

PGM I. 1–42

*[*Rite*]: A [daimon comes] as an assistant who will reveal everything to you clearly and will be your [companion and] will eat¹ and sleep with you.

Take [together, therefore,] two of your own fingernails and all the hairs [from] your head, and take a Circean² falcon / and deify it³ in the [milk] of a black [cow] after you have mixed Attic honey with the milk. [And once you have deified it,] wrap it⁴ with an undyed piece of cloth and place [beside] it your fingernails along with your hairs; and take [a piece of choice papyrus], and inscribe in myrrh the following, and set it in the same manner [along with the] hairs and fingernails, and plaster / it with [uncut] frankincense [and] old wine.

So, the writing on/[the strip] is: “A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ.” [But write this, making] two figures:⁵

| | |
|---------------|-------------|
| A | Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō |
| E E | Y Y Y Y Y Y |
| Ē Ē Ē | O O O O O |
| I I I I | I I I I |
| O O O O O | E E Ē |
| Y Y Y Y Y Y | E E |
| Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō | A |

/ And take the milk with the honey⁶ and drink it before the rising of the sun, and there will be something divine in your heart. And take the falcon and set it up as a statue in a shrine made of juniper wood. And after you have crowned the shrine itself, make an offering of non-animal foods and have on hand some old wine. And before you recline, speak directly to the bird itself after you have made / sacrifice to it, as you usually do, and say the prescribed *spell*:

“A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ, come to me, Good Husbandman,⁷ Good Daimon, HARPON KNOUPHI BRINTANTĒN SIPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUAZAR [BAMESEN] KRIPHI NIPOUMICHMOUMAŌPH. Come to me, O holy Orion, [you who lie] in the north, / who cause [the] currents of [the] Nile to roll down and mingle with the sea, [transforming them with life] as it does man’s seed in sexual intercourse, you who have established the world on an indestructible . . .

1. For meals with deities see below, ll. 23–24, 85–89; III. 424–30; IV. 750–75; VII. 644–51. For the background and further material, see H.-J. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, N.F. 15* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), esp. 156–58, 190.

2. The adjective *κιρκαιος* is not attested elsewhere. Cf. LSJ s.v. “*κιρκος*,” I: “a kind of hawk or falcon.” See S. Eitrem, “Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie,” in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 178–80, s.v. “Falke.”

3. The magical rite of drowning effects deification. See F. L. Griffith, “Herodotus II. 90: Apotheosis by Drowning,” *ZÄS* 46 (1909): 132–34; W. Spiegelberg, “Zu dem Ausdruck *ἕσθ’ Ἐοριῆς*,” *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 124–25; A. Hermann, “Ertrinken,” *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; idem, “Ertrinken, Ertränken,” *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19; Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 273. See also PGM III. 1 and n. [R.K.R.]

4. The ritual suggests that the falcon is to be mummified. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

5. The translation of the term *κλίματα* is uncertain here. The triangular formation, found also elsewhere in the PGM and called “grapelike,” “heart-shaped” or “winged,” may be an example of *technopaision*, the technique of writing words pictorially in the shape of objects. See on this subject Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 63–67; C. Lenz, “Carmina figurata,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 910–12; Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte” 104; G. Wojaczek, *Daphnis. Untersuchungen zur griechischen Bukolik* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1969) 59ff., esp. 62 and n. 12.

6. For milk and honey in sacred meals, see Klauck, *Herrenmahl* 193–96; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 459–61, s.v. “Milch.”

7. Cf. for the title also Anubis “the good oxherd”: PDM xiv. 17; xiv. 35, 400. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus 24* and n. [R.K.R.]

[foundation], who are young in the morning and [old in the evening], who journey through the subterranean sphere and [rise], breathing fire,⁸ you who have parted the seas in the first / month, who [ejaculate] seeds⁹ into the [sacred fig]tree of Heliopolis¹⁰ continually. [This] is your authoritative name: ARBATH ABAÖTLI BAKCHABRĒ.¹¹

[But] when you are dismissed, [go without shoes] and walk backwards¹¹ and set yourself to the enjoyment of the food [and] dinner and the prescribed food offering, [coming] face to face as companion [to the god]. / [This] rite [requires complete purity]. Conceal, conceal the [procedure and] for [7] days [refrain] from having intercourse with a woman.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 42–195

*The spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant:¹² . . . Pnouthios to Keryx,¹³ a god[-fearing man], greetings. As one who knows, I have prescribed for you [this spell for acquiring an assistant] to prevent your failing / as you carry out [this rite]. After detaching all the prescriptions [bequeathed to us in] countless books, [one out of all . . .] I have shown you this spell for acquiring an assistant [as one that is serviceable] to you . . . for you to take this holy [assistant] and only . . . O friend of aerial / spirits [that move] . . . having persuaded me with god-given spells . . . but [now] I have dispatched this book so that you may learn thoroughly. For the spell of Pnouthis [has the power] to persuade the gods and all [the goddesses]. And [I shall write] you from it about [acquiring] an assistant.

[The] traditional rite [for acquiring an assistant]: After the preliminary purification, / [abstain from animal food] and from all uncleanness and, on whatever [night] you want to, go [up] onto a lofty roof after you have clothed yourself in a pure garment . . . [and say] the first spell of encounter as the sun’s orb is disappearing . . . with a [wholly] black Isis band on [your eyes], and in your right hand / grasp a falcon’s head [and . . .] when the sun rises, hail it as you shake its head [and] . . . recite this sacred spell as you burn [uncut] frankincense and pour rose oil, making the sacrifice [in an earthen] censer on ashes from the [plant] heliotrope. And as you recite the spell there will be / this sign for you: a falcon will [fly down and] stand in front of [you], and after flapping its wings in [mid-air and dropping]

8. The section describes the voyage of the sun god, his changing age, and his journey through the underworld. See E. Hornung, *Das Amduat* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963). For the forms of the sun god, see H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883) 405–33. [R.K.R.]

9. The reference is to Ra-Atum emerging from the seas of chaos in the primal month and his creation of the gods by masturbation. In the Egyptian view of time this cosmic event occurs continually (*δηρικέως*). Cf. also Pritchard, *ANET* 6. [R.K.R.]

10. Ancient religion knew of a large number of sacred fig trees, but little is known about the one in Heliopolis. The reference may point to another sacred tree as well, such as the *šād* tree (see L. Kákosy, “Ischedbaum,” *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–83) or the tree “in which is life and death” (idem, *LdÄ* 2 [1977]: 112). Or the tree is the *persea* tree sacred to Ra (see Herodotus 2. 73; and *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–84; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 83–84, s.v. Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 736–40). [R.K.R.]

11. Walking backwards as a magical rite. See *PGM* IV. 44, 2493; XXXVI. 273.

12. The term refers to an assistant daimon; see Glossary. Pnouthis and Pnouthios refer to the same person.

13. *Keryx*, which means “herald,” may refer to a real or to an ideal person of priestly or holy status. See W. Quandt, “Keryx,” *PRE* 21 (1921): 348–49.

an oblong stone,¹⁴ it will immediately take flight and [ascend] to heaven. [You] should pick up this stone; carve it at once [and engrave it later]. Once it has been engraved, bore a hole in it, pass a thread through and wear it around your neck. But in the evening, / go up to [your] housetop [again] and, facing the light of the goddess, address to her this [hymnic spell] as you again sacrifice myrrh troglitis¹⁵ in the same fashion. Light [a fire] and hold a branch of myrtle . . . shaking it, [and salute] the goddess. 70

At once there will be a sign for you like this: [A blazing star] will descend and come to a stop in the middle / of the housetop, and when the star [has dissolved] before your eyes, you will behold the angel¹⁶ whom you have summoned and who has been sent [to you], and you will quickly¹⁷ learn the decisions of the gods. But do not be afraid: [approach] the god and, taking his right hand, kiss him and say these words to the angel, for he will quickly respond to you about whatever you want. But you / adjure him with this [oath] that he meet you and remain inseparable and that he not [keep silent or] disobey in any way. But when he has with certainty accepted this oath of yours, take the god by the hand and leap down, [and] after bringing him [into] the narrow room where you reside, [sit him] down. After first preparing the house / in a fitting manner and providing all types of foods and Mendesian wine,¹⁸ set these before the god, with an uncorrupted boy¹⁹ serving and maintaining silence until the [angel] departs. And you address preliminary (?) words²⁰ to the god: “I shall have you as a friendly assistant, a beneficent god who serves me whenever I say, ‘Quickly, by your / power now appear on earth to me, yea verily, god!’” 80

And while reclining, you yourself quickly speak about what you propose.²¹ Test this²² oath of the god on [what] you wish. But when 3 hours have passed, the god will immediately leap up. Order the boy to run [to] the door. And say, “Go, lord, blessed god, / where you live eternally, as you will,” and the god vanishes. 95

This is the sacred rite for acquiring an assistant. It is acknowledged that he is a god; he is an aerial spirit which you have seen. If you give him a command, straightway he performs the task: he sends dreams, he brings women, men without the use of magical material, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up winds from the earth, he carries / gold, silver, bronze, and he gives them to you whenever the need arises. And 100

14. For the relationship between amulets and the magical papyri, see M. Smith, “Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems,” *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, “Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen,” in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509.

15. This statement shows that something has fallen from the text, for this is the first extant reference here to myrrh *troglitis*. [E.N.O.] The name may be commonly referred to as “Ethiopian myrrh.”

16. This angel or messenger (*ἄγγελος*) is also referred to as “the god” throughout this spell.

17. The adverb, which occurs in *PGM* I. 76, 79, 91, 108, 111, 113, 116, 121, can mean “precisely” or “in detail.”

18. This is not to be confused with the famous Mendaeen wine. Mendesian refers to the Egyptian city of Mendes in the Nile Delta. For a discussion of the confusion between the names, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* II, 600.

19. Apparently this boy serves as a child medium. Cf. for this form of medium *PGM* II. 56; V. 376; VII. 544, etc.

20. *πρόπρωμπε* with an inanimate (and esp. abstract) object is poetic. Here the prefix seems to have its literal meaning: “first,” hence “preliminary words.” [E.N.O.]

21. *πρὸς ἃ φράζει* should be read as second-person middle (cf. I. 79) and not third-person active, as Preisendanz translates.

22. The position of the word “this” is awkward in the Greek text; perhaps “the oath itself” is preferable. Cf. I. 156: “the same spell.”

he frees from bonds a person chained in prison, he opens doors, he causes invisibility so that no one can see you at all, he is a bringer of fire, he brings water, wine, bread and [whatever] you wish in the way of foods: olive oil, vinegar—with the
 105 single exception of fish²³—and he will bring plenty of vegetables, / whatever kind you wish, but as for pork,²⁴ you must not ever tell him to bring this at all! And when you want to give a [dinner], tell him so. Conjure up in your mind any suitable room and order him to prepare it for a banquet quickly and without delay. At once he will bestow chambers with golden ceilings, and you will see their walls covered
 110 with marble—and you consider these things partly real / and partly just illusionary—and costly wine, as is meet to cap a dinner splendidly. He will quickly bring daimons, and for you he will adorn these servants with sashes. These things he does quickly. And [as soon as] you order [him] to perform a service, he will do so, and
 115 you will see him excelling in other things: He stops ships and [again] / releases them, he stops very many evil [daimons], he checks wild beasts and will quickly break the teeth of fierce reptiles, he puts dogs to sleep and renders them voiceless. He changes into whatever form [of beast] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile. He will carry you [into] the air, and again hurl you into the bil-
 120 lows / of the sea's current and into the waves of the sea; he will quickly freeze rivers and seas and in such a way that you can run over them firmly, as you want. And [especially] will he stop, if ever you wish it, the sea-running foam, and whenever you wish to bring down stars²⁵ and whenever you wish to make [warm things] cold and cold things / warm,²⁶ he will light lamps and extinguish them again.²⁷ And he will shake walls and [cause] them to blaze with fire; he will serve you suitably for [whatever] you have in mind, O [blessed] initiate of the sacred magic, and will accomplish it for you, this most powerful assistant, who is also the only lord of the air.
 130 And the gods will agree to everything, for without him / nothing happens. Share this great mystery with no one [else], but conceal it, by Helios, since you have been deemed worthy by the lord [god].

This is the spell spoken [seven times seven] to Helios as an adjuration of the assistant: “ÖRI PI . . . AMOUNTE²⁸ AINTHYPH PICHAROUR²⁹ RAIAL KARPHIOUTH
 135 YMOU ROTHIRBAN OCHANAU MOUNAICHANAPTA/ZÖ ZÖN TAZÖTAZÖ PTAZÖ MAUIAS SOUÖRI SOUÖ ÖOUS SARAPTOUMI SARACHTHI A . . . RICHAMCHÖ BIRATHAU ÖPHAU PHAUÖ DAUA AUANTÖ ZOUZÖ ARROUZÖ ZÖTOUAR THÖMNAÖRI AYÖI PTAUCHARËBI AÖUOSÖBIAU PTABAIN AAAAAAA AEËIOYÖYÖIËEA CHACHACH
 140 CHACHACH CHARCHARACHACH AMOUN Ö ËI³⁰ / IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON OMENERPHABÖEAI CHATHACH PHNESCHËR PHICHRÖ PHNYRÖ PHÖCHÖCHOCH IARBATHA GRAMMË PHIBAÖCHNËMËÖ.” This is the spell spoken seven times seven to Helios.

23. For the taboo on fish in ancient Egypt, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 380–404. [R.K.R.]

24. The prohibition against eating pork was well known in Egypt (see also IV. 3079). The pig was considered unclean because it was related to Seth/Typhon (see also IV. 3115, 3260). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 690–91, s.v. “Schwein”; J. Bergman, “Isis auf der Sau,” *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 6 (1974): 81–109; Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 171–209; cf. also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 8, 353F and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 281.

25. Pulling down stars was a feat for which the Thessalian witches were famous. See H. Reiche, “Myth and Magic in Cosmological Polemics,” *Rheinisches Museum* 114 (1971): 296–329.

26. This magical operation is similar to the table gimmick of Demokritos (see PGM VII. 177).

27. Cf. the table gimmick in PGM VII. 171–72.

28. This is Egyptian for Horus . . . Amon. [R.K.R.]

29. This is Egyptian *pikerour*, “the frog.” [R.K.R.]

30. This is Egyptian meaning “Amon the Great.” [R.K.R.]

And engraved on the stone³¹ is: Helioros³² as a lion-faced figure, holding in the left / hand a celestial globe and a whip, and around him in a circle is a serpent biting its tail. And on the exergue of the stone is this name (conceal it): “ACHA ACHACHA CHACH CHARCHARA CHACH.” And after passing an Anubian string³³ through it, wear it around your neck. 145

Spell to Selene: “INOUTHŌ³⁴ PTOUAUMI ANCHARICH CHARAPTOUMI ANOCHA ABITHROU / ACHARABAUBAU BARATHIAN ATEB DOUANANOU APTYR PANOR PAU- 150 RACH SOUMI PHORBA PHORIPHORBARABAU BŌETH AZA PHOR RIM MIRPHAR ZAURA PTAUZOU CHŌTHARPARACHTHIZOU ZAITH ATIAU IABAU KANTANTOUMI BATHARA CHTHIBI ANOCH.” Having said this, you will see some star gradually free itself from [heaven] and become a god. / But you approach, take him by the hand, 155 kiss him and say the same spell: “ŌPTAUMI NAPHTHAUBI MAIOUTHMOU MĒTROBAL RACHĒPTOUMI AMMŌCHARI AUTHEI A. . .TAMARA CHIŌBITAM TRIBŌMIS ARACHO ISARI RACHI IAKOUBI TAURABERŌMI ANTABI TAUBI.” When you have spoken this, / a reply will be given. But you say to him: “What is your divine name? Reveal it to me 160 ungrudgingly, so that I may call upon [it].” It consists of 15 letters: SOUESOLYR PHTHĒ MŌTH.³⁵

And this is spoken next: “Hither to me, King, [I call you] God of Gods, mighty, boundless, undefiled, indescribable, firmly established Aion. / Be inseparable from 165 me from this day forth through all the time of my life.”

Then question him by the same oaths. If he tells you his name, take him by the hand, descend and have him recline as I have said above, setting before him part of the / foods and drinks which you partake of. And when you release him, sacrifice to 170 him after his departure what is prescribed and pour a wine offering, and in this way you will be a friend of the mighty angel. When you go abroad, he will go abroad with you; when you are destitute, he will give you money. He will tell you what things will happen both when and at what time of the night or day. And if / anyone 175 asks you “What do I have in mind?” or “What has happened to me?” or even “What is going to happen?,” question the angel, and he will tell you in silence. But you speak to the one who questions you as if from yourself. When you are dead, he will wrap [up] your body as befits a god,³⁶ but he will take your spirit and carry it into the air with him. / For no aerial spirit which is joined with a mighty assistant will 180 go into Hades, for to him all things are subject. Whenever you wish to do something, speak his name alone into the air [and] say, [“Come!”] and you will see him actually standing near you. And say to him, “Perform this task,” and he does it at once, and after doing it he will say to you, “What else do you want? For I am eager for heaven.” If you do not / have immediate orders, say to him, “Go, lord,” and he 185 will depart. In this fashion, then, the god will be seen by you alone, nor will anyone ever hear the sound of his speaking, just you yourself alone. And he will tell you

31. For gemstones with figures similar to the one described here, see Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 151–53; nos. 233–37, 283; also the statue described by Nilsson, *GGR* II, 498–99. See furthermore Bonnet, *RÄRG* 427–429, s.v. “Löwe.”

32. This is Helios-Horus. See Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 153.

33. The precise nature of the Anubian cord is not clear. Anubis, the divine undertaker, may have had his name applied to thread used in mummification (see also IV. 1083, 2899; XXXVI. 237). See P. Wolters, “Faden und Knoten als Amulett,” *ARW* 8, Beiheft (1905): 1–22; Bonner, *SMA* 3.

34. INOUTHŌ corresponds to Egyptian *inw* ‘3, “O great god,” and is the beginning of an invocation. [R.K.R.]

35. In Greek the name consists of fifteen letters.

36. This dressing up refers to the practice of mummification and the body’s subsequent deification. See B. Gunn, “The Decree of Amonrasenethēr for Neskhnōs,” *JEA* 41 (1955): 84–85. [R.K.R.]

about the illness of a man, whether he will live or die, even on what day and at what
 190 hour of night. / And he will also give [you both] wild herbs and the power to cure,
 and you will be [worshiped] as a god since you have a god as a friend. These things
 the mighty assistant will perform competently. Therefore share these things with no
 one except [your] legitimate son³⁷ alone when he asks you for the magic powers
 imparted [by] us. Farewell.

195 The address to the sun / requires nothing except the formula “IAEŌBAPHRENE-
 MOUN” and the formula “IARBATHA.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 195–222

*This, then, is the prayer of deliverance for the first-begotten and first-born
 god: “I call upon you, lord. Hear me, holy god who rest among the holy ones, at
 200 whose side the Glorious Ones³⁸ stand continually. I call upon you, / [fore]father,
 and I beseech you, eternal one, eternal ruler of the sun’s rays, eternal ruler of the
 celestial orb, standing in the seven-part region, CHAŌ CHAŌ CHA OUPH CHTHE-
 THŌNIMEETHĒCHRINIA MEROUMI ALDA ZAŌ BLATHAMMACHŌTH PHRIXA ĒKE
 . . . PHYĒIDRYMĒŌ PHERPHRITHŌ IACHTHŌ PSYCHEŌ PHIRITHIMEŌ ROSERŌTH /
 205 THAMAstra PHATRI TAŌCH IALTHEMEACHE; you who hold fast to the root,
 [who] possess the powerful name which has been consecrated by all angels. Hear
 me, you who have established the mighty Decans and archangels, and beside whom
 210 stand untold myriads of angels. You have been exalted to heaven, and the lord / has
 borne witness to your wisdom and has praised your power highly and has said that
 you have strength in the same way as he, as much strength as he [himself] has.

“I call upon you, lord of the universe, in an hour of need; hear me, for my soul is
 [distressed], and I am perplexed³⁹ and in want of [everything]. Wherefore, come]
 215 to me, you who are lord over all / angels; shield me against all excess of magical
 power of aerial daimon [and] fate.⁴⁰ Aye, lord, because I call upon your secret name
 which reaches from the firmament to the earth, ATHĒZOPHŌIM ZADĒAGĒŌBĒPHLA-
 220 THEAA AMBRAMI ABRAAM THALCHILTHOF ELKŌTHŌŌĒĒ ACHTHŌNŌN / SA ISAK
 CHŌĒIOURTHASIO IŌSIA ICHĒMEŌŌŌŌ AŌAEI, rescue me in an hour of need.”

