

ELENI PACHOUMI

The Concepts of the Divine in the Greek Magical Papyri

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Mohr Siebeck

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The book was printed by Laupp & Göbel in Göttingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Nädle in Nehren.

Printed in Germany.

For my parents,
George and Agoroula Pachoumi

Preface

The monograph examines the manifold concepts of the divine in the Greek magical papyri, by uncovering the underlying religious, philosophical and mystical parallelisms with and influences on the Greek magical papyri.

The first chapter investigates the religio-philosophical concept of the personal daimon and the union of the individual with the personal daimon through the magico-theurgic ritual of systasis. The concept of personal daimon is examined in relation to Greek philosophy and the mystery rituals. The second chapter focuses on the religious concept of paredros as a divine “assistant,” defining the concept and illustrating the various categories of paredros. It also scrutinises the relationships between paredros and the divine, and between paredros and the individual. The third chapter examines the concept of god through the manifold religious and philosophical assimilations, investigating the logic and applicability of these assimilations. The chapter identifies the different religious and philosophical elements represented in the Greek magical papyri, by analysing the nature of the religious and philosophical thought processes behind the spells, and considering notions of syncretism.

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Oxford, November 2016

Eleni Pachoumi

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List of Abbreviations

<i>CMC</i>	<i>Cologne Mani Codex</i>
<i>Corp. Herm.</i>	<i>Corpus Hermeticum</i>
<i>Derv. Pap.</i>	<i>Derveni Papyrus</i>
<i>DGE</i>	Pabón de Urbina, José M. S., and Eustaquio Echauri Martínez. <i>Diccionario Griego-Español</i> . Barcelona: Publicaciones y Ediciones Spes, 1959
<i>DK</i>	Diels, Hermann. <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> . Ed. Walther Kranz. 3 vols. 6th ed. Berlin: Weidmann, 1951–1952
<i>DT</i>	<i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> . In Auguste Audollent (ed.). <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> . Paris: Minerva, 1904
<i>DTA</i>	<i>Defixionum Tabellae Appendix</i> . In Richard Wünsch (ed.). <i>IG (Inscriptiones Graecae)</i> . Vol. III, Pars III: <i>Inscriptiones Atticae Aetatis Romanae: Appendix Defixionum Tabellae Consilio et Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae</i> . Berlin: apud Georgium Reimerum, 1897
<i>Eg. Bk. Dd.</i>	<i>Egyptian Book of the Dead</i>
<i>Eg. Cof. T.</i>	<i>Egyptian Coffin Texts</i>
<i>Eg. Pyr. T.</i>	<i>Egyptian Pyramid Texts</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry S. Jones (eds.). <i>A Greek-English Lexicon with revised Supplement</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996
<i>NHC</i>	Nag Hammadi Codex
<i>OCD</i>	Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (eds.). <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996
<i>O Christ.</i>	<i>Christian Ostraca</i> . In Karl Preisendanz (ed.). <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> . Vol. II. Mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz. Durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974, pages 233–235.
<i>OF Bern.</i>	Alberto Bernabé. <i>Poetae Epici Graeci: Testimonia et Fragmenta</i> . Pars II Fasc. 2: <i>Orphicorum et Orphicis Similium Testimonia et Fragmenta</i> . Munich and Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2005
<i>OGI</i>	Wilhelm Dittenberger (ed.). <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905
<i>PDM</i>	<i>Papyri Demoticae Magicae</i> . In Hans D. Betz (ed.). <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completes. Series graecae</i> . Accurante Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris: Migne, 1.1857–166.1866
<i>PGM</i>	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> . In Karl Preisendanz (ed.). <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> . 2 vols. 2nd ed. Mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz

- danz. Durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973–1974
- PGM* Christ. *Christian (Christliches) PGM*. In Karl Preisendanz (ed.). *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*. Vol. II. Mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz. Durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974, pages 209–232
- P. Oxy.* *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1.1898 ff.
- SGD* David R. Jordan. “A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora.” *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 26 (1985): 151–197
- SM* *Supplementum Magicum*. In Robert W. Daniel and Franco Maltomini (eds.). *Supplementum Magicum*. 2 vols. *Papyrologica Coloniensia* 16.1–2. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990–1992

Introduction

The Greek Magical Papyri

I. General Character

The Greek magical papyri are a collection of individual texts and collections comprising spells, hymns, rituals, remedies and phylacteries, *formulae* from liturgies, and elements from mythology (*historiolae*).¹ These components originated in Greco-Roman Egypt and date between the second century B.C. and the fifth century C.E. The Greek magical papyri represent only a small body of the immense amount of similar material that existed in antiquity, since most books of magic were destroyed during the Roman period.²

1. Modern Editions and Translations

The term Greek magical papyri is the English translation of the Papyri Graecae Magicae. The title *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (hereafter abbreviated as *PGM*) was given to the first edition of these individual papyri. These were collected and edited by Karl Preisendanz and his team in two volumes, the first one in 1928 and the second in 1931.³ However, the idea of an edition containing all the Greek magical papyri had been suggested a few years earlier by Albrecht Dieterich. The attempted publication was launched by his students, but interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War.⁴ The second revised edition of Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae* was published with a number of corrections by Albert Henrichs in two volumes in 1973–1974. The second of these contained the complete re-edition of some of the papyri from the previous edition with the addition of new papyri. These two volumes contain the *PGM* I to LXXXI. Preisendanz's and Henrichs' edition *Papyri Graecae Magicae* in volumes I and II was reprinted in 2001. The edition used in this monograph is that of Preisendanz and Henrichs (1973–1974) and will be referred to as Preisendanz (1973–1974).

¹ Betz (1986) xli.

² Suet. *Aug.* 31.1; Acts 19:19–20; Amm. Marc. XXVIII.i.26, XXIX.i.41, ii.4; John Chrys. *Act. Apost. Hom.* xxxviii; on the survival of magic arts see Barb (1963).

³ Also in 1941 the printed proofs of vol. III were produced: Preisendanz (1941) vol. III: Printed Proofs: Text and Indices; also Preisendanz (no date) vol. III: Indices only from the Printed Proofs.

⁴ Betz (1986) xliii.

Betz's edition of *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* of 1986 is the first translation into English of Preisendanz's and Henrichs' *Papyri Graecae Magicae*. This edition also includes a translation of the sections of the magical papyri written in Demotic Egyptian that were excluded from Preisendanz's edition, the so-called *Papyri Demoticae Magicae* (hereafter referred to as *PDM*). It also contains fragmentary spells in Demotic Egyptian, the *PDM Supplement*. In addition, Betz's edition includes the translation of some Greek spells that are not included in Preisendanz's edition, numbered *PGM* LXXXII–CXXX.⁵ Betz's second edition was published in 1992/1996.⁶ This monograph uses Betz's first edition of 1986.

Unless stated otherwise, all references given in the form of Roman numerals followed by Arabic numerals are *PGM* references. The author has also used, modified and corrected, where necessary, various translations from Betz's edition (1986).

Included in this study is also an examination of the spells of *Supplementum Magicum* (hereafter referred to as *SM*) volumes I and II edited by Daniel and Maltomini in 1990–1992,⁷ some of which are contained in Betz's edition.

2. The History of Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri and Magical Handbooks

A large part of the *PGM* and *PDM* was collected by Giovanni d'Anastasi, a Greek merchant in Alexandria, who was the Consul-General in Egypt to the kingdoms of Norway and Sweden from 1828 until his death in 1857.⁸

Eleven handbooks of magic, *bibloi*, in papyrus rolls and codices could be identified, which belong to the so-called Anastasi collection, dated palaeographically to the third and fourth centuries C.E.⁹ The magical handbooks (as catalogued in Preisendanz's edition) *PGM* I, II, IV, V, XIII, and *PGM* XII/*PDM* xii, *PGM* XIV/*PDM* xiv and *PDM* Supplement of the Anastasi collection, also known as the "Theban Magical Library," belong probably to the same set of Theban finds. It is not clear whether the magical handbooks *PGM* III, VII, and *PGM* LXI/*PDM* lxi, although derived from the Anastasi collection, do indeed belong to the same set of Theban finds, as the papyri listed above.¹⁰

⁵ See Appendix 1, Table 1 on p. 175.

⁶ 1996 is the paperback edition.

⁷ Daniel and Maltomini (1990–1992).

⁸ Dawson (1949) 158–166; Betz (1986) xlii; and Chrysikopoulos (2015) 2147–2162.

⁹ On references to *biblos*, *-oi* see *PGM* I.46, 52; III.424; VII.249, 339, 863; XIc.1; XIII.3, 15, 23, 231, 234, 342, 343, 732, 736, 739, 740–741, 982; XXIVa.2–3; on *hieroi bibloi* see Henrichs (2003a) 207–266; (2003b) 38–58; and (2004) 633–635. See Appendix 1, Table 2 on p. 175.

¹⁰ On the magical *PGM* and *PDM* handbooks of the "Theban Magical Library" see Betz (1986) xii–xxii; Brashear (1995) 3402ff.; Dieleman (2006) 14–15; Bagnall (2009) 83–85; and Dosoo (2016).

Most of the magical papyri were found in, or near tombs. It is possible that the magical handbooks of the “Theban Magical Library” were found in the same tomb. It could perhaps have belonged to a private collection, or even originated from a collection of a temple library in Thebes.¹¹ The collectors may have been magicians who compiled magical papyri, in order to use them.¹² The systematic collection of the papyri could also have been the work of scholars, or philosophers, or even of some archivists who had an interest in collecting such material.¹³ Thus, the magical papyri form a unique literary category of magico-religious texts.

The magical handbooks have no title with one exception, *PGM XIII.1–1077*, of which *XIII.1–734* consists of three different versions: *A.1–343*, *B.343–645* and *C.646–734*. The first version, *XIII.1–343*, bears the title, “A sacred book named Monad or Eighth Book of Moses about the holy name.” Similarly, the second version, *XIII.343–645*, has the title, “The holy, hidden book of Moses called Eighth or Holy.” The remaining handbook, *XIII.734–1077*, has no title and includes a collection of miscellaneous spells.

Three magical handbooks of the Anastasi collection are bilingual, written both in Greek and Demotic Egyptian (Demotic being an Egyptian script whose signs involve alphabetic, syllabic and ideogrammatic representations).¹⁴ These three bilingual Greek/Demotic handbooks are: *PGM XII/PDM xii*, *PGM XIV/PDM xiv* and *PGM LXI/PDM lxi*. The handbooks *PGM XII/PDM xii* and *PGM XIV/PDM xiv* as well as the *PDM Supplement* belong to the same Theban find. The Demotic/Greek handbooks *PGM XII/PDM xii* and *PGM XIV/PDM xiv* are written by the same scribe, a bilingual person who evidently knew both Egyptian and Greek. *PGM XII/PDM xii* and *PGM XIV/PDM xiv* also use the Old Coptic script (Coptic being the Egyptian language written in the Greek alphabet with the addition of some extra sounds taken from the Demotic Egyptian), the older Egyptian Hieratic and a cipher script. The handbook *PGM LXI/PDM lxi* contains Old Coptic words as well.

PDM Supplement is written in Demotic. The papyrus employs Demotic and the older Egyptian Hieratic script and Old Coptic. The scribe of *PDM Supplement* has similarities with that of *PGM XII/PDM xii* and *PGM XIV/PDM xiv*. The four Demotic handbooks can be dated palaeographically to the third century C.E.¹⁵

¹¹ Betz (1986) xlii; Brashear (1995) 3402ff.

¹² For example, in the reconstructed lost beginning of the Demotic papyrus No. 30646 in the Cairo Museum, prince Khamwas, son of king Ramses II and high priest of Ptah in Memphis, is presented as “a very learned scribe and magician,” who is informed about the existence of a magic book in the tomb of Naneferkaptah; Lichtheim (1980) 3:127.

¹³ See Betz (1982); Brashear (1995) 3412–3420; Henrichs (2003a) 207–266 (see also above n. 9); and Faraone (2000) 195–214.

¹⁴ See Appendix 1, Table 3 on p. 176; see also Griffith and Thompson (1904); J. H. Johnson (1975) and (1977b). On the Demotic verbal system see J. H. Johnson (1976).

¹⁵ Johnson in Betz (1986) lvii.

Probably some of the magic handbooks of the Anastasi collection originate from the same set of finds from a tomb in Thebes. This suggests, as mentioned above, that they presumably belonged to a private collection, or a collection in a temple library in Thebes. Some handbooks from this collection, for example *PGM XII/PDM xii* and *PGM XIV/PDM*, dating to the third century C.E., were written by the same scribe, a learned member of the temple personnel, who knew both Greek and Egyptian together with the older Egyptian Hieratic and Old Coptic scripts. The Demotic texts reveal influences from earlier Egyptian religion and literature. Egyptian religious influences and, more specifically, the Egyptian framework of the magic spells are absorbed and reflected in the Greek magic texts. Many of the magical papyri were produced, copied, compiled, interpolated and collected in the first three centuries C.E.

Copies of these papyri may even be dated to a later period (from the third to the seventh centuries C.E.). For example, although *PGM IV* manuscript was written/copied in the fourth century C.E., its content and original text was composed probably in the second century C.E., and its Coptic sections, as Preisendanz points out, may have been composed in the second, or third century.¹⁶ The temples of Egypt were in decline by the time the *PGM IV* and many papyri were copied, but influences from Egyptian religion and literature had been absorbed in these texts at an earlier period. This was done by the priests, members of the Egyptian temples, who formatted the content and methodology that was followed in the magical texts.¹⁷

II. *Defixionum Tabellae* and Magical Amulets

The author also examines the comparative material offered by the *Defixionum Tabellae*, the “binding tablet” spells, dating from the fifth century B.C. to the sixth century C.E. The study of the “binding tablet” spells involves the *Appendix of Defixionum Tabellae Atticae* from the Roman period (hereafter abbreviated as *DTA*), edited by Wünsch in 1897,¹⁸ and the *Defixionum Tabellae* (hereafter *DT*), edited by Audollent in 1904.¹⁹ Moreover, more recent publications of binding tablets are also included, such as Jordan’s “Survey of Greek

¹⁶ Preisendanz (1973) 1:64–66; see also Brashear (1995) 3419, n. 173.

¹⁷ See Gardiner (1917) 31–44; P. Brown (1971) 80–101; Fowden (1982) 33–59; Ritner (1993) 191–249; Ritner (1995) 3333–3379; Pinch (1994) 47–60; Frankfurter (1994) and (1998a) 198–237; Shafer (1997) 185–237; Dickie (2001) 202–250; Dieleman (2005).

¹⁸ Wünsch (1897); the binding spells included in this edition are 220 altogether and they are all written in Attic Greek.

¹⁹ Audollent (1904); the binding spells edited by Audollent are 305 altogether and they are written in Greek (= 166 *DT*), Latin, or other languages.

Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora” (hereafter abbreviated as *SGD*) and Jordan’s “New Greek Curse Tablets (1985–2000),”²⁰ and a number of *defixiones* published individually.²¹ Lastly, references to magical amulets are incorporated to illuminate some depictions in the Greek magical papyri. Studies of magical amulets include Bonner’s work on *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Greco-Egyptian* and Kotansky’s edition on *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze*.²²

III. Characteristics of the Greek Magical Papyri

1. Greek Language

The Greek magical papyri are written in the *koiné*, the post-classical form of Greek mainly based on the Attic and Ionic dialects. The Greek magical papyri display many characteristics of the *koiné*. The athematic *-μι* verbs were progressively eliminated in *koiné*. Thematic formations, replacing the older forms, appear mostly in medio-passive and active participial forms. For example, in *PGM* IV.334 the form *παρατιθῶν* can be found. Another characteristic of the nouns is the genitive *-ης* instead of *-ας* for the female nouns of the 1st declension, as for example in IV.443 where the form *γαίης* is found. Ionic forms are also quite often used instead of the Attic ones. Some examples are the forms *κούρη* (IV.337), or *κούρα* (IV.1463), *ἄρσενος* (IV.65), *ἄρσενα* (IV.298), *μύρσινος* (IV.1423), *Οὔλυμπος* (IV.1473), *καταλλάσσω* (IV.1499), *πράσσω* (IV.2505), *φρίσσω* (IV.2541). Besides these technical aspects of language, there are many Homeric quotations in the Greek magical papyri,²³ as well as extensive linguistic inventiveness in Greek coinage and the use of Greek.²⁴ Also noteworthy is the frequent use of Egyptian names within the invocations in Greek language to the gods.

2. Hymns

Some spells, which were composed in metre, were reconstructed and included separately at the end of volume II of Preisendanz’s second revised edition of

²⁰ Jordan’s *SGD* contains over 650 *defixiones*; Jordan (1985a) 151–197 and (2001a) 5–46. See also Gager (1992).

²¹ E.g. Jordan (1985b) 205–255 and (1999); Voutiras (1996) and (1998); Trakosopoulou-Salakidou (1997) etc. (see bibliography).

²² Bonner (1950); Kotansky (1994a); also Bonner (1951) and (1954); Kotansky (1991c), (1991a), (1991b), and (1995); M. Smith (1979).

²³ E.g. IV.939–940; VI.30–31; and the “Homer Oracle” (VII.1–148); see also Appendix 4, pp. 180–181; also Ciruolo and Seidel (2002) 107–118.

²⁴ See Appendices 6 and 7, pp. 184ff.; also Chpt. 3, below, pp. 163–164.

Papyri Graecae Magicae.²⁵ These are the *hymns* to gods and deities, for example, to Apollo, Hermes, Helios, Hekate-Selene-Artemis, Aphrodite, Typhon, the creator of all, the gods of all and deities of the underworld.²⁶ These hymns are 26 in number. Most are contained in the magic handbooks and are written in dactylic hexameters. The same volume also includes four *Historiolae Magicae*, a miniaturised historical narrative with mythological elements.²⁷

3. Categories of Spells

The Greek and Demotic magical papyri can be divided into broad categories such as prayers and invocations to the gods, spells for revelation and divination and oracles, spells and rites to acquire an assistant, spells for the personal daimon, theurgic spells, erotic spells, spells for favour and victory, spells and charms for memory and foreknowledge, medical spells, prescriptions, amulets and phylacteries, spells and phylacteries against daimons, horoscopes and astrology, spells for silencing and subjecting, or inflicting harm, and finally spells to release from spells. Clearly, the material is extremely rich and varied.

4. The Magical Operation

The magical operation is called *πράξις, πραγματεία, οἰκονομία, or μυστήριον*. In the description of the magical operation, the first matter to be considered is the relationship between the magician and the user. The magician²⁸ is the person who possesses the knowledge of the proper instructions about the ritual action and the spell. The ritual action involves the performance of a ritual, and the ritual words entail the reciting, or writing, of the spells. The spell most often is called *ὁ λόγος* (*ὁ διωκόμενος, ὁ λεγόμενος, ὁ γραφόμενος*), but also *ἐπαοιδή, or ἐπωδή, or κατάδεσμος* (“binding” spell). The erotic spell most often is called *ἀγωγή, ἀγωγήμιον, or φίλτρον* (“erotic potion”), or *φίλτρο-κατάδεσμος* (“eros-binding” spell), or even *ἔμπυρον* (erotic spell “by means of fire”), *πότισμα* (“draught” spell), *ποτήριον* (“drinking cup” spell) and *φυσι-κλείδιον* (“pudenda key” spell).²⁹

²⁵ Preisendanz (1974) 2:237–264. Also see Heitsch (1963) 179–199.

²⁶ See Appendix 3, pp. 178–179.

²⁷ Preisendanz (1974) 2:264–266.

²⁸ On the magicians in Egypt in the Roman period see Dickie (2001); on Egyptian magical practice under the Roman Empire see Ritner (1995); on magic in early Christianity see Aune (1980); on the magicians in Ancient Egypt, Gardiner (1917); on ancient Egyptian, Demotic and Greek Magic see also Brashear (1995) 3390ff.; on the magicians in ancient Egyptian magic, Ritner (1993) 191ff.; also Pinch (1994) 47ff.

²⁹ *Φυσικλείδιον* occurs actually only once in XXXVI.283–294. See the discussion on *ἀγωγή* in Chpt. 3, below, p. 134, n. 370; and Chpt. 2, below, p. 39, n. 31.

When performing the ritual the magician sometimes needs a magical material called οὐσία (“essence,” “material”).³⁰ The spell to be spoken or written often involves an invocation, or a hymn to the gods, or daimons. A divine “assistant” called πάρεδρος, who can assume many different forms,³¹ is sometimes summoned to carry out a range of tasks.

Sometimes, the use of phylacteries is recommended in order to protect the eyes, or to guard against fever, or against daimons and a variety of evils. A phylactery, φυλακτήριον, in the Greek magical papyri refers to any stone, material, papyrus amulet or lamella, engraved with a spell or otherwise, which the person wears for protection.

The magical operation and the relationship between the magician and the user are depicted in the data-flow diagram in Appendix 2.³² At the centre of the magical operation features the ritual, which consists of enactment, as well as the reciting or writing of the spell. Through these ritual actions and spells the magicians control gods and deities, daimons and spirits of the dead. Magicians also define their own status as magicians: firstly in relation to people by understanding the individuals and helping them in times of crisis; secondly to the gods by deifying themselves. But within the description of the magical operation in the Greek magical papyri it is not quite clear to what extent these ritual actions or spells were practised, recited, or written by the magicians, or the users.³³

Nevertheless, the symbolic significance of the ritual in magic is quite distinctive in comparison with the collective character of the rituals established by the state.³⁴ The reason is that the magic rituals are not designed by a formal arm of the state in order to create a symbolic reality, impose collective emotions and feelings and so reinforce its power and status. Instead, the magic rituals are designed by individuals, the magicians, and, most importantly, they refer to individuals. The rituals in magic also aim to control, as described above, gods and daimons. However, the reason for the creation of the magic ritual, its purpose and focus is the individual, or rather the needs, wishes, anxieties, and feelings of the individual.

The individual is not only the initial reason for the magic ritual, but also the final receiver of the results or the benefits of magic – even if that sometimes means causing harm to other individuals. The individual also is the agent who in a period of crisis gets into contact with the magician who in this sense can be described as a crisis resolver. The result of such contact is to

³⁰ For οὐσία see Jordan (1985b) 253–255; Betz (1986) 336; Fountoulakis (1999).

³¹ See Chpt. 2.

³² See Appendix 2 on p. 177.

³³ See also Faraone (1991) 4.

³⁴ See the definitions of ritual in J. Z. Smith (1982) 63; Kertzer (1991); Seaford (1995) xi ff. The author is not generally concerned in this exposition with the vexed relationship between magic and religion, although see Chpt. 3, below, pp. 165–178 for a few remarks.

activate the magic ritual, which through a series of actions and spells imposes the feeling that the wishes of the person are accomplished symbolically. Thus, this individual orientation of the magic ritual is opposed to the collective character of the state rituals (even including the ‘individual’ character of the initiation in established mystery rituals). This factor makes the nature of the magic rituals quite revolutionary and thus in a sense ‘anti-ritual.’

IV. The Focus and Methods of the Monograph

1. Magic – Definition

Modern-day experts on ancient magic and religion offer definitions of magic that are functional and pragmatic. For example, Versnel defines magic as “a manipulative strategy to influence the course of nature by supernatural (‘occult’) means,” and Faraone defines it as “a set of practical devices and rituals used by the Greeks in their day-to-day lives to control or influence supernaturally the forces of nature, animals, or other human beings.”³⁵ These definitions acknowledge the supernatural aspect of magic, but also emphasise its practical purposes.

The Neoplatonist philosopher Plotinus offers an idealising definition of magic: “and the true magic is the love and the strife again in the all,” *καὶ ἡ ἀληθινὴ μαγεία ἡ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φιλία καὶ τὸ νεῖκος αἴ.*³⁶ On the question of how magic functions, Plotinus claims, “indeed by sympathy and by the fact that there is by nature a concord of the things alike and opposition of the different things, and by the diversity of the many powers that contribute to the one living being,” *ἢ τῇ συμπαθείᾳ, καὶ τῷ πεφυκέναι συμφωνίαν εἶναι ὁμοίων καὶ ἐναντίωσιν ἀνομοίων, καὶ τῇ τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν ποικιλίᾳ εἰς ἓν ζῶον συντελούντων.*³⁷ The notion of love and strife is an allusion to the Pre-Socratic Empedocles’ concept of “Love” and “Strife.” Empedocles, referring to the endless interchange of things from one to many and from many to one, argues that in this dual process all come together into one by “Love,” *Φιλότητι*, and each are separated by the “enmity of Strife,” *Νείκεος ἔχθει*.³⁸

³⁵ *OCD* 909; Faraone (1999) 16; see also Versnel (1991); Bremmer (1999).

³⁶ Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.40.6–7.

³⁷ Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.40.1–4. Note also the beginning of Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art*, Procl. *Hier. Art* 148.1–7: *ὥσπερ οἱ ἐρωτικοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει καλῶν ὁδῶ προϊόντες ἐπ’ αὐτὴν καταντῶσι τὴν μίαν τῶν καλῶν πάντων καὶ νοητῶν ἀρχήν, οὕτως καὶ οἱ ἱερατικοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς φαινομένοις ἅπασι συμπαθείας πρὸς τε ἄλληλα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀφανεῖς δυνάμεις, πάντα ἐν πᾶσι κατανοήσαντες, τὴν ἐπιστήμην τὴν ἱερατικὴν συνεστήσαντο, θαυμάσαντες τῷ βλέπειν ἐν τε τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τὰ πρώτιστα ..., and 151.10–11: διὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς συμπαθείας προσήγοντο, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀντιπαθείας ἀπήλυνον.*

³⁸ Emp. *Fr.* 17.16–17 DK; Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983) 287ff.; see also Guthrie (1978) 152ff. The intense recent modern debate about Empedocles’ cosmic cycle is beyond

This idealising definition of magic has a highly philosophical underpinning. But it is intended to express the gist of the ‘reality’ of magic. Plotinus and the Neoplatonists generally had a strong interest in magic.³⁹

2. *The Concepts of the Divine in the Greek Magical Papyri:* *Chapter Description*

This monograph examines the manifold concepts of the divine, through a careful analysis of ritual practices and spells. Philosophical, religious and mystical assimilations affecting these concepts of the divine are examined in detail. The choice of spells to examine is necessarily selective. The study also includes some articles of the author and revised parts of her doctoral thesis.

The careful and detailed analysis involves examining individual spells, in order to bring out the richness, variety and diversity of the texts, or the special characteristics of each spell. Moreover, many spells pose specific problems of interpretation and these are best dealt with ‘organically.’ Such detailed analysis also facilitates the correction of errors of interpretation or translation in existing treatments. Finally, the analysis allows extracting the logic of particular spells and, frequently, the linguistic cleverness with which the magicians characteristically express themselves.

The first chapter examines the religio-philosophical concept of the personal daimon and the union of the individual with the personal daimon, through the magico-theurgic ritual of systasis. The concept of personal daimon is examined in relation to Greek philosophy from the Pre-Socratics to Socrates’ daimonion, to Plato and to the Stoic and Neoplatonist philosophers. The chapter investigates the issue of plurality and unity, focusing on how this relationship/union between the individual and the personal daimon is established gradually. Particular emphasis is placed onto the role of the magico-theurgic ritual of systasis in the process of establishing this relationship with the personal daimon. The issue of the relationship between magic ritual and philosophy is also discussed, especially regarding some of its manifestations (e.g. theurgy). The concept of personal daimon is also examined in relation to the mystery rituals, and particularly to the notion of internalisation of the personal daimon and the association between the knowledge of the divine and the self-knowledge of the individuals.

The second chapter is concerned with the concept of *πάρεδρος* as a divine “assistant” and the various relationships between the *paredros* and the divine, as well as the *paredros* and the individual. The chapter aims at defining the

the scope of this book. On ‘Love’ and ‘Strife’ see also Iambl. *Myst.* IV.9.11–15: “Ἐτι δὲ ἡ τῶν πολλῶν σύνοδος εἰς ἓν τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ζῶον ... οἷον ἡ φιλία τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ὁ ἔρως καὶ τὸ νεῖκος, κατ’ ἐνέργειαν μὲν ὄντα ἐν τῷ παντί.

³⁹ E.g. Eitrem (1942); Dodds (1947); Merlan (1953); Armstrong (1955/1956); Dodds (1959); Zintzen (1977); Lewy (1978).

concept of *paredros*, illustrating its various categories. Firstly, the focus is on the application of the term to the general category of *daimones* and the various types of *daimones*. These include the Good *daimon*, the holy Orion, the powerful arch-*daimones*, a *daimon* as the spirit of the man who died a violent death, or the spirit of the dead. Regarding the last category of *paredros* the argument is for the notion of the resurrection of the spirit and body of the dead. The term *paredros* can also refer to the gods Eros, Osiris, or Harpocrates, or even to a more complex process as a god, or a goddess, revealed to the magician as another entity, for example, an angel, the image of Kronos, or the form of an old woman. It can also refer to the actual process of conceptualising the divine, or to the spell that activates the assistance. The term may also describe the divine assistance given by some verses, as is the case with the verses from Homer.

The third chapter examines the concept of god through the manifold religious and philosophical assimilations mainly between Greek, Egyptian and Hellenized gods and divine, abstract concepts of Jewish origins such as the divine concept of the creator-god, or of Aion. Some of the Greek gods involved in this assimilation process are Helios, Hermes, Eros, Aphrodite, Hekate, Artemis and Selene; those of the Egyptians are Typhon, Isis, Osiris and Besas and examples of the Hellenised gods are Sarapis and Hermes Trismegistos. The aim is initially to identify the many different religious elements represented mainly from the Greek, Egyptian, and Jewish religions, but also from the Persian and Babylonian religions, including allusions to Christianity. Thereafter the logic, or logics of these religious and philosophical assimilations will be analysed. Questions addressed are related to the nature of the whole underlying religious thought behind the spells, involving consideration of the notion of syncretism. The contemporary religio-philosophical context of the spells is also examined, by scrutinising philosophical influences from the *Chaldaean Oracles*, Neoplatonism and Gnosticism.

This monograph is supplemented by a number of Appendices, including *inter alia*, a list of Homeric citations in the *PGM*, a catalogue of named magicians or magical figures in the corpus, and a list of epithets, many of them new to the standard lexica. It also contains a Preface, Introduction, and up-to-date Bibliography, which provides readers with the essential background to the study field.

Chapter 1

The Religio-Philosophical Concept of the Personal Daimon and the Magico-Theurgic Ritual of Systasis

I. Introduction

This chapter examines the concept of *personal daimon* in the Greek magical papyri.¹ The concept is examined in relation to Greek philosophy from the Pre-Socratics to Socrates' daimonion, to Plato and to the Stoic and Neoplatonist philosophers. Questions to be addressed are: What is the nature of the personal daimon? What is the relationship between the personal daimon and the individual and how is this relationship established? Particular emphasis is paid to the role of the magico-theurgic ritual of systasis in the process of establishing a relationship with the personal daimon. Other questions to be examined are: What is the relationship between magic ritual, as displayed in the spells of the Greek magical papyri, and philosophy? Do the spells reflect a tension towards ritualising religio-philosophic beliefs, or does the contemporary philosophy of the Neoplatonists reveal a tension towards philosophising ritual texts? The concept of personal daimon is also examined in relation to the mystery rituals, focusing on the issue of internalisation of the personal daimon and the association between the knowledge of the divine and the self-knowledge of the individuals.

II. The *PGM* Spells

The issue of personal daimon will be examined closely, by focusing on the following *PGM* spells: “Systasis with your own daimon” (VII.505–528, III C.E.), untitled spell for dream revelation (VII.478–490, III C.E.), untitled spell concerning your own shadow (III.612–632, III C.E.), and “The erotic binding spell of Astrapsoukos” (VIII.1–63, IV/V C.E.).

1. “Systasis with your own daimon” (PGM VII.505–528)

Two important issues should be discussed in the “Σύστασις ἰδίου δαίμονος” (VII.505–528) in relation to its title and content. First is the reference to ἴδιος

¹ Cf. Pachoumi (2013a).

δαίμων. The focus is here on a daimon² in the sense of personal daimon, often described in terms such as these mentioned here. For example, the exact term ἴδιος δαίμων is also used in the *Commentary on the Letter Ω* by Zosimus of Panopolis, who was a famous alchemist of the fourth century C.E. in Egypt.³ The close alternative οἰκεῖος (“personal”) δαίμων is used by the Neoplatonist Porphyry.⁴ Iamblichus also in book IX on the personal daimon of *De Mysteriis* refers to the personal daimon both as ἴδιος and οἰκεῖος and also as ὁ ἑαυτοῦ δαίμων,⁵ investigating “how the *oikodespotes*/master of the house bestows him (the personal daimon)” onto the individuals, πῶς μὲν ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης αὐτὸν δίδωσι, and “about the discovery of the *oikodespotes*, whether it is impossible, or possible,” καὶ περὶ εὐρέσεως τοῦ οἰκοδεσπότη, εἴτε ἀδύνατός ἐστιν εἴτε δυνατή (Iambl. *Myst.* IX.2.274.4–7).⁶ Thus, the epithet οἰκεῖος for the personal daimon should be related to *oikodespotes* and the *oikos*, which must refer to the region linked to the zodiac sign of one’s birth. Other similar formulations revisit those of the Pre-Socratics, Plato and the Stoics.⁷

The second point of discussion is the use of the term σύστασις. The term, often used in the Greek magical papyri, applies to the ritual and/or prayer for establishing a “connection” between a man and the divine, most often a god, or the personal daimon, or even a divine “assistant,” πάρεδρος.⁸ Betz trans-

² On daimon(s) see (among a vast scholarly literature) Hopfner (1974) 1–26; Eitrem (1950); Wilford (1965); J. Z. Smith (1978a); Rutherford (1991) 215; Alt (2000); on “Socrates’ Divine Sign” see also Destrée and Smith (2005).

³ Zos. *Alch. Com. Ω* 2; Scott (1924–1926) 1:96ff.; see also Dodds (1951) 304; on Zosimus of Panopolis see Fowden (1993) 120ff.

⁴ Porphy. *V. Plot.* 10.18; see also below p. 21 with nn. 59–60.

⁵ Iambl. *Myst.* IX.1.273.1–3; IX.3.275.2–3, 11; IX.5.279.1; IX.6.280.1; IX.8.282.6; IX.9.283.2, 9, 11; IX.9.284.1, 2, 5, 6; and IX.10.285.7; Clarke, Dillon and Hershbell (2003).

⁶ See also Iambl. *Myst.* IX.5.279.6–14: εἴτε γὰρ δυνατόν εὐρεῖν τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην τῆς γενέσεως, ἔστι δὴπου καὶ ὁ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ διδόμενος δαίμων γνώριμος and ὅλως δὲ οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκοδεσπότη μόνου ἐνδίδεται, ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ αὐτοῦ καθολικώτεραι ἢ κατὰ τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην. (Note also Iambl. *Myst.* IX.3.276.11–13: ὅμως ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστρῶν ἀπόρροια ἀπονέμει τὸν δαίμονα, ἂν τε ἡμεῖς γινώσκωμεν ἂν τε μή. On the leader of the cosmokrators and the personal daimon see Iambl. *Myst.* IX.9.284.2–5: Ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ θεουργικῇ τάξει διὰ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων τὰ δευτέρα καλεῖται· καὶ ἐπὶ των δαιμόνων τοῖνυν εἰς κοινὸς ἡγεμῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν γένεσιν κοσμοκρατόρων καταπέμπει τοὺς ἰδίους δαίμονας ἐκάστοις. On οἰκουρός and οἰκοδεσπότης see below n. 55; and Chpt. 2, p. 27, n. 93. Also cf. Pachoumi (2011a) 161–162 and n. 22.

⁷ Heraclit. *Fr.* 119 DK (rationalising version); Emp. *Fr.* 110.18 DK; E. *Fr.* 1018 (Anaxagoras); for Plato and Stoics below, p. 18 with nn. 44–46.

⁸ See also LSJ; e.g. *PGM* II.43: συσταῖς αὐτῷ; II.73: συνίστα δὲ σεαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ οὕτως; III.197: ἡ σύστασις τῆς πράξεως ἥδε πρὸς Ἥλιον γιν[ομένη]; III.438–439: πᾶσα σύστασις τῆς ἱερᾶς συνθέσεως; III.494: [Σύστασις πρ]ὸς Ἥλιον; III.695: αἰτῶν σύστασ[ιν τῇ]ν τοῦ θεοῦ; III.698–699: ὅταν οὖν συσταῖς τῷ θεῷ (see below, pp. 23ff.); IV.168–169: πρῶτα μὲν συσταβείς πρὸς τὸν Ἥλιον τρόπῳ τούτῳ; IV.209: σημείον ἔσται τῆς συστάσεως τότε; IV.215–216: συνεστάθην σου τῇ ἱερᾷ μορφῇ; IV.220–221: ἰσοθέου φύσεως κυριεύσας τῆς διὰ ταύτης

lates this term as “meeting.”⁹ The same translation is later followed by Martin in Betz’s *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*.¹⁰ Σύστασις is a term applied in theurgy.¹¹ Lewy in his *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy* translates this as “conjunction.”¹² The translation of the term as “conjunction,” or “connection” seems to be etymologically precise¹³ and fits in with the theurgical use of the term. Nevertheless, the intention is not to reject its interpretation as “meeting.”

The question remains: How does the magico-theurgic ritual of systasis get established in the spell? In the beginning of the invocation, the magician greets Tyche (VII.506). Abstract deities such as Tyche, Moirai, Time, or Aion are often invoked in the Greek magical papyri.¹⁴ The personified abstract

τῆς συστάσεως (see below, pp. 26ff.); IV.261: σύστασις τῆς πράξεως; IV.778–779: ἡ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασις ἐστὶν ἡδε; IV.930–931: σύστασις, ἣν πρῶτον λέγεις πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἡλίου; Va.1–2: “Ἦλιε ... Ζαγουήλ, ἔχε με συνιστάμενον; VI.1: (Γίνεται ἡ μὲν σύστασις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἥλιον β’; VI.39: ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς Σελήνην ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ σύστασις ἡδε; and XIII.29: συνιστάνου; XIII.38: τῇ καθολικῇ συστάσει; XIII.346: ἔχει δὲ σύστασιν; XIII.378–379: ἐπικαλοῦ τὸν τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας θεόν, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν συσταθῇ; XIII.611: σύστησόν με; XIII.927–931: διὸ συνίσταμαί σοι διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιστρατηγοῦ Μιχαήλ ... διὸ συνίσταμαι. In relation to πάρεδρος I.57: λέγ[ε] τὴν πρῶτην σύστασιν and I.179–180: ἀέριον πνεῦμα συσταθὲν κραταιῶ παρέδρω; note also the use of προσύστασις in III.587–588: τὴν προσύσ[τ]ασιν. See also below, n.25.

⁹ Betz (1981) 160–161.

¹⁰ Betz (1986) 131; but in the Glossary Betz uses a broader definition characterising it as a technical term for: “a rite, or a prayer to establish association between a god and a person” (here he provides the example of *PGM* VII.505ff.), “a meeting ... to receive a revelation,” “a blessing,” “a union.” Betz (1986) 339.

¹¹ E.g. *Iambl. Myst.* III.14.132.6; and III.14.133.14; *Porph. Ad Aneb.* 13.2.1–5; *Marin. Procl.* 28; on theurgy and magic see Dodds (1951) 291ff. and Lewy (1978) 461–466; on theurgy and philosophy see *Iambl. Myst.* II.11.96.11ff. and IX.1 and below, n. 91; see also Dickie (2001) 208ff.

¹² Lewy comments: “The term [i.e. σύστασις] derives from the current vocabulary of the magical science and applies to the ‘conjunction’ of a magician with a god or with one of his ministering spirits, called the ‘assistant [sic] demon’ (δαίμων πάρεδρος), who aids the theurgist by granting him the superhuman powers required for the accomplishment of the magical act” and “The papyri frequently mention magical practices destined to bring about ‘conjunction’ (σύστασις) with a ministering spirit”; Lewy (1978) 228–229 and n. 3. The term indeed applies to gods and the paredros (e.g. I.58) in the *PGM* spells, as examined above (see above, n. 8). However, Lewy’s definition of σύστασις fails to refer to the notion of the personal daimon in relation to systasis. In the spell under consideration (VII.505–528) the term is used for the connection with the personal daimon, which should not be confused with the concept of the divine assistant, paredros, as is evident below, p. 24; see also Chpt. 2, below, p. 43. On systasis see also Johnston (1997) 165–194.

¹³ From the verb συνίστημι; see LSJ.

¹⁴ E.g. *PGM* I.309, IV.1169–1170, 1205–1206, XII.246–247, XIII.982, 994–995 etc.; see the following note and also Chpt. 3, below, pp. 101ff. Note also Psellus’ comment in *Oracula Chaldaica* on the truthfulness of abstract (“unshaped and unformed”) conceptions in theurgy; *Psel. Exp. Orac. Chald. Opusc.* 38 135–136 (*PG* 122, 1136.26–28); Duffy and

deity Tyche is elsewhere invoked individually or in association with Daimon, Moirai, or the Good Daimon and the good hour and day.¹⁵

The association between Tyche and related terms and daimon has a long philosophical history. Destiny and nature are described as daimon by the Pre-Socratic philosopher Empedocles.¹⁶ In Plato's *Republic* Necessity's daughters, the Moirai, are closely connected with the souls and the personal daimon. Plato describes the personal daimon, or the chosen daimon, as "the guardian of a man's life," φύλακα τοῦ βίου, and "the fulfiller of a man's choices," ἀποπληρωτὴν τῶν αἰρεθέντων.¹⁷ The Neoplatonists echo and develop this teaching. For Plotinus, the personal daimon is "the fulfiller (ἀποπληρωτής) of what one has chosen."¹⁸ Similarly, Iamblichus refers to "the personal guardian daimon" in each person as "the fulfiller (ἀποπληρωτής) of the lives of the soul."¹⁹ Proclus also connects the personal daimon with each man's destiny, presenting him as the one "who guides our whole life and fulfils (ἀποπληρῶν) the choices before birth, the allotments of destiny and of the gods who guide destiny."²⁰ In this way, Platonist philosophers seek to reconcile Tyche and Destiny with personal choice.

In the spell concerned the greeting of Tyche is followed by greetings of "the daimon of this place," δαῖμον τοῦ τόπου τούτου, "the present hour," ἐνεστώσα ὥρα, "the present day," ἐνεστώσα ἡμέρα, and "every day," πᾶσα ἡμέρα (VII.506–507). The specification of the place, day and hour is crucial in the magical spells and rituals. The magician invokes the deity to be revealed in a specific day, hour and place;²¹ and practices the rituals in certain, usually purified, places.²² In the introductory letter of Thessalos of Tralles' astrological work *De Virtutibus Herborum* (dated to the first or second century C.E.) god said to king Necepsos that he failed to obtain a prophecy from the gods about what he wanted to learn, because he did not know the correct "times and places," τοὺς δὲ καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς τόπους, he should pick the plants.²³

O'Meara (1989) 135–136: Εἰ δὲ ἴδοι τοῦτο ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἀμόρφωτον, ἀνεξαπάτητος ἔσται· καὶ ὅπερ ἂν ἐκεῖθεν ἐνωτισθῇ, ἀληθές ἐστιν ἄντικρυς.

¹⁵ For the invocation of Tyche/-ai see *PGM* IV.664–665, 3165–3166, 2601, 2664, LVII.18; for the association of Tyche with daimon see L.3, 6 (recto); for Tyche/-ai and Moirai, XXI.16, XII.254–255, XIII.781–782; for the Good Tyche and the Good Daimon, VIII.51; and for the Good Tyche and the Good Daimon in relation to the good hour and the good day see IV.2999–3000.

¹⁶ Emp. *Fr.* 126.4 DK (Porph. ap. Stob. *Ecl.* I.49, 60).

¹⁷ Pl. *R.* 620d–621a; see also Betz (1981) 161.

¹⁸ Plot. *Enn.* III.4.5.24–25.

¹⁹ Iamb. *Myst.* IX.6.280.8–9. See also below, p. 19 with n. 50.

²⁰ Procl. *In Alc.* 77.4–7.

²¹ E.g. III.37–38, 77–78, IV.544–545, 686–687, 1699–1700, V.194–195; VII.155–167 called "Days and Hours for divination"; for the role of astronomy in Egyptian rituals see Morenz (1992) 7–9.

²² E.g. II.148, IV.1926, VII.844 and XIII.6ff.

²³ Thess. *Tral. Virt. Herb.* 27; see also Zos. *Alch. Com.* Ω 3.

The reference in this spell to “the daimon of this place” is to the *genius loci*. Elsewhere in the *PGM*, for example in the untitled spell III.1–164, the “daimon of the place” is invoked (III.34). In the erotic spell IV.1390–1495 also the dead unlucky heroes and heroines are called up, “these of this place, of this day and of this hour” (IV.1420–1423). In another spell there is even a reference to “(on) the land of the whole cosmic place,” *κατὰ γαῖαν τόπου ὅλου κοσμικοῦ* (VII.837–838).

The Hour or Hours are personified and deified in the spells of the Greek magical papyri.²⁴ Invocations to the gods of Hours or Weeks are found in the spell XIII.1–343 “A sacred book named Monad, or the Eighth Book of Moses about the holy name,” which is the first of the three different versions of the “Eighth Book of Moses” included in XIII.1–734. The magician in this case, according to the ritual of “the universal connection,” *τῇ καθολικῇ συστάσει*²⁵ (XIII.38), is instructed: “get connected earlier,” *πρότερον συνιστάνου*, “with the gods who beget the hours,” *τοῖς ὠρογενέσιν θεοῖς* (XIII.29–31), and “you will be initiated to (by) them,” *τελεσθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῖς* (XIII.31–32). The magician should also prepare three animal-faced figures from fine flour and cense, and eat these, whilst chanting “the spell of the gods who beget the hours,” *τὸν λόγον τῶν ὠρογενῶν*, and invoking their compulsive spell and the names of “the gods set over the week,” *τοὺς ἐφεβδοματικούς τεταγμένους*.²⁶ As a result, “you (the magician) will have been initiated to (by) them,” *καὶ ἔσῃ (τε)τελεσμένος αὐτοῖς* (XIII.35–37). Therefore, the systasis is presented in this case as a mystic ritual and the magician an initiate to the gods who beget the hours.

The second version XIII.343–645 included in XIII.1–734 with the title “The holy, hidden book of Moses called Eighth or Holy” also refers to the ritual systasis (e.g. *σύστασιν*, XIII.346), according to which the magician should “invoke the god of the hour and the day, so that you may be connected through them,” *ἐπικαλοῦ τὸν τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας θεόν, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν συσταθῇς* (XIII.378–379). The language here, as in the previous spell, alludes to the mysteries. In addition, the ritual of systasis is described as a mystical

²⁴ *PGM* III.130, IV.1050 and 3229.

²⁵ Note also the use and meaning of *ἐντυχία* in the spell. The term is used here in the sense of “prayer” or “petition” (XIII.135: *ἐπερεῖς τὴν ἐντυχίαν ταύτην*, also in XIII.695 and IV.1930); Preisendanz (1974) 2:93 translates it as “Gebet,” and Betz (1986) 175 as “petition”. But *ἐντυχία* can also mean “meeting.” This double connotation of *ἐντυχία* as “prayer” and “meeting” alludes to a similar double meaning of the term *σύστασις* as “connection” or “meeting” (see above, pp. 12–13 with n. 8, and as “prayer” for connection (e.g. IV.930–931: *σύστασις, ἣν πρῶτον λέγεις πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἡλίου* and I.57: *λέγ[ε] τὴν πρῶτην σύστασιν*). Hence *ἐντυχία* could possibly be used as an alternative term for *σύστασις* in the spell (see below, p. 23 with n. 67). On *ἐντυχία* see also in P. Duk. inv. 729.28: *ἐντυχίας πρὸς* (“*Ἡλίον*”). Jordan (2006) 159–173, at 161, 163, 171.

²⁶ See also XIII.53–58: *ὣν πρόλεγε τοὺς ὠρογενεῖς σὺν τῇ στήλῃ καὶ τοὺς ἡμερεσίους (καὶ) τοὺς ἐφεβδοματικούς τεταγ(μ)ένους ... εἰ μὴ τὸν κύριον τῆς ἡμέρας προείπης καὶ τῆς ὥρας πυκνότερον*; repeated in XIII.118–120, XIII.378–381 and in XIII.424–429.

initiation of the magician with the personified and deified hours and days (e.g. τέλεσόν με ... σύστησόν με, XIII.610–611).²⁷ In the “[Σύστασις πρ]ὸς Ἡλίον” (III.494–611) also the twelve different animal “forms,” “images” and magical names of Helios correspond to the twelve hours of the day respectively (III.501–536).

Similarly, in the *defixio* from Carthage in Africa the user of the spell adjures “the god of this day,” “the god who has the power of this hour.”²⁸ The gods of time were often invoked in the Chaldaean theurgical rituals.²⁹ Proclus refers to the invocations made by the Chaldaeans to personified gods and goddesses of Time, Month, Night and Day.³⁰

Next follows a greeting of τὸ περιέχον, which can be translated literally as “the encompassing” (VII.507–508). This is a philosophical term widely used by various philosophers.³¹ In the text, next to “the encompassing,” stands the exegetical phrase “that is earth and heaven.” Similarly, in Plato’s *Timaeus* the term is used to describe the Universe, “which embraces all intelligible living creatures.”³²

After these greetings to Tyche, the *genius loci*, the Hour, Day and the abstract “encompassing,” comes the greeting to Helios, which is followed by an invocation to the god (VII.508–521), in recognised “Du-Stil.”³³ Each of the sentences addressed to Helios ends with magical names in Greek and Coptic.³⁴ Helios is described as “(you) who have in yourself the mixture of the cosmic nature,” ὁ ἔχων ἐν σεαυτῷ τὴν τῆς κοσμικῆς φύσεως σύγκρασιν (VII.512). Close parallels to this description of Helios are found in the

²⁷ Also see XIII.927–931: διὸ συνίσταμαι σοι διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιστρατηγοῦ Μιχαήλ ... διὸ συνίσταμαι.

²⁸ Audollent (1904) 325ff. Also on a Roman gold lamella dated to 98–117 C.E. a magical “Time God” is depicted; see Kotansky (1994a) 118–120.

²⁹ Psel. *Daim.* 876–877 (PG 122, 876–877); also Boissonade (1838b) 43; Lewy (1978) 229–230, esp. n. 9.

³⁰ Procl. *In Ti.* III.89.17–19: ὀνόματά τε θεῖα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκδιδοῦσα καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ συστατικὰ καὶ κλήσεις καὶ αὐτοφανεῖας; also Procl. *In Ti.* III.32.16–21: δεῦτερον δὲ κοινῆς οὐσης ἐννοίας εἶναι τὰς “Ὁρας θεὰς καὶ τὸν Μῆνα θεόν, ὧν καὶ ἱερὰ παρεῖληφμεν, καὶ Ἡμέραν καὶ Νύκτα θεὰς εἶναι φαμεν, ὧν καὶ κλήσεις ἔχομεν ἐκδεδομένας παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀνάγκη τὸν χρόνον αὐτὸν εἶναι θεὸν καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ὥρων καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὄντα περιληπτικόν.

³¹ See LSJ; e.g. Parm. *Test.* 37.3–4 – II 7, 1 (DK 1:335; cf. 28 B 12): καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ πάσας (τείχους) δίκην στερεὸν ὑπάρχειν; Anaxag. *Fr.* 2.1–3 DK: καὶ γὰρ ἀήρ τε καὶ αἰθήρ ἀποκρίνονται ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιέχοντος, καὶ τὸ γε περιέχον ἄπειρόν ἐστι τὸ πλῆθος; Emp. *Fr.* 57.2–3 DK: ὡς φερομένου τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ γιγνομένου ποτὲ μεταξὺ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος.

³² Pl. *Ti.* 31a.4; for its interpretation as “the environment” see Epicur. *Nat.* 79G and Plot. *Enn.* II.3.14; for its use as “the universal” opposed to τὰ περιεχόμενα, the individuals, see Arist. *Metaph.* 1023b27.

³³ For the “Du-Stil” in prayers see Nisbet and Hubbard (1989) 131.

³⁴ For the magical names Ὁρκορηθαρα, Ζαραχθῶ and Thortchophanō in VII.510–511 see Betz (1986) 132.

Corpus Hermeticum, in which there is a reference to “the entire cosmic mixture,” ἡ πᾶσα κοσμική σύγκρασις (*Corp. Herm.* III.4; also XI.7), and in the Neoplatonist philosophy.³⁵ Plotinus in *Ennead VI* “On the Kinds of Being II,” discussing the genera (γένη) identified with principles (ἀρχάς), says, “so, by mixing the *genera*, all of them together with each other, each with those under these, do we accomplish the whole and make a mixture of everything?” ἄρα τὰ μὲν γένη, ἕκαστον μετὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτά, ὁμοῦ μινγύντες ἀλλήλοις τὰ πάντα, τὸ ὅλον ἀποτελοῦμεν καὶ σύγκρασιν ποιοῦμεν ἀπάντων; (Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.20–22).³⁶ Proclus also in *In Platonis Timaeum Commentarii* refers to “the mixture from all towards the implied creation, which exists on the whole,” ἡ ἐκ τῶν ὅλων σύγκρασις πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην δημιουργίαν ὁλικὴν ὑπάρχουσαν (Procl. *In Ti.* II.268.1–3).³⁷

Helios’ character is described as follows, “you are the young one, of noble birth, descendant (σὺ εἶ ὁ νέος, εὐγενής, ἔγγονος) of the holy temple, kinsman (συγγενής) to the sacred lake called Abyss, which is located next to the two pedestals σκιαθι: καὶ μαντω; and the earth’s four basements were shaken” (VII.516–518). Bergman argues that the words σκιαθι and μαντω stand for the Egyptian solar barks, *mškt.t* (Me-Sektet), the Night-bark, and *m’nd.t* (Manedjet), the Day-bark.³⁸ The stem of the three epithets εὐγενής, ἔγγονος, συγγενής denotes birth, since all come from the verb γεννᾷ.³⁹ According to Bergman, the equivalent verb in Egyptian is *hpr* and the name of the Egyptian morning sun god of birth and existence is Khepri (*Hprj*).⁴⁰ Another evidence for the reference to Khepri is the address at the end of the spell “lord of all, holy Scarab” (VII.519–520), since the god Khepri was depicted as a scarab.⁴¹ Khepri is similarly addressed as “the All-Lord” in a section of the Egyptian papyrus entitled “The beginning of the Book of overthrowing Apophis, the enemy of Re and the enemy of King Wen-nofer.”⁴² The description as “the young one” also fits the characteristics of Khepri as the morning sun god.⁴³ Thus, in Helios’ various descriptions in this case, the Egyptian influences prevail.

Before revisiting the initial question of how the ritual of systasis is established, it is worth observing: the divine entities that the magician greets in the

³⁵ For a detailed discussion of this phrase see Chpt. 3, below, pp. 77–79.

³⁶ See Chpt. 3, below, p. 78–79, nn. 76 and 77.

³⁷ See Chpt. 3, below, p. 79, n. 78.

³⁸ Bergman (1982) 30.

³⁹ Notice also the punning relationship between νέος and ναός (νεώς).

⁴⁰ See also *PGM* XII.100 and XXXVI.170.

⁴¹ Bergman (1982) 31–34.

