498, 524, 535, 710, 725. For the concept of world-soul see the discussion on l. 475.

having grown weak and in need of another infusion of the divine spirit.⁴³⁷ When this has taken place, the moment for calling forth the god has come: λέγε· πρόσελθε, κύριε (“speak: come forward, lord”).⁴³⁸ A series of *voices magicae* follows (631–33), most of them unexplained: αρχανδαρα⁴³⁹ φωταζα⁴⁴⁰ πυριφωταζαβυθιξ⁴⁴¹ ετιμενμερο φοραθην⁴⁴² ερη προθρι φοραθι.

After this command, the epiphany of Helios begins: τοῦτο <σοῦ> εἰπόντος στραφήσονται ἐπὶ σε αἱ ἀκτίνες ...⁴⁴³ (“When you have spoken this, the sun rays will turn themselves upon you ...”). The sun-beams, mentioned before in IV.461, 538, focus on the initiate like a search light. This event can perhaps relate to images in the Mithraic iconography, where Mithras turns around to look at Helios as he slays the bull.⁴⁴⁴ The text then instructs: ἔσειδε αὐτῶν μέσον (“look into the center of them”).⁴⁴⁵

The ritual continues: ὅταν οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσῃς, ὅψη ... (“Then, when you do this, you will see ...”).⁴⁴⁶ What follows is an iconographic portrait of Helios (ll. 635–37): θεὸν νεώτερον, εὐειδῆ, πυρινότριχα, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ <χ>λαμψί κοκκίνη ἔχοντα πύρινον στέφανον⁴⁴⁷ (“a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown”). The portrait is constructed of adjectives and participles typical of Helios. Although the deities are different, there are also remarkable parallels between his and Mithras’ portrait (ll. 696–702).⁴⁴⁸

⁴³⁷ As Reitzenstein (*HMR*, 72–73) notes, ψυχή is not a prominent concept in the ML; in that regard *CH XIII* is similar.

⁴³⁸ For the command λέγε, see l. 623; for πρόσελθε see also ll. 580, 756 (on the departure see ll. 655–57). For the title κύριος see above, on l. 588. Martinez calls attention to the liturgical call “Lord, come!” (μαράνα θά, 1 Cor 16:22; Did 10:6); cf. ἔργου κύριε Ιησοῦ (Rev 22:20). See BDAG, s.v. μαράνα θά.

⁴³⁹ Cf. αρχανδαβαρ XII.156, χανδαρα V.433.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. next πυριφωταζα (?), φωσζα πυρι βελια Ιάω ιαο ευω etc. (l. 962).

⁴⁴¹ So the pap. Adolf Deissmann (*Bible Studies* [trans. Alexander Grieve; Edinburgh: Clark, 1901; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988], 130–32) proposes ζαβυθ, with the remaining πυριφωτα. Or should it perhaps be πυριφωταζα βυθιξ?

⁴⁴² Cf. φοραθι, below.

⁴⁴³ Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) suggests adding σοῦ, cf. l. 655.

⁴⁴⁴ See, e.g., the Mithras reliefs in Cesare Letta, “Helios/Sol,” *LIMC* 4:1–2 (1988), ## 368, 373, 376; Rainer Vollkommer, “Mithras,” *ibid.*, 6:1–2 (1992), ## 113, 132, 135, 136, 153; Merkelbach, *Mithras*, fig. 50, 54, 71, 73, 116.

⁴⁴⁵ Pap. reads εσειδε. Cf. Dieterich (10, l. 27) and Hopfner who read ἔσει δὲ and translate: “und du wirst mitten unter ihnen sein” (“and you will be in their midst”). Riess reads ἔσειδε; Jordan takes it as εἰσεδε.

⁴⁴⁶ For this phrase, cf. ll. 569, 629–30, 692, 757; also IV.634–35, 1431; for ὅψη, see above, on l. 539.

⁴⁴⁷ Jordan reads <χ>λαμψί; Dieterich, Preisendanz have χλαμψί.

⁴⁴⁸ For the iconography of Helios, see Dieterich (67–68) who refers to Cumont (*Textes et monuments*, 1.123–24); for representations of the god on Mithraic monuments, see also

The terms θεός νεώτερος and ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ are also used of Mithras (ll. 697–98), while εὐηδής, πυρινόθριξ, χλαμὺς κοκκίνη are applied to Helios only,⁴⁴⁹ en lieu of a πύρινος στέφανος Mithras is crowned with a χρυσὸς στέφανος.

At the appearance of Helios, he is to be greeted at once⁴⁵⁰ with a special greeting called *πύρινος ἀσπαστικός* (l. 638):⁴⁵¹ εὐθέως ἀσπασαι αὐτὸν τῷ πυρίνῳ ἀσπαστικῷ (“At once greet him with the firey greeting”.) The prayer so named is contained in ll. 639–55. Beginning with the invocation, it shows the usual composition: the invocation (ll. 639–42), and the presentation of a petition (ll. 642–55). The prayer may even be influenced by court ceremonial.⁴⁵²

The invocation is carefully composed, beginning with the address *κύριε* (“lord”)⁴⁵³ and *χαῖρε* (“Greetings!” “Hail”),⁴⁵⁴ and followed by an aretalogy of three attributes using *μεγάλα*: *μεγαλοδύναμε* (“great power”),⁴⁵⁵ *μεγαλοδύναμε* (“great power”),⁴⁵⁶ and *μεγαλοδύναμε* (“great power”).⁴⁵⁷

Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 201; fig. 16b, 25, 33, 49, 50, 62, 70, 88, 103, 139; Cesare Letta, “*Helios/Sol*,” *LIMC* 4:1–2, s.v.; Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 12–13. It is noteworthy that the verbal portrait in *Orph. Hymn.* 8 uses entirely different terms. Cf. the iconography of Christ in Rev 1:12–16, and the collection of parallels in Aune, *Revelation*, 1.71–100.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. of Helios ἐν τῇ πυρίνῃ γλαυόδῃ, XIV.7–8.

⁴⁵⁰ This scene may be compared to one of the fresco paintings from the Isis temple in Herculaneum. A black dancing figure emerges in the door of the temple and is greeted by worshipers raising their hands or kneeling down, also using the sistrum. See Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai*, 100–102 and plate XXIV; Merkelbach, *Isis Regina*, color plate V and description p. 554 (fig. 73). – On εὐθέως in the ML, see on l. 557.

⁴⁵¹ There are no parallels known of this greeting formula, which is apparently the name of the following prayer. Cf. Proclus' "Fire Song" (*Hymn 1*), discussed by Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 202–203, 491–93; van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*, 145–89. For ἀσπάζεσθαι in the ML, see ll. 666, 677, 712. Cf. the classification of greeting formulae as χαιρετισμός (II.87; IV.1046; cf. χαιρετίζειν I.60–61; IV.1052–53; XIII.117, 673); see Anton Baumstark, "Chairetismos," *RAC* 2 (1954) 993–1006; Henrik Ziliakus, "Grußformen," *RAC* 12 (1983) 1204–32.

⁴⁵² See Karl Hoheisel, "Hofzeremoniell," *RAC* 16 (1991) 1–4; Rudolf Wachter ("Griechisch $\chi\alpha\tau\mu\epsilon$. Vorgeschichte eines Grußwortes," *MH* 55 [1998] 65–75) connects the greeting with the giving of gifts and sacrifices. For the hymns to Helios see the reconstructions by Ernst Heitsch, in Preisendanz, 2.237–46; also, with commentary, Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 1–2; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 111–12.

⁴⁵³ See also 1. 588, with note; for comparative material on addressing persons, see Henrik Zilliacus, "Anredeformen," *RAC.S*, fasc. 3-4 (1985-86) 465-97.

⁴⁵⁴ This greeting is actually an appeal ("be glad!"); it occurs frequently in the ML; see ll. 713–14; also 666, 670–72, 678, 688–91, 1048, 2242; XII.182; XIII.609. Cf. Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 19 (ed. Ziegler): ...δε, χαῖρε νύμφε, χαῖρε νέον φῶς ("... Greetings, bridegroom! Greetings, new light!"). See, Dieterich, 214; Rudolf Wachter, "Griechisch χαῖρε. Vorgeschichte eines Grußwortes," *MH* 55 (1998) 65–75; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 1.61–62; 2.5–6; Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 150–51.

⁴⁵⁵ μεγαλοδύναμος occurs also l. 519; IV. 1345–46; VII.881; XII.374–75.

κράτωρ βασιλεῦ (“great-mighty king”),⁴⁵⁶ μέγιστε θεῶν (“greatest of gods”).⁴⁵⁷ Then comes the god’s name, Helios and two more attributes: ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς (“the lord of the heaven and the earth”),⁴⁵⁸ and θεὸς θεῶν (“god of gods”).⁴⁵⁹ Next come two parallel verbal forms: ἵσχυει σου ἡ πνοή (“mighty is your breath”), and ἵσχυει σου ἡ δύναμις⁴⁶⁰ (“mighty is your power”); both of them are *hapaxlegomena* in the PGM. The conclusion (l. 642; cf. l. 639) repeats the address κύριε.

The presentation of the petition (ll. 642–55) is equally elaborate and begins with some formalities: ἔάν σοι δόξῃ, ἀγγειλόν με τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι ... (“If it be your will, announce me to the greatest god, the one who begat and made you ...”). The polite formula, “If you please,” or “if you will,” expresses submission to the divine will.⁴⁶¹ The role of Helios as an announcer has an interesting parallel in Acts 12:14 (ἀπαγγέλλειν), showing that it may belong to domestic practices.⁴⁶² Helios functions here as a gate-keeper and messenger to announce visitors to Mithras.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁶ The pap. reads μελοκράτωρ, corrected by Wessely to μεγαλοκράτωρ, here as a vocative, cf. ll. 687–88: μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί. Cf. βασιλεῦ μέγιστε, IV.243, 255; Proclus, *Hymn* 1, line 1: πυρὸς νοεροῦ βασιλεῦ; line 2: φανὸς ταμία; see van den Berg, *Proclus’ Hymns*, 152–56.

⁴⁵⁷ The epithet occurs frequently in the PGM; see II.126; IV. 987, 1598; XIII.1019, 1046; and for further references, Preisendanz, index, 3.133–34, s.v. μέγας; Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.4.

⁴⁵⁸ The epithet is found only here in the PGM; parallels occur in the LXX and in the NT (Matt 11:25 // Luke 10:21 [Q]; Acts 17:24). See BDAG, s.v. κύριος, II.2.b.

⁴⁵⁹ The pap. reads θε (with superscripted ε) θεῶν. See for this epithet θεὲ θεῶν PGM II.53; IV.180, 218, 641, 992, 1048, 1195, 1200; XXII.b.20. For other parallels, see BDAG, s.v. θεός.

⁴⁶⁰ Pap. has ἵσχυει.

⁴⁶¹ The petition (in Greek called ἐντευξις) begins with the polite phrase ἔάν σοι δόξῃ, see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, 4:1 (1944), s.v. δοκέω (cols. 609–10); BDAG, s.v. δοκέω, 2.b.β. See Anna di Bitonto, “Le petizioni al re. Studio sul formulario,” *Aegyptus* 47 (1967) 5–57, esp. 17–18 on the “formule attenuative.” Cf. Jesus’ prayer in Gethsemane, Matt 26:39, 42, and parr.; Nock (*Essays*, 1.192–93) refers to ML passages on the divine will: ll. 499, 642, 648.

⁴⁶² Eduard Norden (in Dieterich, 233) notes that the visitor had to be announced and points to Seneca, *Apoc.* 5; the question of the Sibyll to Musaeus (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.666–71). See also Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.28–29.

⁴⁶³ Dieterich (67–68) raises the question whether this role of Helios has any connection with the *heliodromus*, the second to last grade of the Mithraic mysteries: “Wie weit der vorletzte Grad der Mithrasmysten, der ἡλιοδρόμοι – die Weihe des vorletzten Grades heißt ἡλιακά (C[umont] I 317, 3) – zur Erklärung dieser Rolle dienen könnte, lässt sich schwerlich sagen.” For further literature and discussion see Wünsch’s (Dieterich, 233) reference to René Dussaud, “Notes de mythologie archéologique syrienne,” § 4: “Hélios psychopompe,” *RAr*, 4ème série, t. 1 (1903) 142–48.

To call Mithras ὁ μέγιστος θεός (l. 643) apparently contradicts l. 640, where the epithet belongs to Helios. The epithet which follows clarifies the issue (ll. 643–44): τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι (“[Mithras] who begat and made you”). According to Dieterich (68), Mithras is defined here as the father and Helios as the son, but the title ὁ μέγας θεός “Ηλιος Μίθρας (l. 482) means that at least for the author father and son are one. Dieterich observes that “the idea of the *unio mystica* of father and son was not completely alien to ancient religious sentiment.”⁴⁶⁴ In other words, the idea does not result from Christian influence. Fauth (*Helios Megistos*, 22–23) argues against Dieterich that Mithras is not called the μέγιστος θεός, but ὁ θεός ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀγαθός, that is Agathos Daimon or the Iranian Ahura Mazdah. Also, because both are called “young gods,” one can hardly be the father of the other. There is no question, however, that Helios will announce the visitor to Mithras who, he says emphatically, has begotten Helios.⁴⁶⁵ The contradiction seems to be the result of the competition between the two gods.⁴⁶⁶

In ll. 644–49 the initiate asks Helios to pass on to Mithras the self-identification of the initiate, a kind of passport. This self-identification contains important information about the anthropology of the ML.⁴⁶⁷ The section conforms to a *synthema* and has two parts.⁴⁶⁸

On the *heliodromus*, see Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 118–27. For comparable messengers, see Lucian, *Icarom.* 20–22; also Betz, *Lukian*, 109, n. 9. For the handing over of a petition to the Lord of Heaven, see 1 *En.* 13:4–6; 14:4–7.

⁴⁶⁴ Dieterich's (68) detailed discussion rejects the idea that this relationship reflects Christian influence: “Daß eine Vorstellung von der *unio mystica* des Vaters und des Sohnes auch antikem religiösem Empfinden nicht ganz fremd war....” But he still considers it a possibility (n. 2): “Im übrigen denke ich gar nicht daran – auch hier sei das kurz betont – die M ö g l i c h k e i t der Einwirkungen christlicher Anschauungen auf diejenigen unseres Textes in Abrede stellen zu wollen.” Since there is no real evidence for Christian influences elsewhere in the ML, Dieterich's skepticism is justified.

⁴⁶⁵ For the fatherhood of Mithras, see Porphyry, *Antr. nymph.* 6: τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου; and Julian, *Caes.* 336c: τὸν πατέρα Μίθραν. These passages are cited by Dieterich, 68, n. 1; 135, notes 1–3.

⁴⁶⁶ On the competition between Mithras and Helios, see Julien Ries, “Le culte de Mithra en Iran,” ANRW II.18:4 (1990) 2728–75, esp. 2767–68: “Le Soleil, Mithra et le Feu.”

⁴⁶⁷ Thus adding to the other self-identifications in the ML in ll. 517–37 and 718–24. See also Festugière, *Révélation*, 4.220–41.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. the parallel self-introduction and its implied anthropology in the *Katharmoi* of Empedocles (D. L. 8.62 and 66; D.-K. 31 B 112 [I,354,14–18]; Kirk & Raven, # 478 [p. 354]). Empedocles addresses his friends: ὦ φίλοι, ... χαίρετε· ἐγώ δ' ὑμῖν θεός ἀμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος (“Friends, ... Rejoice! To you I am as an immortal god, no longer a mortal, going about honored among all,...” [my trans.]). For the interpretation, see the quotations of Empedocles in later sources, esp. Clemens Alex., *Strom.* 6.30.3; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.1; Plotinus, *En.* 4.7.10,38: χαίρετε, ἐγώ δ' ὑμῖν

First, the initiate identifies himself as an individual belonging to the human species: ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγώ ὁ δ(ε)ῦ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ῦ(να),⁴⁶⁹ γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς θυτέρας τῆς δεῖνα καὶ ἥχωρος σπερματικοῦ (“that a human being am I, NN, whose mother is NN, who was born from the mortal womb of NN and the fluid of semen”).⁴⁷⁰ His species is called ἄνθρωπος (“human being”), vis à vis a divine being (ll. 646–48);⁴⁷¹ the individual is identified by the personal name to be inserted as well as, in matrilineal descent, by the name of the mother. A human being must be from the mortal womb of the mother,⁴⁷² again identified by her name,⁴⁷³ and the semen of the father, not identified by name.⁴⁷⁴

Second, the initiate identifies himself by his divine nature, which is the result of his ritual rebirth (ll. 646–49): καὶ, σήμερον τούτου ὑπό σου με<τα> γεννηθέντος, ἐκ τοσούτων μυριάδων ἀπαθανατισθεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατὰ δόκησιν θ(εο)ῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ⁴⁷⁵ (“and who, since he has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of the exceedingly good god”).

The reference to time (“and today”) implies that the rebirth has taken place on the same day.⁴⁷⁶ The term for “being reborn” (*μεταγεννηθῆναι*) is almost technical in mystery-cult language.⁴⁷⁷ Such rebirth cannot be enjoyed by every

θεὸς ἀμβροτος πρὸς τὸ ἀναβάς θεῖον καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ δόμοιότητα ἀτενίσας. See also Zuntz, *Persephone*, 189–92. Cf. also the Orphic gold tablets (esp. Pelinna 1–2 [ed. Riedweg, in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 392]). Furthermore, see on ll. 718–24, below; on the *synthema*, see below, p. 190.

⁴⁶⁹ Pap. expresses it with the symbol Δ τῆς Δ; see above, at l. 495.

⁴⁷⁰ Different from Preisendanz, but with Dieterich (12), I am placing no comma after ἄνθρωπος.

⁴⁷¹ See also ll. 523–24, 533, 535, 739–40.

⁴⁷² See also above, on ll. 517–18.

⁴⁷³ The symbol Δ is used again.

⁴⁷⁴ The phrase ἥχωρος σπερματικοῦ is *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM. See LSJ, s.v. ἥχωρ, “fluid,” used mostly with regard to blood.

⁴⁷⁵ Pap. reads μεγεννηθέντος, corrected by Dieterich (12) and Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*) to με<τα>γεννηθέντος; differently Dieterich (*Abraxas*, 104, n. 8): καὶ ἥχωρος σπερματικοῦ με γεννήσαντος. Preisendanz points to a similar scribal error in l. 639: με<γα>λοιχράτωρ. Also, pap. reads an abbreviation θυ for θεοῦ, noted by Dieterich and Preisendanz, *ad loc.*; cf. the abbreviation θν (θεῶν) above, l. 625. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.242) regards the words σήμερον τούτου ὑπό σου με<τα>γεννηθέντος as a secondary addition.

Preisendanz puts a comma after θεοῦ and translates “nach dem Ratschluß des überschwänglich guten Gottes.” Dieterich (12) and Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.170) have no comma, without change in the translation. Indeed, there is no need for a comma either in l. 648.

⁴⁷⁶ For σήμερον (“today”) see ll. 516, 651, 686. For significant parallels in the NT, see Luke 2:11; 13:32; 19:9; 23:43; 2 Cor 6:2; furthermore BDAG, s.v. σήμερον. For the formula as a whole see above, ll. 516–29.

⁴⁷⁷ For the concept of rebirth, see ll. 487, 501, 508–9, 523–24.

human being, but only a few will be elected “out of the many myriads” of the *massa perditionis*.⁴⁷⁸ The god Helios does this by making the initiate immortal (ἀπαθανατισθείς),⁴⁷⁹ that is, through the ritual called ἀπαθανατισμός.⁴⁸⁰ That this ritual has occurred “at this hour” and “in accordance with the divine will” seems part of the traditional formulae.⁴⁸¹ The resulting rebirth and immortalization is of course a gift of divine beneficence.⁴⁸² The question as to which god is meant remains unclear. Is it Helios, Mithras, or a god even higher than Mithras? Merkelbach suggests that the expression belongs to the author’s conception of one metaphysical deity and that it expresses assimilation to Plato.⁴⁸³

Following the self-presentation, the initiate offers his petition, continuing in the descriptive style appropriate for the occasion (ll. 649–50: … προσκυνῆσαι σε ἀξιοῦ καὶ δέεται κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην (“… requests to worship you, and supplicates with as much power a human being can have”).⁴⁸⁴ He first

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. the self-presentations on the Orphic gold tablets (A 1–3 and 5), where the initiate claims to be “a pure from the pure”; for the texts see Riedweg in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 392–94; Betz, *ibid.*, 412; *Antike und Christentum*, 236.

⁴⁷⁹ The verb ἀπαθανατίζειν occurs only here in the ML. According to *TLG* and *LSJ* it is attested since Plato, *Charm.* 156d; in Hellenistic philosophical and religious literature it is more frequent, especially in connection with heroization. See Theophrastus, *Piet.* frag. 2.12–13 (ed. Pötscher); Posidonius, frag. 134, from Diodorus Siculus 1.94.2 (ed. Theiler, *Poseidonios*, 1.115): παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀνομαζομένοις Γέταις τοῖς ἀπαθανατίζουσι Ζάλμοχιν. This equals frag. 133, from Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.39 (762c) (ed. Theiler, 1.114): ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Γέταις θεός; frag. 135, from Strabo, *Geogr.* 7.3.4–5 (298a–b) (ed. Theiler, 1.115): παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Γέταις ἀνομάζετο θεός; see also Theiler’s commentary, 2.99); Numenius, frag. 46a.2 (ed. Des Places); Philo, *Opif.* 44; *Det.* 111; *Post.* 123; *Conf.* 149; *Somn.* 1.36; *Mos.* 2.228; *Spec.* 4.14; *Virt.* 15; QG 1.51; Aelianus, *Anab.* 1.3.2; Lucian, *Scyth.* 1; *Deor. conc.* 9; Cassius Dio, 45.7.1; τῷ δὲ δῆται Καίσαρι [sc. Augustus] αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀπηθανατισμένῳ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἀστρων ἀριθμὸν ἐγκατειλεγμένῳ ἀνετιθεσαν; Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.5. For further passages, see *TLG*, s.v.

⁴⁸⁰ For ἀπαθανατισμός, see below ll. 741, 747, 771.

⁴⁸¹ For ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, see I.212 (ἐν ὥρᾳ ἀνάγκης), 221; III.73–74 (ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ὥρᾳ); IV.543 (ἐν ἐκείνῃ ὥρᾳ [cf. 544–45]); 1423. Cf. in the NT Luke 2:38; 24:33; Acts 16:18; 22:13; see BDAG, s.v. ὥρα, 2.c. For κατὰ δόκησιν θεοῦ, cf. similar expressions in ll. 499, 527–28, 540, 642.

⁴⁸² The formula is ὑπερβάλλοντας ἀγαθοῦ (θεοῦ). The pap. reads υπερβαλλοντος, corrected by Dieterich and Preisendanz to ὑπερβαλλόντας, but Jordan keeps ὑπερβάλλοντας; cf. XII.284–85: (θεός) ὑπερβάλλεις τῇ πᾶσαν δύναμιν.

⁴⁸³ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.242): “Angleichung an den e i n e n, jenseitigen Gott Platons. Vgl. z. B. *Phaedr.* 246d: τὸ δὲ θεῖον καλόν, σοφόν, ἀγαθόν.” The author’s tendency of seeing the deity as totally transcendent is stated in the prooemium (the “great god Helios Mithras” [l. 482]), but this tendency may reflect his Stoic orientation, rather than direct assimilation of his ideas to Plato’s.

See also similar expression in the NT: 2 Cor 3:10, 9:14; Eph 1:19; 2:7; 3:19; and, more generally, ὑπερβολή in 2 Cor 4:7, 17; 12:7. See BDAG, s.v. ὑπερβολή.

⁴⁸⁴ My trans., continuing in the descriptive mode; there is no need to assume, as Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) does, a change from the third to the first person.

expresses his devotion by prostration (προσκύνησις),⁴⁸⁵ then his submission by supplication (ἀξιοῦν, δέεσθαι),⁴⁸⁶ commensurate with his limited human power.⁴⁸⁷

In ll. 651–55 the author sees the need to insert a redactional comment which interprets “human power” astrologically: – ἵνα συμπαραλάβῃς τὸν τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ὄρονόμον (“that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today”).⁴⁸⁸ That the author interconnects the ritual with astrology can be seen also in ll. 686–87. The initiate is told to carry the horoscope⁴⁸⁹ of the day and the hour along with him, so he can determine the gods of the day and hour.⁴⁹⁰ The name Θραψιαρι μοριροκ occurs only here in the ML.⁴⁹¹

Finally, the request is specified (ll. 653–54): ἵνα φανεῖς χρηματίσῃ ἐν ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ὥραις (“that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours”). These words clearly state that the purpose and goal of the ritual is to obtain an oracular session with the god.⁴⁹² The request concludes with a sequence of *voices magicae* (654–55): εωρω ρωρε ωρρι ωριωρ ρωρ ρωι ωρ ρεωρωρι

⁴⁸⁵ For this gesture of prostration, which occurs only here in the ML, see also I.191; III.417, 470, 606; XIa.14; XII.118; XIII.844; LXXVII.10. On prostration as a Persian and Byzantine ritual, see Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 24–26; See Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.; Heinrich Greeven, *TDNT* 6 (1959), s.v.; BDAG, s.v. προσκυνέω.

⁴⁸⁶ For the terms ἀξιοῦν καὶ δέεσθαι, see l. 477 and elsewhere in the PGM (I.193, 297; IV.951, 3226, 3239; VII.368; XXX.e.3; LXII.35–36). See moreover BDAG, s.v. ἀξιόω, 2.b.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. ll. 523–24: πρὸς ὀλίγον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μου ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.242) points out that the phrase κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην is a Platonic echo (*Theaet.* 176b; *Phaedr.* 246d; *Resp.* 613b).

⁴⁸⁸ Pap. has ἵνα. The secondary nature of the insertion was seen by Dieterich (12, note in the *app. crit.*). Preisendanz (in Dieterich, 223) understands this to mean: ἵνα συμπαραλάβῃς τὸν ὄρονόμον, φόνομα Θραψιαρι [he notes what looks like fat letters for Θραψιαρι, the last word on f. 8v of the pap.], <λέγε> μοριροκ, ἵνα ... <λέγε> εωρω etc. The twelve hours are then designated by the *voices magicae* in ll. 654–55.

⁴⁸⁹ The astrological term ὄρονόμος (“marker, divider of the hour” [LSJ]) is mentioned only here in the PGM. Cf. also Damascius, *Princ.* 351: οἱ δεκαδάρχαι καὶ ζῳδιοκράτορες καὶ ὄρονόμοι καὶ κραταιοί.