Say this to Helios or whenever you are forced to do so.⁴¹

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Since the character of this invocation shows no tangible connection with
 the preceding or foregoing spells, it is best understood as a separate charm. Although the
 purpose of this prayer (which at certain points is reminiscent of the language of the Psalms)
 is not exactly stated, ll. 215–16 and 221–22 suggest that deliverance from the onslaught of a
 demonic attack is requested.

37. Preisendanz’s reading ἰσχυρῶν υἱῶν is doubtful because the term is nowhere else attested (see his apparatus ad loc.). The word may reflect an Egyptian or Semitic idiom (“son of your own loins”), an idiom formed in Greek from the word ἰσχυρῶν (hips). The Egyptian term is more general, however, and refers to “part of the body.” [J.B.] Cf. also Gn 35:11; 1 Kgs 8:19; Acts 2:30; Heb 7:5, 10. See furthermore PGM IV. 646, 2519, and Abt, *Apologie* 65–66.

38. *Daxai* is a name for angels. See also IV. 1051, 1202, and Bauer, s.v. “δόξα,” 4.

39. The translation of ἄβου[λος] follows Preisendanz (“ratlos”). For the general language of prayer, cf. Ps 42:6, 12; 43:5; Jon 4:9 LXX; Sir 37:2; Mk 14:34 par.

40. The concept of Heimarmene is found in PGM here and XIII. 613, 635; cf. 709. See D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l’antiquité grecque. Recherches sur la survivance de l’argumentation morale anti-fataliste de Carnéade chez les philosophes grecs et les théologiens chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 21974); H. O. Schröder, “Farum (Heimarmene),” *RAC* 7 (1969):524–636, esp. 567–68.

41. The translation is tentative at this point.

PGM I. 222–31

***Indispensable invisibility spell:** Take fat or an eye of a nightowl and a ball of dung rolled⁴² by a beetle and oil of an unripe olive⁴³ and grind them all together until smooth, and smear your whole / body with it and say to Helios: “I adjure you by your great name, BORKĒ PHOIOUR IŌ ZIZIA APARXEOUCH THYTHE LAILAM AAAAAA IIIII OOOO IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ NAUNAX AI AI AEŌ AEŌ EAŌ,” and moisten it and say in addition: “Make me invisible, lord Helios, AEŌ ŌAE EIĒ EAŌ, / in the presence of any man until sunset, IŌ IŌ Ō PHRIXRIZŌ EŌA.”
*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 232–47

***Memory spell:** Take hieratic papyrus and write the prescribed names with Hermaic⁴⁴ myrrh ink. And once you have written them as they are prescribed, wash them off⁴⁵ into spring water / from 7 springs and drink the water on an empty stomach for seven days while the moon is in the east. But drink a sufficient amount.

This is the writing on the strip of papyrus: “KAMBRĒ CHAMBRE SIXIŌPHI HARPON CHNOUPHI BRINTATĒNŌPHRIBRISKYLMA ARAOUAZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPH AKTIŌPHI ARTŌSE BIBIOU / BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SIEGŌ SIEGŌ NOUCHA NOUCHA LINOUCHA LINOUCHA CHYCHBA CHYCHBA KAXIŌ CHYCHBA DĒTOPHŌTH II AA OO YY ĒĒ EE ŌŌ.” After doing these things wash the writing off and drink as is prescribed.

This is also the composition of the ink: myrrh troglitis, 4 drams; 3 karian figs, 7 pits of Nikolaus dates, / 7 dried pinecones, 7 piths of the single-stemmed wormwood, 7 wings of the Hermaic ibis,⁴⁶ spring water. When you have burned the ingredients, prepare them and write.
*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 247–62

***Tested spell for invisibility:** A great work. Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and a plant of peony (he means the rose). Rub these with oil of lily, and as you are rubbing / them from the right to the left,⁴⁷ say the spell as follows: “I am ANUBIS, I am OSIR-PHRE,⁴⁸ I am OSOT SORONOUIER, I am OSIRIS whom SETH destroyed.⁴⁹ Rise up, infernal daimon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PHOBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ APOMPS; whatever I, NN, order you to do, / be obedient to me.”

And if you wish to become invisible, rub just your face with the concoction, and you will be invisible for as long as you wish. And if you wish to be visible again, move from west to east and say this name, and you will be obvious and visible to all / men.

42. The pellet (“that which is rolled”) of a scarab is sacred to the sun god Ra. See also PGM VII. 584. [R.K.R.]

43. The papyrus reads φακίνου, which Preisendanz emends to (δμ)φακίνου. For similar expressions, see PGM IV. 228–29, 3008. For a different reading, see Schmidt, GGA 1931, 445.

44. This is the myrrh ink of Hermes.

45. In order to transfer the magical powers of the names, they were washed off and consumed. For the widespread practice, see *Handbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 8 (1936/37):1156–57.

46. The ibis was sacred to Hermes Thoth. [R.K.R.]

47. See on this point J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts, Nisaba* 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 27, 30, 41, 56. [R.K.R.]

48. This is Osiris-Re.

49. The papyrus has *tako* where one expects the standard Coptic *takof*, “destroyed (him).” [M.W.M.] Cf. *DMP* col. I, 13, p. 23 (and n.) for Demotic parallels to part of this passage.

The name is: “MARMARIAŌTH MARMARIPHEGGĒ, make mc, NN, visible to all men on this day, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly!” This works very well.
*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Cf. PGM I. 222–31.

PGM I. 262–347

***Apollonian**⁵⁰ **invocation:** Take a seven-leaved sprig of laurel and hold it in your right hand / as you summon the heavenly gods and chthonic daimons. Write on the
265 sprig of laurel the seven⁵¹ characters for deliverance.

The characters are these: ✱ ∪ Ϝ ∩ ∪ ∫ ∫ ∫, the first character onto the first
270 leaf, then the second / again in the same way onto the second leaf until there is a matching up of the 7 characters and 7 leaves. But be careful not to lose a leaf [and] do harm to yourself. For this is the body’s greatest protective charm, by which all are made subject, and seas and rocks tremble, and daimons [avoid] the characters’
275 magical powers which / you are about to have. For it is the greatest protective charm for the rite so that you fear nothing.

Now this is the rite: Take a lamp which has not been colored red and fit it with a piece of linen cloth and rose oil or oil of spikenard, and dress yourself in a prophetic
280 garment and hold an ebony staff in your left hand and / the protective charm in your right (i.e., the sprig of laurel). But keep in readiness a wolf’s head so that you can set the lamp upon the head of the wolf, and construct an altar of unburnt clay near the head and the lamp so that you may sacrifice on it to the god. And immediately the divine spirit enters.

/ The burnt offering is a wolf’s eye, storax gum, cassia, balsam gum and whatever
285 is valued among the spices, and pour a libation of wine and honey and milk and rainwater, [and make] 7 flat cakes and 7 round cakes. These you are going to make completely [near] the lamp, robed and refraining from all / unclean things and
290 from all eating of fish⁵² and from all sexual intercourse, so that you may bring the god into the greatest desire toward you.⁵³

Now these are the names, [which] you are going to write on the linen cloth and which you will put as a wick into the lamp which has not been colored red: “ABER-
295 AMENTHŌULERTHEXANAXETHRENLYOŌTHNEMARAIBAI⁵⁴ / AEMINNAEBARŌ-
THERRETHŌBABEANIMEA.”⁵⁵ When you have completed all the instructions set out above, call the god with this chant:⁵⁶

50. This lamp divination is named after the god Apollo. Despite its syncretistic character, there are an unusual number of parallels with the cult of Apollo. See S. Eitrem, “Apollon in der Magie,” in *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike, Albae Vigiliae* 5 (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1947): 47–52.

51. Eight characters are shown.

52. See PGM I. 104 and note.

53. For sexual union with Apollo attributed to the Pythia, see Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 405 C–D; Origenes, *C. Cels.* 7.3; John Chrysostom, *PG* 61, p. 242 (hence *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.* 39; Suda, *Lexicon*, p. 3120). See G. Wolff, *Porphyrii De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* (Berlin: Springer, 1856) 160; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans, RVV* 32 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972) 143. [W.B.]

54. The magical words begin with the name ABERAMENTHŌ, on which see J. Mahé, “Aberamentho,” in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, Festschrift for G. Quispel, EPRO* 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 412–18. The formula should be read as a palindrome (see Glossary). Cf. also PGM III. 67–68, 117–18; XXXVIII. 20–21.

55. The magical word should be read as a palindrome. Cf. also IV. 196–97; XIV. 24; LIX. 7.

56. These lines contain dactylic hexameters (several of which are metrically faulty) through l. 311. In 312–14 the meter breaks down completely, yet because the tone and the apparent intent is hymnic, the translation continues in a verse pattern that is sometimes faulty. Ll. 297–311 (although the identification says 297–314) also form vv. 1–15 of the reconstructed Hymn 23, while vv. 16–18 are taken from PGM I. 342–45. See Preisendanz, vol. II. p. 262. [E.N.O.]

“O lord Apollo, come with Paian.⁵⁷
 Give answer to my questions, lord. O master
 Leave Mount Parnassos and the Delphic Pytho
 Whene’er my priestly lips voice secret words, /
 First angel of [the god], great Zeus. IAŌ 300
 And you, MICHAËL, who rule heaven’s realm,
 I call, and you, archangel GABRIËL.
 Down from Olympos, ABRASAX, delighting
 In dawns, come gracious who view sunset from
 The dawn, / ADŌNAI. Father of the world, 305
 All nature quakes in fear of you, PAKERBĒTH.
 I adjure God’s head,⁵⁸ which is Olympos;
 I adjure God’s signet, which is vision;
 I adjure the right hand you held o’er the world;
 I adjure God’s bowl containing wealth;
 I adjure eternal god, AIŌN of all;
 / I adjure self-growing Nature, mighty ADŌNAIOS; 310
 I adjure setting and rising ELŌAIOS:
 I adjure these holy and divine names that
 They send me the divine spirit and that it
 Fulfill what I have in my heart and soul.
 / Hear blessed one, I call you who rule heav’n⁵⁹ 315
 And earth and Chaos and Hades where dwell
 [Daimons of men who once gazed on the light].
 Send me this daimon at my sacred chants,
 Who moves by night to orders ’neath your force,
 From whose own tent this comes, and let him tell me /
 In total truth all that my mind designs, 320
 And send him gentle, gracious, pondering
 No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
 Be angry at my sacred chants. But guard
 That my whole body come to light intact,
 For you yourself arranged these things among
 Mankind for them to learn. / I call your name, 325
 In number equal to the very Moirai,
 ACHAIPHŌTHŌTHŌAIËIAËIA
 AIËIAËIAŌTHŌTHŌPHIACHA.”⁶⁰

And when he comes, ask him about what you wish, about the art of prophecy,
 about divination with epic verses, about the sending of dreams, about obtaining
 revelations in dreams, about / interpretations of dreams, about causing disease, 330
 about everything that is a part of magical knowledge.

Cover a throne and couch with a cloth of linen, but remain standing while you

57. The words “Ἀναξ . . . σὺν Παίῳσι” form an iambic pentameter which may preserve a line from a longer hymn. The line belongs to Hymn 8 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. For a similar expression, cf. *PGM* II. 7–8. [E.N.O.]

58. Or, “I adjure (you by) God’s head,” here and in the verses that follow.

59. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 7–8, 12–17, 20, 18, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* IV. 436–61, 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. (The identification of lines in Preisendanz is not correct, vol. II, p. 239: l. 18 is present, l. 19 is missing.) [E.N.O.]

60. The word should be read as a palindrome. One can see the word THŌTHŌ, written twice; it means “Thoth the great.” [R.K.R.]

sacrifice with the aforementioned burnt offering. And after the enquiry, if you
 335 wish / to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff, which
 you are holding in your left hand, to your right hand; and shift the sprig of laurel,
 340 which you are holding in your right hand, to your left hand; and extinguish / the
 burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering while saying:⁶¹

“Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
 O elder-born, self-generating god.
 I adjure the fire which first shone in the void;
 I adjure your pow’r which is greatest o’er all; /
 345 I adjure him who destroys e’en in Hades,
 That you depart, returning to your ship,
 And harm me not, but be forever kind.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM II. 1–64

“. . . AKRAKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A” (speak the whole
 name thus, in wing formation).¹

“O Phoibos, helper through your oracles,
 Come joyous, Leto’s son, who works afar,
 Averter, hither come, hither, come hither.
 Foretell, give prophecies amid night’s hour,²

5 ALLALALA ALLALALA SANTALALA TALALA”³ (speak this name too, / leaving off one
 letter in succession, so as to make a wing formation):⁴

“If e’er with vict’ry-loving laurel branch
 Here from your holy peak you often voiced
 Words of good omen, so may you now speed
 Your way to me with truthful oracles,

LAËTONION and TABARAÖTH AEÖ EÖ, lord Apollo Paian, who control this night,
 who are master of it, who hold the hour of prayer too. Come, mighty daimons,
 10 help me today / by truly speaking with the son of Leto and Zeus.”

Add also the following [spell], which is to be written on laurel leaves, and to-
 gether with the strip of papyrus on which the Headless One is drawn, it is to be
 placed beside your head, rolled up. It is to be spoken also to the lamp, after you
 come in from the prayer, before going to bed, while you are placing a lump of fran-
 kincense in the wick of the lamp: “BOASOCH⁵ ÖËÄË IAÖIË ÖIAË ÖIAË NICHARO-
 15 PLËX / STHOM ÖTHÖ . . . Y IE IÖ ËI IAËL IRMOUCH ÖNOR ÖEYE IYÖ EAÖ SABAÖTH
 THËOTË PAÖMIACH SIEOU IAÖ IE IEÖ . . . IOY IEÖY IÖ IËI ËÖ IËAI IEÖA A E Ë I O
 Y Ö.”

61. The following dactylic hexameters also form vv. 16–18 of the reconstructed Hymn 23 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 262. [E.N.O.] In contrast to the preceding hymn, ll. 341–47 are Egyptian in character and refer to the sun god’s self-generation and daily travel in his ship. See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, passim. See also PGM I. 34. [R.K.R.]

1. On the wing formation, see PGM I. 11 and n. Here the formula seems to be incomplete. Supply (KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKARNABA) and (A) at the end. Cf. l. 65 below.

2. These lines, except for 4–5, are dactylic hexameters which are not always metrically correct; they are the reconstructed Hymn 9, Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. The first three lines appear, in slightly altered form, at PGM IV. 24–27 (Hymn 10, 4–6). [E.N.O.]

3. Presumably SANTALALA, but there is considerable corruption in the text.

4. The lines of the following hymn may have originally been written in some iambic meter. Cf. PGM I. 296–97.

5. In l. 32 the papyrus gives BOLSOCH in lieu of BOASOCH as the beginning of the incantation. One or the other is probably wrong.

In order to remember what is said: Use the following compound.⁶ Take the plant wormwood, a sun opal, a “breathing stone,” the heart of a hoopoe⁷ (also known as the “vulture cock”). Grind all these together, add a sufficiency of honey, and anoint your lips with the mixture, having first incensed / your mouth with a grain of frankincense gum. 20

This is the preparation: In the evening, just before retiring, purify your bed with ass’s milk, and then, holding in your hands twigs⁸ of laurel (the preparation for which is given below), speak the invocation given below. Let your bed be on the ground, either upon clean rushes or upon a rush mat, and lie on your right side, on the ground and in the open air. While performing the invocation, give answer to nobody, and as you are uttering it, make an offering of a lump of frankincense / and 25 twelve right-whorled⁹ pinecones and 2 unblemished [gizzard stones of a] rooster, one to Helios and one to Selene, on the first day [of the month], on a censel¹⁰ of bronze or of earth. On your right inscribe this character,¹¹ and go to sleep in line with the upper stroke of it. While praying, wear a garland of laurel of the following description: Take 12 laurel twigs; make a garland of 7 sprigs, and bind the remaining five together and hold them in your right hand while you pray, / and lie down 30 to sleep holding this, in the above-mentioned position. Inscribe the character with myrrh ink, such as is shown to you [below], with a . . . feather [or pen],¹² and hold it, along with the laurel, while you are uttering in prayer the words which begin “BOLSOCH,” etc.¹³

The names to be written on the sprigs, on each leaf: “YESSEMMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOËRE SOIRE SOIRĒ SANKANTHARA ERISCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE” / (write 12 names). 35

The ink is as follows: In a purified container burn myrrh and cinquefoil and wormwood; grind them to a paste, and use them. Take a sprig of laurel and Ethiopian cumin and nightshade, and grind them together; take in a clay pot water from a new well, dug either 5 months previously or within the last 5 years, or any one you come across on the first day after its being dug, and throw the mixture into the water. Leave it for just 3 nights, and, as you are uttering the invocation, put a little of it into your / right ear. 40

To achieve a good memory: Write on a leaf of cinquefoil the following character, written with myrrh ink, and keep it in your mouth while you sleep.

*The character is:*¹⁴ ℓ

Start saying the aforementioned invocation at the 7th hour of the moon, until the god hearkens to you, and you make contact with him.

And these are the compulsive [procedures]: All of them may be brought before the moon after the first or second day. / If he does not appear, sacrifice the brain of 45

6. σύνθεμα as a variant of σύνθημα may also have the meaning of “token” or “sign.”

7. Cf. Horapollo, *Hier.* 1. 55, and the use of the hoopoe in a magical recipe in *PDM* xiv. 116. See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 102, s.v. [R.K.R.]

8. κλάδος is normally to be translated “branch,” but that seems to convey the notion of something larger than can be envisioned here. “Twig” may be better, but it may sound too small. The reader must think of a small branch.

9. δεξιούς is either “right-turning” or simply “perfect in shape.” Cf. *PGM* III. 694; XIII. 10.

10. θυμιατήριον is properly an incense burner, but here perhaps simply a word for “altar.”

11. In the margin is the *ankh* sign (⋈), a symbol of life.

12. The papyrus reads εν πιννηλι. . . . Preisendanz suggests πιννη λι[τῆ], “with a simple, or plain, pen” (taking πιννη as the equivalent of the Latin *penna*).

13. Cf. above, l. 14.

14. The sign is called *shenou*, an Egyptian symbol of protection. [J.B.]

a black ram, and on the third day the little nail of its right forefoot, the one nearest to the ankle; on the fourth, the brain of an ibis; on the fifth, write the figure sketched below¹⁵ on papyrus with myrrh ink, wrap it in a piece of clothing of one
50 who has died violently, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse¹⁶ / (some, however, [throw it] not into a furnace, for that is too extreme, but they suspend it over a lamp, or place it beneath one).

In another [text] I have found the following: If then, he does not hearken to this method, wrap up the figure in the same piece of cloth, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse on the fifth day, saying after the invocation: “ABRI and ABRO EXANTIABIL, God of gods, king of kings, now force a friendly daimon of prophecy to come to me, lest I apply worse tortures to you, the things written on the strips of papyrus.” /

55 If even after this he does not hearken, pour fine, pure oil of radishes over an uncorrupted boy, who has been tested,¹⁷ and having gathered it up again, prepare a lamp not painted red, and set it upon a lampstand fashioned from virgin soil (some authorities say to pour some of the oil on the altar also). If you feel a blow,¹⁸ chew up the cumin and drink it down with some unmixed wine.

60 Write the prescribed figure / as given above, along with the characters and the prescribed spell twice with myrrh ink on hieratic papyrus. And of these, one you should hold as you make your invocation, as you go to sleep grasping it in your right hand, and placing it under your head, while the other, if the necessity arrives for the compulsive [procedure], you should roll up in the aforementioned cloth and use as prescribed.

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 2–4; 5–10)

PGM II. 64–184

65 **An alternative procedure:* Take a sprig of laurel and write the / 2 names on its leaves, the one: “[AKRAKANARBA] KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A”¹⁹; the other: “SANTALALA ANTALALA NTALALA TALALA ALALA LALA ALA LA A.”¹⁹

Take another sprig with twelve leaves on it, and inscribe on it the following heart-shaped name,²⁰ while you begin with a sacred utterance. *This is as follows:*
70 And make of the sprig inscribed with the two names / a garland for yourself, weaving about it a binding consisting of white wool, bound at intervals with red wool, and let this hang down as far as the collarbone. You shall hang a similar binding also from the twelve-leaved sprig, and present yourself to the god in the following manner: Take a completely white cock and a pinecone; pour wine upon it,
75 anoint yourself and remain praying / until the sacrifice²¹ is extinguished. Then rub

15. That is, the figure of the Headless One given at the end of the variant spell, PGM II. 64–183.

16. Properly, the hot-air space of a hypocaust. [J.M.D.] Bathhouses were important places for doing magic. See Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* I, 51–52; II, 32; J. H. Johnson, *OMRM* 56 (1975):44–45. See also *PDM* xii. 149. [R.K.R.]