⁴² Pritchard (1969) 6–7; for the cultic parallels see Betz (1986) 132, n. 84; for the Khepri theology see also *Eg. Pyr. T. Utt.* 587, §§ 1587–1590, Faulkner (1969) 238–241; *Eg. Cof. T. spell* 307, Faulkner (2004) 226–227; and *Eg. Bk. Dd. spells* 85 and 153B, Faulkner (1972) 62–63 and 121–122.

⁴³ Also in *PGM* XXXVI.217–219; see Bergman (1982) 34–36.

spell are all external, as were seen in the greetings of the *genius loci*, the personified deities of Hour and Day, the abstract “encompassing” and Helios. The question is: How is the personal daimon conceived in relation to individuals in Greek philosophy? Do the philosophical treatises describe it as an external or internal deity? In *Timaeus* Plato relates the personal daimon to the soul and emphasises its divine origins, “god has given to each of us as his daimon this kind of soul, which, we say, lives in the top part of our body,” αὐτὸ δαίμονα θεὸς ἐκάστω δέδωκεν, τοῦτο δὲ δὴ φάμεν οἰκεῖν μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπ’ ἄκρῳ τῷ σώματι ... (Pl. *Ti.* 90a3–5).⁴⁴ Posidonius refers to “each person’s daimon” as his guardian and protector, and concludes, “the god is inside and is your own daimon,” ὁ θεὸς ἐνδον ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ὑμέτερος δαίμων ἐστίν.⁴⁵

Later the Stoics made similar statements.⁴⁶ Of the Neoplatonists, Plotinus in his treatise “On Our Allotted Daimon” mentions that the soul chooses each person’s daimon and life in the other world.⁴⁷ This personal daimon, as Plotinus describes him, “is not entirely outside – but in the sense that he is not bound to us – and is not active in us, but is ours, to speak about the soul ...,” ὁ δαίμων οὗτος οὐ παντάπασιν ἔξω – ἀλλ’ οὕτως ὡς μὴ συνδεδεμένος – οὐδ’ ἐνεργῶν, ἡμέτερος δέ, ὡς ψυχῆς περί εἰπεῖν (Plot. *Enn.* III.4.5.19–21).⁴⁸ Plotinus does not only emphasise the divine origins of the personal daimon, but also identifies him with god.⁴⁹ Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* refers to the soul’s choice of each man’s life and to her own choice of the personal daimon (as her “leader,” ἡγεμόνα, and, as examined, “the fulfiller of the lives of the soul,” Iambl. *Myst.* IX.6.280.8–9). This personal daimon is allotted to people “not from one part of the heavenly realm, nor from any element of the visible ones, but from the whole cosmos and from every kind of life within it and every material substance, through which the soul descends into generation,” οὐκ ἂφ’ ἐνὸς μέρους τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οὐδ’ ἀπὸ τινος στοιχείου τῶν ὀρωμένων ... ἂφ’ ὅλου δὲ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς παντοδαπῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ παντοδαποῦ σώματος, δι’ ὧν ἡ ψυχὴ κάτεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν (Iambl. *Myst.* IX.6.280.2–5).⁵⁰

⁴⁴ In Plato’s *Laws* there is also a reference to “each man’s daimon,” τοῦ δαίμονος ἐκάστου, Pl. *Lg.* V.732c5–6. The idea is also found in the *Derveni Papyrus*; *Derv. Pap.* col. III.4: [δαίμων]ων γίνετα[ι ἐκά]στω; Kouremenos, Parassoglou and Tsantsanoglou (2006) 67.

⁴⁵ Posidon. *Fr.* 388 (Epict. *Diss. ab Ar. Dig.* I.14.11–14).

⁴⁶ Epict. *Diss. ab Ar. Dig.* I.14.12.1–3; I.14.14.1–2; M. Aur. II.13, II.17, III.3.2, III.4.3, III.5.1, III.6.2, III.7, III.12, III.16.2, V.10.2, V.27, VII.17, VIII.45, XII.3, XII.26; see Rutherford (1991) 215, n. 102.

⁴⁷ Plot. *Enn.* III.4.5; see also Rist (1963).

⁴⁸ See also Pl. *Ti.* 90a. One could perhaps compare the modern psychological ‘self-help’ notion of ‘getting in touch with your inner self.’

⁴⁹ Plot. *Enn.* III.4.6.3–4 and III.4.6.28–30.

⁵⁰ On the individual soul see Iambl. *Myst.* I.8.25.6ff. Note also that the personal daimon directs human’s lives, “until we ever know how to establish a god as the guardian and leader of the (our) soul, through the hieratic theurgy,” ἕως ἂν διὰ τῆς ιερατικῆς θεωουργίας θεὸν ἔφορον ἐπιστήσωμεν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς ψυχῆς (Iambl. *Myst.* IX.6.280.13–281.4).

Similarly, Proclus in his *Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato* mentions “our allotted daimons” and discusses Socrates’ personal daimonion, identifying him with god.⁵¹ Thus, in Platonism, Stoicism and Neoplatonism the personal daimon is associated with the soul as an internal entity with divine origins, and thus described as the god inside the individual.

The question arises: Why now does the magician need all these external divine entities, when the purpose of the spell as indicated in the title is the systasis with an internal entity, his personal daimon?

Although the magician does not make any explicit demands on the *genius loci*, the deities of Hour and Day, the abstract “encompassing” and Helios, there is an implicit but powerful logic in all this. That is: if the magician is to achieve proper ‘connection’ with “his own daimon,” a ‘connection’ must be made with the external “daimon of this place.” The antithesis between a particular external topographical dominance of the *genius loci* and the indefinite internal space of the personal daimon ritualistically emphasises the notion of space. This notion of space is strengthened by the notion of present time in the greetings of the deities of present Hour and Day. However, the process goes further: to achieve proper ‘connection’ with “his own daimon,” the magician must situate himself properly within the “encompassing” and must successfully invoke Helios, the great cosmic god. In this cosmic portrayal of Helios, Egyptian influences predominate. Iamblichus refers to the “coming together/connection,” *σύνοδος*, of many entities “into the one living entity of the universe” and then to “friendship and love and strife” as the activities of the universe and the passions of the individuals.⁵² This notion of love and strife is also found in Plotinus’ idealising definition of magic “and the true magic is the love and the strife again in the all,” *καὶ ἡ ἀληθινὴ μαγεία ἡ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φιλία καὶ τὸ νεῖκος αὖ* (Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.40.6–7); and it is derived from the cosmic principles espoused by the Pre-Socratic Empedocles.⁵³ Thus, the personal daimon, a concept with which philosophers from the Pre-Socratics to Neoplatonists had engaged,⁵⁴ is approached through the magico-theurgic ritual of systasis. According to that, a ‘connection’ with the personal daimon is accomplished through a series of transitional ritualised processes.

⁵¹ Procl. *In Alc.* 78.7, 78.7–79.16.

⁵² Iambl. *Myst.* IV.9.192.11–15: “Ἐτι δὲ ἡ τῶν πολλῶν σύνοδος εἰς ἓν τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ζῶον ... οἷον ἡ φιλία τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ὁ ἔρως καὶ τὸ νεῖκος, κατ’ ἐνέργειαν μὲν ὄντα ἐν τῷ παντί.

⁵³ On *φιλία* καὶ *νεῖκος* see also Emp. *Fr.* 17.16–17 DK; Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983) 287ff.; Guthrie (1978) 152ff. On the “continuity of ideas and traditions” from 5th century B.C. Greece to the magicians of Roman Egypt see discussion in Kingsley (1995) 314–316. See also Introduction, above, pp. 8–9 with nn. 36–38.

⁵⁴ For the association between philosophy and ritual note also the theory according to which the Ionic philosophers of nature may have drawn on cosmogonic myth and ritual; see Cornford (1952) 225ff.; Burkert (1996a) 3; on the theology of the early philosophers see Burnet (1930); Jaeger (1947); Vlastos (1952); on ritual as cosmogony in theurgy see G. Shaw (1995) chpt. 14, 153–165. See also the previous note.

These range from the external astrological entities of Place, Hour and Day, the abstract cosmic concept of the “encompassing” and the great cosmic god Helios to the internalised concept of the personal daimon. Hence, by controlling all these external astrological entities, the magician situates himself in the right astrological condition of getting hold of his personal daimon identified with his internal nature and synkrisis.⁵⁵

Therefore, the magico-theurgic ritual of *σύστασις* is based on the notion of the symbolic connection of two entities (the individual and the personal daimon), which is established gradually through a series of transitional astrologically correct ‘connections,’ or ‘meetings’: e.g. the individual and: a) the *genius loci*, b) the deities of Hour and Day, c) the abstract “encompassing” and d) Helios.

At the end of the spell (VII.521–528) follows the ritual of two “male eggs”⁵⁶ to establish the connection between the individual and the personal daimon. According to that ritual, the magician is instructed to purify himself with one of these two eggs, licking off the name written on it, and swallow the contents of the other egg.⁵⁷ Since in this spell the magician’s connection with his own daimon is set in a cosmic context, it may be relevant that in the Orphic cosmogonies that interested the Neoplatonists and in the Egyptian cosmogony the egg has cosmic associations.⁵⁸

The whole atmosphere of the present spell is similar to the incident recorded by Porphyry in *Vita Plotini*, in which an Egyptian priest conjured up Plotinus’ personal daimon, *οἰκέος δαίμων*, in the temple of Isis, the only pure place in Rome according to the Egyptians,⁵⁹ and in which birds were strangled and held for protection by a friend that was present at the operation.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Note also the astrological reference to “*oikos*” and “*oikodespotes*” of the zodiac in relation to the personal daimon; Iambli. *Myst.* IX.2.274.4–7; see above, p. 12 with nn. 5–6; also Chpt. 2, below, p. 53 with n. 93. On the *ψυχῶν συστάσεις* and the *πληθυσμένη σειρά* in Proclus see *Hier. Art* 150.1–5: Οὕτω μεστὰ πάντα θεῶν, τὰ μὲν ἐν γῇ τῶν οὐρανίων, τὰ δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ πρόεισιν ἐκάστη πληθυσμένη σειρά μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πρὸ τῶν πάντων, ταῦτα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐξεφάνη, ἐν οἷς καὶ ψυχῶν συστάσεις ἄλλων ὑπ’ ἄλλοις ταττομένων θεοῖς, ἔπειτα ζώων ἡλιακῶν εἰ τύχοι πληθὸς, οἷον λέοντες καὶ ἀλεκτρούνες, μετέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τάξιν.

⁵⁶ See Arist. *HA* 4.2, Plin. *HN* X.74; also Betz (1986) 132.

⁵⁷ On licking and swallowing in Egyptian magic ritual see Ritner (1993) 92–110. On the magic ritual of *ἐνπνευμάτωσις*, “filling with spirit” of the dead body, or of the statues of gods cf. Pachoumi (2011b) 736 and n. 25.

⁵⁸ See also VII.555–556, III.145; *Orph. Fr.* 54, 55, 56; for the swallowing of an egg by the initiate to the Orphic cults see Mart. Cap. 2.140; also Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983) 22–29, 59–60; Morenz (1992) 177–179; for the Egyptian influences on the Orphic cosmic egg see also Kingsley (1994).

⁵⁹ Porph. *V. Plot.* 10.19–22; see also Eitrem (1942) 62ff.; Dodds (1951) 289–290; and Betz (1981) 161–162.

⁶⁰ Porph. *V. Plot.* 10.25–28.

2. Untitled spell for dream revelation (PGM VII.478–490)

This spell contains an invocation, an offering, the preparation of a phylactery and the final and necessary stage for the revelation, the incubation. The invocation is addressed to Ἐρως, Ἐρωτύλλε (VII.478). Martin translates Ἐρωτύλλε as “darling” from Ἐρωτύλος.⁶¹ The use of the diminutive creates an affectionate, wheedling tone.

The magician’s request of Eros is interesting: ἀπόστειλόν μοι τὸν ἴδιον τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ (VII.478–479). A noun supplement after ἴδιον is needed. Preisendanz presents ἄγγελον, and Betz δαίμονα.⁶² Ἄγγελον appears natural after ἀπόστειλον, but τὸν ἴδιον ἄγγελον in relation to a human being would be odd, since it seems impossible after μοι to take ἴδιον in relation to Eros. Moreover, this spell precedes the spell “Σύστασις ἰδίου δαίμονος,” as analysed above, which was meant to connect the magician to his “personal daimon,” thus Betz’s ἀπόστειλόν μοι τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα is challenging but correct.

The spell involves a dream revelation. The personal daimon is to be sent (ἀπόστειλόν μοι, “send to me”) by the god Eros and revealed in the magician’s dreams. The question arises: How is the relationship between the individual magician and the personal daimon established in this spell?

The magician is instructed to take dirt from his sandal and use it in the burnt offerings to Eros (VII.484). The reference to the sandal and dirt should be discussed further. First, the mention of sandal is a “sign” or “symbol” associated with a deity in the magical papyri. For example, in the “Writing-tablet to the waning Selene” (IV.2241–2358), the sandal is the symbol of the goddess, which the magician keeps hidden (IV.2292–2293). Also, in the “Spell of Hekate Ereschigal against fear of punishment” (LXX.4–25) the sandal is one of the magical signs of Ereschigal-Hekate (LXX.10–11). In both these instances the possession of the sandal is connected with ritualistic symbolisms of death and rebirth and particularly with the magician’s descent to the underworld.⁶³ In the spell under discussion, however, the sandal symbolism is reversed and the sandal becomes a symbol of the magician. Furthermore, the dirt from someone’s own sandal, as Betz rightly points out, “is an

⁶¹ Betz (1986) 131, 334; see also Eitrem’s note on “the Theocritean word Ἐρώτυλε.” Eitrem (1923) 12. Elsewhere in the PGM there is a reference to Erōtylos as a writer of *Orphica*, Ἐρώτυλος ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς (XIII.948).

⁶² Preisendanz (1974) 2:22; Betz (1981) 163.

⁶³ Kingsley (1995) chpt. 19; and on the underworld and Helios also chpt. 5; see also Betz (1980) 291; similarly in *DT* 242.41 from Carthage Hekate is uniquely described with the composite epithet χρυσοσανδαλιαμοποτιχθονίαν, “the golden-sandalled goddess of the lower world who drinks blood,” which actually occurs only there; Audollent (1904); see also *SM* 1:49.58–59; Daniel and Maltomini (1990–1992) 1:192–204; see also *Eg. Pyr. T.* Utt. 356, § 578; *Eg. Coff. T.* 37.156.

instance of the magical substance representing the person's self."⁶⁴ The magician's burnt offering to Eros including dirt from his own sandal reveals his intention to equate himself with the divine by using a symbol mostly applied to the divine, and thereby establishes a relationship with his personal daimon through a dream revelation.

In the invocation, Eros is conjured up "by the four regions of the universe," κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων κλιμάτων τοῦ κόσμου, followed by four magical names, and "by the one above the four regions of the universe," again followed by two magical names (VII.481–483). The term κλίματα may refer to the seven latitudinal strips of the cosmos as a whole, or to the seven astrological zones.⁶⁵ Porphyry in *De Antro Nympharum* associates this term with the Chaldaeo-Persian magical beliefs of the Persian magicians, when mentioning that "the cosmic elements and regions" of cosmos created by Mithras were depicted in Zoroaster's cave in the Persian mountains.⁶⁶ Thus, Eros' invocation adopts cosmic dimensions, since Eros is conjured up by a superior force, the four regions of the universe. Consequently, the relationship of the magician with his personal daimon is upgraded to a cosmic level and established with the ritual of incubation, in which the personal daimon is internalised through a dream revelation.

3. Untitled spell concerning your own shadow (PGM III.612–632)

The concept of personal daimon is implicit in this spell. The magician is instructed that, if he makes specific offerings to the deity that is invoked, τεύξῃ] τῆς ἰδίας σκιᾶ[ς, ὥστε σοι αὐ[τῇ]ν ὑπη[ρετήσῃ]ν (III.614–615). The text has been restored by Preisendanz. The verb [τεύξῃ] is Preisendanz's addition, which syntactically fits.⁶⁷ The spell under discussion (III.612–632) follows the spell "[Σύστασις πρ]ὸς Ἡλίου" (III.494–611), which is about the ritual of systasis with Helios. These two spells together with the third spell (III.633–731) with the Coptic section at the end, may be parts, as Dillon rightly observes, of a broader "Systasis with Helios" spell (III.494–731). This is because the "signs and symbols," τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ παράσημα, are mentioned in the

⁶⁴ Betz (1981) 163. The same concept is found in Mark 6:10–12, Matt 10:14–15, Luke 9:5–6, 10:10–12, Acts 13:51–52. The use of dirt in the magical operations could also be correlated to the reference to "the one who formed of dust (τὸν χοοπλάστην) the race of humans" (PGM IV.3046–3047) describing the "light-bringing god" identified with the "god of Hebrews" Jesus and the Jewish Sabaoth in the exorcism spell IV.3007–3086.

⁶⁵ LSJ; it occurs elsewhere in the *PGM* (I.12), but with a different meaning; on the four *klimata* and the seven astrological zones see Edmonds (2004) 277–281.

⁶⁶ Porph. *Ant.* 6.15.

⁶⁷ Cf. LSJ, B II 1: τυγχάνω c. gen.: to meet. On ἐντυχία and σύστασις see also above, n. 25.

first and second spell.⁶⁸ In the third spell there is also a reference to the “symbols,” σύμβολα (III.701). Furthermore, the ritual of systasis is mentioned both in the first (e.g. τὴν προσύσ[τ]ασιν, III.587–588) and the third spell (e.g. αἰτῶν σύστασ[ιν τὴν] τοῦ θεοῦ, III.695 and ὅταν οὖν συσταθῇς τῷ θεῷ, III.698–699).

Betz and Dillon translate: “you will gain control of your own shadow, so that it will serve you.”⁶⁹ This translation of τυγχάνω is slightly too definite. It is stated that: “it [i.e. your own shadow] will come to you,” ἐλεύσεται σοι (III.630). As in the two spells on the personal daimon discussed above (e.g. VII.505–528 and 478–490), the internal (personal daimon), or in the case of a shadow the immediately adjacent, is approached through the magico-theurgic ritual of systasis, which involves a series of external rituals.⁷⁰ Therefore, according to the concept and practice of systasis, the verb τεύξῃ may better be translated as “you will meet with your own shadow,” though there may also be a physical implication: “you will get hold of your own shadow.”⁷¹

The obvious question is: How could the *meeting* of the magician with his own shadow be interpreted? The shadow in this case seems to be understood as the soul.⁷² This idea has a long history. In Homer’s *Odyssey*, Odysseus in his descent to the underworld sees the souls of the dead called “the images,” εἰδῶλα. These images “flit about as shadows,” σκιαὶ ἀίσουσιν.⁷³ Odysseus in Hades also wished to take the “soul of his dead mother” in his arms and three times sprang towards her, but three times she fluttered out of his hands “like a shadow or a dream.”⁷⁴ In Egyptian religion also, especially that of the later period, the soul called *Ba* was often associated with another part of man, his shadow called *Khaibit*.⁷⁵ Here is thus an implicit equation of shadow and soul with personal daimon. The association between the personal daimon and the soul is found, as was indicated previously, in Platonism, Stoicism and Neoplatonism.⁷⁶

⁶⁸ E.g. Part A, III.494–611: ὅτι οἶδά σου τὰ σημεία καὶ τὰ | π[α]ράσημα (III.499–500) and εἶρηκά σου τὰ σ[ημ]εῖα καὶ τὰ παράσημα (III.536). Part B, III.612–631: ὅτι οἶδά σου τὰ ἄγ[ια] ὀνόμ[ατα καὶ] τὰ σημεία καὶ τὰ παράσημα (III.623–625) and εἶρηκά σου τὰ ἄγια ὀνόμ[ατα καὶ] τὰ [σημεία σου] καὶ τὰ παράσημα (III.627–628). Also the reference to “the spell above,” τ[ὸν] λόγον τὸν ἐπάνω (III.626), as Preisendanz and Dillon note. Preisendanz (1973) 1:59; Betz (1986) 34.

⁶⁹ Betz (1981) 163 and (1986) 34.

⁷⁰ E.g. “systasis/connection with your own daimon” (VII.505–528); and VII.478–479: “send me my personal (daimon) this night.”

⁷¹ See also below nn. 78–79. Preisendanz also translates: “du wirst deines eigenen Schattens habhaft werden.” Preisendanz (1973) 1:59.

⁷² On “the soul as a man’s shadow and a reflection” see Frazer (1911) 77–100; for the connection of soul and shadow see Rohde (1925) chpt. 1 and Claus (1981) pt. 3.

⁷³ Hom. *Od.* X.495.

⁷⁴ Hom. *Od.* XI.207.

⁷⁵ Budge (1996) 189–192.

⁷⁶ See above, pp. 18–19 and nn. 44–51.

The culmination of this spell is the revelation of the magician's personal shadow. At the seventh hour, "it (the shadow) will come to you before (your) face," ἐλεύσεται σοι ἔξαν[τ]ά [σο]υ, "and you must address it (the shadow) saying, 'follow me everywhere' (ἀκολουθεῖ μοι πανταχῇ)" (III.630–632). Betz comments, "control of the self has been achieved when the magician's shadow has become his assistant daimon (πάρεδρος δαίμων)." ⁷⁷ However, is this the case here? The πάρεδρος as an assistant is based on a different concept, according to which the divine assistance is originally external and first established by the magician following a series of rituals and invocations. ⁷⁸ However, there is the element of externality in the invocations of these external entities, as it has been examined. ⁷⁹ In the spell under discussion (III.612–631) the personal shadow is connected with a person's soul and identified with the personal daimon, which conceptualises an internal agent associated with a person's destiny. The mystic allusions also of the phrase "it [i.e. the shadow] will come to you before (your) face" ⁸⁰ support the magico-mystic identification of a person with his/her own shadow and thus the internalisation of it. It also prevents the assumption that the reference in this case is to a divine assistant. Consequently, the notion of πάρεδρος should not be confused with the concept of the personal daimon, which refers to an originally internal agency identified with a person's self.

After the equation of the personal shadow with the soul and the personal daimon has been justified, it is appropriate to examine the question: How do the divine origins of the soul influence the initial equation between the personal daimon and the soul?

4. "The erotic binding spell of Astrapsoukos" (PGM VIII.1–63)

The (mis-named) ⁸¹ "Φιλτροκατάδεσμος Ἀστραψούκου" (VIII.1–63) ⁸² consists of an invocation and the preparation of a ritual for which instructions are

⁷⁷ Betz (1981) 164.

⁷⁸ See also Dodds (1951) 289–290, 304, n. 56. See Chpt. 2, below, p. 43 at n. 57. Also cf. Pachoumi (2011a).

⁷⁹ E.g. "systasis/connection with your own daimon" (VII.505–528); VII.478–479: "send me my personal (daimon) this night"; here also III.614–615: "you will meet with your own shadow so that it will serve you."

⁸⁰ For the allusion to mystic rituals cf. E. Ba. 469–470: κατ' ὅμμ' and ὁρῶν ὁρῶντα. Generally for the magician and the deity see PGM IV.2332–2333: ἡ θεωροῦσα καὶ θεωρομένη· βλέπω σε, καὶ βλέπεις με. In the extracts of Proclus' commentary *On the Chaldaean Philosophy* it is stated: Τὸ γὰρ ὄμμα, γνώσεως σύμβολον, Procl. *Chald. Phil.* B.8 (Pitra, 193).

⁸¹ The magician is actually asking Hermes to afford him "favour, sustenance, victory, prosperity, elegance, beauty of face and strength among all men and women" (PGM VIII.4–6).

⁸² Diogenes Laertius mentions the name of Astrampsychos among the names of the Persian magicians, D.L. *Pr.* 2; see also Fowden (1993) 26.

given at the end of the spell (VIII.53–63). The invocation is addressed to Hermes who is described as “benefactor, ⟨inventor⟩ of drugs” and “benefactor of the world” and asked to be beneficent to the magician (VIII.28 and 16).⁸³

The focus will be on how the magician’s invocation to Hermes is built up gradually. The magician begins by invoking Hermes as follows: “come to me, lord Hermes, as foetuses come to the wombs of women,” ἐλ[θ]έ μοι, κύριε Ἑρμῆ, ὡς τὰ βρέφη εἰς τὰς κοιλίας τῶν γυναικ[ι]ῶν (VIII.2–3). Here, the issue is the epiphany of a god and not of an internalised personal daimon as in the three spells examined above. However, the description of the personal daimon previously was referred to as the god inside the individuals in Platonism, Stoicism and Neoplatonism.⁸⁴ Remarkably in this spell, the god Hermes is internalised and compared with the concept of a baby in the womb.⁸⁵ This simile seems in the first instance to draw on ideas from the Stoic physics or cosmology about the association of the foetus with pneuma and the soul.⁸⁶ There are also allusions to the Corpus Hermeticum.⁸⁷

The notion of divine possession by pregnancy reflects an attempt of unification by installing the divine form in the human body. It also vividly stresses the intimacy of the desired divine union between the magician and the god. The idea of divine union/connection (systasis) with the god’s form is also illustrated in the bowl divination spell (IV.154–285), in which the magician refers to his union with Typhon as, “I was connected/united with your holy form,” συνεστάθην σου τῇ ἱερᾷ μορφῇ (IV.215–216) and later, “having taken possession of a nature equal to god nature,” ἰσοθέου φύσεως κυριεύσας, “by this connection,” διὰ ταύτης τῆς συστάσεως (IV.220–221). A

⁸³ (εὐρετά) is Preisendanz’s certain supplement. On the association of Hermes with the heart see Chpt. 3, below, p. 140, and p. 93, n. 151 on Eros and the heart.

⁸⁴ See above, pp. 18–19.

⁸⁵ For the role of the womb in magic see Barb (1953); see also discussion in Chpt. 1. For the role of foetuses in magic see G. A. Smith (2004); Frankfurter (2006).

⁸⁶ E.g. Zeno *Fr.* 128 (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* XV.20.1, Ar. *Did. Fr. phys.* 39 Diels [1879] 470): τὸ δὲ σπέρμα φησὶν ὁ Ζήνων εἶναι, ὃ μεθήσιν ἄνθρωπος, πνεῦμα μεθ’ ὕγροϋ, ψυχῆς μέρος καὶ ἀπόσπασμα καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ τῶν προγόνων κέρασμα καὶ μίγμα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν συνεληλυθὸς ἔχον γὰρ τοὺς λόγους τῷ ὄλῳ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦτο, ὅταν ἀφεθῇ εἰς τὴν μήτραν, συλληφθὲν ὑπ’ ἄλλου πνεύματος, μέρους ψυχῆς τῆς τοῦ θήλεος, καὶ συμφυῆς γενόμενον κρυφθὲν τε φύει, κινούμενον καὶ ἀναρριπίζόμενον ὑπ’ ἐκείνου, προσλαμβάνον αἰεῖ [εἰς] τὸ ὕγρον καὶ αὐξόμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ; Chrysipp. *Stoic. Fr. Log. et Phys.* 407 DK II (Plu. *Prim. Frig.* 2.946A): (οἱ δὲ Στωϊκοί) καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα λέγουσιν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τῶν βρεφῶν τῇ περιψύξει στομούσθαι καὶ μεταβάλλον ἐκ φύσεως γίνεσθαι ψυχὴν; Posidon. *Fr.* 401.33ff. (D.L. VIII.24–31): τὸ δὲ σπέρμα εἶναι σταγόνα ἐγκεφάλου περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ θερμὸν ἀτμόν· ταύτην δὲ προσφερομένην τῇ μήτρᾳ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου ἰχῶρα καὶ ὕγρον καὶ αἷμα προτεῖσθαι, ἐξ ὧν σάρκας τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ὅστ’ αἰ καὶ τρίχας καὶ τὸ ὅλον συνίστασθαι σῶμα ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀτμοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ αἴσθησιν.

⁸⁷ E.g.: *Corp. Herm., Excerpt XV From the teachings of Hermes to Ammon* (2–7). On Stoic elements see Scott (1936) 4:441–446, esp. 442; Nock and Festugière (1945–1954) 3:68–71.

similar idea of union with the god in a mystic ritual context may also be implied in the disputed phrase of Euripides' *Bacchae*: ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολὺς, λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμηνότας ποιεῖ, "for when the god enters into the body mighty, he makes the maddened speak the future" (300–301).⁸⁸ Similarly, Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* (III.4–7) examining θεοφορία, "divine possession" and divination asserts: "for neither the work of being possessed is human, nor does the whole (activity) base its power on human parts and actions; but these are otherwise subordinate, and the god uses them as instruments; the whole activity of divination is accomplished by him (the god), and he acts by himself without being mixed, detached from the others, without the soul or anything or the body being moved."⁸⁹ In the spell under discussion the magico-theurgic term systasis does not appear, however, there is the notion of divine union between the magician and the god as described in mystic contexts.

The question arises: How is this theurgic or divine/mystic union established? Before analysing the spell, there shall be a reference to the distinction of the notion of divine union achieved by the theurgists and the theoretical philosophers. For Plotinus the divine union with the god in philosophy is accomplished by the contemplation of god and beauty.⁹⁰ Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* states: "for nor does contemplation unite theurgists to the gods," οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἔννοια συνάπτει τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς θεουργοὺς, and goes on to ask: "for what then would hinder the theoretical philosophers from establishing the theurgic union with the gods?," ἐπεὶ τί ἐκώλυε τοὺς θεωρητικῶς φιλοσοφοῦντας ἔχειν τὴν θεουργικὴν ἔνωσην πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς; The answer according to Iamblichus is: "the accomplishment of acts not to be spoken and which are executed divinely beyond every concept and the power of unspeakable symbols conceived only by the gods establish the theurgic union," ἡ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀρρήτων καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν νόησιν θεοπρεπῶς ἐνεργουμένων τελεσιουργία ἢ τε τῶν νοουμένων

⁸⁸ For Plutarch 'the god' in this case is used metonymically for the wine: ὡς οἶνος ἀναθυμαθεῖς ἕτερα πολλὰ κινήματα καὶ λόγους ἀποκειμένους καὶ λανθάνοντας ἀποκαλύπτει. 'τό γὰρ βακχεύσιμον καὶ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει' κατ' Εὐριπίδην (Plu. *Def. Orac.* 40. 432E); also in *Anth. Pal.* VII.105.3: Διόνυσος ὅτ' ἄν πολὺς ἐς δέμας ἔλθῃ. In this case the author agrees with Dodds' comment: "I do not think that l. 300 means merely 'when a man has drunk a great deal of wine' though Plutarch perhaps understood it so," and she would further add that the phrase also alludes to the idea of divine possession or mystic union of the prophet with the god, in order to deliver a prophecy; Dodds (1960) 109; also Seaford (1997a) 177.

⁸⁹ Iambl. *Myst.* III.7.115.2–8: οὕτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπινόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς θεοφορίας ἔργον, οὕτε ἀνθρώπινος μορίους ἢ ἐνεργήμασι τὸ πᾶν ἔχει κύρος· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως ὑπόκειται, καὶ χρῆται αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ὡς ὀργάνοις· τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς μαντείας δι' αὐτοῦ πληροῖ, καὶ ἀμικρῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφειμένος οὕτε ψυχῆς κινουμένης οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν οὕτε σώματος ἐνεργεῖ καθ' αὐτόν. "Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ ἀψευδῶς γίγονται τὰ μαντεία τὰ οὕτως ὡς λέγω κατορθούμενα.

⁹⁰ Plot. *Enn.* I.6.9.33–35: Γενέσθω δὴ πρῶτον θεοειδῆς πᾶς καὶ καλὸς πᾶς, εἰ μέλλει θεάσασθαι θεόν τε καὶ καλόν; also Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.34.

τοῖς θεοῖς μόνον συμβόλων ἀφθέγκτων δύναμις ἐντίθησι τὴν θεωργικὴν ἔνωσιν (Iambl. *Myst.* II.11.96.13–97.2).⁹¹

In the discussed spell the theurgic or divine/mystic union is justified by the magician's knowledge of the god, his signs and symbols, which is emphasised throughout the invocation. The knowledge of the signs and symbols of the adjured god is a common characteristic of the invocation spells to the personal daimon, as already examined in III.612–631 and VII.478–490.⁹² Moreover, the magician defines himself as one who knows “the names for you (Hermes) in heaven”; also “I know you and your forms,” οἶδά σου καὶ τὰς μορφάς, “I know you (οἶδά σου) and your wood” and “I know you (οἶδά σου) your barbarian names” (VIII.6–15 and 20–21). Iamblichus, as examined above, claims that the theurgic union is achieved by “the accomplishment of acts not to be spoken” and by the power “of unspeakable symbols.”⁹³

After mentioning the god's names and signs, the magician personally refers to Hermes saying: “I know you (οἶδά σε), Hermes, who you are and where you come from and which your city is; Hermoupolis” and “come to me (ἐλθέ μοι), lord Hermes, many-named,⁹⁴ who knows (εἰδώς) the things hidden beneath heaven and earth” (VIII.13–15).⁹⁵ Another striking feature in the spell is the parallel the magician draws between his appeal to Hermes and similar appeals made to Hermes by the Egyptian goddess Isis in times of crisis. This parallelism enhances the status of the magician, comparing his invocation to that of Isis, “the greatest of all the gods.” The magician may also possibly exploit a pseudo-etymological link in Greek between Ἱσις and knowledge from the stem ἱσ- of the verb οἶδα, which is constantly repeated in the spell.⁹⁶ This steadily increasing status of the magician on the divine scale helps to build a climax in the divine *mystic* union with the god.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Also Iambl. *Myst.* IX.1, 5, 9. Dodds also argues for the distinction between the Plotinian mystical union and the union with the divine in magic and theurgy; Dodds (1951) 286, 302; see also Dodds (1928) 141–142, and Peterson (1933) 30 ff. On the symbols in theurgy see also Procl. *In Cra.* 71.64–82. On the symbols and the systasis of the soul see Procl. *Chald. Phil.* E.21–22 (Pitra, 195): συνέστηκε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν θείων συμβόλων.

⁹² See PGM VII.478–479 and III.624–627, 629–630.

⁹³ Iambl. *Myst.* II.11.96.13–97.2. See above n. 91.

⁹⁴ On “many-named,” πολυώνυμος cf. Pachoumi (2011a) 161 and (2011e) 174–175.

⁹⁵ The reference is actually to Hermes-Thoth. Hermes in Greek religion is the interpreter of the divine associated with the founding of civilisation; Burkert (1996a) 157–159. The Egyptian god Thoth is similarly associated with sacred writings, wisdom and knowledge of magic and medicine; Morenz (1992) 270; Wiedemann (2003) 225 ff. Due to their common characteristics, Hermes and Thoth were systematically identified with each other in the Hellenistic and Roman period; Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) 140–147.

⁹⁶ Although the name Isis actually derived from the throne that the goddess personified – cf. Morenz (1992) 23 – a pseudo-etymological link may be created in Greek between Ἱσις and οἶδα.

⁹⁷ See also Betz (1981) 165.

The womb analogy thus acquires another implication in relation to knowledge. In the spell “[Σύστασις πρ]ὸς Ἡλίον” (III.494–611), the magician stresses his own knowledge of Helios and associates Helios with knowledge, and more precisely with the womb of knowledge, as stated at the end of the invocation: “We understood, O womb of all Knowledge, we understood, O womb pregnant through the father’s begetting, we understood, O eternal permanence of the pregnant father,” ἐγνωρίσαμεν, μήτρα πάσης γνώσεως, ἐγνωρίσαμεν, ὦ μήτρα κυηφόρε ἐν πατρὸς φυτεία, ἐγνωρίσαμεν, ὦ πατρὸς κυηφοροῦντος αἰώνιος διαμονή (III.603–606).⁹⁸ In the *Chaldaean Oracles* as well the wombs are associated with the world-forming ideas.⁹⁹ Similarly, in the *Interpretation of Knowledge* (NHC XI 1) of the Nag Hammadi Library there is an association of Knowledge with the Womb: “[And she caused] him to know [that] she is [the] Womb” (XI 1.3).¹⁰⁰ Naturally, it is a paradoxical metaphor, but the idea of the “pregnant father” is explicit in the “[Σύστασις πρ]ὸς Ἡλίον” (III.494–611) spell, and religious myth and thought generally provide parallels for pregnant fathers with wombs. For example, in Euripides’ *Bacchae* Zeus says in the choral song: “Go, Dithyrambos, enter my male womb,” Ἴθι, Διθύραμβ’, ἐμὰν ἄρσενα τάνδε βᾶθι νηδύν (526–527), with regard to the myth of the double birth of Dionysus.¹⁰¹ A similar cosmogony about Zeus is presented in the *Derveni Papyrus*.¹⁰² Also, in the Letter of James in the New Testament it is stated that God (the father) “gave birth to us,” ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς (1:18).

The magician’s knowledge of the god, which is an important factor in this theurgic or divine/mystic union, reaches the level of identification at the end of the invocation, when the magician asserts: “for you are I and I am you, your name is mine and mine is yours,” σὺ γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐγὼ σύ, τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν σὸν (PGM VIII.36–37), and then again: “I know you, Hermes, and you me. I am you and you are I,” οἶδα σε, Ἑρμῆ, καὶ σὺ ἐμέ. ἐγὼ εἰμι σὺ καὶ σὺ ἐγὼ (VIII.49–50). Similarly, in XIII.734–1077 the magician invokes the god: “you may enter my *nous* and my *phrenes* for all the time of my life and you may accomplish for me all the wishes of my soul,” εἰσέλθοις

⁹⁸ Here the γνω-words as such presumably convey sexual imagery (cf. Men. Fr. 558.4–5: ἔπειτα φοιτῶν καὶ κολακεύων ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν μητέρ’ ἔγνω μ’; Heraclid. Pol. 64; LXX Gen 4:1: Ἀδὰμ δὲ ἔγνω Εὐάν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκε τὸν Κάϊν; Luke 1:34: πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω; and Matt 1:25: καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν υἱόν; Plu. Galb. 9: ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Γαῖος, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν οὐκ αἰεδῆ τὴν ὄψιν οὖσαν, ἐκ δ’ ἀκεστρίας ἐπιμισθίου Καλλίστῳ, Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρῳ, γεγεννημένῳ).

⁹⁹ Procl. In Cra. 58.16; see also Lewy (1978) 120–122.

¹⁰⁰ Transl. by John D. Turner in J. M. Robinson (1996) 474.

¹⁰¹ E. Ba. 87–102.

¹⁰² Derv. Pap. col. XIII; Kouremenos, Parassoglou and Tsantsanoglou (2006); on Zeus swallowing the phallus likened to the sun see Janko (2002) 26–27; Betegh (2004) 29; Burkert (2004) 90. See Chpt. 2, below, p. 38, n. 21.

τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς φρένας εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου καὶ ποιήσῃς μοι πάντα τὰ θελήματα τῆς ψυχῆς μου (XIII.791–794), because, as he asserts, “for you are I and I am you,” σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐγὼ σύ (XIII.795). In the discussed spell also, it is the ‘reciprocal’ knowledge of man and god that enables individuals to cross the boundaries and achieve the mystic union. Furthermore, the divine/mystic union of the magician and the god is described as an almost erotic one, which is the final logic of the opening simile.

Similarly in the Corpus Hermeticum V *A Discourse of Hermes to His Son Tat*, Hermes claims about god: “for you are whatsoever I am, you are whatsoever I do, you are whatsoever I say,” σὺ γὰρ εἶ δ [ε]ἶν ὧ, σὺ εἶ δ ἂν ποιῶ, σὺ εἶ δ ἂν λέγω (11). In the Gnostic *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II 2) of the Nag Hammadi Library, Jesus also identifies himself with the initiated, saying: “He who will drink from my mouth will become like me. I myself shall become he, and the things that are hidden will be revealed to him” (Log. 108).¹⁰³

A similar identification between Mani and his *syzygos*, “conjunct fellow or twin companion,” is expressed in the *Cologne Mani Codex*, when Mani exclaims: “I recognized him and I understood that I am he, whom I was separated from. I testified that I myself am he and that I am unshaken,” ἐπέγνω μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ συνῆκα ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐξ οὗ διεκρίθην. ἐπεμαρτύρησα δὲ ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκεῖνος αὐτός εἰμι ἀκλό[νητο]ς ὑπάρχων ... (CMC 24.11–16).¹⁰⁴ The pronoun ἐκεῖνος refers to σύζυγος, “the twin companion, the personification of a typically Gnostic concept, the transcendent projection of one’s soul,” as defined by Henrichs.¹⁰⁵ The notion of σύζυγος is present throughout the text (e.g. CMC 22.16–18: καὶ ὅστις [ἐκεῖνος ἐστι]ν αὐτὸς σύζυγός μου ἄγρυπνος ὢν ... and 23.6–7: καὶ ὁ σύζυγός μου ὁ ἀραρὼς τίς ποτ’ ἐστίν).¹⁰⁶

The repeated stress on the reciprocal knowledge of the individual and the god has in itself mystical associations. It is paralleled, for example, in Euripides’ *Bacchae*, when Dionysus says to Pentheus: “you don’t know what your life is, nor what you are doing, nor who you are,” οὐκ οἶσθ’ ὅ τι ζῆς, οὐδ’ ὁ δρᾶς, οὐδ’ ὅστις εἶ (506), or to Cadmus at the end of the tragedy: “you understood us too late. When you should have, you did not know,” ὅψ’

¹⁰³ Translated from the Coptic by Lambdin in J. M. Robinson (1996) 137.

¹⁰⁴ Henrichs and Koenen (1975) 27 and 80, n. 59.

¹⁰⁵ Henrichs (1979) 340.

¹⁰⁶ Also CMC 13.2: ἄλλοτε δὲ ὡς σύζυγος φωνῇ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος διελέγετο πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγουσα; 18.11–18: ὁ μακαριώτατος κύριος ἐσπλ[αγ]χνίσθη ἐπ’ ἐμὲ καὶ με ἐχ[ά]λεσεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν καὶ ἀπέστειλén μοι [ἐκεῖθεν εἰ]ϋθὺς σύζυγόν [μου τὸν ἐν δόξῃ μ]εγάλῃ φαινόμενον ...; 19.15–19: (ὁ πατήρ μου) ποιήσας ἐπ’ ἐμὲ τὴν φειδῶ διὰ τῶν πλείστων αὐτοῦ φα[νερώσεων] ἀπ[έ]στειλέν μοι τὸν σύζυγόν μου ...; 32.7–10: αὐτόθι ἀνέσχευεν καταγν[ι]κρὺ ἐμοῦ στὰς ὁ ἐνδοξότατός μου σύζυγος λέγων πρὸς ἐμέ; and 69.14–21: (ὁ ἐμός πατήρ) ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐκεῖθεν σύζυγόν μου τὸν ἀσφαλέστατον, τὸ[ν] πάντα ἀθανασίας καρπ[όν], ὡς ἂν οὗτος ἐξαγοράσῃ[ι] με καὶ λυτρώσαιτο [ἐκ] τῆς πλάνης τῶν τοῦ [νό]μου ἐκείνου; Henrichs and Koenen (1975); also Henrichs and Koenen (1970).

ἐμάθεθ' ἡμᾶς, ὅτε δὲ χρῆν, οὐκ ᾔδετε, and Cadmus in turn admits: “we have understood these things,” ἐγνώκαμεν ταῦτ' (1345–1346).¹⁰⁷

The theurgic or divine/mystic union and identification between the magician and the god, is justified further: “for you are I and I am you, your name is mine and mine is yours; for I am your image (ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι τὸ εἶδωλόν σου)” (VIII.36–38). How is this to be understood? The term εἶδωλον is often identified with the soul in Greek thought and philosophy. There has already been referred to, for example, the Homeric “images,” εἶδωλα, of the underworld as the souls of dead men, when examining the equation of the soul with the personal shadow and the personal daimon.¹⁰⁸ Diogenes Laertius in his first book of the *Lives of the Philosophers*, referring to the Chaldaeans and magicians, reports that according to Sotion they practice both divination and prediction saying that “the gods appear to them and that the air is full of *eidola* which enter into the eyes of the sharp-sighted, flowing off by exhalations.”¹⁰⁹ In Neoplatonism the concept of “image” after death is mentioned in the *Chaldaean Oracles*, when referring to the afterlife of the initiated: “You will not leave behind the dung of matter for the river edge, but (there is) a portion for the image (εἰδῶλῳ μερίς) in an all-visible place.”¹¹⁰ Proclus in *The Elements of Theology* argues that all the divine souls are “gods on the psychic level,” θεοὶ ψυχικῶς, and defines the soul as “the perceptible things by means of examples,” παραδειγματικῶς μὲν τὰ αἰσθητά, and “the intelligible things by means of images,” εἰκονικῶς δὲ τὰ νοητά.¹¹¹ Proclus, in this case, according to his doctrine on the intelligence (*nous*, νοῦς), becomes more analytical in the definition of the soul by associating the images with the intelligible things.

These general associations between “image,” εἶδωλον, and soul are relevant to the discussed spell. However, account should also be taken of more specific ideas. In the Jewish Old Testament humans are created in the image of God (Gen 1:27). The idea of a man created by god in “the image of the creator’s thought,” εἶδωλον ... τοῦ νοήματος τοῦ δημιουργοῦ (3) is also expressed in the Corpus Hermeticum, *Excerpt VIII A Discourse of Hermes to His Son*.¹¹² Similarly, in the *Corp. Herm. V A Discourse of Hermes to His Son*

¹⁰⁷ On knowledge see also the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II 2) of the Nag Hammadi Library: “You read the face of the sky and of the earth, but you have not recognized the one who is before you, and you do not know how to read this moment” (Log. 91); transl. by Lambdin in J. M. Robinson (1996) 136.

¹⁰⁸ See above, pp. 22–24.

¹⁰⁹ D.L. I.7.3–6: ἀσκέιν τε μαντικὴν καὶ πρόρρησιν, καὶ θεοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐμφανίζεσθαι λέγοντας. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδῶλων πλήρη εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα, κατ’ ἀπόρροϊαν ὑπ’ ἀναθυμιάσεως εἰσκρινομένων ταῖς ὄψεσι τῶν ὀξυδερκῶν.

¹¹⁰ *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 158: Οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς ὕλης σκύβαλον κρημνῷ καταλείψεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδῶλῳ μερίς εἰς τόπον ἀμφιβάοντα. Lewy (1978) 213–214; see also G. Gem. Pleth. 15a; Tambrun-Krasker and Tardieu (1995) 12.

¹¹¹ Procl. *Inst.* 185 and 195; see Dodds (1933) 163 and 171.

¹¹² See also *Corp. Herm. Excerpt XV* (and above, n. 87); see also Betz (1981) 166–167.

Tat, Hermes advises *Tat*: “think, my son, how man is created in the womb,” νόησον, ὃ τέκνον, δημιουργούμενον ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, and learn who is the one who created “this fair and godlike image of man,” ταύτην τὴν καλὴν καὶ θείαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰκόνα (6). The converse idea of god as the mirror image of the worshipper occurs in the *Acta Joannis*, as Betz points out, when Christ states among other things: “I am a mirror (ἔσοπτρον) to you who know me.”¹¹³ Christ and the initiated are the mirror image of each other. This mirror image derives from the Dionysiac mysteries, as Plotinus makes clear when he refers to the “souls of men” who see their “images,” εἰδωλα “as if in the mirror of Dionysus,” οἷον Διονύσου ἐν κατόπτρῳ (Plot. *Enn.* IV.3.12).¹¹⁴

Also relevant is another passage in the magical papyri, in “The Prayer of Deliverance” (*PGM* I.195–222), where the magician states about Christ that God “said that you have strength, in accordance with his likeness (καθ’ ὁμοιότητα αὐτοῦ), as much strength as he has” (I.211–212). Here the concept of “likeness” justifies the relationship between Christ and his Father. From the New Testament, a clear parallel can be found in Paul’s Second Letter to the Corinthians, in which Christ is presented as the “likeness,” εἰκὼν, of God (4:4).

Of all these, Plotinus is the best single parallel. It seems plausible that the magician’s concept of himself as the εἰδωλον of Hermes reflects the influence of Dionysiac mystical ideas. It is, however, also worth noting that the use of the term εἰδωλον as the final mystical justification to identify the human and the divine is etymologically pointed. This reinforces the essential logical connection between “knowledge” (οἶδα, etc.) and “likeness,” εἰδωλον, and identification and mystical union.

Thus, the theurgic or divine/mystic union in the last spell is attained, as examined, through a series of invocations and rituals. It is characterised by the desirable reciprocal knowledge of man and god and by the process of identification. The use of εἰδωλον defines this union between the magician and the god in a mystical context as two entities of the self-identified/unified one, the εἰδωλον.

III. Conclusion

In the first of the discussed spells, the “Connection with your own daimon” (VII.505–528), the conceptualisation of the personal daimon is comparable to philosophical approaches of Platonism and Neoplatonism and perhaps also of

¹¹³ *Act. Joan.* 95:16ff.; see Betz (1981) 167.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Nonn. *D.* VI.169–206; *Orph. Fr.* 209; Vernant (1990) 468ff.; on the double vision of Pentheus in *E. Ba.* 918–922 see Seaford (1987); note also the parallelism of Dido’s psychological situation before her death (her suicide) with Pentheus’ vision of a double sun and double Thebes in Virgil (*A.* IV.470).

Stoicism. The relationship of the personal daimon with Tyche, Destiny and other abstract concepts reflects such philosophical influences. The process, however, followed for the connection with the personal daimon is specified by the magico-theurgic ritual of systasis, which offers a pragmatic approach of magical ritual as opposed to the theoretical approach of philosophy. The systasis with the personal daimon is established through a series of transitional ritualistic processes from external lesser deities, abstract cosmic concepts and Helios to the internalised concept of the personal daimon. The systasis is finally accomplished on a cosmic level with influences from Egyptian religion and Orphic cosmogony, as indicated in the greetings to Helios and the reference to the ritual of the two male eggs.

In the second untitled spell (VII.478–490) the relationship with the personal daimon is internalised through a dream revelation. Such a relationship is established on a cosmic level with the god Eros being conjured up by the four regions of the universe. This Neoplatonic reference reveals influences from Chaldaeo-Persian magical beliefs.

In the third spell, the untitled spell for meeting your own shadow (III.612–631), as in the two above spells, the internal, or in the case of a shadow the immediately adjacent, is approached through ritualistic processes. The shadow in this case is associated with the soul and there is an implicit equation of shadow and soul with personal daimon. There are similarities to Platonist, Stoic and Neoplatonist thinking about the relationship between the soul and the personal daimon. Nevertheless, there are also parallels with much earlier religious ideas reflected in Homer by associating a person's soul with his or her shadow. There are also mystical allusions in the description of the meeting with the shadow, which support the notion of the identification of individuals with their own shadow in a magico-mystical context.

In the final spell examined, “The Erotic binding spell of Astrapsoukos” (VIII.1–63), the epiphany of the god Hermes is internalised and compared with the conception of a baby in the womb. This shows affinities to the Corpus Hermeticum, Stoic physiology and Neoplatonism and influences from mystery religions. The association of Knowledge and the Womb alludes to the *Chaldaean Oracles* and the Gnostic Nag Hammadi Library. The magician's personal knowledge of the divine is comparable to the knowledge of the initiate in the mystery cults and thus plays an essential role in the magico-theurgic union between the magician and his internalised god Hermes. The identification of the magician with Hermes can also be paralleled with similar identifications from the Corpus Hermeticum, the Nag Hammadi Library and the *Cologne Mani Codex*.

Finally, the *PGM* spells examined in this chapter reflect a tension towards ritualising religio-philosophical concepts including that of the personal daimon, or even of abstract notions associated with it, such as Tyche, Time, Hour, the encompassing or the *eidolon*; but, more precisely, they reveal a

tension towards ritualising the connection (systasis) between the individual and the personal daimon. The connection is accomplished in the spells through a series of ritualistic processes. This should, however, not prevent the existence of the opposite process, in which Neoplatonic philosophy reflects a tension towards philosophising ritual texts. Nevertheless, in all these instances it is evident that both magic ritual and philosophical theory draw on the same source of theological and cosmological concepts. The personal daimon in all four examined spells is presented as an internal entity associated with the personal shadow and soul, or even with a god who is identified with the magician as the initiated with the divine in the mystery cults.

Chapter 2

The Religious Concept of Paredros

I. Introduction – The Basic Concept of Paredros

The concept of *πάρεδρος* has been treated by Betz in his edition, by the incidental observations made by the various contributors to that edition, and in separate studies by Ciruolo, Scibilia and Graf. An article by Faraone on necromancy in the Greek magical papyri provides the longest and most detailed discussion of two of the relevant spells. Ogden and Johnston in their separate studies on necromancy also discuss some spells, which are examined in this chapter.¹

Betz characterises the *πάρεδρος* as “a special type of daimon” and further defines it as “an assistant daimon.”² One question that will be addressed is whether this definition is too restrictive. The aim is also to correct some misinterpretations and mistranslations in the existing treatments and suggest significantly different interpretations of the logic and detail of particular spells. The examination also aims to provide an account of the wider religious thought processes underlying the concept. In order to accomplish this, the focus will be on the relationships between *πάρεδρος* and the divine, as well as between the magician and *πάρεδρος*.

Πάρεδρος is an adjective, literally meaning “sitting beside.” It can also be employed as a noun, of one (or something) that “sits beside” (someone or something else) in a wide range of senses.³ The English “assistant” is a functional translation in this regard.

To start off, a brief survey is given of the religious and political associations of the concept of *πάρεδρος*. Among the female idols from the Minoan period, a goddess is occasionally accompanied by a male partner and the two are interpreted as “the Minoan Mother Goddess with her dying *πάρεδρος*.”⁴

¹ Betz (1986) 4, 5, 332 and xi, Glossary; Ciruolo (1995) 283; Scibilia (2002) 78, 81; Graf (1997) 117, 271; Faraone (2005); see also Ogden (2001) 212; Bremmer (2002) 81ff.; Johnston (2008) 174. See below, nn. 2, 34–39, 54–56, 73 and 77–78.

² Betz (1986) 332 and xi, Glossary; the term is translated accordingly as “an assistant daimon” in *PGM* I.42, XII.14 and LVII.1; Betz (1986) 4, n. 12 and 154 and xv and xix.

³ LSJ, s.v.

⁴ Burkert (1996a) 41, 361; Dietrich (1974) 12, n. 47, 16, 167, 174–177; esp. 235, 238, n. 268, 287, n. 513, 303–304; Dieterich (1966) 39–40; Frazer (1923) chpts. 1–12; Nilsson (1925) 9–37; Guthrie (1950) 59 and (1957) 11–45

The Minoan-Mycenaean Mother Goddess, whose origins are Phrygian, was related to Kybele.⁵ In Greek myth Demeter, the daughter of Rhea and mother of Persephone, was often identified with the Phrygian Kybele. The chorus in Euripides' *Helen* refers to the rites of "the Mountain Mother (Μάτηρ) of all the gods," and connects these to Dionysus.⁶ Dionysus in Euripides' *Bacchae* associates himself with the mother Rhea when he refers to the drums of his *thiasos* and calls the women of the *thiasos* his *παρέδρους και ξυνεμπόρους*.⁷ In Pindar's *Isthmian* 7, Dionysus is also represented as "the *πάρεδρος* of the bronze-clashing Demeter."⁸ In the *Orphic Hymn* "To Aphrodite," Aphrodite is addressed as *σεμνή Βάκχοιο πάρεδρε*.⁹ These examples of the association of the *πάρεδρος* with the rites of the Minoan Great Mother and Dionysus and of their Phrygian origins reveal the use of the concept in Greek religion from the earliest times and its ancient Anatolian origins.