⁴⁹⁰ See on this Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 47, n. 35. He takes it to mean that the planets in their function as lords of time are being asked to assist, and translates: “petition... that you take along with you the regent of the present day and hour, whose name is Thrapsiari.” So also Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.171, 252) who points out the importance of the planetary deity governing the day of the rebirth (cf. also ll. 544–47).

⁴⁹¹ It is otherwise unattested and unexplained. Cf. Coptic *thapsiorie...* *thapsiorsth*, *thapsiorirar*, *thapsior psior...* in Meyer & Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 280 (# 129); Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, 1.31. Brashear (“Greek Magical Papyri,” 3586) refers to *trpsdk* in an Aramaic text, edited by Naveh & Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 68. For μοριροκ cf. PGM II.179: μοροιρωχ (Preisendanz: οζοαμοροιρωχ).

⁴⁹² For χρηματίζειν and χρηματός see ll. 717, 724–25, 727, 732; the technical terms are frequent in the PGM.

εωρ εωρ εωρ εωρ εωρε. The pap. divides these into twelve groups, suggested by Preisendanz as representing the twelve hours of the day, but Gundel questions it.⁴⁹³

After this the god leaves to carry the request to Mithras (ll. 655–57): *ταῦτα σου εἰπόντος ἐλεύσεται εἰς τὸν πόλον, καὶ ὅψη αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα ὡς ἐν ὁδῷ* (“After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road”). While the time indicator (“after you have said these things”) marks the progress in the ritual: the initiate will see (*ὅψη*)⁴⁹⁴ Helios on his way to the axis-pole of the world, around which the stars rotate.⁴⁹⁵

The fifth scenario concludes with the performance of protective rituals. First, there is the familiar “gazing” (*ἀτενίζειν*),⁴⁹⁶ then a strong bellowing sound (*μύκωμα μακρόν*),⁴⁹⁷ to be performed *κερατοειδῶς* (“like with a horn”),⁴⁹⁸ and *ὅλον ἀποδίδοντος τὸ πνεῦμα, βασανίζων τὴν λαγόνα, μυκῶ* (“by giving off your whole breath and squeezing your loins, bellow”). Finally, *καὶ καταφίλει τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ λέγε, πρῶτον εἰς τὸ δεξιόν φύλαξόν με προσυμηροῦ* (“kiss the phylacteries and say, first to the right: protect me, PROSYMĒRI”).⁴⁹⁹

6. Sixth scenario: the encounter with the deities of the Bear constellation (ll. 661–92)

The sixth scenario begins, like the others, with an orientation (ll. 661–62): *ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὅψη θύρας ἀνοιγομένας* (“After you have said these things, you

⁴⁹³ Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 47, n. 35. The sequence is attested only here in the PGM. Does it perhaps consist of variations on the term *ἄρα*?

⁴⁹⁴ On this term, see l. 539.

⁴⁹⁵ The cosmological technical term *πόλος* occurs only here in the ML, but cf. 676 *πολοκράτωρ*. For *πόλος*, see II.93, 120; IV.438, 1026, 1280, 1302, 1305–6, 1307, 1731, 1959, 2327, 2384, 2480; V.284; VIII.15; XIII.34, 76, 538, 588. See Dieterich, 70; Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Sterngläube*, 179; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 45–48. – What is meant by the “road” (*ὁδός*)? Has the phrase anything to do with the *heliodromus*? See above, at l. 642, n. 463).

⁴⁹⁶ For this term, see ll. 556, 629, 693, 711.

⁴⁹⁷ On this ritual, see at ll. 490, 705, 707, 712.

⁴⁹⁸ The term is attested only here, but see Dieterich (41, 69, 228–29, 233) for further material. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 242) points to the *ἵχος κερατοειδῆς*, described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 14, ed. Jacoby, Usener & Radermacher, 6.54, lines 15–16; ed. Usher, 2.98–99) as a strong nasal sound by making M and N. For the image cf. also the Jewish shofar.

⁴⁹⁹ For kissing the phylacteries see also ll. 707–8; 813–14. Dieterich (13, *app. crit.*) notes that an element is missing from the text: *εἰτα εἰς τὸ ἀριστόν*, then to the left.” Cf. l. 819, where both sides occur. Preisendanz (*WSt* 41 [1919] 143, n. 1) wants to write, therefore: *καὶ λέγε, πρῶτον....* For the command “protect me” see also l. 560. The name *προσυμηροῦ* is unexplained, but cf. l. 819 *προσθυμηροῦ*; see Preisendanz, *ibidem*.

will see [the] doors opening").⁵⁰⁰ In terms of time, the preceding protective rituals have ended, and the next visionary episode can begin.⁵⁰¹ The initiate is still at the same level as before (cf. ll. 628–29), except that the gates of the sun are now open (cf. ll. 624–25).

He sees that seven virgins emerge (ll. 662–63): *καὶ ἐρχομένας ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ζ' παρθένους*⁵⁰² (“and (you will see) seven virgins coming from the deep within”). The expression “from the deep” refers to the world of the gods behind the gates of the sun (cf. l. 625).⁵⁰³ The idea is that they are stepping forward out of the fiery gates. Dieterich’s proposal that one should imagine seven gates finds support in the mosaic of the *Mitreo delle sette sfere* at Ostia, taking its name from the mosaics and Origen’s reference to the *κλῖμαξ ἑπτάπυλος* (“seven-gated ladder”).⁵⁰⁴

In ll. 663–65 an iconographic description of the seven virgins follows: ... ἐν βυσσίνοις, ἀσπίδων πρόσωπα ἔχούσας. αὗται καλοῦνται οὐρανοῦ Τύχαι, κρατοῦσαι χρύσεα βραβεῖα⁵⁰⁵ (“... dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps. They are called the Fates of heaven, and wield golden wands”).

Who are these seven virgins that occur only here in the PGM? Already Dieterich (69–72) had identified them as seven Hathors, combined with the seven fixed stars of the constellation of the Great Bear.⁵⁰⁶ He argues against their being planetary gods because earlier in his ascension the initiate has passed the planets and has moved to the higher sphere of the gods. At any rate, the

⁵⁰⁰ Since there is no article before “doors,” Dieterich (13, 69, n. 3) raises the question of whether one should imagine seven doors to open. If one follows Dieterich, the translation should be: “you will see seven doors opening.” Cf. the seven flaming altars in the top register of some Mithraic reliefs; see Vermaseren, *Mithriaca III*, plate XVI; Idem, *Mithriaca IV*, plates XII and XVII.

⁵⁰¹ For the stereotypical δψη, see at l. 539.

⁵⁰² Pap. has ζ παρθένους.

⁵⁰³ For the term βάθος (“deep,” here meaning “from above,” i.e., the world of the gods), cf. l. 575 (from the astral sphere); XXXVI.146 (the demons coming from below). Cf. 1 Cor 2:10 (*T. Job* 37:6): τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ. See BDAG, s.v. βάθος (with bibliography).

⁵⁰⁴ Origen, *Cels.* 6.22. See Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. 2, plate XIX; Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, 1.137 (fig. 82); idem, *Mithriaca IV*, plates XII and XIII; Richard L. Gordon, “The Sacred Geography of a *Mithraeum*: The Example of Sette Sfere,” *JMiS* 1:2 (1978) 119–65; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 65; idem, *Mithras*, 78, 83, fig. 34, 37, 38.

⁵⁰⁵ Pap. has βραβεῖα.

⁵⁰⁶ The constellation of the Bear is prominent in the PGM (see IV.1293; VII.687, 862; XII.190; XXII.b.26; LXXII). See Franz Boll, *Sphaera*, 92–95; idem, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 21, 111; idem, “Fixsterne,” PRE 6 (1909) 2407–31; Franz Boll & Wilhelm Gundel, “Sternbilder, Sterngläube und Sternsymbolik bei Griechen und Römern,” in Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924–37), esp. 869–81; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 59–64; Roger Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” *JMiS* 2:2 (1978) 87–147, esp. 116–26; Wolfgang Fauth, “Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri,” *ZPE* 57 (1984) 93–99.

figures are a syncretistic combination of the Fates, the sphere of the fixed stars, of which the constellation of the Great Bear is one, and the Egyptian Hathors; the seven virgins are parallel to the pole lords described next. Further clues come from a formula attested several times in the PGM, which invokes various astral forces: *αἱ ἀγαθαὶ ἀπόρροιαι τῶν ἀστέρων εἰσὶν δαίμονες καὶ Τύχαι καὶ Μοῖραι* (“the good emanations of the stars, daimons, Fates, and Moirae”).⁵⁰⁷

A somewhat different interpretation has been offered by Gundel: “The seven Fates with their asp faces are meant to be the seven stars of the Pleiads; one has rightly called them the seven Hathors. This has been made certain by the seven erect asps, which appear on the tomb painting of Athribis, placed closely behind each other as a group of decanic powers under Orion.... That they are the guards of the four pillars – one may see in them either the personified Kentra or the stars in the square of the Great Bear – can be explained from the eminent importance which in many places is attributed to the seven stars of the Pleiads.”⁵⁰⁸

The iconography most certainly has a pictorial background of some kind, although none has been identified with certainty. That the virgins are clothed in fine byssos garments may mean that the material was linen or even silk.⁵⁰⁹ That they have faces (or carry masks) of asps is not attested elsewhere, except on the tomb painting of Athribis.⁵¹⁰ Their identification with the Fates is

⁵⁰⁷ See XII.254–55; XXI.15–16; XIII.780–82, and Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 1.138, 164, 184.

⁵⁰⁸ Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 58–59: “Unter den 7 Tychai mit den Schlangengesichtern sind die sieben Sterne der Pleiaden gemeint; man hat sie mit Recht als die sieben Hathoren angesprochen. Das wird zur Gewißheit erhoben durch die sieben aufgerichteten Schlangen, die eng hintereinander zu einer Gruppe komponiert auf dem Grabgemälde von Athribis als Dekanmächte unter Orion erscheinen, ... Daß sie die Wächterinnen der vier Säulen sind – man darf in ihnen entweder die personifizierten Kentra oder die Sterne im Viereck des Großen Bären sehen –, erklärt sich aus der eminenten Bedeutung, die den sieben Sternen der Pleiaden vielerorts zugesprochen worden ist.” (Trans. is mine). On the seven Hathors, see Wolfgang Helck, “Hathoren, sieben,” *LÄ* 2 (1977) 1033.

For the tomb of Athribis (Atrepe) see W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Athribis* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1908), 12–13, with frontispiece and plates XXXVI–XXXVII; Gundel, *Dekane*, 17, plate 12. For the Kentra, see Wilhelm Gundel, *Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos* (München: Beck, 1936), 301–6; on the four pillars, see Kropf, *Zauberexte*, 3.47–48; for planets and Pleiads, see Wilhelm and Hans Gundel, “Planeten,” *PRE* 20 (1950) 2017–2185.

⁵⁰⁹ See also I.277, 293, 332; IV.768–69; VII.208, 338; VIII.84; XII.145. *βύσσος* may be “fine linen” (LSJ; BDAG), Preisendanz: “in Byssosgewändern”; Merkelbach: “in Seiden Gewändern”.

⁵¹⁰ See above, n. 508; cf. IV.2116; XII.159 (*δρεοπρόσωπος θεός*); XIII.249. On snake-shaped deities, see Rom 1:23; Irenaeus’ (*Haer.* 1.30.5 [ed. Harvey, 1.232]) reference to the

certainly secondary.⁵¹¹ Their possession of golden wands (βραβεῖα) is a common cultic symbol.⁵¹²

Following the epiphany, a formal ritual of greeting seems to conform to etiquette, first greeting all of them as a group (665–69), and then individually (670–72). The moment of the greeting is set: ταῦτα ἰδὼν ἀσπάζου οὕτως (“When you see these things, greet in this manner ...”), whereupon the greeting is cited: χαίρετε, αἱ ζ’ Τύχαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι, Ἱεραὶ καὶ ὁμοδίαιτοι τοῦ μινιμροφορ, αἱ ἀγιώταται φυλακίσσαι τῶν τεσσάρων στυλίσκων (“Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars”). The exclamatory “Hail” or “Greetings to you,” a form of wish, is followed by the name of the seven Fates, and three divine epithets. (1) This epithet, σεμναὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ παρθένοι appears to be one of general politeness and has no parallel in the PGM; (2) the second, Ἱεραὶ καὶ ὁμοδίαιτοι τοῦ μινιμροφορ, stands in the middle and has an unexplained *vox magica* attached;⁵¹³ (3) the third is special and also without parallel in the PGM, αἱ ἀγιώταται φυλακίσσαι τῶν τεσσάρων στυλίσκων, referring to the four pillars of the Egyptian cosmology, of which the sacred Fates are guardians.⁵¹⁴

The individual greetings are also very formal and exactly parallel, consisting of the exclamatory wish, χαῖρε (“Hail!”), identification by number,⁵¹⁵ and their magical names (cf. ll. 677–78). The magical names are mostly unexplained, but some of them may reflect the names of decans, μεχραν resembling a decan by the name of Μαχράμ,⁵¹⁶ αραρμαχῆς pointing to Ἀραρά,

δριόμορφος god of the Ophite gnostics; δριοειδῆς Epiphanius, *Haer.* 37.5 (56.15); Athanasius (*Gent.* 9) mentions Egyptian gods as δριοκέφαλος. See with further passages and bibliography, Robert Eisler, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christlichen Antike* (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1922–1923 II; reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), 316–28 (“Die Tiermaskenriten in den mithräischen und in den Kabirenmysterien”); Betz, *Lukian*, 35–37, 104; L. Störk, *LÄ* 5 (1984) 644–52; R. Hendel, “Serpent,” *DDD*, 744–47; BDAG, s.v. δρις, 4; PGL, 989, s.v. δρις and compounds.

⁵¹¹ See below, l. 666; and Dieterich, 51–52, 70–72.

⁵¹² See LSJ and BDAG, s.v. βραβεῖον. In the NT, see 1 Cor 9:24; Phil 3:14: βραβεῖον τῆς ἀνω κλήσεως; 1 Clem. 5:5; Mart. Pol. 17:1.

⁵¹³ Cf. l. 632: μενμεροφορ.

⁵¹⁴ The connection with Egypt was pointed out by Dieterich, 71; idem, *Kleine Schriften*, 27 (with a collection of parallels); Alan H. Gardiner, “Magic, Egyptian,” *ERE* 8 (1915) 266a (referring to Pap. Leyden 348 verso, 3.3.5.410 etc.; Pap. mag. Harris 7.4); Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 58–59; Ritner, in Betz, *GMPT*, 51, n. 92; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.47–48. How this epithet is to be related to the four roots (τετραλύγώματα [see above, l. 585–90]) is unclear.

⁵¹⁵ Pap. has the numbers as β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, ζ (with strokes over γ, ε, ζ).

⁵¹⁶ See Gundel, *Dekane*, 80 (# 28); cf. Preisendanz, *GGA* 201 (1939) 141, n. 1.

another decan.⁵¹⁷ εροῦ and ρομβριης have also been taken to refer to decans: Ἐροῦ and Τομβρομάρε.⁵¹⁸

After the seven virgin seven male deities appear (ll. 673–76): προέρχονται δὲ καὶ ἔτεροι ζ' θεοὶ ταύρων μελάνων πρόσωπα ἔχοντες ἐν περιζώμασιν λινοῖς κατέχοντες ζ' διαδήματα χρύσεα ("There also come forth another seven gods who have faces of black bulls, in linen loincloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems"). These deities (θεοί) come forward (προέρχονται) through the same gates as the virgins.⁵¹⁹ There is no parallel for this iconography elsewhere in the PGM. The faces of black bulls are difficult to explain. Figures of bulls stand among Egyptian imagery of stars, but also the initiates of the Mithraic mysteries were under the tutelage of planetary deities.⁵²⁰ The figures wear linen aprons and hold golden diadems in their hands.⁵²¹ Their title is revealed: οὗτοὶ εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι πολοκράτορες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ("These are the so-called Pole Lords of heaven").⁵²² The greetings must conform to the previous ritual: οὓς δεῖ σε ἀσπάσασθαι ὁμοίως ἔκαστον τῷ ιδίῳ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι⁵²³ ("You must greet in the same manner each of them with his own name"). Now we learn that the *voices magicae* in ll. 670–72 are actually names. The greeting therefore begins with that of the group first. The exclamatory wish is called out, to be followed by three epithets: (1) οἱ κνωδακοφύλακες ("O warders of the pivot of the celestial sphere" [LSJ]);⁵²⁴ (2) οἱ ιεροὶ καὶ

⁵¹⁷ Gundel, *Dekane*, 58, 79 (# 25). Cf. Ritner (in Betz, GMPT, 51, n. 93) compares Egyptian *harmachis* ("Horus who is on the horizon").

⁵¹⁸ For Ἐροῦ see also IV.1589: V.432; Preisendanz, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.*, and Gundel, *Dekane*, 45, 373. For ρομβριης cf. the decan Τομβρομάρε; see Gundel, *ibid.*, 77; Preisendanz, GGA 201 (1939) 141; Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3585. Jordan prefers Preisendanz's earlier suggestion (in Roscher, *Lexikon*, 5.963) "ἀρουρ -ομβριης; cf. PGM IV.3023 δὲν μέση ἀρούρης καὶ χύνος καὶ ὁμίχλης.

⁵¹⁹ Is there any significance to the fact that the virgins were not called θεοί or rather, θεαῖ? Instead of προέρχονται l. 662 has ἐρχομένας.

⁵²⁰ Dieterich (72–73) confesses puzzlement. Do these figures represent the constellation of the Little Bear? – So Franz Boll, ed. *Griechische Kalender* (5 vols.; SHAW.PH 1910–1920; Heidelberg: Winter 1910–1920), vol. 1 (1910:16): *Das Kalendarium des Antiochos*; *idem*, *Sphaera*, plate II; Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Sternglaube*, plate I/2; Dieterich, 72–73; Roger Beck, "Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac," *JMiS* 1:1 (1976) 1–19, esp. p. 2, fig. 1; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 13–14; *idem*, *Mithras*, 77–86; *idem*, *Abraxas*, 3.243.

⁵²¹ Cf. the fiery crowns in ll. 521–22. Golden diadems are a rather common symbol.

⁵²² The title occurs also in XIII.846: <πο>λοκράτωρ; I.201: αὐωνοπολοκράτωρ. See also IV.701–2, 1358–59, 1372; cf. 678–79: κνωδακοφύλακες. See Dieterich (72–74) who relates them to the Amesha Spentas of ancient Iran, and attributes them to a syncretistic Egyptian Mithras cult; see also *idem*, *Abraxas*, 106–7; Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 79–80.

⁵²³ Pap. reads ως, corrected by Dieterich to οὖς; Preisendanz considers οὖς or <οὖτ>ως (cf. l. 666).

⁵²⁴ According to the TLG, κνωδακόφυλαξ is a *hapax*. κνώδαξ, a *hapax* in the PGM, is the pin or pivot on which something turns (κνωδακίζειν). See LSJ, s.v. Cf. the Tübingen

ἀλκιμοι νεανίαι (“O sacred and brave youths” – the term *ἀλκιμος* occurs in hymnic language),⁵²⁵ (3) the final epithet is in fact a longer and detailed areatalogy describing the work of the pole lords: οἱ στρέφοντες ὑπὸ ἐν κέλευσμα τὸν περιδίνητον τοῦ κύκλου ἀξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπὰς καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν θολὰς ἀφέντες εἰς δυσσεβῶν φῦλα⁵²⁶ (“who turn at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious tribes”). The cosmic tasks performed by the pole lords cover three areas. First, they are in charge of turning the *axis mundi*, a concern of a number of passages in the PGM.⁵²⁷ Second, they send out thunder, lightning, and cosmic quakes, terms often mentioned in the PGM.⁵²⁸ The third task is distributing punishments to the godless⁵²⁹ and rewards to the godly.

While there is no list of the punishments meted out, the initiate carefully details the benefits for the pious, such as himself (683–87),⁵³⁰ not as a fact but as a petition: ἐμοὶ δὲ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ θεοσεβεῖ ὅντι <δότε> ὑγείαν καὶ σώματος ὀλοκληρίαν, ἀκοῆς τε καὶ ὁράσεως εὐτονίαν, ἀταραξίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεστώσαις τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἀγαθαῖς ὄραις⁵³¹ (“but to me, a religious and godfearing man, [give] health and soundness of body, and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day”). Such lists of benefits, as the individual benefits, are found also elsewhere in the PGM.⁵³²

Theosophy, *Orph. Frag.*, # 247.26, concerning the axis of a sphere: κυκλοτερής ἵστη τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνῶδακα; Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 10.51–52, 93.

⁵²⁵ See IV.1601, 1697, 2269, 2778; III.134–35; XIII.607; cf. IV.1364: ἀλκιμόβριθος; IV.967; VIII.6, 31: ἀλκή. The young men correspond to the virgins (l. 663).

⁵²⁶ In l. 680 the pap. reading of <ἐν> ἐνκέλευσμα is dittography; Sam Eitrem (“Varia,” *NTFi*, 4th ser., 10 [1922] 112) emends περιδίνητος to περιδείνητος (“terrifying”) because of itacism; for the same reason, the pap. reading of σισμῶν is to be corrected to σεισμῶν.

⁵²⁷ See also IV.1279, 1358 (στρεψηλάκατος, “spindle-turner”); 2936; VII.686–87, 832; XII.60–61; for more instances see Preisendanz, 3.179–80 (index), s.v. στρέφειν. For περιδίνητος (“spin around”) see III.557: περιδινοπλανήτας (Hymn 2, 1, 7); IV.2918–20: πυρὸς μεγάλου περιδινήτειρα, ἡ τὸ δεικίνητον ἔχεις περιδινέα βαρζαν ἀρρηκτον; for ἀξων (“axis”) III.572, 574; VII.688; for κύκλος (“heavenly circle”) III.480; IV.1015; and often; see Preisendanz, 3.124 (index), s.v.; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.243.

⁵²⁸ On this topic, see above at ll. 571, 621. The σεισμοι in this case are not earthquakes but cosmic quakes, since the area is in the upper spheres of the cosmos. Cf. Rev 6:12; 11:19; 16:18; see Aune, *Revelation*, 2.559–60, 627–28.

⁵²⁹ The expression δυσσεβῶν φῦλα is found only here in the PGM.

⁵³⁰ Preisendanz (*app. crit., ad loc.*; also in Dieterich, 223) suggests that ll. 683–87 may be an addition by the magician, a personal note for the individual application of the practice, as in ll. 651–55. However, the lines 683–87 as well as 651–55 can be applied to any practitioner who should of course be on the side of the pious.

⁵³¹ Pap. reads υγιαν. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.172, 243) adds <δότε> before ὑγείαν.

⁵³² For ὑγεία (“health”) see III.577; XXXVI.223 (in lists); also III.260; IV.2997–3002; VII.333; XIII.802. For ὀλοκληρεῖν, ὀλοκληρία, ὀλόκληρος, IV.136, VII.590; XXVII.3.

The last phrase in the clause “in the present good hours of this day” should be read in connection with the horoscope (see ll. 651–52). Finally (l. 687–88), the pole lords are again hailed: *οἱ κύριοι μου καὶ μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί* (“O my lords and powerfully ruling gods.”)⁵³³

The sixth scenario ends with the recitation of the individual greetings (688–92). These greetings also follow the previous pattern of the exclamatory wish (*χαῖρε*), the number,⁵³⁴ and the secret names (*ὄνομα*), all of them unexplained *hapaxlegomena* in the PGM.

7. Seventh scenario: the encounter with Mithras (ll. 692–732)

The sixth scenario passes over to the seventh with the usual orientation concerning time and place: *ὅταν δὲ ἐνστῶσιν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα τῇ τάξει...*⁵³⁵ (“Now when they take their place, on the one side and on the other, in their order ...”). The idea is that the two groups of seven form a kind of chorus facing each other, and that all are taking their assigned places.⁵³⁶ This kind of arrangement appears to have been somewhat typical of worship services. Two parallels are especially informative.

One parallel is part of the description of the community of the Therapeutae by Philo of Alexandria.⁵³⁷ He describes their festival of Pentecost, which he says is patterned on the Bacchic rituals;⁵³⁸ it begins with a community prayer, followed by a symposium and an all-night Pannychis. During the initial prayer, “they take their stand in a regular line in an orderly way, their eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven, eyes because they have been trained to fix their gaze on things worthy of contemplation, hands in token that they are clean from gain-taking and not defiled through any cause of the profit-making kind. So standing they pray to God that their feasting may be acceptable and proceed as

The terms play a significant role in the NT; see Acts 3:16; 1 Thess 5:23; and BDAG, s.v. For *εὐτονία* there is no other reference in the PGM; *ἀταραξία*, a technical term in Greek ethics, occurs also in IV.69 (*ἀτάραχος*).

⁵³³ See the parallel in 678–79; for *μεγαλοκράτωρ* l. 639; for *κύριοι θεοί* III.171–72. Cf. John 20:28: *ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου.*

⁵³⁴ Pap. reads the numbers as in ll. 671–72; see above.

⁵³⁵ On the textual questions concerning *ἐνστῶσιν*, see Preisendanz, *WSt* 42 (1920–21) 24, section 7.

⁵³⁶ So Dieterich, 76; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.243.

⁵³⁷ Philo of Alexandria, *De vita contemplativa*, cited according to the edition and translation by F. H. Colson, *Philo* (10 vols.; LCL: London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929–62), 9.112–69.

⁵³⁸ See *Contemp.* 88–89 (cited below, n. 542); also 12; the highly polemical description of pagan banquets in 40–64 does not explicitly focus on the Bacchic ones, but it does include comments on Xenophon’s and Plato’s *Symposia* (57–60); see also *Ebr.* 123, 146; *Her.* 69; *Somn.* 2.205.

He would have it.”⁵³⁹ During the symposium⁵⁴⁰ and the Pannychis, the community is separated in two choir groups: “After the supper they hold the sacred vigil which is conducted in the following way. They rise up all together and standing in the middle of the refectory form themselves first into two choirs, one of men and one of women, the leader and precentor chosen for each being the most honored amongst them and also the most musical. Then they sing hymns to God composed of many measures and set to many melodies....”⁵⁴¹ At dawn they reunite on the beach to conclude the celebrations with a greeting of the rising sun.⁵⁴²

The other parallel is pictorial and part of the frescoes from the Isis temple in Herculaneum showing scenes from worship performed there. A chorus of two groups is standing on the steps of the temple, facing each other, with the choir master directing in the middle.⁵⁴³

To return to the text, the command is given: ἀτένιζε τῷ ἀέρι (“gaze in the air”).⁵⁴⁴ Air has been mentioned before, but not as one of the four elements; presumably it is identical with πνεῦμα.⁵⁴⁵ As a result, the initiate will see

⁵³⁹ *Contemp.* 66: ... στάντες ἔξης κατὰ στοῖχον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τάς τε ὄψεις καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείναντες, τὰς μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὰς θέας ἔξια καθορᾶν ἐπαιδεύθησαν, τὰς δὲ ὅτι καθαραὶ λημμάτων εἰσὶν ὑπ’ οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν μιαυνόμεναι, προσεύχονται τῷ θεῷ θυμῷρη γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἀπαντῆσαι τὴν εὐωχίαν. (LCL 9.152–55).