17. *γυμναζομένῳ* means literally “trained” or “practiced.” But cf. *PDM* xiv. 287 and esp. xiv. 68, where a boy’s sexual purity is stressed. Hence the accompanying use of *ἀφθόρῳ* here.

18. What seems to be envisioned is something akin to an electric shock. Cf. VII. 230. [J.M.D.] Cf. also 2 Sm 6:7.

19. Cf. above, ll. 1–5. Each name is to be uttered in “wing formation,” leaving off one letter from the beginning in sequence. See I. 11 and n.

20. The heart-shaped name is lost, but presumably it resembled the allegedly twelve-part inscription given at ll. 33–35 above. Cf. III. 70, “in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes.”

21. Cf. above, ll. 24ff.

yourself all over with the following mixture: laurel bayberries, Ethiopian cumin, nightshade, and “Hermes’ finger.” You shall also speak into the lamp the following: “PERPHAËNŌ . . . DIAMANTHŌ . . . L DIAMENCHTHŌTH²² PERPERCHRĒ ŌANOUTH PHROUMEN THORPSOU.”

*The operative name*²³ is: “AKTI KARA ABAIŌTH, O lord god, servant of god, who are in control of this night, stand by me, Apollo Paian.”

Go to sleep with your head toward the south. / Use this at the time of sunrise,²⁴ 80
when the moon is in Gemini:

*Fourth Invocation:*²⁵

“Laurel,²⁶ Apollo’s holy plant of presage,
Whose leaves the scepter-bearing lord once tasted
And sent forth songs himself, Teios,
Renowned Paian, who live in Kolophon,
Give heed to holy song. And quickly come
To earth from heaven and converse [with me].
Stand near and from ambrosian lips inspire
My songs; come, / lord of song, yourself; renowned 85
Ruler of song. Hear, blessed one, heavy
In wrath and stern. Now, Titan, hear our voice,
Unfailing one, do not ignore. Stand here,
Speak presage to a suppliant from your
Ambrosian mouth, quickly, all-pure Apollo.”

(Speak while the sun is rising).

*Greeting formula:*²⁷

“Hail, fire’s dispenser, world’s far-seeing king,
O Helios, with noble steeds, the eye
Of Zeus which guards the earth, all-seeing one,
Who travel lofty paths, O gleam divine,²⁸
Who move, through the heaven, bright, unattainable, /
Born long ago, unshaken, with a headband 90
Of gold, wearing a disk, mighty with fire,
With gleaming breastplate, winged one, untiring

22. MENCHTHIŌTH is equivalent to *μηχ* *Dhwtv*, “Thoth is excellent/beneficent.” [R.K.R.]

23. On the significance of the term *κύριον ὄνομα*, see Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 1. 75; *Det.* 22; 83; *Plant.* 74. For the doctrine of the sacred name, see also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 7.4–5.

24. The exact significance is not clear, but cf. *PGM* VI. 4–5, where a very similar hymn is to be recited at sunrise. See also Philo, *Vit. cont.* 89; Apuleius, *Met.* 11.20.

25. The basic form of the lines in this passage is metrical, but the dactylic hexameters are frequently interrupted by *voces magicae* and brief statements in prose. Ll. 81–102, 107, 132–40, 163–66 have been combined to reconstruct Hymn 11. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 245–46. Ll. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2) appear also at *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) and 81 also appears at *PGM* XII. 87–93. [E.N.O.]

26. For the role of laurel in magic, see L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften zur Klassischen Altertumskunde* (Königstein: Hain, 1982) 401–3.

27. The papyrus reads *χαίρε*, “hail,” which Preisendanz understands as an abbreviation of *χαίρε-τισμός*, “greeting formula.” See on this A. Baumstark, “Chairetismos,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 993–1006. The hymn that follows is written in hexameters, although toward the end of the passage the meter falters. The hymnic section that begins in l. 101, “I call upon you . . .,” may be in prose; however, cf. *PGM* IV. 261ff., where *σέ* is used repeatedly as the first word of a hexameter and where *καλλ(έ)ω* follows *σέ* three times.

28. *διπετές* properly means “fallen from Zeus or heaven,” referring to water, but the term is widely used to mean simply “divine.” Here some of the original meaning seems appropriate. See Bauer, s.v. “*διοπετής*,” Betz, *Lukian* 168 n. 2.

With golden reins, coursing a golden path,
 And you who watch, encircle, hear all men.
 For you day's flames that bring the light give birth
 To Dawn, and as you pass the midmost pole,
 Behind you rosy-ankled Sunrise goes
 Back to her home in grief; in front, Sunset
 Meets you and leads your team of fire-fed steeds /
 95 Down into Ocean; Night darts down in flight
 From heav'n, whene'er she hears the crack of whip
 That strikes with force around the horses' flanks,
 AAAAAAA EEEEEEE ÊÊÊÊÊÊÊ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ ÎÎÎÎÎ;
 O scepter-bearing leader of the Muses,
 Giver of life, come now to me, come quickly
 To earth, Ieios, hair wreathed with ivy.
 And, Phoibos, with ambrosian mouth give voice
 100 To song. Hail, fire's guard, / ARARACHCHARA
 ÊΠÎΤΙΙΣΙΚÊΡÊ, and hail, Moirai three,
 Klotho and Atropos and Lachis²⁹ too.
 I call you,³⁰ who are great in heav'n, airlike,
 Supreme ruler, you whom all nature serves
 Who dwell throughout the whole inhabited world,
 you [whose] bodyguard is the sixteen giants, you who are seated upon the lotus and
 who light up the whole inhabited world;³¹ you who have designated the various
 105 living things upon the earth, you who have the sacred bird / upon your robe³² in
 the eastern parts of the Red Sea, even as you have upon the northern parts the fig-
 ure of an infant child seated upon a lotus, O rising one, O you of many names,
 SESENGENBARPHARANGÊS; on the southern parts you have the shape of the sacred
 falcon, through which you send fiery heat into the air, which becomes LERTHEXA-
 110 NAX; / in the parts toward the west you have the shape of a crocodile, with the tail
 of a snake, from which you send out rains and snows; in the parts toward the east
 you have [the form of] a winged dragon, a diadem fashioned of air, with which you
 quell all discords beneath the heaven and on earth, for you have manifested yourself
 115 as god in truth, ÎÎ ÎÎ ERBÊTH / ZAS³³ SABAÔTH SMARTH ADÔNAI SOUMARTA LALOU
 BABLA YAM MOLÊENTHIÔ PETOTOUBIÊTH IARMÎÔTH LAILAMPS CHÔOUCH³⁴ AR-
 SENOPHRÊ EU PHTHA ÊÔLI. Hear me, O greatest god, Kommcs, who lights up the
 120 day, NATHMAMEÔTH; you who rise as an infant,³⁵ / MAIRACHACHTHA; you who
 traverse the pole, THARCHACHACHAU: you who unite with yourself and endow

29. Lachis is probably metrical for Lachesis.

30. The following is an Egyptian section in contrast to the preceding Greek hymn. Ll. 102 and 106–7 contain an invocation of the sun god as a child sitting upon the lotus, enlightening the world. See S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

31. For the transformations of the sun god hour by hour, see *PGM* III. 500ff.; IV. 1596ff., and on the whole subject II. Brugsch, "Die Kapitel der Verwandlungen," *ZÄS* 5 (1867): 21–26. [R.K.R.]

32. Cf. Apuleius' description of the *Olympiaca stola* in *Met.* II. 24, and Griffith's commentary, *The Isis-Book* 308–14. The bird may be the phoenix, for which cf. *PGM* XII. 231; XIII. 881. See on the Phoenix myth the chapter in M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques: Adam, Éros et les animaux d'Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II, 5)* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1974) 231–62.

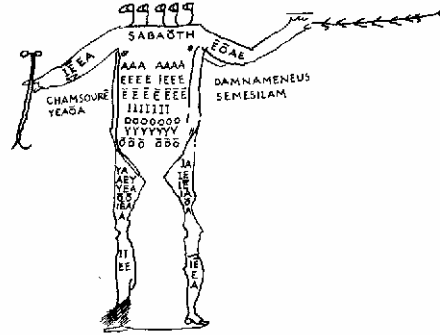
33. *Zas* is an old name for Zeus. See also *PGM* XIXa. 44; *Orph. Frag.* no. 145 (p. 189); cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas* 130 n. 1.

34. *CHÔOUCH* is equivalent to Egyptian *hky*, "darkness." [R.K.R.]

35. See on this point *PGM* II. 102 and n.

165 Muses, / be gracious to me, your suppliant, and be benevolent and merciful; appear to me with pure countenance.”

170



This figure is to be / inscribed on a piece of clothing belonging to one who has died violently, and is to be cast into a pure lamp.

175 SENSENGEN BARPBARANGĒS / ŌĒIA IŌAE

After you have learned all you want, you will release him, doing honor to him in a worthy manner. Sprinkle dove's blood round about, make a burnt offering of myrrh, and say, "Depart, lord, CHORMOU CHORMOU OZOAMOROIŌCH KIMNOIE
180 EPOZOI EPOIMAZOU / SARBOENDOBALACHCHA IZOMNEI PROSPOI EPIOR; go off, lord, to your seats, to your palace, leaving me strength and the right of audience with you."

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 81–87; 88–101).

PGM III. 1–164

* [Take a] cat, and [make] it into an *Esiēs* [by submerging] its body in water. While you are drowning it, speak [the formula] to [its] back.

The formula during the drowning [is as follows]:

5 "Come hither to me, you who are in control of the form of Helios, you the cat- / faced god,¹ and behold your form being mistreated by [your] opponents,² [them,] NN, so that you may revenge yourself upon them, and accomplish [the]
10 NN deed, because I am calling upon you, O sacred spirit. Take on / strength and vigor against your enemies, them, NN, because I am conjuring you by your names, BARBATHIAŌ BAINCHŌŌŌCH NIABŌAITHABRAB³ SESENGENBARPBARARGĒS . . .
PHREIMI; raise yourself up for me, O cat-faced god, and perform the NN deed"
(add the usual).

15 / Take the cat, and make [three] lamellae, one for its anus,⁴ one for . . . , and one for its throat; and write the formula [concerning the] deed on a clean⁵ sheet of

1. The goddess addressed here is Sekhmet-Bastet, well known from Egyptian magical texts. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, nos. 5, 13–15, 18, 20, 124; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* 264–67; E. Otto, "Bastet," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 628–30.

2. For this type of accusation, see *PGM* III. 113–14; IV. 2475 and n.

3. The letters BARBATHIAŌBAINCHŌŌŌCHNIABŌAITHABRAB form a palindromic. BAINCHŌŌŌCH ("soul of Khukh," the god of darkness) is often read separately, but is adapted to this form for numerical reasons: the formula adds up to 3663.

4. That is, "one [to be placed] *in* its anus." Preisendanz in the second case restores *ἐν τῷ στόματι*, but this is in conflict with the other restoration in l. 67 below: [. . . *διὰ τῶν καμ[αρώων]*, "through the earholes."

5. "Clean" is meant regularly in *PGM* in a descriptive sense, i.e., previously unused or "free" from imperfections, etc. See LSJ, s.v. "καθαρός," 3a. For detailed description regarding papyrus, see Pliny, *NH* 13. 68–89, and R. Wunsch, "Charta," *PRE* 3 (1899): 2185–92.

papyrus, with cinnabar [ink], and [then the names of] the chariots and chariotcers, and the chariot boards / and the racehorses.⁶ Wind this around the body of the cat and bury it. Light seven lamps upon [7] unbaked bricks, and make an offering, fumigating storax gum to it, and be of good cheer.⁷ / Take its body [and preserve] it by immuring it either in a tomb or in a burial place . . . with colors, . . . bury . . . looking toward the sunrise, pour out (?) . . . , saying:

“Angel, . . . [SĒMEBA], chthonic / . . . lord⁸ (?), grant [safety?], . . . O chthonic one, in [the] horse race, IAKTŌRĒ,⁹ hold . . . restrain . . . , PHŌKENSEPSEUARE[K-TATHOUMISONKTAI],¹⁰ for me, the spirit . . . the daimon of [the] place . . . / and may the [NN deed] come about for me immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, because I conjure you, at this place and at this time, by the implacable god . . . THACHŌCHA EIN CHOUCHEŌCH, and by the great chthonic god, / ARIŌR EUŌR, and by the names that apply to you; perform the NN deed” (add the usual).

Then take up the water in which the drowning took place, and sprinkle it [on] the stadium or in the place where you are performing [the rite].

The formula to be spoken, while you are sprinkling the drowning water, is as follows: “I call upon you, Mother of all men, / you who have brought together the limbs of Meliouchos, even Meliouchos himself, OROBASTRIA NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, Entrapper,¹¹ Mistress of corpses,¹² Hermes, Hekate, [Hermes?], Hermekate,¹³ LETH AMOUMAMOUTERMYŌR,¹⁴ I conjure you, the daimon that has been aroused in this place, / and you, the daimon of the cat that has been endowed with spirit;¹⁵ come to me on this very day and from this very moment, and perform for me the NN deed” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “CHYCHBACHYCH BACHACHYCH BACH-AXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH BAIACHACHYCH BAZĒTŌPHŌTH / BAINCHŌŌŌCH ANI-BŌŌŌ CHŌCHE . . . PHIŌCHEN GĒBRŌCHTHŌ MYSAGAŌTH CHEŌŌ . . . Ō¹⁶ SABAŌTH EULAMOSI ĒĒLAXIMA . . . [. . . THACHŌCH]AXIN CHOUCHEŌCH.”

On the [1st and 3rd leaves of metal] which you are to use for the conjuration, there should be this: “IAEŌ” /

6. *μονάτωρ* is a late word for *μονάμπυξ*, “horse with a single frontlet,” i.e., a racehorse. Presumably one drew crude representations of them, along with their names, on a sheet of papyrus. Cf. such figures on the so-called Sethian curse tablets in R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899), esp. 51.

7. Cf. PGM IV. 2390 for a similar injunction to perform a rite with good cheer. See also Plutarch, *De tranquillitate animi*, 20, p. 477E, and R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 2 (1976): 772–75 s.v. “εὐφραίνω.”

8. The papyrus reads . . . ονε. Eitrem suggests *τύραννε*.

9. It is not clear whether *iaktore* is a magical word or something sensible. Preisendanz suggests *ακτωρε* as a Greek equivalent of Latin *actores*, “drivers,” but in that case the syntax is unclear.

10. Emended and restored with plausibility from PGM III. 78–79, 513–14, 545–46; IV. 339–40; LXVII. 13.

11. Although attested in LSJ, s.v. “ἀρκυία,” as an epithet of the goddess Hekate with uncertain meaning (with reference to Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 14 [third cent. A.D.]), “the nerrer” is a standard Egyptian underworld daimon. See D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1976); J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden: Brill, 1960) 226–34. [R.K.R.]

12. The term *νεκρία* is also attested in this sense only in PGM IV. 2781, but necessarily having some such meaning.

13. The name Hermekate is a combination of Hermes and Hekate. See Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae*, nos. 104–7. Here in the papyrus the name could also be read Hermekatēlēth, that is, with the typical ending *-ēth*; thus Eitrem in the apparatus to III. 37.

14. ΑΜΟΥ at the beginning is Coptic for “come!” [R.K.R.]

15. *πνευματώδης* is a form not otherwise attested; cf. PGM XIII. 525: *ἐμπνευματώδη*.

16. A plausible restoration is IAO in that IAO and SABAŌTH form a common pairing in the PGM.

60

[AEŌ]BAPHRENEMOUNOTH[ILARIKRIPIITHNAI]-
YIANTHPIHKIRALITH[ONYOMENER]-
PHABŌEA.

[ABLAN]ATHANALBA
[ABLAN]ATHANALBA.¹⁷

65 / On [the 2nd] metal leaf, that is to be put [through the earholes],¹⁸ there should
be this: "IREBA ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLEAEXANAXETHRELTHYOŌETHNEMÄ-

70

REBA" / (in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes).

Right skeletal figure:

[Left skeletal figure]:



"IŌ ERBĒTH

IŌ PAKERBĒTH

IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH

IŌ APOMPS

75

IŌ PATATHNAX

IŌ AKOUBIA

IŌ SĒTH

PHŌKENSEPSEU-

AREKTATHOUMISAKTAI,

80

Perform the NN deed"

(add the usual, what-
ever you wish).

AKRAMMACHAMARI SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS MITHRA NAMAZAR ANAMARIA
DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌ[NIE]¹⁹ THORTŌEI, holy king, the sailor, [who steers]

17. After the second ABLANATHANALBA there appears an isolated "K" followed by a lacuna of uncertain size. The papyrus either reads *καί*, "and," or *κοινά*, "add the usual." For obvious reasons, it has been left untranslated.

18. See above, l. 16 and n.

19. This formula, repeated below l. 100, may well be garbled Greek for *Damnameneu, Zeu chthonie*, identifying Helios-Mithras with Hades. [J.M.D.]

"I conjure you, the powerful and mighty angel of this animal in this place; rouse yourself for me, and perform the NN [deed] both on this very day and in every hour and day; rouse yourself / for me against my enemies, NN, and perform NN deed" (add the usual), "for I conjure you by IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX, and by the great god, IAEŌ" (formula), "AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA CHABRAX PHNESKĒR PHIKO PHNYRO PHŌ-
CHŌ RŌCH / ABLANATHANALBA

the tiller of the lord god,²⁰ rouse [yourself] for me, great cat-faced one, steerer of the tiller [of God], perform the NN deed (add the usual), from this very day, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Perform for me the NN deed (add the usual, as much as you wish), powerful Seth-Typhon,²¹ and act lawlessly through your strength and overturn the NN deed in this place . . . [in this very hour?], as I command your image, / for I conjure you, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ (formula). Perform for me this, the NN deed, by virtue of your visage, cat-faced spirit; perform for me the NN deed (add the usual), and what is written hereafter²² (add your additional requests).²² Proceed toward the sunset²³ and, / taking the right-hand and left-hand whiskers of the cat as a phylactery, complete the rite by saying this formula to Helios.

Formula: “Halt, halt the sacred boat,²⁴ steersman of the sacred boat! Even you, Meliouchos, / I will bind to your moorings, until I hold converse with sacred Helios. Yea, greatest Mithra, NAMAZAR ANAMARIA DAMNAMENFU CHEU CHTHŌNIE THONTOEI, holy king, the sailor, he who controls the tiller of the lord god,²⁵ THONTOEI KATHEN KAI MENŌPHRIS²⁶ . . . KMEBAU KERKERYMI, before / [you attain to] the southwest of the heaven, before [you reach nightfall?] in flight from the outrages committed against you. Harken to me as I pray to you, that you may perform the NN [deed], because I invoke you by your names BARBARATHAM CHELOUBRAM / BAROUCH[AMBRA] SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS AMPHI MIOURI . . . MIN. Perform the NN deed” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “for it is those same people who have mistreated²⁷ your holy image, they who have mistreated [the holy] boat, / wherefore for me . . . , that you may return upon them the NN deed (add the usual). Because I call upon you, IŌ ERBĒTH [IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ PATATHNAX IŌ AKOUBIA IŌ ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLETHEXANAXETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMAREBA. Perform the NN deed (add the usual), I conjure you in the Hebrew tongue²⁸ / and by virtue of the Necessity of the Necessitators,²⁹ MASKELLI MASKELLŌ. Accomplish this for me and destroy and ravage in the coming dawn, and let the NN deed befall them” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Pleasant be your setting!”

When you have come to the place / in which you are performing the rite, then, taking hold of the long whiskers of the cat, both the right-hand and the left-hand, as a phylactery, go through the whole of this formula to Helios at his rising.

Formula: “Hither to me, O greatest in heaven, for whom the heaven has come into being as a dancing place, / SATIS³⁰ PEPHŌOUTH HŌRA, OITCHOU; of necessity

20. A reference to the solar bark of Re. See PGM III. 98–105. [R.K.R.]

21. Seth plays here the role of the defender of the bark of Re. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 99–108. [R.K.R.]