From the Classical period onwards, there are references to the *πάρεδρος* as the assistant of almost any god, but most often of Zeus.¹⁰ The term is later also used in the Roman period, for example in Julian's "Hymn to king Helios dedicated to Sallust," in which Monimos and Azizos are represented as the assistants of Helios in his temple in Emesa, Syria. According to Iamblichus' interpretation, as quoted by Julian, "Monimos is for Hermes and Azizos for Ares, the assistants of Helios."¹¹ Interestingly enough, the term was also appropriated by Christian writers in reference to God.¹²

The word *πάρεδρος* is also frequently used in prose as a governmental or legal term in the sense of "counsellor," or "assessor," and also as official term in military and naval life.¹³ Thus, from Classical Greek times, *πάρεδρος* was a well-established term. It was used both in religion and politics, and often with overlaps (e.g. where implicit analogies can be pointed out between the "assistant" of Zeus and the "assistant" of some Greek king or tyrant). In the present analysis of *πάρεδρος* as displayed in the Greek magical papyri, the usual practice will be followed of dividing the spells into pragmatic categories.

⁵ Burkert (1996a) 176–179.

⁶ E. *Hel.* 1301–1368.

⁷ E. *Ba.* 57–59; see also *Hymn. Hom.* XIV "To the Mother of the Gods."

⁸ Pi. I. 7.3–5.

⁹ *Hymn. Orph.* 55.7.

¹⁰ LSJ; e.g. Pi. P. 4.4: χρυσέων Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος, Pi. O. 8.22: Διὸς ξενίου πάρεδρος ἀσκειῖται Θέμις, Pi. O. 2.76: ὃν πατὴρ ἔχει μέγας ἐτοῖμον αὐτῷ πάρεδρον, E. *Med.* 843: ταῖς Σοφίαις πάρεδρους πέμπειν Ἐρωτας.

¹¹ Jul. *Or.* IV.150c7–d6. On mentioning "the assistant of Helios" see Procl. *In Ti.* 3.131, 30, also included in the *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 226.

¹² Cf. e.g. the fourth century C.E. Epiphanius' *Panarion (Adversus Haereses)*, Epiph. *Haer.* II.7.4: Εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δαίμονα τινα πάρεδρον ἔχειν, δι' οὗ αὐτὸς τε προφητεύειν δικεῖ καὶ ὅσας ἀξίας ἡγεῖται (γενέσθαι) μετόχους τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ προφητεύειν ποιεῖ. Also see Eus. *Com. Ps.* 23.333.5: αἰὶ δὲ πάρεδρον καὶ βοηθὸν κέκτηται τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Κύριον.

¹³ LSJ, s.v. II.1.

II. Paredroi as Daimones

The first category to be investigated involves two spells: “A daimon comes as an assistant” (*PGM* I.1–42, III C.E.) and the “Power of the Bear constellation that accomplishes everything” (IV.1331–1389, IV C.E.).

1. “A daimon comes as an assistant” (*PGM* I.1–42)

In the spell “παρεδρικῶς προσ[γίνεται] δαίμων” (I.1–42) the assistant daimon is called “good worker of the land, Good Daimon” (I.25–26)¹⁴ and later is identified with “holy Orion” (I.29). The purpose of this invocation of the “assistant” daimon is to “reveal everything” to the magician (I.1). “Holy Orion” is portrayed as “rolling (ἐπικυλινδούμενος) the currents of the Nile down and mingling (ἐπιμειγνύων) them with the sea and transforming them into life (ἀλλ[οιῶν] ζω[ῆ]), like a man’s seed in intercourse” (I.29–32). The broad association between daimons and water reaches far back into Egyptian literature of the second millennium B.C.¹⁵ In the present spell the association is drawn through a simile of sexual intercourse. While this implies a largely general motif of the divine sexual union as related directly to the physical processes on the Earth,¹⁶ a direct analogy between the divine sexual union and the human can be found in the *Derveni Papyrus*. This source presents the image of the sexual union of Zeus and Aphrodite, such as a man “mingling” (μισγόμενος) with a woman.¹⁷ However, the closest parallel for the sexual union in the spell appears in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, in which the reference is to the sexual union between nature and man.¹⁸ This sexual role also justifies Orion’s title as “good worker of the land.”¹⁹ Elsewhere, a similar epithet, “the good oxherd,” is used of Anubis (*PDM* xiv.17, 35, 400 and 422).

The assistant is also then described appropriately as the one “who continually ejaculates seeds into the sacred fig tree of Heliopolis” (*PGM* I.35–36). This reference can be explained in terms of the Egyptian cosmogonic tradition mentioned in the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, according to which Atum-Re arose from Nun, the waters of chaos, and by masturbating created the gods.²⁰ A similar cosmogony about Zeus is presented in the *Derveni Papyrus*.

¹⁴ For the Good Daimon and various gods see Chpt. 3, below, pp. 67–69 and n. 23.

¹⁵ Pinch (1994) 35.

¹⁶ See e.g. Hes. *Th.* 133, A. *Fr.* 25(44), E. *Fr.* 898, Procl. *In Ti.* III.176.28, Lucr. I.250, II.992, Verg. A. VII.60, G. II.324ff., and Hor. *Epo.* 13.2.

¹⁷ *Derv. Pap.* col. XXI.7–10; Kouremenos, Parassoglou and Tsantsanoglou (2006) 103, 136; see also Laks and Most (1997) 19, Janko (2002) 42 and Betegh (2004) 45.

¹⁸ *Corp. Herm.* I.14 and 16.

¹⁹ The epithet γεωργός in the sense of “fertile” is also used of the Nile itself in Lib. *Or.* 13.39; ἔργον (and cognates) can be used of sexual activity as such: LSJ, s.v. I.2.c.

²⁰ *Eg. Bk. Dd.* chpt. 17: “I am Atum when I was alone in Nun [the waters of chaos, out of which life arose] ... I am the great god who came into being by himself. Who is he? The

Despite all the difficulties of its interpretation,²¹ on practically any interpretation, the creative activity of the primeval gods is represented in sexual imagery. In the *Derveni Papyrus* the genital organ is also connected to birth and likened to the sun. Furthermore, Zeus is presented as giving birth to gods and nature, thus he himself being the only one.²² Naturally, this involves the intricate general patterns of Near Eastern cosmogonic myth.²³

2. “Power of the Bear constellation that accomplishes everything”
(PGM IV.1331–1389)

In the “Power of the Bear constellation that accomplishes everything” the magician invokes “the powerful arch-daimons” (IV.1347), in order to accomplish a task (IV.1379). Several points need to be noted about this address. The first is the use of the plural. A parallel use of the plural occurs in the *defixio* DT 155, in which “the holy assistants” are mentioned (DT 155, A20–21, B21).

Secondly, this is the only case in the Greek magical papyri where the assistants are addressed as “the assistants of the great god.” This raises the question: Who is the great god? It soon emerges that it is Typhon,²⁴ since the magician is instructed to “write on a piece of papyrus the hundred-lettered name of Typhon curved as a star” (PGM IV.1879–1881).²⁵ However, the question remains as to the significance of Typhon in this instance. Plutarch in *De Iside et Osiride* connects the soul of Typhon to the constellation of the Bear. He does this when he reports that, as the Egyptian priests claim, “the souls of gods after death shine as stars in heaven” and “that of Typhon is called the Bear.”²⁶ In the ritual that also should be practised before the recitation of the spell, the magician is told to use the fat of a black ass in his offering to the Bear and have as phylactery hairs from the same animals as used in the offering (IV.1332, 1334–1335). Typhon was also identified with the

great god who came into being by himself is water; he is Nun, the father of the gods.” Another version: “He is Re. ‘He who created his names, the lord of the Ennead.’ Who is he? He is Re, who created the names of the parts of his body. That is how these gods who follow him came into being”; Pritchard (1969) 3–4; Betz (1986) 4.

²¹ The meaning of the *Derv. Pap.* col. XIII.4: αἰδοῖον κατέπινεν, ὃς αἰθέρα ἔκθορε πρῶτος is much disputed; Laks and Most (1997) 15; Janko (2002) 26; Betegh (2004) 29; Burkert (2004) 90; Kouremenos, Parassoglou and Tsantsanoglou (2006) 87, 133 and 26–27. The verb ἐκθρόσκω (ἐκθόρνυμαι later) of course may have a sexual connotation (see LSJ), though in this instance the sexual reference is in dispute.

²² *Derv. Pap.* col. XIII.5–9 and XVI.1; see Laks and Most (1997) 15, 16; Janko (2002) 26, 33; Betegh (2004) 29, 35; Kouremenos, Parassoglou and Tsantsanoglou (2006) 87, 93 and 133–134.

²³ E.g. the Hurrian-Hittite song of *Kumarbi*; see Burkert (2004) chpt. 4; and West (1999) chpt. 6.

²⁴ See Chpt. 3, below, pp. 144ff.

²⁵ See Chpt. 3, below, p. 149.

²⁶ Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 21.359C–D.

Egyptian god the donkey-headed Seth and so often with an ass.²⁷ The allusion to Typhon is thus doubly motivated.

Thirdly, by characterising the assistants themselves as “the assistants of the great god,” the spell suggests a paradoxical religious hierarchy in which the arch-daimons are subordinate both to the great god and to the magician himself.

It is also interesting that in his invocation of the assistants the magician uses more than 60 epithets to describe the arch-daimons, and these epithets are not only rich and impressive: most of them occur only in the Greek magical papyri. For example, the assistants are called the following: “inhabitants of Chaos, Erebus, the abyss, the depth, and the earth, dwelling in the recesses of heaven,” “directors of the infinite,” “servants in the chasm,” “bringers of compulsion,” “guardians of Tartarus,” “spirit givers,” “joiners together of deaths” and “revealers of angels.”²⁸ The inventiveness of the terminology emphasises the unique characteristics of the arch-daimons and as a result highlights the distinctive character of the particular magical invocation.

III. Paredros as the Resurrected Spirit and Body of the Dead

This section will explore the concept of the bodily resurrection of the dead who had an untimely demise, or suffered a violent death.²⁹ The following question will be examined: Are the corpses and body parts manipulated in magic just to achieve invocation of the spirits of the dead, or does this physical manipulation imply resurrection of the body in some spells? This will include an examination of the role of the resurrected dead in the magical operation and the professional life of the magicians.

In examining the issue of resurrection of the body the focus will be on three particular spells from the 4th magical handbook: “King Pity’s³⁰ spell that leads (ἀγωγή)³¹ over any skull cup (σχύφου)” (*PGM* IV.1928–2005, IV C.E.);³² “Pity’s spell that leads” (IV.2006–2125, IV C.E.); and “Divine

²⁷ See Chpt. 3, below, p. 145.

²⁸ *PGM* IV.1348–1350, 1350–1368, 1369–1371; see Appendix 6, pp. 184ff., and Appendix 7, pp. 190ff.

²⁹ Cf. Pachoumi (2011b).

³⁰ In *PGM* IV.2140, Pity is called Thessalian. For the identification of the Thessalian Pity with the Egyptian priest and prophet “Bitys, Bitos, or Bithus” (Iambl. *Myst.* VIII.5; X.7; Zos. *Alch. Com.* Ω 75; Zos. *App. fr. gr.* 230–235) see Betz (1986) Glossary 338; Ogden (2001) 211; Faraone (2005) 264, 278.

³¹ On the term ἀγωγή see Chpt. 3, below, p. 134, n. 370; and Introduction, above, p. 7, n. 29; see also Faraone (2005) 258.

³² Discussion in Faraone (2005) 257ff.

assistance from three Homeric verses” (IV.2145–2240, IV C.E.).³³ Another spell that will be referred to derives from the 13th magical handbook and has the title, “Resurrection of a dead body” (XIII.277–283, IV C.E.).

A. Scholarly Discussion

Ogden in his book *Greek and Roman Necromancy* rightly argues on this issue that, “the Greek magical papyri from Egypt provide a significant degree of context, if not for reanimation, then at least for the physical manipulation of corpses and body parts to achieve evocation.”³⁴ However, in regard to IV.2006–2125, Ogden actually states, “although the German translation of Preisendanz and the English translation of O’Neill stipulate that the whole body is to be used, the Greek is vague, and it is probably envisaged that again only a skull cup will be employed.”³⁵ Faraone also, in his study on necromancy (IV.1928–2144), does not incorporate the notion of the bodily resurrection of the dead person.³⁶ This becomes evident when he states explicitly on IV.1928–2005, “this spell does not require a full corpse.”³⁷ On IV.2006–2125 Faraone as well contends firstly, “this is a spell designed to force the appearance and speech of a ghost,” but secondly, “it would appear that we are to do this to a head that is still attached to its corpse.”³⁸ In the same way, Johnston discusses necromancy by referring to these two Pity spells among the eight spells of the Greek magical papyri, which she characterises necromantic, or with necromantic elements. She points out, “although none of them promises anything as spectacular as the contemporary literary portraits of necromancy do – we hear nothing about reanimated corpses springing up out of their torpor, as in Lucan and Apuleius.”³⁹

The following section aims to provide a detailed analysis of the relevant spells to help address the issues raised by the scholarly discussion. Thereafter

³³ Between the spells *PGM* IV.2006–2125 and IV.2145–2240 there are two relatively short divination necromantic spells: IV.2125–2139, with the title, “Restraining seal,” in which a seal should be applied to a skull cup to prevent it from speaking, and the other, IV.2140–2144, entitled, “Pity the Thessalian for questioning corpses,” in which Pity as mentioned in the two spells above, this time is addressed as Thessalian.

³⁴ Ogden (2001) 203 and 212. On Necromancy see Hopfner (1974); Halliday (1913); Dodds (1973) 207ff.; Graf’s (2006) review of Ogden (2001); Bremmer (2002) 71–86.

³⁵ Ogden (2001) 212.

³⁶ Faraone (2005) 255–282; although he mentions examples of corpse reanimation in his paper; *ibid.* 272ff.; see also Faraone (2004) 18–21. Bremmer in his discussion on Greek and Roman necromancy also briefly mentions *PGM* IV.1928–2005 and IV.2140–2144 as examples of necromantic spells without making further comments on the matter; Bremmer (2002) 81ff.

³⁷ Faraone (2005) 263.

³⁸ Faraone (2005) 266.

³⁹ Johnston (2008) 174.

the new aspect of bodily resurrection of the dead will be explored, before drawing conclusions.

B. The issue of the resurrection of the dead in the spells

To start off, the investigation will analyse how the relevant examples are displayed in the spells mentioned above.

1. “King Pitys’ spell that leads over any skull cup” (PGM IV.1928–2005)

In the spell “*Ἀγωγή Πίτυος βασιλέως ἐπὶ παντὸς σκύφου*” (IV.1928–2005)⁴⁰ the magician is instructed to recite a spell to Helios, in order that he may, as expressed, “give me power over this spirit that died a violent death (*βιο-θάνατον πνεῦμα*),⁴¹ from whose dead body (*σκήνος*)⁴² I hold this (skull cup)” (IV.1947–1950).⁴³ In this case, the magician desires the power of the spirit of the dead body which, as will become clear, he intends to resurrect.

Accordingly in the Pitys spell, Helios is addressed as “the ruler of heaven and earth and chaos and Hades, where dwell the daimons of men who once looked into the light” (IV.1963–1965). Hence the assistant is called *daimon*, when the magician asks Helios, “if you go to the depths of earth and the regions of the dead, send this *daimon* ... from whose (head of the) dead body I hold this (skull cup)” (IV.1967–1970).⁴⁴ The magician also gives a more precise instruction to Helios: *ἀλλὰ φύλαξον ἅπαν δέμας ἄρτιον εἰς φάος ἐλθεῖν* (IV.1976). Here the translation is crucial. O’Neil translates: “but guard that my whole body come to light intact.”⁴⁵ This is clearly incorrect, as already spotted by Preisendanz, since it is Helios who enters the regions of the dead; the magician is praying for the total bodily resurrection of the daimon.⁴⁶ Thus, it should be translated as, “but guard that the whole (daimon’s) body comes to light intact.”

⁴⁰ σκύφος, ὁ, τό; also σκυφίον, τό.

⁴¹ On *aoroi* and *biaiothanatoi* see Graf (1997) 150–151, 194; Johnston (1999) 78ff.

⁴² On *σκήνος* see also Porph. *V. Plot.* 22.45ff.: Νῦν δ’ ὅτε δὴ σκήνος μὲν ἐλύσαο, σῆμα δ’ ἔλειψας ψυχῆς δαιμονίης. Also refer to the use of *σκήνος* in the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* 366A1.

⁴³ In context, the reference and the meaning of *skyphos* in the title seem perfectly clear; see Faraone (2005) 258–261 for an over-elaborate demonstration of these points. Note the later (VII C.E.) parallel medical use of “*σκυφίον*” for skull in Paul. *Aeg.* III.22.5; also note the reference to Medusa’s *skyphos* in Ioannes Malalas, according to which Perseus decapitated Medusa, in order to use her *skyphos* for magical purposes; Dindorf (1831) 35–39.

⁴⁴ These lines (IV.1967–1970) belong to Preisendanz’s reconstructed hymn IV “To Helios” and also appear elsewhere in the *PGM*: IV.447–449, VIII.80–83 and I.317–320; Preisendanz (1974) 2:239–240.

⁴⁵ Betz (1986) 73.

⁴⁶ Preisendanz, loc. cit.: “die ganze Gestalt (des Dämons)”; Preisendanz (1973) 1:133.

The daimon should also reveal to the magician τὸν χρόνον, ὃν παρεδρεύει (IV.1977–1978). O’Neil translates this as “at what time he serves as my assistant.”⁴⁷ But this does not make sense and ὃν is an accusative of time, therefore, the correct translation is, “the length of time he serves as assistant,” as already spotted by Preisendanz as well.⁴⁸

2. “Divine assistance from three Homeric verses”
(PGM IV.2145–2240)

In this spell, which involves the consecration of a lamella, among its various uses there is a reference to the lamella “for wrecking chariots” (IV.2211–2216),⁴⁹ according to which the lamella should be buried for three days “in the grave of someone who died untimely” and εἰς ὃν κεῖται, ἐκεῖνος διημερεύσει (IV.2215–2216). Again the translation is crucial. Martin translates this as: “he will come to life for as long as it stays there,” understanding χρόνον with ὃν.⁵⁰ However, it is more easily understood as “[the person] onto whom it is placed, that man will have his day again” (with ὃν antecedent to ἐκεῖνος).⁵¹

3. “Pitys’ spell that leads” (PGM IV.2006–2125)

In this parallel Pitys spell (IV.2006–2125) the “daimon of a dead person,” νεκυδαίμων, is also invoked to become the assistant, πάρεδρος.⁵² This spell may have various functions, such as “it erotically leads and causes illness and sends dreams and restrains and obtains dream revelations” (IV.2075–2077). The magical operation involves an elaborate series of rituals and spells. According to the ritual described in the text, the magician should go quickly to where someone lies buried, or to where something has been thrown away, if he has no buried body, and then spread the hide of an ass underneath himself at sunset (IV.2039–2042). The magician should also place a leaf of flax with the depiction of Hekate and the inscription of the spell “on the head” (of the dead body)⁵³ and wreath him with black ivy and then he will stand beside the magician in dreams (δι’ ὀνείρων) throughout the night (IV.2049–2053). In

⁴⁷ Betz (1986) 73.

⁴⁸ Preisendanz, loc. cit.: “die Zeit, während deren er Beistand leistet”; Preisendanz (1973) 1:133.

⁴⁹ IV.2211: ἐπὶ δὲ ἀρματοράκτων (pap.); ἀρματοράκτης, ἐς (~ ἄρμα, ῥήγνυμι/ῥήσω, ῥήττω/ῥάσω, Att.); in Preisendanz ἀρματορακτῶν, Preisendanz (1973) 1:140; in LSJ referred to as neut. pl., ἀρματάρακτα, τά (for ἀρματο-τάρ-ακτα); also in Muñoz Delgado (2001) as ἀρματορακτά, -ῶν, τά.

⁵⁰ Betz (1986) 77.

⁵¹ The use of the verb διημερεύω could also possibly suggest the length of time resurrection and assistance take; διήμερον, τό: period of twenty-four hours.

⁵² Similarly, in the *defixio* DT 234.1 from Carthage (II/III C.E.) the spirit of a dead person who has died before his time is adjured; Audollent (1904) 308.

⁵³ PGM IV.2051: θές αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς.

other words, the spirit of the dead appears in the magician's dreams to offer his assistance. The last stages of the operation involve the agreement between the magician and the assistant, *πάρεδρος*, and instructions for writing the spell and task on a roll of hieratic papyrus for the assistant to fulfil (IV.2067–2095, 2124–2125).

Regarding the appearance of the divine assistant in the magician's dreams, Graf argues that, "Socrates' *daimonion*, which became a focus of later Platonic interest, was viewed as a precursor of this conception."⁵⁴ Similarly, Scibilia finds a parallel between Socrates' *daimonion* as "a kind of private oracle" and this *πάρεδρος*' "ability to send divinatory dreams."⁵⁵ Elsewhere, she compares the *πάρεδρος* with the following passage of Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*, *μακάριος εἶ θεὸν ἔχων τὸν δαίμονα καὶ οὐ τοῦ ὑφειμένου γένους τὸν συνόντα* (Porph. V. *Plot.* 10.23–25).⁵⁶ However, the reference in this passage is not to *πάρεδρος*, but to the personal daimon, *τοῦ οἴκελου δαίμονος*, as clearly stated in the text (Porph. V. *Plot.* 10.18). The *πάρεδρος* is based on a different concept than that of the personal daimon or *daimonion*. The personal daimon conceptualises an essentially internal agent. The *πάρεδρος* on the other hand, is external and first established by the magician through a series of magical rituals and spells. Accordingly the two terms should not be confused. Therefore, the parallelism examined above, is not valid.⁵⁷

In the same spell (IV.2006–2125) the assistant is addressed not only as the *νεκυδαίμων* (as in IV.2060), but also as "the chthonic daimon," "in whom the essence (*ἡ οὐσία*) of this female (or, of this male) has been embodied (*ἐσωματίσθη*) on this night" (IV.2086–2088).⁵⁸

It can be inferred from this analysis that, in the two spells of Pitys and the lamella for wrecking chariots, dead bodies were manipulated with a deeper goal in mind. It was done not just to invoke the spirit of the dead, but, as illustrated by the three examples,⁵⁹ the concept is implied of bodily reanimation, or resurrection of the dead who died untimely, or have suffered a violent death.

C. *The purpose of reanimating the dead in the magical rite*

In the first Pitys spell examined (PGM IV.1928–2005) the purpose, as stated in the magician's invocation, is to have the dead as "assistant," *πάρεδρος*, "helper and avenger," *βοηθὸν καὶ ἔκδικον*, in the magical operation (IV.1950–

⁵⁴ Graf (1997) 117.

⁵⁵ Scibilia (2002) 78.

⁵⁶ Scibilia (2002) 81; also Graf (1997) 271, n. 89.

⁵⁷ See Chpt. 1, above p. 24, for the personal daimon as essentially 'internal'; it is true that it is sometimes awarded a degree of 'externality' (see Chpt. 1, above, p. 24, n. 78), but this is slight and merely by way of paradox.

⁵⁸ For *οὐσία* see Jordan (1985b) 253–255; Betz (1986) 336; Fountoulakis (1999).

⁵⁹ See PGM IV.1976, IV.2215–2216 and IV.2086–2088; see above, pp. 40–43.

1952), and to reveal to the magician whatever he wishes (IV.1971). Similarly, in the other Pitys spell (IV.2006–2125) the magician adjures the daimon of the dead to stand beside him (*παρασταθῆναι μοι*, IV.2034) and become his assistant.⁶⁰ The aim of the third spell also is, as the title indicates, “Divine assistance” from three Homeric verses (IV.2145–2240). Hence, in these examples, the notion of the reanimation of the dead is associated with the concept of “assistance,” *παρεδρία*. However, these three spells are the only cases in which the paredroi are related to the notion of resurrection. Therefore, they cannot be used as a generalisation for every paredros spell.

Examples of bodily resurrection appear in Greek and Roman literature:⁶¹ Pindar in *Pythian 3* points out that Zeus killed Asclepius for raising a dead back to life (Pi. P. 3.47–57). Ritual technology is used more extensively and aggressively in Greek and Roman literature of the first centuries C.E. This is due to the widespread use of *defixiones* and members of dead bodies, and because of social and political factors.⁶² The Thessalian witch, Erichtho, from the first-century Lucan’s *Pharsalia* (VI.654–827), resurrected a dead soldier for Sextus Pompey, in order to deliver a prophecy. Similarly, in the second-century Lucian’s *Philopseudes* (11, 13), a Babylonian magician reanimated Midas who was bitten by a snake, by casting a spell to drive out the poison from his body and using a fragment from the tomb stone of a dead maiden. The second-century Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (II.28–29, I.12–17) again described how Zatchlas, an Egyptian prophet, resurrected the dead body of Thelyphron “as it was before his death” (II.28.5–6) by using certain types of herbs. The fourth-century Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* (VI.14–15) narrates an Egyptian old woman of Bessa who resurrected in Egypt the body of her dead son to prophesy. Thus, the literary representations of using magic to resurrect the dead seem to be parallel to the descriptions of the magical papyri.

The question remains: Why in the two spells of Pitys and the lamella for wrecking chariots is the issue of the body’s resurrection only implied? In the three spells the magicians do not refer explicitly to the problem of resurrection, probably because there were still unsolved issues, mainly magico-theological.

First, there is the issue of time. For how long do the resurrected bodies serve as assistants, or what is the length of time of resurrection? In all three spells, as examined, the magicians are engaged with the problem of the time of resurrection: a) “the length of time he serves as assistant” (IV.1977–1978); b) “[the person] to whom it is placed, that man *will have his day again*

⁶⁰ “Standing by” (IV.2034) could be used as a proof of resurrection of the dead, as with “walking” in XIII.277–283.

⁶¹ See Ogden (2001) chpt. 13.

⁶² In Roman literature magic discourse was part of the broader gender discourse and was intensified by Augustus’ marriage and adultery laws passed in 18 and 17 B.C.

(διημερεύσει)” (IV.2215–2216); and c) “on this night” (IV.2088).⁶³ In the aforementioned examples from Greek and Roman literature, the dead bodies are resurrected for a brief period to prophesy or answer questions.

Regarding the length of time the assistance takes, Pseudo-Clemens Romanus of the second century C.E. in *Homiliae* states that the “assistances,” παρεδρίαι, end when “the soul having fulfilled the length of time in earth, in which she should have stayed in the body, moves to the underworld.”⁶⁴

On the contrary, in a spell from the 13th magical handbook the only explicit indication in the Greek magical papyri on that issue is found, as indicated in the title, “Resurrection of a dead body,” “ἐγερσις σώματος νεκροῦ” (XIII.277–283, IV C.E.). In this case, the magician conjures up the “spirit,” πνεῦμα, roaming in the air to enter the dead body, “fill it with the breath of life,” ἐνπνευμάτωσον, empower, resurrect it and cause it to walk. This is an example of the magical process of ἐνπνευμάτωσις, “filling with spirit.”⁶⁵

The most explicit suggestions of the dead body’s resurrection probably are due to the Christian influences on this spell; e.g. a) the spirit is conjured up to make the resurrected body walk, as a proof of its resurrection,⁶⁶ and b) this spell is contained within a larger spell XIII.1–343, which includes another brief spell with Christian, Jewish and Gnostic influences named, “Releasing from bonds” (XIII.288–295).

Secondly, there are further magico-theological implications such as the relationship between the body and the spirit. This raises further questions: Do the resurrected bodies replace the spirits of the dead, which were used predominantly in magic? And: What is the significance of such an innovation in the magical rite?

To answer these questions a careful examination is needed of the example between the vessels and the paredroi from the “Pity’s spell that leads” (IV.2006–2125), which illuminates the relationship between the body and the spirit.

In his justification of the functional importance of the assistant in the magical operation, Pity’s cites the general experience of the majority of the magicians who have practiced it (IV.2081–2086):

⁶³ See above, pp. 41–42.

⁶⁴ Ps.-Clem. Rom. *Hom.* II.30.5.2–II.30.6.1: οὐκ ἐξετασθεις δὲ καὶ σὺ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ποτὲ διὰ τί ἐνίοτε καὶ παύονται αἱ παρεδρίαι, ἔφης ὅτι: ψυχὴ πληρώσασα τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς χρόνον, ὃν ἤμελλον ἐν σώματι διατελεῖν, εἰς ἄδην πορεύεται ...

⁶⁵ For references to the magical process of ἐνπνευμάτωσις, “filling with spirit,” in the *PGM* see IV.964–966 and V.381–385; on the process of “filling with spirit” in relation to the statues of the gods note also the reference to *Hermetica* (*Herm. Asclep.* III.24a and 37.23–25); see also *PGM* IV.2359–2372, XII.32–34, III.282–409 and esp. at 296ff. See Chpt. 3, below, p. 84, n. 110; and p. 129, n. 336.

⁶⁶ See for example Lazarus’ resurrection, John 11:43–44: Λάζαρε, δεῦρο ἔξω ... λύσατε αὐτὸν καὶ ἄφετε αὐτὸν ὑπάγειν. Also see Mark 5:42.

πλείστοι δὲ τῶν μάγων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τὰ σκεύη βαστάξαντες καὶ ἀποθέμενοι ἐχρήσαντο αὐτῷ παρέδρῳ καὶ τὰ προκείμενα διὰ πάσης ὀξύτητος ἐπετέλεσαν· ἔστιν γὰρ ἄνευ πάσης λεσχολογίας, ἐν εὐκοπίᾳ δὲ τῇ πάσῃ εὐθέως τὰ προκείμενα ἐκτελῶν.

The great majority of the magicians after carrying the vessels with them and after putting them aside, used him as an assistant and accomplished the preceding things in complete speed. For it has the power to accomplish the preceding things without any idle talk and immediately and in complete ease.

Here “the vessels” refer to “the magical implements” and “him” is the daimon.

Later, however, Pitys, addressing king Ostanēs in the second person, explains to him that with the accomplishment of these rituals he may know, πόσης φύσεως ἔχεται ἡ οἰκονομία αὕτη ἐν τῇ πάσῃ εὐκοπία πάρεδρον οἰομένη τὰ σκεύη (IV.2107–2109).

Again here the translation is critical. First, what does the adverbial phrase ἐν τῇ πάσῃ εὐκοπία go with? Both Preisendanz and O’Neil take it with the participle οἰομένη (“der in aller Leichtigkeit nur das Gerät als Beihelfer betrachtet,” and “since in all ease it considers the implements as the assistant”).⁶⁷ This, however, provides a very unnatural sense, and Pitys should be reinforcing his emphasis on the utility of the magical operation. In other words, ἐν τῇ πάσῃ εὐκοπία should go with ἔχεται. This reading is confirmed by the earlier phrase, ἐν εὐκοπίᾳ δὲ τῇ πάσῃ εὐθέως τὰ προκείμενα ἐκτελῶν (IV.2085), which ring-structures the section on the utility of the magical operation. The sentence as a whole can thus be translated, “how powerful a nature this magical operation gets hold of in all ease, considering the vessels as the assistant.”

A final question remains: How can this sentiment be reconciled with the previously put “the great majority of the magicians have used him as an assistant, after carrying the vessels with them and after putting them aside”? While scholars do not seem to recognise a problem, there clearly is an issue, for these two statements seem diametrically opposed.⁶⁸ The answer is that the term σκεύη in the sense of “vessels” as “the magical implements” has been crucially redefined essentially in the sense of “vessels” as “the skulls or bodies” of the soul.⁶⁹ This repetition of a term in order to differentiate between its different meanings could be regarded as an example of the rhetorical figure known as ἀντανάκλασις, or more simply as a riddling verbal play that is characteristic of religious language.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Preisendanz (1973) 1:137; Betz (1986) 75.

⁶⁸ Preisendanz in his apparatus on I. 2110 writes: “vgl. 2081f.” (Preisendanz [1973] 1:136); others do not comment on this matter.

⁶⁹ The term σκεῦος literally means “vessel, implement, instrument,” but it can also mean “the body, as the vessel of the soul”: LSJ, s.v. II.

⁷⁰ Cf. Quint. IX.3.68: “ἀντανάκλασις, where the same word is used in two different meanings”; IX.3.71: “it is more elegant, when it is employed to distinguish the exact meaning of things.”

To sum up the second issue on the relationship between the body and the spirit, the following should be noted. The example between the vessels and the paredroi from the Pitys spell is a very powerful linguistic illustration of the resurrected bodies of the dead as assistants. The consideration of the magical implements/vessels consisting in the skull and the skeleton of the dead figuring as the assistant illuminates the concept of bodily resurrection of the dead. At the same time, this association makes the role of the resurrected body as the assistant very functional in the magical rite by replacing the assisting nature of the magical implements. However, this is a two-way relationship, because the notion of the body's resurrection underlines the concept of 'divine' assistance in these three spells. This means that the incorruptible nature of the resurrected body with its divine assimilations confers the 'divine' character of the assistance.

Hence, this was an innovation in the magical operation. Nevertheless, the issue of the body's resurrection cannot apply to all the paredros spells. The reason is presumably that such an innovation could change completely, or even destroy the traditional form of magic. Therefore, it was safer to retain the traditional form of paredroi as the spirits of the dead and leave the new problem of bodily resurrection related to the issue of time to be solved by the new religion (e.g. Christianity).

Conclusion

Thus, in the two spells of Pitys, the lamella for wrecking chariots, and the "Resurrection of a dead body" spell examined in this section, the dead bodies and body parts of the dead who died untimely, or suffered a violent death are manipulated not just to achieve invocation of the spirits of the dead. This physical manipulation also implicitly refers to the bodily resurrection of the dead, who functions as assistant in the magical practice in the two spells of Pitys and the lamella spell. But, the notion of bodily resurrection is expressed explicitly in only one spell from the 13th magical handbook. The reason is probably, as explained, due to Christian and Gnostic influences. That does not mean, however, that the notion of bodily resurrection applies to every paredros spell.

The association, finally, of the vessels implicitly referring to the skull and skeleton of the dead and the paredroi in the Pitys spell reinforces the concept of resurrection of the dead. The significance of resurrecting the dead is the incorruptible nature of the reanimated body, which offers an alternative notion of divinity, attributing divine characteristics to the notion of the reanimated body. Accordingly, this makes it an extremely useful innovation in the magical rite.

IV. Paredros as the God Eros

This category also involves two spells, which shall be discussed at length in another context:⁷¹ “Eros as an assistant” (*PGM* XII.14–95, III C.E.) and “The sword of Dardanus” (IV.1716–1870, IV C.E.). These analyses can be summarised as follows.

In the first spell, Eros, afforded cosmic dimensions, is identified with Helios, Harpocrates and Osiris, and described as “the master of the forms,” able to assume the likeness of any god or goddess that is worshipped regularly. He also acts under “the command” of “the highest god.” Obviously these characterisations are well suited to the basic purpose of the prayer: the magician should have “favour, sweet speech and charm with all men and women” (XII.69–70). Worth noticing here is the emphasis on Eros’ ability to assume different divine likenesses. Stated concisely, *πάρεδρος* in this instance is described as powerful a god as possible, yet subject to the overriding power of “the highest god.” This god is as flexible as possible. Thus the magician brings himself into communion with the two most powerful gods of all.

In the second spell, Eros is also afforded cosmic dimensions and identified with the creator-god, one of the Orphic cosmogonical powers, the Platonic *δημιουργός*, and Harpocrates. Thus Eros is also capable of assuming the likeness of practically any god or goddess. Once again, this *πάρεδρος* is a god of the highest power, in this case not even subject to the command of “the highest god.”

V. Paredros as the Spell Itself and as a God, or Goddess Revealed as Another Entity

In the previous section, a particular god, Eros, was described as having the power to assume different forms.⁷² In this section, such a general divine attribute is presented as part of a much more complex process in the magical operation. The focus is on the divine epiphanies of the paredroi to the magicians, and the relationship between paredros/-oi and the god. Questions that shall be addressed are: How are the terms paredros and god employed in the particular magic spells that are examined? Are they used interchangeably, or is there a distinction and, consequently, is paredros revealed as another entity? What does this distinction imply in a religious sense regarding the two concepts? This section will also attempt to explore and compare the process of these epiphanies in the magic spells.

⁷¹ See Chpt. 3, below, pp. 86ff.

⁷² Cf. Pachoumi (2011a).

The issue of paredros as a god or goddess revealed as another entity is examined, or putting it more precisely, the epiphanies of the paredroi are scrutinised, by focusing on five spells: “Spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant (πάρεδρος)” (PGM I.42–195, III C.E.); “Spell to Selene” (I.147ff.) included in the Spell of Pnouthis; untitled spell LVII.1–37 (I/II C.E.); “Lunar spell of Klaudianus and ritual of heaven and the Bear constellation over lunar offerings” (VII.862–918, III C.E.); and “The old serving woman of Apollonius of Tyana” (XIa.1–40, V C.E.).

1. “*Spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant*”
(PGM I.42–195)

This spell is sent by Pnouthis to Keryx, clearly another magician, and written in the form of a letter. It is a complex and difficult spell that requires detailed examination.

At the start, Pnouthis writes to Keryx: εἰδὼς προσέταξά σοι [τό]νδε [τὸν] πάρεδρον] πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαπίπτειν ἐπιτελ[οῦν]τα [τῇ]νδε [τὴν] πρᾶξιν (I.43–45). O’Neil translates this, “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.”⁷³ In inserting the words “spell for acquiring an assistant” here, as in the title of the spell, O’Neil is incorporating an interpretation according to which the πάρεδρος referred to here, actually is considered the spell. However, sense requires this interpretation, and this is confirmed by the next phrase, παρελόμενος τὰ πάντα καταλεί[πομενα] ἡμῖν ἐν] βίβλοις μυρίαις συντάγματα ... (ὑπηρετ)οῦντά σοι τόνδε τὸν πάρεδρον (this spell for acquiring an assistant) ἐπέδει[ξα] (I.45–48), and then by the parallel, a few lines further (I.51–52), ἀπέπεμψα τήνδε τὴν βίβλον (“this book”). Thus, the term πάρεδρος can be used for a spell to acquire an assistant.

This raises two interrelated questions. How is the divine revealed to the magician in this spell and what are the stages of the divine epiphany of the paredros? Firstly, Pnouthis refers in detail to the “sign,” σημεῖον (I.65) of the divine presence. When the magician has completed the rituals, “a blazing star will come down and stand in the middle of the housetop and the star will be dissolved before your eyes” (I.75–78). Similarly, in the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829), the god’s manifestation is signalled by lightning bolts and falling stars (IV.702–704), and in the Corpus Hermeticum the gods in heaven are visible in the forms of stars with all their signs (Corp. Herm. III.2.14–15). Again, in the *Gospel of Judas* the great invisible spirit is described by Jesus: “Let an angel come into being as *my assistant/to stand by me*,” and an angel

⁷³ O’Neil’s translation in Betz (1986) 4. Preisendanz translated πάρεδρον as “Beisitzer”; Preisendanz (1973) 1:5.

emerged from a cloud of light.⁷⁴ In the *Testament of Solomon* also, which dates to the third or fourth century and contains elements of Jewish demonology and magic, the daimon that the god sent to Solomon described himself as γόνος εἰμι τοῦ μεγάλου. When Solomon asked him ἐν ποίῳ ἄστρῳ κεῖσθαι, he indicated where his star resides in the heavens.⁷⁵

The next stage of the epiphany is described as follows: When this blazing star comes down, “you will look at the angel whom you summoned and who has been sent to you and quickly you will learn gods’ wishes” (I.75–77).⁷⁶ Then the magician should “approach the god and, taking his right hand, kiss it and say these words to the angel” (I.77–78). The magician should also prepare a serving of food and Mendesian wine and “set these before the god with an uncorrupted boy serving and keeping silence, until the angel departs” (I.86–87).

A major interpretative problem arises at this point. How should these formally different references to “the god” and “the angel” be understood? Ciraiolo states that “the term ἄγγελος is used interchangeably with θεός, essentially as synonyms, and the word does not appear to have any special connotations.”⁷⁷ Similarly, according to O’Neil, “this angel or messenger (ἄγγελος) is also referred to as ‘the god’ throughout the spell.”⁷⁸ The question, however, remains: Could these words be used effectively as synonyms in this case?

It will be helpful to examine the comparative material, a series of paredros spells that indicate their own interest and problems. These spells will be considered in their own right before returning to the Spell of Pnouthis.

2. “Spell to Selene” (PGM I.147ff.)

The “spell to Selene” (I.147ff.) is included in the spell of Pnouthis. In this spell there also is a similar manifestation of the god as “some star from heaven setting itself gradually free and becoming divine/deified (θεοποι[ο]ύμ[ε]νον)” (I.154–155),⁷⁹ and again there are references both to “the god” (I.162) and “the angel” (I.173 and 177).

⁷⁴ The Greek translated as “assistant” is παράστασις, a noun with a similar meaning to παρεδρία; Kasser, Meyer and Wurst (2006) 34, also 6, n. 39; see also above, p. 43 with n. 60.

⁷⁵ *Test. Sol.* 7:5, 6; see also McCown (1923) 136ff.

⁷⁶ For the possible purposes of this spell see *PGM* I.98–127.

⁷⁷ Ciraiolo (1995) 283.

⁷⁸ Betz (1986) 5, n. 16; for the Hellenistic background to “angels” and their role in the Chaldaean system of divine entities as “ministering angels” see Lewy (1978) 157–164; on the Jewish angelology see Langton (1936) and Elior (1993) 3–53; and for the angels in the Christian tradition see Hull (1974) 87–96.

⁷⁹ Similarly see *PGM* VII.799–801.

3. Untitled spell to acquire a divine assistant (PGM LVII.1–37)

The untitled LVII.1–37 is a compulsive spell addressed to the goddess Isis. At the beginning of the spell the magician requests of Isis, “give me a sign of the results,” *σημεῖόν μοι τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων δός* (LVII.16–17), nicely anticipating the successful completion of the spell.⁸⁰ Isis’ sign is then described: “you will see a star ... having flashed an image (*χαρακτῆρα*) and having leapt into you yourself, so that you become stricken by god (*θεόπληκτον*)”⁸¹ (LVII.23–25). It is also made clear to the magician that, “the image (*[χ]αρα[κτῆρ]*) from the goddess (*πρὸς θεᾶς*) is that of Kronos, who encourages you” (LVII.27).⁸² In this case, the concept of assistance involves Isis and her image, Kronos. Hereby the magician is instructed, *ἔχε | δὲ εἰς φυλακὴν προ-κείμενον τὸν χαρακτῆρα* (LVII.25–26). Hock translates this “wear the above picture for protection,”⁸³ but such a rendering of *προκείμενον* would require the word-order *τὸν προκείμενον χαρακτῆρα*. In addition, the notion of “wearing” a physical “picture” introduces a step into the sequence that does not seem to be there.⁸⁴ Therefore, the sentence should rather be translated, “have as protection the [mental] image set before you,” with both *εἰς φυλακὴν* and *προκείμενον* having predicative force.

The revelation of the goddess to the magician in the Isis spell is similar to the god’s manifestation in the spell of Pnouthis.⁸⁵ In the Isis spell, as in that of Pnouthis, the goddess/god sends a sign to the magician. In both spells, the divine, initially, reveals itself through a natural phenomenon, the fall of a star. In the spell of Pnouthis, an angel is sent to the magician, and in the present spell the image of Kronos. In both cases, the god/goddess serves as a divine assistant to the magician through the angel or the image, which are the final forms of the divine epiphany’s transformable signs. However, there is one difference: in the Isis spell, the magician himself becomes stricken by the god.

⁸⁰ “Results” is the normal meaning of *ἀποτελέσματα*; Hock, in Betz (1986) 285, prosaically renders *ἀποτελεσμάτων* as “things that are going to happen.” Preisendanz translates “Vollendung”; Preisendanz (1974) 2:185.

⁸¹ On the thunderbolt associated with the star (*ἀστεροβλήης*), presented as striking the initiated in the mysteries, see Seaford (1997a) 197; on *ἀστροβολῆσαι* in relation to magic see Porph. *V. Plot.* 10.4–5; on a mystic level compare it with Dionysus’ epiphany in Euripides’ *Bacchae* as Dionysus and the (his) *image*, E. *Ba.* 629–630: *ὁ Βρόμιος ... φάσμι’ ἐποίησεν κατ’ αὐλήν*; also E. *Ba.* 631: *φαεννὸν (αἰθέρ)* (*! φαεννήν (εἰκόν)*). See also Chpt. 3, below p. 72, n. 52; p. 134, n. 330; p. 142, n. 372.

⁸² Hock translates *πρὸς θεᾶς* as “in the name of the goddess,” but the sense of the goddess as agent is required here; Betz (1986) 285.

⁸³ Betz (1986) 285.

⁸⁴ The explicitly mentioned physical images of PGM XII.17–20, IV.1722–1740 and VII.869–870 are a different matter altogether.

⁸⁵ PGM I.75–78, 154–155.

4. The “Lunar spell of Klaudianus and ritual of heaven and the Bear constellation over lunar offerings” (PGM VII.862–918)

The concept of *πάρεδρος* in this case involves the “Mistress Selene the Egyptian,” *κυρίαν Σελήνην Αἰγυπτίαν* (VII.871) and her “sacred angel or assistant,” *ἱερὸν ἄγγελον ἢ πάρεδρον* (VII.883). Thus, when among her many epithets (VII.881–883), Selene is described as “lady of the night and walking through the air,” *νυχία, ἡροδία* (VII.882),⁸⁶ these words help to anticipate the invocation to “send forth your angel from among those who assist you, the one who is the leader of the night,” *ἐκπεμψον ἄγγελόν σου ἐκ τῶν παρεδρευόντων σο[ι], καθηγούμενον τῆς νυκτός* (VII.891–892). This invocation also sketches a hierarchy among the assistants and a connection between Selene and the magician who summons her: the goddess Selene has “assistants”; their “leader” is to become the magician’s “assistant.”⁸⁷ The moment in which the goddess is magically efficient is associated with an allusion to the visual image of a physical phenomenon, that of fire: “but when you see the goddess becoming fiery red (*πυρράν*), know that she is, already, attracting (*ἄγει ἤδη*)” (VII.889–890).⁸⁸

The spell also involves a shrine made from olive wood, and the ritual of preparing a clay image of the goddess, “*κυρίαν Σελήνην Αἰγυπτίαν ... σχηματιζομένην παντόμορφον*” (VII.871–872). O’Neil translates the words *σχηματιζομένην παντόμορφον* as, “making her in the form of the Universe.”⁸⁹ The adjective *παντόμορφος*, or *πάμμορφος* certainly can be used of the Universe,⁹⁰ which is relevant in this case because of the subsequent descriptions of Selene as “mistress of the whole cosmos,” *δέσποινα τοῦ σύνπαντος κόσμου*, and “ruler of the entire cosmic system,” *καθηγουμένη(ν) συστήματος τοῦ σύμπαντος* (VII.881–882), but it literally means “of all forms.” Thus the critical question here is: Who is doing the shaping (*σχηματίζω*)? According to O’Neil’s interpretation, the verb is passive and the phrase, “being shaped by you, the magician.” However, this interpretation is problematic and it is better to accept the verb as describing Selene in the middle voice, as the one “assuming all forms.”

Elsewhere, another god, Eros, is described as “the master of the forms,” *δεσπότης τῶν μορφῶν* (XII.50–51) in the spell called “Eros as an assistant”

⁸⁶ The epithet *ἡροδία* occurs only in this case and is not found in LSJ; but *ειροδία* is used to describe a deity in the *PGM*; see Preisendanz (1974) 2:39.

⁸⁷ Note also a similar hierarchy in the address, “assistants (*παρέδρους*) of the great god” (*PGM* IV.1349), in which the arch-daimons are subordinate this time both to the magician and to the great god (spell IV.1331–1389, “Power of the Bear constellation that accomplishes everything,” in which the “Bear constellation” is also mentioned).

⁸⁸ On the association of angels and fire, as from where they emerged, see the Jewish Book of Mysteries, *Sepher Ha-Razim*; Morgan (1983) 21.

⁸⁹ Betz (1986) 141.

⁹⁰ Cf. LSJ.

(XII.14–95). The various forms of Eros are emphasised when the magician requests of Eros to serve him “assuming the likeness (παρομοιούμενος) of a god (or a goddess) such as men and women worship” (XII.41–42). Similarly Eros is asked to accomplish his task as written on a piece of papyrus, “having assumed the likeness (παρομοιωθείς) of a god (or a goddess) he (or she) worships” (XII.83).⁹¹

5. “*The old serving woman of Apollonius of Tyana*”
(PGM XIa.1–40)⁹²

The goddess invoked by the magician is described in the present spell as “the goddess called *the mistress of the house* (οικουρός)” (XIa.10).⁹³ This phrase translates the name of the Egyptian goddess Nephthys, the wife of Seth.⁹⁴ Moreover, this spell presents elements of the goddess’s association with Seth, such as the use of “Typhon’s skull” in the ritual to be practised for the goddess’s revelation, the goddess’s appearance “sitting on an ass” and the “tooth from the ass” (XIa.1–2, 11, 22).⁹⁵

The description of the goddess’s manifestation in two physically different forms needs close examination. She first appears in the form of a young woman of extraordinary beauty and when the magician tells her that “I have a need of you *with regard to the services of life* (εἰς τὰς τοῦ βίου ὑπηρεσίας),” she immediately strips off her beauty and will be transformed into an old woman (XIa.16–18). In the form of the old woman she will reply to the magician, “I will be your servant and assist you,” ἐγὼ σοι ὑπηρετήσω καὶ παρ-[εδρ]εύσω (XIa.17). Then, the goddess will again take on her beauty, which she had just taken off,⁹⁶ and will ask to be released (XIa.19). Once the

⁹¹ See in this Chapter, below, p. 54, n. 98; also in Chpt. 1, above, p. 27; and in Chpt. 3, below, pp. 73ff.; 88, n. 125; 102, n. 196; 116; 132, n. 356; and 142, nn. 425–426.

⁹² The spell aptly trades on the reputation of Apollonius, the first-century wanderer, philosopher and magician, even though attributing the mentioned spell to him is unique in the Greek magical papyri and indeed in ancient magical literature generally. On Apollonius see Philostr. VA; Bowie (1978); Elsner (1997); see also Betz (1986) 332; Luck in Flint, Gordon, Luck and Ogden (1999) 91–158; on this spell see Ciruolo (1995) 279–283, at 282–283 (though the author does not agree with her assessment).

⁹³ For οἰκουρός also note possible influence from Iamblichus’ reference to οἰκοδεσπότης, “master of the house” in *De Mysteriis* IX. According to this source, οἰκοδεσπότης is the planet that sends the personal daimon to the individuals, and οἶκος is a technical term referring to that region of *oikodespotes*, which is related to the zodiac sign of someone’s birth (Iambl. *Myst.* IX.2.274.4–7); see also Chpt. 1, above, p. 12, n. 6; and p. 20, n. 55.

⁹⁴ O’Neil in Betz (1986) 150, n. 3; Griffiths (1970) 447.

⁹⁵ On the reference to the fat of a black ass in the magician’s offering to the Bear and its identification with Seth-Typhon see the spell IV.1331–1389, at IV.1332, 1334–1335.

⁹⁶ As to ‘clothing’ and ‘unclothing’ verbs to describe the goddess’ changes of appearance, such imagery is often used both to denote physical, psychological or philosophical changes, and in ritual contexts. This spell shows clear folk-tale elements.

magician ensures that the old woman will serve him, he is compelled to release the goddess (XIa.31–32). At this point the goddess and the old woman clearly become two different entities. The old woman is maintained inseparably from the magician, by her own molar tooth and by the tooth from the ass that the goddess gives him (XIa.21–22). When the magician wishes to release the divinity in the old woman's form, he must make fire into which he casts the teeth, and the old woman will flee without a trace.⁹⁷

In this case, the motif of a god or a goddess assuming various forms, as examined in the previous spells, is simplified, by the ascription to the goddess of human forms.⁹⁸

In addition to these four comparanda, the relation to the various forms of the divine can be studied in the Gnostic *Apocryphon of John* written in Coptic, from the Nag Hammadi Library. In this treatise John describes a similar epiphany of Jesus, upon which the world was shaken and the heavens opened and John observed “in the light [a youth who stood] by me. While I looked [at him he became] like an old man. And he [changed his] likeness (again) becoming like a servant. There was [not a plurality] before me, but there was a [likeness] with multiple forms in the light, and the [likeness] appeared through each other, [and] the [likeness] had three forms.”⁹⁹

The “many” forms of the god in magic spells and the Gnostic description of Jesus as a “[likeness] with multiple forms” may be compared with contemporary Neoplatonist thought. Plotinus, for example, in *Ennead VI* “On the Kinds of Being II” argues that the “one” (ἓν) is at the same time also many (ἅμα καὶ πολλά) and “that manifold one (τι ποικίλον ἓν) has the many in one” (Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.2ff.).¹⁰⁰ Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* refers to the “one” god Helios and his many forms, and to his manifold powers reflecting his one power.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ *PGM* See also VII.914–916.

⁹⁸ References were already made to the descriptions of Selene the Egyptian and Eros as multi-formed and capable of assuming the form of various gods. See Chpt. 1, above, p. 27; in the present Chapter, p. 52, n. 91; also Chpt. 3, below, pp. 73ff.; 88, n. 125; 102, n. 196; 116; 132, n. 356; and 142, nn. 425–426.

⁹⁹ *Apocr. John* (NHC II 1, 1.31–2.8); transl. by Wisse in J. M. Robinson (1996) 105; on Jesus in the form of god, human and servant see Phil 2:6–8: ὁ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθείς ὡς ἄνθρωπος. See also M. J. Edwards (1991b) 28.

¹⁰⁰ On the “one and many” and the σύγκρασις in the Neoplatonists see Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.22; VI.3.25.9ff.; III.3.4.49; Porph. *V. Plot.* 31.9, also Iambl. *Comm. Math.* p. 29.1 Festa; Iambl. *Theol. Ar.* p. 5.18 De Falco; Procl. *In Ti.* II.268.1–3; see Chpt. 1, above, p. 17, nn. 35–37; and Chpt. 3, below, pp. 77–79.

¹⁰¹ Iambl. *Myst.* VII.3.253.12–254.2: διὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δοθέντων τὸν ἓνα θεὸν ἐμφαίνειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολυτρόπων δυνάμεων τὴν μίαν αὐτοῦ παριστάνει δύναμιν· διὸ καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν ἓνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, τὰς δὲ διαμείψεις τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοὺς μετασχηματισμούς ἐν τοῖς δεχομένοις ὑποτίθεται. See Chpt. 3, below, p. 75.

Subsequently these five spells are compared in tabular form:

The Spells	1st stage	2nd stage	3rd stage	4th stage
1. Pnouthis (<i>PGM</i> I.42–195)	Spell to god God	Sign: Star	Angel	God-Angel: Two Entities
2. Selene (<i>PGM</i> I.147ff.)	Spell to Selene God	Sign: Star	Angel	God-Angel: Two Entities
3. Untitled (<i>PGM</i> LVII.1–37)	Spell to Isis Isis	Sign: Star	Image of Kronos	Isis-Kronos: Two Entities
4. Claudianus (<i>PGM</i> VII.862–918)	Spell to Selene Selene	(Sign:) Selene, fiery- red	Angel	Selene-Angel: Two Entities
5. Apollonius (<i>PGM</i> XIa.1–40)	Spell to goddess Goddess	(Sign:) Beautiful woman	Old woman	The goddess- Old woman: Two Entities

Conclusion

The reviewing in the present phenomenological study regarding epiphanies of the paredroi, as the spell itself and as a god or goddess revealed as another entity, re-invokes the initial question of how the terms paredros and god are used in the Pnouthis spell and the comparative material. In other words, is it correct to claim that “the god” and “the angel” are used interchangeably and effectively as synonyms?¹⁰² Firstly, certainly at the beginning of the magic ritual, this is incorrect: the magician would never pray to an “angel” to send him a “god.” Rather, he prays to the “god” to send him an “angel.” A matter of divine hierarchy is involved.