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 69: διανενέμηται δὲ ἡ κατάκλισις χωρὶς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ δεξιά, χωρὶς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐπ’ εὐώνυμα. (“The order of reclining is so apportioned that the men sit by themselves on the right and the women by themselves on the left” [LCL 9.154–55]).

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 83–84: Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τὴν ἱεράν ἄγουσι παννυχίδα. ἄγεται δὲ ἡ παννυχίς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἀνίσταται πάντες ἀθρόοι, καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ συμπόσιον δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον χορὸς, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν· ἡγεμών δὲ καὶ ἔξαρχος αἱρεῖται καθ’ ἑκάτερον ἐντιμότατος τε καὶ ἐμμελέστατος. εἴτα ἄδουσι πεποιημένους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν πολλοῖς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι... (LCL 9.164–65).

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 85: εἴτα ὅταν ἑκάτερος τῶν χορῶν ἔσται καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἔσται θῆ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βακχείαις ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τοῦ θεοφίλου, ἀναμίγνυνται καὶ γίνονται χορὸς εἰς ἔξι ἀκροῖν, μίμημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάτος κατὰ τὴν ἐρυθρᾶν θάλασσαν ἐνεκα τοῦ θαυματουργῆθέντων ἐκεῖ. (“Then when each choir has separately done its own part in the feast, having drunk as in the Bacchic rites of the strong wine of God’s love they mix and both together become a single choir, a copy of the choir set up of old beside the Red Sea in honour of the wonders there wrought” [LCL 9.164–65]). For the reverence toward the sun, see also section 27.

⁵⁴³ See for plates Merkelbach, *Isis Regina*, 553 (plate 72) and color plate IV, pp. 324–25; also Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai*, 100–102, with plate XXIII.

⁵⁴⁴ For ἀτενίζειν (“gaze,” “stare”) see above, at ll. 556, 629, 657, 711. See Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 301–20: “Sursum corda und der Aufblick zum Himmel.” Dölger (1–2) also refers to important Christian polemics against the ritual by Origen (*In Genes. Hom.* XIII.3 [GCS Orig. VI.118, ll. 9–13] and Augustine, *Tractatus in Ioannem* X.1 [PL 35, 1467]).

⁵⁴⁵ Air appears here without clarification of how it is related to πνεῦμα. For the Stoic doctrine, see above, at ll. 508, 541, 582.

spectacular cosmic phenomena (ll. 693–96):⁵⁴⁶ καὶ ὄψη κατερχομένας ἀστραπὰς καὶ φῶτα μαρμαίροντα καὶ σειομένην τὴν γῆν καὶ κατερχομένον θ(εὸ)ν... (“you will see lightening bolts going down, and lights flashing, and the earth shaking, and a god descending...”). While lightnings and earthquakes have been mentioned before (l. 681–82), the stereotypical picture overlooks that the author has left behind the earth some time ago. The “flashing lights” are preferred language in the PGM.⁵⁴⁷ The god emerges out of the interior of the temple and, like the figure on the painting from Herculaneum, walks down the stairs; symbolically this means that he leaves the highest sphere, which is unreachable even for other deities, and descends to the seventh below.

This god is certainly Mithras, although it is peculiar that his name is not mentioned.⁵⁴⁸ His portrait can be confirmed by representational art (ll. 696–704): κατερχόμενον θ(εὸ)ν ὑπερμεγέθη, φωτινὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄψιν, νεώτερον, χρυσοκόμαν, ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναξυρίστι... (“and a god descending, immensely great, with a shining face, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers...”). That the highest god is of immense size⁵⁴⁹ is part of the style of the epiphany,⁵⁵⁰ just as

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. for such phenomena in connection with the pole lords, ll. 681–82.

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. the flashing lamp in the temple at Jerusalem, IV.1221 (μαρμαίρων), 3069–70 (see Betz, *GMPT*, 97, n. 407 with further references); PDM xiv.490; also Karl Preisendanz, “Zum großen Pariser Zauberpapyrus,” *ARW* 17 (1914) 347–48. Cf. also XIII.111, 195, 536, 668: μαρμαραυγή (cf. *Orph. Frag.* # 168, line 13 (ed. Kern): ἀστρων μαρμαρέων); I.260–61: μαρμαριφέγγη; IV.531: μαρμαρυγή. For the epithet of Apollo, see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.325.

⁵⁴⁸ Pap. reads the abbreviation θν.

⁵⁴⁹ The term ὑπερμεγέθης is peculiar; LSJ calls it a Ionic form and notes ὑπερμεγάθης, ὑπέρμεγας. It is, however, a topos, attested in the PGM only here; see also *CH* I.1 regarding the epiphany of Poimandres: ἔδοξά τινα ὑπερμεγέθη μέτρῳ ἀπεριορίστω... (“there seemed to appear to me a gigantic figure of immense size...”). Nock & Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, I.8, n. 3 list further instances of the topos.

⁵⁵⁰ In the PGM the immense size of the deity conforms to the attribute of Aion (cf. XII.238–44; XIII.761–94). Cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, ll. 188–89 regarding the epiphany of Demeter: ἦ δ' ἄρεπ' οὐδὸν ἔβη ποσὶ καὶ ὅτα μελάθρου κῦρε κάρη, πλῆσεν δὲ θύρας σέλαος θείοιο (“But she stepped on the threshold and her head reached the roof, and she filled the door with divine splendor”); *Orph. Frag.* ## 168 and 169 (ed. Kern). In the LXX cf. Amos 4:13; in Christian literature the cosmic dimensions of Christ (the πλήρωμα, Col 1:15–20; Eph 1:10, 22–23; 4:10, 13); Rev 1:12–16; *Gos. Pet.* 39–40; *Ep. Apos.* 16 (27); see Aune, *Revelation*, 1.68–100. Cf. also the enormous measurements of the figure of Metatron in Hekhalot mysticism; see Gershom Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit* (Zürich: Rhein, 1962); Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 94, 203, 204, 214; Peter Schäfer & Klaus Herrmann, eds., *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur I* (TSAJ 46; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 29–33 (§§ 12–13); for the detailed description of the immense size of God in *Shi'ur Qomah*, see Peter Schäfer, ed., *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur IV* (TSAJ 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 136–65 (§§ 939–950).

his shining face.⁵⁵¹ His youth is analogous to Helios (l. 635), as is his golden hair (cf. l. 636),⁵⁵² white tunic (cf. l. 636), and golden crown (cf. l. 637).⁵⁵³ There are, however, special traits: with the Persian or Phrygian cap missing he looks like a Greek god, namely Helios-Mithras, but he does wear the Persian trousers called ἀναξυρίδες.⁵⁵⁴ This last feature is also present on paintings from Dura Europus (Syria), Capua Vetere, Ponza, and San Marino (Italy).⁵⁵⁵

After the description of the figure attention turns to the mythological insignia, symbolically interpreted as astronomical phenomena (ll. 699–702): κατέχοντα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μόσχου ὄμον χρύσεον (“and holding in his right hand a golden shoulder of a young calf”). This statement has given rise to extended controversies past and present. While Dieterich rightly saw this to be evidence of Mithraism, now confirmed by subsequently discovered frescoes,⁵⁵⁶ others denied or belittled it.⁵⁵⁷

A symbolic interpretation of this detail is on the one hand in accord with the author's interest, but on the other hand astronomical interpretations have been

⁵⁵¹ The shining face of the deity is a common element of epiphanies, whether in texts or artistic representations. Cf. the NT in Mark 16:15; Matt 17:2; Luke 9:29; Acts 6:15; 9:1–9; 2 Cor 4:6; Rev 1:14; 10:1; 22:4.

⁵⁵² The epithet χρυσοκόμαν is standard for Helios in III.207; IV.437, 1958; VIII.75; for its attribution to Apollo see Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.87, 325.

⁵⁵³ For the golden crown, see also III.485; IV.1027–28. Cf. in the NT Rev 4:4; 9:7; 14:14. See Hans-Jürgen Horn, “Gold,” *RAC* 11 (1981) 895–930, esp. 910–12: “Gold in der Magie”; Aune, *Revelation*, 1.172–75.

⁵⁵⁴ This garment worn by eastern peoples is mentioned only here in the PGM; it is attested since Herodotus (1.71; 5.49; 7.61; Lucian, *Hist. cons.* 19; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.25). See also LSJ, s.v. ἀναξυρίδες.

⁵⁵⁵ See Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, vol. 1, fig. 22a and b (Mon. 44); 26 (Mon. 75); 27 (Mon. 76), 52 (Mon. 181), and often; idem, *Mithriaca I. The Mithraeum at Ponza*, plates 3–7, 9–10; idem, *Mithriaca III. The Mithraeum at Marino*, color plate IV; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade*, 34 with plate 2; idem, *Mithras*, plate 25; also figures 16a and b, and 17.

⁵⁵⁶ See Dieterich, 76–78, 234–40. On the evidence, see Roger Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” *JMiS* 2:2 (1978) 87–147, esp. 120–27; Richard Gordon & John R. Hinnells, “Some New Photographs of Well-Known Mithraic Monuments,” *ibid.*, 213–19 (with plates XV–XVII) on “Mithras' Rindsschulter”; furthermore, Griffith and Thompson, *The Leiden Papyrus*, col. V, 1, with note; van de Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 86–89; Betz, *GMPT*, 52, n. 96; Roger Beck, “Mithraism since Franz Cumont,” *ANRW* II.17:4 (1984) 2002–2115, esp. pp. 2049, n. 79; 2050; David Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 104–5; Ingeborg Huld-Zetsche, “Die Stiertötung als Sternenkarte. Astralmythologische Hintergründe im Mithraskult,” *Antike Welt* 30:2 (1999) 97–104.

⁵⁵⁷ For a careful analysis of Cumont's position, see Dieterich, 234–40. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.243–44) admits that the god is Mithras, but for him he is Helios-Mithras; remarkably Merkelbach ignores the newly discovered frescoes. Also, his work on *Mithras*, in the tradition of Cumont, has no comment about the Mithras Liturgy. See Roger Beck, review of Merkelbach, *Mithras*, *Phoe.* 41 (1987) 296–316, esp. 310.

connected with the Mithras cult much earlier.⁵⁵⁸ The text itself presupposes such a connection (ll. 700–1): ὅς ἔστιν Ἄρκτος ἡ κινοῦσα καὶ ἀντιστρέφουσα τὸ οὐρανόν, κατὰ ὥραν ἀναπολεύουσα καὶ καταπολεύουσα (“this is the Bear which moves and turns the heavenly vault around in the opposite direction, with its upward and downward seasonal revolutions” [as translated by Martinez]). The conceptuality is technical but has problems. Which Bear does the author have in mind, the Little Bear (*Ursus minor*) or the Great Bear (*Ursus major*)? Griffiths opts for the Great Bear,⁵⁵⁹ while Merkelbach for the Little Bear.⁵⁶⁰

A decision is difficult to make. The Bear constellations play an important role in the PGM, but this does not necessarily mean that all references point to the same constellation.⁵⁶¹ As far as ll. 700–1 goes, identification with Artemis as well as comparison of the zodiacs from Ponza and Tentyra point to the Great Bear.⁵⁶²

That the Bear “moves and turns the heavenly vault around in the opposite direction” is confirmed in part by parallel references in the PGM, but it is not clear what is meant by ἀντιστρέφειν. One possibility is that the god turns the heavenly vault contrariwise to the motion of the planets.⁵⁶³ Also unclear is the

⁵⁵⁸ See Beck, *Planetary Gods*; idem, “The Mysteries of Mithras: A New Account of Their Genesis,” *JRS* 88 (1998) 115–28.

⁵⁵⁹ According to Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 21, 359D, the Great Bear was identified with Typhon/Seth: τὴν δὲ [ψυχῆν] Τυφῶνος ἄρκτον, which is interpreted by Griffiths, *Plutarch*, 373: “The equation of Seth and the Great Bear is well established...; the Egyptian term was Mshtyw, ‘Bull’s Foreleg’, and a 20th Dynasty text speaks of ‘this Mshtyw of Seth’ as existing in the northern sky.” So also Gundel, *Weltbild*, 59–64, esp. 59–60. He refers to ταυριάτα (?), perhaps “bull-like” (VII.700), and to secondary sources such as Dieterich, 76–79; Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri*, 2.64; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 208.

⁵⁶⁰ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.243–44): “The Little Bear is therefore represented in two images, in the seven bull-headed young men and here by the shoulder of the bull. Such pleonasms occur often in cults, because the idea is joined with the image, and one does not see this as a contradiction, if the same idea is expressed by two images” (my trans.). For the identification of the shoulder of the bull with the constellation of the north pole Merkelbach refers to the zodiac of Tentyra and to lids of coffins; Boll, *Sphaera*, pl. II; Boll, Bezold & Gundel, *Sternglaube*, pl. I, fig. 2 (Tentyra); Gundel, *Dekane*, pl. IIb (coffin lid of Idy, in Tübingen).

⁵⁶¹ For other passages on Bear constellations, see IV.1275–1330; 1331–89; VII.633, 686–702, 861; XII.190–92; XXIII.10; LVII.18. See Betz, *GMPT*, 137–38, esp. nn. 123–28; Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” 120–27.

⁵⁶² Cf. the Bear charm VII.686–702, identifying the constellation with Artemis, but identifications with other deities are made as well. See Beck, *Planetary Gods*, 79; idem, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac,” *JMiS* 1:1 (1976), 2, fig. 1.

⁵⁶³ ἀντιστρέφειν is found only here in the PGM. Cf. IV.1307: στρέφειν τὸν ἵερὸν πόλον; VII.687: ἡ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄξονα; IV.1275–80. See Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac II,” 121–22; LSJ does not list ἀντιστρέφω as a mechanical term, but ἀντιστρεπτος, referring to

astrological comment of “with its upward and downward seasonal revolutions.” Who is causing this revolving? Dieterich suggests the pole lords,⁵⁶⁴ but according to Gundel the text refers to the Bear who moves the gods of the days and hours, causing them to wander up and down along the pole.⁵⁶⁵

Following the interpretative lines 701–2, the text returns to the description of the figure of Mithras (ll. 702–4): ἔπειτα ὅψη ἀυτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοάτων ἀστραπὰς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἀστέρας ἀλλοιομένους (“Then you will see lightning bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body”).⁵⁶⁶ Since the references to time and vision are stereotypical in the ML, the cosmic features seem to reflect dramatic representations.⁵⁶⁷ The author could have seen this feature on representational portraits of Mithras, whose open mantle shows stars on the inside; he therefore imagines that those stars jump out of his body.

When confronted with this awesome vision, the initiate is ordered at once to perform rituals. The first one is the bellowing sound (704–7): σὺ δέ, εὐθέως <μυκῶ> μύκωμα μακρόν, βασανίζων τὴν γαστέρα, ἵνα συνκινήσῃς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις, μακρὸν εἰς ἀπόθεσιν μυκῶ, καταφιλῶν πάλιν τὰ φυλακτήρια.⁵⁶⁸ (“And at once make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until out of breath, and again kiss the phylacteries.”)

This bellowing sound has been mentioned before,⁵⁶⁹ but further intensity is added at this point. Not only must the initiate perform it “at once,” a stereotypical prescription in the ML,⁵⁷⁰ the roaring or bellowing sound is to be loud (μακρόν), achieved by pressing the belly (cf. l. 659) until total exhalation.

“machines that move on a pivot or swivel” (Diodorus Siculus 20.91). See also Aratus, *Phaen.* 26–44; *CH* II.7; V.4; *Exc.* VI.13 (ed. Nock & Festugière, 3.41–42, n. 27; cf. the commentary by Scott, *Hermetica*, 3.363–86); XXIV.11; Löhr, *Verherrlichung*, 110–13 (bibliography).

⁵⁶⁴ Dieterich (61–62) has in mind the πολεύοντες θεοί, mentioned in ll. 544–47, 676–92: “the wandering, that is, the planets in control of the days, the gods of the day.” Cf. also Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.175: “indem es [das Bärengestirn] stündlich auf und niedersteigt”; see his commentary 3.243 with parallels (also 3.150–51, 230, 238).

⁵⁶⁵ Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, 11, 59–60, 80, n. 14.

⁵⁶⁶ For the eyes emitting lightning, cf. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1283–84: δύματα δαίεται, with the commentary by Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2.340.

⁵⁶⁷ Cf. for epiphanies Matt 17:2 // Luke 9:28; Acts 6:15; Luke 24:4; Matt 28:3; Rev 1:14 about the epiphany of the heavenly Christ: καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός; 1:16: καὶ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἐπτά καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὁμοφαία δίστομος δέεται ἐκπορευομένη καὶ ἡ ὅψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ.

⁵⁶⁸ Eitrem adds a verb <μυκῶ> before μύκωμα; Jordan agrees. The punctuation follows Dieterich (14); Preisendanz has a different punctuation: αἰσθήσεις, μακρὸν εἰς ἀπόθεσιν, μυκῶ.... See Preisendanz, *WSt* 42 (1920–21) 24, sec. 8; idem, *app. crit.*, *ad loc.* Jordan considers συγκινήσῃς but keeps συνκινήσῃς.

⁵⁶⁹ It occurs elsewhere in the ML at ll. 490, 657–59, 712; see also XIII.942, 945.

⁵⁷⁰ See for this reference ll. 557, 576, 579, 585, 628, 638, 724, 755–57.

tion.⁵⁷¹ The purpose of the exercise is to arouse the five senses together, a strange remark, since the mortal body must be left behind (ll. 529–30, 533–34). Rather than postulating an inconsistency on the part of the author, however, one may conclude that he views the five senses not to be a part of the mortal body, but of the reconstituted perceptions of the intellect, sharpened up by the spirit (ll. 502–13, 520–28).

The second ritual is kissing the pylacteries (ll. 707–8), which, the text says, has been mentioned before (πάλιν, “again”).⁵⁷² Together with this ritual, a prayer for protection must be recited (καὶ λέγων, “and saying”). This prayer has the usual structure of invocation, self-identification of the orant, request, identification of the authority. However, there are special features that make this prayer different from others (ll. 708–11).

The invocation (ll. 708–9) begins with what may be a divine name: μοκριμο φερερι. ⁵⁷³ This divine name is followed by an epithet: ζω<ή> μου (“my life”).⁵⁷⁴ With the symbol Δ (τοῦ δεῖνα) a space is indicated, into which the orant must insert his name.⁵⁷⁵

The reading of ll. 709–10 is contested. According to Preisendanz three commands are presented: μένε σύ, νέμε εν τῇ ψυχῇ μου, μή με καταλείψῃς (“Stay! Dwell in my soul! Do not abandon me!”). The first request has many parallels in the PGM.⁵⁷⁶ The second is read by Preisendanz,⁵⁷⁷ but the use of

⁵⁷¹ The expression εἰς ἀπόθεσιν is unclear, and so are translations; cf. Preisendanz: “bis zum Nachlassen”; we follow a suggestion by Martinez. According to Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.244), εἰς ἀπόθεσιν means “Ruhpunkt,” derived from the language of music. This idea is interesting because the various vocal sounds in the ML may be regarded as a kind of music.

⁵⁷² See 659–60, cf. also 789.

⁵⁷³ The name occurs only here in the PGM; it is unexplained.

⁵⁷⁴ Pap. reads φερερι ζων μουτουΔ, but ζων may be a scribal error for ζωή. See Karl Preisendanz, “ΦΕΡΕΠΙΖΩΝ,” *WKP* 32 (1915) 763. For ζων as a divine epithet see Martinez, *Baptized*, 12–15; for ζωή in magical inscriptions, see Erik Peterson, **ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ**. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen (FRLANT 41; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926), 26; in PGM ζωή occurs also at XII.255–56; XIII.261 (κύριε τῆς ζωῆς), 880–81 (γενοῦ μοι... ζωή); for Jesus as ζωή see John 11:25; 14:6 (see BDAG, s.v., 2.a). Jordan prefers the pap. reading ζῶν μου.

⁵⁷⁵ On this symbol, see above, l. 495.

⁵⁷⁶ For passages, see Preisendanz, 3.135 (index), s.v. μένω; BDAG, s.v. μένω, 1.a.B (bibliography); Reitzenstein, *HMR*, 44, 73, 177–84, 709. The concept, sometimes called “mystical,” is important especially in the Fourth Gospel (John 6:56; 14:10; 15:4–7; etc.); see Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 1–2 (with important passages from Origen and Augustine, in fact agreeing with the Stoic position of the “deity within”); Festugière, *Révélation*, 3.172–73; Jürgen Heise, *Bleiben. Menein in den johanneischen Schriften* (HUTh 8; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967); Klaus Scholtissek, *In ihm sein und bleiben. Die Sprache der Immanenz in den johanneischen Schriften* (HBS 21; Freiburg: Herder, 2000).

⁵⁷⁷ Pap. reads μενεσυνεμε, which Dieterich (14) reads as μένε σὸν ἐμε, Wünsch (in Dieterich, 107) emends to σύναιμε, Kroll to μένε, but Jordan prefers Dieterich. For νέμε

the term *νέμω* in PGM elsewhere is different.⁵⁷⁸ The final request states the matter with a different term, for which parallels can be adduced as well.⁵⁷⁹

Dieterich has recognized that this prayer is “mystical” and seems to come from a tradition different from the views presented so far in the ML: “We recognize in the background the most massive and ancient concept of the union of the human being and the god: the god comes into the human being physically.”⁵⁸⁰ For the background he refers to parallels in the PGM and elsewhere.⁵⁸¹ It is true that up to now the initiate did not ask for this indwelling of a god. However, if one realizes the fundamental importance of inhaling the divine spirit (*πνεῦμα*) for generating “enthusiasm,” the idea is not strange at all. We find it not only in the PGM,⁵⁸² but in many other Hellenistic

Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224) has an important comment: “Man hat dann *νέμειν* (wie Pind. *Ol.* 2.13; Aisch. *Eum.* 971) als *νέμεσθαι* zu fassen mit dem Sinn des Wohnens: ‘bleibe du, wohne in meiner Seele’. Das entspricht der Auffassung vom Wohnen des Gottes im Menschen und seiner *ένωσις* mit dem Gläubigen durchaus, vgl. unten S. 110,2. Vielleicht darf man auch weitergehen und das Bild der [sic! des] *νέμειν* unterstreichen; dann ist das Gleichen vom Hirten und dem Gotte da.” On *νέμω* act. as med. see LSJ, s.v., III. If Preisendanz is correct, a play on words may be intended: *μένε* / *νέμε*. Cf. also the hymn to Eros IV.1763–64: ὁ ἐπινεῦμόμενος πάσαις ψυχᾶς (“the one who dwells in all souls”).

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. VII.761–63: ἵνα... πνεῦμα *νέμης*; XII.247: *πᾶσιν ψυχὰς σὺ νέμεις*. For the indwelling of the divine *πνεῦμα* see XIII.761–805; XII.238–57; cf. the NT, where the spirit does not dwell (*οἰκέω*, *ένοικέω*) in the soul but in the heart or body (e.g., Rom 5:5; 8:9, 11, 15–16; 1 Cor 3:16; Eph 3:17; 2 Tim 1:14).

⁵⁷⁹ Pap. reads *καταλιψῆς*, a case of itacism. For parallels, see III.632; XI.a.26. For other instances of this prayer language see LXX Ps 26:10; 37:22; 70:18; 118:8. Ps 21:1–2 (*ἐγκαταλείπω*) is recited by Jesus in Mark 15:34 // Matt 27:46). See BDAG, s.v. *έγκαταλείπω*, 2; *καταλείπω*.

⁵⁸⁰ Dieterich (96–97): “Wir erkennen im Hintergrunde deutlich die massivste ursprünglichste Vorstellung von der Vereinigung des Menschen und des Gottes: der Gott kommt körperlich in den Menschen hinein.”

⁵⁸¹ Dieterich (96–97, 116–31, 134–37, 240) refers to Otto Weinreich’s essay on the formula of reciprocal identity (“reziproke Identitätsformel”): “Religiöse Stimmen der Völker,” ARW 19 (1916–1919) 165–68. For the NT see John 10:38; 14:10–11, 20; 17:21.

⁵⁸² See I.20–21: *καὶ ἔσται τι ἔνθεον ἐν τῇ σῇ καρδίᾳ*; VIII.2–3: *ἐλ[θ]ήσεται μοι, κύρτε Ερμῆ, ὃς τὰ βρέφη εἰς τὰ <ε> κοιλία τῶν γυναικῶν* (“Come to me, lord Hermes, as fetuses come into the wombs of women” [my trans.]). The formula of mutual identity occurs several times in this papyrus: *σὺ γὰρ ἐγώ καὶ ἐγώ σύ, τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν σόν· ἐγώ γάρ εἰμι τὸ εἰδωλόν σου* (“For you are I, and I am you, your name is mine, and mine is yours; for I am your image” [VIII.36–37; see also ll. 49–50; XIII.795]). The erotic connections should be obvious. See Dieterich, 96–98; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 242–46; idem, *HMR*, 245–52; Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 48–50, 111–20, 343; Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 165–69.

texts.⁵⁸³ Also the ancient theories about the inspiration of the Delphic Pythia are especially important for comparison.⁵⁸⁴

Finally, the nature of the request is stated. It is an order, ὅτι κελεύει σοι (“for the [magical name] commands you”),⁵⁸⁵ which, as indicated by the magical names ενθο φενεν θροπιωθ, has the divine authority to enforce.⁵⁸⁶

Before making his appearance, however, the god needs to be greeted appropriately. This greeting follows in ll. 712–17, showing the same pattern as the previous greeting before: invocation, self-presentation, and petition (see 639–55, 665–92).

First, however, the necessary rituals have to be performed. They include the gazing (see at l. 556) and the loud roaring or bellowing sound (see ll. 704–7): καὶ ἀτενίζε τῷ θεῷ μακρὸν μυκάμενος καὶ ἀσπάζου οὕτως (“and gaze at the god while bellowing loudly, and greet in this manner”).