22. Or, “for other uses.” Cf. the list of uses at PGM XIII. 230–333.

23. A reference to a place from where the sunset can be viewed.

24. For the halting of the solar bark, cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 6.5 and B. Ebbell, *Papyrus Ebers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937) 70–71. [R.K.R.]

25. Cf. PGM III. 81 and n.

26. Egyptian *mn-nfr*, “established and beautiful,” an epithet of Memphis. [J.B.]

27. For this type of accusation see PGM III. 5; IV. 2475 and n.

28. Probably the meaning is “by the Hebrew sound” and refers to the vowel combinations with IŌ. [J.B.] See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberverwesen* 128–37; O. Eissfeld, “Jahwe-Name und Zauberverwesen,” in his *Kleine Schriften I* (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1962) 150–71. On the use of “barbaric language” (ῥῆσις βαρβαρικῆ) generally, see Hopfner, *OZ I*, sections 706–69; Betz, *Lukian* 153–54.

29. This peculiar expression is found also in PGM IV. 262; cf. VII. 302–4; XXXVI. 342–49 and perhaps IV. 1456; XIII. 291; XIXa. 11.

30. Probably referring to the Egyptian goddess Satis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 670–71, s.v. “Satis.”

perform for me the NN deed, EĪ LAANCHYCH AKARBĒN LAAR MENTHRĒ SENE-
 135 BECHYCH, you who love prophecy, golden-visaged,³¹ gold-gleaming, / shining
 with fire in the night, valiant, valiant ruler of the world, who shine out early in the
 day, who set in the west³² of heaven, who rise up from the east, SL . . . IX,³³ circle-
 140 shaped, who run until midday and linger in Arabia, MOURŌPHO³⁴ / EMPHE . . . IR,
 the messenger of the holy light, the fiery circle, PERTAŌMĒCH PERAKŌNCHMĒCH
 PERAKOMPHTHŌAK KMĒPH,³⁵ the brilliant Sun, who shine throughout the whole
 inhabited world, who ride upon the ocean, PSEOI Ō PSEOI Ō PNOUTE NENTĒR
 145 TĒROU;³⁶ / I adjure you by the Egg.³⁷ I am Adam the forefather; my name is Adam.
 Perform for me the NN deed, because I conjure you by the god IAŌ, by the god
 ABAŌTH, by the god ADŌNAI, by the god MICHAĒL, by the god SOURĪĒL, by the god
 150 the god GABRIĒL, by the god RAPHAĒL, / by the god ABRASAX ABLATHANALBA AK-
 RAMMACHARI, by the lord god, IAIŌL, by the god lord CHABRA(CH)³⁸ PHNESKĒR
 PHICHRO PHNYRO PHŌCHŌBŌCH AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA; you who light up the day,
 155 NETHMOMAŌ; the child, / the riser, OROKOTOTHRO, augments of fire and of much
 light, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. Come to me, hearken [to me], most just one of
 all, steward of truth, establisher of justice; I am he whom you met and granted
 160 knowledge and holy utterance of your greatest name, by which you control / the
 whole inhabited world; perform for me the NN deed” [(add the usual)].

This is the ritual of the cat, [suitable] for every ritual purpose: *A charm to restrain charioteers in a race, a charm for sending dreams, a binding love charm, and a charm to cause separation and enmity.*

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This elaborate spell, a charm suitable for a number of purposes (all of which are forms of malicious magic), is set forth with special reference to its use in chariot races; it is understood, however, that the additional functions, as stated at the end of the spell, also prove useful to the practitioner, provided that he supply in the required places the appropriate requests.

PGM III. 165–86

165 *Take [some] water cress,³⁹ 4 fingers in length, and make from it . . . and of the
 plant bugloss . . . construct . . . a strip of papyrus, and in the middle of the papyrus
 170 strip . . . throw it away, saying the / names: “AN . . . SAŌ IBR . . . EISTRO . . .
 OUSIREN [TECHTHA⁴⁰ . . .], I conjure you, lord gods, . . . do not, therefore, dis-

31. Neither *φιλομαντοσύνης* nor *χρυσοπρόσωπος* is attested elsewhere, according to LSJ.

32. Reading *λιβυβόρωφ*, a compound found nowhere else; it probably means “west.”

33. It is not clear whether this damaged word is a *vox magica* or a Greek word.

34. Mourōph is a name of the hour god in PGM IV. 1690 (the god of the eleventh hour, having the form of an ibis).

35. Forms of this *logos* occur in PGM IV. 1010; XII. 190; XIII. 780, 820. The final name Kmēph is an epithet of Osiris and is the equivalent of the Egyptian *hmʿf*, “his shrine.” Cf. SATRAPERKMĒPH in PGM XII. 185; XIII. 915.

36. The phrase is equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 šy ʿ3 p3 šy ʿ3 p3 ntr n3 ntr. w tr. w*, “Good Daimon, Good Daimon, O god of all the gods!” PSEOIŌ should be the usual PSATAS. [R.K.R.]

37. For the sun as an egg, cf. PGM XII. 100–106. On the cosmic egg, see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Isis-Ei* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1970) 73–102; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 177–79. [R.K.R.]

38. This formula has been misread and is here emended on the basis of PGM I. 141–42; II. 138–39; III. 77–78. Preisendanz has LABRA at the beginning. The lambda has been misread for a chi.

39. The papyrus has [. . .] *δαμινον*, which Preisendanz restores to read [κ]α[ρ] *δάμινον*, an unattested adjectival form of *κάρδαμον*, “nose-smart” (thus LSJ, s.v.; a mustardlike plant). However, Schmidt, *GGA* 1931, 450 suggests [β]α[λ] *δάμινον*, “balsam wood.” Cf. PGM XII. 364.

40. A variant of the name OSIRCHENTECHTHA. See also PGM VII. 257. The name corresponds to Egyptian *Osiris-khenty-khet*, a combination of Osiris and Khenty-khet, the local god of Athribis, who in the text is joined together with Osiris, Horus, and Apis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 131–33, s.v. “Chentechtai.” [R.K.R.]

regard me; speak to me [clearly about] everything, accomplish everything . . .
of / my prayer [and . . .] if god will, of this prayer [on the strip of papyrus] and of 175
the important matter of mine.”

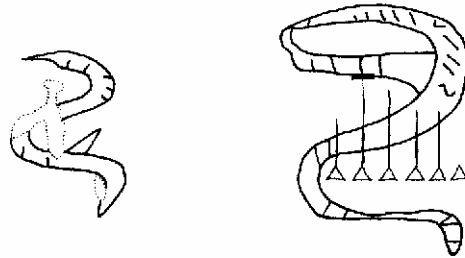
And you must make an offering in . . . [write] this [on a piece of priestly pa-
pyrus] with myrrh ink: . . . / [ouroboros]⁴¹ serpent . . . “ΟΤΕ . . . ΙΑΜ . . . ΓΡΑΣΟ- 180
CΗΘ . . . ΝΩΠΣΙΤΗΡ ΤΗΡΝΩΠΣΙ . . .”

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This fragmentary portion of PGM III begins another untitled spell which probably ends at line 186, since line 187 begins a new column (col. VIII) in the papyrus manuscript. Although the exact purpose of this short spell cannot be determined, its function may be similar to that of the spell to follow, viz., an oracular request.

PGM III. 187–262

*Pound up dry fruit (?)⁴² with a pestle (?)⁴³ and mix it to sufficiency with honey and [oil of] a date palm. Grind up a magnet. Boil all together and pulverize it. 190
Make little rounds, as many as you wish, / but put an ounce of each element of the mixture into each of these, and proceed thus, singing a hymn of praise to the god. Then the deity will come to you, shaking the whole house and the tripod⁴⁴ before him. Then he will bring about⁴⁵ your enquiry into the future, being clear in his intercourse with you,⁴⁶ as long as you wish, / and then dismiss the god with thanks. 195

The drawing of the tripod:



*This is the prayer of encounter of the rite which is recited to Helios:*⁴⁷

“Keep silent, everyone, the voice that’s in
Your mouths; O circling birds of air, keep quiet; /
Cease frolicking, you dolphins, o’er the brine.
Stand for me, river streams and fountain [flows].” 200

41. Supplying [οὐροβ]ορος in the lacuna. [R.D.K.]

42. τὰ ξυρά. Preisendanz translates on the basis of a gloss in Hesychius, ξυρόν, “cutting, dry, sharp.” But perhaps we are to understand simply ξύλα, “pieces of wood,” assuming a confusion of lambda and rho. The definite article, however, suggests the pieces of wood were previously mentioned, in which case this spell would be connected to the preceding (cf. l. 165).

43. The papyrus has σχομπανου, a word otherwise unattested and meaningless. Preisendanz emends to κομπανου, “strawberry tree,” a rather radical change. Perhaps we should read κοπάνου, “pestle,” the sigma being an error, and the mu intrusive, as it often is with pi. This, however, would have to be a genitive used instrumentally, which is troublesome.

44. This tripod has not been mentioned before, but it is obviously central to the ceremony (cf. ll. 291–96 below). Perhaps we can assume the tripod is a part of the magician’s basic equipment (see PGM IV. 1890–91; 1897; V. 200–201; XIII. 104, 661, etc.).

45. Reading future τελει instead of imperative τέλει. The phrase that follows (τρανής τῆ ὀμ[λ]ι[α]) seems to make better sense if it refers to the god. Cf. PGM II. 83–84, where ὀμλῶν is used of the god consorting with the magician.

46. On Apollo’s epiphany cf. Callimachus, Hy. 2.1–2. [W.B.]

47. The following dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 5. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42. [E.N.O.]

Now, birds of augury, stop everything
 Beneath the sky. Snakes in your dens, attend
 The cry and be afraid. May you in awe
 205 [Keep] silence, daimons 'mid the shades. / The world
 Itsself's astonished by the secret words.
 King Semea,⁴⁸ [father] of the world, be gracious
 To me, O scarab; [I call you] immortal,
 Golden-haired god, O scarab, marvel great
 To ev'ry god and man, [be gracious, lord,
 Who hold the fiery vapor in your power], /
 210 Lord of the [sunrise], risen fiery,
 Titan, I call [you], flaming messenger
 Of Zeus, divine ΙΑΘ; and you, too,
 Who rule in heaven's realm, O [RAPHAËL],
 Who joy in sunrise, be a gracious god,
 O ABRASAX; and you, O greatest one,
 O heav'nly one, I call, and [you, MICHAËL], your helper,⁴⁹ /
 215 Who saves [his people's lives], the perfect eye
 Of Zeus, and who has both exalted⁵⁰ nature
 And brought forth nature in its turn from nature.
 And I call . . . of the immortals . . .
 ΟΡΑΣΕËΠΑ SESE[NGENB]ARPHARAGGËS:
 All-mighty is the god, but you are⁵¹ greatest,
 Immortal one; I beg you, shine forth now,
 220 Lord of the world, ΣΑΒΑΘΘΗ, / who veil⁵² sunset
 From dawn, ΑΔΘΝΑΙ, who, being a world,
 Alone among immortals tour the world, self-taught,
 Untutored, through the world's midst traveling
 To those who with a cry raise you at night.⁵³
 ΑΚΡΑΜΜΑΧ[ΑΡΙ], ΚΑ . . . Κ . . .
 225 Who joy in laurel offering, / in gates
 Of untamed Styx and Death the Arbitrer.

48. The name Semea also appears at PGM III. 29, where it is fem., and at V. 429; PDM xiv. 214 among the *voces magicae*. Despite the designation "King" here, Semea elsewhere is a Syrian goddess whose name appears in various forms on numerous votive inscriptions. She is identified with several deities, e.g., Astarte, Athena, Hera. Semea does not appear in Greco-Roman literary writings except perhaps in Ps.-Lucian, *De Syr. Dea* 33 (yet the text is uncertain), where it is suggested she is Semiramis. There is also a Syrian god Seimios. See O. Höfer, in Roscher IV, 601; R. Dussaud, "Simea und Simios," *PRE*, second series 5 (1927): 137–40; W. Fauth, "Simia," *KP* 5 (1979): 200. [E.N.O.]

49. The papyrus reads ἀ[ρ]ωγόν σου Μ[ιχαήλ], which is unmetrical. Heitsch would excise ἀρωγόν σου; Preisendanz would excise μέγιστε at the beginning of the line, and write Μιχαήλ σου ἀρωγόν, which would restore the meter. "Michael" is a restoration, but a probable one; cf. PGM I. 301.

50. ἀέξοντα, the emendation of Wunsch, is preferable to δείξαντα for two reasons: (1) it corrects the meter and (2) it restores the proper sense, for whatever is written must govern φύσω in both clauses. In any case, ἀέξοντα must be taken as a zeugma. [E.N.O.]

51. Fauth reads ἔσσι in lieu of ἔστι, "you are almighty god."

52. ἐπισκεπάζω is properly "to cover over," hence "veil." It may, however, be a solecism for ἐπισκέπτομαι, "look upon," the sense required here (cf. Preisendanz: "beschaur"). Cf. PGM I. 303, ἐπισκοπιᾶσεις, which is at least metrical, though the verb is not elsewhere attested. [E.N.O.]

53. The readings of the papyrus are quite uncertain here. See the restoration by Heitsch in Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42 (Hymn 5).

You I adjure, god’s seal,⁵⁴ at whom all deathless
 Gods of Olympos quake and daimons who
 Stand forth preeminent, for whom the sea
 Is ordered to be silent when it hears.⁵⁵
 You I adjure by mighty god Apollo. /

ΑΕΪΙΟΥΘ.” 230

Also say this: “Send me the daimon who will give responses to me about every-
 thing which I order him to speak about.” And he will bring this about.

*This is also [another] hymn:*⁵⁶

“I⁵⁷ sing of you, O blessed one, O healer,
 Giver of oracles, / O all-wise one, 235
 O Delian [lord and Python-]slaying⁵⁸ [youth],
 Dodona’s [king, foretell,] O Pythian Paian;
 I call you, [god who rule the tuneful lyre],
 Which you [alone] of gods [do hold and strike]
 [With sturdy hands] . . . [lord of the silver bow],
 [O well]-named Phoibos . . .

.
 / . . . ruler absolute . . . 240

Who roam the wooded peaks [of Mount Parnassos],
 Be silent, do not now unstring . . .
 O myrrh tree . . . / Lykian god, 245
 Cease grow . . .

A greater light, for he will learn . . .
 From lips divine, someone . . . to arouse
 The seer with plectrum⁵⁹ . . .
 But come you hither, prophesying; come,
 Come hither, prophet, who bring joy, O Smintheus, 250

Give your response and / hearken, Pythian Paian;
 Undying shoot, hail, Delphic maiden, Daphne,
 For to you first did Phoibos strike up songs
 In contest with the Muses; Daphne, you
 Shake bough and urge on Phoibos. Then in hymns
 They praise your tunefulness from holy Delphi.
 O maiden who exult in tones divine
 And oracles / . . . heaven’s runner,⁶⁰ light bearer, 255
 Earth shaker: gracious and obedient,

54. O, “I adjure you [by] the god’s seal.” See PGM I. 306 and n.
 55. In Hymn 5, Preisendanz concludes with ἀκούει, but the following words seem part of the hymn for two reasons: (1) they are almost metrically sound, and (2) they seem to have a poetic sense. [E.N.O.]
 56. This hymn is extremely fragmentary in the papyrus. Here the suggested restoration by Heitsch is followed. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 247 (Hymn 12). [E.N.O.]
 57. This passage contains what appears to be dactylic hexameters, many of which are fragmentary while others are completely missing. [E.N.O.]
 58. The papyrus has]ωλετοκτυπε, which Preisendanz (vol. II, p. 247 [Hymn 12]) restores as [Πυθ]ωλετοκτύπε. This, if correct, would be a unique epithet, a combination of two attested epithets: Πυθολότος, “Python slayer,” and Πυθολέτης, “Python destroyer.”
 59. On the instrument called πλήκτρον, cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 436E; Clement Alex., *Protr.* 1. 5. 3. [W.B.]
 60. Read οὐρ(αν)οδρομέ for papyrus ουροδρομε, which is meaningless. For this epithet see l. 258 and LSJ, s.v.

Come to your prophet, but come now in haste,
O you who run through the air, O Pythian Paian.”

Dismissal: [“Hasten], O air-traversing Pythian Paian; return to your heavens, /
260 leaving to me health together with all gratitude, benevolent and ready to hearken, a
sure breastplate (?), and depart to your own heavens, and [dwell there.]”
*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 198–230; 234–58).

PGM III. 263–75

***Foreknowledge charm**: Take your finger and place it under your [tongue]⁶¹ be-
265 fore you speak to anyone.⁶² Say these things along with the [great name]: / “make
me know in advance the things in each person’s mind, today, [because] I am TOM
. . . IAŌ SABAŌTH IAŌ THĒAĒĒETH . . . M ADOUNAI BATHIAŌ . . . EA THŌĒ LABRABA
ARBATHRAS[IAŌ] BATHIAŌŌIA ZAGOURĒ BARBATHIAŌ AĒI AAAAAAA EEEEEEE . . .
ŌE . . . SOESĒSISIETH . . . SABAŌTH IAEŌ” (formula). If you wish, you will know
270 [all things in advance], . . . if you have [your finger] / under your tongue, according
to [the command, and if you say] this formula to Helios.

And the formula is: “Lord, if you [wish me to know in advance], let the falcon
[descend] onto the tree.” If it does not happen, also speak this formula to the four
winds while you turn around [toward] the wind.⁶³ Whenever you say the formula,
275 also say to Helios the great name . . . and the great name . . . : AŌTH / SABAŌTH.
The formula [is as] above.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 275–81

***[Horoscope]**:⁶⁴ Moon in [. . . or] Virgo: anything is obtainable, perform bowl
divination, as you wish; in [Cancer]: perform the spell of reconciliation, air divina-
tion . . . ; in Gemini: perform spells of binding, . . . ; [in] Libra: perform invoca-
tion . . . spell of release . . . necromancy; in Pisces . . . OIŌ or love charm; in Sagit-
280 rarius: conduct business / . . . ; [in] Capricorn: do what is appropriate; in . . .

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM III. 282–409

*. . . words not to be spoken . . . in hexameter. . . .

Rite that brings foreknowledge, [which has] complete power and makes [all
285 the passions] / subservient:⁶⁵ In the deep . . . of a river [or in] a tomb . . . after
descending, throw into . . . [the] passion stops, and you will learn whatever you
wish.

[But speak thus:] “Continue without deception, lord, the vision of every act, in
290 accordance with the command of the holy spirit, the [angel]⁶⁶ of Phoibos, you
yourself being pliable because of these / songs and psalms.”

The preparation for the operation: For a direct vision, set up a tripod and a table
of olive wood or of laurel wood, and on the table carve in a circle these characters:⁶⁷

61. For another example of placing something under the tongue, see PGM IV. 1745–46. Cf. also V. 253–54.

62. Cf. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 116, who translates: “(in the morning) before you speak to anyone.”

63. The formula is spoken to each of the four winds as the officiant faces them successively.

64. κύκλος is supplied by Preisendanz, who translates it “Zodiakkreis.” In the parallel passage in PGM VII. 284 papyrus has κύκλος Σελήνης, which Preisendanz translates “Kreislauf des Mondes.”

65. Cf. PGM IV. 1718–19, 1721 for such a use of κλίνω.

66. The term “angel” can also be read as “messenger.”

67. Among these characters a scarab is drawn.

EMĒS . . . ON ANG ALABOUL . . . ”

. . . during the tenth hour . . . A . . . N . . . N precisely . . . IE PEKREN EM . . .
 350 ONEI E . . . PO . . . NGAL . . . / . . . just now . . . ”
 . . . and at the rising . . . third . . . the upper . . . at the rising . . . “CHŌLŌM
 355 CHŌL . . . MASKELLI [MASKELLŌ] / . . . ITHĒCHTHŌ . . . lord . . . ”
 360 . . . from the . . . at the same time . . . sun . . . and on . . . yet living . . . / . . . anoint
 . . . ABLATHANALBA . . . according to the second formula . . . seventh sunrise . . .
 365 you have. / But if [you] want . . . throat of asses . . . the animal . . . tail . . . often
 repeating the seventh formula . . . whatever [you wish] . . . from a human head . . .
 [the formula], the beginning of which is: “Cause me to know, in order that . . . ”⁷³
 370 the ear whatever . . . on earth . . . heaven, / the [beginning] . . . the hand accord-
 ing to . . . formula.”

But if [you want] . . . and [to read] a written, sealed letter . . . the same seventh
 formula: “Do for me the things that are written. . . .”