Secondly, the spells mentioned are based on the logic that the *πάρεδρος*, originated from/sent by a god or a goddess, may be revealed to the magician as an angel, the image of Kronos, or in the form of an old woman. Nevertheless, the god or goddess remains one entity and the sign of his/her epiphany gradually becomes another entity – the angel, the image of Kronos, or the old woman.

¹⁰² See above, pp. 48ff.

Thirdly, the distinction between the god or goddess on the one hand, and the angel, the image of Kronos, or the old woman on the other hand as two physical or divine entities simplifies the concept of *πάρεδρος* and makes it understandable. This distinction also means that the mentioned forms of the god/goddess's manifestation to humans (as an angel, the image of Kronos, or an old woman) could easily be conceptualised by the magician.

This distinction seems more problematic in the spell of Pnouthis, regarding the words “approach the god and, taking his right hand, kiss it and say these words to the angel” (I.77–78) and “set these before the god with an uncorrupted boy serving and keeping silence, until the angel departs” (I.86–87). However, it is incorrect to state that the terms angel and god are used interchangeably here. Rather, they expose an intrinsic problem – the exact determination of divinity. The magicians in these spells seem to be engaged in a deep theological sense with the religious and philosophical problem of the divine, in these instances referred to as god and its various transformable forms.

VI. Paredros as Divine Assistance from Homeric Verses and an Object

In the spell “Tristych of Homer as assistant” (*PGM* IV.2145–2240, IV C.E.) the divine assistance is actually attributed to a Homeric tristych,¹⁰³ which should be inscribed on an iron tablet called lamella.¹⁰⁴ In the ritual of the immersion of the spell, the divine assistant is invoked. His name is not mentioned, but he is called *ὁ δεῖνα*, “whoever,” yet is described distinctively as “with round nozzle, like the shrill storm of rain, with muddy wrinkles” (IV.2180–2184).¹⁰⁵ He is also conjured up “by the gods of the underworld” (IV.2182–2183). In the spell to be spoken in the consecration of the lamella, the assistant is addressed as “Aion of Aions, Cosmokrator, Ra and Pan” (IV.2196–2197). In this case, the god encompasses Egyptian (Ra) and Greek (Pan), time and space, the individual and the all. For, as Martin points out, “Pan” is used with etymological force (and the god is also described as “the master of all things”), which assists the identification with Aion (Time).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Hom. *Il.* X.564, 521, 572; it occurs elsewhere, e.g. *PGM* IV.470–474, 821–814.

¹⁰⁴ For the various purposes of this spell inscribed in a lamella see *PGM* IV.2151–2177.

¹⁰⁵ For the three epithets *γογγυλόρυγχε, ὀμβρολίγματε, θοηρυσσῆρις*; cf. Appendix 6 on p. 185 and Appendix 7 on pp. 191–192.

¹⁰⁶ Betz (1986) 77, n. 271; cf. also *PGM* XIII.980: *Ἐν καὶ τὸ Πᾶν*; see also Chpt. 3, below, p. 101, n. 190; also p. 98, n. 177.

VII. The Relationship between the Paredros and the Magician

In the spell “A daimon comes as an assistant” (*PGM* I.1–42) the assistant will be the magician’s “companion (συνόμιλος) and will eat and sleep together with him” (I.2). During the preparation of the offerings to the assistant, the magician is instructed, “and after taking the milk with the honey drink it before the sun is rising and there will be something divine in your heart” (I.19–20; cf. also XIII.31–37). Milk and honey are often used in offerings mentioned in the Greek magical papyri.¹⁰⁷ Elsewhere, the magician is instructed, “after preparing all types of foods and Mendesian wine, set these before the god.”¹⁰⁸ When the ritual has been practised and the spell recited, the magician eats the dinner and the prescribed offering, “coming face to face/mouth to mouth (τὸ στόμα πρὸς τὸ στόμα) as a companion (συνόμιλος) to the god” (I.37–40). In this case the word “companion” refers to the magician and not to the assistant. The switch emphasises both the reciprocal relationship between daimon and magician, and the growing equality of the latter, as he himself begins to turn divine. Another point to be noticed in these descriptions is that at this juncture the magician and the god are presented as two different entities, engaged in an external relationship described as companionship.

In “Pitys’ spell that leads” (IV.2006–2125), when the assistant has performed his tasks, the magician is to pay him a sacrifice. The magician threatens the assistant that, if he does not agree to serve him, he should expect “other punishments” (IV.2065–2066), “other” presumably than the ones already being suffered in the underworld. Moreover, the magician also threatens the assistant that, if he delays, the magician will inflict on him unendurable punishments (IV.2095–2097).¹⁰⁹ While prayers for divine assistance naturally often involve an element of ‘negotiation’ between the human and the god or daimon, in this case the power relationship is weighted dramatically in favour of the human. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, the notion of the *πάρεδρος* as such opens the possibility of an inferior position on the part of the daimon or other divine figure towards the person he “assists.” Secondly, this possibility is obviously increased by the identity of the *πάρεδρος* in this case. And thirdly, there could be no more impressive demonstration of the magician’s power than his position to inflict punishment

¹⁰⁷ *PGM* I.4–5, 287, IV.908, 2191, XII.215; for the use of milk and honey see Darby, Ghalioungui and Grivetti (1977) 1:430–439 and 2:760–771.

¹⁰⁸ *PGM* I.85–87; also III.424–430, IV.750–775, VII.644–651.

¹⁰⁹ On threatening the gods as a characteristic of the Greek magical papyri see Nock (1929) 226.

on the *πάρεδρος*. There are other instances in the Greek magical papyri as well, where the magician threatens the assistant.¹¹⁰

In “Eros as an assistant” (XII.14–95) in the ritual of Eros’ consecration (XII.15ff.), the magician is instructed to take seven living animals, two of which should be nestlings and, “holding them in your hand, you will choke them, at the same time offering them to Eros, until each animal has been choked and its spirit has gone into him” (XII.32–34). “Him” in this case evidently refers to the cult statue of Eros. In Greek, Egyptian and Mesopotamian religions gods are viewed as residing in their statues.¹¹¹ The process of *ἐνπνευμάτωσις*, “filling with divine spirit,” is mentioned frequently in the Greek magical papyri. According to this process, they prepared hollow figures of the gods and placed inside them the magical spell in order for the figure to be filled with the spirit of the god.¹¹² In the *Holy Book of Hermes Trismegistus Addressed to Asclepius* in the *Hermetica*, Trismegistus refers to “living statues filled with sense and spirit.”¹¹³ Furthermore, as is asserted in the same work, this invention of making gods out of material substance is ascribed to the Egyptians, “who invoked the souls of daimons or angels and implanted them by means of holy and sacred rites.”¹¹⁴

In the same spell, the magician is instructed, “place another chicklet on the altar; while practising the ritual eat the chicklet by yourself and let no one else be present” (XII.36–37). Just as the offering of the animals and chicklets functions as a way of instilling their spirit into the statue of Eros, eating the chicklet in this manner helps to instil its spirit into the magician. In the “sword of Dardanos” (IV.1716–1870) the magician is also instructed to inscribe the magical formula on a golden leaf and “give the leaf to a partridge to swallow down and then kill it” (IV.1811–1823). Thereafter he should pick up the slain bird and wear it around his neck as a way of preserving the potency of the magical formula. The concept of eating living creatures as a way of acquiring their spirit and power is made dramatically explicit in the spells of the *Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (273–274), “The king is one who eats men and lives on the gods ... The king eats their magic, swallows their spirits ... He has seized the hearts of the gods ... The king feeds on the lungs of the wise and is satisfied with living on hearts and their magic.”¹¹⁵

In the “Spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant” (PGM I.42–195) the relationship between the magician and the assistant

¹¹⁰ E.g. *PGM* II.54; LVII.1; Ritner in Betz (1986) 284, n. 1; Graf (1991) 194–195 (on “coercive procedures”).

¹¹¹ Burkert (1996a) 84ff. and Schnapp (1994) 40–44.

¹¹² See e.g. *PGM* III.282–409, 296ff.; IV.964–966, 2359–2372; also V.381–385; on this practice see Poulsen (1945).

¹¹³ *Herm. Asclep.* III.24a.

¹¹⁴ *Herm. Asclep.* III.37.23–25.

¹¹⁵ Faulkner (1969); on the Egyptian ritual of swallowing see Ritner (1993) chpt. 3.

requires further discussion. A series of allusions equate the assistant with the air, for instance, Pnouthis informs Keryx, introduced as “friend of aerial spirits that move” (I.49–50): “it is recognised that this is the god; it is an aerial spirit, which you saw” (I.96–97); “he will accomplish [these tasks] for you, this most powerful assistant and the one who is the only lord of the air” (I.127–129). Furthermore, whenever the magician needs the assistant, he should “call out to the air the name only.”¹¹⁶ In a fragment of the Pre-Socratic Democritus, Zeus is associated with air.¹¹⁷ A similar identification of Zeus with the air is described in the *Derveni Papyrus*.¹¹⁸ Keryx is also instructed by Pnouthis, “ask the angel and he will tell you in silence, but you should speak to the one who asks you as if speaking from yourself” (I.177–178, cf. also IV.735–738, 744–746), and “the god will be seen only by you alone, nor will anyone ever hear a voice of him speaking, except you yourself alone” (I.186–188).¹¹⁹ Pnouthis also advises Keryx (I.77–78, 83, cf. 155), “approach the god and taking his right hand, kiss it” and “take the god by the hand.” The question is whether this presupposes an inconsistency. This is clearly not the case: “touching and kissing the god” creates a plausible visual presentation for the initiated magician in the “ritual of receiving the assistant.”

Pnouthis calls the process of invoking and receiving the assistant “this great mystery” (I.131) and Keryx “blessed initiate of the sacred magic” (I.127). Secrecy, naturally, is an important element of these rituals, as Pnouthis, for example, instructs Keryx, “share it with no one else but conceal it” (I.130). This also applies to the spell “Eros as an assistant,” in the formula that needs to be written on a piece of papyrus, in which the magician confirms to the assistant: “which knowledge (of your most great name) I will keep in sanctity without imparting it to anyone except to the other fellow initiates of your holy mysteries” (XII.93–94). These examples reflect the magicians’

¹¹⁶ *PGM* I.180: εἰς ἀέρα λέγε τὸ ὄνομα μόνον; see also XIVc.16: “the one in the empty pneuma,” τὸν ἐ[ν] τῷ κενεῷ πνεύματι; also XII.368; and V.121; see discussion in Chpt. 3, below, pp. 146–147.

¹¹⁷ Democr. *Fr.* 30.1–5 DK – Clem. Al. *Protr.* 68, *Strom.* V.103: τῶν λογίων ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγοι ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας ἐνταῦθα, ὃν νῦν ἡέρα καλέομεν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πάντα (εἶπαν), Ζεὺς μυθῆται καὶ πάνθ’ οὗτος οἶδε καὶ διδοῖ καὶ ἀφαιρέεται καὶ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τῶν πάντων.

¹¹⁸ *Derv. Pap.* col. XVII.17.2–6: ἦν γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν ὦν ἢ τὰ νῦν ἔοντα συσταθῆναι ἀῆρ καὶ ἔσται αἰεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ ἦν. δι’ ὅ τι δὲ ἀῆρ ἐκλήθη δεδῆλωται ἐν τοῖς προτέροις. γενέσθαι δὲ ἐνομίσθη ἐπειτ’ ὠνομάσθη Ζεὺς, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πρότερον μὴ ἔων. Also XIX.1–4: ἐκ [τοῦ δ] ἐ [τ] ἀ ἔόντα ἐν [ἐκ]αστον κέκ[λητ]αι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπικρατοῦντος, Ζεὺ[ς] πάντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐκλήθη· πάντων γὰρ ὁ ἀῆρ ἐπικρατεῖ τοσοῦτον ὅσον βούλεται. Kouremenos, Parassoglou and Tsantsanoglou (2006) 95, 99; see also Burkert (2004) 122–124.

¹¹⁹ In the Nag Hammadi Library, the *Discourse on the Eight and Ninth*, there is a similar emphasis on the importance of silence, when “the father” advises “the son,” “return to [praising], my son, and sing while you are silent. Ask what you want in silence” (NHC VI 6, 59.20; also in 56.10 and 58.25).

attempts to assimilate their magic to the great mystery religions.¹²⁰ The *Derveni Papyrus* also testifies similar references to the activities of the magicians as parallel to the initiates of mystery cults.¹²¹

However, this mystery element is not simply a matter of self-representation to the outside world. There are religious consequences. Pnouthis instructs Keryx to request of the assistant, “become immovable from me from this day through all the time of my life” (I.165–166) and to “ask the angel and he will tell you in silence, but you should speak to the one who asks you as if speaking from yourself” (I.177–178; cf. IV.735–738, 744–746). In this case, the magician in effect internalises the divine assistant. Furthermore, Pnouthis explains to Keryx, using theurgic language, “when you have died, the angel will wrap your body, as is fitting for a god, and after taking your spirit he will carry it into the air with him, since an aerial spirit which has been joined with the mighty assistant will not go to Hades” (I.177–180).

Here there is a description of the magician’s deification, combined with with theurgic allusions and influences from the Egyptian custom of mummification. Thus, eventually, “you will be worshipped as a god, since you have the god as your friend” (I.190–191). In the “Mithras Liturgy,” a similar immortalisation of the initiated magician is described (IV.574, 741, 746). Thus, the process of receiving the divine assistant in “this great mystery” culminates in the magician’s own divinisation. As a result, both the ambiguous power relationship between the magician and assistant, and the ambiguous portrayal of the divine assistant, are resolved finally in a shared affirmation of divinisation on the magician’s death.

VIII. Conclusion

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that Betz’s characterisation of *πάρεδρος* as “a special type of daimon” and his definition of it as “an assistant daimon” are unnecessarily restrictive.¹²² Even within the general category of daimones, *πάρεδρος* may be applied to various types of daimones, such as the Good daimon, the holy Orion, the powerful arch-daimons, or to the resurrected spirit and body of the dead who suffered a violent death. But the term can be used of other categories as well. It can refer to various entities. These include: a god, as the god Eros that is presented as the master of forms, a divine factor of cosmic dimensions, or as Osiris and Harpocrates, a god or a

¹²⁰ Betz (1982). See also above, p. 51, n. 81; Chpt. 3, below, p. 72, n. 52 and p. 134, n. 372; p. 127, n. 330.

¹²¹ *Derv. Pap.* col. II; Kouremenos, Parassoglou and Tsantsanoglou (2006) 73.

¹²² Betz (1986) 332 and xi, Glossary; also in *PGM* I.42; XII.14; LVII.1. One wonders whether Betz is considering the hypothesised connection between the *πάρεδρος* and Socrates’ *daimonion*, made explicit by Graf and Scibilia (see above, pp. 34ff.).

goddess, revealed to the magician as an angel, the image of Kronos, or in the form of an old woman. The term also can imply the concept of the assistant, or even the actual process of conceptualising the divine, or the spell which activates the assistance. In another sense, *πάρεδρος* may also describe the divine assistance provided by some verses, as in the verses from Homer. In some instances the divine assistant functions as a medium in the relationship between the magician and the god while the magician is ascending to the god. In these cases, the *πάρεδρος* can be identified both with the god (in his or her ambiguous god/angel form) and with the magician. The fact that, whether as a noun or an adjective, *πάρεδρος* can be either masculine or feminine, makes it an enormously flexible term in magic.

Thus, the term illustrates the important role the assistance of the divine fulfils in practically all its various transformable forms. The divine epiphanies of the gods and their various transformable manifestations have been examined in comparison to the epiphanies of the gods in heaven and their visible forms of stars of the Corpus Hermeticum and the epiphany of the Gnostic Jesus as a “[likeness] with multiple forms” of the Coptic Nag Hammadi Library. In this sense, “assistance” represents an aspiration to create unity out of apparent diversity. This is parallel to the tendency towards henotheism and the notion of the “one and many” according to the Neoplatonist philosophers in the larger religious and philosophical conceptualisation about the assimilations of the gods. Hence, these magical texts are engaged in a religious and philosophical sense with the issue of the divine, described as a god and its “many” transformable forms.

The divine “assistance” also serves as a vehicle for the internalisation of the divine. The magician receives the *πάρεδρος* through a ritualistic process of reciting spells and practicing rituals. Receiving the *πάρεδρος* and associating with it even becomes an internal process of the magician’s mystical transformation, which culminates in divine identification between the magician and the assistant/god. In this sense, the magicians’ analogy between magic and the mystery religions underwrites an important religious claim.

A final feature of this material is the linguistic inventiveness and adeptness of the magicians, as illustrated for example in the invention of compound adjectives for the gods, or in Pity’s paradoxical punning on “vessels.” To some extent this is simply a matter of appropriate religious ‘style,’ designed to impress. However, it does also underwrite the fundamental religious claims: Out of all this diversity of manifestations of the divine can emerge a unity of the very concept of “assistance” and unity between the divine and the magician himself.

Chapter 3

The Concept of God through Manifold Religious and Philosophical Assimilations

I. Introduction

This chapter examines the concept of god, focusing on the religious and philosophical assimilations of the major gods invoked in the Greek magical papyri. These gods include Helios, Eros, the creator-god, Aion, Chrestos, Hermes-Thoth-Hermes Trismegistos, Hekate-Selene-Artemis, Typhon-Seth, Osiris-Dionysus, Sarapis, Isis, Aphrodite and Bes(as). The initial purpose is to identify the different religious elements represented from the Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian and Jewish religions (including late allusions to Christianity), and then to analyse the logic, or logics, of these religious assimilations, examining at the same time the assimilations of the gods with philosophical concepts, where applied. Questions to be addressed are: What religious tendencies do these religious assimilations reveal? Do they display influences from contemporary Neoplatonist philosophers? More general questions on the nature of the whole underlying religious thought process will then be addressed in the conclusion. This will involve consideration of the issues about religious consistency and uniformity within the Greek magical papyri and the notion of syncretism.

II. Helios

Helios, a nature god of Indo-European origins, holds a place in Greek anthropomorphic and polytheistic religion, although he is not included in the Olympians.¹ In the Greek magical papyri, Helios is one of the most often and the most powerful gods invoked.² Among the spells addressed to him, four are

¹ See e.g. Burkert (1996a) 17, 175ff. In the Homeric world he is addressed as “Helios Hyperion,” or just as “Hyperion,” e.g. Hom. *Od.* XII.133, 260–402; I.8; *Il.* VIII.48. The name Hyperion perhaps helped the association between Helios and the Highest god (see Chpt. 2, above, pp. 47–48; on the Highest god see below, p. 87, n. 122).

² For Helios and Chrestos see below, pp. 110–123, at p. 121. Also cf. Pachoumi (2015).

hymns written in meter, specifically dactylic hexameter.³ The section examines the religious and philosophical assimilations of the god Helios expressed in the Greek magical papyri. It assesses the religious construction of Helios through his various assimilations with gods from other religious systems and with abstract epithets and philosophical concepts. Questions to be addressed are: How could these manifold assimilations and the notions of multi-nominality/‘many-namedness’ and multi-morphous nature/‘many-formedness’ of Helios and his various transformations be paralleled with, or influenced by, the tensions of their contemporary religious and philosophical currents in relation to the concept of ‘one and many,’ or ‘the manifold one’ transcending plurality? Also, do the religious and philosophical assimilations of Helios reflect cohesive religious attitudes?

The spells to be examined are: “Spell to bring the god” (*PGM* IV.985–1035, IV C.E.) included in the “Spell that produces direct vision (of the divinity invoked)” (IV.930–1114, IV C.E.); “This is the (consecration) ritual for all purposes. Spell to Helios” (IV.1596–1715, IV C.E.); “[Systasis to] Helios” (III.494–611, III C.E.); “Systasis with your own daimon” (VII.505–528, III C.E.); and the hymn “To Helios” (V.939–948, IV C.E.) included in the “Spell that produces direct vision (of the divinity invoked)” (IV.930–1114, IV C.E.).

1. “Spell to bring the god” (*PGM* IV.985–1035)

a) *Helios the greatest god, lord Horus Harpocrates*

In the “θεαγωγὸς λόγος” (IV.985–1035), included in the “Spell that produces direct vision (of the divinity invoked)” (Αὔτοπιτος, IV.930–1114), the magician assimilates Helios with “the greatest god (τὸν μέγιστον θεόν), lord Horus Harpocrates,” “god of gods (θεεῖ θεῶν),” whom he invokes (IV.987–988, 999–1000; also 1048–1049).⁴ Helios is also described as “the one who enlightens everything and illuminates by his own power the whole cosmos” (IV.989–991).⁵ In the hymn “To Helios” (IV.939–948) Helios is also described as “gathering up the clover of the golden bean” (IV.941) and identified with Harpocrates, “the god seated on a lotus, decorated with rays,” as he is described at the end of the spell at the moment of his expected revelation to the magician (IV.1107–1108). Harpocrates, the Egyptian young sun god, is often depicted in magical amulets of the late Hellenistic and Roman period as a naked child seated on a lotus flower or in a boat, representing the rising

³ Reconstructed hymn 3 “To Helios” (IV.939–948), hymn 4 “To Helios” (A = IV.436–461, B = IV.1957–1989, C = VIII.74–81, D = I.315–325), hymn 5 “To Helios and to the gods of All” (III.198–229) and hymn 11 “To Apollo and to Apollo-Helios” (II.81–101, 133–140, 136–166); Preisendanz (1974) 2:237–268; see also Appendix 3 on pp. 178–179.

⁴ See also the discussion, below, pp. 69–70.

⁵ For this cosmic depiction of Harpocrates in the Greco-Roman period see El-Khachab (1971) 132–145; also Bonner (1950) pls. IX–X.

sun.⁶ In another hymn “To Helios”⁷ included in the “Wondrous erotic binding spell” (IV.296–466), Helios is once again identified with Horus (κλήζω δ’ οὖνομα σόν, Ὡρ’, IV.454). Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* VII explains the symbolism: “For sitting on a lotus implies pre-eminence over the mud, without ever touching the mud, and also displays intellectual and empyrean leadership,” Τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθέζεσθαι ὑπεροχὴν τε ὑπὲρ τὴν ἰλὺν αἰνίττεται μὴ ψαύουσιν μῆδαμῶς τῆς ἰλύος, καὶ ἡγεμονίαν νοερὰν καὶ ἐμπύριον ἐπιδείκνυται (Iambl. *Myst.* VII.2.251.14–252.2).

b) Helios holding the reins and steering the tiller, restraining the serpent

Helios is also represented as, “holding the reins and steering the tiller, restraining the serpent,” ἡνοχῶν καὶ κυβερνῶν οἶακα, κατέχων δράκοντα (IV.993–994).⁸ The origins of the idea of the chariot of the Sun are Indo-European.⁹ The representation of Helios in his chariot is familiar in Greek literature¹⁰ and in Near-Eastern religious texts as well.¹¹ In the Arsacid period of Iranian religious history, on which there are various Hellenistic and Semitic influences, the first artistic representations are to be found of the chariot god.¹² The rituals of the sun cult were performed, for example, in the Kushan period by the *magas*, the Iranian Magi who originated in eastern Iran among the Saka. Further evidence of the cult of the sun god is the statue of the Iranian sun god in a sanctuary in Kabul, and the frescoes in Bamiyan (Afghanistan) depicting the chariot sun god associated with Mithras.¹³ There are, however, additional examples of the assimilation between Helios and Mithras. In the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829) Helios is assimilated to Mithras, ὁ μέγας θεός Helios Mithras (IV.482), who has revealed his mysteries about immortality to the initiated magician and author of that spell.¹⁴ The spell for foreknowledge and memory called “A copy from a holy book” (III.424–466)

⁶ The rise of the sun was represented with the young child Harpocrates seated on the lotus cup. See Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 11.355B; Bonner (1950) 140–147, pls. IX–X; El-Khachab (1971); Betz (1986) 68; cf. also *PDM* xiv.45. Also below, pp. 93–94 (on Eros).

⁷ Reconstructed as hymn 4 “To Helios” (A = IV.436–461, B = IV.1957–1989, C = VIII.74–81, D = I.315–325); Preisendanz (1974) 2:239–240.

⁸ In the salutation to Helios in the same spell (IV.930–1114), the magician also salutes the abstract Hours (αἱ Ὡραι), personified and characterised as Helios’ Hours, “on which you ride through” (ἐν αἷς δι᾽ ἡμῶν, IV.1049–1050), in similar ‘chariot’ imagery.

⁹ See Gelling and Davidson (1969).

¹⁰ E.g. *Hymn. Hom.* XXXI.9; *E. Med.* 1321–1322; see also the myth of Phaethon dramatized by Euripides in his fragmentary play *Phaethon*; Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) 195–239; also *Hymn. Orph.* 8.18–19.

¹¹ See Burkert (1996a) 174–176.

¹² See Duchesne-Guillemin (1966) 108; for the cult of Helios in Syria and his depictions in his chariot see Seyrig (1971).

¹³ Duchesne-Guillemin (1966) 109–111.

¹⁴ See the discussion below, pp. 70ff.

greets “Helios Mithras” (III.462).¹⁵ In the spell III.98–124, included in the spell III.1–164, “the greatest (μέγιστε) Mithras” (III.100–101) is associated with Helios, addressed as “the holy king, the sailor, who controls the tiller of the great god” (III.102–103; also 81–82). This description must refer to the daily solar sea journey on the boat of the Egyptian sun god Re.¹⁶ On the Greco-Egyptian magical amulets inscribed on small pieces of papyrus or gems there are also depictions of Helios driving his four-horse chariot.¹⁷

Thus, the idea is very widespread. But the text under examination shows a quite specific Egyptian influence. The whole phrase “holding the reins and steering the tiller” followed by “restraining the serpent” alludes to the Egyptian ritual of repulsing the serpent Apophis, who according to the myth attempts every night to destroy the ship of the sun god Re while the latter is making his journey through the skies. This magic ritual and spell is recited in a text entitled “The Beginning of the book of overthrowing Apophis, the enemy of Re and the enemy of king Wen-nofer,” dated to 310 B.C.¹⁸

Furthermore, Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* VII, referring to the “intellectual interpretation of the symbols according to the Egyptian thought” (Iambl. *Myst.* VII.2.250.10–11), explicates the symbolism of sailing in a ship: “The one who sails in the ship represents the rule that governs the world. Just as the steersman mounts on the ship, being separate from its rudders, so the sun, separately from the tillers, mounts upon the whole world,” Ὁ δ' ἐπὶ πλοίου ναυτιλλόμενος τὴν διακυβερνῶσαν τὸν κόσμον ἐπικράτειαν παρίστησιν. Ὡς περ οὖν ὁ κυβερνήτης χωριστὸς ὦν τῆς νεῶς τῶν πηδαλίων αὐτῆς ἐπιβέβηκεν, οὕτω χωριστῶς ὁ ἥλιος τῶν οἰάκων τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἐπιβέβηκεν (Iambl. *Myst.* VII.2.252.8–10).

c) Helios – praised, Iao

Helios-Harpocrates is “praised (εὐλόγητος) among all gods, angels and daemons” (IV.998); this implies Jewish influence.¹⁹ Helios is also assimilated to Ἰάω (IV.991), a name derived from the Hebrew god YHWH. Iao’s identification with Helios is mentioned in almost all the spells included in the collection IV.930–1114,²⁰ with one exception, the hymn “To Helios” (IV.939–948).

¹⁵ Notice also the one reference to the Persian Zoroaster (Ζωροάστρης ὁ Πέρσης) in *PGM* (XIII.967–968).

¹⁶ See Betz (1986) 21.

¹⁷ Bonner (1950) 148–155 and pls. XI–XII.

¹⁸ The Bremmer-Rhind Papyrus (British Museum 10188) XXVI.21, XXVIII.4–18; Pritchard (1969) 6–7; cf. Ritner in Betz (1986) 57, n. 138.

¹⁹ εὐλόγητος: e.g. LXX Gen 9:26, 12:2, 14:20, 24:27, 26:29; Deut 7:14; Odae 7:26, 8:52, 9:68.

²⁰ E.g. *PGM* IV.962, 980 (Iao is mentioned together with Σαβαώθ), 1000, 1010, 1034, 1039, 1043, 1049, 1076; Griffiths suggests that Ἰάω may also possibly be derived from “the Egyptian for ‘ass,’ cf. Coptic ‘ειω’”; Griffiths (1970) 409, nn. 4, 5. But the Jewish influences in some spells and the references to other Jewish deities often mentioned together with Iao make the reference to the Jewish god more likely.

The reason may be that this hymn with traces of meter was composed earlier than the other spells in this collection.²¹

Thus, in IV.985–1035 Helios is assimilated with deities from other religious systems, as for example the Egyptian Horus Harpocrates and the Jewish Iao. Helios' description as "sitting on the lotus" and "holding the reins and steering the tiller, restraining the serpent" implies influences from Egyptian religion, although the later phrase may also allude to Greek literature and to Zoroastrian religion.

2. *"This is the (consecration) ritual for all purposes. Spell to Helios"*
(PGM IV.1596–1715)

The purpose of the spell "Ἔστιν δὲ ἡ κατὰ πάντων τελετὴ ἥδε. Πρὸς Ἥλιον λόγος" (IV.1596–1715) is to consecrate a phylactery, stone, or a ring by reciting to Helios a spell with ritual symbols, which apply to the various stages of its preparation. The magician asks Helios: "give glory and honour and favour and fortune and power to the NN stone, which I consecrate today (or to the phylactery being consecrated) for NN," δὸς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ χάριν καὶ τύχην καὶ δύναμιν, ᾧ ἐπιτελοῦμαι σήμερον τῷ δεῖνα λίθῳ (ἢ φυλακτηρίῳ τελουμένῳ) πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα (IV.1616–1619). The portrait of Helios is based on the synthesis of natural, divine and cosmic powers, which at the same time are necessary for the consecration of the phylactery. More specifically, Helios' pre-eminence over the physical and divine powers and the cosmos, is established by his assimilation with various deities and through abstract epithets, which allude to the attributes and powers of deities.

The spell lists the twelve different animal forms and magical names of Helios, which correspond to the twelve hours of the day. The twelve animal forms and creative powers of Helios are associated with the twelve stages of consecration of the phylactery. For example, "in the first hour you (Helios) have the form of a cat, your name (is) PHARAKOUNETH. Give glory and favour to this phylactery, this stone and to NN," ὥρα α' μορφὴν ἔχεις αἰλούρου, ὄνομά σοι Φαρακουνηθ· δὸς δόξαν καὶ χάριν τῷ φυλακτηρίῳ τούτῳ, τῷ λίθῳ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ δεῖνα (IV.1647–1650).²²

d) *Helios – the gracious Good Daimon*

Helios is ὁ ἱλαρὸς Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (IV.1607) and τὸ παρεστὸς Ἀγαθὸν Δαιμόνιον (IV.1643 and 1709–1710). The Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων in the Classical and later in the Hellenistic period was the Good Genius to whom a toast was made

²¹ Cf. Grese in Betz (1986) 56, n. 128.

²² See the discussion on possible influence of the Egyptian *dodekaoros* in PGM III.494–611; below, pp. 73ff.

after banquets, associated with snakes and fertility,²³ and is here easily assimilated to Helios. The question arises: Does this reveal Egyptian influence? Helios is also addressed as Ψοῖ φνουθι νινθηρ (IV.1643), Egyptian for “the Agathodaimon, the god of the gods.”²⁴ Another description of Helios that betrays Egyptian influence is that of “the lotus emerged from the abyss” (IV.1683–1684).²⁵ In a further reference to Egypt, Helios is described as ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἔχων καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης, “who controls the beginning of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited world” (IV.1637–1640).²⁶ The motif of the beginning and end to describe the power of a god is very common in both pagan and Christian contexts.²⁷ Helios’ world-rule is in fact defined in this case in relation to Egypt (being one of the traditional ‘ends of the world’). There is, however, also an allusion in τελευτή to the mystery cults, as emphasised by the repetition of this ritual term and its cognates throughout this spell.²⁸ Hence Helios’ world-rule, as defined in relation to Egypt, has mystical implications as well.

As to ἱλαρός, the epithet is attributed to Helios elsewhere in the magical papyri, for example in the “Spell that produces direct vision” (IV.930–1114) at IV.1041. In the “[Systasis to] Helios” (III.494–611), Helios, as invoked by the magician, is described “with your face gracious,” ἱλαρῶ [σ]ου τῷ πρ[ο]σώπῳ (III.569, cf. 575).²⁹ The question is: Why is Helios described as ὁ ἱλαρός? Already in the *Odyssey*, Helios is a god “who gives joy to mortals,” τερψίμβροτος (Hom. *Od.* XII.269, 274). In the spell under discussion the magician says specifically: ἀνέθαλεν ἡ γῆ σοῦ ἐπιλάμπσαντος καὶ ἐκαρποφόρησεν τὰ φυτὰ σοῦ γέλασαντος, ἐξωογόνισε τὰ ζῶα σοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος, “the earth flourished when you shone forth and made the plants fruitful when you laughed, and brought to life the living creatures when you permitted” (IV.1610–

²³ See Burkert (1996a) 180; Colpe (1976) 619–620; Merkelbach and Totti (1990–1996) 3:59–65. The Good Daimon is also identified with a deity in XXI.1–29 (“Good Daimon” at XXI.7–8); in IV.930–1114 “the greatest god, lord Horus Harpocrates,” called “Good holy Daimon” (IV.987–988, 995); and in XII.121–143 the deity invoked as “Good Daimon” (XII.135–137). For the Good Daimon as a πάρεδρος see I.25–26. Cf. Chpt. 2, above, p. 36.

²⁴ Ritner, in Betz (1986) 68, n. 210. In Ptolemaic Egypt the Agathodaimon was identified with the Egyptian god of destiny Shai, also called Psaias, Psoi (Ψοῖ, IV.1643), or Psoeio (Ψωειω, III.144–145). Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) 244, 349.

²⁵ On the origin of life from a lotus see Morenz (1992) 179–180; on the lotus and Harpocrates see above, pp. 64–65.

²⁶ See Morton Smith in Betz (1986) 68.

²⁷ E.g. *Hymn. Orph.* 4.2: ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή. Christian: Rev 21:6: ἐγὼ τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος; and 22:13.

²⁸ IV.1639: τελευτὴν; IV.1617–1619: ἐπιτελοῦμαι ... τελουμένων; the title of this spell, “Ἔστιν δὲ ἡ κατὰ πάντων τελευτὴ ἥδε”; cf. IV.1661–1662: εἰς ὃ τελεῖται πρᾶγμα; IV.1679 and 1700–1701: τελεσθήτω; IV.1703: ἐφ’ ᾧ αὐτὸ τελῶ; IV.1710–1711: πάντα μοι τελέσαι; IV.1714–1715: ἐὰν τελῇς.

²⁹ Cf. *Hymn. Orph.* 8.3: ζῶων ἡδεῖα πρόσοψι; 8.6: παιδρωπέ; and 8.14: εὐδιε.

1614).³⁰ Thus, the epithet ἱλαρός is justified by the idea of Helios as a source of life and regeneration and by his association with the creation of the world.³¹ Furthermore, Helios' joy is related to the mention of his secret names, "which you rejoice to hear," as the practitioner characteristically asserts, referring to the traditional reciprocal relationship of satisfaction between the worshipper and the god (IV.1611). The reciprocity of the feeling of happiness in the relationship between the god and the magician is also expressed in the Hermetic "Prayer of Thanksgiving" (IV.591–609) included at the end of the "[Systasis to] Helios" (III.494–611), in which the magician says to Helios, "we rejoice (χαίρομεν), because you showed yourself to us, we rejoice, because, while we are still in bodies, you deified (ἀπεθέωσας) us by the knowledge of who you are" (III.600).³²

e) Helios – Sabaoth Adonai, the great god

Helios is assimilated to Σαβαώθ· Ἀδωναί, ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας, "Sabaoth; Adonai, the great god" (PGM IV.1626). The assimilation to Sabaoth, Adonai reflects Jewish influence.³³ While ὁ μέγας is not restricted to the Jewish god, it can be used of him as well.³⁴ The context together with the two Jewish names makes this

³⁰ Morton Smith translates "the earth flourished when you shone forth, and the plants became fruitful when you laughed; the animals begat their young when you permitted": Betz (1986) 68. But the translation of τὰ φυτὰ and τὰ ζῶα as the subject of ἐκαρποφόρησεν and ἐξωγονίσε, and not ἡ γῆ as the subject of both verbs, diminishes the fruitful and life-giving powers of the earth.

³¹ See also Jacobson (1993) 261.

³² The rejoicing here has a Gnostic character ("the knowledge of who you are"). The spell IV.591–609 is one of the three versions of the Hermetic *Prayer of Thanksgiving*; the other two are the Coptic *Prayer of Thanksgiving* of the Nag Hammadi Library (NHC VI 7, 63.33–65.7): J. M. Robinson (1996) 329; and the the epilogue of the Hermetic *Asclepius* 41b: *Gratias tibi, summe, exsuperantissime ... haec optantes convertamus nos ad puram et sine animalibus cenam*. The *Prayer of Thanksgiving* must be in origin part of a Hermetic liturgical ritual involving also a cultic meal after the prayer, as we see in the *Asclepius* passage, or the rituals of embrace and a meal mentioned in the Nag Hammadi material. Generally on 'knowledge' in Gnosticism see *Nag. Ham. Gos. Thom.* 3ff.; and *Interp. Know.* 2ff.; the eds. are listed in J. M. Robinson (1996) 126ff., 473ff.; also *Gos. Jud.* 50, 54; Kasser, Meyer and Wurst (2006) 37ff. On the further association between knowledge and the womb (PGM III.603–606) see Chpt. 1, above, p. 28. Also cf. Pachoumi (2013a) 46–69, at 61–62.

³³ For these Jewish divine names see also PGM V.464–485; III.219, 221; XII.62–63. Also G. J. Taylor (1993); Kotansky (1980).

³⁴ E.g. Hes. *Th.* 168 and 459: μέγας Κρόνος, 176 and 208: μέγας Οὐρανός; A. *Supp.* 1052: ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς; A. *Eu.* 273: μέγας γὰρ Ἄιδης; S. *Tr.* 399: Ἴστω μέγας Ζεὺς; S. *Ant.* 140: μέγας Ἄρης; S. *El.* 174: ἔτι μέγας οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς; S. *OC* 1471: ὦ μέγας αἰθήρ, ὦ Ζεῦ; E. *Andr.* 37: Ζεὺς τὰδ' εἰδείη μέγας; E. *Ba.* 1031: ὦναξ Βρόμει, θεὸς φαῖνη μέγας; E. *Fr.* 177: ὦ παῖ Διῶνῃς, ὡς ἔφυς μέγας θεός, Διόνυσσε, θνητοῖς τ' οὐδαμῶς ὑποστατός; Ar. *Av.* 570: Βροντάτω νῦν ὁ μέγας Ζάν; A. R. *Arg.* III.715: μέγας Οὐρανός; Plu. *Alc.* 21.2.3: ὁ μέγας Ἑρμῆς; Lucianus *Bis Acc.* 33.15: ὁ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς; *Corp. Herm.* XII.15: ὁ δὲ σύμπας κόσμος οὗτος, ὁ μέγας θεὸς καὶ τοῦ μείζονος εἰκῶν. For Jewish ὁ μέγας θεός see: LXX Deut

association operative in this case. It may be argued that a megatheistic concept under Jewish influence has been super-imposed onto a basically henotheistic concept of the divine supported by the phrase εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις (IV.1715), which the magician should utter, when the ritual is accomplished.³⁵ The concept of a god to whom can be attributed many names is already attested in the Aristotelian, εἷς ὢν ὁ θεὸς πολυώνυμος ἐστίν (Arist. *Mu.* 401a12).

On the notion of megatheism the Greek magical papyri offer examples. In the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829) the two-named Helios-Mithras, is addressed as ὁ μέγας θεὸς “Ἥλιος Μίθρας, “the great god Helios Mithras” (IV.482).³⁶ Similarly, in the “Compulsion spell” (ἐπάναγκος, IV.1035–1046), which is included in the “Spell that produces direct vision” (IV.930–1114), Helios is given orders by “the great living god,” ὁ μέγας ζῶν θεός, “the one (who lives) for eons of eons,” ὁ εἷς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, “who shakes together, who thunders, who created (κτίσας) every soul and race” (IV.1038–1040). In this example Helios is subordinate to “the great living god” (IV.1038). However, in another spell, IV.959–973, also included in the “Spell that produces direct vision” (IV.930–1114), Helios is himself invoked as “the living god,” τὸν θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα (IV.959). These descriptions imply Jewish influence and, more specifically, the claim of the Jewish religion about their ‘living god’ in contrast to the ‘dead’ pagan gods.³⁷ The reference to the creator-god of every soul and race reveals influence of the Jewish concept of the creator-god. Also the use of the verb κτίζω in the sense of ‘create’ has Jewish connotations.³⁸ Finally, ὁ εἷς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων echoes Jewish and Christian hymnology.³⁹ Hence, in the “Compulsion spell” the *megatheistic* concept of the divine points to the ‘Jewish’ living god, mentioned as superior to Helios.

7:21: ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν σοί, θεὸς μέγας καὶ κραταιός; Deut 10:17: ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ὁ φοβερός; Ps 85:10, 94:3; 2 Esd 11:5, 19:32; *Pss. Sol.* 18:10; etc.

³⁵ See Merkelbach and Totti (1990–1996) 4:103–104. Cf. Athanassiadi and Frede (1999); also Mitchell and Peter van Nuffelen (2010a). On megatheism see: Chaniotis (2010). On henotheism see: Versnel (1990); also Versnel (2011). See below, p. 105, n. 217; and p. 152.

³⁶ Betz (2003) 98.

³⁷ Cf. Hull (1974) 31; contrast *PGM* XII.79.

³⁸ See discussion below, pp. 98–100. Also cf. Pachoumi (2010a).

³⁹ For the exact phrase εἷς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων cf. LXX 4 Macc 18:24, Ps 9:6, 37, 20:7, 21:27, 44:17. See also Gal 1:5, Phil 4:20, 1 Tim 1:17, 2 Tim 4:18, Heb 13:21, 1 Pet 4:11, Rev 1:18, 2:8, 4:9, 4:10, 5:13, 7:12, 10:6, 11:15, 15:7, 19:3, 20:10, 22:5; also the alchemist Ostanes Magus *Pet.* II.262.21 Berthelot/Ruelle.

f) *Helios – the Cosmokrator, the Thalassokrator, Heaven as Helios’ processional way*

The Cosmokrator. Helios is described as “the greatest god, the eternal lord, the ruler of the cosmos (κοσμοκράτορα), the one over the cosmos and under the cosmos” (IV.1598–1600) and “the one who shines in the whole inhabited world” (IV.1635–1636).⁴⁰ In this case cosmic characteristics are attributed to Helios. Similarly, in the *Orphic Hymn* 8.11, 16 to Helios, he is described as κοσμοκράτορ and δέσποτα κόσμου.⁴¹ The same epithet is used of Pan in the *Orphic Hymn* 11 “To Pan” (*Hymn. Orph.* 11.11). In Iamblichus’ *De Mysteriis* IX κοσμοκράτορες seems to refer to two types of the archons, those “who administer the sublunary elements,” οἱ τὰ ὑπὸ σελήνην στοιχεῖα διοικοῦντες, and the archons “who preside over matter,” οἱ τῆς ὕλης προεσθηκότες.⁴²

The epithet κοσμοκράτωρ is often used in the first centuries C.E. as an epithet of Helios, Zeus, or, in the plural, of Helios and Selene.⁴³ Christian authors can use it in a negative sense, either of kings as lords of ‘this world’ (as opposed to the heavenly world),⁴⁴ or most often of the *diabolos* himself, whom, according to Irenaeus, “they also call lord of the world/darkness,”⁴⁵ or also in the plural of the evil powers in general, “the lords of the world of darkness.”⁴⁶ On the other hand, Christians use the epithet παντοκράτωρ to describe God himself.⁴⁷ The term (or similar terms), therefore, was widely contested within the religious sphere between Christians and pagans. Its application to various gods by the Egyptian magicians within the Imperial period must be understood within this complicated agonistic context.

⁴⁰ The same description of Helios also occurs in III.142–143; cf. also the description of Helios in IV.1639–1642 and IV.989–991; see above, p. 68.

⁴¹ Quandt (1955).

⁴² Iambl. *Myst.* II.3.71.3–7: τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων, εἰ μὲν σοι δοκοῦσιν οὗτοι εἶναι οἱ κοσμοκράτορες οἱ τὰ ὑπὸ σελήνην στοιχεῖα διοικοῦντες, ἔσται ποικίλα μὲν, ἐν τάξει δὲ διακεκοσμημένα, εἰ δ’ οἱ τῆς ὕλης προεσθηκότες, ἔσται ποικιλώτερα μὲν, ἀτελέστερα δὲ τούτων μᾶλλον; Iambl. *Myst.* IX.9.284.2–5: Ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ θεουργικῇ τάξει διὰ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων τὰ δεύτερα καλεῖται· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δαιμόνων τοίνυν εἰς κοινὸς ἡγεμῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν γένεσιν κοσμοκρατόρων καταπέμπει τοὺς ἰδίους δαίμονας ἐκάστοις. Cf. Dillon (1973) 51, n. 1; also Clarke (2001) 110–111.

⁴³ Zeus: e.g. Ps.-Clem. *Rom. Hom.* VI.21.2.1–3; Helios: e.g. Vett. Val. VIII.7.272; Heph. *Apotel.* II.18.27 Pingree; Helios and Selene: e.g. Vett. Val. IX.16.2.

⁴⁴ Ephr. *Syr. Serm. de sec. Aduent. et iud.* p. 226.12–13 Phrantzoles; *Serm. in eos qui in Christ. obdorm.* p. 103.9–13.

⁴⁵ Iren. *Haer.* I.1.10; John Chrys. *Vid. Jun.* 443; Ps.-Macar. *Hom.* 25.2; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 17.9 (PG 35.976c).

⁴⁶ Eph 6:12; Ps.-Ignat. *Ep.* 11.13.2 Funk and Diekamp; Clem. Al. *Strom.* III.16.101.3, V.14.105.2, *Quis dives* 29.2; Orig. *Cels.* VIII.34, *De princ. Fr.* 12.4, *Comm. in Evang. Joh.* 2.167, *De Orat.* 29.2.

⁴⁷ E.g. *PGM Christ.* 1.1–4; cf. Lampe, s.v.

The Thalassokrator. Helios is θαλασσοκράτορα, “ruler of the sea” (IV.1600–1601; and 1696–1697), rather than the cosmos, or the inhabited world. In relation to this characterisation, he is also described as the one “who mates (ὀχεύων) in the ocean” (IV.1642–1643). This sexual imagery of Helios must be connected to the visual image of the sun setting in the ocean and in that way it reinforces Helios’ description as the powerful ruler of the sea. Similarly, in the *Derveni Papyrus*, the sun is likened to the genital organ as a vital power of regeneration: αἰδοίωι εἰκάσας τὸν ἥλιο[ν] (*Derv. Pap.* col. XIII.9).⁴⁸

Heaven as Helios’ processional way. Helios is also assimilated to heaven when described as the god ὃ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο κωμαστήριον, “to whom heaven has become the processional way” (IV.1608–1609). The concept of heaven as the processional way occurs elsewhere in the magical papyri.⁴⁹ This is a complicated assimilation. The κωμαστήριον was the meeting place of κωμασταί, those who carried sacred images in a religious procession. The term κωμαστής, originally meaning a member of a κῶμος, was also an epithet of Dionysus and consequently an allusion to that god’s mystical rites.⁵⁰ Helios’ characterisation also as ὀργεατής [*sic*] in IV.1629, implying ὀργεαστής, “the one who celebrates ὀργια/orgiastic rites,” which are often associated with Dionysus, accentuates the mystical allusions.⁵¹ Generally, the use of terms originally derived from the mystery cults to describe magic, the magicians, the initiate, or the uninitiated (e.g. μυστήριον, μύστης, μυσταγωγός, συμμύστης, or ἀμυστηρίαστος) reveals the magicians’ attempt to assimilate magic to the mysteries.⁵² Thus, in IV.1607 the religious and mystical observances of initiates on earth imitate and foreshadow the “processions of the heavenly hosts.”

⁴⁸ See Chpt. 1, above, p. 28; and Chpt. 2, above, pp. 37–38.

⁴⁹ E.g. *PGM* III.130, XII.182–183 and 252, XIII.774, XXI.10 and LXXVII.13. Cf. P. Duk. inv. 729.33–34: ὃ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο κωμαστήρι[ον]: Jordan (2006) 163.

⁵⁰ Ar. *Nu.* 606: κωμαστής Διόνυσος.

⁵¹ On ὀργεατής see Morton Smith in Betz (1986) 68, n. 207; and below, p. 137. Also cf. Pachoumi (2014b) 131, 133 and n. 27.

⁵² E.g. IV.722–723: ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριον; IV.794 and IV.476: τὰ (ἄ)πρατα, παραδοτὰ μυστήρια; I.127: ὃ μα[κάρι]ε μύστα τῆς ἱερᾶς μαγείας. For more examples see discussion below, pp. 127–128, nn. 327, 329, 330. Also cf. Pachoumi (2014b) 128–129 and nn. 16, 17, 18. For the association between magic and the mysteries see also Betz (1982), (1991) and (1995). See also Chpt. 2, above, p. 51, n. 81; and below, pp. 127, n. 330 and p. 134, n. 372. In the definition of the term πάρεδρος as the divine “assistant” in the Greek magical papyri, for example, we also see the magicians appropriating an established religious or political term. See Chpt. 2, above, pp. 35ff.

The question is, however, about any other religious influences on the description of the heavenly processions. Helios is also identified with “Sabaoth, Adonai, the great god” (IV.1626), as was already examined in the spell IV.1596–1715. Similarly, in the Jewish Hekhalot literature, which displays elements of early Jewish mysticism and magic, there are allusions to the mystical ascent to Hekhalot, “the heavenly places,” and to Merkabah, “the chariot,” by which Elijah ascended to Heaven.⁵³ This, then, is the final element in the description of Helios as the one “to whom heaven has become the processional way” (IV.1608–1609). There is, however, a difference of status: Elijah is a great prophet who ascends to Heaven. Helios is himself the great god, who has appropriated and extended a prophetic motif.

Thus, in IV.1596–1715, Helios’ divinity is articulated by his assimilations with other deities and with a variety of abstract epithets. He is assimilated with the gracious Good Daimon, the Jewish Sabaoth, Adonai and with the megatheistic concept of the great god. Various epithets are attributed to him such as “eternal ruler of cosmos,” “ruler of the sea,” the god “to whom heaven has become the processional way” and the source of life and fertility on earth, which substantiate his supremacy over the natural, divine and cosmic powers. The influences from Greek, Egyptian and Jewish religions prove the interreligious character of the spell.⁵⁴

3. “[Systasis to] Helios” (PGM III.494–611)

g) Helios – the image, the whole of the cosmos; forms and names

In this magico-theurgic systasis prayer, “[Σύστασις πρ]ὸς Ἡλίον” (III.494–611)⁵⁵ Helios is assimilated to the entire cosmos in his address as, ὁ τύπος, [τ]ὸ σύνολον τοῦ κόσμου, “the image/archetype, the whole of the cosmos” (III.538–539). He is also described as ἀεροδρόμο[ν] μέγαν θεόν, “air-traversing great god” (IV.497).⁵⁶ τύπος can itself be a philosophical term. According to the *Chaldaean Oracles*, “for the master set before the many-formed cosmos a noetic imperishable image/archetype,” κόσμῳ γὰρ ἄναξ πολυμόρφῳ προὔθηκεν

⁵³ On mysticism, magic and angelology in Hekhalot literature see Elior (1993).

⁵⁴ Dieleman describes the technique of accumulating various religious currents in one spell as a “rhetorical device” and argues that “one of the native guiding principles leading to this *rhetorical device* was certainly the habit of compiling word lists, today known as ‘onomastica’, that catalogue all physical and metaphysical phenomena of the cosmos”: Dieleman (2005) 166. Cf. Gardiner (1947). See below, pp. 116, n. 273; and 109, n. 237.

⁵⁵ The “[Σύστασις πρ]ὸς Ἡλίον” (III.494–611) and the two spells that follow – the untitled spell concerning your own shadow (III.612–632) and the spell III.633–731 – may be parts of a broader systasis with Helios’ spell (III.494–731). See Chpt. 1, above p. 22ff. Also cf. Pachoumi (2013a) 56–57.

⁵⁶ On air-traversing Helios cf. *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 61 des Places (1971): καὶ πλατὺς ἀήρ μνηαῖός τε δρόμος καὶ αἰέτολος ἡελίοιο.

νοερὸν τύπον ἄφθιτον (*Fr.* 37.5–6).⁵⁷ Thus, *τύπος* is used metaphorically with allusions to philosophy/science to establish an association of Helios with the cosmos.⁵⁸

At the beginning and the end of the formula (III.499–536) the magician emphasises to Helios that, “I know your signs and symbols and forms,” *οἶδά σου τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ | π]αράσ[ημα καὶ μ]ορφάς* (III.499–500), and “I have told your signs and symbols,” *εἶρηκά σου τὰ σ[ημ]εῖα καὶ τὰ παράσημα* (III.536).⁵⁹ Similarly, Helios assimilated to Apollo is described as *πολυώνυμε*, “many-named” in the spell II.64–184, at 107–108. Furthermore, Helios in III.499–536, as in IV.1596–1715, is identified with twelve different animal “forms” and magical names, which correspond to the twelve hours of the day. Each magical name and animal form is associated with the production of a different tree, stone and bird (III.501–536). For example, “in the first hour you (Helios) have the form (*μορφήν*) and image (*τύπον*) of a child monkey; you produce a silver fir tree, an *aphanos* stone, a ... bird ..., your name (is) *PHROUER*;⁶⁰ in the second hour you have the form of a unicorn, you produce a *persea* tree, a pottery stone, a *halouchakon* bird, on land an *ichneumon*, your name (is) *BAZETOPHOTH*” (III.501–506). These various forms of Helios represent different attributes of the god. They are noteworthy for the reasons discussed below.

Firstly, the association of the hour, or hours and the divine is attested in the magical papyri. For example, it appears in XIII.1–343 “A sacred book called Monad or Eighth Book of Moses about the holy name,” which is the first of the three different versions of the “Eighth Book of Moses” included in XIII.1–734. In this rendition, the magician according to the ritual of *σύστασις* should be connected “with the gods who beget the hours,” *τοῖς ὠρογενέσιν θεοῖς* (XIII.29–31), and should “invoke the god of the hour and the day, so that you may be connected through them,” *ἐπικαλοῦ τὸν τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας θεόν, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν συσταθῇς* (XIII.378–379). Similarly, in the systasis spell VII.505–528 the magician greets “the present hour,” “the present day,” and “every day” (VII.506–507).⁶¹

⁵⁷ Cf. *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 144. For *τύπος* in the philosophical tradition see e.g.: Democr. 68 A *Fr.* 135.26 DK (Thphr. *Sens.* 52); DK II; Epicur. *Ep. Her.* 35.8, 36.4–5, 46.1, 68.4.