Then the prayer itself is to be recited (713–17), beginning with the address “Lord” (κύριε), and followed by three greetings, consisting of the exclamation “Hail!” and a divine attribute: χαῖρε, δέσποτα ὑδατος, χαῖρε, κατάρχα γῆς, χαῖρε, δυνάστα πνεύματος (“Hail, O master of the water! Hail, O founder of the earth! Hail, O ruler of the wind!”). The god is called upon as the ruler of the elements of water,⁵⁸⁷ earth,⁵⁸⁸ and wind/air/spirit.⁵⁸⁹ This is complemented by two further attributes: λαμπροφεγγῆ and προπροφεγγῆ, which are

⁵⁸³ See Johannes Haussleiter, “Deus internus,” *RAC* 3 (1957) 794–842, esp. 812–14 (with references); Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 162–70; idem, *Antike und Christentum*, 175–86; Klaus Thraede, “Inspiration,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65; Bärbel Beinhauer-Köhler, Dietrich-Alex Koch, Werner Brändle, “Inspiration/Theopneustie,” *RGG* 4 (2001) 167–75.

⁵⁸⁴ See Plutarch, *Def. orac.* 9, 414E; *Pyth. orac.* 20–21, 404B–405A; for a human man to impregnate a goddess cf. *Quaest. conv.* 8.1.3, 718B; *Num.* 4.4. The various theories regarding the inspiration of the Pythia at Delphi are discussed by Wolfgang Fauth, “Pythia 2,” PRE 47th Halbband (1963) 515–47, esp. 524–39; Stephan Schröder, *Plutarchs Schrift De Pythia Oraculis* (BAK 8; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1990), 25–72, 183–84; idem, “Platon oder Chrysipp? Zur Inspirationstheorie in Plutarchs Schrift ‘De Pythiae oraculis’,” *Würzburger Jahrbücher* 20 (1994–95) 233–56, arguing against Jens Holzhausen, “Zur Inspirationslehre Plutarchs in De Pythiae oraculis,” *Ph.* 137 (1993) 72–91.

⁵⁸⁵ The terms κελεύειν (ll. 482–83, 710) and κέλευμα (l. 680) occur also elsewhere in the PGM in connection with issuing orders to deities. See Preisendanz, 3.119 (index), s.v.

⁵⁸⁶ The magical names are found only here in the PGM, and unexplained. Cf. Brashear (“The Greek Magical Papyri,” 3584) who points to εντο (IV. 711; VIII. 7; cf. εντω VII. 556; XIX.a.1: ενθε εντω) as representing Egyptian ‘ndw, “Glänzender” (?). Already Preisendanz, 3.253 (index), s.v., adds: “Sonnenglanz, Glänzender, Voller’ (Hermes/Thoth)”; the reference is by K. F. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 1934, 183.

⁵⁸⁷ See ll. 492–93, 506, 513.

⁵⁸⁸ See ll. 494, 543, 641, 695, 800. Cf. IV.2194–95: ὁ ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν δεσπότης ὑπάρχων; XIII.331.

⁵⁸⁹ For πνεῦμα see ll. 489, 505, 510, 520, 538, 589, 617–18, 627, 629, 658–59; ἀήρ 508, 541, 582, 693.

both associated with fire.⁵⁹⁰ The conclusion consists of the string of *voces magicae*, similar to those found in ll. 562–65, 603–4).⁵⁹¹ εμεθίρι αρτεντεπι θηθ μινεω νεναρω φυρχεχω ψηρι δαριω φρηλβα.⁵⁹²

The final step is the presentation of the petition (717–24). After the long and arduous ascension, the actual petition is surprisingly brief (cf. the petition to Helios, ll. 642–55). Addressing the god again as “lord” (κύριε),⁵⁹³ the initiate requests an oracular session with the god: χρημάτισον, κύριε, περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος (“Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter”). The term χρημάτιζειν is technical and means “to grant an oracular response.”⁵⁹⁴ The subject matter of the inquiry has to be filled in by the petitioner; it is of course not mentioned in the text because every petitioner will want to have his or her own business to present. Merkelbach comments at this point: “This would mean that the oracle inquirer could ask the god for a revelation concerning any subject matter whatsoever. One would then certainly also have to assume that the question would have been submitted in written form the evening or night before. However, it is more likely that the long-winding ceremony was used originally on only a few issues of great importance, and that it was only secondarily applied to all kinds of purposes.”⁵⁹⁵ An ordinary oracular inquiry would indeed proceed as Merkelbach suggests, but then the question arises, Why is such an extensive ascension

⁵⁹⁰ For λαμπροφεγγής cf. IV.386; according to *PGL* and *TLG*, the term is attested in patristic and Byzantine literature (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Christus patiens* [PG 38.208]; Germanus I of Constantinople [died 733], *Or. 3.1* [PG 98.292C]); for προπροφεγγῆ, see the logos in ll. 562–65, 603–4, with proximity of φιλβα; according to the *TLG*, there is no other attestation.

⁵⁹¹ See the comparative table above, at l. 562.

⁵⁹² Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224) comments that Preisendanz (*ad loc.*) writes Φρῆ Φρῆλβα, which – not uncommonly in magical materials – reflects the name of Ammon Re. Weinreich also calls attention to the name Φρήν on an inscription from Cordoba (see F. Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen, E. Littmann, W. Weber & O. Weinreich, “Syrische Gottheiten auf einem Altar aus Cordova,” *ARW* 22 [1923] 117–32, esp. 122). Preisendanz also suggests that Φρῆλβα may have been expanded by the last three letters of the well-known palindrome αβλαναθναλβα.

⁵⁹³ See for this title at l. 588 (with references).

⁵⁹⁴ For this request, see ll. 653, 724, 727, 732; furthermore I.297; IV.951, 2502; VII.248, 253, 996; XII.113, 150–51; XXX.a.2–4; LXXVII.20. For oracle divination in Egypt and rich bibliography, see Alexandra von Lieven, “Divination in Egypt,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26 (1999) 77–126.

⁵⁹⁵ Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.244: “Dies würde bedeuten, daß der Orakelsucher über jedes beliebige Thema einen Wahrspurh des Gottes erbitten konnte. Man müßte dann sicherlich außerdem annehmen, daß die Anfrage schon am Vorabend oder in der Vornacht schriftlich eingereicht worden ist. Man wird doch eher vermuten, daß die aufwendige Zeremonie ursprünglich nur zu wenigen, ganz besonderen Anlässen benutzt worden ist und erst sekundär zu verschiedenen Zwecken herangezogen wurde.”

ritual necessary, if no more than a simple answer is expected? Merkelbach concludes that the ascension ritual must have been put to a secondary usage. In other words, the magician would go through a lot of ritualistic pomp and circumstance, just to give greater status to what in reality could be done in a less spectacular way. This suggestion takes up ideas of Dieterich who sees the redactor as having caused the problem. He “uses the liturgy for obtaining oracular responses.” Nobody can of course say what portion of the text he may have excised, or what may have been the content of the omission.⁵⁹⁶

It seems more likely, however, that the reference to the subject matter ($\piρᾶγμα$) of the inquiry was not ordinary but extraordinary. After all, the practitioner is seeking a personal interview with the highest god Helios-Mithras-Aion. It would be odd to assume that the inquirer who exhibits a philosophical interest in cosmological and anthropological questions would approach this god with mundane banalities. Rather, one should remember the highflying aims stated already in the exordium (483–84) of “walking (into) heaven and looking over all things.” Consequently, one should assume that the inquirer will seek answers to questions of ultimate concern, including the nature of the cosmos and his own self.⁵⁹⁷ Before the gods grant the request (ll. 724–27), however, the inquirer needs to present himself and his credentials as an initiate.⁵⁹⁸

The great *synthema* in ll. 719–24 appears to be a citation;⁵⁹⁹ by repeating it from an earlier initiation ritual the present inquirer demonstrates his qualifications. This *synthema* has close parallels in the Orphic-Dionysiac gold-tablets,

⁵⁹⁶ Dieterich (82): “... so kommt hier der umarbeitende Magier zu Wort, der die Liturgie benutzt zur Erlangung von Wahrsagungen. Was er etwa abgeschnitten hat an dem Texte, was etwa noch folgte nach dem von uns Herausgehobenen, kann natürlich niemand sagen. Ich habe wohl diese und jene Vermutung, aber da ich nicht einmal Sicherheit geben kann, d aß etwas fehlt, lasse ich sie unausgesprochen.”

⁵⁹⁷ Note also PDM xiv.670–74 (Janet H. Johnson, in Betz, *GMPT*, 232): “...the gods never go away without you having questioned them about everything so that they say to you the answer about heaven, earth, the underworld, a distant inquiry, water and fields.” Cf. the physician Thessalos who has a session with the god Asclepius to learn from him the most effective healing plants. See, also for other parallels, Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.84–85.

⁵⁹⁸ Cf. the previous self-presentations to the elements (ll. 516–37), and to Helios (ll. 644–49).

⁵⁹⁹ For the concept of *synthema*, see above, p. 170. Griffiths (*Apuleius*, 294–308) discusses the passage in connection with the famous *synthema* in *Metam.* 11.23, ll. 11–15); cf. also what Firmicus Maternus (*Err. prof. rel.* 18, ed. Ziegler) reports about σύμβολα (*symbola*) in a mystery cult; he cites the tripartite password needed to enter into the inner chambers of the temple: ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμάτου πέπωκα, γέγονα μύστης Ἀττεως (“I have eaten from the kettle-drum, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have become an initiate of Attis”). Note that the Greek formula and the Latin translation do not conform (*De tympano manducavi, de cymbalo bibi, et religionis secreta perdidici*); that there are other versions as well (see Dieterich, 216–17). Of interest are also his comparisons with analogous Christian formulas.

especially the one from the Thessalian Pelinna (end of the 4th c. BCE).⁶⁰⁰ The tripartite formula, referring in cryptic abbreviations to decisive ritual acts, has so far not been conclusively explained.

νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἀματι τῶιδε.

εἰπεῖν Φεροεφόναι σ' ὅτι Βάχ^χιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσε.

ταῦρος εἰς γάλα ἔθορες·

αἴψα εἰς γ^άλα ἔθορες·

χριός εἰς γάλα ἔπεσε^ς·

οῖνον ἔχεις εὐδαίμονα τιμάν.

κάπιμένει σ' ὑπὸ γῆν τέλεα ἀσ^σαπερ ὅλβιοι ἄλλοι.

Now you have died, and now you have been born, O thrice blessed
one, on this very day.

Tell Persephone that Bakchios himself has set you free.

Bull, you jumped into milk;

Kid, you jumped into milk;

Ram, you fell into milk.

You have wine as your fortuitous honor.

And below the earth there are ready for you the same prizes [or: rites]
as for the other blessed ones.

To return to the *synthema* in ll. 718–24, Mithras is addressed again as “lord” (κύριος), after which the initiate offers three fundamental statements of self-understanding:

First, he affirms his human and divine self-understanding by three statements (ll. 718–22):

παλινγενόμενος ἀπογίγνομαι,
αὐξόμενος καὶ αὐξηθεὶς τελευτῶ,
ἀπὸ γενέσεως ζωογόνου γενόμενος,
εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς πορεύομαι.

Having been born again, I am passing away;

while growing and having grown, I am dying;

Having been born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on,
released to death.⁶⁰¹

⁶⁰⁰ Cited according to Christoph Riedweg, “Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt. Beobachtungen zur Kommunikationssituation und narrativen Technik der orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 359–98 (the citation, 392; the interpretation, 370–75); Betz, “Zur Lehre vom Menschen,” ibid., 411 (also *Antike und Christentum*, 234–35). The translation follows, with some variation, Fritz Graf, “Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology: New Texts and Old Questions,” in Thomas H. Carpenter & Christopher A. Faraone, eds., *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 239–58 (the citation and interpretation, 241–50).

⁶⁰¹ Scholars are divided on the translation of the phrase εἰς ἀπογενεσίαν ἀναλυθεὶς. Clearly, ἀπογενεσία is the opposite of γένεσις, γενόμενος, and παλινγενεσία; ἀναλυθεὶς

The structure of polarity is apparent, although the meaning can only be guessed. If the inquirer speaks as an initiate, which seems an obvious conclusion, what do the self-definitions define, his newly achieved divine status or his human status? Since he states his achievement of rebirth and regeneration as past experiences, the verbs in the present tense must define his imminent condition.⁶⁰² Although the formula is now part of the greeting of Mithras, the words seem to point to a different context, such as that of a formula recited before the initiate's natural death, a kind of "Sterbeformel" comparable to Rom 14:7–9:

οὐδεὶς γάρ ἡμῶν ἔσωτῷ ζῇ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔσωτῷ ἀποθνήσκει·
ἐάν τε γάρ ζῶμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ζῶμεν, ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ
ἀποθνήσκομεν. ἐάν τε οὖν ζῶμεν ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν.

We do not live to ourselves and we do not die to ourselves.

If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord;
so then, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's.⁶⁰³

Second, three further statements affirm the divine authority which supports the initiate's present self-understanding:

ώς σὺ ἔκτισας
ώς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας,
καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριον.

"as you have founded,
as you have decreed,
and have authored (the) mystery."

corresponds to τελευτῶ. For a discussion of ἀπογενεσία see Festugière (*Révélation*, 1.307, n. 6) who points to the parallels in PGM V.155 (ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ γεννῶν καὶ ἀπογεννῶν) and Plotinus, *En.* III.4.6.12 (εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τὴν ἀπογένεσιν). Reitzenstein (GGA 185 [1923] 51) renders it as "entferne ich mich" ("I remove myself"); Erwin Rohde (*Psyche*, 2.421–22); Dieterich (15): "werde ich in den Tod erlöst"; Preisendanz: "zum Sterben aufgelöst"; Festugière (*Révélation*, 1.307): "je me dissois pour entrer dans la mort"; Meyer: "I am passing on, released to death"; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.175): "ins Ablegen des Lebens aufgelöst werde(n)."

⁶⁰² As an important parallel, Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.244) refers to the Christian formulation in Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22 (ed. Konrat Ziegler [München: Huber, 1953], 70): *ut sepolto prima homine ex eodem statim homine homo altius felicius <re>nascatur* ("that when the first man is buried, from that same man at once another, happier, man is reborn" [my trans.]).

⁶⁰³ The text is cited according to Nestle–Aland, 27th ed. rev.; the translation is that of NRSV. Cf. also for baptismal formulae Rom 6:1–12, and my essay, "Transferring a Ritual: Paul's Interpretation of Baptism in Romans 6," *Paulinische Studien*, 240–71, esp. 261–70.

The precise meaning of this part of the formula seems unclear. It appears originally to belong to a different hymnic context unknown to us.⁶⁰⁴ The object μυστήριον, without article, may refer to all three lines; since it names an object known to the practitioner, the article (the) may fit in English. That object seems to be the ritual as a whole.⁶⁰⁵

Third, the resultant self-definition of the initiate is summed up in a very concise statement. The decisive insight gained from his initiation is that he has come to understand himself as an individual self (ἐγώ εἰμι),⁶⁰⁶ identified by his secret name.⁶⁰⁷

ἐγώ εἰμι φερουρα μιουρι.

“I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

Rather arbitrarily, Dieterich believes that the immortalization ritual (ἀπαθανατισμός) ends at this point, and that a new section dealing with the granting of an oracular response begins.⁶⁰⁸ “We feel in these last words a kind of conclusion of the consecration, its purpose being the rebirth, the immortalization of the initiate after the needs of the bodily life. This aim is stated in the text time and again with great clarity. When, therefore, in the papyrus the sentence follows: ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρησμωδήσει (Μίθρας), this is the statement by the magician who is reworking the liturgy for the purpose of

⁶⁰⁴ Martinez rightly proposes the sense of a *recusatio*: “not I but you...” He refers to a parallel in an Egyptian charm translated by Borghouts: “it is not I who have said it, it is not I who have repeated it. It is this magic that comes for NN born of NN that has said it, that has repeated it...” Cited and discussed in Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 72–73.

⁶⁰⁵ See also Betz, *Hellenismus und Christentum*, 170, n. 75; 224, 258; *Antike und Christentum*, 170, 178). For the term μυστήριον, without article, as referring to the mystery ritual as divinely authored (ποιοῦν), see also Dieterich (14–15), Preisendanz, Festugière, Meyer, and Merkelsbach (*Abrasax*, 3.175–76, 244); μυστήριον (l. 723) can, as instances in ll. 746, 794 show, refer also to things other than the ritual as such (l. 476: plural, τὰ μυστήρια). That the mystery cult has been instituted by the deity is a common doctrine. E.g., the Eleusinian mysteries were instituted by Demeter (*Hom. Hymn to Demeter* 473–76: δρησμοσύνην θ' ιερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὅργια πᾶσι (“She showed the conduct of her rites and taught them all her mysteries”)). According to CH, Frag. XXIII (Kore Kosmou), § 68, the mysteries of Isis and Osiris were revealed by the νομοθεσται of Hermes. For more material see Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, Chapter 1. Cf. Col 1:26–27; 2:2–3.

⁶⁰⁶ For this formula, see above at l. 527.

⁶⁰⁷ The name is found only here, and unexplained.

⁶⁰⁸ According to Dieterich (16), the new section, which he calls “Anweisung zu magischer Verwendung der Mithrasliturgie” (“Instruction for the magical application of the Mithras Liturgy”), begins in l. 724 with the words ἐγώ εἰμι φερουρα μιουρι, “I am PHEROURA MIOURI.” One wonders why Dieterich stops translating, when he continues carefully to annotate the text from here on (16–21).

obtaining an oracular response.”⁶⁰⁹ Consequently, he assumes that the words φρη φρηλβα· χρημάτισον, κύριε, περὶ τοῦ Δ πράγματος (ll. 717–18) have been secondarily inserted by the redactor, in order to coordinate the two sections (15, 16).⁶¹⁰

There is nothing in the text, however, to suggest such a redactional seam. The elements of the phrase, ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρησμῷδήσει (“after you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation”), have appeared before in different situations to indicate progress in the narrative.⁶¹¹ The term χρησμῷδεῖν is technical and designates the oracular response.⁶¹² As already mentioned above, the text does not report any material content of questions and answers. Rather, the purpose and aim of the ritual is to bring the inquirer up to the point of meeting the god in person, leaving a space for the consultation to take place and for the issue (*πρᾶγμα*) to be submitted in conversation.⁶¹³

The very next step comments on the condition of the inquirer during the consultation (ll. 725–26): ὑπέκλυτος δὲ ἔσει τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ οὐκ ἐν σεαυτῷ ἔσει, δταν σοι ἀποκρίνηται (“now you will grow weak in your soul, and you will not be in yourself, when he answers you”). Several parallel passages confirm that this is the typical condition of a person in ecstasy or thereafter.⁶¹⁴

⁶⁰⁹ Dieterich (82): “Wir fühlen in den letzten Worten eine Art Abschluß der Weihe, deren Zweck ja die Neugeburt, die Unsterblichmachung des Mysteriën nach der Not des Leibeslebens ist. Dies Ziel ist immer wieder mit größter Deutlichkeit im Texte ausgesprochen. Wenn darum nun im Papyrus der Satz folgt: ταῦτά σου εἰπόντος εὐθέως χρησμῷδήσει (Μίθρας), so kommt hier der umarbeitende Magier zu Wort, der die Liturgie benutzt zur Erlangung von Wahrsagungen.” See also *ibid.*, 84–85.

⁶¹⁰ On the methods of collating sources used by ancient scribes, see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.86–90.

⁶¹¹ See the parallels in ll. 576, 620–21, 633, 655–56. For εὐθέως (“at once”), see at l. 557.

⁶¹² Pap. reads χρησμῷδήσει, corrected by Dieterich (16). For this term, see also VI.46; cf. II.54; VIII.101–2: χρησμῷδός θεός. On χρησμός (“oracular response”), see ll. 727, 732; the verb χρᾶσθαι, l. 740; χρηματίζω l. 717. The terminology and concept of oracular inquiry is frequent in the PGM; see especially the Ἀπολλωνιακὴ ἐπίκλησις I.263–347.

⁶¹³ A pertinent example of such conversations are the consultations of the god Trophonius in the underground cave in Lebadeia. See my article, “The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre in Greek and Hellenistic Literature: The Case of the Oracle of Trophonius,” *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 184–209. Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.157) who believes that the specific issue regarding which the oracular response was sought had been submitted in written form on the evening before, probably together with the birth constellation (*γένεσις*).

⁶¹⁴ Actually, “not being in (or: by) yourself” defines ecstasy (ἐκστασις), see below, ll. 737–38. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.240) points to Thessalos’s encounter with Asclepius (Prooem. 24, ed. Friedrich, p. 53, l. 14; also Totti, *Texte*, 117 [# 45]). When the god appeared, Thessalos almost lost his mind: καθεξομένου δέ μου καὶ ἐκλυομένου τοῦ σώματος

Dieterich's comment is to the point: "The phenomenon of ἐνθουσιασμός [“enthusiasm, ecstasy”] in the proper sense is well-known to us. Primarily it is meant to be physically possessed by the god. This idea changes time and again with the other, that the human being, the soul, or the spirit ascends to the sphere of the god. ἔκστασις [‘ecstasy’] is derived from this viewpoint."⁶¹⁵

The session with the god then concludes (ll. 727–28): λέγει δέ σοι διὰ στίχων τὸν χρησμὸν καὶ εἰπώ(v) ἀπελεύσεται⁶¹⁶ (“he, however, speaks the oracle to you in verses, and after speaking he will depart”). Dieterich's (82–83) astute observation that the session ends rather abruptly is one of the reasons why he assumes that a section at the end may have been excised by the redactor, which in turn supports Dieterich's ideas concerning the composition. He perceives the absence of a narrative of a ritual dealing with the inquirer's return from heaven to earth.⁶¹⁷ It is the case, to be sure, that the ML

καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς θεᾶς, “when I took my seat and my body and soul grew weak because of the miracle of the vision.” Apuleius, *Metam.* 8.27–28: “as if, indeed, the gods' presence was not supposed to make humans better than themselves, but rather weak or sick” (*prorsus quasi deum praesentia soleant homines non sui fieri meliores, sed debiles effici uel aegroti*). The opening paragraph of the “Poimandres” (CH I.1) presents a kind of classic statement: Εννοίας μοὶ ποτε γενομένης περὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ μετεωρισθείσης μοὶ τῆς διανοίας σφόδρα, κατασκευεισῶν μοι τῶν σωματικῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ τῶν ὑπνῷ βεβαρημένοι ἐκ κόρου τροφῆς ἢ ἐκ κόπου σώματος... (“Once when thought came to me about the things that are, and my thinking was lifted up high, while my bodily senses were held down, like those who are heavy with sleep from a fill of food or fatigue of the body...”) [my trans.]; see also CH X.5; for the oracle of Trophonius see Pausanias 39.13 (see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 186); for the OT and Judaism see Saul's weakness after the consultation with the dead prophet Samuel in the story of the “witch of Endor” (1 Sam 28:20–24); *1 En.* 60:3 (OTP 1.40): “(Then) a great trembling and fear seized me and my loins and kidneys lost control. So I fell upon my face.” Paul's vision of Christ on the road to Damascus causes his physical collapse, described in Acts 9:3–9; 22:6–11.

⁶¹⁵ Dieterich (97–98): “Die Erscheinung des ἐνθουσιασμός im eigentlichen Sinne ist uns wohlbekannt. Es ist ursprünglich gemeint als ganz körperliches Erfülltsein vom Götte. Mit dieser Vorstellung wechselt immer und immer wieder die, daß der Mensch oder seine Seele, sein Geist in den Gott körperlich eingeht. ἔκστασις entstammt dieser Anschauung.” Dieterich (98) refers to Rohde, *Psyche* (2nd ed., 1898), 2.18ff.; Wünsch (in Dieterich, 240). On the topic of ecstasy see Friedrich Pfister, “Ekstase,” *RAC* 4 (1959) 944–87; idem, “Enthusiasmus,” *RAC* 5 (1962) 455–57; Klaus Thraede, “Inspiration,” *RAC* 18 (1998) 329–65 (with bibliography).

⁶¹⁶ Pap. reads εἰπώ with the ν expressed by a supralinear stroke; thus, the reading εἰπών by Dieterich (16) is correct.

⁶¹⁷ Dieterich (82, 83): “Ob irgendwie der Abstieg des Mysteriën liturgisch angegeben war, kann ich ebenfalls nicht ausmachen.... Wahrscheinlich ist es mir nicht, daß die Rückkehr des Geweihten in der echten Liturgie irgendwie vorkam; das widerspräche aller Analogie ähnlicher sakramentaler Aktionen.” (“Whether somehow the descent of the initiate was liturgically presented, I am unable to make out.... To me it is not probable that the return of the initiate occurred somehow in the liturgy itself; this would be in conflict with all analogies of similar sacramental actions.”)

says nothing about a ritual of return⁶¹⁸ or of the god's dismissal.⁶¹⁹ Also, there is no indication of how long the session would last. Rather than being short, the epilogue even presupposes that the revelation could include thousands of verses, which would require a considerably longer time. How then can the missing return of the inquirer be explained?

The conclusion of the ritual again looks at the inquirer and provides several instructions (ll. 728–32). The first of these involves his resulting condition (ll. 728–29): *σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεός, ὡς ταῦτα πάντα χωρήσεις αὐτομάτως*⁶²⁰ ("but you stand speechless, [wondering] how you will by yourself comprehend all these things").⁶²¹ It appears that after having received the response, the inquirer is faced with two questions, one being comprehension, and the other, recollection.⁶²² Two promises deal with them. The first assures him that he will indeed comprehend everything *αὐτομάτως* ("by himself, spontaneously").⁶²³ The other promise assures him unfailing remembrance (ll. 729–30): *καὶ τότε μνημονεύσεις ἀπαραβάτως τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ρήθεντα, καὶ τὸν ἦν μυρίων στίχων ὁ χρησμός* ("for at a later time you will remember

⁶¹⁸ For such narratives of return, see Plutarch, *Gen. Socr.* 22, 592E; Lucian, *Icarom.* 2; 34; 2 *Cor* 12:2–4.

⁶¹⁹ For such ritual dismissals, see, e.g., I.94–95, 170, 184–86, 334–47; II.176–83; III.258; IV.252–53; XI.a.35; (Demotic) xiv.110, 505, 670.