To read the things that are written, take at [the rising] of the moon . . . carve . . .
 375 pieces of honeycomb. Put these in together with . . . / . . . fresh, pleasing, happily as
 . . . with the things that are written, after thoroughly mixing, [with] all power daily
 . . . to the sun . . . say [also] the prescribed . . . and that day . . . up to half of the
 egg . . . put into a small drinking vessel and rub with chalk the parts of the egg, in a
 380 place⁷⁴ or in a river / where the sun . . . to animals and to humans becomes inac-
 cessible . . . after bathing and . . . crowned with a crown of the season’s flowers . . .
 to an altar, sacrifice on the altar and then take, [as you know,] three loaves of white
 bread . . . olive oil, likewise new wine . . . and milk of a [black] cow; in the finest
 385 cloaks of shieldbearers and . . . / following. Rub first . . . the half of the egg . . . the
 lord . . . all things . . . and the substance . . . and after saying the following for-
 mula, this the seventh, to the sun thus . . . into a holy, small drinking vessel . . .
 after going away and sacrificing . . . say also to the sun . . . formula or hymn giving
 390 advance knowledge . . . [single-stemmed] wormwood into . . . / . . . saying seven times
 . . . Take cardamom and say the holy names . . . for all things belong to the master
 . . . whenever you conjure the earth by saying the seventh [formula to the] earth
 and all the immortal [gods].

This is the formula: “Come to me, lord . . . holy spirit. . . .”

. . . in the ninth hour . . . after this the [formula]: “I conjure those with com-
 395 plete power . . . and I conjure [the] earth, the heaven, [the light, and] / him who
 [created the universe]” . . . formula spoken of god. While saying [this] formula [to]
 a holy . . . ”⁷⁵

400 “ . . . my name . . . / say that which . . . call . . . my name . . . my true name
 405 which . . . who makes . . . / Gabriel, Michael, PYAOÛĒTE . . . NETETETET . . . the
 god (?) TAALAIALAIALOP . . . ĒL.” Seven times you say . . . then say one time or
 three times.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and M. W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 399–409).

PGM III. 410–23

410 *Take a silver tablet and engrave it after the god⁷⁶ sets. Take cow’s milk and pour

73. At the beginning of l. 369 appears what could be an isolated Coptic name, Hor-Pre; cf. Möller, in the apparatus, who suggests Harpokrates. [R.K.R.]

74. This could also be rendered “a grave.” Cf. I.SJ, s.v. “τόπος,” 5; also l. 285 above.

75. Because of the fragmentary character of this Old Coptic section, little can be given here in translation. [M.W.M.]

it.⁷⁷ Put down a clean vessel⁷⁸ and place the tablet under [it]; add barley meal, mix and form bread: twelve rolls in the shape of female figures.⁷⁹ Say [the formula] three times, eat [the rolls] on an empty stomach, and you will know the power.

[*It is*]: “BORKA BORKA PHRIX PHRIX RIX Ō . . . ACHACH AMIXAG OUCH THIP LAI LAI LAMLAI LAI LAM MAIL AAAAAAAAA I IY EI AI ŌŌŌŌŌŌ MOUMOU ŌYIŌ NAK NAK NAX LAINLIMM LAILAM AEDA . . . LAILAM / AĒO ŌAĒ ŌAĒ ĒOĀ AŌĒ ĒŌA ŌĒA, 415



enter, master, into my mind, and grant me memory, MMM ĒĒĒ MTHPH.” Do this monthly, facing the moon, on the first day [of the month]. Prostrate yourself before the goddess,⁸⁰ and wear the tablet as an amulet.

The name of the soul of god is: “EIKIZITELITHDE then PHYSOUSKAZĒTITHZ blood.” Write these things with a copper stylus: “I am KŌOU BŌOU PĀŌSM . . . HOUIT⁸¹ . . . APRIĒFMLNIĒF . . . MANIŌĒSE NMANIĒFIHTENOHĒIT RENIRE RENIM E GEINNA⁸² EOI . . . EFREF / NGŌOU DNI IĒSOUS PNETO.”⁸³ Speak into your 420

hand seven times in front of the sun, stroke your face, spit, move your thumb from your nose up to your forehead. Facing the sun, speak seven times into your hand, spit once, stroke your face, and go on to the procedure and gift:⁸⁴ “SILIBANAGOU-NACHAOUĒL. . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 424–66

*A copy from a holy book. Charm that gives foreknowledge and memory: Take a kakouphon,⁸⁵ / which in Egyptian is kakkou[phat, tear out] its heart, perforate 425 it with a reed, [cut] the heart [into pieces], and put them into Attic honey when the goddess⁸⁶ approaches. Then grind the heart on the 1st of the goddess,⁸⁷ mix it with the honey, [and eat it] on an empty stomach while saying seven times, once while tasting with the forefinger, this *formula*:

“Make me know in advance once and for all the things that are going to happen, the things that are about to happen, the things that have been done, and all [today’s] activities.”

Say the name seven times, and quickly say / the other usual formulas. . . .⁸⁸ 430

76. That is, Helios, the sun god.

77. The papyrus has *καταχεάσα[ς]*, “pour it,” which is not meaningful here. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451–52, suggests *καταλεάζειν* on the basis of Hesychius’ *ἀλεάζειν*, “to heat up.” The translation here follows the text of Preisendanz.

78. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451, adds (*εἰς*), “into,” which seems necessary to complete the sense of the phrase, viz., “put it [into] a clean vessel.”

79. It seems only twelve pastry dolls are to be shaped and not an additional loaf and piece of pastry, as Preisendanz seems to take it. [R.D.K.]

80. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

81. Probably Coptic *p̄asm* [*pe*]houit, “the first darkness.” [M.W.M.]

82. Probably read Gehenna. [M.W.M.]

83. Perhaps Coptic, meaning “Jesus our great one.” [M.W.M.]

84. The blessing given in response to the procedure. Cf. *PGM* IV. 198. See also A.-J. Festugière, “La Valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques,” in his *L’Idéal religieux des Grecs et l’Évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 293; Bonner, *SMA* 178–79.

85. Cf. on this term *PGM* II.18 and n. 7, p. 13 above.

86. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

87. This refers to the first day of the lunar month.

88. Apparently the scribe forgot to add the formula for the second day; therefore an ellipsis has been inserted.

[While tasting] on the third, say the name LAILAM [SAN]KANTHARA (add the usual).⁸⁹ [On the] 4th of the moon say [the] 4th name, EPIMNŌ; on the 5th, the 5th name, saying seven times EKENTH . . . [on the 6th], the sixth name, AMOUN AMOUN; on the 7th of the moon, [the 7th name] . . . RA PREGXICHAROTH; on the 8th, the 8th name, EISI OUSIRI AMOUN [AMOUN;⁹⁰ on the 9th], the 9th name, PHORPHORBARZAGRA; [on the 10th], the 10th name, ZAZOUCHŌR DAMNIOTĒ; on the eleventh, the eleventh name, CHRYSA CHR[YSA] EYAE CHRYSOBS EIRE CHRYSOEGETHREL . . . RON; on the twelfth, the twelfth name, and taste twelve times, ATHAB . . . ENIGRAPSAITHIR . . . PSANO . . . ASĒ; [on the 13th, say the 13th name],
 435 ARTEMI DAMNŌ DAMNO / LYKAINA;⁹¹ on the fourteenth, say the [fourteenth name]. This is the 14th name: IARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA ORE-OBAZAGRA. On the fifteenth, the fifteenth name, SESENGEN BARPBARAGGĒS AGAB . . . AEĒIOYŌ (add the usual formulas, as much as you want, saying it on each day).

When the moon [waned], say [the formula] in hexameter, saying it seven times until it is again the fourteenth of the goddess. But beware, lest it be in conjunction . . . each day . . . and the whole composition of the divine arrangement be undone. [For] the lord [god] speaks. A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has
 440 been tested / by Mantho,⁹² [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest. Perform it, perform it successfully and silently.

Formula spoken . . . and . . . the sun: “Hail, absolute ruler, hail, hail, [forefather . . . DAMNAM]ENEU [ABRASAX] . . . K . . . ĒLĒL, one holy . . . SABĒLE SABĒLE KA. . . .”

445 . . . [Foreknowledge] . . . Moses . . . and . . . / for memory, [say] the following [formula] each [day]: “. . . IMEA . . . ABRASAX . . . [to know] OEIIAO . . . IAŌ
 450 SABAŌ[TH] . . . great . . . IABE[ZEBYTH] . . . ABRAXAS TAB.” . . / . . .

But in this way draw a boy and you . . . later, and you will hear the birds chattering . . . seven of fennel and of sesame, of black cumin . . . / [take] these and crush them, with spring water . . . the moon being second, and you will hear all things. . . .

455 “. . . I am IEĒ IOEĒ IE IAŌ ISI . . . [the things in the] minds of men, because I. . . .”

460 . . . pray to him. But . . . / but a swallow⁹³ of this comes . . . this your formula repeat seven times . . . *formula*, which you say: “Hail, Helios, Mithras. . . .”

465 . . . this holy water . . . this one has in his mind . . . / that day [you] know . . . but if [you] touch, [you will have] a semitertian [fever].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 467–78

470 *Memory spell: Take first . . . 2 calf’s snouts, “Hermes’ finger” . . . / taste, and prostrate yourself while saying three times to Helios: “[Enter,] MA . . . A KMĒPH ARSŌ ARSŌ THOUTH . . . O TIOI E.OI POMPOM PHRĒ [IARBATHA CHRAMNĒ] . . . upon my heart, [having granted] memory to my soul, to my eyes [SALBANACIAM-

89. As one can see from l. 436 below, the direction “add the usual” (*κοινά*) is to be understood after each day.

90. That is, Osiris, Amon in vocatives.

91. “She-wolf” is an epithet of the goddess Artemis. See also PGM IV. 2302–3; 2550.

92. The name Mantho probably refers to an Egyptian priest and historian of the third cent. B.C., the man who was instrumental in the setting up of the cult of Sarapis. Cf. also PGM XII. 23; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 28, 362A; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 8.1. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 78–82; H.-J. Thissen, “Mantho,” *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1180–81.

93. The cliff, or chimney swallow. {J.S.}

BRĒ . . .] / monarch, the one who rules over all . . . ABLAN OOOO ADŌNIĒ AĒŌ . . . 475
 in order that, whatever I hear once, [I might remember it throughout] my lifetime.”
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 479–83

***Foreknowledge charm:** Take [. . . parts] fleawort, [and say to] / the height of 480
 the heavenly circle: “The thief . . . the only great god, [come to me] from an assem-
 bly on the 6th day . . . to happen, Helios.”
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese. This and the two variant charms to follow serve as spells to “prognosti-
 cate” the identity or whereabouts of a thief.

PGM III. 483–88

**Another [copy]:* “. . . ALA.AANG XICHA MICHA ANG E . . . / EROTPITENPHĒT 485
 NPRŌME,⁹⁴ [having] a gold-colored [crown on the] head, turn to [the thief who
 took away the NN thing], kill, cleave him and . . . but if you behold. . . .”
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 488–94

**Another:* Take a wing . . . / “AŌŌ; then, according to the same . . . LŌ 490
 [PHNOU]KENT ABAŌTH . . . DO . . . ŌLEAIS . . . KA . . . TA K”
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese. This is presumably another spell to detect a thief; see the note appended
 to PGM III. 479–83, above.

PGM III. 494–611

* [Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios. A procedure for every [rite], for 495
 [all things]. / For whatever you want, invoke in this way: “[Come,] come to me
 from the four winds of the world, air-transversing, great god. Hear me in every
 ritual which [I perform], and grant all the [petitions] of my prayer completely, be-
 cause I know your signs, / [symbols and] forms, who you are each hour and what 500
 your name is.⁹⁵

“In the first hour you have the form and character of a young monkey; [the tree]
 you produce is the silver fir; the stone, the *aphanos*;⁹⁶ the bird . . . your name is
 PHROUER.⁹⁷

“In the second hour you have the form of a unicorn; the tree you produce is the
 persea; the stone, the pottery stone;⁹⁸ / the bird, the halouchakon;⁹⁹ on land, the 505
 ichneumon; your name is BAZĒTŌPHŌTH.

“In the third hour you have the form of a cat; the tree you produce is the fig tree;
 the stone, the *samouchos*;¹⁰⁰ the bird, the parrot; on land, the frog; your name is
 AKRAMMACHAMAREI.

“In the fourth hour you have the form of a bull; the tree you produce / . . . the 510

94. This is Coptic and means “to the man.” [R.K.R.]

95. In his twelve-hour course through the heavens, the sun is identified here with ancient theriomorphic and totemistic forms. Also, the sun’s creative activities are identified with certain hours. See for this Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie* 5–6. Cf. PGM II. 104–15 and n.

96. The identification of *lithos aphanos* is uncertain; literally it means “invisible stone” (clear quartz?). [J.S.]

97. PHROUER is Egyptian for “Pre the great.” [R.K.R.]

98. On the pottery stone see Pliny, *NH* 37. 152.

99. Otherwise unidentified.

100. According to LSJ, this word is a hapax legomenon. Preisendanz identifies it with *ψαμμοῦχος*, a sandstone (not attested in LSJ).

101. Fahz reads *γεννᾶς δένδρον [καὶ λίθον]*, “you produce a tree [and] stone.” This should probably be understood to refer to holly oak and a brick-red opal. Cf. also n. 102. [J.S.]

stone,¹⁰¹ the amethyst;¹⁰² the bird, the turtledove; on land, the bull; your name is DAMNAMENEUS.

“In the fifth hour you have the form of a lion; the tree you produce is the prickly shrub; the stone, the magnet; [the bird] . . . on land, the crocodile; your name is PHÖKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT.

515 “In the sixth hour you have the form of a donkey; the tree / you produce is the thorn tree; the stone, lapis lazuli; in the sea, the jellyfish;¹⁰³ on [land, the white-faced cow]; your name is EIAU AKRI LYX. . . .

“[In the seventh hour] you have the form of a [crayfish; the tree you produce] . . . [you produce] . . . ; [the stone, the sun opal;¹⁰⁴ / the bird] . . . on land, the cat; [your name is]. . . .

“In the eighth [hour] you have the form . . . [the tree you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . the bird . . . [on land], the hippopotamus; [your] name [is]. . . .

525 “In the ninth [hour] you have the form of an ibis; [the tree / you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . on land, the chameleon; [your name]. . . .

“In the tenth hour [you have] the form . . . ; [the tree you produce] . . . the stone, one the color of a falcon’s neck; [the bird]. . . .

530 / “In the twelfth [hour you have the form] . . . [your name is] ADŌNAI . . . [and]. . . .

535 “. . . / GABRIĒL ALLŌEA . . . OURĒĒDYDIE THARABRACHIRIGX IARBATHACH-RAMNĒPHIBAŌCHNYMEŌ¹⁰⁵ KAMPYKRIL . . . ELAMMARĒ.

“I have spoken your signs and symbols. Therefore, lord, do the NN deed by necessity, lest I shake heaven. Do the NN deed for me; you are the image, the whole of the universe, [you] who, after being selected,¹⁰⁶ guarded the holy place of
540 the / great king. Do the NN deed for me, the one who keeps the keys of the triangular paradise of earth, which is the kingdom. Do the NN deed for me, the fatherless child of an honored¹⁰⁷ widow, BŌIATHYRITH, lest they take away from me
545 the lord’s fatherland and so that all / good things happen by command, PHÖKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUNKENTABAŌ AŌRIŌ ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYROSPARIPĒGANYX KAILAM IALMIŌ LILIMOUĒALABAĒNBREDEMOU.”

550 “Come¹⁰⁸ to me in / your holy circuit of
The holy spirit, founder of the world,
O god of gods, lord of the world, who have
Divided by your own divine spirit
The universe; first from the firstborn you

102. Pliny identifies *παιδέρως* as an opal (*NH* 37. 84) or an amethyst (*NH* 37. 123). It has been rendered here as amethyst because in 37.80 Pliny says opals come only from India. See the note by D. E. Eicholz, *LCI*, edition of Pliny’s *Natural History*, vol. 10, p. 230, n. a. [J.S.]

103. The term literally means “glass fish.” [M.S.]

104. The translation of *ἡλιοπάλιος* is uncertain.

105. Cf. for this name *PGM* I. 143 and n.

106. Following Preisendanz’s translation as “Auserwählter.”

107. The papyrus reads *κατατετιμημένη[s]*, a verb not attested elsewhere. The meaning could also be “despised.” Preisendanz suggests that the widow is Isis and the magician identifies himself with Horus. Probably, the translation “dishonored” is to be preferred, because it would refer to the murder of Isis’ husband and her subsequent flight to the swamps of Chemmis to raise her son Horus. For Horus as orphan, see Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 69, no. 92. [R.K.R.]

108. These dactylic hexameters, many of which are metrically faulty, are also the reconstructed Hymn 2, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238. [E.N.O.]

Appeared,¹⁰⁹ created carefully, from water
 That's turbulent, who founded all the world:
 Abyss, earth, / fire, water, air, and in turn 555
 Ether and roaring rivers, red-faced moon,
 Heaven's stars, morning stars, the whirling planets.¹¹⁰
 'Tis by your counsels they attend all things."

"You who summon . . . AMOCHL . . . PHODOPH . . . M . . . ARPTHŌ . . .
 IBK / PSOUPHIS [TŌM] . . . OIŌTH ŌPHROUER CHMĒIB HARPONKNOUPHI BRIN- 560
 TATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA HAROUAR ZARBAMESEG KRIPHI NIGTHOU MICHMOU-
 MAŌPH IAŌLI PRIN ASTRAPTĒS¹¹¹ AI CHEAOKIRTABAOZAALĒ ASRISKI . . . OU BRIT- 565
 HEI STOMA,¹¹² master. Come to me, / lord, you who sometimes raise the light,
 sometimes lower the darkness [with] your own power. Hear me, lord, me, NN,
 graciously, gladly and for a blessing, from every element from every wind, today,
 with your happy face, in the present hour, because / I invoke your holy name from 570
 every side. You who were begotten in every human body, inspire us.¹¹³ From the
 right of the axis your [name] is: 'IAŌ AŌI ŌAI [ŌYA] ŌŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA IY . . . ŌAI,'
 but from the left of the axis: 'IAŌ AYŌ IŌAI / PIPi ŌŌŌ ŌŌ III AYŌ . . . ŌA ŌAI.' 575
 Come to me with a happy face to a bed of your choice, giving to me, NN, suste-
 nance, health, safety, wealth, the blessing of children, knowledge, a ready hearing,
 goodwill, sound judgment, honor, memory, grace, shapeliness, beauty to / all who 580
 see me; you who hear me in everything whatsoever, give persuasiveness with words,
 great god, to the EYAEŌ IŌ IAŌ ŌAI ŌIŌ ĒAYI TAS ERCHIS AUXACHOCH HAR-
 SAMOSI. I beg, master, accept my entreaty, the offering to you which you com-
 manded. In order that you might now illuminate me with knowledge of things be- 585
 loved by you / even after the kind restoration of my material body, I pray, lord,
 accept this my request, [the] entreaty, the preliminary spell, the offering of my elo-
 quent spirit. Let it also come to you, the ruler of all, in order that / you fulfill all the 590
 petitions of my prayer, you who originated from gods.¹¹⁴ We give you thanks with
 every soul and heart stretched out to [you],¹¹⁵ unutterable name honored with [the]
 appellation of god and blessed with the [appellation of father], for to everyone¹¹⁶
 and to everything you have shown fatherly / goodwill, affection, friendship and 595
 sweetest power, granting us intellect, [speech,] and knowledge; intellect so that we
 might understand you, speech [so that] we might call upon you, knowledge so that
 we might know you.¹¹⁷ We rejoice because you showed yourself to us; we rejoice

109. This refers to the sun god's appearance from the waters of Nun, the primordial abyss. Cf. *PGM* I. 34–36. [R.K.R.]

110. There are three types of star referred to here: ἀστέρης (1) ἀερίους, (2) ἑώους, (3) περιδινο-πλανήτας. On ἑώους as morning star, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrab.* 3. 4 (114). [E.N.O.]

111. Or "before you hurl lightning."

112. Or "mouth is full."

113. ἐμπνευματίζω is not otherwise attested. Cf. *C.H.* 13.19 with Keil's conjecture πνευμάτιζε, cited by Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 208, in the critical apparatus to l. 17.

114. The section in ll. 591–609 has close parallels in Ps.-Apulcius, *Asclepius* 41 (ed. Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, pp. 353–55) and *NHC* VI, 7: 63, 33–65, 7. See Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* 298–99; P. Dirkse and J. Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," in *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI, with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, *NHSt* 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 375–87. Cf. also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 10. 8; *C.H.* 13. 18–20, with the discussion by Grsec, *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII, pp. 183–88.

115. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 353.

116. Following J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte. Les textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins*, vol. 1 (Québec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1978) 160–61.

117. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 354.

600 because while we are / [still] in bodies you deified us by the knowledge of who you
are. The thanks of man to you is one: to come to know [you], O womb¹¹⁸ of all
knowledge. We have come to know, O womb¹¹⁹ pregnant through the father's be-
605 getting. We have come to know, / O eternal continuation of the pregnant father.
After bowing thus before your goodness,¹²⁰ we ask no [favor except this]:¹²¹ will
that we be maintained in knowledge of you; and one protection:¹²² that [we] not
610 fall away from a [life] such as this. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 494–549; 558–611) and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 549–58).

PGM III. 612–32

*[If you make] an offering of wheaten meal and ripe mulberries and unsoftened¹²³
(?) sesame and uncooked *thrion* and throw into this a beet, you will gain control of
615 your own shadow¹²⁴ / so that it [will serve] you. Go at the sixth hour of the day,
toward [the rising sun], to a deserted place, girt about with a [new] male palm-
fiber basket, and on your head a scarlet cord as a headband, behind your right
620 ear / the feather of a falcon, behind your left that of an ibis.

Having reached the place,¹²⁵ [prostrate] yourself, stretch out your hands, and
utter the following *formula*: “Cause now my shadow to serve me, because I know
625 your sacred names [and] your signs and / your symbols, and [who you are at each
hour], and what your name is.”¹²⁶

Having said this, [utter] the formula given above,¹²⁷ and in case he does not
[hearken, say]:¹²⁸ “I have uttered your sacred names and [your signs] and your sym-
630 bols, therefore, O lord,¹²⁹ cause / my [shadow] to serve me.” [And] at the seventh
[hour] it will come to you before [your] face, and you address it [and say]: “Follow
me everywhere!” But [look] to it, that it not leave you.

*Tr. J. M. Dillon. See the introductory note on PGM III. 494–611. This unique spell to acquire control over one's shadow may be part of the whole *Encounter with Helios* contained in III. 494–731. The Coptic section to follow (PGM III. 633–731) belongs with this section, and the mention of the “signs and symbols” in l. 625 connects this spell to the preceding; furthermore, the mention of the “formula given above” (l. 626) must refer to a formula given in the preceding spell, probably the formula found in III. 494ff. The appearance of one's shadow is thus the proof of Helios' appearance requested in PGM III. 494–731.

118. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 355.

119. On the role of the uterus in magic, see A. A. Barb, “Diva Matrix,” *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238. Cf. also PGM V. 158.

120. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 164–65.

121. *Ibid.*

122. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 166–67, and Dirkse and Brashler, “The Prayer of Thanksgiving,” 384–85.

123. Preisendanz reads ἀ[νέκ]χυρον, a word otherwise unattested. More likely would be the restoration ἀ[διά]χυρον, “not softened by cooking”; hence the translation here. [R.D.K.]

124. Cf. *DMP* col. IV, l. 23 for a spell for “lucky shadows” (*wā lyb.t*). [R.K.R.] See also Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 163–64.

125. Literally, “treading about in the place.”

126. Cf. ll. 499–501 for a similar expression. It seems that the deity invoked has a different appearance every hour. See also the introduction to this spell and its possible relationship with PGM III. 494–611.

127. That is, the formula given in 494–536, particularly the section containing the signs and symbols.

128. Following Preisendanz's restoration. This hardly seems suitable, as one would rather expect, “And when you are finished, say. . . .” [J.M.D.]

129. The “lord” addressed in this spell is Helios, the sun god, mentioned in III. 494–611.

PGM III. 633–731

*Call . . . , “Great god . . . , you who are the sun, Re is your name / . . . the glowing flames . . . my nail (?) . . . Em . . . is your name, Em . . . [is your true name] 635
. . . crown . . . my name . . . [AEEĒ]ĒĒIIIOOO[OOYYYYYŌ]ŌŌŌŌ[Ō]Ō / . . . / 640
of the great god . . . [Nef] is my name, Nef is my true name . . . Hail to¹³⁰ (?) 651
SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ADŌN BARBARIOT . . . of Lo son of Ouer¹³¹ . . . / whose face is 655
in the middle of . . . of Lo son of Ouer . . . whose face is in the middle of . . . in
truth. For I am . . . For I am Lotus-Lion-Ram¹³² . . . / Lotus, reveal yourself . . . 660
For [I] am . . . all (repeat).¹³³ I am Oh, I am AEĒIOY[Ō AEĒIOYŌ] A[EĒIOYŌ AEĒI
OYŌ [AEĒI] OYŌ AEĒIOYŌ AEĒI[OY]Ō AEĒIOY[Ō] . . . , and we are strong (?) . . . of 665
Shmoun¹³⁴ . . . / until you offer incense to Horus. I am Oh, I know [your name]
. . . little, every time, at every hour. Come, go . . . what you want (repeat). For Ei is
your name, Ei is the name of you. I . . . Totf; Totf is my true name (add the usual
[?]) as you wish, after . . . the (formula) I am Kat son of Kat, whom Kat has borne
. . . / I am the [breath] of night . . . I am Abriabot, the . . . the great snake . . . 670
[Thoth the great] of Shmoun . . . the god Horus . . . , ([add the usual] as you
wish). For I am Iethor,¹³⁵ who wants to . . . I . . . who . . . / frog . . . is my name 675
. . . the great god who will do . . . To son of To¹³⁶ is your name . . . father. / You are
Earth-shaker,¹³⁷ the High One, the son of Re, the [great] god . . . in the abyss, who
is in . . . all the earth . . . (add the usual, as you wish) . . . he who does . . . I am
. . . I am the one who . . . in him . . . / For . . . I am Io . . . is [my] name [. . . is] 685
my true name . . . To the great is my [true] name . . .¹³⁸
. . . this day . . . speak to Helios¹³⁸ . . . / on the third day, also to the moon¹³⁹ 690
. . . at the third entrance of the goddess, go to an ever-flowing river . . . bathe, and
go in pure garments . . . , having drunk . . . a solitary place, hold toward the rising
sun a white rooster without blemish and twelve pinecones whorled¹⁴⁰ to the right.
Offer milk and pour a libation of white wine, / and say the designated seven 695
formulas [seven] times, requesting an encounter with [the] god . . . yourself. He will
show . . . let him dwell (?)¹⁴¹ for seven days. Set up . . . toward the moon, with
purity; and when you see the god in this place, feast [in an appropriate manner].¹⁴²
So when you encounter the god, say the formula for a direct vision, and request
foreknowledge from the master. / Go down to a pure and consecrated place, and 700

130. Cf. PGM IV. 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19.

131. For OUEP cf. Egyptian *wr*, “the great one.” [R.K.R.]

132. This corresponds to SERPOT-MOUI-SRO. Cf. PDM xiv. 12 and the note by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus on DMP* col. I, l. 12. On the solar character of this designation of the sun in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, i.e., the universal sun in three manifestations (Re-Khepri-Atum), see M.-L. Rhyner, “A propos de trigrammes panthéistes,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 125–37. [M.W.M.]

133. Apparent instructions for the repetition of the formulas either forward or backward. Cf. ll. 667, 669, 682. But if this is the equivalent of Greek *κοινόν* (see Preisendanz’s text at l. 682), we are to understand “(add the usual);” thus the translation, as in several instances below.

134. Shmoun (Hermopolis, El-Eshmunen) is the city of the god Thoth. See on the name A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 79*–81*. See for the name also below, l. 672.

135. That is in Egyptian “eye of Horus.”

136. Possibly, *To* is “land”; hence at III. 687 “the great land.”

137. For *KMPTO* cf. PGM IV. 1323; PDM xiv. 192.

138. That is, the sun god Helios.

139. The moon goddess Selene; see also l. 697.

140. See the note at PGM II. 25.

141. The text is uncertain at this point; perhaps *οικείτω* is to be read instead of *οικητω*. [M.W.M.]

142. Supplying in the lacuna *ἐ[πιτη]δός*, following Schmidt, GGA 193 (1931): 456.

again sacrifice a rooster, and while in pure garments secretly [grasp the other things] which are necessary as symbols . . . god(dess) . . . third . . . , hold in your right hand a [single-stemmed] wormwood and in your left a snakeskin, and recite the [specified] formulas [and] what you wish, and it will happen. Recite often / . . . written down . . . to learn something, it is told to you by the god. And if you . . . , write . . . and wrap in linen from head to foot . . . , and on the ground draw Harpokrates holding [his finger]¹⁴³ to his mouth, and in his left hand clutching a flail and a crook on [the chest of the god];¹⁴⁴ . . . then “ABLANATHANALBA”; in wing . . .¹⁴⁵ / “ABRASAX”; near the back, “Θ̄ΕΑΥΑ . . .,” and set the child on it, and write the 5th formula . . . : “Ε̄ΦΒ̄ΙΝΤΟΚ¹⁴⁶ . . . ΤΕ ΥΟΝΕΦΙΟΥΟΙ.” Also use this treatment often: take away . . . from before him the linen, and let him behold, and he will see; and ask [him] . . . on the tenth day . . . in the morning of the first (formula?), then the / first for a second time in the morning of the . . . let these things be . . . two bricks . . . under papyrus . . . head . . . hole . . . / hold in your hands . . . this . . . and say the . . . in each . . . as . . . little . . . all . . . on these . . . great . . . / both . . . formulas before . . . formulas with the . . . and all . . . and . . . pit . . . you make / call the olive . . . pure. . .

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. For the connection of the spell with the preceding, see the introductory notes at PGM III. 494–611 and III. 612–32.

PGM IV. 1–25

*“SAPHPHAIOR BAEKOTA KIKATOUTARA EKENNK LIX, the great daimon and the
 5 inexorable one,¹ . . . IPSENTANCHOUCHEŌCH / DŌOU SHAMAI ARABENNAK AN-
TRAPHEU BALE SITENGI ARTEN BENTEN AKRAB ENTH OUANTH BALA SHOUPLA
SRAHENNE DEHENNE KALASHOU CHATEMMŌK BASHNE BALA SHAMAI—on the
 10 day of Zeus² in the first hour, but on the [day] of deliverance³ in the fifth hour: a
cat . . . / in the eighth: a cat.⁴ Hail⁵ to Osiris, the king of the underworld, the lord
of embalming, he who is to the south of Thinis, who gives answer at Abydos, he
 15 who is under⁶ the noubs tree⁷ in Meroue,⁸ whose glory is in Pashalom.⁹ Hail to
Althabot; bring unto me Sabaoth. / Hail to Althonai, great Eou, very valiant;
bring unto me Michael, the mighty (?) angel who is with God. Hail to Anubis, of

143. Supplying in the lacuna [τὸν δακτύλιον. [M.W.M.]

144. For depictions similar to the one here see Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* 206–7; Bonner, *SMA*, p. IX, nos. 189–94.

145. Perhaps, “in wing formation.”

146. This is equivalent to Demotic *iwfr in.t.k.*, “He shall bring you.” [R.K.R.]

1. See for this term Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101; on the verb *παραιτέω*, see Betz, “Fragments,” 291.

2. That is, Thursday.

3. Perhaps Sunday.

4. These enigmatic phrases are instructions for the use of the spell.

5. This passage is parallel to PDM xiv. 627–35. See F. Ll. Griffith, “The Old Coptic Magical Texts of Paris,” *ZAS* 38 (1900): 86–93. [R.K.R.]

6. Or “under the shade of the noubs tree.”

7. According to Griffith, *ZAS* 38 (1900): 87, at Pnubs the noubs tree was sacred to Thoth. See on this point Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 334–35.

8. Meroe is the capital of an ancient state in the Sudan. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 456–57, s.v. “Meroe.”

9. Cf. also PDM xiv. 627–29. Pashalom is the capital of the nome in which Abydos is also located. Situated to the south of Thinis, Abydos is the holy city where the head of Osiris was buried. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 362 n.1.

the nome of Hansiese,¹⁰ upon his mountain.¹¹ Hail to the goddesses—Thoth the
 great, the great, the wise. Hail to the gods, / ACHNOUI ACHAM ABRA ABRA 20
 SABAÖTH.¹² For Akshha Shha¹³ is my name, Sabashha is my true name; Shlot Shlot
 very valiant is my name. So let him who is in the underworld join him who is in the
 air; let them arise, come in, and bring me news / of the matter about which I ask 25
 them” (add the usual).

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This request for an oracle may be part of the larger spell contained in PGM IV. 1–85.

PGM IV. 26–51

*Initiation:¹⁴ Keep yourself pure for 7 days beforehand. On the third of the
 month, go to a place from which the Nile has recently receded, before anyone walks
 on the area that was flooded—or at any rate, to a place that has been inundated by
 the Nile. / On two bricks¹⁵ standing on their sides, build a fire with olive wood 30
 (that is, with a branch of it) when half of the sun is above the horizon; but before
 the sun appears, dig a trench around the altar. When the disk of the sun is fully
 above the horizon, / cut off the head of an unblemished, solid white cock which 35
 [you are to carry] under your left arm (and do dig the trench around¹⁶ the altar
 before the sun appears).¹⁷ When you are beheading the cock, fix it in place [with
 your knees]¹⁸ and hold it down all by yourself. / Throw the head into the river and 40
 drink up the blood, draining it off into your right hand and putting what’s left of
 the body on the burning altar. Then jump into the river. Immerse yourself in the
 clothes you have on, walk backwards¹⁹ out of the water, and, after changing into
 fresh garments, / depart without turning round.²⁰ After this, take bile from an owl, 45
 rub some of it over your eyes with the feather of an ibis, and your initiation will be
 complete. But if you can’t get hold of an owl, use an ibis’s egg and a falcon’s
 feather. / Bore a hole in the egg, insert the feather, break it open, and thereby get 50
 the fluid to rub on yourself.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

10. The location is unknown. Cf. *Ha-si-ise-t*, “house of the son of Isis.” See A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 29* (no. 341A). One conjecture is that of Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 659, who has identified Hansiese as a site (Chenoboskia?) near Koptos and Dendera in Upper Egypt.

11. This refers to an ancient title of Anubis. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 174. In this connection one should also note the relationship between mountain, desert, and cemetery in ancient Egypt.

12. Hebrew for “Lord, Lord of Hosts;” ABRA may be a variation of *arba* (Heb. “four”) designating the tetragrammaton. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 126; Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 64; A. Barb, “Abraxas-Studien,” in *Hommages à W. Deonna* (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1957) 67–86.

13. Or “JEAKSHHA SHHA”; but cf. PGM IV. 77, also III. 658, 659, 661, 667, 673, etc., for other examples of the common formula “for . . . is my name” or “for I am. . . .”

14. The purpose of this rite is not clear (cf. l. 48). It may have simply been a part of the longer ritual of the context.

15. On the magical use of bricks for both the living and the dead, see J. Monnet, “Les Briques magiques du Musée du Louvre,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 8 (1951): 151–62. [R.K.R.]

16. Or “dig a trench around,” which may in fact mean “walk around” and refer to the ritual circumambulation. See W. Pax, “Circumambulatio,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52.

17. See l. 33 above.

18. The phrase “with your knees” is a conjecture based on PGM IV. 227–28.

19. Cf. the injunctions to walk backwards at PGM I. 37; IV. 2493; XXXVI. 273.

20. Presumably, the initiate is to turn away from the river after he is out of the water and to depart without looking back at the river. Perhaps he is being instructed to depart by walking backwards. The text is not entirely clear; cf. for similar circumstances PGM VII. 439–40. For looking back and its consequences, cf. the story of Lot’s wife (Gen 19:17, 26) and the injunction in Lk 17:31–32; Mt 24:15–18 (cf. Lk 9:62).

PGM IV. 52–85

*Keep yourself pure for 7 days before the moon becomes full by abstaining from meat and uncooked food, by leaving behind during the prescribed days exactly
 55 half / of your food in a turquoise²¹ vessel, over which you are also to eat, and by
 abstaining from wine. When the moon is full, go by yourself to the eastern section
 60 of your city, village, or house and throw out / on the ground the leftover morsels.
 Then return very quickly to your quarters and shut yourself in before he²² can get
 there, because he will shut you out if he gets there before you. But before you throw
 out the morsels, fix in the ground at a slight angle a verdant reed that is about two
 65 cubits long, tie some hairs from a stallion about the midsection of a horned dung
 beetle, and suspend / the beetle from the reed by them. Then light a lamp that has
 not been used before and place it under the beetle in a new earthenware dish, so
 that the heat from the lamp barely reaches the beetle. Stay calm after you have
 70 thrown out the morsels, go to your quarters, and shut yourself in; / for the one
 you have summoned will stand there and, by threatening you with weapons, will
 try to force you to release the beetle. But remain calm, and do not release it until he
 gives you a response; then release it right away. And every day during the period of
 purification when you are about to eat and to go to bed, speak the following spell 7
 75 times (you are to say them again / when you return to your quarters after throwing
 out the food). Keep it secret: “You with the wooden neck, you with the clay (?)
 face,²³ come in to me, for I am Sabertoush, the great god who is in heaven.”

The phylactery for the foregoing: With blood from the hand or foot of a preg-
 80 nant woman, / write the name²⁴ given below on a clean piece of papyrus; then tie it
 about your left arm by a linen cord and wear it. *Here is what is to be written:*
 “SHTËT CHIEN TENHA, I bind and loose.”

The dismissal: When you release the beetle, say: “Harko, Harko is my name;
 Harko is my true name.”

85 Guard these instructions / well. *The rite:* an onion.²⁵

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr., and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 75–77, 81–82, 83–84).

PGM IV. 86–87

*Phylactery against daimons:²⁶ “HOMENOS OHK KOURIËL IAPHËL, deliver” (add the usual), “EHENPEROOU BARBARCHAUUCHE.”

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer. This brief spell seems to have no connection with the preceding or following spells.

21. A blue-green glazed pottery, almost certainly Egyptian faïence. See A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: Arnold, 1962) 156–67, esp. 163–64. [R.K.R.]

22. “He” is the one summoned (l. 70), but “he” is never identified.

23. Probably referring to a clay or terracotta figurine on a wooden pedestal. [M.W.M.]

24. The “name” may have included not only *sabertoush* but also the attached epithets: in magical texts “name” often means “full title.” The Greek *προηποκειμενον* normally means “given above,” but it can also be read as meaning “set forth below.” This latter interpretation (accepted by Preisendanz) would eliminate the apparent contradiction between this and the following sentence. However, the following sentence may be a deliberate contradiction by a glossator. [M.S.]

25. This is probably an abbreviated way of saying, “Use the procedure that involves an onion.”

26. Or “For those possessed by daimons,” which seems the better reading of the papyrus. The manuscript has *πρὸς δαιμονιαζόμενος*. See A. Erman, *ZAS* 21 (1883): 99 (plate III, l. 25) and Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. The invocation which begins with *OHK* is separated by a space and *-ζόμενος* is written with the same Greek letter forms as the preceding ones. [R.D.K.]

PGM IV. 88–93

*Another,²⁷ to Helios: Wrap a naked boy in linen from head to toe,²⁸ then clap your hands. After making a ringing noise, place the boy opposite / the sun,²⁹ and standing behind him say the *formula*: 90

“I am Barbarioth; Barbarioth am I; PESKOUT YAHO ADŌNAI ELŌAI SABAŌTH, come in to this little one today, for I am Barbarioth.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 91–93).

PGM IV. 94–153

*Isis is the one who comes from the mountain at midday³⁰ in summer, the dusty maiden; / her eyes are full of tears and her heart is full of sighs. 95

Her father, Thoth the Great, came in unto her and asked her, “O my daughter Isis, dusty maiden, why are your eyes full of tears, your heart full of sighs, and [the . . .] of your garment soiled? [Away with] the tears of your eyes!”

She said [to him], “He is not with me,³¹ O my father, Ape Thoth, Ape / [Thoth], my father. I have been betrayed by my female companion. I have discovered [a] secret: yes, Nephthys is having intercourse with Osiris . . . my brother, my own mother’s son.” 100

He said to her, “Behold, this is adultery against you, O my daughter Isis.”