⁵⁸ For parallels with the concept of the mixture of all and its relation to the whole as expressed in Neoplatonist philosophy see the discussion on *PGM* VII.505–528, below, pp. 77ff.

⁵⁹ On the signs and symbols in theurgy see Chpt. 1, above, pp. 27ff. Also cf. Pachoumi (2013a) 60–64.

⁶⁰ I.e. Pre the great, see Ritner in Betz (1986) 31, n. 97.

⁶¹ See Chpt. 1, above, pp. 14–16. Also cf. Pachoumi (2013a) 49–50.

Secondly, the association of the twelve animal forms and magical names with the twelve hours of the day finds parallels in the zodiac signs and their associated animals in the Egyptian *dodekaoros*.⁶²

Thirdly, the depiction of the gods in animal form, or in human form with animal heads, reveals the influence of Egyptian religion. According to the Egyptian concept of the personification of the divine, humans, animals, plants and inanimate objects can all be associated with the divine power, and considered attributes of a deity. About the notion of power and the personification of the divine in the Egyptian religion, Morenz rightly points out that, “we proceed from ‘power’ as primary cause, which can elevate to the rank of deity man and animal, even plant and object, so that neither animal nor plant, still less inorganic matter, ever ceases to be God *in potentia*.”⁶³ This can be explained by the point that powers, which were thought to be originally autonomous in Egyptian mythology, participated in the formation of the divine visual images and the establishment of their cult.

Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* VII, attempting “to interpret the mode of the Egyptian theology” (Iambl. *Myst.* VII.1.249.10–11), explains the notion of the manifold powers and transformations of the one god Helios (Iambl. *Myst.* VII.3.253.12–254.2):

for this reason the teaching about symbols wishes to indicate the one god through the multitude of givings/offerings, and to represent his one power through the manifold powers; wherefore it (teaching about symbols) indicates that he (Helios) is one and the same, but assigns the changes of form and of configuration to the/his recipients. Therefore it (teaching about symbols) indicates that he (Helios) is changed according to the Zodiac and every hour, just as these are variegated/changeable around the god according to his many receptions.

διὰ τοῦτο βούλεται μὲν ἡ συμβολικὴ διδασχὴ διὰ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν δοθέντων τὸν ἕνα θεὸν ἐμφαίνειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολυτρόπων δυνάμεων τὴν μίαν αὐτοῦ παριστάναι δύναμιν· διὸ καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν ἕνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, τὰς δὲ διαμείψει τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοὺς μετασχηματισμοὺς ἐν τοῖς δεχομένοις ὑποτίθεται. Διόπερ κατὰ ζώδιον καὶ καθ’ ὥραν μεταβάλλεσθαι αὐτόν φησιν, ὡς ἐκείνων διαποικιλλομένων περὶ τὸν θεὸν κατὰ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ὑποδοχάς.

Fourthly, the various “forms” of Helios in relation to his description as a god who represents the whole cosmos (or, in the “*Systasis* with your own daimon” spell, “the mixture of the cosmic nature”) seems parallel to Plotinus’ doctrine of the “generically” and “manifold” One which “at the same time” is “also many” (Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.2ff.).⁶⁴

Fifthly, Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art* refers to the various attributes of Helios in different entities, which participate in his nature: “thus you could see the particular characteristics that are coiled up in Helios to be distributed

⁶² On the *dodekaoros* see Boll (1903) 295–346.

⁶³ Morenz (1992) 20, 17–18, 19–21, 139–142, see also Hornung (1982); Ryhiner (1977); Stroumsa (1981); Quack (2006). See below, pp. 89, n. 129; 104, n. 205. Also cf. Pachoumi (2011c) 40, n. 6.

⁶⁴ See Chpt. 1, above, p. 17; and below, pp. 78–79.

to those who participate in his nature, (as to) angels, daimons, souls, animals, plants, stones,” Ἰδοὺς ἂν οὖν τὰς συνεσπειραμένας ἰδιότητας ἐν ἡλίῳ μεριζομένας ἐν τοῖς μετέχουσιν ἀγγέλοις, δαίμοσι, ψυχαῖς, ζώοις, φυτοῖς, λίθοις (Procl. *Hier. Art* 150.22–23).⁶⁵

Similarly, Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* V claims that “the theurgic art ... many times joins together/combines stones, plants, animals, aromatic substances (herbs), and other such things (that are) holy and perfect and god-like,” ἡ θεουργικὴ τέχνη ... συμπλέκει πολλάκις λίθους βοτάνας ζῶα ἀρώματα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἱερὰ καὶ τέλεια καὶ θεοειδῆ (Iambl. *Myst.* V.23.233.9–12).

Sixthly, these theurgical practices also point to the medico-magical text *Kyranides*. At the beginning of each chapter of the first book of the *Kyranides* the names of a plant, a bird, a fish and a stone are listed, which all start with the same letter as that of the chapter.⁶⁶ In some cases they can even be homonymous; in chapter Gamma, for example, there is γλυκισίδη βοτάνη, “peony (herb),” γλαῦκος πτηνόν, “owl (bird),” γνάθιος λίθος, “gnathios (stone)” and γλαῦκος ἰχθύς, “glaucus (fish).” The four represent the four elements of nature. The combination of the power of these natural elements evokes the sympathetic forces of the universe and can be used for theurgic practices. At the end of each chapter of Book I there are usually instructions for medico-magical remedies and for making amulets, depending each time on the various combinations of some, or all of the four elements. In the examined spell (III.494–611) Helios, characteristically addressed as κοίρανε in III.551,⁶⁷ is also associated with the four elements as the god “who created all: abyss, earth, fire, water, air” (III.554–555).

Thus, in the magico-theurgic “*Systasis* to Helios” prayer (III.494–611) Helios is assimilated with the τύπος, “image,” the σύνολον, “whole,” of the cosmos. The philosophical term τύπος possibly reflects influences from the *Chaldaean Oracles*. The many-formedness of Helios shows influences of the *dodekaoros*, the Egyptian religious concept of the personification of the divine, and the Neoplatonists’ concept of one and many; also from theurgical practices as described by the Neoplatonists Iamblichus and Proclus, and by the medico-magical text of the *Kyranides*.

⁶⁵ Cf. Psel. *Demonol.*: Catalogue VI 128.23–129.5; Bidez (1928b) 128–129 (*PG* 122, 880b): Ἡ δὲ γε μαγεία πολυδύναμόν τι χρῆμα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἔδοξε. Μερὶδα γοῦν εἶναι ταύτην φασὶν ἐσχάτην τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπιστήμης ... ἀνιχνεύουσα γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη δύναμις τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην γενέσεων ἐκάστης οὐσίαν καὶ φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ποιότητα, λέγω δὲ στοιχείων καὶ τῶν τούτων μερῶν, ζώων παντοδαπῶν, φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν καρπῶν, λίθων, βοτανῶν, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, παντὸς πράγματος ὑπόστασιν τε καὶ δύναμιν, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρα τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἐνεργάζεται.

⁶⁶ Kaimakis (1976).

⁶⁷ κύρανε MS, emended by Preisendanz; Preisendanz (1973) 1:54–55.

4. “Systasis with your own daimon” (PGM VII.505–528)

h) Helios – the Mixture of the Cosmic Nature

The purpose of the “Σύστασις ἰδίου δαίμονος” (VII.505–528) is to connect the magician, or generally any individual with his personal daimon through the magico-theurgic ritual prayer of systasis.⁶⁸ In the systasis spell, among the various assimilations with deified abstract concepts, Helios is addressed as, σὺ εἶ ὁ ἔχων ἐν σεαυτῷ τὴν τῆς κοσμικῆς φύσεως σύγκρασιν, “you are the one who have in yourself the mixture of the cosmic nature” (VII.511).⁶⁹ This association of Helios with σύγκρασις occurs only in this case and it is actually the only reference of the term in the magical papyri.

The simple form κρᾶσις is also found only once in the magical papyri, in the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829).⁷⁰ In this spell the magician addresses fire among the four elements (*pneuma*, fire, water, earth), defining it as, πῦρ, τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδώρητον, “fire, given by god to my mixture of the mixtures in me” (IV.490–491). This shows one formal difference from the spell under discussion, in that, although fire is god-given, the term κρᾶσις refers to the mixture/constitution not of a divine but of a human agent, that of the magician. The mixture/constitution of the human agent, however, reflects the larger divine, or cosmic constitution. The term itself is found as early as the Pre-Socratic philosophers, as for example, in Empedocles, as Kingsley notes.⁷¹ But Betz holds that in context κρᾶσις implies specific influences from Stoic cosmology on the four elements.⁷² Betz’s view of IV.490–491 seems right, because the verbal and conceptual parallels are close. The question remains of the spell under discussion: Which religious and philosophical influences are implied in the notion of σύγκρασις?

In the Corpus Hermeticum III *A Holy Discourse of Hermes Trismegistos* there is a parallel reference to ἡ πᾶσα κοσμικὴ σύγκρασις, “the entire cosmic mixture,” which depends on god and is renewed by nature, “for it is in the

⁶⁸ On the systasis in VII.505–528 cf. Pachoumi (2013a) 46–69, at 47–55. On this spell see Chpt. 1, above, pp. 11–21; on the ritual of systasis see Chpt. 1, above, pp. 12ff. with nn. 8 and 12.

⁶⁹ See also Chpt. 1, p. 17.

⁷⁰ Dieterich (1966); Meyer (1976); Betz (2003).

⁷¹ Emp. *Test.* 31 A DK *Fr.* 86.48–50 (Thphr. *Sens.* 11): οἷς δὲ καθ’ ἐν τι μόριον ἡ μέση κρᾶσις ἐστὶ, ταύτῃ σοφούς ἐκάστους εἶναι; 86.68 (*Sens.* 19): ἔτι δ’ οἷς ἡ κρᾶσις ἐξ ἴσων, ἀνάγκη συναύξεσθαι κατὰ μέρος ἐκάτερον; Emp. *Test.* 31 A DK *Fr.* 96.10–15; see Kingsley (1995) 374–375; Betz (2003) 105ff.

⁷² Betz (2003) 107–108. For κρᾶσις see Zeno *Fr.* 102 DK I; Chrysipp. *Stoic. Fr. Log. et Phys.* 414, 420 fin., 470–473, 476, 478, 48, 33, 229a fin. DK II. For the σύγκρασις of the four elements cf. Chrysipp. *Stoic. Fr.* 555 DK II. For τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος κρᾶσιν see Posidon. *Fr.* 13 (Theiler 1:29); also *Fr.* 169 (1:138), 290a (1:213), 291 (1:218), 307 (1:225), 309a (1:227).

divine that nature also has been established,” ἐν γὰρ τῷ θείῳ καὶ ἡ φύσις καθέστηκεν (*Corp. Herm.* III.4).

Similarly, in the *Corpus Hermeticum* XI *A Discourse of Nous to Hermes*⁷³ it is stated about the mixture of the opposites that it becomes light: “the friendship and mixture of opposites and dissimilar elements has become light, which is shined over all by the energy of the god, the begetter of everything good and ruler of every order and leader of the seven worlds,” ἡ γὰρ φιλία καὶ ἡ σύγκρασις τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τῶν ἀνομοίων φῶς γέγονε, καταλαμπόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ γεννητόρος καὶ πάσης τάξεως ἀρχοντος καὶ ἡγεμόνος τῶν ἑπτὰ κόσμων (*Corp. Herm.* XI.7).⁷⁴

Parallels to Helios’ description as a deity who has inside him “the mixture of the cosmic nature” can also be found in Neoplatonist philosophy. Plotinus,⁷⁵ an Egyptian-born Neoplatonist, asserts in *Ennead* VI, “so, by mixing the genera (τὰ μὲν γένη), all of them together with each other, each with those under these, do we accomplish the whole (τὸ ὅλον) and make a mixture of everything (σύγκρασιν ἀπάντων)?” (*Plot. Enn.* VI.2.2.20–22).⁷⁶ Earlier in the same treatise, Plotinus argues that the “one is at the same time also many (ἐν ἅμα καὶ πολλά)” and that “anything manifold (ποικίλον) has the many in one.” Therefore, it is necessary according to Plotinus that this “one” should either be “generically (τῷ γένει) one” and the beings (τὰ ὄντα) its species, “by which it is many and one,” or “there should be more than one genera, but all under one,” or more genera and “none of them under the other, but each containing (περιεκτικόν) those under it.” This implies that “all would contribute (συντελεῖν) to one nature (μίαν φύσιν)” and that “from all there would be the connection (τὴν σύστασιν) with the intelligible cosmos (τῷ νοητῷ

⁷³ Henotheistic messages are implied at *Corp. Herm.* XI.11: καὶ τὸν μὲν κόσμον ὁμολόγησας αἰεὶ εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἓνα καὶ τὴν σελήνην μίαν καὶ θεϊότητα μίαν. On Hermes Trismegistos and the *Hermetica* see below, p. 140.

⁷⁴ In Julian’s *Hymn to king Helios* σύγκρασις is used of Aphrodite, who is described as “being near to Helios” (Ἡλίου γὰρ ἐγγὺς οὔσα) and “the joint cause with him” (Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ αὐτῷ συναίτιος); *Jul. Hymn Hel.* 150b: ἔστι δὴ οὖν αὕτη σύγκρασις τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν, καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας αὐτῶν ἔτι φιλία καὶ ἑνωσις. Ἡλίου γὰρ ἐγγὺς οὔσα καὶ συμπεριθέουσα καὶ πλησιάζουσα πληροὶ μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐκρασίας, ἐνδίδωσι δὲ τὸ γόνιμον τῇ γῇ, προμηθευμένη καὶ αὕτῃ τῆς ἀειγενεσίας τῶν ζώων, ἥς ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἡλῖος ἔχει τὴν πρωτουργὸν αἰτίαν, Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ αὐτῷ συναίτιος.

⁷⁵ The Neoplatonists generally were interested in magic, and the relative chronology allows the possibility of two-way influence. For bibliographical references see Introduction, above, p. 9, n. 39.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Plot. Enn.* VI.3.25.9ff.: Εἰ δὲ σύγκρασιν τινα καὶ μίξιν σημαίνουνσι καὶ κρᾶσιν καὶ εἰς ἓν ἐξ ἐνὸς σύστασιν τὴν κατὰ τὸ συνίστασθαι γινομένην, οὐ κατὰ τὸ συνεστάναι ἤδη (Sleeman, Igal, H-S reads σύγκρασιν, though Armstrong in the Loeb edition [1988] reads “σύγκρισιν”); *Plot. Enn.* III.3.4.49; *Porph. V. Plot.* 31.9: τὴν δὲ πασῶν ἅμα σύγκρασιν καὶ συμφωνίαν καὶ ὡσανεὶ σύνδεσμον, ὥσπερ ὡς αἰδίου τε καὶ ἀγενήτου μέρος ἐκάστη καὶ ἀπόρροια, Μνημοσύνην ὠνόμαζεν; *Iambl. Comm. Math.* p. 29.1 Festa; *Iambl. Theol. Ar.* p. 5.18 De Falco. See Chpt. 1, above, p. 17 at n. 36. Also cf. Pachoumi (2013a) 51.

κόσμῳ), which we indeed call the being.”⁷⁷ In the final steps of Plotinus’ argument this “one” defined as “one nature” is associated with the intelligible cosmos. Proclus also in *In Platonis Timaeum Commentarii* refers to “the mixture from all (ἡ ἐκ τῶν ὅλων σύγκρασις) towards the implied creation, which exists on the whole” (Procl. *In Ti.* II.268.1–3).⁷⁸

Thus, in the “Systasis with your own daimon” (PGM VII.505–528) Helios is assimilated with the σύγκρασις/mixture of the cosmic nature. The philosophical concept of σύγκρασις reflects the Corpus Hermeticum and the Neoplatonists in relation to the notion of the one and many. Influences from Pre-Socratic philosophy and Stoic cosmology on the term κρᾶσις are also possible.

5. Hymn “To Helios” (PGM IV.939–948)

i) Helios – φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί or φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή⁷⁹

In the hymn “To Helios” (IV.939–948), included in the “Prayer that produces direct vision (of the divinity invoked)” (Αὐτοπτος σύστασις, IV.930–1114), Helios is addressed in the first two lines written in dactylic hexameter as, χαῖρε, δράκων ἀκμαῖέ δε λέων, φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί, / χαῖρε δέ, λευκὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον (IV.939–940).⁸⁰ The expressions δράκων ἀκμαῖέ δε λέων,⁸¹ “serpent and prime lion” and λευκὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον,

⁷⁷ Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.2ff.

⁷⁸ Procl. *In Tim.* II.297.15; Procl. *In Prm.* 777.5–9: Ἡ δὲ σύγκρασις τῶν εἰδῶν ἐμφαίνει τὴν κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀδιάλεικτον καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τὴν αὐλὸν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγαίαν αὐτῶν καὶ πρωτουργὸν ἐνδείκνυται φύσιν; Procl. *In Prm.* 723.29, 1051.22–23; Procl. *Hier. Art* 150.29–31: διὸ τῇ μίξει τῶν πολλῶν ἐνίζουσι τὰς προειρημένας ἀπορροίας καὶ ἐξομοιοῦσι τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἐν γενόμενον πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ πρὸ τῶν πάντων ὅλον. See Chpt. 1, above, p. 17, n. 37. Also cf. Pachoumi (2013a) 51.

⁷⁹ Cf. Pachoumi (2014a).

⁸⁰ Preisendanz (1928) 1:104–105; Preisendanz (1973) 1:104–105.

⁸¹ αρακων ακμαιε δελεων in the papyrus; δράκων ἀκμαῖέ τε λέων in Preisendanz (1928; and 1973) 1:104. δράκων ἀκμαῖε {δε} λέων in the dactylic hexameter verses of the hymn *To Helios* in Heitsch (1963) 181 and Preisendanz (1974) 2:238. Note also δράκων ἀκμαῖε λέων in Dieterich (1891) 97. δελέων could be a genitive plural of δέλος, -εος, τό (= δέλεαρ, -ατος, τό) referring to φύσι as δελέων φύσι (translated as “nature of lures”); and consequently ἀκμαῖε would be an epithet to δράκων (as “prime serpent”); or it could be a nominative singular as a possible new invented word by the magician-author of the hymn. But, the correlation of the animal forms of λέων and δράκων and their direct references to the Homeric lines: λέων ... δράκων ... ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον (Hom. *Od.* IV.456–458) make λέων a better possibility to describe the animal transformations or assimilations of Helios. Note also the reference to the animal forms of λέων and δράκων in Soph. *Fr.* 150: τίς γάρ με μόχθος οὐκ ἐπεστάτει; λέων δράκων τε, πῦρ, ὕδωρ of Sophocles’ satyr play, the *Lovers of Achilles*, alluding to the metamorphoses of Thetis, trying to escape from Peleus in Soph. *Fr.* 618: A. C. Pearson (1917) 1:106 and 2:255–256. See also Pi. *N.* 4.62: πῦρ δὲ παγκρατὲς θρασυμαχάνων τε λεόντων δνυχας ὀξυτάτους ἀκμάν καὶ δεινοτάτων σχάσαις ὀδόντων ἔγαμεν ὑψιθρόνων μίαν Νηρεΐδων; also Apollod. *Bibl.* III.170: Χείρωνος οὖν ὑπο-

“clear water and lofty leafed tree” are Homeric allusions (e.g. Hom. *Od.* IV.456–458: λέων ... δράκων ... ὕγρον ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον), which, as Grese comments on the second one, indicate the magician’s knowledge of the particular passage in Homer’s *Odyssey*.⁸² The phrase δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον is an actual quotation. The use also of λευκόν in the hymn instead of the Homeric ὕγρον for ὕδωρ actually ‘improves’ on Homer’s rendition.⁸³

The phrase φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί (IV.939), which is translated by Preisendanz as “Feuers zauberische Gewalten,” presents a textual and interpretative problem. The papyrus actually reads φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή. Herwerden (1888) retains φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή of the papyrus.⁸⁴ But, Dieterich (1891) emends it to φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί, “die Zauberzeichen des Feuers,” having ἀρχαί in plural and taking φυσικαί as an adjective, thus giving a later interpretation to it as meaning magical.⁸⁵ Eitrem (1926) partly emends the phrase to φυσικὴ πυρὸς ἀρχή.⁸⁶ Preisendanz (1928; and 1973) has φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί.⁸⁷ However, in the reconstructed hymn 3 “To Helios” (IV.939–948) included in the printed proofs of the third volume of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (1941), he retains the nominative singular ἀρχή of the papyrus, and the phrase reads Φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή.⁸⁸

In the revised second volume of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (1974) Henrichs includes the hymn 3 “To Helios” (IV.939–948), which is actually a reprint of Heitsch’s hymn LIX.3 (1963), with the phrase Φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή.⁸⁹ Grese on the other hand in Betz’s *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (1986), translates φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί as “natural sources of fire” and explains the phrase as a possible echo of a Pre-Socratic expression.⁹⁰

θεμένου Πηλεΐ συλλαβεῖν καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτὴν μεταμορφουμένην, ἐπιτηρήσας συναρπάξει, γινομένην δὲ ὅτε μὲν πῦρ ὅτε δὲ ὕδωρ ὅτε δὲ θηρίον οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἀρχαίαν μορφήν εἶδεν ἀπολαβοῦσαν.

⁸² Betz (1986) 56.

⁸³ In the hymn “To Apollo” (*PGM* VI.22–38) also, Apollo is described as: ἀργυρό[τοξ]ε, ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέ[βη]κ[ας] Κίλλαν τε Ζαθέην [Τε]νέδοιό τε Ἰφι ἀνάσσεις, “god of the silver bow, (you) who bestride Chryse and holy Killa and are king in strength over Tenedos” (VI.30–31). This is an exact quote from the first book of Homer’s *Iliad* (I.37–38) and indicates the author’s knowledge of that book. Another phrase from the same book is copied in *PGM* VI.36–39: Σμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτ[έ] τ[οι] χαρίεντ’ ἐπὶ βωμὸν ἔρεψα, ἧ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κ[ατὰ] πῖονα μῆρι’ ἔκχα ταύρων ἦδ’ α[ἰγ]ῶν, τόδε μοι κρήνη[ν] ἐέλωρ (Hom. *Il.* I.39–41). See Appendix 4, pp. 180–181.

⁸⁴ Herwerden (1888) 322–323.

⁸⁵ Dieterich (1891) 51, n. 2 and 97, n. 1.

⁸⁶ Eitrem (1926) 39–59, at 42.

⁸⁷ See above, n. 80.

⁸⁸ Preisendanz (1941) 25.

⁸⁹ The reconstructed hymn 3 “To Helios” (IV.939–948) is included in: Preisendanz (1974) 2:238. See also Heitsch (1963) 181.

⁹⁰ Betz (1986) 56.

The question remains, however: Should φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή be emended to φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί? The term ἀρχή and its combination with φύσις may allude to Pre-Socratic philosophy⁹¹ and the *Orphic Fragments*.⁹² Fire also is associated with the sun in some of the Pre-Socratics.⁹³ Moreover, Helios is addressed as αὐτογένεθλε, “self-engendered,”⁹⁴ πρωτοφανής, “first-appearing” (IV.942–943), and προπάτωρ, “forefather” (IV.948) in the same hymn “To Helios” (IV.939–948).⁹⁵ Helios is, similarly, described as αὐτοφύης in the *Orphic Hymn to Helios* (8.3). The concept of ὁ θεὸς ὁ προπάτωρ is also found in the Neoplatonist philosophers and the *Corpus Hermeticum*.⁹⁶ Hence, the later three descriptions of Helios in the hymn further support the possibility

⁹¹ E.g. Anaximand. *Fr.* 9.2–3 DK (Simp. *Phys.* 24.13): ἀρχὴν τε καὶ στοιχείον εἶρκε τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἄπειρον, πρῶτος τοῦτο τοῦνομα κομίσας τῆς ἀρχῆς; *Fr.* 11.6 DK (Hippol. *Haer.* I.6); Emp. *Fr.* 38.3–4 DK: εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι λέξω πρῶθ' ἥλιον ἀρχήν, ἐξ ὧν δ' ἄλ' ἐγένοντο τὰ νῦν ἐσοράμεν ἅπαντα; Democr. *Fr.* 53.6 DK: ταῖς ἀρχαῖς περὶ φύσεως; Heraclit. *Fr.* 5.3–5 DK: ἀλλὰ πῦρ ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς ποιοῦσι τὰ ὄντα πυκνώσει καὶ μανώσει καὶ διαλύουσι πάλιν εἰς πῦρ, ὡς ταύτης μιᾶς οὔσης φύσεως τῆς ὑποκειμένης; Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983).

⁹² Kern (1972). E.g. *Orph. Fr.* 21: ὁ μὲν δὴ θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων and Ζεὺς ἀρχή ... καὶ ἀρχή μὲν οὗτος ὡς ποιητικὸν αἴτιον, τελευτὴ δὲ ὡς τελικόν ..., *Orph. Fr.* 21a; *Orph. Fr.* 164: καὶ τὰς τῆς δημιουργίας ἀρχὰς ὑποδέχεσθαι ...; *Orph. Fr.* 168: Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγενέθλος ἐν κράτος, εἰς δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων, ἐν δὲ δέμας βασιλῆιον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται, πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμαρ; and *Orph. Fr.* 298: ἔστιν δὴ πάντων ἀρχή Ζεὺς.

⁹³ E.g. Anaxag. *Test.* DK *Fr.* 1.60 (D.L. II.7): διότι τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον ἔλεγε διάπυρον; *Fr.* 19.1–3 DK (Jos. Flav. *Ap.* II.265): Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ Κλαζομένιος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι νομιζόντων Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι θεὸν ὃδ' αὐτὸν ἔφη μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον, θάνατον αὐτοῦ παρ' ὀλίγας ψήφους κατέγνωσαν; *Fr.* 42.18–19 DK (Hippol. *Haer.* I.8.1): ἥλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα λίθους εἶναι ἐμπύρους συμπεριληφθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθέρος περιφορᾶς; Emp. *Fr.* 1.186 DK: καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιόν φησι πυρὸς ἄθροισμα μέγα καὶ τῆς σελήνης μείζω; Democr. *Fr.* 87.1–2 DK (Cic. *De Fin.* I.6.20): μύδρον ἢ πέτρον διάπυρον [εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον]; Heraclit. *Fr.* 12.1–2 DK: ἀναμμα νοερὸν τὸ ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον; Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983).

⁹⁴ For the association of αὐτογένεθλος, “self-engendered” with the Egyptian Kephri see Grese's note in Betz (1986) 57, n. 134; Helios is also described as “self-engendered” in *PGM* I.341 and IV.1986 in the reconstructed hymn 4 “To Helios”; also in *PGM* IV.1716–1870 Eros is described as πρωτοφανής (IV.1791).

⁹⁵ Helios is described as “forefather” (IV.456, 1986) in another hymn “To Helios”, the reconstructed hymn 4 “To Helios” (A = IV.436–461; B = IV.1957–1989; C = VIII.74–81; D = I.315–325); Preisendanz (1974) 2:239–240. Athanassiadi and Frede argue that this term is “an attempt to appeal to a being higher than the father of all” (Athanassiadi and Frede [1999] 18–19); for the creator-god see *PGM* XII.237–238 and I.200; for Kronos – the creator of the whole inhabited world – see IV.3121. See also the discussion below, p. 97, n. 169, and pp. 104–106.

⁹⁶ See Iambli. *Myst.* VIII.4.22ff.; also for Ouranos in Procl. *In Ti.* III.99.17–18; also *Corp. Herm. Fr.* XXIII.10.4–5.

of allusions to Orphic cosmogony, combined with influences from Neoplatonism and the Corpus Hermeticum.⁹⁷

The φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσις, “perishable nature of mortals” (IV.533) is also addressed in the first invocation spell (IV.485–537) of the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829). The term φύσις is found elsewhere in the Greek magical papyri, as for example, in the spell IV.2785–2890, in which Selene-Hekate-Artemis is addressed as Φύσις παμμήτωρ (IV.2833–2834), or in the spell IV.2891–2942, where Aphrodite is also described as Φύσις παμμήτωρ (IV.2917).⁹⁸

The terms ἀρχή and πῦρ also occur in the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829). In the invocation spell (IV.485–537) of the ritual of immortalisation the magician prays to the origin, [Γ]ένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως ... ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς(ς) πρώτη, and to the four elements, πνεῦμα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ and οὐσία γεώδης (IV.485–494), with πῦρ defined as πῦρ, τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κράσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδώρητον, “fire, given by god to my mixture of the mixtures in me” (IV.490–491).⁹⁹ The aim of this ritual, referred to as χρεῖα, or ἀνάγκη (IV.504, 535, 606), is defined as: “in order that I may oversee/envisage the immortal principle (τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχήν) with the immortal spirit ... with the immortal water ... with the firmest air ... in order that I may be born again in thought ... and the sacred spirit may breathe in me ... in order that I may admire/marvel at the sacred fire (τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ) ... in order that I may gaze upon the unfathomable, frightful water of the dawn ... and the life-giving and encompassing ether may hear me,” ἵνα ... ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχήν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι ... τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι ... τῷ στερεωτάτῳ ἀέρι ... ἵνα νοήματι μεταγεν(ν)ηθῶ ... καὶ πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα ... ἵνα θαυμάσω τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ ... ἵνα θεάσωμαι τὸ ἄβυσσον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν ὕδωρ ... καὶ ἀκούσῃ μου ὁ ζωογόνος καὶ περιεχυμένος αἰθήρ (IV.502–515).¹⁰⁰ In the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829), therefore, as in the examined hymn “To Helios” (IV.939–948), there are references to τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχήν, “the immortal

⁹⁷ For the main lines of which see Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983) 21–33.

⁹⁸ See also the *PGM* references: IV.3231: καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων διογενῆ Φύσιν; VII.511: ὁ πατήρ τῆς ἀπλάτου Φύσεως; VII.512: τὴν τῆς κοσμικῆς φύσεως σύγκρασιν; IV.1125–1126: ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῆς ἀκινήτου φύσεως; XII.184–185: ὁ τῆς φύσεως ἡγεμὼν; XIII.255: ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δύο φύσεων; IV.2552: κόσμου φύσις ἀστερόφοιτος; III.216: καὶ φύσιν δείξαντα καὶ ἐκ φύσεως φύσιν αἰθερί; I.304: πᾶσα φύσις τρομ[έ]ει; IV.156–157: ἡ δὲ φύσις κατέστησεν ἄριστον σοφιστήν; II.101: ᾧ ὑπετάγη πᾶσα φύσις; IV.220: ἰσοθέου φύσεως. Cf. Preisendanz (1908).

⁹⁹ Betz supports the notion that the reference to the four elements here implies influences from the Pre-Socratics and, particularly, Empedocles, and from Stoic cosmology. On the four elements and κράσις see the discussion in Betz (2003) 105 and 107–108; also Dieterich (1891) 57–60 and 83ff. and (1966) 55, 58ff., 78ff.; Merkelbach and Totti (1990–1996) 3:234; Kingsley (1995) 374–375. On fire and krasis see the discussion in the spell VII.505–528. See above, pp. 77ff.

¹⁰⁰ Betz (2003) 114ff.

principle" (IV.504–505), to τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ, "the sacred fire" (IV.512) and to φθαρτὴ βροτῶν φύσις (IV.533).

The notion of ἀρχή is also found, however, in the *Chaldaean Oracles* as πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς, "of the paternal principle" (Fr. 13.1), ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχῆς, "from Zeus' principle" (Fr. 215.3), κρηνήϊος ἀρχή (Fr. 74.1), or as τὴν τρίπτερον ἀρχήν, "the three-winged principle" (Fr. 168.1). This three-winged principle evidently refers to the triadic Monad of the Chaldaean system (Μουνάδα γὰρ σε τριοῦχον ἰδὼν ἐσεβάσσατο κόσμος, Fr. 26.1), according to which, "for the Triad shines in every world, which the Monad rules," Παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριάς, ἥς μονὰς ἄρχει (Fr. 27.1).¹⁰¹ In the Chaldaean system the cosmos also is divided into three world-circles, "the empyrean, the ethereal and the hylic," (πυρίη γ' ἡδ' αἰθερίη καὶ ὑλώδης) (Fr. 76.3).¹⁰² The "paternal Nous," Νοῦς πατρός in the doctrine of the *Chaldaean Oracles* created the "many-formed ideas," παμμόρφους ιδέας (Fr. 37.1–2), or the "primordial ideas," ἀρχεγόνους ιδέας (Fr. 37.15). These primordial ideas, identified with the triadic principles,¹⁰³ were separated into "other noetic" ideas, εἰς ἄλλας νοεράς¹⁰⁴ after having been divided "by noetic fire," νοεῶ πυρί (Fr. 37.4–5).¹⁰⁵ Elsewhere in the *Chaldaean Oracles* there is a similar reference to the "fiery nous," πύριον νοῦν (Fr. 128.1), to the "flower of fire," πυρὸς ἄνθος (Fr. 37.14),¹⁰⁶ or to the "flower of nous," νόου ἄνθος (Fr. 49.2).¹⁰⁷ In another fragment of the *Chaldaean Oracles* fire is also associated with the sun as "fire of the sun," τὸ ἡλιακὸν πῦρ (Fr. 58). The use of the terms ἀρχή and πῦρ may, therefore, also reflect influences from the *Chaldaean Oracles*.

The relationship between fire and the sun, Helios, may be illuminated further by another spell, PGM IV.959–973, also included in IV.930–1114. Helios is described as πυριφεγγῆ, "fire-blazing" and ἀόρατον φωτὸς γεννήτορα, "invisible begetter of light" (IV.960).¹⁰⁸ The adjective πυριφεγγής is also used in

¹⁰¹ See also *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 73.1–3: Ἐν τούτοις ἱεροῖς πρῶτος δρόμος, ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσσω ἡέριος, τρίτος ἄλλος δὲ ἐν πυρὶ τὴν χθόνα θάλλει. Ἀρχαῖς γὰρ τρισὶ ταῖσδε λάβροις δουλεύει ἅπαντα; des Places (1971). See also discussion on the ideas in Lewy (1978) 105–117 and n. 164.

¹⁰² *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 76.1–3: Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ αἶδε ἐπεμβαίνουσι φαινοῖς κόσμοις ἐνθρῶσ-
κουσαι· ἐν αἷς ἀκρότητες ἔασιν τρεῖς· (πυρίη γ' ἡδ' αἰθερίη καὶ ὑλώδης); on the three worlds see also Lewy (1978) 137–157 and n. 270.

¹⁰³ See *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 40.1: ἀρχάς, αἱ πατρὸς ἔργα ...; and *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 49.3: πάσαις πηγαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς.

¹⁰⁴ See also ἔννοιαι νοεαί, "noetic thoughts" (*Orac. Chald. Fr.* 37.13).

¹⁰⁵ For comments on Fr. 37 see Lewy (1978) 109–117.

¹⁰⁶ Also in *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 34.2, 35.3, 42.3.

¹⁰⁷ The second Nous is described as the "artificer of the fiery world," ὁ κόσμου τεχνίτης πυρίου; *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 5.1–4: οὐ γὰρ ἐς ὕλην πῦρ ἐπέκεινα τὸ πρῶτον ἐὴν δύναμιν κατα-
κλεῖει ἔργους ἀλλὰ νόω· νοῦ γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμου τεχνίτης πυρίου.

¹⁰⁸ In spell IV.587–616 included in the "Mithras Liturgy" (IV.475–829) Aion is invoked and described with many πυρι- composite epithets, e.g. πυρίπολε, πυρίπνοε, πυρίθυμε, πυρι-

the *Orphica* as an adjective to Helios (πυριφεγγέος Ἡελίοιο, *Orph. A.* 214).¹⁰⁹ Helios' assimilation to fire is established by the ritual "light bringing," φωταγωγία (IV.955) of this spell, which involves the instilling of the god in the fire as part of the ritual of "filling with divine spirit," ἐνπνευμάτωσις of the lamp. Helios, the fire-blazing, invisible, begetter of light is invoked to, "rouse your daemon and enter into this fire and fill it with divine spirit," διέγειρόν σου τὸν δαίμονα καὶ εἴσελθε ἐν τῷ πυρὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐνπνευμάτωσον αὐτὸν θείου πνεύματος (IV.964–966).¹¹⁰ The divine spirit of Helios may reflect influences from Zoroastrian religion, since according to Zarathustra, God, Ahura Mazda, and his Holy Spirit, Spenta Mainyu, are one factor of the Zoroastrian Heptad.¹¹¹ Fire was also an important element in the Zoroastrian cults.¹¹²

To conclude, the poetic invocation to φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή (IV.939) of the papyrus should not be emended to φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί, as Dieterich suggests and as Preisendanz adopts in his edition. The terms ἀρχή and Φύσι may allude to Pre-Socratic philosophy, or the *Orphic Fragments*, but in the text, these rather imply influences from the *Chaldaean Oracles*. The use of fire in the ritual of *photagogia* may also reveal influences from Zoroastrian cults. Hence, the translation should be "nature and principle of fire."

Conclusion

In this section, the religious and philosophical assimilations of Helios have been examined. The assimilation process makes possible the manifold attributes of Helios, which evoke natural, cosmic and divine powers. The participation of these powers characterises his divine image, which can be described as his 'inclusive hyperpower.' In sum, the assimilation process functions in the various ways explicated below.

Assimilation with other deities. Helios is assimilated with the Egyptian Horus Harpocrates, as in the description "leaping upon the clover of the golden bean" or "the god seated on the lotus decorated with rays" (*PGM* IV.985–1035). His representation as "holding the reins and steering the tiller,

χαρῇ, πυρισώματε, πυρισπόρε, πυρικλόνε, πυριδίνα, πυρισχησίφως (IV.591–602); see also IV.520–522: τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶνα καὶ δεσπότην τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων.

¹⁰⁹ E. Abel (1885). In relation to Helios see Nonn. *D.* XXXVIII.85: καὶ πάλιν ἀντέλλων πυριφεγγέος ὑψόθι δίφρου/Ἡέλιος ζοφέεσσαν ἀπηκόντιζεν ὁμίχλην. See also *Hymn. Orph.* 52.9: πυριφεγγές; Procl. *In Ti.* II.45.7: (σῶμα δέ οἱ πυριφεγγές ἀπείριτον ἀστυφέλικτον ...); and the feminine form in Procl. *Hymn* "To Aphrodite" 6: πυριφεγγέας αὐλάς; and *Orph. L.* 173: πυριφεγγέος ἀμβρότου αἴγλης.

¹¹⁰ On ἐνπνευμάτωσις see below, p. 129, n. 336; and Chpt. 2, above, p. 45, n. 65. Also cf. Pachoumi (2011b) 736, n. 25.

¹¹¹ Cf. Boyce (1984) 12–15, 37, 40.

¹¹² Boyce (1984) 10, 48–50, 61–63; also Boyce (1979) 3–6, 12.

restraining the serpent” shows influences of Egyptian religion, without excluding possible allusions to Greek literature and Near Eastern religious texts. The association of the chariot sun god with Mithras has also been pointed out. The reference to the divine spirit and fire may also imply influence from Zoroastrianism. Helios’ assimilation with the Agathodaimon reveals Egyptian influence (IV.1596–1715). Other attempts to assimilate Helios to Egyptian religious concepts and symbolisms involve his description as the “lotus emerged from the abyss,” or the god “who controls the beginning of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited world.” Helios is identified with the Greek Apollo. He is also assimilated to the Jewish Sabaoth Adonai and addressed as the great god. This assimilation reflects a megatheistic concept of the divine, which is mixed with Jewish influences. Helios is also assimilated to the Jewish Iao, Sabaoth, the living god, and the creator-god of every soul and race.

Assimilation with various epithets. Helios is presented as the *cosmokrator* and the *thalassokrator* (IV.1596–1715). Mystical characteristics are attributed to him as the god who celebrates orgiastic rites and “to whom heaven has become the processional way.” Helios’ assimilations through these epithets substantiate his supremacy over the physical and divine powers and the cosmos. His address as “forefather,” or a similar first principle as the “self-engendered” and the “first-appearing” (IV.939–948) reveals influences from the Corpus Hermeticum, Neoplatonism and Orphic cosmogony. His descriptions as “serpent and prime lion” and “clear water and lofty-leaved tree” show knowledge of particular passages of Homer’s *Odyssey*.

Assimilation with abstract concepts. Helios is assimilated with the “image” (ὁ τύπος), “the whole” ([τ]ὸ σύνολον) of the cosmos (III.494–611). τύπος, a philosophical term used from the Pre-Socratics, possibly reflects in the text the influence of the *Chaldaean Oracles*. Helios has in him the “mixture” (σύγκρασις) of the cosmic nature (VII.505–528). This reflects religious and philosophical influences from the Corpus Hermeticum and the Neoplatonists in relation to the notion of the one and many, while κρᾶσις has roots in Pre-Socratic philosophy and the Stoic cosmology on the four elements. Helios’ assimilation to “nature and principle of fire” (φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή) implies influences from the *Chaldaean Oracles* (IV.939–948).

Assimilation with various forms. Helios is identified with various forms of animals (III.494–611). The many-formedness of Helios reveals influences from the Egyptian concept of the divine as well as from theurgical practices, as described by the Neoplatonists Iamblichus and Proclus. The twelve different names and animal forms of Helios, which correspond to the twelve hours of the day, echo the Egyptian zodiac of *dodekaoros* (IV.1596–1715).

The religious and philosophical assimilations of Helios reflect coherent approaches to the concept of diversity and plurality of powers and attributes of one god, and unity, which are on the whole consistent with the Egyptian

concept of personification of the divine and with the Neoplatonists' doctrine of the diversity and unity of the manifold one, which is also many. Religious and philosophical influences from the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the *Chaldaean Oracles* support this notion of unity.

III. Eros

The god Eros is invoked as a divine "assistant," *πάρεδρος* in two spells in the Greek magical papyri, in "Eros as an assistant" (*PGM* XII.14–95, III C.E.) and in the erotic spell "The sword of Dardanos" (IV.1716–1870, IV C.E.).¹¹³ This section aims to examine the various assimilations of Eros with other gods and their religious and philosophical interactions.

1. "Eros as an assistant" (*PGM* XII.14–95)

In the "*Π[ά]ρεδρος Ἐρως*" (XII.14–95) Eros is described as "the one in the mansion of desire," "the master of heaven who shines upon the whole inhabited world" and "the one who embraces the Graces" (XII.40, 48–49, 63). All these characteristics fit those of Eros as a god of love, but with important cosmic dimensions. The description "the master of heaven who shines upon the whole inhabited world" obviously identifies Eros with Helios-Harpocrates.¹¹⁴ Eros is also described as "the infant," *ὁ νήπιος*, "the living god," *ὁ ζῶν θεός*, and "the one who has beauty," *ὁ ἔχων μορφήν* (XII.79). The phrase "the living god" can sometimes be explained as an appropriation of the Jewish and Christian phrase, which contrasts Yahweh with pagan gods, regarded, precisely, as dead.¹¹⁵ This does not, however, apply in this context. For, as Ritner points out, this composite address is a Greek translation of the Egyptian epithets, "*hwn* for youth, *ntr 'nh* for living god and *Wn-nfr* for Onnophris, the beautiful being," and "Onnophris" was a common epithet for Osiris.¹¹⁶ The phrase "the living god" has a further point in relation to Osiris, referring to Osiris' title as "the dead king, the god of the dead" and the 'living' aspect of his characterisation as "a god who dies and rises again," as symbolised in his mysteries.¹¹⁷ Eros is here being identified with the Egyptian god Osiris.

¹¹³ These spells are discussed in their *πάρεδρος* aspect in Chpt. 2, above, pp. 47–48.

¹¹⁴ See above, pp. 64–66.

¹¹⁵ See Hull (1974) 31–32; also Betz (2003) 148, n. 347. See also *PGM* IV.959 above, p. 70.

¹¹⁶ Betz (1986) 156, n. 19, cf. *PGM* IV.1078.

¹¹⁷ Morenz (1992) 267.

Another characterisation of Eros that reveals Egyptian influence is his characterisation as “the one who sits on the lotus and illuminates the whole world” (XII.87–88).¹¹⁸ In this case Eros is clearly being identified with Harpocrates, the young god of the rising sun, “Horus the child,” the son of Isis and Osiris.¹¹⁹ It is worth noticing here the apparent technical inconsistency of Eros being both Osiris and his son.

Eros is also described as “the master of the forms” (XII.50–51). The various forms of Eros are emphasised when the magician asks Eros to serve him “assuming the likeness (παρομοιούμενος) of a god (or a goddess) such as men and women worship” (XII.41–42). A similar phrase is repeated in the formula to be written on a piece of papyrus, according to which Eros is requested to accomplish his task, “having assumed the likeness of a god (or a goddess) he (or she) worships” (XII.83). The various assimilations of Eros already mentioned (Helios, Osiris, Harpocrates) are, therefore, to be understood as “likenesses” or “forms” of Eros.¹²⁰ Apparent inconsistencies of identifications are, therefore, resolved in this instance.

In this spell there is, nevertheless, an inconsistency. Although Eros is described as the greatest god with cosmic characteristics identified with Harpocrates and Osiris, at the same time he is ordered “on the command (κατ’ ἐπιτα[γ]ήν)¹²¹ of the highest god (τοῦ ὑψίστου θε[ο]ῦ) Iao, Adoneai” (XII.62–63).¹²² It should also be noted that the magician describes himself as a “slave of the highest god (δοῦλός εἰμι τοῦ ὑψίστου θε[ο]ῦ)” and one “who holds the cosmos and is ruler of all” (XII.71–72). All human beings, moreover, are described as being “under the creation” (XII.70), and “the whole creation” as being subdued to his holy and precious name (XII.85). Thus Eros, as the cosmic god related to the inhabited world, is presented as subordinate to the highest god as identified with the Jewish Iao and Adoneai. This highest god is also the cosmic god associated with the cosmos, in this case defined as κτίσις¹²³ with the people under his creation and the whole creation under his authority. At this point, the concept of the highest god is, therefore, associated with the Jewish concept of the creator-god of the cosmos and Eros has been ‘demoted’ to second rank.

¹¹⁸ Also in *PGM* II.102, 106–107; IV.1111, 1684 and LXI.32.

¹¹⁹ See above, p. 65 with n. 6.

¹²⁰ See above, pp. 73ff., and below, pp. 88, n. 125; 102, n. 196; 132, n. 356; and 142, nn. 425–426; and Chpt. 2, above, p. 52, n. 91.

¹²¹ Also in Rom 16:26: κατ’ ἐπιταγήν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ; 1 Cor 7:6.

¹²² On other *PGM* references to ὁ ὑψίστος θεός see IV.1069 and V.46: ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ; LXII.30: κατ’ ἐπιταγήν θεοῦ ὑψίστου; it is also used for a daimon in XIV.10: δαίμονος ὑψίστου; also *PGM* Christ. 3.6: διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ; *PGM* Christ. 19.4: [ἐν βοήθει]α τοῦ Ὑψίστου; on the Ὑψίστος θεός, generally, though not universally, seen as the Jewish god, see Mitchell (1999).

¹²³ See the discussion of κτίζω and cognates, below, pp. 98–100.

Conclusion

Thus, in the spell “Eros as an assistant” Eros is described as the god of love with significant cosmic dimensions, which allude to his identification with Helios-Harpocrates. He is further assimilated to Harpocrates’ father, Osiris, the living god, creating an apparent inconsistency.

The motif of a god with many forms, or who is able to assume the likeness of other gods also occurs in the spell. Nevertheless, the cosmic god Eros is subordinate to the highest god, who is identified with the Jewish creator-god Iao and Adoneai, to whom the magician considers himself as his servant. Here also lies an inconsistency, which creates a sense of hierarchy in the relationship between Eros and the highest god of Jewish origins.

2. “The sword of Dardanos” (PGM IV.1716–1870)

In “The sword of Dardanos”¹²⁴ the magician invokes Eros to become his assistant, sending him to the house of the woman with whom the male user of the spell is in love. Then, “after assuming the form of a god, or daimon that she (the woman) worships,” *ὁμοιωθεὶς ᾧ σέβεται θεῷ ἢ δαίμονι*, Eros should stand beside her and say everything he wishes to (IV.1850–1851, 1855–1859).¹²⁵ At this stage it is worth commenting on the points as expounded below.

Firstly, the user does not invoke a spirit of the dead (e.g. *aoros*, or *biaio-thanatos*), or an underworld daimon, commonly invoked in the erotic spells, but the god Eros himself. The spell includes a “ritual for acquiring (Eros as) an assistant” (IV.1840–1870). This is one of two cases where Eros is invoked as an assistant.¹²⁶

Secondly, this characteristic of Eros to assume various forms of either gods, or daimons may be compared with the ability of Helios, or Hermes to assume various animal forms.¹²⁷ There is not a vast difference between Eros and Helios, or Hermes in this case, partly because of the Egyptian tendency to picture gods in animal form. Such a depiction of gods in animal forms, or in

¹²⁴ Cf. Pachoumi (2011c). On the title of this spell see Nock (1925) 154, n. 1.

¹²⁵ Note also the description of Eros as, *παρομοιούμενος θεῷ* (ἢ [θ]εῶ), “assuming the likeness of a god (or a goddess)” and *παρομοιωθεὶς, ᾧ σέβεται θεῷ* (ἢ θεῶ) (XII.41–42 and XII.83); also of Selene the Egyptian as *σχηματίζομένην παντόμορφον*, “assuming all forms,” VII.871–872) and of the creator of all-Aion of Aion as *ὁ μεταμορφούμενος εἰς πάντας*, “who is transformed into all (gods)” (XIII.70–71). See Chpt. 1, above, p. 27; Chpt. 2, above, p. 53, n. 91; and in this Chapter above, pp. 73ff. and below, pp. 102, n. 196; 132, n. 356; and 142, n. 426. Also cf. Pachoumi (2011a) 160–161.

¹²⁶ The other one is the spell PGM XII.14–95.

¹²⁷ E.g. III.494–611 (III.501–536); II.107–108; VIII.10–12, 14. See above, p. 87, n. 120; and p. 88, n. 125.

human forms with animal heads was a characteristic of the Egyptian religious concept of the personification of the divine, according to which humans, animals and plants are seen to be endowed with divine power.¹²⁸ This characteristic of Eros to assume various forms of either gods or goddesses, which was also examined in the previous spell, implies a henotheistic tendency.¹²⁹

“The sword of Dardanos” includes a hymn-invocation to Eros and a ritual, which precedes it. According to the ritual, the magician should engrave on one side of a magnetic stone: “Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche” (IV.1722–1725) with Eros holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche¹³⁰ and, on the other side of the stone, “Psyche and Eros embracing one another” (IV.1737–1739).¹³¹ The rite for acquiring Eros as an assistant (IV.1840–1870) also includes the preparation of a wooden figure of Eros.

The representation of Eros and Psyche must be an allusion to the story of Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (IV.27–VI.24), which (in most views) functions as a Platonist allegory about the soul.¹³² In the beginning of the narrative Aphrodite, angry with Psyche’s beauty, sends her son Eros to take revenge, striking Psyche with his arrows and seizing her heart with a burning passion for “the worst of the human kind,” *hominis extremi* (Apul. *Met.* IV.31). This description is reflected in the representation of Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche and of Eros burning Psyche with his blazing torch on the one side of the stone. The depiction on the other side of the stone of Psyche and Eros embracing one another alludes to the happy ending of their story in the *Metamorphoses* and anticipates the erotic union of the two lovers, whom the spell is intended to bring together. The allusion here to an author of African origins is interesting, indicating the literary claims of some of the spells in the Greek magical papyri, as for example the one under investigation, Apuleius’ own literary renown, and presumably also his renown as a magician.

The representation of Eros and Psyche on the magnet stone suggests that the erotic union should be a ‘union of souls’ as well. At the end of the hymn to Eros, the male-lover user asks Eros, ἐπίστρεψον τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δεῖνα εἰς ἐμέ τὸν δεῖνα, ἵνα με φιλήῃ, ἵνα μου ἐράῃ, ἵνα μοι δοῖ τὰ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐαυτῆς

¹²⁸ See Morenz (1992) 19–21; also Hornung (1982). See above, pp. 73ff. and n. 63, and below, p. 104, n. 205.

¹²⁹ See in this Chapter, above, pp. 74–76, and below, p. 104, n. 205; also Chpt. 2, above, pp. 51–55.

¹³⁰ See Binder and Merkelbach (1968) 433–434; and Delatte and Derchain (1964) 233–238.

¹³¹ On the bronze reliefs of Eros and Psyche see Ferguson (1958) 93; also Nock (1925) 154, n. 3. On Eros and Psyche on the erotic amulets see Bonner (1950) 115–122 (pl. VIII, figs. 157–159, 161).

¹³² See further Kenney (1990) 17–22; also Betz (1986) 69, nn. 220 and 221; M. J. Edwards (1992); James (1987) 119–140; and Rist (1964) 16–55.

(IV.1806–1810). O’Neil translates ἐπίστρεψον as “turn,” but this interpretation is not precise enough.¹³³ It can be argued in this case that ἐπίστρεψον¹³⁴ has the meaning of “return/revert”; thus the whole sentence should be translated, “cause the soul of her NN to return to me NN, so that she may love me, so that she may feel erotic passion for me, so that she may give me what is in her hands.”

This raises the question: How can the notion of “return” of the female beloved (or male, if generalised)¹³⁵ to the male lover be understood, as expressed in the sentence above, when considering the representation of Eros and Psyche in the magnetic stone? What is the significance of the erotic and sexual union described in the erotic spell? Are there any philosophical and mystic influences in the notion of erotic union as ‘union of souls’?

In the spell Psyche and Eros are depicted as embracing one another. The goal of the erotic spells, generally, is the erotic and sexual union, which is usually depicted in rather explicit terms. For example, in the “Wondrous erotic binding spell” (IV.296–466) the male user expresses the desire that “she may join fast together (her) head to (my) head and join together lip to lip and fasten belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit the black together with the black,” κεφαλὴν κεφαλῇ κολλήσῃ καὶ χεῖλεα χεῖλεσι συνάψῃ καὶ γαστέρα γαστρὶ κολλήσῃ καὶ μηρὸν μηρῷ πελάσῃ καὶ τὸ μέλαν τῷ μέλανι συναρμόσῃ (IV.400–404).¹³⁶

Another erotic spell (*SM* 38),¹³⁷ however, combines the mentioned explicit terminology with other elements. Ammonion binds Theodotis so that she “may draw thigh close to thigh and genitals to genitals for being together always, for all the time of her life,” μηρὸν μηρῷ πελάσῃ καὶ φύσε[ι]ν φύσει πρὸς συνουσίαν ἀεὶ εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς (*SM* 38.12–13). The phrase συνουσίαν ἀεὶ seems to combine several aspects, which entail the following

¹³³ Betz (1986) 70. So does Preisendanz, “wende die Seele der NN her zu mir”; Preisendanz (1973) 1:129.

¹³⁴ This is actually the only time that ἐπίστρεψον is used in the erotic spells in the *PGM*; see also Preisendanz (1941) 97.