⁶²⁰ Dieterich reads (16): *σὺ δὲ ἐστήκεις ἐνεός ὡς*, agreeing with Usener (in Dieterich, 16, *app. crit.*) that this looks like a hexametric half-verse, and that it may be borrowed from a source. Differently, Wilhelm Crönert ("Zur Kritik," 100) reads *σὺ δὲ στήκεις ἐνεός ὡς ταῦτα πάντα χωρήσεις*: *καὶ τότε μνημονεύσεις*, "but you stand there, because of amazement incapacitated to comprehend all of these things..." ("Du aber stehst da, unfähig vor Staunen, dies alles von selbst zu begreifen"). This reading Preisendanz adopts, also referring to the parallel in IV. 923. Kroll (*Ph.* 53 [1894] 420, n. 6; 54 [1895] 561) refers to parallels for the meaning of *χωρεῖν* ("comprehend"): Philo, *Sacr.* 8; Matt 19:11; Plutarch, *Cato Min.* 64.4; Ps.-Phoc. 89; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.26.6. Preisendanz (*app. crit.*) cites Hopfner's reading: *ὡς (ῶστε) χωρήσειν*. For *χωρεῖν* ("comprehend") see also below, n. 623.

⁶²¹ Cf. after Paul's vision of Christ, the men accompanying him stand speechless, *Acts* 9:7: *οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες... εἰστήκεισαν ἐνεότ.*

⁶²² Translations differ at this point because *ἐνεός* can be taken in two ways, either as "speechless and wondering how ..." or "stand in amazement that you will by yourself comprehend all these things" (Preisendanz: "Du aber steh stumm, denn du wirst das alles von selbst verstehen"; Meyer: "But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself"; Merkelbach: "aber du wirst stumm dastehen und darüber staunen, daß Du alles von selbst behältst, was der große Gott gesagt hat").

⁶²³ For the term *χωρεῖν* ("comprehend"), see Dieterich (16, *app. crit.*; 83); BDAG, s.v. *χωρέω*, 3, b, β; *αὐτομάτως*, an important term in miracle stories, is a *hapax* in the PGM; see BDAG, s.v. *αὐτόματος*.

Cf. the concern in *1 En.* 1:2 (OTP 1.13): "(This is) a holy vision from the heavens which the angels showed me; and I heard from them everything and I understood."

infallibly the things spoken by the great god,⁶²⁴ even if the oracle contains myriads of verses").⁶²⁵ Several things are made known here about the nature of the revelation.

First, ll. 725–26 lead to the conclusion that the journey to heaven as a whole is experienced in ecstasy. According to the worldview expressed in the text, this means that the initiate “left the earth” in a state of trance, which for him is physical, and not only a mental experience. One must be cautious at this point. The experience is, of course, imaginative, but it is nonetheless “real” in the sense that the initiate’s physical as well as mental state is participating. If, however, it appears to us as outsiders that the initiate does not move an inch off the ground and that there is no account of a return, this fact only reveals our lack of understanding of what is implied in an ecstatic experience. Therefore, when the god departs the initiate comes out of his trance, this is the moment when he finds himself “standing speechless” (ll. 728–29).⁶²⁶

Second, the oracular response envisaged is called “the words of the great god,” revealed directly without a mediating interpreter, a mouth-to-mouth (*στόμα πρὸς στόμα*) or face-to-face (*πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον*) revelation.⁶²⁷ Furthermore, they are given in verse, as such oracles should be.⁶²⁸ Surprisingly, they add up to a collection of myriads of verses. Regarding this last point, one wonders whether the author has oracle collections, perhaps even a

⁶²⁴ That the problem of remembering the revelation was an important concern is shown by parallels in connection with the oracle of Trophonius (see Pausanias 39.8–14, and Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 185–86, and Plutarch, *Sera* 33, 568A): At his return from the journey to the afterlife, Thespesius is touched with a glowing-hot rod, so as to preserve the memory (see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 204). Cf. also the charms in PGM called “memory spells” (*μνημονική*), I.232–47; II.40–42; III.424–66, 467–78; etc.

⁶²⁵ For *καν* *ην* as a common 3rd pers. sing. subj. in non-literary papyri and the NT see Gignac, *Grammar*, 2.405 with n. 1.

⁶²⁶ Cf. also Paul’s intended ambiguity in 2 Cor 12:2–4. Regarding the man snatched up into the third heaven, he confesses “whether in the body I don’t know, whether out of the body I don’t, God knows.”

⁶²⁷ See I.2–3: *τὸ στόμα πρὸς τὸ στόμα συνόμιλος τῷ θεῷ* (“mouth to mouth he was a companion of the god”). According to ancient views, these oracles had the highest value. Cf. of Moses LXX Num 12:6–8; Deut 5:4; also 1 Cor 13:12, and BDAG, s.v. *πρόσωπον*, 1.b.

⁶²⁸ See Plutarch’s essay “Why oracles are no longer given in verse” (*De Pythiae oraculis*), in which he discusses current theories of decline of the Greek oracles because they are turning to prose. See Schröder, *Plutarch’s Schrift*, 53–55, 67 n. 1; 314.

specific one, in mind.⁶²⁹ At any rate, he names a problem that no doubt has led to such collections.⁶³⁰

With l. 732 the ritual of immortalization (*ἀπαθανατισμός*) concludes. What follows are supplementary instructions.

III. Supplemental rituals (ll. 732–819)

As the analysis shows, part III (ll. 732–819) contains supplemental rituals. There are two kinds of those supplements: first, three options for including a fellow-initiate in the oracular consultation (ll. 732–50); second, three additional instructions for preparing ingredients to be used in the ritual (ll. 750–819).⁶³¹

A. Optional rituals for including a fellow-initiate in the consultation (ll. 732–50)

The three optional rituals, coordinated by *ἐὰν δὲ καὶ...*, *ἐὰν δὲ καὶ...*, *ἐὰν δὲ καὶ...*,⁶³² concern the oracular consultation presented above (ll. 724–28). These rituals are not to be confused with initiations, because the additional person to be included in the consultation must be someone who, just as the first inquirer, is already an initiate (*συμμύστης*); the initiations of both consultants are therefore presupposed as having occurred prior to the present ritual text.

1. In the first option (ll. 732–36), the fellow-initiate is to serve as a medium in the consultation: *ἐὰν δὲ θέλης καὶ συμμύστη χρήσασθαι ὥστε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκεῖνον μόνον σύν σοι ἀκούειν...* (“But if you want to consult the oracle by using a fellow-initiate [as medium], so that he hears only the things spoken together with you...”). The phrase “if you wish” (*ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς*), stating

⁶²⁹ Such as the “Chaldean Oracles” (see Edouard Des Places, “Les Oracles Chaldaïques,” *ANRW* II.17.4 [1984] 2299–2335); Porphyry, *De philosophia ex oraculis exhaurienda librorum reliquiae* (ed. Gustav Wolff, Berlin: Springer, 1856). See Nilsson, *GGR* 2.478–85; Herbert W. Parke & D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (2 vols.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1966); Aune, *Early Christian Prophecy*, 77–79.

⁶³⁰ Cf. also Apollonius’ consultation of Trophonius, when he reappears from the cave with a book containing the teachings of Pythagoras (Philostratus, *V. Apoll.* 8.19–20; see Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum*, 187–88).

⁶³¹ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.156–57) assumes that all the additional rituals refer to passages that were part of the preparatory rituals which the redactor omitted from the beginning of the text. As will be shown below, however, the situation is more complicated.

⁶³² For *καὶ* almost equalling *αὖ* (“again,” “once more” *vel sim.*) see Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 305.

options, is attested elsewhere in the PGM.⁶³³ The term *συμμύστης* is technical and indicates that the adept has been initiated, but perhaps at a lower rank or as child medium.⁶³⁴ The verb *χρᾶσθαι* appears often in the magical literature, but here it seems to have the more specific meaning of “to make use of a medium.”⁶³⁵ The meaning of the *ώστε*-sentence is, at first sight, obscure, but appears to become clearer when compared with the two other options. If the role of the fellow-initiate is that of a medium, a limit is imposed on that role: “so that he hears only the things spoken together with you” (*ώστε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκεῖνον μόνον σύν σοι ἀκούειν*).⁶³⁶ In the PGM, as well as in the language of the mystery cults, this term usually refers to the words to be spoken by the practitioner of the ritual, but in this context it is more likely that it signifies the utterances of the god (see ll. 731, 737).⁶³⁷

The following statement specifies the conditions the medium has to meet before performing his role: *συναγγενέτω σοι <ζ> ἡμέρας καὶ ἀποσχέσθω ἐμψύχων καὶ βαλανεῖου* (“let him be pure together with you for [seven] days, and abstain from meat and bath”).⁶³⁸ These conditions are typical for prelimi-

⁶³³ See I.124; III.495; IV.1720, 2252, 2257, 2301, 3125; XXXVI.151.

⁶³⁴ Pap. reads *συνμυστη* (equalling *συμμύστη*). Jordan considers articulating *σύν μύστη* or haplography *<σύν>* *συνμύστη*. For the term, see also XII.94; and Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 44, 149 n. 75; BDAG, s.v. *μύστης*; for the unassimilated spelling see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.168.

⁶³⁵ For the verb referring to a substance see IV.792–93: *εἴπεν δέ μοι ὁ θεός· μηρέτι χρῶ τῷ συγχρίσματι*). For child mediums see I.86–87; II.56; III.710; IV.89, 850–51; V.1–53 (title: *μαντεῖον Σαραπιακὸν* [*ἐπὶ*] *παιδός*, *ἐπὶ λύχνου καὶ φιάλας καὶ β[ά]ρρου*), 375–76; VII.348–58 (title: *μαντεῖον ἐπὶ παιδός*), 544, 572; XIII.749; LXII.32; PDM xiv.5–10, 150–55, 285–90, 410–15, 460–65, 480–85, 490–95; 515–20, 530, 695, 815–20, 856, 870–75; see Theodor Hopfner, “Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri,” in *Recueil d’études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1926), 65–74.

⁶³⁶ For such selective participation in revelation, see PDM xiv.285–95, 420–26, 525–30, 815–25. Cf. the differing versions of the reports about Jesus’ baptism (Mark 1:9–11 par.) and about the witnesses of Paul’s vision of Jesus on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:7: *ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες*). For discussion and parallels see Herbert Braun, “Entscheidende Motive in den Berichten über die Taufe Jesu von Markus bis Justin,” in *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967), 168–72.

⁶³⁷ For the term *τὰ λεγόμενα*, see also I.163, 193–94; II.17; IV.1442; XII.42–43, 52–53; XIII.210–11; cf. IV.246–47: *ὅπερ ἔνομα ἥρθεν θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν βίᾳ φέρει*. The term *δρῶμενα* does not occur in the PGM, but cf. *δράω* IV.2593, 2655; for *δείκνυμι* cf. below ll. 738, 772, 785. See George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 261–74; Albert Henrichs, “Dromena und Legomena. Zum rituellen Selbstverständnis der Griechen,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 33–71.

⁶³⁸ Dieterich adds *[ζ]* (“seven”) because of the parallel in IV.52. For the importance of seven days, see also I.41 (*ἐν ἡμέρᾳ[ις ζ]*); II.141–44; III.425–39, 695–97; IV.767, 3209–10; V.244–45; VII.526–27; XIII.114, 671; XCIV.10; PDM xiv.1040–45.

nary purifications or sanctifications.⁶³⁹ The emphasis on “together with you” indicates the role of the mentor/teacher as supervisor, and that of the fellow-initiate as being of lower status. Abstention from “ensouled” food (ἔμψυχος),⁶⁴⁰ that is meat, as well as from bath⁶⁴¹ are the common requirements for sanctification;⁶⁴² however, a third typical requirement, sexual intercourse, is not mentioned.⁶⁴³ These requirements of purity are preconditional for the person’s function as a medium.⁶⁴⁴

2. The second option applies to prophecy without a medium (ll. 736–38): ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μόνος ἦς καὶ ἐγχειρῆς τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρημένα, λέγεις ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει ἀποφοιβώμενος⁶⁴⁵ (“But if you are alone, and you are [directly] engaged with the pronouncements of the god, you speak as inspired in

⁶³⁹ The term συναγνεύειν is rare and found only here in the PGM; cf. συναγνίσθητι ἐπευχῆ, “be sanctified together by prayer,” IV.2997–98 (for other readings, see Preisendanz, *app. crit., ad loc.*). Cf. προαγνεύειν, IV.52; XIII.113, 671. The simplex ἀγνεύειν (“sanctify”) occurs II.149, 151; IV.3209; VII.334, 846; XIII.347; XXII.b.27. See Jan Bremmer, “‘Religion’, ‘Ritual’ and the Opposition ‘Sacred vs. Profane’: Notes Towards a Terminological ‘Genealogy’,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 9–32, esp. 24–31.

⁶⁴⁰ For ἔμψυχος, see also IV.1766; LXVII.2; cf. ἄψυχος I.23; IV.498; VII.441. Abstention from meat was widespread in antiquity; see also IV.53, 3079–80; LXVII.2. On the whole, see Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften*, 76–102; Parker, *Miasma*, 357–65.

⁶⁴¹ Strangely, bathing does not effect purification. Abstention from bath (βαλανεῖον) is mentioned only here in the PGM; cf. Kotansky, *Amulets*, 1.298–99. See Julius Jüthner, “Bad,” RAC 1 (1950) 1134–43, esp. 1136 (referring to Philo, *Det.* 19; Porphyry, *Vit. Plot.* 2), and 1141–42. According to Acts 23:21, Paul’s enemies swear that they will neither eat nor drink until they have killed the apostle; for this and other parallels see David Martinez, “‘May she neither eat nor drink’: Love Magic and Vows of Abstinence,” in: Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, eds., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (RGRW 129; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 349 n. 52.

⁶⁴² See Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften*, *passim*; Parker, *Miasma*, *passim*; Stengel, *Kultusaltötimer*, 155–70.

⁶⁴³ On abstention from sex, see I.41–42; IV.897–98; XXXVII.1–2; PDM xiv.65–70, 145–50, 765–70, 815–20. On the subject see Eugen Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (RVV 6; Gießen: Töpelmann, 1910); Gerhard Delling, “Geschlechtsverkehr,” RAC 10 (1978) 812–29 (bibliography); Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 107–8.

⁶⁴⁴ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) notes that no such requirements are reported at the beginning of the ML, and he concludes that the redactor must have omitted them. This conclusion leaves three possible ways of understanding the matter: Did the redactor omit the requirements as they apply to the author himself from the written source material? Or did he regard them as unwritten preconditions for the practitioner/teacher because they are self-evident and do not need to be written out? Or did he spell them out as preconditions for the medium? A decision is difficult, but the latter option seems to be the more likely answer.

⁶⁴⁵ According to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224), Preisendanz apparently later proposed the reading λέγε ἵσως, “speak in the same way as...” Martinez suggests that Preisendanz may be right because also in the other two ἐάν-clauses the protasis is followed by an imperative apodosis.

ecstasy”).⁶⁴⁶ The absence of a medium means that, like Trophonius, the prophet receives the utterances of the god directly. More complex are the theories concerning the Delphic Pythia’s ecstatic inspiration by Apollo.⁶⁴⁷ The terms ἔκστασις (“ecstasy”) and ἀποφοιβάομαι (“inspired by Phoebus”) occur only here in the PGM.⁶⁴⁸

3. The third option is most difficult to understand because the formulation is ambiguous (ll. 738–40): ἐὰν δὲ καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ θέλης, κρίνας, εἰ ἔξιός ἔστιν ἀσφαλῶς ὡς ἀνθρωπος …⁶⁴⁹ (“But again if you wish to show him, after you judge whether his worth as a man is secure …”).⁶⁵⁰ Depending on the interpretation, translations differ; the problem is the missing object of δεῖξαι αὐτῷ, “to show him” – what? Judging from the context (ll. 741–46), the most likely object would be a revelatory symbol belonging to what in mystery-cult language is called τὰ δεικνύμενα (“things shown”).⁶⁵¹ Before this optional

⁶⁴⁶ The translations differ at this point because of what appear to be misunderstandings of the options. Preisendanz: “Wenn du aber auch allein bist und an dem vom Gott mitgeteilten Zauber dich versuchst, sprich, wie in Ekstase voll prophetischer Begeisterung;” Meyer: “And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as if prophesying in ecstasy”; Merkelbach: “Wenn du aber allein bist und ihm das vom Gott Gesagte mitteilen willst, dann wirst du es in prophetischer Begeisterung sagen, als wärest du in Ekstase.” In other words, the present option is different from the previous one. For dispensing with a medium, see also PDM xiv.285–95, 420–26, 525–30, 815–25.

Conceivable if unlikely in the present passage is that the expression ὡς ἐν ἔκστάσει could be taken as faking the ecstasy (see Apuleius, *Metam.* 8.27–28: *velut numinis divino spiritu repletus*; Lucian, *Alex.* 12; Diodorus Siculus 34/35.2.5–7: καὶ οὕτω τὰ μέλλοντα ἀπεφοίβαζεν); Origen, *Cels.* 7.9.9–10: κινοῦνται δῆθεν ὡς θεοπίζοντες. (I am indebted for these passages to Cristiano Grottanelli.)

⁶⁴⁷ See also the “Apollonian invocation,” I.262–347 (Betz, *GMPT*, 10–12, with notes); and Sam Eitrem, “Apollon in der Magie,” in his *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike* (AlVi 5; Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1947), 47–52. For further bibliography, see above at ll.709–10.

⁶⁴⁸ For ἔκστασις (“ecstasy”), see above, n. 614; also Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 64–101; Friedrich Pfister, “Ekstase,” *RAC* 4 (1959) 944–87; Hartmut Zinser, “Ekstase,” *HRWG* 2 (1990) 253–58 (bibliography); Henrichs, “Dromena und Legomena,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 55–57; “Rituelle Ekstase”; BDAG, s.v. ἔκστασις, 2. The rare term ἀποφοιβάομαι (“inspired by Phoebus”) is found only here (LSJ, s.v.), but it shows that this type of prophecy has become part of common religious parlance. Cf. Acts 16:16: ἔχειν πνεῦμα πύθωνα, “having a Python spirit.”

⁶⁴⁹ Wünsch (in Dieterich, 16) regards ὡς as dittography and proposes δ; cf. also Crönert’s discussion (“Zur Kritik,” 100–1); but Preisendanz, Meyer, and Merkelbach keep ὡς.

⁶⁵⁰ Preisendanz: “Willst du es aber auch ihm (dem Miteingeweihten) zeigen, …”; Meyer: “And if you also wish to show him …; Merkelbach: “Aber wenn du es ihm mitteilen willst, (so tue das) …”

⁶⁵¹ Cf. the similar phrase ἐὰν δὲ ἀλλῷ θέλης δεικνύειν (l. 772), but there the meaning is clear (cf. above, n. 637).

ritual can be performed, the fellow-initiate has to be evaluated whether he is worthy as a human being.⁶⁵²

If he passes the test, the following procedure should be followed (ll. 740–41): *χρησάμενος τῷ τόπῳ, ὃς <σὺ> ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ κρινόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀπαθανατισμῷ* (“handling the occasion as though in the immortalization ritual you yourself were being judged in his place”).⁶⁵⁴ This method conforms to the moral standard of fairness, or even to the Golden Rule.⁶⁵⁵

At the beginning, the great “first prayer” should be recited (ll. 741–44): *τὸν πρώτον ὑπόβαλε αὐτῷ λόγον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή γένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αειησιών* (“recite for him the first prayer, of which the beginning is, ‘First origin of my origin, AEEIOYO’”). This “first prayer” is the one fully set out in ll. 486–537; it is to be recited to the fellow-initiate, so that he can repeat it.⁶⁵⁶ What follows after that is to be handled differently: *τὰ δὲ ἔξῆς ὡς μύστης λέγε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀ{υ}τόνῳ*⁶⁵⁷ φθόγγῳ, *ἴνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ ..* (“And say the successive things as an initiate, over his head, in a soft voice, so that he may not hear ...”). The terms are insider language: *τὰ δὲ ἔξῆς* seems to refer to what comes after the “first prayer,” but it is not clear what exactly is included. There are three possibilities for understanding it: First, it may include the entire ritual of ascension (ll. 539–731); this is, however, least likely since what follows is to be spoken in a special way.⁶⁵⁸ The procedure is further specified as

⁶⁵² For this kind of test of one’s worthiness, which was common in the mystery cults, see also I.131; III.176–77; IV.477; XI.a.15; furthermore II.177; XXX.e.3. See also Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 30–65, 145–52; BDAG, s.v. *ἀξιος*, 2.a.

⁶⁵³ Pap. reads *τοπῶ*, emended by Dieterich to *τ<ρ>όπω*; considering this emendation redundant, Martinez convincingly emends *<σὺ>*. The pap. reading *ἀπαθανατισμῷ* is obviously a scribal error, corrected by Wessely to *ἀπαθανατισμῷ*, the name for the immortalization ritual as a whole (see ll. 747, 771, also 647–48); for the term, see also Cornutus, *Nat.* 31; Proclus, *Plat. rem publ.* 1.152.11 (ed. Kroll).

⁶⁵⁴ Following the translation by Martinez. Others differ: Preisendanz: “lege dabei den Maßstab an, als würdest du selbst bei der Verewigung an seiner Statt geprüft”; Merkelbach: “tue das in der Weise, als ob du an seiner Statt bei der Unsterblichkeitsweihe geprüft würdest”; Meyer: “treat him just as if in his place you were judged in the matter of immortalization.”

⁶⁵⁵ See Gal 6:1, and the interpretation in my *Galatians*, 298; for the Golden Rule (Matt 7:12//Luke 6:31), see my *The Sermon on the Mount*, 508–19.

⁶⁵⁶ The verb *ὑποβάλλειν* has the prayer as object; it means “inform” or “instigate,” like a prompter (cf. Preisendanz: “vorsprechen”; Merkelbach: “vorsagen”). See LSJ, BDAG, s.v.

⁶⁵⁷ The pap. reads *αυτονῷ*, corrected to *ἀτόνῳ* by Dieterich (17), Rieß, *CIR* 10 (1896) 411; Kroll, *Ph.* 53 (1894) 421; cf. Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.226–27, and below on l. 749 *παραγγελματῳ*.

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) concludes, “therefore silently” (“also schweigend”). However, it is clearly explained by the following remark.

“over the head” of the fellow-initiate, “in a murmuring voice,”⁶⁵⁹ so that he cannot make out the actual words. Second, and most probable, the recitation *sotto voce* includes the second and third prayers (ll. 559–65, 587–616). The final option is that the words are not in the written text at all, but oral and secret; this is unlikely in a written instruction.

At any rate, while the formulae are murmured, the practitioner is told (l. 746): *χρίων αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν τῷ μυστηρίῳ*⁶⁶⁰ (“as you are anointing his face with the mystery”). The anointing (*χρίειν*) refers to the iatromagical tradition dealing with salves and ointments of all sorts.⁶⁶¹ This particular ointment is intended to improve vision (cf. ll. 772–75).⁶⁶² The name of the ointment is *μυστήριον* (“mystery”); its preparation is described in ll. 751–78, below. While the term *μυστήριον* can refer to different matters (cf. ll. 476, 723, 794), there seems to be no other such attribution of this name, the purpose of which is, one may conclude, to enable the eyes to see the mystery that is shown (l. 738).

4. After the additional rituals for the participation of a fellow-initiate in the oracular consultation have been presented, a few stipulations bring the section to its conclusion (ll. 746–50). The first stipulation concerns the frequency of usage (ll. 746–48): *γίγνεται δὲ ὁ ἀπαθανατισμός οὗτος τρὶς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* (“This immortalization takes place three times a year”). In other words, the ritual called “immortalization”⁶⁶³ may be performed three times a year, but not more. How this relates to the stipulation in ll. 796–98 is not clear (see below).

Another stipulation concerns defection, apparently by someone who wishes to discontinue the practice (ll. 748–50): *ἔὰν δὲ βουλήθῃ τις, ὃ τέχνον, μετὰ*

⁶⁵⁹ For parallels, see Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22.1: *lento murmure susurrat*, “he whispers [sc. the formula] with a soft murmur”; Apuleius, *Metam.* 1.3. See Wilhelm Kroll, “Alte Taufgebräuche,” *ARW.B* 8 (1905) 42–43; Abt, *Die Apologie*, 212; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1–2, §§ 28, 40, 121–22, 224, 352–53; Gershom Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd ed.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965), 58.

⁶⁶⁰ The pap. reads *χρειων* (itacism).

⁶⁶¹ See, esp. 1.255–60; Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22.1: *Tunc a sacerdote omnium qui flebant fauces unguentur...* (“Then all who lamented have their throats anointed...”). For further references to anointing, see Preisendanz, 3.203 (index), s.v. *χρίειν*, *χρῆσμα*.

⁶⁶² On anointing the eyes, see also V.64–69; VII.335–36; PDM xiv.115–16, 820–25. For further literature, see Wolfgang Westendorf, “Augenheilkunde,” *LA* 1 (1975) 560–62; Wolfgang Helck, “Augenschminke,” *ibid.*, 567; Friedrich Wilhelm Bayer, “Augensalbe (collyrium),” *RAC* 1 (1950) 972–75; Ernst Kind, “*κολλαύριον*,” *PRE* 21. Halbhd. (1921) 1100–6; BDAG, s.v. *κολλαύριον* (with reference to Rev 3:18, and further literature). Cf. the healing miracles of Jesus in Mark 8:23; Joh 9:6, 11, 15.

⁶⁶³ For this name, see above, l. 741.

τὸ παράγγελμα {τῷ} παρακοῦσαι, <τῷ> οὐκέτι ὑπάρξει⁶⁶⁴ (“And if anyone, my child, wishes after the instruction to disobey, then for him it will no longer be in effect.”) The meaning of the statement is disputed, and hence the translations vary.⁶⁶⁵ Apparently, the case envisages a person who has received the instruction of the initiation but wishes to quit, disobey or deviate from the received tradition; for him the ritual is no longer at his disposal or loses its efficaciousness. The *παράγγελμα* seems to refer to the instruction as a whole.⁶⁶⁶ A statement such as this assures the teacher and warns the student.⁶⁶⁷ With this, the section ends.