She [said] to him, “It is adultery against you, O my father, / [Ape] Thoth, Ape Thoth, my father; it is pregnancy proper for me myself.”³² 105

He said to her, “Arise, O my daughter Isis, and [go] to the south to Thebes, to the north to Abydos.³³ There are . . . those who trample (?) there. Take for yourself Belf son of Belf, [the one whose] foot is of bronze and whose heels are of iron, / [that] he forge for you a double iron nail with a . . . head, a thin base, a strong point, and light iron. Bring it before me, dip it in the blood of Osiris,³⁴ and hand it over; we . . . this mysterious (?) flame to me.” 110

“/ Every flaming, every cooking, every heating,³⁵ every steaming, and every sweating that you [masc.] will cause in this flaming stove, you [will] cause in the heart, in the liver, [in] the area of the navel, and in the belly of NN whom NN has borne, until I bring her to the house of NN whom NN has borne³⁶ and she puts what is in / her hand into my hand, what is in her mouth into my mouth, what is in her belly onto my belly, what is in her female parts onto my male parts, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately. Rise up to the kings of Alchah,³⁷ speak the truth (?) in Oupōke, arouse god [after] NN³⁸ whom NN has borne, and I shall send 120

27. Presumably this is another request for divination (cf. PGM IV. 1–25, 52–85). In fact, the spell is specifically a “divination using a boy,” for which cf. PGM VII. 348–58; also *Test. Sol.* I. 3.

28. Cf. for this phrase PDM xiv. 96.

29. That is, Helios, the sun god.

30. Cf. PDM xiv. 1219.

31. Or “It is not of my doing.”

32. This episode is also told in a different fashion by Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356E–F. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 316–17.

33. Cf. PDM xiv. 628.

34. Cf. PDM xiv. 440–41.

35. Or “sighing.”

36. Cf. PDM xiv. 656–58.

37. Alchah (Egyptian *ʿrg-ḥb*, “Alkai”) and Oupōke (Egyptian *w-pkr*) are both sacred places at Abydos. Alchah designates the cemetery where the mummy of Osiris was buried. See PGM XIVb, 12–15 (in the context of PDM xiv. 451–58). [R.K.R.]

38. Or “every god (after NN).”

125 her / to be with NN whom NN has borne. For I am To son of To;³⁹ I am the Great
son of the Great; I am Anubis, who bears the glorious crown of Re and puts it upon
King Osiris, King Osiris Onnophris, . . . who arouses the whole earth, that you
130 may arouse the heart of NN whom / NN has borne, that I may know what is in her
heart for me, for NN whom NN has borne, on this day.”

135 If a large amount of saliva forms in your mouth as you speak, understand that she
is distressed⁴⁰ and wants to talk with you; if you yawn frequently, she wants / to
come to you. But if you sneeze two times or more, she is in good health⁴¹ and is
returning to where she lives; if you have a headache and are crying, she is dis-
tressed⁴² or even dying.

140 “Rise up to heaven, and arouse the High One [masc.] after the Noble One [fem.].
Rise up to the abyss, and arouse Thoth after Nabin; arouse / the heart of these two
bulls, Hapi and Mnevis; arouse the heart of Osiris after Isis; arouse Re after the
light; arouse the heart of NN whom NN has borne, after NN whom NN has
borne.”

145 [Say] these things on behalf of women. But when [you are speaking] about
women, / then speak, conversely, so as to arouse the females after the males:

150 “When she drinks, when she eats, when she has intercourse with someone else, I
will bewitch her heart, I will bewitch the heart of her, I will bewitch her breath, I
will bewitch / her 365 members,⁴³ I will bewitch her inner part . . . wherever I de-
sire, until she comes to me and I know what is in her heart, [what] she does, and of
what she thinks, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately.

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 154–285

155 *Nephotes to Psammetichos, immortal king of Egypt. / Greetings. Since the great
god has appointed you immortal king and nature has made you the best wise man,⁴⁴
I too, with a desire to show you the industry in me, have sent you this magical
160 procedure which, with complete ease, / produces a holy power. And after you have
tested it, you too will be amazed at the miraculous nature of this magical operation.
You will observe through bowl divination⁴⁵ on whatever day or night you want, in
165 whatever place you want, beholding the god in the water and / hearing a voice from
the god which speaks in verses in answer to whatever you want. You will attain⁴⁶
both the ruler of the universe and whatever you command, and he will speak on
other matters which you ask about. You will succeed by inquiring in this way: First,
170 attach yourself to Helios in this manner: At whatever sunrise you want / (provided
it is the third day of the month), go up to the highest part of the house and spread a

39. Cf. above, PGM III. 679, 687 with n.

40. Or “lovesick.”

41. That is, “unafflicted” by the love charm.

42. Or “lovesick.”

43. For a close parallel, compare the lead tablet from Oxyrhynchus published by Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 108–9. See also the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, 1:19:2–14) on the construction of the human body by 365 angels. In PGM the number 365 is commonly associated with the name Abrasax and its numerical value (see Glossary, s.v. “Abrasax”), but also with 365 gods or even 365 knots (PGM VII. 452–53).

44. Or “an expert magician,” as *σοφιστής* applies to one skilled in his craft. See LSJ, s.v.; Betz, *Lukian* 10–11.

45. For bowl divination, see R. Ganszyniec, “Λεκανομαντεία,” *PRE* 12 (1925): 1879–89.

46. Preisendanz suggests that *οἴσεις* is a late future form of *οἶδα*. Perhaps one should emend the text to read *οἴσεις*, “you will see.” However, the future of *φέρω* can be defended here (see LSJ, s.v., VI. 2–3, where “carry off as a prize,” “win,” “gain,” etc., are given as meanings). [J.P.H.]

pure linen garment on the floor. Do this with a mystagoguc. But as for you, crown yourself with dark ivy while the sun is in mid-heaven, at the fifth hour, and while looking upward lie down / naked on the linen and order your eyes to be completely covered with a black band.⁴⁷ And wrap yourself like a corpse, close your eyes and, keeping your direction toward the sun, begin these words. *Prayer*:⁴⁸

“O mighty Typhon, / ruler of the realm
Above and master, god of gods, O lord

ABRAMENTHŌOU (formula),

O dark’s disturber, thunder’s bringer, whirlwind,
Night-flasher, breather-forth of hot and cold,
Shaker of rocks, wall-trembler, boiler of
The waves, disturber of the sea’s great depth, /

IŌ / ERBĒT AU TAU MĒNI,

I’m he⁴⁹ who searched with you the whole world and
Found great Osiris, whom I brought you chained.

I’m he who joined you in war with the gods

(but others say, “gainst the gods”).

I’m he who closed / heav’n’s double gates and put
To sleep the serpent which must not be seen,
Who stopped the seas, the streams, the river currents
Where’er you rule this realm. And as your soldier
I have been conquered by the gods, I have
Been thrown face down because of empty wrath. /

Raise up your friend, I beg you, I implore;

Throw me not on the ground, O lord of gods,

AEMINAEBARŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIMEA,⁵⁰

O grant me power, I beg, and give to me

This favor, so that, whensoe’r I tell

One of the gods to come, he is seen coming /

Swiftly to me in answer to my chants,

NAINĒ BASANAPTATOU EAPTOU MĒNŌPHAESMĒ PAPTŌU MĒNŌPH AESIMĒ TRAU-
APTI PEUCHRĒ TRAUARA PTOUMĒPH MOURAI ANCHOUCHAPHAPTA MOURSA ARA-
MEI IAŌ ATHTHARAUI MĒNOKER BORO/PTOUMĒTH AT TAU MĒNI CHARCHARA
PTOUMAU LALAPSA TRAU TRAUPESE MAMŌ PHORTOUCHA AEËIO IOY OËŌA EAI
AEËI ŌI IAŌ AEËI AI IAŌ.⁵¹

After you have said this three times,⁵¹ there will be this sign of divine encounter,⁵² but you, / armed by having this magical soul, be not alarmed. For a sea falcon flies down and strikes you on the body with its wings, signifying this: that you should arise. But as for you, rise up and clothe yourself with white garments and burn on an earthen censer uncut / incense in grains while saying this:

“I have been attached to your holy form.

I have been given power by your holy name.

I have acquired your emanation of the goods,

47. See Glossary, s.v. “Isis band.”

48. The iambic trimeters (ll. 179–201), many of which are metrically faulty, also form the reconstructed Hymn 6. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 242–43. [E.N.O.]

49. See on this passage Wörtmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 92–93.

50. See for this formula PGM I. 295; XIV. 24 (abbreviated); LIX. 7.

51. For the triplicate repetition in magic see O. Weinreich, “Trisgemination als sakrale Stilform,” in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1973) 250–58.

52. See on this point PGM IV. 168–69.

Lord, god of gods, master, daimon.

ATHTHOUIN THOUTHOUI TAUANTI LAŌ APTATŌ.”

220 Having done this, return / as lord of a godlike nature which is accomplished through this divine encounter.

*Inquiry of bowl divination and necromancy:*⁵³ Whenever you want to inquire about matters, take a bronze vessel, either a bowl or a saucer, whatever kind you wish. Pour water: / rainwater if you are calling upon heavenly gods, seawater if gods of the earth, river water if Osiris or Sarapis, springwater if the dead. Holding the vessel on your knees, pour out green olive oil, bend over the vessel and speak / the prescribed spell. And address whatever god you want and ask about whatever you wish, and he will reply to you and tell you about anything. And if he has spoken dismiss him with the spell of dismissal, and you who have used this spell will be amazed.

235 *The spell spoken over the vessel is:* “AMOUN AUANTAU / LAIMOUTAU RIPTOU MANTAU IMANTOU LANTOU LAPTOUMI ANCHŌMACH ARAPTOUMI, hither to me, O NN god; appear to me this very hour and do not frighten my eyes. Hither to me, O NN god, be attentive to me because he wishes and commands this⁵⁴ ACHCHŌR ACHCHŌR / ACHACHACH PTOUMI CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRACHARACHŌCH APTOUMI MĒCHŌCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌ PTENACHŌCHEU” (a hundred letters).⁵⁵

245 But you are not unaware, mighty king and leader of magicians, that this is the chief name of Typhon, / at whom the ground, the depths of the sea, Hades, heaven, the sun, the moon, the visible chorus of stars, the whole universe all tremble, the name which, when it is uttered, forcibly brings gods and daimons to it. This is the name that consists of 100 letters. Finally, when you have called, whomever you called will appear, god or dead man,⁵⁶ and he will / give an answer about anything you ask. And when you have learned to your satisfaction,⁵⁷ dismiss the god merely with the powerful name of the hundred letters as you say, “Depart, master, for the great god, NN, wishes and commands this of you.” Speak the name, and he will depart. Let this spell, / mighty king, be transmitted to you alone, guarded by you, unshared.

255 *There is also the protective charm itself* which you wear while performing, even while standing:⁵⁸ onto a silver leaf inscribe this name of 100 letters with a bronze stylus, and wear it strung on a thong from the hide / of an ass.⁵⁹

53. Following the emended punctuation by M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and the Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 221.

54. The sudden shift to the third person in the words θέλει και επιτάσσει seems strange at first, and one is tempted to think that the magician begins to refer to himself in the third person. But cf. ll. 253–54 below, where the same phenomenon occurs with the subject named.

55. That is, according to Greek letters.

56. That is, the spirit or soul of a dead man. See on this primitive concept J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 70–124: “The Soul of the Dead.”

57. At this point the revelatory dialogue comes into the picture. Cf. Corp. Herm. I.3, 27, 30. Cf. P. Perkins, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), where further literature can be found.

58. The Greek is obscure at this point. The translation follows Preisendanz: “auch wenn du stehend agierst.”

59. The ass is the animal associated with Seth/Typhon. See Glossary, s.v.

Divine encounter of the divine procedure: Toward the rising sun say:⁶⁰
 “I call you who did first control gods’ wrath,⁶¹
 You who hold royal scepter o’er the heavens,
 You who are midpoint of the stars above,
 You, master Typhon, you I call, who are
 / The dreaded sovereign o’er the firmament. 265
 You who are fearful, awesome, threatening,
 You who’re obscure⁶² and irresistible
 And hater of the wicked, you I call,
 Typhon, in hours unlawful and unmeasured,
 You who’ve walked on unquenched, clear-crackling fire,
 You who are / over snows, below dark ice, 270
 You who hold sovereignty over the Moirai,⁶³
 I invoked you in pray’r, I call, almighty one.
 That you perform for me whate’er I ask
 Of you, and that you nod assent at once
 To me and grant that what I ask be mine
 (add the usual), because I adjure you, GAR THALA BAUZAU THŌRTHŌR / KATHAU- 275
 KATH IATHIN NA BORKAKAR BORBA KARBORBOCH MŌ ZAŪ OUZŌNZ ŌN YABITH,
 mighty Typhon, hear me, NN, and perform for me the NN task. For I speak your
 true names, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH OEN / TYPHON ASBA- 280
 RABŌ BIEAISĒ ME NERŌ MARAMŌ TAUĒR CHTHENTHŌNIE ALAM BĒTŌR MEN-
 KECHRA SAUEIŌR RĒSEIODŌTA ABRĒSIOA PHŌTHĒR THERTHŌNAX NERDŌMEU
 AMŌRĒS MEEME ŌIĒS SYSCHIE ANTHŌNIE PHRA; listen / to me and perform the 285
 NN deed.”
 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 286–95

***Spell for picking a plant:**⁶⁴ Use it before sunrise. *The spell to be spoken:* “I am picking you, such and such a plant, with my five-fingered hand, I, NN, and I am bringing you home so that you may work for me for a certain purpose. I adjure you by the undefiled / name of the god: if you pay no heed to me, the earth which produced you will no longer be watered as far as you are concerned—ever in life 290

60. The following dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 7. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 243–44. Here and elsewhere σέ is considered long *metri gratia*, contrary to classical usage. [E.N.O.]

61. The papyrus reads *οργίλον*, which the editors of Hymn 7 have obelized. Here in IV. 262 Preisendanz has emended and reads *δπλον*, while others have suggested such words as *δρμον* (Wünsch), *κόσμον* (Dieterich), etc. The translation here has retained the reading of the papyrus. For *διέπω* and its meaning here, see Bauer, s.v. [E.N.O.]

62. The papyrus has *δηλον*, which Preisendanz retains both here and in Hymn 7 where he obelizes it. Kroll’s emendation *ἀδηλον* is paleographically sound, for “A” could have been omitted before “Δ.” Second, *ἀδηλον* is a good parallel to *ἀμύχανον*, and third, the idea of *ἀδηλον* fits Seth/Typhon, who is regularly associated with darkness, shadows, etc. Cf., e.g., Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F; 44, 368F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 468. [E.N.O.]

63. Preisendanz reads at this point *ἐπ’ εὐκταίων Μοιρῶν*, “over the Moirai invoked in prayer.” In the reconstructed Hymn 7 (Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244), Heitsch reads *ἐπευκταίων Μοιρῶν*, “of the longed-for Moirai,” originally a proposal by Dieterich (see the apparatus to PGM IV. 271).

64. For this type of ritual, see F. Pfister, “Pflanzenaberglaube,” *PRE* 19 (1938): 1446–56.

again, if I fail in this operation, MOUTHABAR NACH BARNACHŌCHA BRAEŌ MENDA
 295 LAUBRAASSE PHASPHA BENDEŌ; fulfil⁶⁵ for me / the perfect charm.”
 *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 296–466

*Wondrous spell for binding a lover: Take wax [or clay] from a potter’s wheel
 and make two figures, a male and a female. Make the male in the form of Ares fully
 300 armed, holding a sword / in his left hand and threatening to plunge it into the right
 side of her neck. And make her⁶⁶ with her arms behind her back and down on her
 knees. And you are to fasten the magical material on her head or neck. Write on the
 305 figure of the woman being attracted as follows: On the head: / “ISEĒ IAŌ ITHI
 OUNE BRIDŌ LŌTHIŌN NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH”; on the right ear: “OUER MĒCHAN”;
 on the left ear: “LIBABA ŌIMATHOTHŌ”; on the face: “AMOUNABREŌ”; on the right
 310 eye: / “ŌRORMOTHIO AĒTH”; on the other: “CHOBOUE”; on the right shoulder:
 “ADETA MEROU”; on the right arm: “ENF PSA ENESGAPHI”; on the other: “MEL-
 315 CHIOU MELCHIEDIA”; on the hands: / “MELCHAMELCHOU AĒL”; on the breast:
 the name, on her mother’s side, of the woman being attracted; on the heart: “BAL-
 AMIN THŌOUTH”; and below the lower belly: “AOBĒS AŌBAR”; on the pudenda:
 320 “BLICHIANEOI OUŌIA”; on the buttocks: “PISSADARA”; on / the sole of the right
 foot: “ELŌ”; on the sole of the other one: “ELŌAIAOE.”

And take thirteen copper needles and stick 1 in the brain while saying, “I am
 piercing your brain, NN”; and stick 2 in the ears and 2 in the eyes and 1 in the
 325 mouth and 2 / in the midriff and 1 in the hands and 2 in the pudenda and 2 in the
 soles, saying each time, “I am piercing such and such a member of her, NN, so that
 she may remember no one but me, NN, alone.”

330 And take a lead tablet⁶⁷ and write the same / spell and recite it. And tie the lead
 leaf to the figures with thread from the loom after making 365 knots while saying
 as you have learned, “ABRASAX, hold her fast!” You place it, as the sun is setting,
 beside the grave of one who has died untimely or violently, placing beside it also the
 seasonal flowers.

335 *The spell to be written / and recited is:* “I entrust this binding spell to you,
 chthonic gods, HYESEMIGADŌN and KORĒ PERSEPHONE ERESCHIGAL and ADONIS
 the BARBARITHA, infernal HERMES THŌOUTH PHŌKENTAZEPSEU AERCITHA-
 340 THOUMI / SONKTAI KALBANACHAMBRE and to mighty ANUBIS PSIRINTH, who
 holds the keys to Hades, to infernal gods and daimons, to men and women who
 have died untimely deaths, to youths and maidens, from year to year, month to
 345 month, day to day, / hour to hour. I adjure all daimons in this place to stand as
 assistants beside this daimon. And arouse yourself for me,⁶⁸ whoever you are,
 whether male or female,⁶⁹ and go to every place and into every quarter and to every
 350 house, and attract / and bind her. Attract her, NN, whom NN bore and whose

65. The sudden shift to the plural *τελεσαστε* is strange. Preisendanz suggests that *δαίμονες* is the subject, but no daimons appear in the spell. Can the subject be the *voces magicæ* themselves? [E.N.O.]

66. A figurine similar to the one described here, together with a lead tablet containing an inscription nearly identical to that of ll. 335–406, has been found in Egypt. See S. Kambitsis, “Une nouvelle tablette magique d’Égypte, Musée du Louvre, Inv. E 27145, 3^e/4^e siècle,” *BIFAO* 76 (1976): 213–23 and plates.

67. For a parallel to this passage, see Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 56–58 (no. 1, ll. 6–16).

68. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 70–71.

69. Egyptian lists of demons and demon-induced diseases carefully distinguish between male and female. For a characteristic example, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1970) 6–11. [R.K.R.]

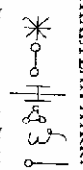
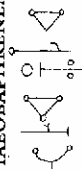
magical material you possess. Let her be in love with me, NN whom she, NN bore.
 Let her not be had in a promiscuous way,⁷⁰ let her not be had in her ass, nor let her
 do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, NN, so that she,
 NN, be unable either to drink or eat, that she not / be contented, not be strong,
 not have peace of mind, that she, NN, not find sleep without me, NN, because I
 adjure you by the name that causes fear and trembling, the name at whose sound
 the earth opens, the name at whose terrifying sound the daimons are terrified, / the
 name at whose sound rivers and rocks burst assunder. I adjure you, god of the dead,
 whether male or female, by BARBARITHA CHENMBRA BAROUCHAMBRA and by the
 ABRAT ABRASAX SESENGEN BARPHARANGGĒS and by the glorious AŌIA / MARI and
 by the MARMAREŌTH MARMARAUŌTH MARMARAŌTH MARECHTHANA AMARZA
 MARIBEŌTH; do not fail, god of the dead, to heed my commands and names, but
 just arouse yourself from the repose which holds you, / whoever you are, whether
 male or female, and go to every place, into every quarter, into every house, and
 attract her, NN, to me and with a spell keep her from eating and drinking, and do
 not allow her, NN, to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, / not even
 that of her own husband, just that of mine, NN. Instead, drag her, NN, by the hair,
 by her heart, by her soul, to me, NN, at every hour of life, day and night, until she
 comes to me, NN, and may she, NN, remain / inseparable from me. Do this, bind
 her for all the time of my life and help force her, NN to be serviceable to me,
 NN, and let her not frolic away from me for even one hour of life. If you accom-
 plish this for me, I will quickly allow you your repose. / For I am BARBAR ADŌNAI
 who hides the stars, who controls the brightly shining heaven, the lord of the
 world, ATHTHOUIN IATHOUIN SELBIOUŌTH AŌTH SARBATHIOUTH IATHTHIERATH
 ADŌNAI IA ROURA BLA BI BIOTHĒ ATHŌTH / SABAŌTH ĒA NIAPHA AMARACHTHI
 SATAMA ZAUATHTHEIĒ SERPHO IALADA IALĒ SBĒSI IATHTHA MARADTHA ACHILTH-
 THEE CHOŌŌ OĒ ĒACHŌ KANSAOSA ALKMOURI THYR THAŌOS SIECHĒ. I am
 THOTH OSŌMAI; / attract her, bind her, NN, filled with love, desire and yearning
 for NN (add the usual), because I adjure you, god of the dead, by the fearful, great
 IAEŌ BAPH RENEMOUN OTHI LARIKRIPIHIA EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON YOMEN ER
 PHABŌEAI, / so that you attract her, NN, to me and join head to head and fasten lip
 to lip and join belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit black together
 with black, and let her, NN, carry out her own sex acts / with me, NN, for all eter-
 nity.