¹³⁵ The δέινα form in the erotic spells functions as a grammatical formula that can be employed by both male and female users. See Dickie (2000).

¹³⁶ LSJ, s.v. τὸ μέλαν, II.2 gives αἰδοῖον, as it is usually translated, but the reference must surely be to pubic hair. The same sexual depiction of the lovers is expressed in: a) the untitled erotic spell *PGM* XVIIa.1–25: “joining fast together thigh to thigh and belly to belly and her black to my black the most pleasant (καὶ τὸ μέλαν αὐτῆς τῷ ἐμῷ μέλανι ἡδυτάτω)” (XVIIa.22–23); b) the “Erotic spell that leads by means of fire” (XXXVI.69–101): “she may join fast together her female genitals to my male one,” καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν τῇ ἀρσενικῇ μου κολλήσῃ (XXXVI.83); and c) “Another erotic spell by means of fire” (XXXVI.102–133, at 113–114); also the erotic spell P. Oxy. 4673: “until they join together lips to lips and white to black (καὶ τὸ λευκὸν τῷ μέλανι)” (27–29); Amirav (2003).

¹³⁷ Daniel and Maltomini (1990–1992) vol. 1.

notions: a) the notion of οὐσία, the physical essence of a person; b) the notion of “intercourse”; c) the notion of the unity of two essences or substances;¹³⁸ and d) the notion of “always.” Even though “being together always” includes the notion of sexual intercourse, it seems that Ammonion is hardly praying only for perpetual sexual intercourse. Rather, sexual intercourse is subsumed within a wider and everlasting unity, ‘consubstantiation.’ The phrase, therefore, seems to show the influence of the theory of love set out in Plato’s *Symposium*, in which emphasis is on the search for the ἀεί,¹³⁹ as interpreted by the Neoplatonists.

In Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* as well, the union of Eros and Psyche, after Psyche’s wanderings and adventure, is described by Zeus as *perpetuae nuptiae*, “perpetual marriage,” with Psyche becoming immortal at the end and Eros never abandoning the tie that binds him to Psyche, according to Zeus’ decision and orders (Apul. *Met.* VI.23).

In Greek philosophy, generally, sexual intercourse may be a metaphor for the ‘union’ of separate entities, or for the aspiration of the soul for the divine, or for immortality. In Plato’s *Symposium*, for example, erotic union between two persons is a metaphor for the soul’s aspiration for a mystical union, “oneness,” and immortality. Philosophical texts can, therefore, use the same erotic vocabulary as erotic texts such as the erotic spells under consideration here. Both types of texts are necessarily concerned with the ‘union’ of two persons, or things.¹⁴⁰

Among the Neoplatonist philosophers, Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* develops the Platonic doctrine as follows (Iambl. *Myst.* IV.12.195–197): “The All which draws things together and the reason of their mixing attracts also naturally the parts towards mingling with each other,” τὸ δὲ συναγωγὸν ὅλον καὶ τὸ τῆς συγκράσεως αἴτιον ἔλκει μὲν καὶ αὐτοφυῶς τὰ μέρη πρὸς τὴν ἀλλήλων σύμμιξιν. This force, the so-called τὸ συναγωγὸν ὅλον, also defined by Iamblichus as a factor “which co-ordinates community and union (sexual) and symmetry,” κοινωνίας τε καὶ συνόδου καὶ συμμετρίας συναρμοστικόν, “imbues the union with the indissoluble principle of eros,” ἔρωτός τε ἀδιάλυτον ἀρχὴν ἐντίθησι τῇ ἐνώσει.¹⁴¹ This συναγωγὸν ὅλον can also be aroused by “an art,” ἀπὸ τέχνης, and, according to Iamblichus, is both “good and a reason of fulfilment.”

Plotinus, moreover, explicitly invokes the erotic art of the magicians as a parallel to the Platonic doctrine of the *Symposium*. In *Ennead* IV (4.40.10) he refers to the birth of the power of the erotic art by magic (ἀλκὴ ἐρωτικῆς διαγοητείας τέχνης), based on the notion that “(because) men love by nature and the things that cause loving attract each other,” ὅτι ἐρᾶν πεφύκασιν καὶ τὰ ἐρᾶν

¹³⁸ On συνουσία in Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art* see below, n. 142.

¹³⁹ On the erotic union forever, ἀεί, in the *Symposium* see e.g. Pl. *Smp.* 207a, d, 208a, c.

¹⁴⁰ E.g. Aristophanes’ speech in Plato’s *Symposium*, Pl. *Smp.* 191d, 192e.

¹⁴¹ LSJ, s.v. σύννοδος, ἡ, 5 also gives συνουσία.

ποιούντα ἔλκει πρὸς ἄλληλα. This art of love, therefore, is used by the magicians “who apply by contact to different people different substances which bring them together and which have eros inside them,” προστιθέντων ἐπαφαῖς φύσεις ἄλλας ἄλλοις συναγωγούς καὶ ἐγκείμενον ἐχούσας ἔρωτα.¹⁴² Such a “bringing together” is not merely sexual because, according to this notion of attraction, magicians join one soul to another (συνάπτουσι δὲ ἄλλην ψυχὴν ἄλλῃ, IV.4.40.13).¹⁴³ Plotinus’ συναγωγούς and presumably also Iamblichus’ συναγωγὸν ὄλον (Iambl. *Myst.* IV.12.195.12) echo Plato’s description of Eros in the Symposium as ἔμφυτος in human beings and “συναγωγεὺς” with their original nature.¹⁴⁴ Plotinus’ “On the Good, or the One” refers to eros as σύμφυτος with psyche (καὶ ὁ ἔρως ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ σύμφυτος, Plot. *Enn.* VI.9.9.24–25).¹⁴⁵

In the hymn-invocation, Eros is presented as a cosmic power when he is described as “first-born,” πρωτόγονε,¹⁴⁶ “the founder of every creation,” τὸν ἀρχηγέτην πάσης γενέσεως, “creator of all,” παντὸς κτίστα, and “the one who stretches out his own wings into the whole cosmos (εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον)” (PGM IV.1756, 1748–1749, 1756–1757, 1749–1751). In this case the cosmic/universal features of Eros allude to the universal features of “the creator-(κτίστα) god of everything (παντός).”¹⁴⁷ This Eros is associated with the souls and characterised as “(you) who breathe into all the souls life-producing reasoning, who fitted everything together by your own power,” εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς πάσας ζωογόνον ἐμπνέοντα λογισμὸν, τὸν συναρμοσάμενον τὰ πάντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει (IV.1752–1756).

¹⁴² Note also Procl. *Hier. Art* 151.16–19: Ἀπὸ δὴ τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὀρμηθέντες, τὰς δαιμονίους δυνάμεις ἔγνωσαν, ὡς προσεχεῖς εἰσιν οὐσίαι τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνεργείας, καὶ ἐπηγάγοντο δι’ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰς συνουσίαν; Bidez (1928a) 151.

¹⁴³ See above, p. 90, n. 136.

¹⁴⁴ Pl. *Smp.* 191d1–3: ἔστι δὴ οὖν ἐκ τόσου ὁ ἔρως ἔμφυτος ἀλλήλων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας φύσεως συναγωγεὺς.

¹⁴⁵ On eros and psyche see also Plot. *Enn.* III.5.4.

¹⁴⁶ The description of Eros as “the first-born” alludes to some form of the Orphic cosmogony; see also Hes. *Th.* 120; *Orph. Fr.* 28; also West (1997) 195–196.

¹⁴⁷ The description of Eros as “unseen,” ἀϊδῆ and “body-less,” ἀσώματε (PGM IV.1777) – note also a similar referral to the god as without form (οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος) in LXX Isa 53:3–5 – seems to fit Plato’s description in the *Timaeus* of the craftsman (δημιουργός) who created the world (*Tim.* 28a, 29a, 41a, 68e, 69c), even though in a much disputed statement Plato goes on to say, “now to discover the maker (ποιητὴν) and father (καὶ πατέρα) of this universe (τοῦδε τοῦ παντός) is a task indeed and even having discovered him, to declare him unto all men is impossible” (*Tim.* 28c). This creator of all is not only unseen and bodiless, but also “unapproachable and unmeasurable,” ἄπλατον καὶ ἀμέτρητον (PGM IV.1750–1751), even though in the ritual for acquiring Eros as an assistant there are visual representations of “winged Eros wearing a cloak with his right foot lifted for a stride” (IV.1843–1845). Also in the Corpus Hermeticum V A *Discourse of Hermes to His Son Tat*, god is described as ὁ ἀφανής and ὁ φανερώτατος, and ὁ ἀσώματος, ὁ πολυσώματος, μᾶλλον δὲ παντοσώματος (V.10).

This description of Eros again recalls Plato's reference to the creator-god who created the cosmos as "a living creature endowed with soul and reason," ζῶον ἔμψυχον ἔννοον, or "as similar as possible to the perfect and intelligible living creature," ὡς ὁμοιότατον ἢ τῷ τελέῳ καὶ νοητῷ ζώῳ (*Tim.* 30b, 39e). Interestingly, this late work of Plato, which addresses the origins and organization of the universe, strongly influenced the Neoplatonists.

Similarly, in "On the Three Primary Hypostases" Plotinus associates the souls with the father god as their source of being and refers to the two ways that someone may make men to *return* to the primary source ("the highest and one and the first").¹⁴⁸

The *Chaldaean Oracles* present a comparable description of Eros as the binder of all things and the continuator of the movement of the cosmic bodies.¹⁴⁹ In another fragment as well Eros is mentioned as the one "who first leapt forth out of (ἐκθορε) the intellect."¹⁵⁰

In addition to the philosophical influences on the notion of erotic union already examined, the mystical influences of Egyptian origins in the description of Eros will also be focused on. In the hymn, Eros is addressed as "infant, when you are born within the heart," νήπιε, ὅταν γεννηθῇς ἐνκάρδιος (IV.1783–1785).¹⁵¹ The adjective νήπιος is also applied to Eros in XII.79, in an invocation spell that identifies Eros with the Egyptian god Harpocrates (XII.87–88).¹⁵² Eros, however, is also addressed here as, πρεσβύτατε, ὅταν ἐπιτευχθῇς (IV.1785–1786). Regarding the meaning, O'Neil translates: "wisest when you have succeeded," evidently taking ἐπιτευχθῇς as deriving from ἐπιτυγχάνω (in itself a suitable verb for an archer god).¹⁵³ However, this meaning seems strange in itself and it ignores the temporal contrast with "infant, when you are born within the heart." Rather, the phrase should be translated as "the most senior when you have been accomplished" (taking ἐπιτευχθῇς as deriving from ἐπιτεύχω).¹⁵⁴ Thus it should be understood as alluding to the rebirth

¹⁴⁸ Plot. *Enn.* V.1.1.23–25: εἴπερ τις ἐπιστρέψει αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ ἐναντία καὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἀνάγοι μέχρι τοῦ ἀκροτάτου καὶ ἐνὸς καὶ πρώτου; on ἐπιστροφή and τελείωσις see Plot. *Enn.* V.1.3.13–14; Atkinson (1983) 64–65. Cf. also Procl. *Inst.* 144.9–10: καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ πρὸ τῶν μέσων ὡσαύτως, καὶ πρὸ τῶν πρώτων; also Procl. *Inst.* 39 and 158.

¹⁴⁹ *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 39; Procl. *In Ti.* II.54.8; see also Pl. *Ti.* 32c.2; see Lewy (1978) 126–129.

¹⁵⁰ *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 42; Procl. *Parm.* 769.8–12. On ἐκθρόσκω see Chpt. 2, above, p. 38, n. 21.

¹⁵¹ On the association of Hermes with the heart and the simile of the fetus in the womb see *PGM* VIII.1–63. See below, pp. 142–143, and Chpt. 1, above, pp. 25ff.

¹⁵² See above, p. 86.

¹⁵³ Betz (1986) 70.

¹⁵⁴ There is an overlap of forms between the verbs ἐπιτυγχάνω and ἐπιτεύχω, but it is still important to differentiate between them according to the requirements of context.

of the god, as identified with Harpocrates. The daily rebirth of the sun and the lotus symbolised the rebirth of Harpocrates and the sun god.¹⁵⁵

Eros is also described as “begetter of silence” (IV.1782). This description, too, of Eros is compatible with Harpocrates, as the young sun god, who is often also depicted as a child with one of his fingers on his lips, apparently keeping the silence.¹⁵⁶

A parallel may be found in the untitled spell to the great god Helios-Mithras, the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829). In this spell the initiated magician instructs his fellow initiate the moment his soul is in the air and the divine order of the heaven is revealed in the following words, “and do you put immediately your right finger on your mouth and say: ‘Silence, silence, silence, symbol of living, incorruptible god; silence, guard me’” (IV.558–561).¹⁵⁷ The initiate himself is depicted here imitating the god with his right finger on his mouth as an expression of silence, since, as explained by the father in the Nag Hammadi Library, NHC VI 6 in the *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*, “it is right before god that we keep silent about what is hidden.”¹⁵⁸ In the spell, therefore, the feature of silence, which, as examined, reveals Egyptian influences because of the identification of Eros with Harpocrates, attributes mystical characteristics to the erotic union.

Conclusion

Reviewing the philosophical and mystic influences in the description of Eros and in the notion of erotic union in the “The sword of Dardanos” (IV.1716–1870), the questions asked at the beginning of this section will be re-visited. The emphasis was drawn to the meaning of the return of the soul of the beloved to the lover, expressed in the sentence ἐπίστρεψον τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δεῖνα εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα (IV.1806–1808) in relation to the representation of Eros and Psyche in the magnetic stone.

In the sentence above relating to return, Eros, associated with the souls as the source of life-giving reasoning, is invoked to make the soul of the beloved (female) return to the lover (male), as if to the source of its origins. The relationship between the lover – user of the spell – and Eros as the (divine) assistant reinforces and defines the relationship (union) between the two lovers.

¹⁵⁵ Note also the description of Eros as “torch-carrier,” the one “by whom and to whom the light travels,” “first-shining,” and “begetter of night” (IV.1778–1779, 1782–1783, 1794–1796); these epithets allude to Harpocrates’ characteristics and thereby contribute to Eros’ assimilation to Harpocrates. See above, pp. 64–65, 84 and 86.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Ov. *Met.* IX.692; Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 67.377F; note also the story that Isis nursed Horus by giving her finger, instead of her breast: Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 60.375C.

¹⁵⁷ On silence as the symbol of the god see Betz (2003) 147–148; regarding secrecy also in the Greek magical papyri see Betz (1995).

¹⁵⁸ NHC VI 6, 59.15.

The spell shows the influence of the theory of love set out in Plato's *Symposium* and interpreted also by the Neoplatonists, with particular emphasis on the joining-together, *συναγωγή*, of two lovers. This joining-together, expressed as sexual intercourse in the spell, is in fact everlasting 'consubstantiation,' *συνουσία*. This is also reflected the Neoplatonic notion of attraction, according to which the magicians join (*συνάπτουσι*) one soul to another, whereby the sexual union, while literal, is also a vehicle for the union of separated souls.

IV. The Creator-God

In many spells of the Greek magical papyri there are Jewish influences, or direct and indirect references to the Jewish creator-god.¹⁵⁹ In this section these allusions become the focus of the examination.

1. "Prayer of Jacob" (PGM XXIIb.1–26)

The spell XXIIb.1–26 (IV C.E.), as its title already indicates, reflects Jewish influences. The "creator of all," *κτ[ί]στ[α] παν[τ]ός*, or "the creator (*κτίστα*) of angels and the archangels," or "the creator (*ὁ κτ[ί]στης*) of the saving names" is invoked as "father of the patriarchs" and "father of all things" (XXIIb.1–3).¹⁶⁰ The model of the paternal figure of the creator-god is also revealed in his description as "father of the powers (*δυνάμειων*) of the cosmos," "father of all powers" and "god of the powers" (XXIIb.2, 4, 7). In *Poimandres* of the Corpus Hermeticum men, when they ascend to the Father, "give themselves up to the powers (*δυνάμεις*) and (they themselves) becoming powers, enter into the god."¹⁶¹ The Alexandrian Jewish philosopher Philo, who worked on Greek philosophy and the Old Testament, connected the concept of power (*δύναμις*) with that of the Jewish god.¹⁶² The association of power with god and the divine can also be found in Neoplatonic philosophy.¹⁶³

The creator-god-father of the cosmos is depicted as a Jewish "seated god," who actually overcomes the Egyptian and Hellenistic cosmic depiction of the seated Harpocrates-Helios, when he is described as "the one who sits upon

¹⁵⁹ See e.g. above, pp. 66–67, 69–70, 87–88, and below, pp. 103, 114, 117, 162 etc.

¹⁶⁰ The reference to the patriarchs also shows Jewish influence; cf. e.g. LXX 1 Chron 24:31, 27:22; 2 Chron 19:8, 23:20; 4 Macc 7:19, 16:25 etc.

¹⁶¹ *Corp. Herm.* I, *Poim.* 26.

¹⁶² E.g. *Ph. Leg. All.* I.37.5: *τείναντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ μέσου πνεύματος*; see also LXX Ps 79:5, 83:2, 102:21; Isa 42:13. Also Acts 8:10–12.

¹⁶³ E.g. *Porph. Abst.* II.34; *Plot. Enn.* II.9.9.37ff., V.9.6.9ff., VI.1.1012ff., VI.2.20.25ff., VI.7.32.7ff., VI.8.21.5ff.; *Iambl. Myst.* III.3, III.16 etc.; on power see also Nilsson (1948) 103ff.

Helios Iao" (XXIIb.12).¹⁶⁴ Here a difficulty can be pointed out, since Helios is assimilated to the Jewish Iao, but it seems that the fact that the Jewish "seated god" overcomes a Greek-Jewish assimilationist god increases his superiority.

This creator-god is clearly defined as "lord god of the Hebrews" and identified with the Jewish god θεὸς Ἀβαώθ, Ἀβραθιαώθ, [Σα]βα[ώθ, Ἀ]δωνάι (XXIIb.15). There even is information provided about the Jewish origins of the one who has this prayer when it is stated that he is "from the race of Israel" (XXIIb.19). Celsus in Origen's treatise *Contra Celsum* refers to the Jewish claim that there is "one god" called "either the Most High, or Adonaios, or the Heavenly One, or Sabaoth."¹⁶⁵

2. "Oracle of Kronos demanding, called little mill" (PGM IV.3086–3124)

In the oracle of Kronos (IV.3086–3124, IV C.E.) "the one who created the whole inhabited world," τὸν κτίσαντα τὴν σύμπασαν οἰκουμένην is assimilated to Kronos (IV.3098–3099).¹⁶⁶ Although the spell is addressed to Kronos, his name is not mentioned, but he is identifiable through his relationship with his son Zeus (IV.3099–3101). Kronos-the creator is also described as the one "whom Helios bound with adamantine chains (δεσμοῖς), in order that the whole (τὸ πᾶν) might not be thrown into confusion (συγχυθῇ)" (IV.3100–3101). This description neatly explains the previous reference to Kronos' expected epiphany as "the god is coming, having been bound with chains" (IV.3092–3093).

Kronos-the creator is also addressed as "hermaphrodite/both male and female," ἀρσενόθηλυ (IV.3102), a title which is also attributed to Hermes and Hekate.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, in the *Orphic Fragment* 56 there is a reference to ἀρσενόθηλυ identified with Phanes by "Orpheus," since, according to the fragment, "when it appeared, the whole (τὸ πᾶν) was illuminated through it."¹⁶⁸

In the dismissal spell Kronos-the creator is then addressed as "master of the cosmos, forefather (προπατήρ)" (IV.3121),¹⁶⁹ again with no reference to him by name. Kronos-the creator-god of the whole world, whose binding in chains is necessary to avoid the dissolution of the universe, is then told to go to the same places "in order that the universe (τὸ πᾶν) may be maintained (συντηρηθῇ)" (IV.3123–3124). This is a very distinctive representation of the

¹⁶⁴ Also PGM XXIIb.10–12: ὁ κ[α]θ[ή]μενος ἐπὶ ὄρους [ἐροῦ Σ]ιναιτοῦ [... ὁ] καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ... ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν διρακοντ[είων] θεῶν.

¹⁶⁵ Orig. *Cels.* I.24.1–3.

¹⁶⁶ For Kronos in magic see Eitrem (1934); Betz (1986) 98, n. 412.

¹⁶⁷ See IV.2610; below, p. 137; also PGM VII.606, 609.

¹⁶⁸ *Orph. Fr.* 56; *Orph. Fr.* 13.12–13 (Dam. 123 bis).

¹⁶⁹ For "forefather" as applied to Helios above, p. 81, n. 95; also below, p. 105, n. 210.

creator-god. It is notable that Kronos at this point is not compared to the Jewish god (or any of his various names), and obviously he could not be. Rather, the focus seems to be on some form of Orphic cosmogony, whereby Kronos, the forefather who encompassed the world with chains, is himself bound in chains by Zeus, and this bondage is necessary for the preservation of Zeus' own rule.¹⁷⁰

3. "[Systasis to] Helios" (PGM III.494–611)

In the hymn "To the creator of all" (III.550–558),¹⁷¹ included in the "[Systasis to] Helios" (III C.E.),¹⁷² Helios is assimilated to the "creator of all," παντὸς κτίστα, or "lord of all," κóιρανε παντός, and "the one who created all," ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας (III.550–553). In the hymn "To Helios" (III.198–229), which is a systasis to establish communication with Helios included in the untitled spell for revelation (III.187–262),¹⁷³ cosmic characterisations are attributed to Helios,¹⁷⁴ such as "begetter of the cosmos," κόσμου [γενέτω]ρ (III.205), or "lord of cosmos," ἄναξ κόσμοιο, assimilated to the Jewish Sabaoth (III.219). There even is an identification between Helios, the Jewish Adonai and the cosmos itself in the following words: "Adonai, being the cosmos alone you travel over the cosmos of the immortals," Ἀδωνα[ί, | κόσμος ἐὼν μοῦνος κόσμον ἀθανάτων ἐ[φοδε]ύεις (III.221). In this hymn (III.198–229) there are multiple religious assimilations between Helios, Titan and Abrasax, as well as between Helios and the Jewish Iao, Raphael, Michael, Sabaoth and Adonai.

4. "The sword of Dardanos" (PGM IV.1716–1870)

In the erotic spell "The sword of Dardanos" (IV C.E.) Eros is addressed as "creator of everything" (IV.1755–1756), having had ascribed to him cosmic dimensions.¹⁷⁵ On a golden leaf, moreover, the user of the spell is instructed

¹⁷⁰ In Orphic cosmogonies Chronos, "Time," can be the primary cosmogonical figure, and Kronos is often etymologised as Chronos; Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983) 22ff.; for Kronos' application of δεσμὸς ἀρρήκτους to the world see e.g. *Hymn. Orph.* 14.4 "To Kronos"; for his own "bondage" cf. e.g. *Orph. Fr.* 149. 155; *Plu. Def. Orac.* 420A (cf. *Plu. De Facie* 942A, in which the bonds are allegorised).

¹⁷¹ Reconstructed hymn 2 "To the creator of all" (III.550–558); Preisendanz (1974) 2:238.

¹⁷² See discussion above, pp. 73ff.

¹⁷³ Reconstructed hymn 5 "To Helios and to the gods of all" (III.198–229); Preisendanz (1974) 2:241. Technically, Preisendanz's title is imprecise, because the address "gods of all" does not occur in the hymn.

¹⁷⁴ Helios is also addressed as "king Semea"; see also III.29: Σημέα χθονία, V.429: Σημέα, *PDM* xiv.214. Σημέα was a Syrian goddess, who is identified with Astarte, Athena, Hera. She also appears in Ps.-Lucianus, *De Syr. Dea* 33, where she is named Semiramis. Note here not only the assimilation of Greek and Syrian gods, but also the assimilation of male and female.

¹⁷⁵ For a discussion of IV.1716–1870 see under the section on Eros, above, pp. 88ff.

to write, εἷς θουριήλ· Μιχαήλ· Γαβριήλ· Οὐριήλ· Μισαήλ· Ἰρραήλ· Ἰσραήλ” (IV.1813–1815). The henotheistic message implied with εἷς¹⁷⁶ together with the mention of the names of the Jewish archangels and the variants of Israel reveal the Jewish influences of the spell. Similarly, Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria in the early Roman period, in *De Specialibus Legibus* refers to the “one god,” θεὸς εἷς, who at the same time is the “creator and maker of all things,” κτίστης καὶ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων (Ph. *De Spec. Leg.* I.30.8).¹⁷⁷

5. “A little ring” (PGM XII.201–269)

In contrast to all the references above, in the spell XII.201–269 (III C.E.) there is an invocation to “the heavenly gods,” “the gods under heaven,” and “the gods circling in the middle region” (XII.217), who are addressed among the other descriptions as “creators (κτίσται) and benefactors of every race” (XII.225). This is the only reference in the Greek magical papyri to the concept of a plurality of creator-gods. It seems an awkward compromise between polytheism and henotheism.

6. The use of κτίζω

A question of language deserves a separate consideration at this point. A distinctive feature of all the examples considered in the present section (and of certain others to be examined)¹⁷⁸ is the use of the verb κτίζω and its derivatives (aorist participle κτίσας and the nouns κτίστης and κτίσις) in the sense of “create” and with reference to the “creativity” of the creator-god. This is not a normal meaning of the Greek verb κτίζω, of which the basic meaning from Homer onwards is “to found” (houses, cities, colonies, countries, etc.).¹⁷⁹ But κτίζω is used extensively in the sense of “to create” in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, which originated (at least in part) in Egyptian Alexandria.¹⁸⁰ Some scholars, therefore, see this as the source of the

¹⁷⁶ See above, p. 70.

¹⁷⁷ Also Ph. *De Spec. Leg.* I.294.1; also Ph. *Som.* I.76.6 and I.93.4; on the Jews in Roman Egypt generally see Bell (1954) 25–49; Barclay (1996) 48–81; Borgen (1998) 71–102. Note also the reference PGM XIII.842–843: τὸν ὄντα ἕνα, μόνον τῶ(ν) πάντων συνέχοντα τὴν ὅλη(ν) κτίσιν; also the title Ἐν καὶ τὸ Πᾶν of the Fifth Book of the *Ptolemaica* and the address to PGM XIII.978–983: ὁ πάντα κτίσας, θεὸς μόνος, “the one who created all things, the only god”; see below, p. 101.

¹⁷⁸ E.g. PGM IV.930–1114 (for Helios), see above, p. 70; IV.1716–1870 (for Eros), p. 92; IV.2145–2240 (for Aion), p. 101; XIII.288–295 (for Chrestos), pp. 111 and 114ff.; V.459–489 (for Sarapis), p. 152; V.96–172 (for the headless one), p. 162.

¹⁷⁹ LSJ, s.v. 1–2; e.g. Hom. *Od.* XI.263; *Il.* XX.216; Hdt. *Hist.* I.149, III.49; Pi. *P.* 1.62, 5.89, etc.

¹⁸⁰ E.g. LXX Hos 13:4: ἐγὼ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου στερεῶν οὐρανὸν καὶ κτίζων γῆν, οὗ αἱ χεῖρες ἔκτισαν πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν οὐρανοῦ; Amos 4:13: κτίζων πνεῦμα; Isa 45:7: κτίζων

usage in the Greek magical papyri. For example, Edwards states “[the verb κτίζω] is regularly used in the Septuagint, though not in pagan Greek, to denote the creative activity of the Deity, and when it appears in the Magical Papyri, it is generally as part of some locution also found in the Jewish scripture.” He then refers to particular spells in the Greek magical papyri where the verb κτίζω occurs and their Jewish parallelisms.¹⁸¹

In the hymn XIII.17–20 included in the *Corpus Hermeticum* Book XIII A *Secret Discourse on the Mountains of Hermes Trismegistus to His Son Tat, concerning Rebirth and the Proclamation of Silence*, there is a similar reference to the creator of all and of the whole nature, τὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα and τῷ πάσης φύσεως κτίστη (XIII.17).¹⁸² Zuntz here makes the following observation about the Jewish influences on the notion of the creator: “the basic concept of the ‘Creator of Heaven and Earth’ as well as many details of thought and wording derive from Alexandrian Judaism.”¹⁸³

While the sense of “to found” is the dominant one in pre-Septuagint Greek, there are interesting earlier fifth-century usages. An ancient scholiast on the *Eumenides* points out that the sense of ποιεῖν, “to make,” often associated with a predicative adjective, is ἰδίωμα Αἰσχύλου.¹⁸⁴ Aeschylus even uses the verb in the sense of “to produce, create” and with reference to the supreme god Zeus.¹⁸⁵ Particularly interesting is a certain case in the *Suppliants* (138–140): τελευτὰς δ’ ἐν χρόνῳ πατήρ ὁ παντόπτας πρευμανεῖς κτίσειεν. The subject of the verb is “the all-seeing father” (Zeus) and the verb is used paradoxically of “the ends,” as if Zeus can see “the ends” at the very beginning, “found” them, and accomplish them over time. Already in the fifth century, therefore, κτίζω can be used in a profound theological sense in reference to the creative activity of the supreme god.

The hypothesis that the Greek magical papyri’s use of κτίζω derives from the Septuagint, nevertheless, remains strong. This is based on the following factors: the Septuagint provides the best and most sustained parallels for the relatively distinctive usage; the relative chronology allows for the influence; the Septuagint (or at least part of it) originated in Egyptian Alexandria; the Greek magical papyri certainly show great interest in Jewish religion;¹⁸⁶ and they, generally, link the usage to the Jewish creator-god; and there are cases

κακά; Isa 54:16: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ κτίζω σε, οὐχ ὡς χαλκεὺς φυσῶν ἄνθρακας καὶ ἐκφέρων σκεῦος εἰς ἔργον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔκτισά σε οὐκ εἰς ἀπώλειαν φθεῖραι. See also below, pp. 102 and 114.

¹⁸¹ M. J. Edwards (1991a) 234–235, also 234, n. 13 for the Jewish parallelisms to *PGM* XIII.145, V.459, V.98, IV.1040, I.207 and IV.1202.

¹⁸² For comments see Scott (1924–1926) 2:398–405.

¹⁸³ Zuntz (1955) 85. See also p. 114, n. 263.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. A. *Eum.* 17: τέχνης δέ νιν Ζεὺς ἐνθεον κτίσας φρένα; A. *Eum.* 714, 825; A. *Ch.* 1060; A. *Pers.* 289; A. *Supp.* 1067; G. Thomson (1938) 2:254; Broadhead (1960) 103.

¹⁸⁵ E.g. A. *Supp.* 172: τὸν αὐτός (Ζεὺς) ποτ’ ἔκτισεν γόνῳ; see also LSJ, s.v. 4.

¹⁸⁶ Note also the converse, Jewish interest in magic: cf. Betz (1997); Klauck (2000).

where the magicians seem to be glossing Jewish locutions. This does not necessarily exclude other influences. Aeschylus is certainly one possible influence.

Conclusion

As examined in XXIIb.1–26, the creator “of all, or of angels and archangels,” is described as father “of the patriarchs,” “of all things,” and “of the powers of the cosmos.” The model of the paternal figure of the creator-god related to the concept of power (*δύναμις*) reveals philosophical influences from the Corpus Hermeticum. The Jewish philosopher Philo had also connected the concept of power with the Jewish god. This association of power with god and the divine is expressed in Neoplatonic philosophy as well. The creator-god-father of the cosmos, depicted as the Jewish “seated god,” overcomes the Greco-Egyptian cosmic image of the seated Harpocrates-Helios. This Jewish creator-god is defined as “lord god of the Hebrews” and identified with the Jewish god “Abaoth, Abrathiaoth, Sabaoth and Adonai.”

In IV.3086–3124 the creator of “the whole inhabited world” is assimilated to Kronos. Kronos-the creator is addressed as “hermaphrodite/both male and female,” a description, which alludes to an *Orphic Fragment*, in which “both male and female” is identified with Phanes by Orpheus. The notion of “fore-father” is also attributed to Kronos-the creator, which, as already examined in the assimilations of Helios, reveals influences from the Corpus Hermeticum and from among the Neoplatonist philosophers. The binding in chains of Kronos-the creator-god of the whole world, which is necessary to avoid the dissolution of the universe, alludes to an Orphic cosmogony.

In III.494–611 Helios is assimilated to the “creator of all.” In IV.1716–1870 another god, Eros, is addressed as “creator of everything” with henotheistic implications emphasised by “one” and the names of the Jewish archangels and the variants of Israel. This description alludes to Philo’s one god “creator and maker of all things.” Finally, in XII.201–269 the only reference is found to the concept of a plurality of creator-gods in the Greek magical papyri, which attempts to compromise between polytheism and henotheism.

V. Aion

In this section among the other abstract deities mentioned in the Greek magical papyri, such as Tyche, Nature, Time, Graces and Moirai,¹⁸⁷ the focus is on Aion (/god of Aions/Aion of Aions) and his religious and philosophical assimilations to other deities, the creator-god and with philosophical concepts.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ For the personification and deification of Tyche, Moirai, Time, “the present hour” and “the present day” see Chpt. 1, above, pp. 13ff.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Pachoumi (2011e).

The different religious influences will be identified and then the logic of these religious assimilations will be analysed, by examining the philosophical approaches of their contemporary Neoplatonists on the notion of the one and the many.

1. “Divine assistance from three Homeric verses”
(PGM IV.2145–2240)

In the formula of consecration of a plague included in the spell IV.2145–2240 (IV. C.E.) the divine assistant is addressed as “the master of all things (ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης), Aion of Aions” and identified with “the ruler of the cosmos, Ra, Pan (Πᾶν)” (IV.2196–2199).¹⁸⁹ Noticeable in this case is the implicit etymological connection of τῶν ὅλων with Πᾶν and their association to Aion.¹⁹⁰ Similarly in XIII.734–1077 (IV C.E.), which contains a collection of various spells, the author refers to the title “Ὁ ἐν καὶ τὸ Πᾶν of the Fifth Book of the *Ptolemaica*, relating it etymologically to the address of ὁ πάντα κτίσας, “the one who created all things” and θεὸς μόνος, “the only god” (XIII.978–983). The verb κτίζω is used extensively in the sense of “to create” in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament.¹⁹¹ The henotheistic and monotheistic suggestions are significant, combined with a megatheistic notion, when this universal creator of all and the only god is assimilated to “the lord of Aion,” or “the great, great Aion,” ὁ μέγας, μέγας Αἰών, or “god, lord Aion” (XIII.982, 996–997).¹⁹² The doubling of the positive also occurs in Hebrew and is reflected in the Greek of the Septuagint and of the New Testament. This grammatical phenomenon called *epanadiplosis* is commonly used in the Greek magical papyri in the magical formula ἦδη ἦδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, which often is repeated at the end of spells.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ In another spell also related to the concept of πάρεδρος (I.42–195) the divine assistant is addressed in the invocation spell as “god of gods,” “Aion” (I.163).

¹⁹⁰ See Chpt. 2, above, p. 57, n. 106; also in this Chapter, p. 98, n. 177. On the association of the god Πᾶν and τὸ πᾶν see Pl. *Cra.* 408b–c; also *Hymn. Hom.* XIX.47 “To Pan”; Plu. *Def. Orac.* 419C.

¹⁹¹ On κτίζω and its derivatives and the allusions to the Jewish creator-god see above, pp. 98–100.

¹⁹² The spell PGM VII.579–590 (III C.E.) also includes instructions for the preparations of a phylactery, according to which “the name of the great god,” ὄνομα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ, should be written on it, in order to assure the protection of the body and the soul of the person who wears it. The great god with the protective powers is identified among other magical names with Aion, the Jewish Iao and the Egyptian Chphyris (χφυρίς), which stands, as Morton Smith notes, for Khepri, the Egyptian primordial god in the form of a scarab (VII.583–584). See Betz (1986) 134, n. 102.

¹⁹³ E.g. LXX Isa 6:3. Also Matt 23:7, 25:11; Luke 8:24; John 19:6 etc. See also PGM IV.3270: ὁ μέγας μέγας Τυφῶν. See Blass and Debrunner (1961) § 493.1. On the repetition of ὁ μέγας, μέγας see below, pp. 148 at n. 464; and 152 with n. 482.

2. “GOD/GODS; A sacred book called *Monad or Eighth Book of Moses about the holy name*” (version A.1–343 from PGM XIII.1–734)

The spell of the sacred stele (XIII.61–89), included in XIII.1–343 (IV C.E.), invokes “the one who created all things,” τὸν πάντα κτίσαντα, “the self-begotten” (XIII.62–63), who is actually, as the title implies “GOD/GODS,”¹⁹⁴ superior to the other gods, as the magician states, “to you all things have been subjected, whose real form none of the gods can see” (XIII.69–70). This creator-god of all is identified with “Aion of Aion,” “who is transformed into all (gods),” ὁ μεταμορφούμενος εἰς πάντας, although at the same time he is described as “invisible” (XIII.70–71).

Morton Smith translates ὁ μεταμορφούμενος εἰς πάντας as “who change into all forms,” but πάντας is masculine and must refer to “the gods.”¹⁹⁵ Elsewhere another god, Eros, is also described as “having assumed the likeness (παρομοιωθεῖς) of a god (or a goddess)” (XII.83) and “having assumed the likeness (ὁμοιωθεῖς) of a god, or daimon she worships” (IV.1858–1859).¹⁹⁶ The various gods of the polytheistic systems examined here are, therefore, merely “transformations” of a henotheistic god. The creator of all-Aion of Aion is also assimilated to Helios *Echebykrom*, Abrasax, the Jewish Σαβαώθ· Ἀρβαθιαω· Ζαγουρη and Adoniaos and Iao (XIII.78–80, 84 and 75). In the “Hermetic (spell)” (XIII.138–161) included in XIII.1–343, Helios *Achebykrom*¹⁹⁷ is also defined as “the one who creates (κτίζων) the cosmos in divine light” (XIII.144–145) and is identified with Abrasax (XIII.156). Abrasax is a solar deity, often invoked in the Greek magical papyri.¹⁹⁸ The Jewish angels Σαβαώθ· Ἀρβαθιάω· Ζαγουρη are also mentioned in this spell, described as “the first appeared angels,”¹⁹⁹ and followed by Ἀραθ· Ἀδωναῖε· Βασημμ· Ἰάω (XIII.146–147). This reference to the Jewish “angels” emphasises the influence of the Jewish concept of the creator-god.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ See also Betz (1986) 172, n. 1.

¹⁹⁵ Betz (1986) 174. Notice also that in the second version XIII.343–645 the lines XIII.70–71 are repeated (XIII.578–581).

¹⁹⁶ See Chpt. 1, above, p. 27; Chpt. 2, above, p. 52, n. 91; in this Chapter, above, pp. 73ff.; 88, n. 125, and below, p. 132, n. 356; and p. 142, n. 426.

¹⁹⁷ On Ἡλῖος Ἀχεβυκρωμ see XIII.292, 333 and 446; on Ἐχεβυκρωμ Ἡλίου see XIII.78. Cf. also below, p. 111 at n. 243.

¹⁹⁸ See Colpe (1976a); Betz (1986) 331; Merkelbach and Totti (1990–1996) vols. I–II; Dieterich (1891); his representation in the magical amulets as an armoured cock-headed deity with serpent legs implies an amalgam of Greek, Egyptian and Persian influences; Bonner (1950) 123–139 and pls. VIII–IX.

¹⁹⁹ This phrase is placed between the first three names and the remaining four of the seven.

²⁰⁰ For the Hellenistic background to ‘angels’ and their role in the Chaldaean system of divine entities as ‘ministering angels’ see Lewy (1978) 157–164; on Jewish angelology see Langton (1936) and Elior (1993); and for the angels in the Christian tradition see Hull (1974) 87–96.

Similarly, in the other spells included in XIII.1–343 such as in the spell “Opening by the name” (XIII.327–333), Helios is identified with Aion of Aions,²⁰¹ and in the spell “To quench fire” (XIII.297–303) the magician identifies himself with Aion (XIII.299; also XIII.329 and 332–333).²⁰²

In XIII.61–89 there are issues for further discussion: Firstly, the creator of all-Aion is assimilated to Helios, Abrasax and the Jewish angels. In XIII.138–161 also, the creator of all-Helios is identified with Abrasax and the Jewish angels. Smith also points out that these two invocations are an allusion to an old Egyptian hymn directed to the sun god-creator of the world.²⁰³ This implies a multiplicity of religious influences from Greek, Egyptian and Jewish religious systems, denoting the interreligious character of the spell.

Secondly, the variety of transformations that Aion undergoes is a major characteristic of gods and goddesses in the Greek magical papyri, in which these deities are depicted with the ability to assume various forms and names. Helios, for example, is elsewhere identified with various “forms,” *μορφάς*, of animals (III.500).²⁰⁴ These transformations may reveal Egyptian influences, since the depiction of the gods in various animal forms, or in human forms with animal heads was a major characteristic of the Egyptian religious personification of the divine, as already examined in the various “forms” of Helios.²⁰⁵

Thirdly, these transformations of Aion “into all gods” seem to be parallel to Plotinus’ doctrine of the “generically” and “manifold” “one,” *ἓν*, which is

²⁰¹ In the hymn “To Helios” (*PGM* III.198–229), included in the untitled spell for revelation (III.187–262), Helios is described as “the flaming angel (*ἄγγελον*) of Zeus” and identified with Iao, Raphael, Abrasax, Michael, Sabaoth and Adonai (III.211–214 and 219–220). Also in the hymn “To the gods of all” (I.297–314, 342–345), included in the “Apollonian invocation” (I.262–347), Apollo is addressed as “the first angel (*ἄγγελε*) of the god, the great Zeus” (I.300) and identified with Abrasax, the Jewish Iao, Adonai, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and the abstract Nature. The interesting point here is that both Helios and Apollo, described as the angel of Zeus, are compared with Jewish deities and angels, and with the solar deity Abrasax. In addition, this peculiar amalgam of Apollo-Abrasax-Iao-Adonai-Michael-Gabriel is assimilated to “the aeonian god and Aion of all,” *θεὸν αἰώνιον Αἰὼνά τε πάντων* (I.309). The deity adjured is also described as “father of the cosmos,” *πάτερ κόσ[σ]μοιο* (I.304). Note here the appropriately archaising genitive ending *-οιο* of *κόσ[σ]μοιο*.

²⁰² Similarly, in V.156 the magician identifies himself with “the Grace (*ἡ Χάρις*) of Aion.” See below, p. 162.

²⁰³ Betz (1986) 174, n. 16.

²⁰⁴ E.g. note also that Helios-Apollo is addressed as “many-named,” *πολυώνυμε* (*PGM* II.107–108); Hermes is addressed as “many-named” (VIII.14); also the goddesses Selene-Hekate-Artemis are described as “many-named” and “many-formed” (IV.2798, 2830, VII.870); also Isis (VII.503). See Chpt. 1, above, p. 27; Chpt. 2, above, p. 54, n. 98; in this Chapter, above, pp. 73ff., 88, n. 125, 102, n. 196, and below, pp. 132, n. 356, and 142, n. 426.

²⁰⁵ Morenz (1992) 19–21. On the conceptions of god in ancient Egypt see Hornung (1982). See above, p. 75, n. 63 (on Helios); and 89, n. 128 (on Eros).

“at the same time also many,” ἅμα καὶ πολλά (Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.2ff.).²⁰⁶ Iamblichus also in *De Mysteriorum* refers to the “manifold powers,” “forms” and “transformations” of the “one god,” τὸν ἕνα θεόν Helios.²⁰⁷ Similarly, Proclus in *On the Hieratic Art* refers to the various attributes of Helios in different entities, such as angels, daemons, souls, animals, plants and stones, which all participate in his nature.²⁰⁸ In Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* Book XI.4 Isis is described as a deity with many different names given her by each nation.²⁰⁹

3. “A little ring” (PGM XII.201–269)

In the spell XII.201–269 (III C.E.) the magician addresses “the forefather (τὸν προπάτορα) of gods, overseer and lord of all” (XII.237–238). Similarly, in the spell I.195–222, the first-begotten (πρωτοφυής) and first-born (πρωτογενής) creator-god is addressed as [προπ]άτωρ (I.200).²¹⁰ Helios, also, is described as αὐτοφυής in the *Orphic Hymn* “To Helios.”²¹¹ The concept of ὁ θεὸς ὁ προπάτωρ is also found in the parallel religious and philosophical texts of the Corpus Hermeticum and the Neoplatonist philosophers.²¹² In all probability here is some form of Orphic cosmogony,²¹³ combined with Pre-Socratic thinking about fire and the sun. The forefather of gods is addressed as “the god ruler of all,” ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός (XII.238)²¹⁴ and again as “lord, holy ruler of all and master of all,” κύριε, παντοκράτωρ ἅγιε καὶ δέσποτα πάντων (XII.250) in the hymn “To the creator of all” (XII.244–252)²¹⁵ included in XII.201–269. The cosmic body of the god ruler of all-forefather of gods is described as “heaven (is) (the) head, ether (the) body, earth (the) feet and

²⁰⁶ Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.2–3: ἡ ἓν ἅμα καὶ πολλά λέγομεν, καὶ τι ποικίλον ἓν τὰ πολλά εἰς ἓν ἔχον. See Chpt. 1, above, p. 17; and in this Chapter, above, pp. 78–79.

²⁰⁷ Iambl. *Myst.* VII.3.253.12–14: διὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δοθέντων τὸν ἕνα θεὸν ἐμφαίνειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολυτρόπων δυνάμεων τὴν μίαν αὐτοῦ παριστάνει δύναμιν. See above, p. 75.

²⁰⁸ Procl. *Hier. Art* 150.22–23: “Ἰδοὺς ἂν οὖν τὰς συνεσπειραμένας ιδιότητας ἐν ἡλίῳ μεριζομένας ἐν τοῖς μετέχουσιν ἀγγέλοις, δαίμοσι, ψυχαῖς, ζώοις, φυτοῖς, λίθοις. See above, p. 76.

²⁰⁹ See the discussion on Isis below, p. 153ff.

²¹⁰ Helios is also characterised as “forefather” in III.442 and IV.457, 948 and 1987 and as “self-engendered” and “first-appearing” in IV.943–944. For the association of “self-engendered” (IV.943) with the Egyptian Kephri see Grese’s note in Betz (1986) 57, n. 134; Helios is also described as “forefather” and “self-engendered” in I.341–342 and IV.1988; Eros also is described as “first-born” and “first-appearing” in IV.1756 and 1794. See above, pp. 81, n. 95, and 97, n. 169.

²¹¹ *Hymn. Orph.* 8.3 “To Helios.”

²¹² *Corp. Herm. Fr.* XXIII.10; see also Iambl. *Myst.* VIII.4.267.2; also for Ouranos in Procl. *In Ti.* III.99.17–18.

²¹³ For the main lines of which see Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983) 21–33.

²¹⁴ Helios is described as κοσμοκράτωρ in IV.1599; also in the *Hymn. Orph.* 8.11 and 16 “To Helios”; also as θαλασσοκράτωρ in PGM IV.1601–1602 and 1696–1697.

²¹⁵ Reconstructed hymn 1 “To the creator of all” (XII 244–252); Preisendanz (1974) 2:237.

what is around you (the) water, ocean, Good/ Agathos Daimon (τὸ δὲ περί σε ὕδωρ, ὠκεανός, Ἄγαθός Δαίμων)" (XII.243).²¹⁶

This forefather-god ruler of all in the hymn "To the creator of all" (XII.244–252) is assimilated to "the king of Aions and lord," or to "Aion nourishing Aion rules Aions," Αἰὼν Αἰ(ῶ)να τρέφων Αἰῶσιν ἀνάσσει, and addressed as "one god immortal (εἷς θεὸς ἀθάνατος); the begetter of all" (XII.246–247), implying a henotheistic notion of the creator-god of all.²¹⁷ The existence of "elements," στοιχεῖα, furthermore, as well as the birth of all in air, earth, water and "steam of fire," πυρὸς ἀτμῶ are related to his power (XII.250–252). Regarding the reference to the four elements, it is worth mentioning that in the "Mithras Liturgy" (IV.475–829) the magician addresses "fire" among the four elements (*pneuma*, fire, water, earth substance), defining it as "the one given by god to my mixture of the mixtures in me," τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδώρητον (IV.490–491).²¹⁸ That reference probably alludes to Stoic philosophy on the σύγκρασις of the four elements.²¹⁹ Another point worth noting is the reference to the element of fire as πυρὸς ἀτμῶ. A similar expression is found in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*.²²⁰

4. "Stele" (PGM IV.1167–1226)

In the prayer for deliverance, the magician assimilates "the one and blessed (τὸν ἓνα καὶ μάκαρα) of the Aions and father of the cosmos" to "Helios, father of the cosmos" (IV.1169–1170, 1181–1182). The god of Aions-Helios is addressed as "creator of the world," κόσμου κτίστα, "creator of all (things)" and "god of gods" (IV.1200). He is also identified with "the one who created (ὁ κτίσας) gods and archangels and decans" (IV.1202–1203). Similarly, in the spell/prayer for deliverance (I.195–222, III C.E.) the "first-begotten and first-

²¹⁶ Morton Smith translates τὸ δὲ περί σε ὕδωρ, ὠκεανός, Ἄγαθός Δαίμων as "and the water around you, ocean, [O] Agathos Daimon"; Betz (1986) 162 and n. 77. So does Preisendanz, translating it as, "das Wasser um dich, der Ozean, der Gute Dämon"; Preisendanz (1974) 2:74. Grese follows this translation in XXI.5–7; Betz (1986) 259; although in XIII.770–773 he translates τὸ δὲ περί σ(ἐ) ὃν ὕδωρ ὁ Ἄγαθός Δαίμων. σὺ εἶ ὁ ὠκεανός as "and the environment water, the Agathos Daimon. You are the ocean"; Betz (1986) 190. But the latter translation of τὸ δὲ περί σε ὕδωρ seems better and according to the previous οὐρανὸς μὲν κεφαλὴ, αἰθὴρ δὲ σῶμα, γῆ πόδες, in which οὐρανός, αἰθὴρ and γῆ are the subjects and κεφαλὴ, σῶμα and πόδες their equivalent complements.

²¹⁷ See also "one Zeus Sarapis," εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις (IV.1715). See above, p. 70, n. 35; and below, p. 152.

²¹⁸ On the "Mithras Liturgy" see Meyer (1976); also Betz (2003) 107–108.

²¹⁹ On the σύγκρασις of the four elements see Chrysipp. *Stoic. Fr. Log. et Phys.* 555.5 DK II; also on τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος κρᾶσιν see Posidon. *Fr.* 13 (Theiler 1:29); also 169 (1:138), 290a (1:213), 291 (1:218), 307 (1:225), 309a (1:227). See Chpt. 1, above, p. 17; and in this Chapter, above, pp. 77–79.

²²⁰ A. *Eu.* 138: τῷ ἀτμῶ ... νηδύος πυρί; see also in another context the association of ἀτμός with the sun, Arist. *Pr.* 862a4.

born god” addressed as “eternal” (I.196–200) is identified with the one “who has created mighty decans and archangels” (I.207–208). The reference to “the one god” and the identification of Helios-the god of Aions with the creator-god of gods, archangels and decans reveals Jewish influences related to the concept of creator-god.²²¹ Regarding the assimilation of the creator-god of all to Helios, these characteristics are attributed in most cases to Aion, or the god of Aions.

Another significant point of this spell is the identification of Aion with Wisdom, when the magician states, “and the lord witnessed to your Wisdom, which is Aion” (IV.1205–1206).²²² This, however, is not “a unique instance in the *PGM*,” as Grese claims,²²³ since in the spell I.195–222 of similar content, in which some phrases are repeated,²²⁴ the above-mentioned sentence recurs as, “and the lord has witnessed to your wisdom” (I.209–210).

Wisdom was personified in Jewish, Gnostic and Christian texts. In 1 Corinthians, for example, the abstract Wisdom is personified and characterised as God’s Wisdom distinguished from the wisdom “of this aion,” τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, or “of the rulers of this aion,” τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.²²⁵ Similarly, in the *Gospel of Judas* Wisdom is personified and deified.²²⁶

²²¹ See also *PGM* IV.1190–1192: συ εἴ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον κα[ι] τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τὸ καθηγιασμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πάντων; and IV.1203–1205: αἱ μυριάδες τῶν ἀγγέλων παρεστήχασι (σοι) καὶ ὑψωσαν τὸν οὐρανόν.

²²² On the abstract and deified concepts invoked in the *PGM* see spells e.g. in the “Systasis with your own daimon” (VII.505–528): various abstract deities, or deified concepts are greeted, such as Tyche, the daimon of this place, the present hour and day, or even “the encompassing” and Helios is addressed as “the father of the reborn Aion *Zarachthō*,” or “the father of the terrible Nature *Thorochophanō*” (VII.510–511). For the names *Zarachthō* and the Coptic *Thorochophanō* see Betz (1986) 132, 79 and 80. Similarly, in the “Hidden Stele” (IV.1115–1166) various abstract concepts are greeted, such as “the whole system (σύστημα) of the aerial spirit,” or “the spirit” itself (IV.1115–1117), or even “the incomprehensible form (σχῆμα) of the cosmos” (IV.1138–1139), and addressed as “the god of gods” (IV.1146–1147) and identified with “the god of Aions,” the “great” and “master of all” (IV.1163–1164). See Chpt. 1, above, pp. 16ff.

²²³ Betz (1986) 61, n. 164.

²²⁴ E.g. I.205–207 and IV.1189–1191; I.207–209 and IV.1201–1204; I.211–212 and IV.1208–1209.

²²⁵ 1 Cor 2:6, Luke 11:49, Rev 13:18; also in the LXX Prov 3:19; 1 Esd 8:29; also in *Corp. Herm. Fr.* XXIII.29

²²⁶ *Gosp. Jud.* 44: “Jesus said, ‘It is impossible to sow seed on [rock] and harvest its fruit. [This] is also the way [...] the [defiled] generation [...] and corruptible Sophia [...] the hand that has created mortal people, so that their souls go up to the eternal realms above’”; Kasser, Meyer and Wurst (2006) 30. The personification of Wisdom goes back to late biblical and early post-biblical texts (Proverbs 8; Sirach 24; Wisdom of Solomon 7).

5. “Another way” (PGM V.459–489)

In the last spell to be examined (V.459–489, IV C.E.) the magician invokes the one “who created (τὸν κτίσαντα) earth and bones and all flesh and all spirit” (V.459–461), identified with “the great Mind/Intelligence who administers all lawfully,” ὁ μέγας Νοῦς, ἔν[νο]μος τὸ πᾶν διοικῶν (V.464–465). This creator-god–“the great Mind,” ὁ μέγας Νοῦς, is also assimilated to Aion, Zeus and the Jewish Adonai, Iao and Sabaoth and Sarapis (V.464–485). What is interesting here is the identification of the Jewish creator-god with various forms of Yahweh, with Zeus and Sarapis and the abstract Aion and Nous.