B. Additional instruction (ll. 750–819)

A special section of further instructions follows after the “supplemental rituals.” This new section carries an explicit title: διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως (“instruction for the performance”). The instruction includes prescriptions for three items to be used in the main ritual. First, a prescription is provided

⁶⁶⁴ Pap. reads *παραγγελματο*. Dieterich omits *τω*, but Preisendanz rearranges and puts *τω* before *οὐκέτι* (so also Jordan); Wünsch reads *παράγγελμα αὐτῷ*; Ludwig Radermacher (*Ph.* 63 [1904] 4–5; *idem, Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 56) prefers *μετὰ τὸ παραγγέλματον*. Dieterich (17) reads *οὐκέτι* and connects *ὑπάρξει* (ἀπαθανατισμός); according to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 224), Preisendanz later proposed to read: *μεταθεῖναι τὸ παραγγέλμα τῷ παρακοῦσαι*, “if someone wants to bend the prescript by disobedience” (“wollte einer die Vorschrift beugen durch Ungehorsam”). Preisendanz (*ibid.*) also withdrew his proposal of *παραγγελμά πω* (*WSt* 42 [1920–21] 27 no. 10). Martinez comments: “I think that Wünsch’s reading is closest to the truth; in documentary papyri *αὐτός* etc. are very frequently written *ἀτός* etc. (see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.226–27 with 227 n. 1, noting examples in desfixions; Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 67); cf. above l. 745 *αυ* > *α*. So I would write *παραγγελμά α<ύ>τῷ*. As to what *αὐτῷ* is doing here is another issue. Displacement is possible (as Preisendanz supposes with *τῷ*). We could also interpret the form as a genitive (*ou* > *ω*(*ι*), fairly frequent either for phonetic reasons or syntactic confusion between genitive and dative (see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.208ff.). In that case the translation would be: ‘If anyone wishes after his instruction to disobey...’”

⁶⁶⁵ Preisendanz: “Wollte aber jemand, mein Kind, nach Empfang der Vorschrift ihr nicht Folge leisten, dem wird sie nicht mehr zu Gebote stehn”; Meyer: “And if anyone, O child, after the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer be in effect”; Merkelbach: “Mein Kind, wenn jemand, der sich dazu gemeldet, den Anweisungen nicht folgen (und die Weihe versäumen) sollte, für den gibt es keine Möglichkeit mehr.”

⁶⁶⁶ For the term *παρακούειν*, see also IV.290, 367, and Preisendanz, 3.158 (index), s.v. *παρακούειν*.

⁶⁶⁷ It may be related to similar quasi-legal rules; see, e.g., Matt 5:19, and for further material and discussion my commentary, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 184–89. Cf. XIII.379–80: εἰ μὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καλέσῃς, οὐκ ἐπακούουσι ὡς ἀμυστηριάστω σοι ὑπάρχοντι (“For if you do not invoke them [sc. the gods of the hours], they will not hear you, as being uninitiated”). See also BDAG, s.v. *ὑπάρχω*, 1.

for making the sun-scarab ointment (ll. 751–78); second, the information and preparation of the plant called *kentritis* (ll. 778–813); and third, the preparation of phylacteries (ll. 813–19).

1. The title διδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως (“instruction for the performance”), most likely given to this section by the final author/redactor may appear surprising, but it should be remembered from the exordium (ll. 475–84) that the overall purpose of the text of the Mithras Liturgy is intended to be didactic.⁶⁶⁸

2. All three items involve rituals as well as alchemical and biological information. The technical terminology used is Greek in origin and often difficult to identify.⁶⁶⁹ The difficulties arise from the fact that the papyrus originated in Egypt and describes Egyptian materials and plants; the terminology, however, is Greek. While alchemical ingredients are often common, plants are geographically specific, so that their identifications by Greek names become difficult to verify. The fact that the author supplements information from Greek plant books shows that even he had difficulties in identifying the Egyptian plants and that he does not seem to know their Egyptian names.

The preparation of the rituals should precede the actual performance of the main ritual, because they have to be ready to be used when their place and time of performance has come, which is mentioned in the main ritual.⁶⁷⁰ Hence, *pace* Merkelbach, the additional instruction does not imply a criticism by the redactor who regards his *Vorlage* to be deficient. Also Dieterich separates the additions as secondary from the “liturgy” proper. He attributes them to the final redactor who uses the earlier “liturgy” as a source for an altogether different magical procedure.⁶⁷¹ However, a distinction has to be kept in mind

⁶⁶⁸ While the terminology of teaching is not frequent in the PGM, this infrequency cannot obscure the fact that much of its content is for instruction. διδασκαλία is *hapax* in the PGM; for διδαχή, see XIII.59, 430; for διδάσκειν, see IV.1872 (μηδένα διδάσκει).

⁶⁶⁹ For plant biology in connection with rituals and astrology, see the parallels in Thessalos of Tralles, *De virtutibus herbarum* (ed. Friedrich, *passim*); for the text see also Totti, *Texte*, # 45; Armand Delatte, *Herbarius. Recherches sur le cérémonial usité chez les anciens pour la cueillettes des simples et des plantes magiques* (3rd. ed.; Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires, 54.4; Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1961); cf. the review by Friedrich Pfister, *ByZ* 37 (1937) 381–90; *idem*, “Pflanzenaberglaube,” *PRE* 19.2 (1938) 1446–56; Heinrich Marzell, “Der Zauber der Heilkräuter in der Antike und Neuzeit,” *SAGM* 29 (1936) 3–26.

⁶⁷⁰ A different view has been stated by Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.156–57, 245), when he sees the “instruction” to refer to passages that were originally placed at the beginning of the Mithras Liturgy, but were omitted from the text by the redactor. There is no need, however, to assume such an omission because references point to places in the extant text before us.

⁶⁷¹ Thus, Dieterich (17–22) omits translating the additions, but he provides valuable notes on the text. See the Introduction, above pp. 11, 26–27.

between textual and ritual sequences. The textual sequences are what is written down, whereas the ritual sequences are known to the practitioner from practice.⁶⁷²

1. First ritual: the sun-scarab ointment (ll. 751–78)

The first item involves a sun-scarab ointment, most likely the same as the one called *μυστήριον* (“mystery,” l. 746).⁶⁷³ The section shows careful composition and has its own little epilogue (ll. 776–78), features indicating that it was taken from a source. The preparation of the ointment has two stages.

The first stage (ll. 751–57) begins with the procurement of the ingredients. The first item is a sun-scarab (ll. 751–53): *λαβών κάνθαρον ἡλιακὸν τὸν τὰς ιβ' ἀκτῖνας ἔχοντα ποίησον εἰς βησίον καλλάεινον βαθὺ ἐν ἀρπαγῇ τῆς σελήνης βληθῆναι*⁶⁷⁴ (“Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at time when the moon is invisible”).⁶⁷⁵ The term *λαβών* (“take!”) is technical and common. As the name indicates, the “sun scarab” (*κάνθαρος ἡλιακός*)⁶⁷⁶ represents the old solar deity Khepry.⁶⁷⁷ The Greeks were fascinated by the symbolism, which is reflected by Plutarch who theorizes that the beetle is an image (*εἰκών*) of “the power of the gods, like the image of the sun in rain-drops.”⁶⁷⁸ Apparently, the scarab with the

⁶⁷² For the difference between ritual text sequence and performance sequence see the Introduction, above p. 31.

⁶⁷³ For the terms, see ll. 770, *χρῆσμα*; *σύγχρισμα*, l. 793; *περιχρίσιν*, ll. 773–74.

⁶⁷⁴ Pap. reads *βωσιον*, emended by Wessely to *βήσιον*. Dieterich (17) compares Hesychius (ed. Latte, β, 584), s.v. *βησίον*: *ποτήριον*; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 11.784b (ed. Kaibel, BiTeu, 3.96; ed. C. B. Gulick, LCL, 5.52): *Βῆσσα ποτήριον παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πλατύτερον ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν, ἐστενωμένον ἀνωθεν*. Cf. 11.497d (ed. Gulick, 5.218) about a drinking vessel (*rhyton*) in the temple of Arsinoe that has the shape of the Egyptian god Besas and gives off a shrill tone when the spout is opened. Cf. Cyranides 1.21.115 (ed. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*, 99): *ἀπέθου ἐν θελίνῳ ἀγγείῳ*; 1.23.50 (107), etc. Jordan prefers *βωσίον* (“vessel”).

⁶⁷⁵ As a result of the uncertainties in identifying the technical language, translations of the vessel differ at this point. Preisendanz: “*Gefäß aus Goldstein*”; Meyer: “turquoise cup”; Merkelbach: “*blaugrünes Gefäß*.”

⁶⁷⁶ The term is found also in VII.974–75; XII.274 (ἐστω δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ δράκοντος κάνθαρος ἀκτινωτὸς ἵερος), LXI.34; cf. Horapollo, *Hier.* 2.41; see Heinz-Josef Thissen, *Des Niloten Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch*, vol. 1 (APF.B 6; München: Saur, 2001), 8–10 (# 10).

⁶⁷⁷ See Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Trans. John Baines; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), 117, with plate IV; also Günther Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung im Alten Ägypten* (Zürich & Stuttgart: Artemis, 1960), 384–88 (with figure 32); Jan Assmann, “*Chepre*,” *LA* 1 (1975) 934–40 (bibl.).

⁶⁷⁸ Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 74, 381A: ... ὥσπερ ἐν σταγόσιν ἡλίου τῆς τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεως κατιδόντες. See for commentary Griffiths, *Plutarch*, 554–56; he mentions Manetho and

twelve sun-rays⁶⁷⁹ is a special kind which is attested, as far as I can see, only here.⁶⁸⁰ The preparation involves the killing of the scarab by letting it drop⁶⁸¹ into a deep vessel (*βησίον*)⁶⁸² made from a natron and sulphur concoction (*καλλάξινον*).⁶⁸³ This should take place at the time of the new moon.⁶⁸⁴

Hecataeus of Abdera (according to Diogenes Laertius, prooemium 10); Aelianus, *Nat. an.* 10.15.

⁶⁷⁹ What is precisely meant, is unclear: How are twelve sun-rays connected with a living beetle? Perhaps grooves on the wings were seen as sun-rays. According to Hopfner (OZ 2/1, § 122), there are twelve horns on the head of the beetle, and these constitute the relationship to the sun. For the twelve sun-rays, see IV.1109–14. For sun-rays on gemstone amulets see Maryse Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1987), 71, 73.

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. V. 212–303 (“Hermes’ ring”), the preparation of a scarabaeus amulet. The scarab is important in the PGM; see I.223–24; II.159; III.207–8 (*κάν[θαρε]*); IV.65, 68, 71, 78, 767, 943, 1659, 2456–57, 2598, 2660–61, 2688; V.212–303; VII.520, 780, 973–80; XII.45, 57, 274–77, 437; XIII.1066; XXXVI.183; XXXVIII.21 (?); *Suppl. Mag.*, # 38, 7–8 (1.118–19; with comments at 121). Cf. the *vox magica σανκανθαρα*, II.33; III.430; IV.2668; V.425–26; XII.184; XIII.924–25; XIX.a.12. For literature, see Hopfner, OZ, 2/1, §§ 121–22,127; Armand Delatte, “Études sur la magie grecque, V. ἈΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ,” *BCH* 38:2 (1914) 189–249, esp. 246–48: “Le μωστήριον du Scarabée”; Max Pieper, “Skarabäen,” *PRE* 2. Reihe 5 (1927) 447–59; Sam Eitrem, “Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie,” in Klauser & Rücker, *Pisciculi*, 94–101; Franz Joseph Dölger, *AuC* 6 (1950) 49–51; Raphael Giveon, “Skarabäus,” *LÄ* 5 (1984) 968–81; Betz, *GMPT*, 338 (with bibliography); Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, 82–86; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.14, 44–45, 198, 218; Heinz Josef Thissen, *Des Nilotes Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch*, vol. 1 (*AFP*, Beiheft 6 [Munich & Leipzig: Saur, 2001], 8–10 (Chapter 10); Michel, *Gemmen*, ## 99–103, 563–84 (with bibl. at # 99); Robert S. Bianchi, “Scarabs,” *OEAE* 3 (2001) 179–81.

⁶⁸¹ The term *βάλλειν* (*βάληθηνται*) serves the purpose of ritual killing; cf. VII.973–80; furthermore I.4–5 (falcon); XIII.1: cat; IV.2455–57: mouse and scarab; VII.628: lizard; Cyranides 1.21.98–110, ed. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*, 98–99: falcon. Cf. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) suggests that the scarab is drowned in order to be deified by making it into Osiris, but l. 757 says it dies from the eating of the ingredients.

⁶⁸² Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) thinks of a vessel that looks like the god Besas. For this god, see IV.807; VII.203, 245; VIII.64–65. See Betz, *GMPT*, 333, s.v. Bes; Hartwig Altenmüller, “Bes,” *LÄ* 1 (1975) 720–24. For vases in the form of Bes, see Tran Tam Tinh, “Bes,” *LMC* 3.1 (1986) 98–108, esp. # 24.a-d; # 81.a-e; 3:2, p. 85, # 81.d.

⁶⁸³ So Hopfner, OZ 2/1, § 121: “aus Natron und Schwefelmasse.” Meyer has in mind a turquoise-colored glass vessel. For *καλλάξινος* see also IV.1090; V.222; XIII.1068–69. Cf. below, l. 758–59.

⁶⁸⁴ The phrase *ἐν ἀρπαγῇ τῆς σελήνης*, “when the moon is invisible” (LSJ, s.v. *ἀρπαγή*) is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the PGM; it is attested also in Horapollo, *Hier.* 1.14; for the mythological explanation, see Vettius Valens, *Anth.* 2, chpt. 38 (ed. Kroll). See Richard Wünsch, *JCPH*.S 27 (1902) 114, n. 1; 115; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.245) suggests that this time reference is connected with the notion of rebirth: “Mit diesem Zeitpunkt ist vermutlich eine Vorstellung von der Wiedergeburt verbunden; zur Zeit des Neumonds ist Selene gestorben, aber sie wird nach drei Tagen wieder aufleben. Auch der Tod des Sonnenkäfers wird nicht ewig sein.”

The next ingredients are from plants and serve to make a kind of small cake (ll. 754–55): *συνεμβαλὼν αὐτῷ λωτομῆτρας σπέρμα καὶ μέλι λειώσας ποίησον μαζίον*⁶⁸⁵ (“put in together with it the seed of the fruit pulp of the lotus, and after grinding it with honey prepare a cake”). The name *λωτομῆτρα* refers to the lotus plant.⁶⁸⁶ Honey is a substance often used in magical practices.⁶⁸⁷ The mixture is then ground up⁶⁸⁸ and formed into a small cake.⁶⁸⁹

The purpose of the cake is to cause the death of the scarab (ll. 755–57): *καὶ εὐθέως αὐτὸν δψη προσερχόμενον καὶ ἐσθίοντα, καὶ ὅταν φάγῃ, εὐθέως θνήσκει* (“and at once you will see it [viz. the scarab] moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies”). Therefore, the sudden death of the scarab is caused by eating from the cake, but not by drowning.⁶⁹⁰

The second stage also begins with the acquisition of the ingredients (ll. 757–59): *τοῦτον ἀνελόμενος βάλε εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὑελοῦν μύρου ῥοδίνου καλλίστου, ὅσον βούλει*⁶⁹¹ (“Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish”). One will notice that the ingredients are now becoming more expensive. The glass vessel seems more valuable, and rose oil certainly is an expensive perfume, to be used here in quantity.⁶⁹² The vessel needs then to be placed properly (ll. 759–61): *καὶ στρώσας καθαρείως⁶⁹³ ἄμμον ιερὰν ἐπίθεες τὸ ἀγγεῖον ...* (“and spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, and set the vessel on it ...”). What this “sacred sand” is and how one spreads it in a

⁶⁸⁵ Pap. reads *λιωσας*, corrected by Wessely to *λειώσας*.

⁶⁸⁶ *λωτομῆτρας σπέρμα* is the name for the fruitpulp of the lotus plant (LSJ, s.v.). See also III.333; IV.3009; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.245. For *λωτός*, see II.102–3; IV.1683; XII.87; LXI.32; *λωτίνος* XIII.25, 355; *μελίλωτος* IV.941. See Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1, § 216; August Steier, “*Lotos*,” PRE 26. Halbhd. (1927) 1515–32, esp. 1520–21.

⁶⁸⁷ See Preisendanz, 3.134 (index), s.v. *μέλι*; cf. Thessalos 1, prooemium, section 38 and often (ed. Friedrich, 64). On honey, see Fritz Graf, “Milch, Honig und Wein. Zum Verständnis der Libation im griechischen Ritual,” in *Perennitas: Studi in onore di Angelo Brellich* (Rome: Edizioni dell’ Ateneo, 1980), 209–21; Otto Böcher and Adelheid Sallinger, “Honig,” RAC 16 (1994) 433–73, esp. 453.

⁶⁸⁸ A technical procedure in ancient pharmacy and alchemy. See also III.189; IV.1880; VII.225; VIII.87; XIII.320.

⁶⁸⁹ The term *μαζίον* (“amalgam”) occurs only here in the PGM, but it is technical in the language of pharmacy and alchemy; cf. also the role of cakes in sacrifice.

⁶⁹⁰ Pace Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.246) who argues that the scarab gets stuck in the honey and thus suffocates and drowns (“*erstickt = ertrinkt*”).

⁶⁹¹ Pap. reads *αγγιον* as in l. 761; cf. l. 752. See Delatte, *BCH* 38 (1914) 246. For *βάλε*, see l. 753; also Thessalos, 1, prooemium, section 38 (ed. Friedrich, 64): *βάλλε εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὑέλινα*.

⁶⁹² For the rose oil, see below, ll. 789–90; also VII.337–38; VIII.108–9; cf. the costly perfume used by the woman in Mark 14:3 par.

⁶⁹³ Pap. reads *καθαριως* and *αγγιον*.

pure manner, seems to have a mythological background known to the magicians.⁶⁹⁴

At any rate, with all done, the consecration can take place. The formula has to be pronounced (ll. 761–62): *καὶ λέγε τὸ (ὄνομα)⁶⁹⁵ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγγους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ζ' ἥλιου μεσουρανοῦντος*: “and say the name over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in midheaven”). The time is during seven days at high noon,⁶⁹⁶ and the formula has to be spoken over the vessel.⁶⁹⁷

The formula (*ὄνομα*) itself is cited in full in ll. 762–67, addressing the scarab: *ἐγώ σε ἐτέλεσα, ἵνα μοι ἡ σου οὐσία γένη χρήσιμος, τῷ δ(ε)ῖ(να) μόνῳ οει τα η εη ου εια· ἐμοὶ μόνῳ χρησιμεύσῃς ἐγώ γάρ εἰμι φωρ α φως φοτιζαας – οι δέ· φωρ φωρ οφοθειξαας*.⁶⁹⁸ (“It is I who have consecrated you, that your substance may be useful to me, NN alone, IE IA E EE OY EIA, that you may prove useful to me alone, for I am PHOR PHOR A PHOS PHOTIZAAS” [others: “PHOR PHOR OPHOTHEIXAAS”]).⁶⁹⁹

The scarab which at its death became associated with the invisible moon (l. 753) becomes deified and related to the sun. Since the beetle is being addressed as a person, one must assume that it is alive, albeit in a divine way. The formulaic *ἐγώ εἰμι* (“I am”)⁷⁰⁰ secures emphatically ownership and use of divine beetle. The verb form *ἐτέλεσα* presupposes, as often in rituals, an ingressive or durative aorist.⁷⁰¹ What the scarab has thus become is called

⁶⁹⁴ See the discussions in Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1–2, §§ 130, 219, 257, 260.

⁶⁹⁵ Pap. reads the symbol □ for *ὄνομα*, “name.” See Preisendanz, 2.269–70.

⁶⁹⁶ On this point, see IV.173, 2992; XII.45; also Thessalos, 1, prooemium, section 39 (ed. Friedrich, 64).

⁶⁹⁷ For λέγειν τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγγους, cf. III.410–13; IV.223–30; V.197–212; LXI.5–6.

⁶⁹⁸ For Wessely's reading of *ἡ σὴ οὐσία*, occasioned by suspicion over the attributive position of *σου* in the pap., see Dieterich (17) who refers to Georg Benedikt Winer and Paul W. Schmidel, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* (8th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902), 210; Friedrich Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1894–1898), 171; Johann Compernaß, *De sermone graeco volgari Pisidiae Phrygiaeque meridionalis* (Dissertation Bonn, 1895), 11. Pap. again reads the symbol Δ. Martinez proposes convincingly to read οφοθειξαας to correspond with φοτιζαας.

⁶⁹⁹ The form *γένη* needs explanation. Dieterich (17) points to parallels listed by Georgios Chatzidakis [Hatzidakis], *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1892), 198. Wessely changed to *γένη[ται]*; see also Ernst Kuhnert, “Feuerzauber,” *RhM* 49 (1894) 37–58, esp. 46. Martinez, however, proposes convincingly to take the form *γένη* just as “the second person sing. of the normal deponent form, written mistakenly because *ἡ σου οὐσία*, ‘your essence’ becomes in the scribe's mind simply a collocation for ‘you.’” The same second person sing. is used in the following repetition of the formula, “that you may be useful to me alone.”

⁷⁰⁰ On this formula see above at l. 535, and Martinez, *P Michigan XVI*, 92–95.

⁷⁰¹ See BDF §§ 318, 331.

οὐσία, a technical term frequent in magical contexts, which means *materia magica*, a substance of divine power.⁷⁰² However, determination of the meaning of οὐσία in the present context is more difficult. Does it refer to the scarab's immaterial divine nature, or to the *materia magica* in the vessel, or to Merkelbach's rendering as "inner being"?⁷⁰³ Although all three possibilities play some role, the author's primary concern is with the handling of sacred substance in the vessel. Therefore, in the present context οὐσία is rather specialized when compared with the usual "property" of a person (such as hair, clothing) affixed to spells. In order to make sure that this substance is useful to the practitioner alone,⁷⁰⁴ he inserts his name twice (l. 764), once by inserting his ordinary name NN,⁷⁰⁵ together with a vowel sequence, and once by repeating the purpose clause (χρησιμεύσῃς) and by self-identification through divine names (ll. 765–67). The latter are obviously related to φῶς ("light"), that is, the sun.⁷⁰⁶ As a redactional comment by the final author/redactor shows, he has carefully compared the names and inserts a variant reading that "others" (plural!) have.⁷⁰⁷

Once the divine substance has been procured, it must be properly preserved and stored (ll. 767–69): τῇ δὲ ζ' ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) βαστάξας τὸν κάνθαρο(ν), θάψας ζύρνα καὶ οὖν Μενδησίῳ καὶ βυσσίνῳ ἀπόθου ἐν κυαμῶνι ζωοφυτοῦντι⁷⁰⁸ ("On the seventh day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine and fine linen; and deposit it in a flourishing bean field"). The term βαστάζειν ("acquire") appears to be technical,⁷⁰⁹ referring to handling of ingredients. Preservation of the material happens by burial of the scarab, the process of which is briefly described.⁷¹⁰ The ingredients of

⁷⁰² For the many parallels in the PGM, see Preisendanz, 3.154 (index), s.v. οὐσία; Betz, *GMPT*, 336, s.v. "Material, magical." For discussion, see Preisendanz, "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri, (I)," *WSt* 40 (1918) 1–8; Hopfner, *OZ* 1, §§ 667–77; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.246 (who, however, translates οὐσία as "innerstes Wesen"); Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, 9 n. 38, 56. See for the larger field, Christopher Stead, *Divine Substance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977); idem, "Homousios," *RAC* 16 (1994) 367–73, 991–93.

⁷⁰³ Martinez raises the question whether the Egyptian name for the scarab, *hpr* ("come into being") is of influence and points to "manifestation."

⁷⁰⁴ The formula of exclusivity is found elsewhere in the ML; see ll. 476, 484, 736; XII.37–38; etc.

⁷⁰⁵ The pap. reads the symbol Δ, meaning τῷ δεῖνα. See on this above, on l. 495.

⁷⁰⁶ For other such names in the ML, see the index below.

⁷⁰⁷ For another such insertion, see l. 500.

⁷⁰⁸ Pap. reads the symbol ζ ΗΜ̄, equalling ἐβδόμη ήμέρα (see Preisendanz, 2.269); pap. also reads κανθάρο (corrected by Dieterich [18]) and θάψας (changed by Dieterich [18] to βάψας); Preisendanz keeps θάψας. Preisendanz reads σμύρνη, Jordan prefers σμύρνα (see n. 711 below).

⁷⁰⁹ For βαστάζειν, see also l. 779.

⁷¹⁰ Interestingly, the *materia magica* is still called "scarab."

myrrh⁷¹¹ and Mendesian wine⁷¹² are used for the embalming and wrapping in linen cloth.⁷¹³ Thus embalmed the scarab is deposited in a sprouting bean field.⁷¹⁴ Why such a place is chosen can only be guessed.⁷¹⁵ Merkelbach's suggestion that κύαμος Αἰγύπτιος ("Egyptian bean") is another name for the Lotus flower may be right, but why would another name be preferred?⁷¹⁶

Another comment relates to proper storage, but its place in the ritual is unclear (ll. 770–71): *τὸ δὲ χρῆσμα ἔστιάσας καὶ συνευωχηθεὶς ἀπόθου καθαρείως εἰς τὸν ἀπαθανατισμόν* ("then, after you have entertained and feasted together, deposit the ointment in a pure way for the immortalization"). Because of the occurrence of *χρῆσμα* (ll. 770, 773–74, 793), this comment is concerned with the ointment, the preparation of which is described in ll. 751–78, but the situation envisaged in ll. 770–71 appears out of context in that no common dining has been mentioned before.⁷¹⁷ Merkelbach concludes: "The initiate should entertain the dead scarab in a symbolic fashion, and eat himself a meal together with him (which almost leads to a sacramental communion), and then he should carefully store the oil and the scarab for later use in the consecration."⁷¹⁸

⁷¹¹ Myrrh occurs often in the PGM, spelled in different ways: ζυρόνα, μύρονα, σβύρονα, σμύρνα. See Preisendanz, 3.102, 139, 175, 177 (index), s.v.; Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.12ff. On myrrh generally, see August Steier, "Myrrha," PRE 31st Halbband (1933) 1134–46; Walter W. Müller, "Weihrauch," PRE.S 15 (1978) 700–77.

⁷¹² Wine from Mendes in the Nile delta is mentioned in I.85; IV.1315, 2681–82. The wine was famous in antiquity; see Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3.20.2; TLG, s.v. οἶνος Μενδήσιος, for references to the medical writers, esp. Alexander of Tralles, *Ther.* (ed. Puschmann, 2.17; dealing with therapy of the eyes); Galen, *Comp. medic.*, 1 (ed. Kühn 12.444); 4 (12.754); Photius, *Lex.*, s.v. Μένδη. See Hermann Kees, "Mendes," PRE 29th Halbband (1931) 780–84; William J. Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* (2 vols.; London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1977), 2.600.

⁷¹³ Linen cloth (βυσσίνῳ [φάκῳ]) is mentioned in I.277, 293, 332; VII.208, 338; VIII.84–85; XII.145.

⁷¹⁴ The aorist imperative form ἀπόθου from ἀποτιθέναι ("deposit") is almost technical in the PGM; see V.228–29; VII.225, 875, 915; XII.315. Cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀποτιθημι, II.3.