Then write on the other side of the tablet the heart and the characters as they are below:




IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKI

IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKI

“IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEAI
 AEOBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEA
 AŌ EŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌE III
 EA ŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌ OEO
 IO BAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OIEE
 YO APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OEYI
 IO APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OEYY
 OE PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPH LAYY *
 IOAE YAAA
 EOEI OIII
 YAOU YAEY
 IAŌI EŌAY
 AĒAE OOVI



70. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Text,” 72.

425  ΕΙΟΙ
 ΟΪΥΑ
 ΑΘΟΕ
 ΥΙΟΕ
 430  ΕΟΑΘΑ
 ΥΑΥΑ
 ΙΟΘΙΗ
 ΙΑΘΙ
 ΑΟΑΟ
 ΥΥΟΙ

ΕΕΕΑ
 ΑΑΛΑ
 ΙΙΙΟ 
 ΕΕΑΘ 
 ΕΕΑΘ 
 ΕΙΕΕ
 ΟΑΕΙ 
 ΕΙΥΙ
 ΕΕΟΙ 
 ΥΑΑΙ
 ΕΙΛΑ
 ΑΑΟΘ”

435 *Prayer that belongs to the procedure:* At sunset, while holding / the magical material from the tomb, say:

“Borne⁷¹ on the breezes of the wandr’ing winds,
 Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame’s
 Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
 Around the great pole, who create all things
 Yourself which you again reduce to nothing, /
 440 From whom, indeed, all elements have been
 Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
 The world with its four yearly turning points.
 Hear, blessed one, for I call you who rule
 Heaven and earth, Chaos and Hades, where
 Men’s daimons dwell who once gazed on the light, /
 445 And even now I beg you, blessed one,
 Unfailing one, the master of the world,
 If you go to the depths of earth and search
 The regions of the dead, send this daimon,
 From whose body I hold this remnant in my hands,
 To her, NN, at midnight hours,
 To move by night to orders ’neath your force, /
 450 That all I want within my heart he may
 Perform for me; and send him gentle, gracious
 And pondering no hostile thoughts toward me,
 And be not angry at my potent chants,
 For you yourself arranged these things among
 Mankind for them to learn about the threads
 Of the Moirai, and this with your advice. /
 455 I call your name, Horus,⁷² which is in number
 Equivalent to those of the Moirai,

ACHAIPHŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA AIĒ ĒLA IAĒ ĒLA THŌTHŌ PHIACHA.

Be kind to me, forefather, scion of
 The world, self-generated, fire-bringer, aglow
 Like gold, shining on mortals, master of
 460 The world, / daimon of restless fire, unfailing,
 With gold disk, sending earth pure light in beams.

71. The following dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): v. 1–17, 20, 22–28. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* I. 315–27; IV. 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. [E.N.O.]

72. For Horus equated with Helios, cf. *PGM* IV. 989.

Send the daimon, whomever I have requested, to her, NN” (add the usual).

In another version, the name is: “ACHAI PHÖTHÖTHÖ AIË ÈIA IAË ÈIÖ THÖ THÖ
PHIACHA.” / *In another it is:* “ACHAI PHÖTHÖTHÖ AIË IËA ÈAI IAË AËI ÈIA ÖTHÖ- 465
THÖ PHIACHA.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 467–68

*Charm to restrain anger: “Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against Zeus?”⁷³

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The same spell occurs at PGM IV. 831–32.

PGM IV. 469–70

*To get friends:

/ “Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies.”⁷⁴

470

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The same charm using a verse from Homer (*Iliad* 10.193) occurs in PGM IV. 833–34. Since there the single verse alone serves as a charm to get friends, and since the papyrus manuscript separates all verses with paragraph marks, it seems likely that the following four verses served as separate charms, though the original titles have been lost. Furthermore, since the three verses (*Iliad* 10.564, 10.521, and 10.572) that follow form a natural grouping in PGM IV. 2145ff. (cf. IV. 821–23), we have preserved that grouping in PGM IV. 471–73, below, though it is not clear whether the copyist inserted these verses here by mistake or whether the reader was to understand from PGM IV. 2145ff. that the spell served as a “divine assistance from three Homeric verses.”

PGM IV. 471–73

*. . .

“After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch.”⁷⁵

“and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter.”⁷⁶

“and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them.”⁷⁷

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. This untitled charm contains three verses of Homer that also occur in PGM IV. 821–23 and IV. 2145ff. It is presumed that these verses served the same functions as those listed in ll. 2145ff. See the introductory note on the previous spell. The verses all come from the tenth book of the *Iliad* and presumably could be read together.

PGM IV. 474

*“. . . Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him.”⁷⁸

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. Cf. the introductory note on PGM IV. 469–70, and see PGM IV. 830, with n.

73. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. For the use of single Homeric verses as charms and amulets, see R. Heim, “Incantamenta magica graeca latina,” *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband 9* (1893), section X: *Versus Homeric et Vergilianii* (pp. 514–20).

74. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193.

75. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. The referent of “he” is Odysseus in the original context.

76. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. Again, the papyrus quotes only a portion of the Homeric text. “Men” is the object of “saw” in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who saw.

77. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of “they” is Odysseus and Diomedes.

78. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The papyrus quotes only a single verse and leaves the syntax of “him” unaccounted for. In Homer, “him” is governed by “bound” in l. 386.

PGM IV. 475–829

475 *Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche,⁷⁹ as I write these mysteries handed
down [not] for gain but for instruction; and for an only child I request immor-
480 tality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daugh-
ter, to take / the juices of herbs and spices, which will [be made known] to you at
the end of my holy treatise), which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be
revealed to me by his archangel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an in-
485 quirer / and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the spell:

“First origin of my origin, AEËIOYŌ, first beginning of my beginning, PPP SSS⁸⁰
490 PHR[E], spirit of spirit,⁸¹ the first of the spirit / in me, MMM, fire given by god to
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, earthy material, the first of the
495 earthy material in me, / YĒ YŌĒ, my complete body, I, NN whose mother is NN,
which was formed by a noble arm and an incorruptible right hand in a world with-
out light and yet radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul, YĒI AYI EYŌIE: now
500 if it be your will, METERTA / PHŌTH (METHARTHA PHĒRIĒ, in another place)⁸²
IEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth and, following that, to my underlying
nature, so that, after the present need which is pressing me exceedingly, I may gaze
505 upon the immortal / beginning with the immortal spirit, ANCHREPHRENESOU-
PHTRIGCH, with the immortal water, ERONOUI PARAKOUNĒTH, with the most
steadfast air, EIOAĒ PSENABŌTH; that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX
510 R OIM ENARCHOMAI, / and the sacred spirit may breathe in me, NECHTHEN AP-
OTOU NECHTHIN ARPI ĒTH; so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE; that I
may gaze upon the unfathomable, awesome water of the dawn, NYŌ THESŌ ECHŌ
515 OUCHIECHŌA, and the vivifying / and encircling aether may hear me, ARNO-
MĒTHPH; for today I am about to behold, with immortal eyes—I, born mortal
from mortal womb, but transformed by tremendous power and an incorruptible
520 right hand / and with immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and master of the fiery
diadems—I, sanctified through holy consecrations—while there subsists within
me, holy, for a short time, my human soul-might, which I will again / receive after
525 the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down upon me—I, NN,
whose mother is NN, according to the immutable decree of god, EYĒ YIA BĒI AŌ
530 EIAY IYA IEŌ. Since it is impossible for me, born / mortal, to rise with the golden
brightnesses of the immortal brilliance, ŌĒY AEŌ ĒYA EŌĒ YAE ŌIAE, stand, O per-
ishable nature of mortals, and at once [receive] me safe and sound after the inexor-
535 able and pressing / need. For I am the son PSYCHŌN DEMOU PROCHŌ PRŌA, I am
MACHARPH[.]N MOU PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE.”

540 Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up 3 times as much as you can, and 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 man or of any other living thing, nor in
that hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all

79. The goddess Psyche, “Soul.” Some scholars read Tyche, “Fortune.” On the problem see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 2, 49–52, 70–72, 230–32. On the “Mithras Liturgy,” see M. W. Meyer, *The Mithras Liturgy* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976).

80. For the meaning of popping and hissing noises in magic, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 40–43, 228–29; R. Lasch, “Das Pfeifen und Schnalzen und seine Beziehung zu Dämonenglauben und Zauberei,” *ARW* 18 (1915): 589–93. See also ll. 561–62, and 578–79 below, and elsewhere in the PGM.

81. “Spirit,” “breath,” “wind” (πνεύμα) is one of the four elements.

82. This is evidence that the scribe had at least one other copy of the spell. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 4, 221.

immortal things. For in that day / and hour you will see the divine order of the
 skies: the presiding gods rising into heaven, and others setting. Now the course of
 the visible gods will appear through the disk of god, my father; and in similar fash-
 ion the so-called pipe, / the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see it hang-
 ing from the sun's disk like a pipe. You will see the outflow of this object toward the
 regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the
 east—and the other (viz., the west wind), similarly, toward its own / regions. And
 you will see the gods staring intently at you and rushing at you.

So at once put your right finger on your mouth⁸³ and say:

“Silence! Silence! Silence!

Symbol of the living, incorruptible god! /

Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR TILANMELOU!”

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

“PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PI-
 TĒIMI MEŌY ENARTH PIIYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIO / TYRĒ PHILBA.”

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.

So when you see that the world above is clear / and circling, and that none of the
 gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to
 shock you. Then say again:

“Silence! Silence! (the prayer) I am a star, wandering about with you, and shin-
 ing forth out of / the deep, OXY O XERTHEUTH.”

Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And
 after you have said the second prayer, where there is “Silence! Silence!” and the
 accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and
 immediately you will see / many five-pronged stars coming forth from the disk and
 filling all the air. Then say again: “Silence! Silence!” And when the disk is open, you
 will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight. /

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 breath the fiery bars of the fourfold / root,⁸⁴

O Fire-walker, PENTITEROUNI,

Light-maker (others: Encloser), SEMESILAM,

Fire-breather, PSYRINPHEU,

Fire-feeler, IAŌ,

Light-breather, ŌAI,

Fire-delighter, ELOURE,

Beautiful light, AZAI,

Aion, ACHBA,

/ Light-master, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,⁸⁵

Fire-body, PHNOUĒNIOCH,

Light-giver, . . .

83. For examples of this common depiction on stones, see the engraved gem showing Harpokrates with his finger to his mouth, in F. M. and J. H. Schwartz, “Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society, I: Ancient Magical Amulets,” *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 24 (1979) no. 3, p. 159. See also the bronze statue in G. S. Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, *EPRO* 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), plate XLV, fig. 66.

84. Reading *τετραριζώματος* with Hopfner (see apparatus ad loc.) rather than *τετραλιζώματος*. The reading of the manuscript, on the other hand, suggests *διαζώματος* (cf. *C. H.*, *Frag.* 26.8). [W.B.]

85. For PIPPI as a permutation of the tetragrammaton, the Hebrew divine name, see S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1942) 120 n. 38;

Fire-sower, AREI EIKITA,
 Fire-driver, GALLABALBA,
 Light-forcer, AIŌ,
 Fire-whirler, PYRICHIBOOSĒLA,
 Light-mover, SANCHERŌB,
 600 Thunder-shaker /, IĒ ŌĒ IŌĒIŌ,
 Glory-light, BEEGENĒTE,
 Light-increaser, SOUSINEPHIEN,
 Fire-light-maintainer, SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI MARMARENTEU,
 Star-tamer . . .

605 Open for me, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTYRĒPHILBA,
 because, / on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity, I invoke
 the immortal names, living and honored, which never pass into mortal nature and
 610 are not declared in articulate speech by human tongue or mortal speech / or mortal
 sound: ĒĒŌ ŌĒĒŌ IŌŌ ŌĒ ĒĒŌ ĒĒŌ ŌĒ ĒŌ IŌŌ ŌĒĒĒ ŌĒĒ ŌŌĒ IĒ ĒŌ ŌŌ ŌĒ IĒŌ ŌĒ
 ŌŌĒ IĒŌ ŌĒ IĒĒŌ ĒĒ IŌ ŌĒ IŌĒ ŌĒĒŌ ĒŌĒ ŌĒŌ ŌĒĒ ŌĒŌ ĒŌ ŌĒ IŌ IŌ IŌ ŌŌĒ ŌŌĒ
 615 ĒŌ ĒĒA ĒĒA ĒĒA / ĒĒĒĒ ĒĒĒ ĒĒĒ IĒŌ ĒĒŌ ŌĒĒĒŌĒ ĒĒŌ ĒŌŌ ŌĒ ĒĒŌ ĒŌ ĒĒ ĒĒ
 ŌŌŌ YĪŌĒ.”

620 Say all these things with fire and spirit, until completing the first utterance; then,
 similarly, begin the second, until you complete the / 7 immortal gods of the world.⁸⁶
 When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the sur-
 rounding realm; and you will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then say again:
 625 “Silence!” (the prayer). Then open your eyes, and you will see the doors / open 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.

630 So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you
 look intently. Then when / your soul is restored, say:

“Come, lord, ARCHANDARA PHŌTAZA PYRIPHŌTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO
 PHORATHĒN ERIĒ PROTHRI PHORATHI.”

635 When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of
 them. For when / you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in ap-
 pearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a
 fiery crown.⁸⁷ At once greet him with the fire greeting:

640 “Hail, O lord, Great Power, Great Might, / King, Greatest of gods, Helios, the
 Lord of heaven and earth, God of gods: mighty is your breath; mighty is your
 strength, O lord. If it be your will, announce me to the supreme god, the one who
 645 has begotten and made you: that a man—I, NN,⁸⁸ whose mother is NN, / who was
 born from the mortal womb of NN and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he

M. Philonenko, “L’Anguipède alectorocéphale et le dieu IAŌ” *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, comptes rendus des séances de l’année 1979* 297–304, where further material is collected and discussed. In *PGM* see also III. 575; IV. 1984; XVIIa. 1–2; cf. also III. 335.

86. For the following section of the ritual, cf. the combination of the seven grades of the initiation, the planetary gods, and the ascension in the mysteries of Mithras. See esp. R. Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza-Zodiac: II,” *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2 (1978): 120–35; R. Merkelbach, *Weihgrade und Seelenlebre der Mithrasmysterien* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982) 13–21; also J. Bergman, “*Per omnia vectus elementa remeavi*. Réflexions sur l’arrière-plan égyptien du voyage de salut d’un myste isiaque,” in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell’ impero romano*, *EPRO* 92 (Leiden: Brill, 1982): 671–708.

87. Cf. the well-preserved fresco from the Mithras temple in Capua. For a color photo, see Merkelbach, *Weihgrade* 34.

88. For the interpretation of this self-presentation, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 170.

has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of god the exceedingly good—resolves to worship / you, and prays with all his human power, that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MOR- 650
TROIK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EÖRÖ RÖRE ÖRRI ÖRIÖR RÖR RÖI / ÖR REÖRÖRI EÖR FÖR EÖRE!” 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. Look intently, and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, releasing all your breath and straining your sides; and kiss / the phylac- 660
teries and say, first toward the right: “Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!”

After saying this, you will see the doors⁸⁹ thrown open, and seven virgins⁹⁰ coming from deep within, dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps.⁹¹ They are called the Fates / of heaven, and wield golden wands. When you see them, greet 665
them in this manner:

“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!⁹² / Hail to 670
you, the first, CHRESENTHAËS! Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEËS! Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN! Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHËS!⁹³ Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIË! Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAËS! Hail to you, the seventh, EROU ROMBRIËS!”

There also come forth another seven gods,⁹⁴ who have the faces of black bulls, in linen / loincloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of 675
them with his own name:

“Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths, who turn / at one 680
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 people, but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body / and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good 685
hours of this day, O my lords and powerfully ruling gods! Hail to you, the first, AIERÖNTHI! Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS! Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR! / Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTÖ! Hail to you, the fifth, 690
CHICHRÖALITHÖ! Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHÖPS! Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHË!”

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning bolts going down, and lights flashing /, and the earth shaking, 695

89. Cf. the seven gates of the mosaic of the *Mitreo delle sette sfere* at Ostia and the inscribed term *ἑπτάπυλος*, “seven-gated.” See M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, vol. I (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966) 137, fig. 82; Merkelbach, *Weibegrade* 65.

90. For the seven virgins, see the discussion by Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 69–72, who also refers to the seven Hathors of Egyptian religion.

91. This seems to be an Egyptian idea, where three serpents stand for the word “goddess.” One Egyptian Fate, *Rmnwtet* (Thermutis), is known to have a serpent face. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 362. [R.K.R.]

92. For this Egyptian cosmology, see H. Frankfort et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946) 45–47; D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen. Die “Τῶν πτ”-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975) 90, 98. [R.K.R.]

93. Cf. the Egyptian *harmachis*, “Horus who is on the horizon.”

94. For a discussion of the seven young men, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 70–75. In the Mithras mysteries the seven grades of initiates were each under the tutelage of a planetary deity. See Merkelbach, *Weibegrade* 13–14.

and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers,⁹⁵ and holding in his right hand a golden / shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour.⁹⁶ 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 out of breath, and again kiss the phylacteries, and say:

710 “MOKRIMO PHERIMO PHERERI, life of me, NN: stay! Dwell in / my soul!⁹⁷ Do not abandon me, for ENTHO PHENEN THROPIŌTH commands you.”

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

715 “Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water! Hail, O Founder of the earth! Hail, O Ruler of the wind! O Bright Lightener /, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THĒTH MIMEŌ YENARŌ PHYRCHECHŌ PSĒRI DARTŌ PHRĒ PHRĒLBA! Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter. O lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, / I am dying; while being born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death—as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery. I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

725 After you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation. / Now you will grow weak in soul and will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He speaks the oracle to you in verse, and after speaking he will depart. But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself; for at a later time / you will remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even if the oracle contained myriads of verses.

735 If you also wish to use a fellow initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure with you for [seven] / days, and abstain from meat and the bath. And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as if prophesying in ecstasy. And if you also wish to show him, then judge whether he is completely worthy as a man /: treat him just as if in his place you were being judged in the matter of immortalization, and whisper to him the first prayer, of which the beginning is “First origin of my origin,⁹⁸ 740 ABĒIOYŌ.” And say the successive things as an initiate, over his / head, in a soft voice,⁹⁹ 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 745 teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer / be in effect.

95. The description of the god Mithras agrees with extant pictures. See esp. the frescoes from Dura Europos, published in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1956, 1960); see also the discussion in Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78.

96. For the interpretation of this passage, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78, 234; R. Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac,” *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1 (1976): 1–19, esp. 2; 2 (1978): 87–147, esp. 120–27; R. L. Gordon and J. R. Hinnels, “Some New Photographs of Well-known Mithraic Monuments,” *ibid.* 2 (1978): 213–19. Cf. also Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, col. V. 1 with note; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* 86–89.

97. The combination of ζωή “life,” and ψυχή “soul,” suggests erotic overtones (see Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 195 for ζωή καὶ ψυχή, and the note on “soul,” p. 337 below. [E.N.O.] In fact, sculptures portraying Eros and Psyche were found in the Mithras sanctuaries at Capua and under the Church of S. Prisca in Rome. See Merkelbach, *Weihgrade* 22–24, and photos on pp. 68–69.

98. For this prayer, see PGM IV. 486–537.

99. Cf. on this point Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 22. 1: *lento murmure susurrat*, “he whispers with a soft murmur”; Apuleius, *Met.* 1.3. See also G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965) 58.