The *Nous*, or *Phrenes* elsewhere in the Greek magical papyri is associated with heart as the place of intelligence and wits and identified with Hermes (XIII.172–175).²²⁷ Similarly, in the spell XIII.343–645, *Nous* (and *Phrenes*) is identified with Hermes who, “is in the *phrenes*, by whom the whole is managed,” ἔστιν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν φρενῶν, δι’ οὗ οἰκονομήθη τὸ πᾶν (XIII.486–490).²²⁸

The divine conceptualisation of *Nous* seems to be an influence from the doctrine of *nous* of the Pre-Socratic philosopher Anaxagoras.²²⁹ The idea of administration, or management associated with *Nous* represented in both spells alludes to the notion of *διοίκησις* of the whole world by a principle, or by the god’s power as described by Philo.²³⁰

In the Corpus Hermeticum Book I, titled *Poimandres of Hermes Trismegistus*, there is also a reference to “the Intelligence/Mind/*Nous* of the sovereignty,” ὁ τῆς αὐθεντίας νοῦς, described as “the archetypal form,” τὸ ἀρχέτυπον εἶδος, which the protagonist of this dialogue has perceived “in his mind,” ἐν τῷ νῷ.²³¹ This first *Nous* “being both male and female/bisexual,” ἀρρενόθηλος ὢν, gave birth to the “other *Nous* creator,” ἕτερον Νοῦν δημιουργόν, who, in his turn, created the seven “administrators,” διοικητάς, whose “administration,” *διοίκησις*, is called “destiny,” εἰμαρμένη.²³²

In the examined spell (V.459–489) the great *Nous* is described as “daimon of daimons, god of gods” and assimilated to Aion Iao (V.465–468). In addition, this creator-god-*Nous*-Aion is addressed as “the master of gods,” which

²²⁷ See below, p. 141.

²²⁸ Plutarch in *De Iside et Osiride* connects *Nous* and reason with Osiris (one of Sarapis’ constituent gods); Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 49.371A. See below, p. 152.

²²⁹ On *Nous* in Anaxagoras see *Fr.* 1 DK (D.L. II.6–15); 42 (Hippol. *Haer.* I.8.1ff.); 45 (Arist. *Phys.* III.4.203a19); 46 (Arist. *De gen. et corr.* A 1.314a18); 47 (Pl. *Phd.* 97b); 48.2 (Aët. I.7.5); 48.3 (Cf. *E. Fr.* 1018); 99.2 (Arist. *De an.* A 2.404a25); 11 (Simp. *In Phy.* 164.22); 12 (Simp. *In Phy.* 164.24; 156.13); 13 (Simp. *In Phy.* 300.27); 14 (Simp. *In Phy.* 157.5); DK II; see also the discussion in Curd (2007) 22–25 and 192ff. See also Betz (1986) 109–110, nn. 61–62.

²³⁰ Ph. *De Opif. Mundi* 3–4: ἡ δ’ ἀρχή ... καθ’ ἣν καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διοικεῖται; and Ph. *De Spec. Leg.* IV.187: τὸ γὰρ ἔπεσθαι θεῷ τοῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ κάκεινψ δύναμις μὲν ἐστὶ δρᾶν ἐκότερα, βούλεται δὲ μόνα τὰγαθά. Μηνύει δὲ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου γένεσις τε καὶ διοίκησις.

²³¹ *Corp. Herm.* I.2, 8.

²³² *Corp. Herm.* I.9.

cleverly anticipates the characterisation “sovereign” (τύραννε) for Zeus, with whom he is identified (V.470–472). This creator-god-Nous-god of gods-Aion Iao-Zeus is equated with the Jewish Adonai and Iao (V.477–479).

This creator-god is even identified with the Hellenistic Sarapis (V.485). Also to be noted here is the description of the creator-god-Nous-Aion-Iao-Adonai-Sarapis as “seeing with eternal eyes,” αἰωνόφθα[λ]μος (V.465–466)²³³ and later as “immortal,” αἰωνόβιε (V.482), a title used for the Egyptian kings and elsewhere found in the Greek magical papyri. In the spell written in the form of a letter IV.154–285, for example, Nephotes greets Psammetichos, addressing him as “immortal king of Egypt,” βασιλεῖ Αἰγύπτου αἰωνοβίῳ (IV.154–156).²³⁴

The magician also identifies himself with a series of magical names, some of which are the Jewish Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai and Eloai Abraam (V.475ff.).²³⁵ This technique alludes to the religious practice of the Egyptian practitioners of adjuring the gods on equal terms.²³⁶ The magician also states that he invokes this great god in Syriac and Hebrew, reciting magical words for each case (V.472–475). In the Greek magical papyri there are similar expressions reflecting the cultural and religious translatability of the spells and their intercultural, or interreligious character.²³⁷

Conclusion

In this section the religious and philosophical assimilations have been examined of the abstract, deified concept of Aion, or the god of Aions in a series of spells of the Greek magical papyri. The abstract character of Aion is defined by his various assimilations to deities mainly from the Greek and Egyptian polytheistic systems, or from the Jewish monotheistic system with its whole range of angels and archangels, or even to abstract, philosophical concepts. The assimilation of Aion to the creator-god of all and to Jewish deities reveals Jewish influences. Aion’s identification also with other abstract concepts, such as Wisdom (or Tyche, the encompassing, the system, the

²³³ See the discussion under the section “Divine Epithets and Identities,” below, pp. 163–170.

²³⁴ See also *OGI* 90.4 in the Rosetta stone (II B.C.).

²³⁵ Aune points out that the words in Greek of the magical names correspond to a “Jewish blessing” prayer, but he questions the level of the magician’s understanding of their actual meaning; Betz (1986) 110, n. 63.

²³⁶ *Eg. Bk. Dd.* spell 1; Faulkner (1972) pl. 5; see also Dieleman (2005) 154–155.

²³⁷ *E.g. PGM* XIII.139 and 147–160: ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἄγγελος φωνεῖ ὀρνεογλυφιστί ... ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ὑμνεῖ σε ἱερογλυφιστί ... ἄβραϊστί δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος ... τὸ δὲ φυσικόν σου ὄνομα αἰγυπτιστί ... ὁ δὲ ἐννεάμορφος ἀσπάζεται σε ἱερατιστί; also XIII.79–86; and XII.263–267: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε κατὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίους ... κατὰ δ’ Ἰουδαίους ... κατὰ Ἕλληνας ... κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ... κατὰ δὲ Πάρβους; also V.472–474: Συριστί ... Ἑβραϊστί. See above, pp. 73, n. 54, and 116, n. 273.

spirit, or the form of the world) emphasises his abstract quality, appropriating at the same time to a single concept of Eternity gods from various religious traditions.

This process of assimilation also implies Aion's ability to accumulate the features of these gods, or concepts into a single concept of Aion/"Eternity."

The 'many-forms' and transformations of Aion become explicit in the assimilation of the creator-god of all to "Aion of Aion," "who is transformed into all (gods)." This 'many-formedness' is an important vehicle in the assimilation of gods from different religious systems. It also facilitates a tendency towards henotheism.

The assimilation of "the master of all things (ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης), Aion of Aions" to "Πᾶν" (IV.2196–2199) and a similar association of "Ὑν καὶ τὸ Πᾶν to ὁ πάντα κτίσας and θεὸς μόνος, "the only god" (XIII.978–983) implies henotheistic and monotheistic notions within a formally polytheistic framework. There are also other attempts to create a megatheistic concept in the description of Aion as being "great, great," or the "forefather," or a similar first principle as the "first-begotten," "first-born," or the "self-engendered," often derived from Orphic cosmogonies.

The philosophical influences on the particular magical spells and especially the influences from the Neoplatonists are used in active ways, for example, to underwrite unifying abstractions such as Intelligence, or Mind, or to reconcile the notion of apparent plurality with 'one-ness.' The notion of 'one-ness,' as transcending apparent plurality is expressed in the hymn "To the creator of all" (XII.244–252), in which the creator of all-kind of Aions is addressed as "one god immortal; the begetter of all" (XII.246–247).

The reading of the spells should be inclusive of the various religious and philosophical currents and not exclusive. The various assimilations of Aion within a religious system, or between different systems and the various names and transformations may also at the same time reflect influences from the Neoplatonist philosophers related to the notion of the "one (which) is at the same time and many," or "that manifold one having the many in one."

VI. Chrestos

This section examines the orthographical spelling of Chrestos and interpretation issues involving the spell "Releasing from bonds" (XIII.288–295).²³⁸ In the paradosis of the papyrus the name Χρηστός appears, but the editor changes it to ὁ Χριστός with ι instead of η. Questions to be addressed are: Does the orthographical spelling of Chrestos with ι, or η have a particular significance, or is it a matter of indifference? How should the problem be approached

²³⁸ Cf. Pachoumi (2010a).

methodologically? How is Chrestos described in the text to be examined and what kind of influences does this depiction imply? How can the parallelism with the comparative material help identify influences from other texts? How is the description of Chrestos appropriated to the context of the Greek magical papyri? Is it related to the invocations of *biaiothanatoi* in magic? Attention will also be paid to issues of religious syncretism from Judaism, Christianity, Greek and Egyptian religion, as well as Hermetism, Gnosticism and Manichaeism.

1. “Releasing from bonds” (PGM XIII.288–295)

The spell “Releasing from bonds” (XIII.288–295) is included in XIII.1–343 with the title, “GOD/GODS; A sacred book called Monad or Eighth Book of Moses about the holy name” (IV C.E.).²³⁹ The ancient text and translation are as follows:

Δεσμόλυτον. λέγε· “κλῦθί μοι, ὁ Χρηστός,²⁴⁰ ἐν βασάνοις, βοήθησον ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἐλ[ε]ήμων ἐν ὥραις βίαιος,²⁴¹ πολὺ δυνάμενος ἐν κόσμῳ, ὁ κτίσας τὴν Ἀνάγκη(ν) καὶ Τιμωρίαν καὶ τὴν Βάσανον.” ἰβ’ ἡμ(έρας) συρίσας τρίς ὀκτάκις λέγε τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ὄνομα ὅλον ἀπὸ τοῦ (Α)χεβυκρωμ.

“λυθήτω πᾶς δεσμός, πᾶσα βία, ῥαγήτω πᾶς σίδηρος, πᾶν σ(χ)οινίον ἢ πᾶς ἰμάς, πᾶν ἄμμ[α], πᾶσα ἄλυσις ἀνοιχθήτω, καὶ μηδεὶς με καταβιάσαιο, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι” (λέγε τ(ὸ) ὄνομα). (XIII.288–295)

Releasing from bonds. Say, “Hear me, Chrestos, in tortures, help in necessities, pitiful in times/throughout the years, violent, very powerful in the world, who created compulsion and punishment and torture.” Twelve days²⁴² hissing thrice eight times, say the whole name of Helios from Achebykron.²⁴³

“Let every bond, every force be released, let every iron be broken, every rope, or every strap, every knot, every chain be opened, and let no one subdue me by force, for I am” (say the name).

a) Orthographical and interpretation issues: The scholarly discussion

The scholarly discussion is focused on the orthographical spelling of Chrestos. In the paradosis of the papyrus there is ὁ Χρηστός (PGM XIII.289).²⁴⁴ Preisendanz in his edition changes this to ὁ Χριστός with ι instead of η.²⁴⁵

²³⁹ PGM XIII: P. Leid. J 395; for photographs and transcription of the papyrus see Daniel (1991) xxiv–xxvii and 32–81; see below, p. 111 at n. 246.

²⁴⁰ For the use of nominative (with the article) instead of vocative see Blass and Debrunner (1961) 81–82 § 147.

²⁴¹ Preisendanz has βιαίους; Preisendanz (1974) 2:102. On βιαίους see below, pp. 119ff.

²⁴² Cf. Preisendanz (1974) 2:102; Morton Smith translates it as, “twelve times by day”; Betz (1986) 180, n. 68.

²⁴³ On Ἡλῖος Ἀχεβυκρωμ see XIII.141, 446, 333; also Preisendanz (1941) 3:217; see also above, p. 103, n. 197; and below, p. 118 at n. 285.

²⁴⁴ Daniel (1991) 45 for the photograph of the papyrus.

²⁴⁵ Preisendanz (1974) 2:102.

Morton Smith in Betz's edition following Preisendanz, claims that the lines "κλῦθί μοι ... καὶ τὴν Βάσανον," before the explicit mentioning of Helios (XII.292), refer to Jesus Christ and are a "Christian interpolation."²⁴⁶ Morton Smith further comments, "the interpolation is interesting as evidence that these pagan magical texts continued to be used by the newly Christian criminal class."²⁴⁷

Dieterich keeps ὁ Χρηστός of the papyrus, arguing that, "man ist nicht befugt, Χριστός zu schreiben. χρηστός kommt so öfter vor."²⁴⁸

Daniel also argues for the retention of the paradosis of the papyrus: "Here ὁ Χριστός should be changed to ὁ Χρηστός with the papyrus and earlier editors. Already Dieterich warned, 'man ist nicht befugt, Χριστός zu schreiben. Χρηστός kommt so öfter vor.' Jewish, rather than specifically Christian influence pervades so much of this syncretistic text ... *PGM*'s Χριστός led to the incorrect assumption that the present passage contains the only Christian interpolation in the text."²⁴⁹

Edwards also states: "Preisendanz emends Χρηστός to Χριστός, reasoning that the πολὺ δυνάμενος must be the Christian Saviour ... while his interpretation is correct, the manuscript reading should remain unchanged ... the form is not a vulgar orthographic variant, but the key to the identity of the group for whom the petition was composed." And, "It would therefore be wholly false to the intention of the author to substitute the reading Χριστός to Χρηστός when it occurs in a text which is known to come from the hand of a Christian heretic."²⁵⁰

Shandruk in his article on "The Interchange of ι and η in Spelling Χριστ- in Documentary Papyri" briefly presents the scholarly discussion on the spell in a footnote, concluding, "Therefore, the probable explanation is that 'Christ' was never intended and that χρηστός is indeed the correct reading, referring to the Old Testament God, resulting in a translation along the lines of 'Listen to me, one useful in (helping from) tortures, help ...'."²⁵¹

²⁴⁶ The text "κλῦθί μοι ... καὶ τὴν Βάσανον" (XIII.289–292) is dated to the 4th century and the magic spell in which it is added probably a little earlier, 3rd century C.E. Cf. Betz (1986) 180, n. 68.

²⁴⁷ See Betz (1986) 180, n. 68.

²⁴⁸ Dieterich (1891) 190.

²⁴⁹ Daniel (1991) xxv.

²⁵⁰ M. J. Edwards (1991a) 232, 234.

²⁵¹ Shandruk (2010), esp. 207–208, n. 8.

b) Analysis of the spell – Influences and Religious Assimilations

Firstly, Chrestos' orthography will be examined, addressing the questions: Which reading Χρηστός, or Χριστός is correct? And: Should the name be normalised, or does the precise form not matter?²⁵²

Gibson, following Blass, points out that, when the reference is to Jesus Christ, the forms Χριστός and Χριστιανός with ι are used mainly by early Christians and the forms with η by pagan authors.²⁵³ Gibson also argues, agreeing with Blass, that the Greek-speaking pagans substituted Χρηστός for Χριστός, because it was “a word which they knew and which was familiar to them.”²⁵⁴ At this period the two forms Χρηστός and Χριστός are pronounced identically by pagans and Christians. The confusion between the two forms with ι and η is reflected in the juxtaposition of both forms in the same epitaph in the third-century epigraphic monuments of the Upper Tembris Valley in Phrygia. In these hexametric epitaphs the forms “Χριστιανοί, or Χρηστιανοί Χρηστιανοῖς” occur with η most frequently found and less often the forms with ι (Χριστιανοί Χριστιανοῖς), or ει (Χρειστιανοί Χρειστιανοῖς).²⁵⁵

The New Testament contains similar verbal references to the two forms, as, for example, to Jesus' χρηστότης (Eph 2:6–10) and to his characterisation as χρηστός, or χρηστοί for his followers (Luke 6:35, Eph 4:32). There are also verbal plays between the composite derivatives εὐχρηστος and ἄχρηστος to describe a Christian follower, or a non-follower (Phlm 8–11).²⁵⁶ Justin in 1 *Apology* comments, “for we are accused of being Christians: but it is not just to hate the useful/good one,” Χριστιανοί γὰρ εἶναι κατηγορούμεθα: τὸ δὲ

²⁵² Definition: Χριστός (from χρίω) means the anointed one, who has the χρίσμα. It is the Greek translation of the Hebrew *mashiach*: Messiah. Χρηστός (from χάσμαι) means useful, the good one. Jesus is the translation of the Jewish *Joshua*, meaning “Yahweh is the salvation.” Ἰησοῦς as a Greek name means the one who heals (from ἰάομαι). See also p. 117, n. 277.

²⁵³ See Gibson (1978) 15–17; Blass (1895) 468–470; and (1897–1899) 2449–2450. On the interchange of ι and η see also Gignac (1976–1981) 1:235ff.

²⁵⁴ Gibson (1978) 16; Blass (1895) 468–470; also Robert (1937) 369. Alexander of Lycopolis (IV C.E.) in *Tractatus de placitis Manichaeorum* (24.1–4) also says: Τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν οὐδὲ γινώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ Χρηστὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύοντες τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἡ στοιχεῖον μεταλήψει ἕτερον σημαινόμενον ἀντὶ τοῦ κυρίως περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπεilhμμένου εἰσάγοντες νοῦν εἶναι φασιν.

²⁵⁵ E.g. nos. 1, 2, 7, 18, 22, 23 of the epigraphs; Gibson (1978).

²⁵⁶ Luke 6:35: καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ ὑψίστου, ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς; Eph 2:7–10: ἐν χρηστότητι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ... αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔσμεν ποίημα, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς; Eph 4:32: γίνεσθε [δὲ] εἰς ἀλλήλους χρηστοί, εὐσπλαγχνοί, χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἔχαρίσατο ὑμῖν; Phlm 8–11: Διὸ πολλὴν ἐν Χριστῷ παρρησίαν ἔχων ἐπιτάσσειν σοι τὸ ἀνήκον διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην μᾶλλον παρακαλῶ, τοιοῦτος ὢν ὡς Παῦλος πρεσβύτης νυνὶ δὲ καὶ δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ· παρακαλῶ σε περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου, ὃν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς, Ὀνήσιμον, τὸν ποτὲ σοι ἄχρηστον νυνὶ δὲ [καί] σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ εὐχρηστον.

χρηστὸν μισεῖσθαι οὐ δίκαιον (1 *Apol.* 4.5). Similar verbal play between *Christ-* and *Chrest-* can be found among pagan authors.²⁵⁷

Also in a Coptic passage from the spell “Excellent rite for driving out daimons” (*PGM* IV.1227–1264, IV C.E.), there is the Coptic form ἸΗCOYC ΠΙΧΡΗCΤOC (IV.1231–1239).²⁵⁸ The name IHCOCY is also mentioned in some lines in Coptic (III.420) included in the untitled memory spell III.410–423 (III C.E.).²⁵⁹

All of this material, however, is from a Christian context and it is not yet established that this is one of the contexts of the spell under investigation. The analysis of the spell aims, therefore, at identifying the various influences in the description of Chrestos and examining the mechanisms of appropriation of these influences within the context of magic.

i) Chrestos as the creator

Chrestos is referred to as “the one who created Compulsion and Punishment and Torture,” ὁ κτίσας τὴν Ἀνάγκη(ν) καὶ Τιμωρίαν καὶ τὴν Βάσανον, and is characterised as “very powerful in the world,” πολὺ δυνάμενος ἐν κόσμῳ (XIII.290–291). Here there are interesting points to observe. The first one is the description of Chrestos as a creator-god associated with power. Jewish influences on the interpretation of the verb κτίζω and its derivatives as “to create,” have already been referred to.²⁶⁰ The verb κτίζω, as examined, is used extensively in the sense of “to create” in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament.²⁶¹

In the hymn XIII.17–20 included in the Gnostic Corpus Hermeticum Book XIII, a similar reference is made to the creator of all and of the whole nature, τὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα and τῷ πάσης φύσεως κτίστη (XIII.17).²⁶² Zuntz here points out the Jewish influences on the notion of the creator.²⁶³

²⁵⁷ See Tac. *Ann.* XV.44.2–3: *Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis affecit quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Chrestianos appellabat. Auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat*; also Suet. *Claud.* 25.4: *Iudaeos impulsore Chresto adsidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*; Plin. *Ep.* X.96, 97; Tert. *Apol.* III.5; Lact. *Inst. Div.* IV.7.5.

²⁵⁸ For this spell see Preisendanz (1973) 1:114; Betz’s note on Chrestos, Betz (1986) 62, n. 168; and on Gnostic influences Layton (1979) 44–45. Note also the form TMN-XPICTOC in the Coptic manuscript, “A Homily on the Virgin by Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria” (75, col. i, l.2), Worrell (1923) 278.

²⁵⁹ Also in the short and fragmentary spell “Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear” (*PGM* XII.190–192, III C.E.), the names Ἰησοῦς ἀνουί are the first two and the only words preserved of this invocation. On Ἰησοῦς ἀνουί see Preisendanz (1974) 2:71.

²⁶⁰ See above, pp. 98–100.

²⁶¹ See above, pp. 98–100.

²⁶² Nock and Festugière (1945–1954) 2:207–208; for comments see Nock and Festugière (1945–1954) 2:217–218; and Scott (1924–1926) 2:398–405.

²⁶³ Zuntz (1955) 85. See above, p. 99, n. 183.

Thus far, the Jewish influences on the interpretation of the verb *κτίζω* as “to create” and its derivatives have been shown. This does not necessarily exclude other influences as, for example, those from Gnostic Hermetic texts.

ii) Chrestos as “the one who created Compulsion and Punishment and Torture”

To return to the phrase, “the one who created Compulsion and Punishment and Torture,” *ὁ κτίσας τὴν Ἀνάγκην(ν) καὶ Τιμωρίαν καὶ τὴν Βάσανον* (XIII.291): The second noteworthy point is the striking emphasis that Chrestos himself is the creator of Compulsion and Punishment and Torture. The question is: How can this be correct of Chrestos (“the Good one” from *χράομαι*)? This is not a phrase that would be expected from a Jewish magician, or a magician with Jewish influences. It is necessary, therefore, to examine comparative texts outside the Greek magical papyri to identify possible influences.

The Gnostic Corpus Hermeticum Book I.18–23 with the title *Poimandres of Hermes Trismegistus* refers to a creator-god who ordered all his creations (*τὰ κτίσματα καὶ δημιουργήματα*) to increase and multiply (I.18). His “providence,” *πρόνοια*, through “necessity” (*εἰμαρμένη*: a synonym of *ἀνάγκη*) and harmony created the acts of birth (I.19). This god set an “avenging daimon,” *τιμωρῶ δαίμονι*, for the evil and wicked and envious and greedy, in order to torture (*βασανίζει*) and punish the lawless (I.23). This description of the Gnostic creator-god from the Hermetic texts shows similarities with the creator-god of “Compulsion and Punishment and Torture” of the spell under discussion.²⁶⁴

In the *Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II 7), possibly composed in the first half of the third century C.E. and included in the Gnostic Nag Hammadi Coptic Library,²⁶⁵ the Gnostic god “saviour” Jesus advises, “watch and pray that you (pl.) not come to be in the flesh, but rather that you come forth from the bondage of the bitterness of this life ... For when you come forth from the sufferings and passion of the body, you will receive rest from the *Good One* (ΑΓΑΘΟC) ...” (10–15).²⁶⁶ The reference to the Gnostic god “saviour” who is described as “the Good one” could possibly be an influence on the spell under discussion. The magician who composed, or compiled the spell may have been aware of these Gnostic texts.

²⁶⁴ Nock and Festugière (1945–1954) 1:13–15 and 23–24. On Jewish elements in Corpus Hermeticum I see discussion in B. A. Pearson (1981).

²⁶⁵ For an introduction see J. M. Robinson (1974). On Christians in Egypt see Parsons (2007) chpt. 12, 193–210, esp. on Christians and Gnostics, 195ff. On Gnosticism and the Nag Hammadi Library see MacCulloch (2009) 121–127; Voorst (2000) 185–203; and N. T. Wright (2003) 534–551.

²⁶⁶ Transl. by John D. Turner; Turner actually translates the Coptic ΑΓΑΘΟC as “the Good One”; Layton (1989) 204–205; also in J. M. Robinson (1996) 207.

The analysis of the text up to now and its comparison with other spells from the Greek magical papyri, Jewish texts, the Corpus Hermeticum and texts of Gnosticism reveal a multiplicity of religious influences from Jewish to Hermetic and Gnostic literature.

The third comparative text to examine is the *Cologne Mani Codex* (*CMC*, V C.E.),²⁶⁷ a compilation of various treatises preserved in Greek translation from the Eastern Aramaic original, thereby imitating in that way the Greek of the Septuagint and of the New Testament.²⁶⁸ In the *CMC* there are references to Baptists, who combined Christian and Jewish traditions with Gnostic influences with a particular emphasis on rituals.²⁶⁹ Mani's Baptists had a strict obedience to ritual laws²⁷⁰ and acceptance of the teaching of Jesus Christ.²⁷¹

In the *CMC* there is the notion of punishment, when Enoch reveals to Mani, "I shall show you the place of the impious and of what sort happens to be the punishment place of the lawless," *χωρόν σοι δείξω τὸν τῶ[ν] δυσσεβῶν, καὶ ὅποιος τυγχάνει ὁ τῆς τιμωρίας τῶν ἀνόμων τόπος* (*CMC* 58.12–15).²⁷² The idea is also expressed of a lord who shall "redeem and set free his members from the subordination of the seditious and the power of the procurators, and through that he shall reveal his own truth and at the same time he shall throw wide open the door for the prisoners," *καὶ λυτρώσaiτο καὶ ἐλευθερώσai τὰ σφέτερα μέλη ἐκ τῆς ὑποταγῆς τῶν στασιαστῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπιτροπευόντων ἐξουσίας καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ μὲν φάνηι τῆς ἰδίας γνώσεως τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀναπετάσai τὴν θύραν τοῖς καθειργμένοις* (*CMC* 16.4–15). The text of the *CMC*, therefore, which itself combines Christian, Jewish and Gnostic influences, and the particular references to the notion of punishment and salvation suggest possible influences on the examined spell.

Thus, it may seem that the magician who compiled the spell was a skilled syncretist, who included in his magical texts a spell addressed to Chrestos with Jewish, Gnostic and possibly Manichaean influences. This compilation technique of accumulating various religious currents in one spell often occurs

²⁶⁷ Mani lived from 216 to 276 C.E.; Henrichs and Koenen (1975) and (1970); Henrichs (1979).

²⁶⁸ For the mistakes of translation into Greek see Henrichs (1979) 352–354.

²⁶⁹ For Mani's Baptists' affiliation with Elchasaites, or possible influences from the Aramaic *Book of Elchasai* (written before 118/119 C.E.) see the discussion in Henrichs (1979) 360–367.

²⁷⁰ E.g. *CMC* 20.9–11: *ἐκ μέσου τοῦ νόμου ἐκείνου καθ' ὃν ἀνετράφην; CMC* 25.2–5: *σὺν πλείστῃ μηχανῇ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ περιήλθον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ νόμῳ; CMC* 30.6–7: *[σο]υ τοῦ νόμου ἐκείνου [καθ'] ὃν ἀνετράφην; also CMC* 70.7–9.

²⁷¹ E.g. *CMC* 67.16–18: *εἰμὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ; CMC* 68.1–2 and 7–10: *τῆς θεωρίας τῆς ἀληθεστάτης ἣν ἐθεώρησα and ἅπερ μοι ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ δεδώρηται, ἐκ τε τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν.*

²⁷² Also *CMC* 29.3–5: *ἐκτεμεῖν τοὺς ἀκρεμόνας πάντων τῶν στασι[ι]αστῶν; and CMC* 43.3–4: *καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ τὴν κόλασιν.*

in the Greek magical papyri.²⁷³ An example of this technique is the conjuration included in the spell “A tested charm of Pibechis for those possessed by daemons” (*PGM* IV.3007–3086, IV C.E.).²⁷⁴ The spell reflects a variety of religious influences from Jewish, Christian, Gnostic and Egyptian texts regarding the address to Jesus.

Firstly, the daimonic spirit is conjured by “the god of the Hebrews, Jesus,” ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἰησοῦ (IV.3020). Jesus is described here as “the god of the Hebrews,” an appellation for Jesus that may not be distinctively Christian.²⁷⁵ This reference is important for the ethnic identity of the magician, since neither a Jew nor a Christian could possibly have called Jesus the god of the Hebrews.²⁷⁶

Secondly, the magician is instructed to prepare a phylactery of a tin lamella with some magic names inscribed in the lamella “and hang it on the patient,” καὶ περίαπτε τὸν πάσχοντα (IV.3016–3017). The phrase καὶ περίαπτε τὸν πάσχοντα reveals that the magician is aware of the claimed etymological association – much emphasised by Christians such as Luke – between the name Ἰησοῦς and the verb ἰάομαι (“to heal”).²⁷⁷ He presumably also is cognizant of Jesus’ fame in casting out demons. In the Acts of the Apostles (19:13) it is reported that Jesus’ name was used by Jewish exorcists to exorcise demons in the middle of the first century C.E.²⁷⁸

Thirdly, in the conjuration there are allusions to Jewish stories as, for example, the plagues of Pharaoh, the seal of Solomon, the prophet Jeremiah, the Exodus, and the “unquenchable fire” of the Jerusalem temple,²⁷⁹ and to Jewish prayers referring to the description of “the light-bringing god.”²⁸⁰

Fourthly, in the conjuration there is also a reference to “the one who was seen (ὁπτανθέντα) in Osrael (Ὀσραήλ) in a shining pillar and a cloud of day” (IV.3033–3035). Osrael is one of the various forms of Israel that appear in

²⁷³ See Dieleman (2005) 166; Gardiner (1947) vols. I–III. See above, p. 109, n. 237.

²⁷⁴ On *PGM* IV.3007–3086 see Preisendanz (1956); LiDonnici (2007); de Bruyn and Dijkstra (2011).

²⁷⁵ See also Betz (1986) 96, n. 388; Deissmann (1927) 260, n. 4; Knox (1938) 193–194; Barb (1964) 7–9; Chadwick (1980) 210; M. Smith (1985a) 113.

²⁷⁶ Deissmann (1927) 260, n. 4; on possible Gnostic influences see the discussion on Gnosticism in MacCulloch (2009) 121–127.

²⁷⁷ Cf. e.g. Acts 9:34: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος· Αἰνέα, ἰάται σε Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· ἀνάστηθι καὶ στρώσον σεαυτῷ. καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέστη.

²⁷⁸ Acts 19:13: Ἐπεχέρισαν δέ τινες καὶ τῶν περιερχομένων Ἰουδαίων ἐξορκιστῶν ὀνομάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λέγοντες· ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει.

²⁷⁹ *PGM* IV.3034–3036, 3038–3040, 3053–3055, 3070–3071 (on the “unquenchable fire” see also IV.1220).

²⁸⁰ *PGM* IV.3045–3052; see also LXX Gen 1:3; for more parallels in this passage see Deissmann (1927) 261–262; Betz (1986) 96.

the Greek magical papyri.²⁸¹ The verb *ὀπτάζομαι/ὀπτάνομαι* in the passive is often used in the Septuagint and New Testament, and in Gnostic texts.²⁸²

Finally, among the magical names mentioned that reveal Jewish origins, such as those of IABA, IAE, ABRAOTH, AIA, the god who is conjured up is identified with the Egyptian Thoth (IV.3020).²⁸³ This identification may be explained by the association of Thoth with wisdom and knowledge and particularly with the sacred writings and laws.

The spell IV.3007–3086, therefore, is an interesting example from the comparative material of the Greek magical papyri, because it reflects a multiplicity of religious influences in the same text:²⁸⁴ a) it shows knowledge of Jewish religious history; b) it registers the importance of Jesus Christ as a healer; c) *ὀπτάζομαι* is a verb also used in Gnostic texts; d) the identification of Jesus with Thoth reflects Egyptian influences; e) nevertheless, the description of Jesus as “the god of the Hebrews” suggests that the syncretist magician who compiled the spell was neither a Jew nor a Christian.

iii) The “release” and “open-up” formula

The *λυθήτω* and *ἀνοιχθήτω* formula of the lines, “Let every bond, every force be released (*λυθήτω*), let every iron be broken (*ῥαγήτω*), every rope, or every strap, every knot, every chain be opened (*ἀνοιχθήτω*)” (XIII.292–295) occurs elsewhere in the Greek magical papyri. The open-up formula, for example, is found in the spell “*ἄνοιξις διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος*” (XIII.327–333), included in XIII.1–343 as the examined spell, in which *Ἀχεβυκρωμ* and *Ἡλίου ὄνομα* are mentioned as well (XIII.333).²⁸⁵

In the “Stele useful for everything” (IV.1167–1226) also, the abstract, deified concept of Aion is assimilated to the Jewish father and “creator of the world, creator of all,” *κόσμου κτίστα, τὰ πάντα κτίστα* (IV.1200) and to Helios. Aion-the creator-god-Helios is invoked as follows, *ἀνοίγηθι, οὐρανέ, δέξαι μου τὰ φθέγματα, ἄκουε, Ἥλιε, πάτερ κόσμου*, “heaven, be opened, accept my sayings, listen, Helios, father of the world” (IV.1180–1181).²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ See also *PGM* IV.1815: Ἰρραήλ· Ἰστραήλ; XXXVI.259: Ἀσπτράηλος; see also Ganschietz (1916); also Betz (1986) 96; Scholem refers to Istraël, or Astrael, as an angelic name, Scholem (1965) 95–96.

²⁸² E.g. *LXX* Num 14:14. Also Acts 1:3: *ὀπτανόμενος*; see also in *Corp. Herm.* III.2: *ὀπτανόμενοι*.

²⁸³ Note also the references to the Egyptian Thoth (*PGM* IV.3020) and Ammon (IV.3028).

²⁸⁴ Furthermore, on the cultural and religious translatability expressed in the *PGM* spells note also the following examples: XIII.139, 147–160 and V.472–474. See above, p. 109, n. 237; and p. 116, n. 273.

²⁸⁵ For similar formulas in the *PGM* see also: I.101, IV.968, XII.160–167, XXXVI.315–317, LXII.29–30.

²⁸⁶ See also Dieterich (1891) 25–26.

The same formula in relation to the concept of the creator-god is found in the hymn XIII.17–20 included in the *Corpus Hermeticum* Book XIII, which begins with the lines: ἀνοίγηθι γῆ, ἀνοιγῆτω μοι πᾶς μοχλὸς ὄμβρου ... ἀνοίγητε οὐρανοί ... μέλλω γὰρ ὑμνεῖν τὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα, “Let earth be opened, let every bar of the world be opened to me ... heavens, be opened ... for I am about to sing a prayer to the creator of all” (XIII.17.9–19).²⁸⁷

A similar formula in relation to Jesus is also found in the comparative magico-Christian untitled spell *PGM* Christ. 13 (IV/V C.E.),²⁸⁸ in which Jesus (Ἰ[η]σοῦς) is described as, διὸ αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐλευθερώθη[σαν] δι[ὰ] τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνύγησαν δι’ ἑαυτῶν αἱ πύλαι χαλκαῖ δι’ αὐτόν, ὁ κατακλάσας τοὺς μοχλοῦ[ς] σιδηροῦς, ὁ λύσας τοὺς δεδημένους ἐν τῷ σκ[ό]τει ... καὶ δέδωκας ἐλευθερίαν τῷ κτίσματι αἰτουμένῳ δεσπότην, Ἰ[η]σοῦς, “wherefore the souls have been freed by his blood and by him the bronze gates have opened by themselves, the one who broke the iron bars, who freed those bound in darkness ... and you have given freedom to the creature who begged the lord, ο Jesus” (13.9–15).²⁸⁹

That description of Jesus as ὁ κατακλάσας and ὁ λύσας, as well as the λυθήτω and ἀνοιγθήτω formula examined above, seem to reflect Jewish and Christian influences of Dionysiac origins.²⁹⁰ Dionysus had the ability to liberate himself, or his initiated, as emphasised in Euripides’ *Bacchae*, λύσει μ’ ὁ δαίμων αὐτός, ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω, “The god will free me himself, whenever I wish” (*Ba.* 498). Dionysus also liberated the imprisoned and bound in the chains *Bacchae* (*Ba.* 443–449).²⁹¹ Similarly in the Pelinna gold initiation

²⁸⁷ Nock and Festugière (1945–1954) 2:207–208. From the beginning of the third century Christian scholars had access to some Hermetic texts of the *Hermetica* already in existence; Scott (1924–1926) 1:8. See above, n. 262.

²⁸⁸ It is included in Preisendanz’s edition under the section “Christliches.” The *Christian Papyri* *PGM* Christ. 1–24 (the references are given in Arabic numerals; *PGM* Christ. 9 includes the Christian credo); Preisendanz (1974) 2:209–232. The spell *PGM* Christ. 13, translated in English, is also included in Meyer, Smith and Kelsey (1994) 35–36. Note also in the magico-Christian Ostraca (O Christ. 1–5): the reference to Christos in O Christ. 3; and the Christian credo in O Christ. 4; Preisendanz (1974) 2:233–235. On magico-Christian amulets with the bust of Christ see Bonner (1950) 218–222; on Egyptian Christians and Coptic amulets see Budge (1930) 127–132; on Christos in amulets see Kotansky (1994a) 170–180 (n. 35.10), 270–300 (n. 52.119) and 301–305 (n. 53.2); also Maltomini (1997); M. Smith (1985a) 61–64; and Frankfurter (1995).

²⁸⁹ Also compare it with Acts 16:26: ἄφνω δὲ σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας, ὥστε σαλευθῆναι τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου· ἠνεώχθησαν δὲ παραχρῆμα αἱ θύραι πάσαι, καὶ πάντων τὰ δεσμὰ ἀνέβη.

²⁹⁰ See also *CMC* 16.4–15.

²⁹¹ Eur. *Ba.* 443–449: ἄς δ’ αὖ σὺ βάκχας εἶρξας, ἄς συνήρπασας / κᾶδης ἐν δεσμοῖσι πανδήμου στέγης, / φρουδαί γ’ ἐκείναι λελυμέναι πρὸς ὀργάδας / σκιρτῶσι Βρόμιον ἀνακαλούμεναι θεόν· / αὐτόματα δ’ αὐταῖς δεσμὰ διελύθη ποδῶν / κληῖδες τ’ ἀνῆκαν θύρετρ’ ἄνευ θνητῆς χειρός. See Seaford (1997a) 190. See also above, n. 289; and below, n. 302. On Dionysus and Jesus see Seaford (1997b). See below, n. 302.

lamellae from Thessaly (BCE IV) there is the reference ὅτι Β(άκ)χιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσε (*OF Bern.* 485 and 486).²⁹²

iv) Chrestos “biaios”: Mechanisms of appropriation and integration

At this stage, another two questions need to be posed: How does the magician apply the new religious and intellectual influences implicit in the invocation to Chrestos to the traditional context of magic? How do the mechanisms of appropriation and integration function in the spell under discussion?

In the spell Chrestos is invoked, ὁ Χρηστός, ἐν βασάνοις, βοήθησον ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἐλ[ε]ήμων ἐν ὥραις βίαιος, πολὺ δυνάμενος ἐν κόσμῳ, “Chrestos, in tortures, help in necessities, pitiful in times/throughout the years, biaios/who died violently, very powerful in the world” (XIII.289–290).

In the paradosis of the papyrus, the term βίαιος can be found (XIII.290). Dieterich changes it to βιαίος, taking it as an adjective to ὥραις, although in his critical apparatus he notes that the papyrus has βίαιος.²⁹³ Preisendanz in his edition has also βιαίος as an adjective to ὥραις, without giving a comment about his change.²⁹⁴ The papyrus, however, has βίαιος, as the photograph of the papyrus shows and as Daniel has also seen in his transcription of the papyrus.²⁹⁵

When βίαιος is taken as an adjective in relation to Chrestos, the question to be addressed is: Is the invocation to Chrestos *biaios* related to the invocations of the *biaiothanatoi* in magic?

The magicians often invoke the spirits of the dead who suffered a violent death, or died before their time, to assist them in the magic ritual. These spirits are the βαιοθάνατοι, or βίαιοι and the ἄωροι. The *biaiothanatoi* and *aoroi* also appear in magical *defixiones* from archaic and classical Athens and from various parts of the Mediterranean area. The reason they are invoked is that they died violently, before they had the chance to fulfil their purpose.²⁹⁶ Their unfulfilled destiny and their violent death is a source of violent subversive force in the hands of the magicians. In the Greek magical papyri the βαιοθάνατοι, or βίαιοι²⁹⁷ are often invoked as *paredroi*, that is, the spirits that stand by the magician and assist him.²⁹⁸ The purpose of their invocation is to

²⁹² Bernabé (2005) 45, 52.

²⁹³ Dieterich (1891) 190.

²⁹⁴ Preisendanz (1974) 2:102.

²⁹⁵ Daniel (1991) 45 for the photograph of the papyrus and 44 for Daniel’s transcription.

²⁹⁶ For *aoroi*, *biaiothanatoi* and *ateletoi*, or *ataphoi* see also: Graf (1997) 150–151; Johnston (1999) 127–160; Ogden (2001) 12, 225–226.

²⁹⁷ On the invocations of βίαιος/-οι in the *PGM* see also II.145: ῥάκος ἀπὸ βιαιού; II.170–171: εἰς τὸ ῥάκος τοῦ βιαιού; IV.333: παρὰ ἄωρου ἢ βιαιού θήκη; IV.1394: καὶ μονομάχοι καὶ βίαιοι; IV.1885–1886: ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου κεφαλῆς βιαιού ὁστέον; IV.2207–2208: μετὰ αἵματος βιαιού; and IV.2887: εἰς βιαιού αἶμα.

²⁹⁸ On *paredroi* see Chpt. 2. Also cf. Pachoumi (2011a) and (2011b).

prophecy, or violently attract the beloved person, or even to take away the pain from the patient in the case of magico-medical spells.

The idea of the spirits of the violent dead protecting and taking revenge on the living occurs in literary and philosophical works. In Hesiod's *Works and Days* (109–126), the golden race of mortal men after death became daimones, “guardians of mortal men,” φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων (121–126). In Plato's *Phaedo* (81c–e), the souls of mean men (τὰς τῶν φαύλων) “are compelled to wander,” ἀναγκάζονται πλανᾶσθαι, “on the monuments and the tombs,” περὶ τὰ μνημάτα τε καὶ τοὺς τάφους, “paying punishment for their former way of life which was bad,” δίκην τίνουσαι τῆς προτέρας τροφῆς κακῆς οὐσῆς (81d1–2, 8–10).

In Plato's *Laws*, the one who suffered a violent death (ὁ θανατωθεὶς βιαίως) “is wroth with the one who committed the murder, when newly being murdered, and having himself been filled with fear and terror because of his violent suffering, when he sees his murderer going about in the haunts in which he himself used to go, he is frightened, and being himself upset, causes trouble with all his might to (his) murderer, both to the man himself and his actions, having his memory as his ally” (865d–e).²⁹⁹ Also in Xenophon's *Cyropaideia* (VIII.7.18), the souls of those who suffered unjustly (τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄδικα παθόντων ψυχάς) “throw/evoke terror in those who have shed blood,” φόβους τοῖς μαιφόνοις ἐμβάλλουσιν, and “send the avengers of blood against the wicked,” παλαμναίους τοῖς ἀνοσίοις ἐπιπέμπουσι, by connecting these avengers of blood with the souls of the dead.³⁰⁰

In the examined spell Chrestos “in tortures” is invoked as the one who is “pitiful in times/throughout the years” (XIII.289–290). The “tortures” apply first to the tortures of the people to whom the spell refers and then to Jesus' own tortures. Jesus was executed.³⁰¹ His death was violent/*biaios* and before its time/*aoros*. Hence, Chrestos *biaios* (XIII.289–290) is invoked by the magician as a *biaiothanatos/biaios* and *aoros*. The subversive power of his violent death shall give enormous power to the spell, which is to be used by the magician to release the prisoners from their iron bonds. Jesus also was put in ‘bonds’ and ‘released.’³⁰² Thus, a crucial criterion in the process of appro-

²⁹⁹ Pl. *Lg.* 865d–e: θυμοῦταί τε τῷ δράσαντι νεοθνήσκων, καὶ φόβου καὶ δέματος ἅμα διὰ τὴν βίαιον πάθην αὐτὸς πεπληρωμένος, ὁρῶν τε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φονέα ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συνθηθείας ἀναστρεφόμενον δειμαίνει, καὶ ταραττόμενος αὐτὸς ταράττει κατὰ δύναμιν πᾶσαν τὸν δράσαντα, μνήμην ξύμμαχον ἔχων, αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ.

³⁰⁰ On the connection between the avengers of blood and the souls of the dead note the question, Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.7.18: τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις τὰς τιμὰς διαμένειν ἔτι ἂν δοκεῖτε, εἰ μηδὲν αὐτῶν (τῶν φθιμένων) αἱ ψυχαὶ κύριαί ἦσαν.

³⁰¹ See Stratton (2007) 118.

³⁰² E.g. on ‘bonds’: Matt 27:2: καὶ δέσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγον καὶ παρέδωκαν Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι; Mark 15:6: Κατὰ δὲ ἑορτὴν ἀπέλυεν αὐτοῖς ἓνα δέσμιον ὃν παρηγοῦντο; John 18:12: ... συνέλαβον τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτόν ...; on ‘release’: Acts 2:24: ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου. See discussion on Dionysiac origins above, n. 291.

priation of Chrestos' invocation to the context of magic is his assimilation to the *biaiothanatoi/biaioi* and *aoroi* of magic.

Another example of how the mechanisms of appropriation and integration function is provided by the relationship between Chrestos and Helios. The spell, as already pointed out, is initially addressed to Helios to release from bondage (XIII.291–292). The lines *κλῦθί μοι ... καὶ τὴν Βάσανον* refer to Chrestos. Chrestos is, therefore, brought into conjunction with Helios and both names appear in the same spell (e.g. XIII.289, 291–292). A similar adaptation is the example of a Greek prayer to Helios transliterated into Hebrew in the *Sepher Ha-Razim* (61–66).³⁰³ Consequently the magician who compiled the spell modelled the text to Chrestos (XIII.289–292) on the original magic spell to Helios. It does not seem, however, that the magician intended to substitute Chrestos for Helios, since he did not erase Helios' name; thus both names appear in the same spell, as already pointed out. This is another example of the appropriation of different religious currents into the context of magic. The text to Chrestos (XIII.289–292), therefore, is a whole-scale appropriation with its context integrated to the logic of the magical spell.

Conclusion

In reviewing this section on the orthographical spelling of Chrestos and related interpretation issues, a return is made to the initial questions: Should the paradosis of the text *Χρηστός* be emended to *Χριστός*? Or should the manuscript reading remain unchanged in this regard?³⁰⁴

The analysis of the spell has shown that the paradosis of Chrestos with *η* should be retained. There is no indication that the text to Chrestos (*κλῦθί μοι ... καὶ τὴν Βάσανον*, XIII.289–292) was a “Christian interpolation” and the spell-prayer was meant to be used only by Christian prisoners; nor that the text to Chrestos was a petition composed for a particular heretic group and that the text comes “from the hand of a Christian heretic.”

It has been shown that the reading of the spell should be inclusive of the various intellectual and religious currents and not exclusive. The description of Chrestos as the creator (*ὁ κτίσας*) reveals influences, as examined, from Judaism. It has been pointed out, nevertheless, that Chrestos is not described as the creator of the world, as could have been expected from a Jewish perspective. The phrase “very powerful in the world” is also neither appropriate to Yahweh of the Hebrew Bible, nor to Jesus Christ of the New Testament.

The description “the one who created Compulsion and Punishment and Torture” reveals influences from the creator-god of the Corpus Hermeticum and possibly from Manichaeism. Chrestos' characterisation also as the “good one” alludes to the Gnostic god “saviour” of the Nag Hammadi Library.

³⁰³ Morgan (1983) 71, n. 21.

³⁰⁴ See above, pp. 111–112.

It has been argued that the form βίαιος in nominative (XIII.290) should be retained, taking it as an adjective to Chrestos, instead of changing it to dative plural as an adjective to ὧραις. An attempt was also made to justify the connection between the invocation to Chrestos and the invocations to the *biai*-*aioi/biaiothanatoi* in magic. The mechanisms of appropriation and integration of this syncretistic material into the context of magic have also been examined. Evidence regarding the mechanisms of appropriation is the relationship between Chrestos and Helios and the appearance of both names in the same spell. The magician who compiled the spell integrated the text addressed to Chrestos (XIII.289–292) into the logic of the original magic spell to Helios.

Finally, an argument was made for the intercultural or interreligious character of the spell. The spell is an example of appropriation and synchronisation of various intellectual and religious currents into the general Greco-Egyptian magical framework of the papyri. The comparison of the spell with other religious and philosophical works reveals allusions to Christianity and influences from Jewish texts, the Corpus Hermeticum and the Gnostic Nag Hammadi Library, and from Manichean texts as well.

Thus the interreligious context of the text to Chrestos (XIII.289–292) is integrated into the logic of the magical spell. It is a whole-scale appropriation. The authors, or/and magicians who compiled the spell, were skilled syncretists, who were either fully aware of the various religious influences embodied in their compilation, or did it mechanically as part of the adaptation process. The continuous use of the spell by different users was an important factor determining the flexibility of the mechanisms of appropriation and integration.

VII. Dionysus-Osiris

The myth of Osiris is often mentioned in the Greek magical papyri in relation to his sister and wife, Isis, and their son, Horus, and to the battle with his enemy Typhon-Seth. Among the various identifications of the Egyptian gods with their Greek equivalents, Osiris was assimilated by the Greeks from the classical period to Dionysus.³⁰⁵ In the Hellenistic period in Alexandria and in other Egyptian areas with a high density of Greek population, such as the Arsinoite nome (Faiyum), the cults and festivals of Dionysus and Demeter were the most popular and important.³⁰⁶ In discussing the Greek magical

³⁰⁵ On Osiris, Isis, Horus and Typhon-Seth see *PGM* IV.185–187, XIVb.11–15, LVII.3–5 and 7–8. See below, pp. 149 and 160ff. On the assimilation between Osiris and Dionysus see Hdt. *Hist.* II.42.3–5 and II.144.10: "Ὀσίρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν.

³⁰⁶ Unfortunately, as Dunand points out, neither of the temples of Dionysus and Demeter in Alexandria have been found; Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) 244.

papyri material, the examination will start off with the references to Osiris and his religious assimilations, thereafter, the references to Dionysus will be considered.³⁰⁷

A. Osiris

1. “Pity’s spell that leads” (PGM IV.2006–2125)

In IV.2006–2125 (IV. C.E.) Osiris is addressed as “the holy god” and “OSIRIS KMEPHI SRO” (IV.2093–2094), which in Egyptian means “Osiris, Good Daimon, great prince,” and he is described as the god who gives orders to “the daimon of a dead person,” here invoked by the magician to be his divine assistant.³⁰⁸ In the “Spell for direct vision” (VII.319–334) also Osiris’ revelation to the magician in order to prophesy is described through ritualistic language, which emphasises Osiris’ cosmic establishment and is allusive to the mysteries.³⁰⁹ In IV.2006–2125, there is information about the Egyptian influences on Osiris’ depiction, as the magician is instructed to draw on a piece of papyrus, “Osiris dressed as the Egyptians reveal” (IV.2124–2125).

O’Neil comments that “this prescription is remarkable because it seems to have been made by a magician who was not an Egyptian.”³¹⁰ This inference is plausible, but not decisive.³¹¹ The wording reinforces a remarkable point: The Egyptian tradition of depicting the Egyptian Osiris in the Greek magical papyri prevails over any other later influences. In the spell IV.3125–3127 there is another representation of Osiris which displays Egyptian customs, when the magician is advised that the wax statue should “be wrapped like Osiris,” meaning as a mummy (IV.3136–3137). Osiris’ appearance as a mummy dates back to the old Egyptian religious tradition. In the Greco-Egyptian magical amulets dating from 100 to 500 C.E. there are depictions of Osiris with his body wrapped up from the chest as a mummy.³¹² Osiris is, therefore, one of the Egyptian gods who kept his Egyptian appearance in the Hellenistic and Roman period, as is reflected in the Greek magical papyri.

³⁰⁷ Cf. Pachoumi (2014b).

³⁰⁸ See Betz (1986) 75, n. 255; for his Egyptian feature as the god of the dead see the text on *Papyrus Chester Beatty* XIII (xiv 5–xv 10); Pritchard (1969) 16–17; see also the discussion in Chpt. 2, above, pp. 42ff.

³⁰⁹ E.g. VII.326 and 329: ἀνοιγε τὸν [ναὸν, τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδρυμένον] κόσμον, καὶ δέξαι τὸν Ὅσιριν καὶ ἀνοιξόν μου τὰ ὦτα, ἵνα μοι χρηματίσῃς; see also the spell “Hermes’ Ring” (V.213–303): ἐπαφήσω ἀνοιξίν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς (V.285); also Plu. *Quaest. Conv.* II.738C: τῇ τῶν χειλῶν ἀνοιξεί.

³¹⁰ Betz (1986) 75, n. 259.

³¹¹ See e.g. Hecat. *Fr.* 1, where Hecataeus of Miletus distinguishes “the Greeks” from himself.

³¹² Bonner (1950) 149–150 and pl. 1.1, 3; see also below, pp. 168–170.

B. Dionysus

The explicit and implicit references to Dionysus in the Greek magical papyri will be examined. Also the question will be addressed whether the assimilation between Dionysus and Osiris is attested in the magical papyri.

i) Explicit references to Dionysus

In discussing the magical papyri, the examination commences with the single explicit reference to Dionysus in XIII.734–1077 (IV C.E.).

1. Untitled Spell (PGM XIII.734–1077)

In this collection of spells (XIII.734–1077, IV C.E.), among the *voces magicae*, the Hebrew and Egyptian gods and the Babylonian Ereschigal (XIII.912–933), Dionysus is invoked by name and addressed as “blessed” and Εὔιε, Διόνυσσε, μάκαρ, Εὔιε (XIII.916–917). This is the only example throughout the Greek magical papyri where the actual name of Dionysus is mentioned. Similarly, in the *Orphic Hymn* 45 “To Dionysus Bassareus Trieterikos” there is the address μάκαρ Διόνυσσε (2).³¹³ A few lines further down in the same papyrus the “theologian Orpheus,” ὁ θεολ(ό)γος Ὀρφεύς (XIII.933) and “Erôtulos in the *Orphica*,” Ἐρώτυλος ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς (XIII.948)³¹⁴ are mentioned, which means the reference to Dionysus here probably has Orphic influences. It is also worth noting the etymological and vocal connection between Dionysus’ title Εὔιος – derived from the cry “εὐαί, εὐοῖ” – and the various combinations of vowels that follow: ουυ, υυυ, θηνωρ, διάγων υυυ ευευε υε ουω (XIII.917–918) and Ἰεοῦ αη αιω ευαι ι-η ιη ιωα ιηιη αιω εη αιω (XIII.929–930),³¹⁵ together with the series of vowels that precedes them (XIII.905–911).³¹⁶

ii) Allusions to Dionysus

The allusions to Dionysus are considered, examining the following aspects: possible etymological allusions to Dionysus’ names in the spell “A daemon comes as an assistant” (PGM I.1–42); an interpretative problem in the “Excellent charm/*philtron*” (VII.459–461); allusions to the Dionysus-Osiris

³¹³ See also in *Hymn. Orph.* 47.6: μάκαρ, βακχευτά; *Hymn. Orph.* 50.1: μάκαρ, Διὸς υἱ, ἐπιλύνιε Βάκχε; *Hymn. Orph.* 52.1: μάκαρ, πολυνύμμε, † μανικέ, Βακχεῦ; and *Hymn. Orph.* 53.8: μάκαρ, χλοόκαρπε, κερασφόρε, κάρπιμε Βάκχε.