⁷¹⁵ Dieterich (18) refers to Richard Wünsch, *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Religion* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902), 41 (31–46: "Die Bohnenblüte"); Hopfner, OZ 2/1–2, §§ 121–22, 214–16, 219. For other instances of preservation, see IV.2465–66: ἀποθέμενος εἰς πυξίδα μοιεβῆν; XV.17–20; XXXVII.7(?)

⁷¹⁶ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.246): "In einem Bohnenbeet. Da mit κύαμος Αἰγύπτιος die Lotusblume bezeichnet wird (vgl. IV 941 und XIII 22), tritt hier der κυαμών einfacher Bohnen vermöge des gleichlautenden Namens an die Stelle der heiligen Lotusblume." See also LSJ, s.v. κύαμος, 2.

⁷¹⁷ For ἔστιάν, ἔστια ("wining and dining"), see VII.172; for συνευωχεῖσθαι ("feasting together with") see IV.3150–51.

⁷¹⁸ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.246): "Der Myste soll den toten Sonnenkäfer symbolisch bewirken und auch selbst mit ihm eine Mahlzeit einnehmen (was fast auf eine Kommunion

This interpretation is derived from other PGM parallels which mention such meals.⁷¹⁹ According to the text, however, the object to be wined and dined remains unclear; it must be the scarab, now also called ointment (χρῖσμα). The latter is mentioned first in ll. 738–46, then in ll. 772–75, and finally in l. 793; this ointment is the *materia magica*, but in l. 767 it is also called the scarab. If, therefore, the scarab is to be entertained, which is most likely, the question is also whether one should speak, as Merkelbach does, of “the dead scarab” after it has become immortalized.

Another possibility would be to allow for a metatextual reference. Since the presumed meal is without a precedent in the ML, the passage may have been copied from an earlier *Vorlage*. This earlier *Vorlage* may have presupposed a ritual context of a sacramental meal, within which the ointment for the eyes was to be used. Thus, one should not automatically assume a complete homogeneity between literary and ritual sequences. Rather, the case may be that the author/redactor has copied from a *Vorlage* which comprised a broader spectrum of prescriptions, and by copying from it he transposed the passage into the new context of his own practices in the ML.⁷²⁰ This assumption could find support in the author/redactor’s later correction to the effect that the scarab ointment is no longer to be used (see below, on ll. 792–96). At any rate, the *materia magica* is to be safely stored to be ready for future use in the main ritual of immortalization.

A further optional ritual concerning an eye ointment follows in ll. 772–75: ἐὰν δέ ἀλλῷ θέλῃς δεικνύειν, ἔχε τῆς καλουμένης βοτάνης κεντρίτιδος χυλὸν περιχρίων τὴν ὄψιν, οὕ βούλει, μετὰ ὄδίνου, καὶ ὄψεται δηλαυγῶς ὥστε σε θαυμάζειν⁷²¹ (“If you want to show this to someone else, get the juice of the

hinausläuft) und dann das Öl und den Käfer sorgfältig aufbewahren, zur späteren Benützung bei der Weihe.”

⁷¹⁹ See I.22–24 on dining with an immortalized falcon; III.424–30: eating the heart of a kakkouphat bird (cf. II.17–20; VII.412). Meals with deities are mentioned I.2–3: a meal with a familial spirit (πάρεδρος δαίμων): [συνόμιλος καὶ συναριστῶν ἔσται σοι καὶ συνκοιμαμένος (“he will be your [companion and] will eat and sleep with you”); I.85–89: a meal with an angel; VII.644–51: consumption of a magical potion. See also Hopfner, OZ 2/2, §§ 264–66.

⁷²⁰ As an example of this Dieterich (18) refers to a scarab amulet of stone with an inscription which contains *voices magicae* and these words: χρημάτισόν μοι ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἐπ’ ἀληθείᾳ μετὰ μνῆμας (see Richard Wünsch, “Sopra uno scarabeo con iscrizione greca,” *Bulletino della Commissione archeologica communale di Roma* 27 (1899) 294–99 (cf. *IGSI* 2413, 16, ed. Kaibel).

⁷²¹ Pap. reads δηλαυγῶς, emended by Dieterich (18, cf. 224) to τηλαυγῶς. Preisendanz retains δηλαυγῶς because of the parallel in IV.1033; so also Crönert, “Zur Kritik,” 101. For a similar vacillation in the manuscripts between δηλαυγῶς and τηλαυγῶς, see Mark 8:25 and BDAG, *sub vocibus*; for the exchange of δ/τ see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.80ff.

herb called *kentritis*, and smear it, along with the rose oil, around the eyes of whomever you wish; and he [or: she] will see so clearly that you will be amazed"). The relationship of this procedure to the one mentioned before (ll. 738–46) is unclear. Both are introduced in a similar manner as optional: ἐὰν δὲ καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ θέλης (ll. 738–39), and ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ θέλης δεικνύειν (l. 772); both are dealing with eye ointments for the improvement of vision.⁷²² It is this improvement of eye-sight that provides the link with the main ritual's concern for the transformation of visual sense-perception (see ll. 501–15, 516–27).

In the first instance, however, the ointment is called *τὸ μυστήριον* ("mystery," l. 746) and involves the sun scarab (l. 770), while in the second instance the plant *kentritis* is the major ingredient (ll. 773–74).⁷²³ The most likely explanation for what appears to be a conflict is that the author/redactor excerpted two procedures for the preparation of eye-salve from his *Vorlage*. He then explained the preparation of these ointments by drawing on additional iatromagical information. While in the earlier instance, the ointment is explained by the procedure involving the scarab (ll. 751–78), the present procedure is explained by the information about the plant *kentritis* (ll. 778–813).

The preparation of the eye ointment (ll. 772–75), since it is parallel to the previous one (ll. 738–46), uses similar terms. The use of "juices" (*χυλός*) is of course frequent in the PGM.⁷²⁴ The expression *περιχρίειν* is found only here in the PGM; the meaning can simply be an emphatic *χρίειν*, or a description of the application of the ointment ("around," or "covering") the face or the eyes (ὅψις).⁷²⁵ Rose-oil was mentioned before (l. 790). The phrase stating the success of seeing clearly (*καὶ ὅψεται δηλαυγῶς*) may explain what is meant by *δεικνύειν*.⁷²⁶ Who or what is bringing about the amazement (*ώστε σε*

⁷²² For *δείκνυμι* see ll. 738, 785, 805; Merkelbach's (*Abrasax*, 3.246, 248; also 2.156, 164), with references to *δείκνυμι* as a mystery cult term.

⁷²³ According to the TLG, *κεντρίτις* as a plant name (ll. 773, 779, 798) is a *hapax-legomenon* in Greek literature.

⁷²⁴ For other passages, see below at l. 803.

⁷²⁵ For the meaning of *ὅψις*, see also above l. 746; XIII.274; and often in PGM. For the terms *περιχρίειν* and *περίχριστα* ("lid salve"), see for references in the medical writers the TLG, s.v.; and Kind, PRE 21st Halbband (1921) 1105. Cf. V.64; VII.337; Rev 3:18 for *ἐνχρίειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*; for *ἐπιχρίειν*, see following note.

⁷²⁶ Cf. Mark 8:22–26, the story of Jesus' healing of a blind man, in the course of which Jesus prepares a kind of eye-salve from his own spittle (v. 23). The restoration of the eyesight is stated in this way: ἐνέβλεψεν τηλαυγῶς (*ι. δηλαυγῶς*) ἀπαντά (cf. above on l. 775). According to John 9:1–7, Jesus makes a paste from earth and his spittle: ἔπιτυσεν χαμαὶ καὶ ἐποίησεν πηλὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτύσματος καὶ ἐπέχρισεν αὐτοῦ τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς... (v. 6). For further discussion and literature, see BDAG, s.v. *ἐπιχρίω*, *πτύσμα*, *πτύω*.

θαυμάζειν), is left open; most likely, it is the ointment. The improvement in vision is clearly related to the doctrine discussed at l. 511.

The concluding statement takes the form of a “commercial,”⁷²⁷ typical of many magical procedures in the PGM (ll. 776–77): τούτου μείζον’ οὐχ εὑρον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πραγματείαν, “I have not found a greater procedure than this in the world.” Which “procedure” (*πραγματεία*) is meant here specifically, is not entirely clear, but it seems to belong to the previous ointment.

The final sentence is a maxim that shows no connection with the context and seems to be of a general nature (l. 778): αἰτοῦ δὲ, ἀ βούλει, τὸν θεόν, καὶ δώσει σοι (“Ask the god what you want, and he will give it to you”). The maxim has a parallel in IV.2172: αἰτήσας λήμψει, “When you ask, you will receive.”⁷²⁸

2. Second ritual: the plant *kentritis* (ll. 778–92)

The second ritual is most probably excerpted from a source and included because of the previous mention of the plant *kentritis*. This section provides an excellent opportunity to study how the author/redactor worked. It appears that while reading in his excerpt (ll. 772–75) he came upon the plant name *kentritis* (ll. 773, 779, 798). He did not know, however, what plant it was. The material assembled in ll. 778–813 must therefore be the fruit of his investigations in other sources. He included from these sources excerpts together with his own interpretative comments.⁷²⁹

The earlier context, from which the *kentritis* ritual was derived,⁷³⁰ apparently had section titles which identified and classified the separate items. This ritual has the section title in ll. 778–79: ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασίς ἐστιν

⁷²⁷ For other instances of such “commercials” see, e.g., I.262: ἔχει > λίαν καλῶς (“This works very well”); III.439: τῆς πράξεως ταύ[της] μείζων οὐκ ἔστιν (“A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has been tested by Manethon [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest” (trans. W. Grese in Betz, *GMPT*, 31).

⁷²⁸ The maxim is well-attested also in the NT; see Matt 7:7–11 // Luke 11:9–13 (Q); Mark 6:22–25; John 11:22; 14:13–14; 15:7, 16; 16:23–24, 26; Jas 1:5; 4:2–3; 1 John 3:22; etc. For parallel passages and bibliography, see Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 500–8.

⁷²⁹ The redactional comment in l. 779, τὴν προκειμένην (“the afore mentioned”) distinguishes between the author/redactor and his source.

⁷³⁰ For a different interpretation, see Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247) who assumes that the procedure was derived in a section of text that was omitted from the beginning of the ML: “Diese vorbereitenden Zeremonie bei Sonnenaufgang muß in einer Partie zu Anfang des Textes erwähnt worden sein, welche in der uns vorliegenden Redaktion des Textes weggelassen worden ist.” As has been pointed out earlier, this hypothesis is rather unlikely because of the reference in l. 779 to the *kentritis* plant in l. 773.

ἥδε (“The encounter with the great god is as follows”). The term σύστασις is technical in the magical and astrological literature,⁷³¹ but translators differ how they interpret and render it into modern languages.⁷³² The connection with “the great god” does not identify him expressly with Helios-Mithras, but this identity can certainly be assumed as the view of the present author (see l. 482).

The procedure itself begins with the acquisition⁷³³ of the ingredients (ll. 779–80): βαστάξας κενόστρετιν τὴν προκειμένη(ν) βοτάνην τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ γενομένῃ λέοντι⁷³⁴ (“Having acquired the above mentioned herb kentritis, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion...”).⁷³⁵ The “encounter” (σύστασις) is to be correlated with the “conjunction” (σύνοδος)⁷³⁶ between sun and moon. As Merkelbach points out, it refers to the day of new moon of that month in which the sun comes to stand in the zodiac’s sign of the Lion.⁷³⁷ It “takes place at every day of new moon and full moon, when sun, moon, and earth (or sun, earth, and moon) are positioned at about the same line.”⁷³⁸

⁷³¹ See I.57, 177–81; III.197, 438, 494; IV.209, 220–21, 260, 950; VI.1, 39; VII.505; XIII.38, 346. Cf. Karl Preisendanz, “Miszellen,” *WSt* 40 (1918) 2–5; Betz, *GMPT*, 339, s.v. “Systasis”; Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, 3.95, 104, 156, 185, 191 (“Zusammenstehen,” “Audienz”).

⁷³² Preisendanz: “Empfehlung an den großen Gott”; Hopfner: “Erscheinung”; Meyer: “encounter”; LSJ, s.v. A.2: “communication between a man and a god”; Merkelbach: “Zusammentreffen.”

⁷³³ The term βαστάζειν as in l. 773.

⁷³⁴ Pap. has προκειμένη. Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.178, 247) reads <ἐν> λέοντι, which emphasizes the conjunction taking place in the zodiac sign.

⁷³⁵ There has been a problem with the plant *kentritis*. According to Karl Wessely (“Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale,” *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* [Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, 1889], 14) the pap. reads κεντρίτιν with the letter ζ written above the first ν. Dieterich (18, 21–22), however, in his discussion questions a possible κεστρίτις, not the least because of the undisputed κεντρίτις in ll. 773 and 798.

⁷³⁶ This astronomical term occurs also in III.482; XIII.5, 116, 672. See LSJ, s.v. σύνοδος, II. 2.

⁷³⁷ For the sign of the Lion, see also V.379; VII.299. See also *Orac. Chald.* 147.1 (ed. Des Places, p. 102); Thessalos 1.5 (ed. Friedrich, 108–15); Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Stern-glaube*, 113 and plates II.3–4; Wilhelm Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Bonn & Leipzig: Schroeder, 1922), 286–87; idem, “Leo, 9) Sternbild des Tierkreises,” PRE 24. Halbbd. (1925) 1973–92; Delatte, *Herbarius*, 42–43, 65–66; Gundel, *Astrologumena*, 48 n. 16, 89 n. 43, 111, 117, 127 n. 14; Hans Gundel and Robert Böker, “Zodiakos,” PRE 2nd series, 19th Halbband (1972) 462–709, esp. 473, 690, 692, 695; Roger Beck, “In the Place of the Lion: Mithras in the Tauroctony,” in Hinnells, *Studies in Mithraism*, 29–50; Clauss, *Mithras*, 162–67.

⁷³⁸ Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247): “Am Neumondstag desjenigen Monats, in welchem die Sonne im Zodiakalzeichen des Löwen steht. Das trifft ziemlich genau auf diejenige Zeit, zu welcher die Sonne am höchsten steht. Gegen das Ende des Monats setzt die Nilflut

The next ingredient to be prepared is the ink (ll. 781–82): *ἄρον τὸν χυλὸν καὶ μίξας μέλιτι καὶ ζυρνη* ... (“take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh ...”). Apparently, the author found this recipe for the making of ink and took it up here because of the mentioning of the *kentritis* plant (l. 779).⁷³⁹ Mixture with honey and myrrh was also mentioned before (see l. 768, cf. μέλι l. 755).

Next the leaf from the *persea* tree must be prepared (ll. 782–83): *γράψον ἐπὶ φύλου περσέας τὸ ὄκταγράμματον ὄνομα, ὡς ὑπόκειται*⁷⁴⁰ (“write on a leaf of the *persea* tree the eight-letter name, as given below”). Writing on leaves is mentioned as part of other procedures in the PGM,⁷⁴¹ and so is the *persea* tree.⁷⁴² The eight-letter name is cited below, l. 788.⁷⁴³

ein; sie fällt zusammen mit dem Aufgang des Sothis-Sterns (des Sirius), und der Tag dieses Aufgangs ist der sakrale Neujahrstag der Ägypter (der 1. Thoth des Sothis-Jahres). – Eine σύνοδος von Sonne und Mond findet an jedem Neumondstag und Vollmondstag statt, wenn Sonne, Mond und Erde (oder Sonne, Erde und Mond) ungefähr auf derselben Linie stehen.” See also ll. 786–87; and Merkelbach, 3.69–76.

⁷³⁹ For ink and recipes of its preparation, see I.233–34, 243–46; III.178 (mostly reconstructed); IV.815, 2237, 3199–3204, 3213, 3248; VII. 468, 521, 940–41; XIII.315, 409; XXXVI.103, 257–58, 265–66; XXXVIII.2. On ink, see Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 1.202–17; Hopfner, *OZ* 2/2, §§ 214, 219, 222, 244, 371; Gertrud Herzog-Hauser, “Tinte,” PRE.S 7 (1940) 1574–79, esp. 1575–78; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th ed.; London: Arnold, 1962), 362–64; Rosemarie Drenkhahn, “Tinte,” *LÄ* 6 (1986) 595.

⁷⁴⁰ Pap. reads φύλου correctly (cf., e.g. IV.304ff.), not φυλλον (Wessely, “Zu den griechischen Papyri,” 14). Also, pap. reads ὄκταγράμματον. There was some discussion, however. Wessely (“Griechische Zauberpapyrus,” 64), saw οκτογραμματον, but N. Novosadsky wanted οκτωγραμματον ὄνομα (“Ad papyrus magicanum bibliothecae parisinae nationalis additiones palaeographicae,” *Journal of the Ministry of National Education* [in Russian], part 302, December 1895 [St. Petersburg: V. S. Balashev, 1895, 81–87], 83); in n. 1 he questions whether ὄκτω γραμμάτων ὄνομα should be read in light of Dieterich, (*Abraxas*, p. 194, l. 1): τὸ γραμμάτων ὄνομα. Dieterich (*Mithrasliturgie*, 18), however, reads ὄκτωγράμματον, but Preisendanz, Wünsch (in Dieterich, 224), Meyer, and Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.178) prefer the regular ὄκταγράμματον.

⁷⁴¹ See I.269–70; II.32; IV.2205–6; VII.822; XIII.1044; cf. ML ll. 785, 809.

⁷⁴² See III.504. For information about this tree, see Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 3.3.5; 4.2.5 (with the commentary by K. Sprengel, 2.130–33); Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 1.187 (v.l. πέρσειον, fruit of the *persea*); Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 68 (378C), with the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 536–37; for Greek passages, see LSJ, s.v. On the *persea* tree generally, see August Steier, “*Persea*,” PRE 37th Halbband (1937) 940–44; Renate Germer, “*Persea*,” *LÄ* 4 (1982) 942–43.

⁷⁴³ The redactional comment ὡς ὑπόκειται, “as (written) below,” has parallels in III.385–86; IV.408; VII.724. See Preisendanz, 3.194 (index), s.v. ὑποκείσθαι; also Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, ## 71 (2.95–105); 94 (2.211–21). For the eight-letter name, see also PGM LXII.9: τὰ ὄκτω γράμματα Σελήνης, “which are tied to the heart of Helios.” Cf. Preisendanz, 2.192, *app. crit.*

With these preparations completed, their application follows (ll. 783–85): *καὶ πρὸ γέ ἡμερῶν ἀγνεύσας ἐλθὲ πρώτας πρὸς ἀνατολάς, ἀπόλειχε τὸ φυλλὸν δεικνύων ἥλιῳ ...*⁷⁴⁴ (“and having kept yourself pure for three days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise, lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun ...”). Prior to the application there has to be a three-day period of sanctification; what this consists of can be seen from the parallels.⁷⁴⁵ The application begins early in the morning, in order to face the sun rising in the east.⁷⁴⁶ It consists of licking the inscription off from the leaf,⁷⁴⁷ after or while showing it to the sun (Helios).⁷⁴⁸

The result is that the god Helios will listen (ll. 785–86): *καὶ οὕτως ἐπακούσεται τελείως* (“then he will listen attentively”). The question here relates to the possible context of this assurance: Does it refer to the consultation with Helios-Mithras (ll. 724–28)? Or does it originally apply to a source and only secondarily to the present context? It can be taken for granted, however, that for the present author/redactor the god to listen is none other than Helios-Mithras.⁷⁴⁹

Three additional instructions regarding this procedure follow in ll. 786–92. First, regarding the specification of time (ll. 786–87): *ἄρχου δὲ αὐτὸν τελεῖν τῇ ἐν λέοντι κατὰ θεὸν νουμηνίᾳ* (“Begin to consecrate him on the new moon in the Lion, according to the god[’s reckoning].”)⁷⁵⁰ The instruction supplements l. 780, but what is meant by *αὐτὸν τελεῖν*? Preisendanz, Meyer, and Merkelbach believe it to be the sun-scarab to be consecrated (cf. l. 779).

⁷⁴⁴ Pap. reads γ for the number three.

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. συναγεύω (l. 734). For ritual sanctification, see Thessalos 1, prooemium, sections 18 and 21 (ed. Friedrich, 51); for the importance of ἀγνεύειν in the PGM, see also II.149, 151; IV.3209; VII. 334 (3 days), 846; XIII.347 (41 days); XXII.b.27; cf. προαγνεύειν III.304; IV.1099–1100 (3 days); IV.26, 52; XIII.114, 671 (7 days); I.54–55; V.226. For the rituals of purification and sanctification, see, especially, Delatte, *Herbarius*, 39–72 (“Temps propice à la récolte”); 73–87 (“Préparation de l’herboliste”); 88–107 (“Rites cathartiques et apotropaïques”).

⁷⁴⁶ For further references, see I.34; VII.524 (πρὸς ἀνατολάς); XII.282.

⁷⁴⁷ The licking off of the sacred eight-letter word has parallels not only in the PGM (see ll. 789–90; XIII.131–34, 434–35, 690), but also elsewhere in ancient religions. See Ritner, *Mechanics*, 92–102; Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247) refers to Rev 10:9, where the prophet is ordered to eat the holy book. Cf. Ezek 2:8–3:3.

⁷⁴⁸ For parallels, see PGM VII.524, 915; XIII.1045.

⁷⁴⁹ The terminology is common not only in the PGM: for ἐπακούειν (“listen”), see l. 587.

⁷⁵⁰ Preisendanz (*app. crit., ad loc.*) raises the question whether, because of the new moon the goddess Selene is meant; in IV.2389, the reference is stated: *κατὰ θεὸν νουμηνίαν*, but no name is given there either. The expression *κατὰ θεόν* is technical in calendrical procedures; see (with further literature) W. Kendrick Pritchett, “Postscript: The Athenian Calendars,” *ZPE* 128 (1999) 79–93.

Second, the eight-letter name, mentioned in ll. 782–83 is revealed, introduced by a citation formula (l. 788): τὸ δὲ ὄνομά ἔστιν τοῦτο· ἵ εε οο ἰαῖ (“The name, however, is: I EE OO IAI.”).

Third, a specification of the leaf (cf. l. 785) is added (ll. 788–90): τοῦτο ἔκλειχε, ἵνα φυλακτηριασθῆται, καὶ τὸ φύλλο(ν) ἐλίξας, ἔμβαλε εἰς τὸ ρόδιον⁷⁵¹ (“Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf, throw it into the rose-oil.”). The purpose of the licking off⁷⁵² is now explained as a *phylacterion*, a measure of protection.⁷⁵³ After having licked it off, the leaf is to be rolled up⁷⁵⁴ and thrown into the rose-oil (l. 759).⁷⁵⁵ The conclusion to the passage (778–92) takes to the form of another “commercial” (ll. 790–92): πολλάκις δὲ τῇ πραγματείᾳ χρησάμενος ὑπερθαύμασα (“Many times I have used the spell, and have been absolutely amazed”). A similar commercial has occurred before (see on l. 776); doubtless it was taken over from the source.⁷⁵⁶ The “commercial” combines two *topoi*: frequent use as evidence of effectiveness,⁷⁵⁷ and great amazement on the part of the practitioner.⁷⁵⁸

3. Further items of information (ll. 792–813)

Another supplement is added to the previous rituals (ll. 792–813), consisting of three pieces of “information” pertaining to the sun-scarab, the main ritual of the consultation of Mithras, and the plant *kentritis*. Regarding composition, the three items were appended by the author/redactor who derived them

⁷⁵¹ Pap. reads εκλιχε ἵνα and φύλλο(ν) (the final ν is written with a supralinear stroke).

⁷⁵² For the term ἔκλειχειν, see also VII.523 (ὄνομα); XIII.889–90, 898, 1051 (φύλλον). Cf. l. 785 ἀπολείχειν.

⁷⁵³ The peculiar term φυλακτηριασθῆναι (“to be furnished with an amulet” [LSJ]) occurs also in IV.2626–27: ἵσθι δὲ πεφυλακτηριασμένος; VII.897–99; Horapollo, *Hier* 1.24, l. 4.

⁷⁵⁴ For ἔλισσειν, see also VII.360, 413, 463 (ἔλιξον καὶ βάλε εἰς θάλασσαν); VIII.67; XXXVI.234.

⁷⁵⁵ The rose-oil is simply called τὸ ρόδινον, a substantive adjective (“made from roses”); see above, ll. 757–59, 774; also I.62; VII.230; XIII.1018; for the adjective ρόδινος, see I.278 (ἔλαῖον); VII.337–38; VIII.108–9 (μύρον). For rose-oil, see Hopfner, OZ 2/1, §§ 121–22; Franz Olck, “Gartenbau,” PRE 13th Halbband (1910), esp. 774–76.

⁷⁵⁶ ὑπερθαύμαζειν is found only here in the PGM, but it is rather frequent in Hellenistic and Roman period literature; see Aelian, *Van. hist.* 12.49; *Anth. pal.* 15.16.2; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 7.23 (285d); Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 5.8.5; Lucian, *Macrob.* 24; *Ver. hist.* 1.34; *Pro imag.* 18; *Zeux.* 3; *Am.* 52; etc. (see also LSJ, TLG, s.v.); for πραγματεία, see l. 776–77; PGM IV.254–55, 853–54, 1954, 2079, 2099, 2628, 2630, 3271.

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. for a parallel, see XIII.266–67: πολλάκις ἐποίησα τὴν πρᾶξιν.

⁷⁵⁸ For parallels, see l. 775 and XIII.250; and Preisendanz, 3.105 (index), s.v. θαῦμα, θαυμάζειν, θαυμάσιος, θαυμαστός.

from personal revelation as well as source materials different from the *Vorlage* of the preceding rituals. This shows that when he added the information he had the complete text before him, and that he was careful to preserve the excerpts as they were copied. Forming a kind of appendix, the new information contains the results of further research, in which he noted differences as well as his own judgment, validated by divine revelation.

The first item concerns a correction to be made in the previously recorded ritual. This correction is needed because of a personal revelation of the author (ll. 792–96): *εἰπεν δέ μοι ὁ Θεός* (“But the god spoke to me: …”) This formula presupposes the author has received a personal revelation from the god (no doubt, Helios-Mithras), which supersedes the previous tradition. Nothing is said about what kind of revelation it was; it could have been a dream or a vision, in which the god appeared to order the change. The revelation concerns the preparation of the ointment as stated in ll. 751–78: *μηκέτι χρῶ τῷ συγχρίσματι, ἀλλὰ ρίψαντα εἰς ποταμόν <χρῆ> χρᾶσθαι φοροῦντα τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ κανθάρου τοῦ ἀναζωπυρηθέντος διὰ τῶν κε’ ζώων ὅρνεων*⁷⁵⁹ (“Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery of the scarab revitalized through the 25 living birds”). Several points are controversial, so that the translations also differ.⁷⁶⁰ Which object is to be thrown into the river? Is it the *persea* leaf (Preisendanz), or the ointment of the sun scarab (Merkelbach)? Most likely the text refers to the ointment in l. 770 (*χρῖσμα*), the *σύγχρισμα*⁷⁶¹ which is no longer to be used, but is to be disposed of by throwing it into the river, presumably the Nile.⁷⁶² Such a disposal, of course, turns it over to Osiris who is identical with the Nile.⁷⁶³ The term *χρᾶσθαι* refers to the oracular

⁷⁵⁹ The word *<χρῆ>* has been supplied by Eitrem. Preisendanz assumes the object of *ρίψαντα* to be *τὸ φύλλον*; the pap. reads *ποταμό* with a supralinear stroke indicating final *v*; the number 25 is written in the pap. as *κε* (meaning *εἴκοσι πέντε*).

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. Preisendanz: “Verwende die Salbe nicht mehr, sondern <du mußt> befragen, nachdem du sie in den Fluß geworfen hast, der das große Mysterium des durch die 25 Vögel (?) wiederbelebten Skarabäus mit sich trägt...”; Merkelbach: “Gebrauche die Salbe nicht mehr (zum Einreiben), sondern wirf (den Sonnenkäfer) in den Fluß und trage an dir die großartige mystische Salbe des Sonnenkäfers, dem der Lebensfunke wieder verliehen worden ist durch die 29 Lebens-Vögel (?)”.

⁷⁶¹ The noun occurs only here in the PGM, but see for the verb II.75; XXXVI.285. The term is technical in ancient medicine and pharmacy; see Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 1.16.2; Galen, *Compos. med.* 1 (ed. Kühn, 12.411, l. 8; 12.412, l. 5); Aetius of Amida, *Iatr.* 1.136 (ed. Olivieri, 1.69, lines 13, 17); 4.45 (1.389, l. 1), etc. See LSJ, s.v. *σύγχρισμα*.

⁷⁶² For things thrown into the river, cf. also IV.40; VII.420, 450.

⁷⁶³ So Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.247): “Da die Sonnenkäfer-Salbe nun doch einmal bereitet war, sollte sie in den Nil geworfen werden. Damit erleidet das *σύγχρισμα* dasselbe Schicksal wie Osiris, den Seth-Typhon in den Fluß geworfen hatte. In IV.876 heißt Osiris

consultation described in ll. 717, 724–28 (cf. 732–34), during which the ointment of the sun-scarab was to be used (ll. 770, 773–74). Instead of this ointment, one should wear “the great mystery of the sun-scarab”⁷⁶⁴ (see ll. 746, 750–78) as an amulet; that scarab has been “revitalized through the 25 living birds.” This strange reference seems to allude to an otherwise unattested ritual,⁷⁶⁵ so well known to the author that he does not consider further information to be necessary; unfortunately, there is no other extant attestation of it, so all explanations are necessarily speculative.⁷⁶⁶

The second item is also a correction regarding the times of consultation (ll. 796–98): *χρᾶσθαι ἀπαξ τοῦ μηνός, ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ ἔτος γ', κατὰ πανσέληνον*.⁷⁶⁷ (“Consult once a month, at full moon, instead of three times a year.”)⁷⁶⁸ In other words, at the god’s order the time schedule stated in the preceding text is to be changed from three times a year (ll. 747–48) to once a month. It seems that the performances are shifted from a seasonal to an astrological calendar,⁷⁶⁹ and from new moon (l. 753) to full moon.⁷⁷⁰

The third item (ll. 798–804) contains botanical information about the *kentritis* plant, supplementing earlier instructions in ll. 773, 778–86. This

δ γενάμενος Έσις καὶ ποταμοφόρητος, auf der Bleitafel von Hadrumentum droht eine Magierin *mittam ut a flumine feratur* (Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae*, 270). Da Osiris regeneriert wurde, wird dasselbe auch mit dem Käfer geschehen.” See also Hopfner, *OZ* 2/1–2, §§ 130, 187, 224, 260, 289–90, 294.

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. XIII.128: *τὸ μαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ ἔστιν κάνθαρος*, “the mystery of the god, which is a scarab” (or: “which is ‘Scarab’”). The question is whether there is a relationship between these rituals.

⁷⁶⁵ For the term *ἀναζωπυρεῖν* (“rekindle, revitalize”), see also XIII.739: a magical name gives vital power to magical books (*τὸ ἀναζωπυροῦν τὰς πάσας βιβλίους σου*); cf. XII.318: *ζωτυρεῖν*. For the term *ἀναζωπυρέω* see also 1 Tim 1:6; 1 Clem 27:3; Ign Eph 1:1, and BDAG, s.v.

⁷⁶⁶ Meyer (Betz, *GMPT*, 53, n. 105) suggests: “The allusion to the twenty-five birds is obscure; it may be related to the hours, so that the scarab Khepri is reborn in the first hour of a new day, after the passage of twelve hours of day and twelve hours of night during the previous day.” Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.248) proposes to read the number as *κεκτόντα*, which would increase the birds to 29 and relate them to the 29 days of the lunar month.

⁷⁶⁷ Pap. reads γ for three.

⁷⁶⁸ The infinitive has imperative force, perhaps influenced by <*χρῆ*>. According to Plutarch, *Pyth. orac.* 8, 398A; *Quaest. Graec.* 9, 292E–F, the consultation of the Pythia should occur during the month of Bysos; see Schröder, *Plutarchs Schrift*, 87, 183–84.

⁷⁶⁹ Weinreich (in Dieterich, 225) refers to Armand Delatte, “Études sur la magie grecque, V. ΑΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ,” *BCH* 38 (1914) 246. For another change from a seasonal to an astrological calendar, see the conflict about the Bacchanalia, described in Livy, 39.13.8–10; on this, see Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, index, s.v. Bacchanalia; Henrichs, “Dromena,” in Graf, *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, 54; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1. 160–61.

⁷⁷⁰ The phrase *ἀντὶ τοῦ ... κατὰ πανσέληνον* may come from a marginal note (Jordan); cf. IV.52–53.

information is divided into two parts, the first part (798–804) concerns a tradition which likely originates in a herbalist's text:⁷⁷¹ ἡ δὲ κεντρῖτις βοτάνη φύεται ἀπὸ μηνὸς Παῦνὶ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι μελάνης γῆς, ὅμοιά δέ ἔστιν τῷ ὄρθῳ περιστερεῶν. ἡ δὲ γνῶσις αὐτῆς οὕτως γίγνεται· ἵβεως πτερὸν χρίεται τὸ ἀκρομέλαν χαλασθὲν τῷ χύλῳ καὶ ἀμα τῷ θιγεῖν ἀποπίπτει τὰ πτερά⁷⁷² (“The kentritis plant grows from the month of Pauni, in the regions of the black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena; this is how to recognize it: the wing of an ibis is smeared, the ‘black edge’ weakened by the juice, and when the feathers are touched, they fall off”). The description follows the established pattern of identifying the species (βοτάνη, “plant”), the seasonal growth: “from the month of Pauni on,” that is, the tenth month of the year (May 26 to June 24),⁷⁷³ and the geographical area: the region called “the black earth” is the arable land of Egypt, in contrast to the “red land” of the desert.⁷⁷⁴

The next step is a comparison with a similar plant, called περιστερεῶν (“upright verbena,” or “dovecote”).⁷⁷⁵ The method for identifying the plant (γνῶσις) is then described. The black tip of a wing feather of an ibis,⁷⁷⁶ when smeared with the juice of the plant (cf. ll. 773, 781), is thereby weakened and falls off when touched. So far the information gleened from the herbalist source.

In ll. 804–13, the author adds new information, derived from a personal revelation by the god (ll. 804–7): τοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου ὑποδείξαντος εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ Μενελαίτῃ ἐν τῇ Φαλαγρῷ πρὸς τὰς ἀναβολαῖς πλησίον <τῆς> τοῦ

⁷⁷¹ See Hopfner, OZ 1, §§ 464–551: “Die sympathisch-symbolischen Pflanzen”; M. Carmela Betrò (“Erbarie nell' antico Egitto,” *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 11 [1988] 71–110, esp. 74) mentions the PGM passage as “chiaramente tratta da un erbario.” I owe this last reference to Thomas Dusa.

⁷⁷² Pap. reads ἵβεως. For a discussion of the text see Crönert, “Zur Kritik,” 101; Hopfner, OZ 2/1, §§ 120–21. For μελάνης instead of μελαίνης, see Dieterich (19) who cites Dieterich, *Untersuchungen*, 178; see also, LSJ, BDAG, s.v. μέλας; Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 76.

⁷⁷³ See Hopfner, OZ 1, § 500; Griffiths (*Plutarch*, 412; also 65 and 492), commenting on Plutarch's (*Is. Os.* 30, p. 362F) discussion of the festivals of the months of Pauni and Phaophi in Busiris and Lycopolis. The month of Pauni is mentioned also in VII.281.

⁷⁷⁴ See Hopfner (OZ 1, § 500), with reference to Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 76–77; Griffiths (*Plutarch*, 425–26), commenting on Plutarch's *Is. Os.* 33, 364C: “... they call Egypt, since it is mostly black, Khemia, like the black part of the eye.”

⁷⁷⁵ See LSJ (s.v. περιστερεῶν), with references to Pap. Oxy. # 1127, 8 (2nd cent. CE); Thessalos, 1.3 (ed. Friedrich, 93–97); cf. περιστέριον mentioned in Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 4.59–60 as a “holy plant” (ἱερὰ βοτάνη); Dieterich, 19; Hopfner, OZ 1, § 500: “Taubenkraut.”

⁷⁷⁶ On the ibis-wing, see Deines & Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, 484.

Βη_{<σα>}σάδος βοτάνης⁷⁷⁷ (“As the lord demonstrated to me, [the plant] is found in the Menelaitis area near Phalagry, at the river banks, near the Besas plant”). Thanks to divine guidance,⁷⁷⁸ the author has actually found the plant at an identifiable place. According to Kees and Calderini, the area called Menelaos (Menelaites) was situated in the northwestern Nile Delta, east of Alexandria.⁷⁷⁹ Phalagry is the likely name of a place in the Roman province of Cyrenaica between Kainopolis and Marabina.⁷⁸⁰ The Besas plant is, as the name says,⁷⁸¹ related to the god Bes (Βησᾶς). According to Dioscorides the Syrian name was βήσσασα, but different names were used in different localities.⁷⁸²

A more detailed description defines the plant further (ll. 808–13): ἔστιν δὲ μονόκλων καὶ πυρρὸν ἄχρι τῆς ρίζης καὶ τὰ φύλλα οὐλότερα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ἔχοντα ὄμοιον τῷ κορύμβῳ ἀσπαράγῳ ἀγρίῳ. ἔστιν δὲ παραπλήσιον τῷ καλουμένῳ ταλάπῃ, ὡς τὸ ἄγριον σεῦτλον⁷⁸³ (“It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called *talipes*, like the wild beet”).

⁷⁷⁷ Accepting Jordan’s reading; see below, 781. Pap. reads αναβολαις; Dieterich (19) proposes ἀνατολαις, but Preisendanz keeps ἀναβολαις, “an den Wällen (des Nils).” Merkelbach: “an den Dämmen,” that is, “Deiche des Nils” (*Abrasax*, 3.181, 248). Dieterich also reads Φαλαγρῇ (Jordan retains Φαλαγρῳ). Cf. I. 752.

⁷⁷⁸ For the term ὑποδεικνύειν, see also VII.592; VIII.65–66; LXII.44.

⁷⁷⁹ Hermann Kees, “Menelaos (Menelaites),” PRE 15 (1931) 807–8; Aristide Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell’ Egitto greco-romano* (Milano: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1980), 3/2.267 (with reference to Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.* 4.5.9: Μενελαῖτου μητρόπολις Κάνωβος). The major source is Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.18 (801; ed. Meineke, 1117.19): ὁ Μενελαῖτης νόμος. See also David Bain, “Μελανῖτες γῆ, an unnoticed Greek name for Egypt: New evidence for the origin and etymology of al-chemistry?” in: *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the first International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens* (eds. David R. Jordan, et al.; Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1999), 205–26.

⁷⁸⁰ So according to Hermann Kees, “Phalakra(i), Phalakre 2,” PRE 19/2 (1938) 1614–15; Calderini (*Dizionario 5* [1987], 54) points to two possible places, Falacro and Phalagry. The main source is Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Φαλάκραι· ἔστι δὲ καὶ κάμη Λιβύης Φαλάκραι. See also Dieterich (19, 225).

⁷⁸¹ Pap. reads τοῦ βησαδὸς βοτάνης, “plant of Besas”; Dieterich (19) refers to Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 3.46.2: βησασᾶ, *agrestis ruta*; Alexander of Tralles 2 (ed. Puschmann, 134), but the forms βήσσασα, βίσσασα, βισασά, occur as well (according to Max Wellmann [in Dieterich, 19], βησασᾶ is read by the best Dioscorides manuscripts). Dieterich considers βησαδάδος (?), Jordan prefers <τῆς> τοῦ Βη_{<σα>}σάδος βοτάνης. See LSJ, s.v. βησασᾶ, “Syrian rue.”

⁷⁸² For the identification, see Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 3.46.1–2; Hopfner, OZ 1, § 500: some called it πήγανον ἄγριον, the Egyptians *Epnubu*, the Afrians *Churma*, the Cappadocians *Moly*.

⁷⁸³ Pap. reads ασπαραγῷ αγριω, emended by Dieterich (20) to ἀσπαράγου ἄγριου; Jordan retains the pap. reading.

As one would expect, the language of this passage contains terms from botany: *μονόκλωνος* (“with a single stem”),⁷⁸⁴ *πυρρός* (“reddish”),⁷⁸⁵ *τὰ φύλλα οὐλότερα* (“crinkled leaves”),⁷⁸⁶ *κορύμβος* (“cluster of fruit” or “flowers”).⁷⁸⁷ The plant names cannot all be identified: *ἀσπάραγος* (“asparagus”),⁷⁸⁸ *ταλάπη*,⁷⁸⁹ and *τεῦτλον* (“wild beet”).⁷⁹⁰

4. Third ritual: the phylacteries (ll. 813–19)

The third ritual concerns the phylacteries to be used during the main ritual. They must of course be prepared before the ritual begins, so that they are ready for use whenever needed (see ll. 659–61, 708, 789).⁷⁹¹ Phylacteries are protective amulets on stone, papyrus, or metal lamellae, with engravings of letters, names, *voces magicae*, symbols, or pictorial representations. Usually worn on the body of a person, they were – and still are – widely used in every religious configuration,⁷⁹² which is why specific regulations for their preparations must be followed.

⁷⁸⁴ See IV.2689, 3201; cf. Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 4.5; Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9.18.8; cf. idem, *Caus. plant.* 2.15.5 (*μονόκλονος*).

⁷⁸⁵ See also IV.2899; VII.890; XIII.309.

⁷⁸⁶ LSJ (s.v. *οὐλός*) refers to Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9.4.3; cf. 7.4.4: *οὐλόφυλλος*.

⁷⁸⁷ See LSJ, s.v., *κόρυμβος*, III.

⁷⁸⁸ See Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 6.4.1; Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 2.125.

⁷⁸⁹ According to the *TLG* the name of the plant is a *hapaxlegomenon*. See the comments by Dieterich and Wellmann (in Dieterich, 20–21) who point to a plant called *ἄλυπον* (Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 4.178: *γεννᾶται δὲ ἐν τόποις παραθαλασσίοις, μάλιστα τοῖς τῆς Αιθύνης τόποις καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ χωρίοις πλεῖστον*; Pliny, *Nat.* 27.22), implying that *ταλάπη* is an error. Hopfner (OZ 1, § 500) and Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.248) have no explanation to offer.

⁷⁹⁰ See also III.614; cf. (reconstructed) VII.173; LXI.2. LSJ list *τεῦτλον*, with references from the papyri; Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 1.6.6 (*beta maritima L.*, “wild sea beet,” or “beet”).

⁷⁹¹ Phylacteries play an important role in the PGM, notably in IV. Preisendanz, 3.197–98 (index) notes the following occurrences of *φυλακτήριον*: I.275 (cf. *φυλακτινόν* I.272), 280; III.97, 127; IV.79, 86, 257, 660, 708, 1071, 1253, 1264, 1316–17, 1335–36, 1619–20, 1653–54, 1661, 1670, 1675, 1685–86, 1703, 2358, 2508, 2510–11, 2630, 2694, 2705, 2897, 3014, 3094, 3127; VII.218, 298, 311, 317, 486, 579, 844, 857; XI.a.37; XII.13; XIII.796, 899; XXXVI.159; LXII.23; LXX.2; LXXI.1, 6; LXXII.23; XLVII.10–11 (*νεφιλακτήριον*).

⁷⁹² The literature on phylacteries and amulets is vast and widely dispersed. See for surveys and bibliographies Charles W. King, *The Gnostics and Their Remains: Ancient and Medieval* (2nd ed.; London: Nutt, 1887); Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 291–303; Gerhard Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu capita duo* (Gryphiae: Abel, 1907); F. Eckstein & Jan H. Waszink, “Amulett,” *RAC* 1 (1950) 397–411; Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* ## 23 (1.63–66); 28 (1.76–77); 34 (1.99–101); 64 (2.66–67); 92 (2.204–8); 94

The text begins with a kind of section title (ll. 813–14): *τὰ δὲ φυλακτήρια ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον*⁷⁹³ (“Then the phylacteries are of this kind”).⁷⁹⁴ The term *τρόπος* refers to a particular type of amulet as well as the method for making it.⁷⁹⁵ The preparation distinguishes between what one should wear on the right and on the left arm, as also what material one should use. First, the amulet for the right arm is treated (ll. 814–17): *τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν γράψον εἰς ὑμένα προβάτου μέλανος ζυμρνομέλανι* (“Copy the [amulet] for the right [arm] onto the skin of a black sheep, with myrrh ink”). The hide of the black sheep is contrasted to that of the white sheep (l. 818); the preparation of myrrh ink has been described before (ll. 780–81). Then follows the application: *τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ δήσας νεύροις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζώου περιάψαι* (“and after tying it with the sinews of the same animal, put it on”). Apparently, the formula to be inscribed has been omitted, either by accident, or because it is the same for both arms; the term *περιάπτειν* (“attach [around the arm]”) is technical and occurs elsewhere in the PGM.⁷⁹⁶ The same procedure is to be followed for the left arm (ll. 817–19): *τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον εἰς ὑμένα λευκοῦ προβάτου καὶ χρῶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ* (“and that for the left [arm copy] onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same method”).

Then the *vox magica* for the left arm is given: *εὐωνύμ<ον τ>οῦ προσθύμηρι*⁷⁹⁷ (“[the magical name] of the left [arm] is PROSTHYMERI”). Scholars differ

(2.211–21); Merkelbach, *Abrasax* 1–4, indices; Kotansky, *Amulets*, §§ 18; 32; 60; 65; 66; idem, “Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets,” in Faraone & Obbink, *Magika Hiera*, 107–37; Bonner, *Studies* (cf. the review by Karl Preisendanz, *Gnomon* 24 [1952] 340–45); idem, “Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum,” *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 301–45; idem, “A Miscellany of Engraved Stones,” *ibid.* 23 (1954) 138–57; Delatte & Derchain, *Les intailles*; Jean Marquès-Rivière, *Amulettes, Talismans et Pantacles dans la tradition orientales et occidentales* (Paris: Payot, 1938); Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Magische Amulette und andere Gemmen des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln* (ARWAW.PC 20; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992, with the review and additional bibliography by William Brashear, *Gnomon* 68 [1996] 447–53); Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994); Walter Beltz and Christoph Uehlinger, “Amulett,” RGG (4th ed., 1998) 1.442–44; TDNT, BDAG, s.v. φυλακτήριον, pointing to the occurrence of Jewish phylacteries in Matt 23:5 (see Schürer, *History*, 2.479–81; 3.342–79).

⁷⁹³ Pap. reads *τρόπο* with a supralinear stroke, recognized by Dieterich (20) and Preisendanz.

⁷⁹⁴ The translations differ at this point: Preisendanz: “Die Amulete sind so beschaffen”; Meyer: “Now the phylacteries require this procedure: ...”; Merkelbach: “Die Amulette (die man benützen soll) sehen so aus.”

⁷⁹⁵ For the term *τρόπος*, see IV.740, 819; XII.274; and Preisendanz, 3.190 (index), s.v.

⁷⁹⁶ For *περιάπτω* see IV.1252, 1318, 2155, 3016; VII.197, 207, 214; XXXVI.278, 330; LXIII.26, 29; Daniel & Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, ## 78 (2.151–54); 80 (2.161–62); cf. 5 (1.16); 94 (2.211–21).

⁷⁹⁷ Pap. reads θυμῆρι, which Dieterich (20) emends to θυμήρεις. Also, the pap. reads εὐωνύμου, emended by Wessely to εὐώνυμ<ον τ>οῦ προσθύμηρι, now supported by

widely in regard to the text and its interpretation. For one, there is the problem that the *vox magica* is given only for the left arm, while the corresponding one for the right arm is omitted; if it were the same as for the right arm, the text would have indicated it. A further question is whether the inscription for the right arm can be restored on the basis of προσυμερι (l. 661). Finally, should the following phrase πληρέστατον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει be part of the sentence or not? Should the following Homer verses be taken as the content of the ὑπόμνημα? Translations, therefore, vary at this point.⁷⁹⁸ However, comparison with the phylactery at ll. 659–61 shows that for the right arm there is only one *vox magica* (PROSYMERI), which corresponds to the other (PROSTHYMERI) for the left arm. Thus, there is no reason to assume a longer inscription for the left arm.

IV. Epilogue (ll. 819–20)

Contrary to most scholars,⁷⁹⁹ the final clause should be taken as a separate statement by the author/redactor: πληρέστατον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει ([With this] the memorandum has [finally] reached its completion").⁸⁰⁰ Stating that the document is now complete uses the superlative form πληρέστατον because of the many supplements and additions. The term ὑπόμνημα ("memorandum") refers to legal and literary documents;⁸⁰¹ it refers most likely to the

Jordan. The change to the genitive is only needed because Wessely connects it with with πληρέστατον ὑπόμνημα; this emendation, however, although accepted by Preisendanz, Meyer, and Merkelbach, seems to be unconvincing. Cf. also Preisendanz, *WSt* 41 (1919) 142–43.

⁷⁹⁸ Preisendanz: "Das linke is ganz gefüllt mit 'Prosthymêri' und hat die Aufschrift..." (The Homer verses are taken to be the content of the ὑπόμνημα); Meyer (translating Preisendanz): "The left one is very full of 'PROSTHYMERI', and has this memorandum ..."; Merkelbach: "Das linke mit dem 'König STHYMERI hat auch die vollständigste Erinnerungskraft in sich." Merkelbach (*Abrasax*, 3.248) comments that the left amulet strengthens the memory, and that ὑπόμνημα refers to spells called μνημονική (e.g., I.232; III.424, 467; cf. also II.17, 40).

⁷⁹⁹ According to Weinreich (in Dieterich, 225), Preisendanz considered to punctuate: εὐωνύμου: "προσθυμερι". πληρέστατον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει. This reading keeps what the pap. has. In his edition and translation, however, Preisendanz follows Wessely's emendation: εὐωνύμο<ν τ>οῦ "προσθυμερι" πληρέστατον καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει; "Das linke ist ganz gefüllt mit 'Prosthymêri' und hat die Aufschrift"

⁸⁰⁰ According to Wünsch, ll. 819–20 are "a poorly copied marginal gloss to the *Versione*." For this and other speculations, see Preisendanz, *app. crit., ad loc.* For similar conclusions, see III.161: καὶ αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ πρᾶξις...; IV.2078–79: ταῦτά ἔστιν, τὰ ἐπιτελεῖ ἡ μόνη πραγματεία.

⁸⁰¹ The term is used also XIII.725. For references, see LSJ, s.v. ὑπόμνημα (5), and PGL; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, 2.667–69; Elias Bickermann, "Beiträge zur antiken Urkunden-

text as a whole, or, less likely, to the supplements alone (ll. 750–819).⁸⁰² After l. 820 there also occurs a colon (:) and a paragraphos sign,⁸⁰³ signifying the end of the section and implying that the Homer verses (ll. 821–34) are not to be taken as a part of the Mithras Liturgy.⁸⁰⁴

forschung, III,” *APF* 9 (1930) 164–65; Franco Montanari, “Hypomnema,” *DNP* 5 (1998) 814–15 (with lit.).

⁸⁰² Cf. the term *σύνταγμα* in the exordium (ll. 481–82), apparently refers to the text up to l. 750, where the additional instruction (*θιδασκαλία τῆς πράξεως*) begins (ll. 750–819). Therefore, the *ὑπόμνημα* could simply refer to these additional instructions, but since they are mere additions to the whole composition, the Mithras Liturgy in its entirety functions as a memorandum in the same way.

⁸⁰³ See on this Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2.400, 402–3.

⁸⁰⁴ So the evidence of the pap., noted by Wessely (“Zu den griechischen Papyri,” 14) and Preisendanz (*ad loc., apparatus criticus*). Differently, Dieterich (20, 225) is indecisive: on the one hand (20), he takes *ὑπόμνημα* as the category of “quotation,” meaning the Homer verses (ll. 821–34); on the other hand (21), he observes correctly that the Mithras Liturgy is interpolated between the Homer verses of ll. 467–75 and 821–43: “Es scheint, daß zwischen die Homerverse der große Wahrsagezauber eingeschoben ist, so daß vor und nach ihm noch deren gesprengte Stücke erscheinen.”

Plates

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αλιον κειτετε οτι ορθογονον εστιν
οτι επαρχην απονεστησιν ανει
και ενδιατησιν αποντε πεπορησεται
κατορχησεται απορραστησεται απ
περιοντα και σει μελινην πιντησεται
κατορχησεται επι υπερηλεγοντο φ. 11
και παρατηνονται πεπεριαληγυμα
επιτηδευτησιν απονεστησεται απο
ανεγγρισι και επειτησιν απορραστησεται απο
και παρατηνονται πεπεριαληγυμα
και αντηρεθονται πεπεριαληγυμα
και παρατηνονται απορραστησεται απο
ανεγγρισι και κατατησεται αποτελεσμα
αυτου επεινον ομιλητην απρατηστησεται
πεπεριαληγυμα απονεστησεται απορραστησεται
επιτηδευτησιν απονεστησεται απορραστησεται
και παρατηνονται απορραστησεται απο
κροκην αποσθητησεται αποτελεσμα
απορραστησεται απονεστησεται απορραστησεται

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