³¹⁴ On Erôtulos see *Orph. Fr.* 235, Kern (1972) 71; Betz (1986) 193, n. 129, and 334; Merkelbach and Totti (1990–1996) 1:218; also Bernabé (2005) 363. Cf. Pachoumi (2013a) 55, n. 60.

³¹⁵ See also a similar combination of vowels with ευιε, which precedes and follows Apollo’s invocation in PGM II.128–138.

³¹⁶ On the textual problems here see Preisendanz (1974) 2:127; Betz (1986) 192, n. 125. See also PGM XIII.935ff.; and XIII.948ff.

assimilation in the “Cup spell” (VII.643–651); and possible allusions in the “All purposes consecration spell to Helios” (IV.1596–1715).

1. “A daemon comes as an assistant” (PGM I.1–42)

In the spell to acquire a divine assistant (I.1–42, III C.E.) the latter invoked is also addressed by his “authoritative name,” [το]ῦ[το] αὐθεν[τικόν] σου ὄνομα· ἀρβαθ Ἀρβαὼθ βακχαβρη (I.36). The first compound βακχ- of the magical name βακχαβρη is etymologically connected to Βάκχ-ος.

2. “Excellent philtron” (PGM VII.459–461)

In VII.459–461 (III C.E.) Preisendanz (vol. II, 1931) and Preisendanz and Henrichs (vol. II, 1974) read ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος Βακχίου (VII.461) and translate, “Ich beschwöre dich beim preiswürdigen Namen des Bakchos.” There is a textual and interpretative problem here, which Preisendanz notes in the critical apparatus: The papyrus reads Οβα(κ)χιου with κ written over χ. Preisendanz interprets ο as the abbreviation of ὀ(νομα) followed by Bacchios,³¹⁷ but in the unpublished indices of *Papyri Graecae Magicae* he records Ὀβακιου (VII.461) and translates it as “Großer der Toten,” “Türhüter der Toten,” including a reference to Schmidt.³¹⁸ In his review of *Papyri Graecae Magicae* vol. II (1931) Schmidt argues that Ὀβακιου derives from the Egyptian *c3-b3gj.w*, meaning “Großer der Toten,” or “Türhüter der Toten.”³¹⁹ O’Neil follows Preisendanz’s translation and comments that “Bacchios may be the epithet of Dionysos or a personal name derived from it ... But the name here is uncertain for textual reasons.”³²⁰

The form Οβαχ occurs in other magical texts, for example, in *SM* 2.4, ἐπικαλοῦμέ (I. -μαί) [σ]ε, τῶν ἐπὶ ὀκεανῶ (I. ὠκεανοῦ) πνεύματι, Οβαχ, καὶ κα(τὰ) τοῦ Βαβαραθαν βαροχ Αβρααμ σαβααραμ (1–7) and in *SM* 50.34, ἐξορκίζω σε γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος [οβ] Οβαχ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Βαρβααραθαμ βαρουχ βαρουχα βαρουχ Ἀδωναιου θεοῦ σαβααραμ χαβααραμ (32–38).³²¹ Daniel and Maltomini in their comments on Οβαχ refer to Οβα(κ)χιου of VII.461 and to Schmidt’s argument, suggesting that perhaps the word derives from the Coptic **ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩⲱ**, which means “to be white or shining.”³²² Brashear in the glossary of his survey of the Greek magical papyri registers OBAKIOY

³¹⁷ Preisendanz (1931) 2:21; and Preisendanz (1974) 2:21.

³¹⁸ Preisendanz (n.d.) 227 and 265.

³¹⁹ Schmidt (1934) 175.

³²⁰ See Betz (1986) 130, n. 64; also Detschew (1950).

³²¹ On Βαρβαριθα in the *PGM* see also IV.338: καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῷ Βαρβαριθα, Ἑρμῇ καταχθονίῳ; and IV.362: κατὰ τοῦ Βαρβαριθα; also on βαθαριβαθ see XII.395.

³²² Daniel and Maltomini (1990–1992) 1:7–9 and 207. For the Coptic see Crum (2005) 176.

and gives both interpretations with the Egyptian and Coptic derivations.³²³ The Egyptian and Coptic interpretations of Οβα(χ)χιου seem more convincing. Nevertheless, one cannot overlook the pseudo-etymological association between Οβα(χ)χιου and Βαχχίου. The term Bacchos/-ios may apply to one of the cult names of Dionysus, and/or to the male worshipper identified with Dionysus.³²⁴ In this case, however, the adjuration to the “glorious” must refer to a deity and not a human person.

3. “Cup spell” (PGM VII.643–651):

Dionysus-Osiris Assimilation

Dionysus was assimilated by the Greeks from the classical period to the Egyptian god Osiris,³²⁵ who is often mentioned in the Greek magical papyri in relation to his sister and wife, Isis, and their son, Horus, and to the battle with his enemy Seth.³²⁶ The question arises: Is this assimilation testified in the Greek magical papyri?

Before answering this question, it must be pointed out that the wider assimilation between magic and the mysteries often occurs in the magical papyri. The magicians use ritualistic language derived from the mysteries to describe magic and the magicians. Examples of such forms of language are: τὸ μέγα τοῦτο μυστήριον (I.131), ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριον (IV.722–723), τὸ σόν, θεά, μυστήριον μέγιστον (IV.2592), ἀμυστηρίαστον (XIII.56–57), ὃ μα[κάρι]ε μύστα τῆς ἱερᾶς μαγείας (I.127), μύσται τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως (IV.474), μυσταγωγός (IV.172 and 2254), συμμύστης (IV.731–732 and XII.94) and παῖς μυστοδόκος (XX.6).³²⁷ A specialised case of the wider assimilations of magic to mysteries is the idea of θεῖον ἔρωτα, “divine erotic passion” (CI.51/SM 45.48–49) emphasised in some erotic spells, which is also described as τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μιστήριον (*l. μυστήριον*), “Aphrodite’s mystery rite” (XXXVI.295–311:306), or as τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον,³²⁸ “the divine

³²³ Brashear (1995) 3594.

³²⁴ On the identification of the worshipper with the god Dionysus in E. *Ba.* 115, 135–136, 141 and 144–150, and 491 see the discussion in: Dodds (1960) 82–83, 85–88 and 139; and Henrichs (1984); also Seaford (1997a) 162, 164–165 and 189. On the meaning of βάκχος and βαχχεύειν in Orphism see Jiménez San Cristóbal (2009) 54, n. 7.

³²⁵ Hdt. *Hist.* II.42.3–5 and II.144.10: Ὅσιρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν.

³²⁶ See PGM IV.185–187, XIVb.11–15, LVII.3–5 and 7–8.

³²⁷ Cf. also PGM XII.322: μεγαλομυστήριον; XIII.128: τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν κάνθαρος; XIII.685–686: τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ; XII.331.3: τῷ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ κατασκευασμένῳ μυστ[η]ρίῳ; IV.794 and IV.476: τὰ <ᾗ>πρατα, παραδοτὰ μυστήρια; V.111: τὰ μυστήρια; XIII.380: ἀμυστηρίαστον; XIII.429: ἀμυστηρίαστον; IV.747: ὡς μύστης. See below n. 330 (on Hekate-Selene-Artemis).

³²⁸ This phrase belongs to the temporal clause [ἐφ’] ὅσον κεῖται παρὰ σοι τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον addressed to the daimon of the dead person who is invoked to lead the female victim to the male user, instilling in her erotic passion, love and desire for sexual intercourse with the user of the spell (XIXa.1–54:52–54).

mystery” (XIXa.1–54:52).³²⁹ Thus, the assimilations of the magicians and their magical rituals with the initiated in the mystery rituals reveal the magicians’ attempt to appropriate the established mysteries in the context of magic. Indeed, this ‘normalisation’ of magic promotes the psychological efficacy of the spells and rituals.³³⁰

This raises the question whether the assimilation between Dionysus and Osiris is attested in the “Cup spell” (VII.643–651, III C.E.). In this interesting and complicated erotic spell to be recited to a cup of wine, the user is instructed to say the following formula, “You are wine, you are not wine, but the head of Athena. You are wine, you are not wine, but the entrails of Osiris, the entrails of Iao ...” ‘σύ εἰ οἶνος, οὐκ εἰ οἶνος, ἀλλ’ ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. σύ εἰ οἶνος, οὐκ εἰ οἶνος, ἀλλὰ τὰ σπλά[γ]χνα τοῦ Ὀσίρεως, τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ Ἰάω Πακερβηθ: Σεμεσιλάμ ωω η παταχνα ιααα’ (VII.644–647).³³¹ The formula σύ εἰ, οὐκ εἰ, ἀλλά (also found in the “Laudable erotic spell,” *PGM* LXI.1–38/*PDM* lxi.159–196)³³² plays an emphatic role in distinguishing the god’s symbols from the god himself and in tracing the progression of the spell. The wine associated with Osiris symbolises the entrails of Osiris and of the Jewish god Iao, which are connected to the entrails of the female victim as the final destination of the wine, since the purpose of the spell is clearly stated as follows, “for whatever hour you descend into the entrails of her, make her love me for all the time of her life,” ἐφ’ ἧς ὥρας ἐάν καταβῆς εἰς τὰ σπλάγχνα τ[ῆς] δεῖνα, φιλησάτω με, τὸν δεῖνα, [εἰς τὸ]ν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον (VII.649–651).

Although throughout the Greek magical papyri there are no explicit references to the traditional assimilation between Osiris and Dionysus (indeed, Osiris is not identified explicitly with any Greek god or deity), the wine in this case provides a clear allusion to Dionysus, because of his association with vines and wine.³³³ Similarly, Euripides in *Cyclops* describes Dionysus as

³²⁹ E.g. X.1–23:7–8 and XV.1–21:3: θεῖον ἔρωτα; and *SM* 48.13–14, 25: ἔρωτι θίω (*l. θείω*). Cf. Pachoumi (2012) 80–81 and n. 40.

³³⁰ The entire analogy between magic and the mysteries is extremely important; see Betz (1982), (1991), and (1995). Note also the divine epiphany of the goddess Isis as the divine “assistant” (πάρεδρος) through the image of Kronos in the spell LVII.1–37 and the allusions to the divine epiphany of Dionysus and his image, as described in Euripides’ *Bacchae* 629–631. See Chpt. 2, above, p. 51, n. 81; p. 59, n. 120; and in this Chapter, above, p. 72, n. 52, and below n. 372; and pp. 134–135. Also cf. Pachoumi (2011a) 158–160 and n. 12.

³³¹ Elsewhere in the Greek magical papyri Osiris is associated with another liquid substance, water; e.g. in the spell XII.201–269: ἐγώ εἰμι Ὀσίρις ὁ καλούμενος ὕδωρ (XII.234); also in IV.154–285: βάλε ὕδωρ ... ἐάν δὲ Ὀσίριν ἢ τὸν Σάραπιν, ποτάμιον (IV.224–227).

³³² E.g. LXI.6ff.: σύ εἰ τὸ ἔλαιον, οὐκ εἰ δὲ ἔλαι[ο]ν, ἀλλὰ ...; see Betz (1986) 136.

³³³ On the association of Dionysus with wine and *eros* note the reference from Longus’ *Daphnis et Chloe* II.2.1.1–6: οἶον οὖν εἰκὸς ἐν ἑορτῇ Διονύσου καὶ οἶνου γενέσει αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἐκ τῶν πλησίον ἀγρῶν εἰς ἐπικουρίαν κεκλημέναι τῷ Δαφνίδι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπέβαλλον

wine in a wine-skin when Cyclops asks Odysseus, “but how can a god bear to live in a wine-flask?” *θεὸς δ' ἐν ἀσκῶι πῶς γέγηθ'* οἴκους ἔχων; (Eur. *Cycl.* 525) and Odysseus replies, “Wherever someone puts him, there he is at ease,” *ὅπου τιθῆι τις, ἐνθάδ' ἐστὶν εὐπετής* (526). The parallelism of wine and wine-skin offers a mystical allusion to Dionysus-wine and his ability to possess humans. A similar parallelism of Dionysus-wine and the human body alludes to divine possession of the human by the god for prophesying, as expressed in Euripides' *Bacchae*: *ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολὺς / λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμνηότας ποιῇ*, “for when the god enters into the body mighty, he makes the maddened foretell the future” (300–301).³³⁴ Iamblichus in *De Mysteriorum* (III.4–7) asserts on *θεοφορία* (divine possession) and divination that the work of *theophoria* is not human, and that in *theophoria* human parts and actions “are otherwise subordinate, and the god uses them as instruments.”³³⁵

Returning to the “Cup spell,” the entrails or the inner parts of the sacrificial animal in Greek and Roman sacrifices were eaten by the worshippers at their sacrificial feast. Here the entrails are not used as a sacrificial feast, but are connected to the god as the essence of the god. Instead, it is the wine that symbolises the god, who is to be instilled into the *eros* victim. Thus, there is an allusion to the process of eating the sacrifice as a way of instilling its spirit into the magician – a process called *ἐνπνευμάτωσις*, “filling with (divine) spirit.”³³⁶

In the “Cup spell” there are also interesting New Testament parallels. Morton Smith points to the incident at the Last Supper, when Jesus gave a piece of bread to Judas who would betray him, “and after (he had eaten) the bread, then Satan entered into him,” *καὶ μετὰ τὸ ψαμίον τότε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ σατανᾶς* (John 13:27).³³⁷ In this manner Satan is ingested into Judas by his eating the piece of bread. But the double symbolism of wine and bread

καὶ ἐπὶ οὖνον ὡς ὅμοιον τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ κάλλος· καὶ τις τῶν θρασυτέρων καὶ ἐφίλησε καὶ τὸν Δάφνιν παρώξυνε, τὴν δὲ Χλόην ἐλύπησεν.

³³⁴ On these two lines see Plu. *Def. Orac.* 40.432E: *ὡς οἶνος ἀναθυμιαθεὶς ἕτερα πολλὰ κινήματα καὶ λόγους ἀποκειμένους καὶ λανθάνοντας ἀποκαλύπτει· ‘τό γὰρ βακχεύσιμον καὶ μανιώδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει’ κατ’ Εὐριπίδην; also Anth. Pal. VII.105.3: Διόνυσος ὅτ’ ἂν πολὺς ἐς δέμας ἔλθῃ.* On these lines see the discussion in Dodds (1960) 109; and Seaford (1997a) 177. Also cf. Pachoumi (2013a) 59–60.

³³⁵ Iamb. *Myst.* III.7.115.2–8: *οὔτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπινόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς θεοφορίας ἔργον, οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνους μορίους ἢ ἐνεργήμασι τὸ πᾶν ἔχει κύρος· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως ὑπόκειται, καὶ χρῆται αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ὡς ὄργανοις· τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς μαντείας δι’ αὐτοῦ πληροῖ, καὶ ἀμυγῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφειμένος οὔτε ψυχῆς κινουμένης οὔδ’ ὁτιοῦν οὔτε σώματος ἐνεργεῖ καθ’ αὐτόν.* “Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ ἀψευδῶς γίγνονται τὰ μαντεία τὰ οὕτως ὡς λέγω κατορθούμενα.

³³⁶ On the magical process of *ἐνπνευμάτωσις* in the PGM see IV.964–966 and V.381–385; note also the reference in Hermetica, *The Holy Book of Hermes Trismegistus Addressed to Asclepius*, *Herm. Asclep.* III.24a and 37.23–25; see also PGM IV.2359–2372, XII.32–34, III.282–409 at 296ff. See above, p. 84, n. 110; and Chapter 2, above, p. 45, n. 65. Also cf. Pachoumi (2011b) 736, n. 25.

³³⁷ See also Mark 14:20; Luke 22:21. M. Smith (1985) 110–111.

in relation to a god is better exemplified by Jesus' words on that occasion: λάβετε· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου, referring to the positive new symbolism of the bread that he gave to his disciples to eat, and τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἶμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν, referring to the wine.³³⁸ While there is certainly some direct influence of Christian material on the Greek magical papyri, this is hardly the case here. The "Cup spell" has its own internal logic. Nevertheless, there is an important common factor: that of a religious ritual which is seen as a form of mystery and which involves drinking and eating the god, whether literally or symbolically.

4. "This is the (consecration) ritual for all purposes. Spell to Helios" (PGM IV.1596–1715)

In IV.1596–1715 (IV C.E.) Helios' epithet ὀργεατης (IV.1629) and its etymological connection with ὀργεαστής – ὀργιαστής may allude to Dionysus and his mystical rituals.³³⁹ Some other characteristics of Helios in the spell may also allude to Dionysus and the mysteries as, for example, the description of Helios as the god "to whom heaven has become the processional way," ὃ οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο κωμαστήριον (IV.1608–1609).³⁴⁰ The κωμαστής, the member of a κῶμος, may also be an epithet of Dionysus. Aristophanes in the *Clouds* refers to Dionysus as κωμαστής Διόνυσος (Ar. Nu. 606).³⁴¹ Furthermore, the use of the term τελευτή in Helios' description as the god "who controls *the beginning* (τὴν ἀρχήν) of Egypt and *the end* (τὴν τελευτήν) of the whole inhabited world" (IV.1639–1642) and the repetition of its cognates throughout the spell does allude to the mystery rituals.³⁴²

Conclusion

In relation to the explicit and implicit references to Dionysus in the Greek magical papyri, therefore, the results show interesting tensions. Firstly, although the concept and practice of magic in the Greek magical papyri is

³³⁸ Mark 14:22–25; Luke 14:15; 1 Cor 11:25–27.

³³⁹ E.g. E. Ba. 415–416: ἐκεῖ δὲ βάκχαις θέμις ὀργιάζειν; *Hymn. Orph.* 52.5: ὄργιον ἄρρητον; Theoc. *Id.* 26.13: ὄργια Βάκχω; Plu. *Crass.* 8.4.4: τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς; and Plu. *Alex.* 2.7.3; see also Betz (1986) 68, n. 207.

³⁴⁰ The concept of heaven as the processional way occurs elsewhere in the *PGM*, e.g. in III.129–130: ὃ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο [κ]ωμαστήριον; see also XII.182–183 and XII.252: σοῦ δὲ τὸ ἀένναον κωμαστήριον; see also XIII.774 and XXI.10 and LXXVII.12–13: οὗ ἐστιν ὁ οὐρανὸς θρόνος καὶ αἴθρα κωμαστήριον.

³⁴¹ See also *Hymn. Orph.* 52.7: ἀγέτα κώμων; and *Hymn. Orph.* 53.5: αὐτὸς δ' ἡνίκα τὸν τριετὴ πάλι κῶμον ἐγείρηι.

³⁴² E.g. *PGM* IV.1639: τελευτήν; IV.1617–1619: ἐπιτελοῦμαι ... τελουμένω; also the title of this spell, "Ἐστὶν δὲ ἡ κατὰ πάντων τελετὴ ἥδε"; also IV.1661–1662: εἰς ὃ τελεῖται πρᾶγμα; IV.1679 and 1700–1701: τελεσθήτω; IV.1703: ἐφ' ὃ αὐτὸ τελῶ; IV.1710–1711: πάντα μοι τελέσαι; and IV.1714–1715: ἐὰν τελῇς.

based on the notion of ‘mixing’ different powers through the process of assimilation, which in a way equalises the different gods and thus, to some extent, de-individualises them under the concept of a hyper-powered god, or a deified, abstract concept of a supreme deity, Dionysus, in contrast, does not seem to undergo that assimilation process to other gods and concepts. Therefore, Dionysus’ individualisation turns out to be almost ‘absence’ within the context of the magical papyri, which generally, as has been observed, supports the various appropriations and assimilations between magic and the mysteries.

Finally, although Dionysus is explicitly invoked in only one spell, there are further implicit allusions to him. For example, while throughout the Greek magical papyri there are no explicit references to the traditional assimilation between Osiris and Dionysus, the wine in the “Cup spell” provides a clear allusion to Dionysus, due to his association with wine. In this sense this image may function as an example of implicit assimilation between Osiris and Dionysus. Also, some descriptions of Helios, a major god in magic, who undergoes the assimilation process, may allude to Dionysus as, for example, the description of Helios as ὀργεατης (IV.1629), or (the god) “to whom heaven has become the processional way” (IV.1608–1609).

VIII. Hekate-Selene-Artemis

Selene, Hekate and Artemis are three deities often assimilated to each other in Greek religion and literature. The origins of Hekate are considered Anatolian from Caria in Asia Minor with her temple in Lagina.³⁴³ Artemis was a goddess worshipped in Asia Minor and often assimilated to the Anatolian Great Goddess, Kybele, or Anahita.³⁴⁴ Selene, also called Mene, is a nature deity of Indo-European origin.³⁴⁵ The assimilation between Artemis and Hekate is early attested.³⁴⁶ From earliest times Hekate is also associated with Persephone.³⁴⁷

Selene or Mene, Hekate and Artemis are identified with each other in the five hymns, all included in the magical handbook *PGM IV*.³⁴⁸ These three

³⁴³ Burkert (1996a) 171.

³⁴⁴ Burkert (1996a) 149.

³⁴⁵ Burkert (1996a) 176.

³⁴⁶ A. *Supp.* 674–677; E. *Ph.* 109–110.

³⁴⁷ E.g. *Hymn. Hom.* II.438–439; *Hymn. Orph.* 41.5ff.; Callim. *Fr.* 466.

³⁴⁸ The reconstructed hymns “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis”: hymn 17 (IV.2242–2417); hymn 18 (IV.2786–2870); hymn 19 (IV.2574–2610, 2643–2674); hymn 20 (IV.2522–2567); hymn 21 (IV.2714–2783); Preisendanz (1974) 2:250–260. See also Appendix 3 on pp. 178–179.

deities are often assimilated to Persephone as well.³⁴⁹ In these deities, as in the case of Helios-Apollo, the identification process initially occurs within the Greek religious system itself and does not involve gods, or goddesses from different religious systems. Assimilation is helped, however, by their common features, and assimilation itself sometimes involves the transfer of individual characteristics from one goddess to the other.

1. "Prayer to Selene" (PGM IV.2785–2890)

The hymn "To Hekate-Selene-Artemis" (IV C.E.) begins with an address to Selene (IV.2787).³⁵⁰ Some of the epithets attributed to Selene are νυκτὸς ἄγαλμα, "night's ornament" (IV.2789) and, in relation to another nature deity, Helios, "driving the chariot on equal course with Helios" (IV.2790–2792).³⁵¹ Selene is also described as τριπρόσωπε, "three-faced" (IV.2786–2787) and as "you who with the triple forms of triple Graces dance (χορεύεις), revelling with the stars (ἀστράσιν κωμάζουσα)" (IV.2793–2795). The last two descriptions of a triple-form goddess apply to the image of Hekate.³⁵²

The description also of the nature deity Selene as dancing and revelling with the stars plays a double role, alluding to the circling motion of the heavenly bodies,³⁵³ and at the same time to the application of the religious and mystical rites and processions of the initiated to the heavenly and divine bodies and deities.³⁵⁴ Selene is also described as ἡ χαροποις ταύροισιν ἐφεζομένη, "the one who sits upon fierce bulls" (IV.2789–2790). This depiction of Selene can be attributed to Artemis Tauropolos and her festival in the land of the Tauroi.³⁵⁵

Selene, identified with Hekate and Artemis, is also described as πολυώνυμε, "many-named" (IV.2830) and πολύμορφε, "many-formed" (IV.2798). Similarly, in the spell "Prayer" (VII.756–794) Mene is addressed as πάνμορφον, καὶ πολυώνυμον, "all-formed and many-named" (VII.757–758). The reference, furthermore, in the "Lunar spell of Klaudianus" (VII.862–918) to Σελήνην Αἰγυπτίαν and her description as, σχηματιζομένην παντόμορφον, "assuming all forms" (VII.870), implies the henotheistic character of this

³⁴⁹ E.g. *PGM* IV.2745–2746, 2796, 2819.

³⁵⁰ Reconstructed hymn 18 "To Hekate-Selene-Artemis" (IV.2786–2870); Preisendanz (1974) 2:253–255.

³⁵¹ See above, pp. 65–66.

³⁵² See also the description of Hekate in *PGM* IV.2119–2122; also *Hymn. Orph.* 1.1 "To Hekate."

³⁵³ E. *Ion* 1079–1080: ἀνεχόρυσεν αἰθῆρ, χορεύει δὲ Σελάνα.

³⁵⁴ See also the discussion on κωμαστήριον (*PGM* IV.1608–1609) in relation to Helios; above, pp. 72–73.

³⁵⁵ E. *I. T.* 1450–1463.

goddess, who can assume forms of various gods, or indeed other entities under her main title of Selene.³⁵⁶

The Hekate aspect of this goddess is reflected in the descriptions τρι-κάρανε, “three-headed” (IV.2796),³⁵⁷ “the one who arms the hands with murky, dreadful lamps” (IV.2798–2799), εἰνοδία τε, νερπερία νυχία τε, αἰδωναία σκοτία τε, “goddess of the cross-roads, underground and nightly, goddess of Hades and dark” (IV.2854–2855) and the one who has σκυλακώδεια φωνήν, “the voice of dogs” (IV.2809–2810),³⁵⁸ for Hekate was also associated with the Lydian dog-goddess called “Nenenene.”³⁵⁹

Artemis’ contribution to the assimilation of Hekate-Selene-Artemis in IV.2785–2890 is defined by the following features, ἰοχέαιραν, “dart-shooter” (IV.2816, 2854),³⁶⁰ ταυρῶπι, “bull-faced” (IV.2807),³⁶¹ ἐλαφηβόλε, “shooter of deer” (IV.2819),³⁶² ὀρίπλανε, “(you) who roam the mountains” (IV.2855)³⁶³ and μορφὰς δ’ ἐν κνήμαισιν ὑποσκεπάουσα λεόντων, “hiding your forms in shanks of lions” (IV.2810–2811). Some of these epithets are quite traditional descriptions of Artemis; others are dramatically distinctive (notably “hiding your forms in shanks of lions”).³⁶⁴

Hekate-Selene-Artemis is associated with the underworld, and mystical rites involving bloody sacrifices are associated with *Dike*, “Justice,” the three *Moirai* – Klotho, Lachesis and Atropos – and the avenging *Erinyes* – Megaira and Allekto and Tisiphone (IV.2794–2796).³⁶⁵ A similar assimilation of Hekate-Selene-Artemis to Justice is repeated in the same hymn. However, this time it also involves their identification with Moira and Erinyes, each referred to as one deity and not as three individual ones as previously

³⁵⁶ For the translation of σχηματιζομένην παντόμορφον see the discussions of the similar descriptions of Helios, Hermes and Eros (XII.41–42, XII.83, IV.1856–1857) and the creator of all/Aion of Aion (XIII.70–71). Cf. Chpt. 1, above, p. 27; Chpt. 2, above, p. 52, n. 91; in this Chapter, above, pp. 73ff.; 88, n. 125; 102, n. 196; 116; and below, p. 142, nn. 425–426.

³⁵⁷ See also IV.2819–2825: τρίκτυπε, τρίφθογγε, τρικάρανε, τριώνυμε and τριπρόσωπε, τριούχενε καὶ τριοδίτι, ἥ τρισσοῖς ταλάροισιν ἔχεις φλογὸς (ἀκ)άματον πῦρ καὶ τριόδων μεδέεις τρισσῶν δεκάδων τε ἀνάσεις; also IV.2525–2531 in hymn 20 “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (IV.2522–2567).

³⁵⁸ See also IV.2815: κύνες φίλοι ἀγρίοθυμοι; see also E. *Med.* 395–398; E. *Hel.* 569–570.

³⁵⁹ See Berg (1973).

³⁶⁰ See also Hom. *Il.* V.53; Pi. *P.* 2.9; *Hymn. Orph.* 36.6 “To Artemis.”

³⁶¹ See also *PGM* IV.2808–2809: ταυροκάρηνε, ὄμμα δέ σοι ταυρωπῶν.

³⁶² See also *Hymn. Hom.* IX.2, 6 “To Artemis” and XXVII.2; *Hymn. Orph.* 36.10 “To Artemis.”

³⁶³ See also *PGM* IV.2563.

³⁶⁴ On unique epithets in the *PMG* see Appendices 6 and 7, pp. 184ff.

³⁶⁵ Preisendanz surely rightly emends Περσεφόνη to Τισιφόνη, who was one of the three Erinyes; Preisendanz (1973) 1:162; see also *Hymn. Orph.* 69.2 “To Erinyes.”

(IV.2859–2860). O’Neil regards this as an inconsistency,³⁶⁶ but it can be justified as a parallelism of the identification process of the threefold deity Hekate-Selene-Artemis to the three Moirai and three Erinyes mentioned in this spell. The reference to Moirai and Erinyes, moreover, both in singular and plural number is also found elsewhere in Greek literature such as Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*.³⁶⁷ This identification also with Justice together with Moirai and Erinyes establishes Hekate-Selene-Artemis’s authority and “lawfulness” in the magic rite.³⁶⁸

The hymn climaxes with a number of characteristics related to graves and the underworld, bloody sacrifices and even drinking of blood and eating of raw flesh (IV.2856–2868).

2. “Erotic spell that leads” (PGM IV.2441–2621)

In the hymn “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (IV.2574–2610, 2643–2674)³⁶⁹ of the “*Ἀγωγή*” (IV.2441–2621, IV C.E.)³⁷⁰ there is a similar reference to the burning sacrifices of the female victim to Aktiophis, which involved “dappled goat’s fat and blood and filth, the menstrual flow of a dead virgin and the heart of one untimely dead and the magical material of a dead dog and a woman’s embryo,” various herbs and the sacrifice of a sea falcon, a vulture and a mouse (IV.2575–2592). The coercive spell (IV.2574–2610) is described as a “slander,” *διαβολή*, of the female victim, referred to as “unlawful,” *τὴν ἄθεσμον* (IV.2607).³⁷¹ All these human and animal sacrifices were prepared

³⁶⁶ Betz (1986) 92, n. 357.

³⁶⁷ A. *Eu.* 724: *Μοίρας* and 961: *Μοῖραι*, but 335 and 1046: *Μοῖρα*; also A. *Eu.* 331–332: *ὔμνος ἐξ Ἐρινύων, δέσμιος φρενῶν*, 344, 512, but 951: *Ἐρινύς*.

³⁶⁸ Note also the role of Zeus, Justice’s father, Moirai and Erinyes in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides* and especially in the “Hymnos Desmios” (299–396).

³⁶⁹ Reconstructed hymn 19 “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (IV.2574–2610, 2643–2674); Preisendanz (1974) 2:255–257; hymn 19 is included in the “Erotic spell that leads” (IV.2441–2621) and the “Slander spell” (IV.2622–2707).

³⁷⁰ The term *ἀγωγή* is mainly used in the Greek magical papyri to describe the erotic spell. However, *ἀγωγή* is not restricted to erotic spells, either in the Greek magical papyri, or elsewhere. For example, in the spells entitled as “*Ἀγωγή Πίττος βασιλέως ἐπὶ παντός σκύφου*” (IV.1928–2005) and “*Πίττος ἀγωγή*” (IV.2006–2125) it is used for a “spell that leads” spirits or daimons of dead people from the underworld, even though in the second spell there are traces of erotic formularies. The term is also used by the Neoplatonist philosopher Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* in a theurgical context as meaning “the procedures of evoking the spirits” (Iamb. *Myst.* III.6.113.1–2); see also Iamb. *Myst.* III.14.134.8: “*τρόποι τῆς τοῦ φωτός ἀγωγῆς*; and V.26.240.9: *τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀγωγῆς*. The term precisely refers to “the procedure of evoking mostly a spirit of the dead in order to lead, or bring” a person (eros-victim) by means of a spell and/or a ritual to be spoken or practiced by the user of the spell to the victim of his/her erotic passion. But, it is simpler to translate it as “erotic spell that leads.” See also Introduction, above, 7, n. 29; Chpt. 2, above, p. 39, n. 31. On this spell cf. Pachoumi (2012) 81ff.

³⁷¹ It is the reconstructed hymn 19 in Preisendanz (1974) 2:255–259.

by the female victim for the goddess's (Aktiophis') greatest mystery (τὸ σὸν, θεά, μυστήριον μέγιστον) (IV.2592). In this case, punishment of the erotic victim is linked to a literal desecration of the mysteries. This is also a particular instance of the wider assimilations of magic to religious mysteries.³⁷²

The spell VI.2471–2492, included in the above *agoge* (IV.2441–2621), is also described by the male user as “a slander (διαβολή) of the defiled and unholy woman, NN” (IV.2475–2476). In the formula that follows, the user says to Aktiophis,³⁷³ who is invoked in the spell, about the female victim, “for she *slandered* (διέβαλεν) your holy mysteries to the knowledge of people. She, NN, is the one who says that – not I who say that ‘I saw the greatest goddess ...’ It is she who said, ‘I saw the goddess drinking blood.’ She, NN, said, not I,” διέβαλεν γάρ σου τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια ἀνθρώποις εἰς γνώσιν. ἡ δεῖνά ἐστιν ἡ εἰποῦσα ὅτι· (οὐκ) ἐγὼ εἰμι εἰποῦσα ὅτι· ἐγὼ ἴδον τὴν μεγίστην θεὸν ... ἡ δεῖνά ἐστιν ἡ εἰποῦσα· ‘ἐγὼ τ(ὴν θεὸν) αἷμα πίνουσας.’ ἡ δεῖνα εἶπεν, οὐκ ἐγὼ (IV.2476–2483).³⁷⁴ The female victim of the spell is here depicted as a sinner, because she revealed the holy mysteries of Aktiophis to the knowledge of people. Hence, the allusion to the mysteries is associated with the practice of ‘slander,’ in order to justify the punishment.

In the coercive spell (IV.2574–2610) the “slander” of the female victim with respect to the goddess becomes more revealing of its mystical allusions, when the female victim is accused, “for she said that you (Aktiophis) slew a man, drank his blood, ate his flesh and his entrails was your headband,” κτανεῖν γὰρ ἀνθρώπον σε ἔφη, πιεῖν τὸ δ’ αἷμα τούτου, σάρκα φάγειν, μιτρήν τε σὴν εἶναι τὰ ἔντερα αὐτοῦ (IV.2594–2596), and “καὶ δέρμα ἔχειν δορῆς ἅπαν κεῖς τὴν φύσιν σου θεῖναι, (πεῖν) αἷμα ἱέρακος πελαγίου, τροφήν τε κἀνθάρων σοι” (IV.2596–2598). The rendering of this passage needs attention.³⁷⁵ Preisendanz inserts the infinitive (πεῖν) after θεῖναι and translates, “und angelegt habest du die ganze Hülle seiner Haut und auf deine Scham getan; eines Seesperbers Blut trinkest du, und deine Nahrung sei der Mistkäfer,” taking αἷμα as the object of the infinitive (πεῖν).³⁷⁶ Similarly, O’Neil translates: “that you

³⁷² E.g. *PGM* I.131: τὸ μέγα τοῦτο μυστήριον; IV.722–723: ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριον; XII.322: μεγαλομυστήριον; XIII.128: τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν κἀνθάρων; XIII.685–686: τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ; XII.331.3: τῷ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ κατασκευασμένῳ μυστ[ηρ]ίῳ; IV.794 and IV.476: τὰ (ἄ)πρατα, παραδοτὰ μυστήρια; V.111: τὰ μυστήρια ... etc. See Chpt. 2, above, p. 51, n. 81; in this Chapter, above, p. 72, n. 52 and p. 127, n. 330 (on Dionysus see above n. 327).

³⁷³ Aktiophi(s) was an epithet of Selene, Hopfner (1974); also Betz (1986) 332. The name Aktiophis also appears in IV.2473, 2484, 2601, 2664, 2749, 2913, VII.317, 984, XVI.23; on Aktiophis on magical amulets see Bonner (1950) 197.

³⁷⁴ On this formula see also III.114–115; Eitrem (1924b) 50ff. There may also be influences from Egyptian curse-form texts; cf. Seth, op. cit. II.1322–1324; Pritchard (1969) 327; see also Betz (1986) 83.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Pachoumi (2012) 74–93, at 86, 81.

³⁷⁶ Preisendanz (1973) 1:154.

took all his skin and put it in your vagina, that you drank sea falcon's blood and that your food was dung beetle."³⁷⁷ However, it does not seem necessary to insert such an insertion in this passage. Consequently, αἷμα should remain the object of the infinitive θείναι. Therefore, the translation should read: "and that your entire skin comes from his hide and that you have put in your genitalia the blood of a sea-falcon (/you have smeared your genitalia with the blood of a sea-falcon) and a dung beetle was your food (/you have eaten a dung beetle)."

Aktiophis here constitutes her sexual self from various parts of the slain human body, such as its entrails and hide, and from the blood of a sea-falcon, which she put in, or smeared her body with. The act of ὠμοφάγια is practiced by Aktiophis, eating raw flesh and drinking the blood of the slain human body.³⁷⁸ The language also used is double and allusive to the mysteries. The reference to μήτηρ, "headband," for example, alludes to μήτηρ, "womb."³⁷⁹ Φύσις, "nature" is used for the female organ. The term ἄλγη, "acts of suffering" (IV.2593) is also used to describe these "mystical" acts of Aktiophis, alluding to the mysteries.³⁸⁰

This description is also justified by the connection of Hekate to the underworld and by Artemis' bloody sacrifices among the Taurians, as mentioned in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*.³⁸¹ Similar assimilations occur elsewhere in Greek literature. In the *Orphic Hymn* "To Selene," for example, Selene is called ταυρόκερως Μήνη.³⁸² Hekate in the *Orphic Hymn* "To Hekate" is also called ταυροπόλος.³⁸³

³⁷⁷ Betz (1986) 86.

³⁷⁸ For its mystical allusions see E. *Ba.* 139: αἷμα τραγοκτόνον, ὠμοφάγον χάριν; also E. *Cretans Fr.* 472.12; note also the reference in the same papyrus to *PGM* IV.1444–1445: ὠμοφάγοι χθόνιοι.

³⁷⁹ On the association of the womb with knowledge see III.603–607; on Hermes and the womb see VIII.2; on the association of the maternal identity of the user, or/and the victim and the womb in the erotic spells see e.g.: XXXII.10–12 and 16–19: Σαραπιάδ[α], ἣν ἔτεκεν (Ἐλένη) εἰδίᾳ μήτρας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν Ἡραεῖδαν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Θερμουθα[ριν μήτ]ρα αὐτῆς; *SM* 43.7: ἣν ἔτεκεν μήτρα Εὔα; *DT* 300B1–2: ... *ento demando tibi ut ac[c]eptu[m h]abeas [S]ilvanu[m]q[ue] puulva[m] fac[i]as et custodias*; see Jordan (1976). On the identification of the womb with the woman see also *PDM* xiv.335–355: "before every womb, every woman" (*PDM* xiv.353); transl. from the Demotic Egyptian by Johnson in Betz (1986) 215; see also *PDM* xiv.655ff.: "in the heart, the lungs, the liver, the spleen, the womb ..." and 645ff.: "to strike her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb ..."; transl. by Johnson in Betz (1986) 230–231. For the role of the womb in magic see Barb (1953). Note also the epithet μιτρή (ῆ) of Selene, Mene (IV.2274). Cf. Pachoumi (2012) 88–89, n. 47.

³⁸⁰ For the mystical allusion of the ἄλγος see E. *Ba.* 1260: ἀλγήσε τ' ἄλγος δεινόν.

³⁸¹ *Hymn. Orph.* 41.5; E. *I.T.* 1450–1461; see also Burkert (1996a) 149–152.

³⁸² *Hymn. Orph.* 9.2 "To Selene"; see also the epithet δικέρατον for Mene (VII.759).

³⁸³ *Hymn. Orph.* 1.7 "To Hekate."

The acts of suffering the user of the spell requests Aktiophis to inflict on the female victim are described as *πικραῖς τιμωραῖς*, “bitter punishments” (IV.2606). The user’s wish to Aktiophis in VI.2471–2492 is also presented as a punishment, or curse against the female victim, when the user asks, “take away her sleep and give her burning in her soul (*καῦσιν ψυχῆς*), punishment in her mind (*κόλασιν φρενῶν*) and frenzied passion (*παρόιστρησιν*)” (IV.2487–2490).

Aktiophis is assimilated in the hymn “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” to Selene, Mene and to “Hermes and Hekate at once, both male and female offspring (*Ἑρμῆν τε καὶ Ἑκάτην ὁμοῦ, ἀρσενόθηλυν ἕρνος*)” (IV.2610).³⁸⁴ Similarly, in another spell (III.1–164), in which Hermes and Hekate are invoked, the compound form “*Ἑρμεκάτη*” is found of the two deities, revealing both male and female features (III.46–47). Hekate and Hermes are naturally associated together as chthonic deities. This reference to ‘male-female child’ is an allusion to the Bacchic and Orphic mysteries, and more particularly to the Orphic Eros-Phanes described in the *Orphic Fragments* as both male and female, *ἀρρενόθηλυ* (56), or *θῆλυς καὶ γενέτωρ* (81).³⁸⁵ In the *Orphic Hymn* 6 “of Protogonos,” *Πρωτογόνου, ἕρνος* also appears as *παμφαῆς ἕρνος* (6.5).³⁸⁶

In the hymn “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” Hekate-Selene-Artemis addressed as Aktiophi(s) is also identified with Ereschigal (*PGM* IV.2485). This is an example of the next level of assimilation between Hekate-Selene-Artemis and the Babylonian goddess Ereschigal.³⁸⁷ Similarly, in the hymn “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (IV.2714–2783),³⁸⁸ included in “Another erotic spell that leads” (IV.2708–2784), these three goddesses are also identified with Ereschigal (IV.2750). In these examples, the process of identification involves three goddesses from the Greek polytheistic system (already identified with each other) with a goddess from another polytheistic religious system.

Conclusion

The assimilation between Selene, Hekate and Artemis, which initially occurs within the Greek religious system and literature is, therefore, reflected more systematically in the Greek magical papyri. This process of assimilation sometimes involves transferring individual characteristics from one goddess to the other. Hekate-Selene-Artemis’s authority and ‘lawfulness’ in the magi-

³⁸⁴ On *ἀρσενόθηλυς* see also IV.3102, VII.606 and 609.

³⁸⁵ *Orph. Fr.* 56, 60 and 76 (Pl. *Phdr.* 246e); also 80, 81 (Pl. *Ti.* 30cd); Kern (1972) 134, 143–144, 152, 154–155.

³⁸⁶ E. Abel (1885) 60–61.

³⁸⁷ See also the identification of Aphrodite with Ereschigal below, p. 158 with nn. 518–519; see also *DTA*, p. XV.

³⁸⁸ Reconstructed hymn 21 “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (IV.2714–2783); Preisendanz (1974) 2:259–260.

cal rite is established by their assimilation to Justice, the three Moirai and the three Erinyes. Hekate-Selene-Artemis are also identified with the goddess Ereschigal from the Babylonian pantheon. The characteristics of Hekate-Selene-Artemis as “many-named” and “many-formed” facilitate the religious tendency towards henotheism.

Hekate is associated with Hermes as chthonic deities and described in terms of both male and female offspring in the erotic spell IV.2441–2621. The victim of this erotic spell is depicted as a sinner and the spell’s role is explained as a punishment towards the victim of the spell. The pattern of slander/*diabole* is associated with the mysteries as a way of justifying the idea of punishment and torture and of establishing justice for the user.

IX. Hermes-Thoth-Hermes Trismegistos

A. *Hermes-Thoth*

Hermes in Greek religion was the messenger of the gods, associated with logos as an interpreter of the divine and with the founding of civilisation.³⁸⁹ He was presented as a thief in Greek mythology as, for example, in the myth about stealing Apollo’s cattle, or in various episodes in the *Iliad*.³⁹⁰ His visual depictions show him wearing winged sandals and holding a magical staff. Hermes was also associated with magic and medicine and with the world of the dead as the escort of souls.³⁹¹ The Greek characteristic of Hermes as a thief is mentioned in the spell *PGM* XIII.1–734, when Hermes is playfully accused by the author of this spell of stealing the seven names of incenses from this handbook for his own book, probably another Hermetic Book (XIII.15–16).³⁹² Another spell (XIII.343–645) points out the Greek etymological connection of Ἑρμῆς and the verb ἐρμηνεύω, “to interpret” (XIII.487–490).³⁹³

The Egyptian god Thoth was the moon-god represented in the Egyptian pantheon as an ibis, or a baboon. In regard to his Egyptian association, Hermes is mentioned as Isis’ father (IV.2289–2290) in IV.2241–2358. Similarly, in the untitled erotic spell IV.94–153, which is written mainly in old Coptic, “Thoth the Great” is presented as the father of Isis (IV.96).³⁹⁴

³⁸⁹ Burkert (1996a) 157–159.

³⁹⁰ E.g. *Hymn. Hom.* IV.17ff. “To Hermes”; *Hom. Il.* V.385ff.; XXIV.109, 334–470.

³⁹¹ E.g. *Hom. Od.* XXIV.1–14.

³⁹² See also Betz (1986) 172.

³⁹³ Also in *PGM* XIII.172–175; also *Hymn. Orph.* 18.6: ἐρμηνεύ πάντων.

³⁹⁴ Even though in Egyptian mythology the primordial Geb was thought to be the father of Isis.

In *De Iside et Osiride* Plutarch also mentions the tradition, according to which for some Isis was the daughter of Hermes but for others the daughter of Prometheus.³⁹⁵ Griffiths explains this association between Isis and Thoth and accordingly with Hermes, by highlighting the common connection of all these gods with wisdom.³⁹⁶ Although the name Isis is actually derived from the throne that the goddess personified, Isis in Greek can be pseudo-etymologically connected with knowledge from the stem ἴσ- of the verb οἶδα.³⁹⁷

Thoth represented similar characteristics to the Greek Hermes. He was, for example, depicted as the messenger of the gods and the divine scribe associated with the sacred writings, wisdom and knowledge of magic and medicine.³⁹⁸ He also was related to the dead as the god who would judge the dead and guide their souls. The tendency to identify Hermes with Thoth is already expressed in Herodotus' narrative, when he refers to the city of Thoth as Ἐρμῆω πόλιν, associating it with Ibis,³⁹⁹ and also when he calls the temple of Thoth in Bubastis Ἐρμῆω ἱρόν.⁴⁰⁰ On account of this resemblance of characteristics and attributes the Greek Hermes and the Egyptian Thoth were identified systematically with each other in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁴⁰¹

The visual representations of Hermes-Thoth are a mixture of Greek and Egyptian influences. In the untitled revelation spell (V.370–446) Hermes is described as “wearing a mantle” and “with winged sandals” (V.403–404). In the same spell there is a reference to the figure of Hermes that the magician is instructed to make, described as “wearing a mantle” and holding a “herald's wand” (V.379–381). In the spell VIII.1–63 the magician is instructed to make a wooden figure out of a small dog-faced baboon that is sitting down and wearing Hermes' winged helmet (VIII.53–55). Hermes' depiction in this case absorbs a characteristic of Thoth – his representation as a baboon. In the “Request for a dream” (XII.144–152) Hermes is described as “ibis-faced” (XII.145).⁴⁰² The representation of Hermes in this instance alludes to the other, most common representation of Thoth, as an Ibis, or with the head of an Ibis. The visual depictions of Hermes in the Greek magical papyri are, thus, a mixture of Greek and Egyptian features from the Greek god Hermes and his equivalent, the Egyptian god, Thoth.

³⁹⁵ Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 3.352A–B.

³⁹⁶ Griffiths (1970) 263; for the association between Isis and Thoth in the Greco-Egyptian tradition see also Morenz (1992) 219–220 and 336.

³⁹⁷ Morenz (1992) 23. See Chpt. 1, above, p. 28 with n. 96.

³⁹⁸ Morenz (1992) 270; Wiedemann (2003) 225ff.

³⁹⁹ Hdt. *Hist.* II.67.6–7.

⁴⁰⁰ Hdt. *Hist.* II.138.21.

⁴⁰¹ For the invention of a system of correspondence between Greek and Egyptian gods in that period see Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) 140–147.

⁴⁰² See also *PGM* VIII.10.

B. Hermes Trismegistos

The Egyptian god Thoth, as reinterpreted under Greek influence, and the Greek god Hermes, as Egyptianised, produced the remarkable synthesis of Hermes Trismegistos, “the thrice greatest.” The synthesis of Hermes Trismegistos was also a way of distinguishing him from the Greek Hermes and recognising his Egyptianisation as expressed in his identification with Thoth. The epithet Trismegistos (apart from the *Hermetica*) is first attested in texts of the second century C.E.⁴⁰³ The epithet “thrice-great” derives from the repetition of the positive three times in the superlative in the Egyptian language.⁴⁰⁴

Hermes Trismegistos is also associated with the *Hermetica*, a collection of religious and philosophical treatises of syncretistic character from the Roman period in Egypt.⁴⁰⁵ The Hermetic writings are written in the form of short dialogues, most of the time between Hermes Trismegistos and his fictitious students, Tat, Asclepius, or Ammon. Greek philosophy was thought to have originated from the books of the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos.⁴⁰⁶

In the Greek magical papyri there are direct as well as indirect references to Hermes Trismegistos. In the “Lamp divination” (*PGM* VII.540–578), for example, Hermes is called “the thrice-great (τρισμέγας) Hermes” (VII.550). The reference here to Hermes Trismegistos is implicit. In “Solomon’s spell that produces a trance” (IV.850–929) he is referred to as “the thrice-greatest (ὁ τρισμέγιστος) Hermes” (IV.886). In this case the assimilation to Hermes Trismegistos is explicit. In the “Writing-tablet to the waning Selene” (IV.2241–2358) there is an address to “the leader of all the magicians, Hermes the Elder” (IV.2288–2289). The epithet Elder refers specifically to the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos who was regarded as older than the Greek Hermes.⁴⁰⁷

*C. The Religious and Philosophical Assimilations**1. Untitled spell for revelation (PGM V.370–446)*

In the hymn “To Hermes” Hermes is called *κοσμοκράτωρ*, “ruler of the cosmos” (V.400).⁴⁰⁸ The epithet *κοσμοκράτωρ* has already been examined in

⁴⁰³ Ph. Bybl. *Fr.* 2 (810.3), Athenag. *Leg.* 28.6; Fowden (1993) 216–217.

⁴⁰⁴ Betz (1986) 133; see also Parlebas (1974) 25–28; for the title Hermes *Pentamegistos* see Ritner (1981a); Ritner (1981b); Boylan (1922) 129–130, n. 2; Scott (1924–1926) 1:5, n. 1.

⁴⁰⁵ On “syncretism” see the discussion below, pp. 165ff.

⁴⁰⁶ Scott (1924–1926) 1:5; see also Pl. *Phdr.* 274c–275d; Pl. *Phlb.* 18b.

⁴⁰⁷ Betz (1986) 79.

⁴⁰⁸ The reconstructed hymn 15/16 “To Hermes” (*PGM* V.400–420, VII.668–680 and XVIIb.1–23); Preisendanz (1974) 2:249. Lines V.400–420 derive from the spell V.370–446 (IV C.E.). The same hymn is also found in the untitled prayer to Hermes (XVIIb.1–23) with

this chapter in relation to Helios.⁴⁰⁹ Hermes is also addressed as ἐνκάρδιε “in the heart” (V.400).⁴¹⁰ In the untitled spell for picking a herb (IV.2967–3006) “Hermes’ heart,” ἡ καρδία τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ (IV.2983) is mentioned twice (e.g. ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, IV.2993–2994). Similarly, in the spell “The holy, hidden book of Moses called Eighth or Holy” (XIII.343–645)⁴¹¹ Hermes is connected with the heart in the following reference: ἐφάνη διὰ τῆς πικρίας τοῦ θεοῦ Νοῦς (καὶ Φρένες) κατέχων καρδίαν, καὶ ἐκλήθη Ἑρμῆς, δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα μεθρμήνευσται.⁴¹² ἔστιν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν φρενῶν, δι’ οὗ οἰκονομήθη τὸ πᾶν, “appeared because of the sharpness of the god Nous (and Phrenes) holding a heart, and was called Hermes by whom all things have been interpreted. He is also in the heart/mind, by whom everything has been managed” (XIII.487–490).

The association of Hermes with the heart and intelligence is accentuated by the adjectives πειθοδικαίουσνε, “pleading the cause of justice,” and πνεύματος ἡνίοχε, “who holds the reins of the spirit,” and by the description Ἡλίου ὀφθαλμέ, “Helios’ eye” (V.403 and 405).⁴¹³

Similarly, Thoth in the *Egyptian Book of the Dead* defines himself as “the Lord of Justice.”⁴¹⁴ Apollo is also described as “Zeus’ eye” (*PGM* II.89) in the spell for revelation (II.64–184). Hermes is addressed not only as “the first leader/founder of the words of tongue,” λόγων ἀρχηγέτα γλώσσης, but also as “the founder of the tongue of every sound,” παμφώνου γλώττης ἀρχηγέτα (V.402, 406). These characteristics of Hermes as the god of intelligence and knowledge and the founder of speech correspond to those of both the Greek Hermes and the Egyptian Thoth as reinterpreted in the Hellenistic period by the Greeks and renamed Hermes Trismegistos.

Hermes is called “circle of Selene” (V.400–401), another feature that recalls Thoth in terms of his characteristic as the moon god.⁴¹⁵ Hermes in the same spell retains his Greek feature as the chthonic Hermes, ὁ ψυχοπομπός, when described as the one “who with his lamps gives joy to those beneath earth’s depths and the mortals who finished life” (V.407–409).⁴¹⁶ The

the same epithet κοσμοκράτωρ (XVIIb.1) and in the “spell for obtaining dream revelation/dream oracle” (VII.664–685), a similar epithet παντοκράτωρ (VII.668) is used for Hermes.

⁴⁰⁹ See above, pp. 71–72.

⁴¹⁰ See also VII.668–669 and XVIIb.1. See also above, p. 93, n. 151 (on Eros); p. 107 (on Aion); and Chpt. 1, above, pp. 25ff.

⁴¹¹ On the *Interpretatio Judaica* of Thot-Hermes see Mussies in Voss (1982) 89–120; see also Scholem (1965) 75–83; on Moses and monotheism see Gager (1972) 92–95.

⁴¹² See also XIII.172–175. Note also the implicit etymology between Hermes and μεθρμήνευσται; see above, p. 138.

⁴¹³ Reconstructed hymn 15/16 “To Hermes” (V.400–420, VII.668–680 and XVIIb.1–23); Preisendanz (1974) 2:249.

⁴¹⁴ *Eg. Bk. Dd.* spell 182; Faulkner (1972) 133.

⁴¹⁵ For Thoth as “the moon god” or “the moon-eye” see Bleeker (1973) 114–117.

⁴¹⁶ See also in the erotic spell IV.1390–1495 the epithet Ἑρμῆ ... χθόνιε (IV.1443); also the *Hymn. Orph.* 57 “To Chthonios Hermes.”

question arises: Is the chthonic feature of Hermes a Greek characteristic only? Thoth in the Egyptian religious texts accumulates chthonic features as well. In the *Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, for example, the dead claims to the celestial ferryman, “if you don’t ferry me over, I will leap up and put myself on the wing of Thoth, and he will ferry me over to yonder side.”⁴¹⁷ Thus, the assimilation of characteristics between the Greek Hermes and the Egyptian Thoth is an important factor in the effectiveness and functionality of the synthesis of the Hellenistic Hermes Trismegistos.

In the hymn “to Hermes” Hermes is described as *μοιρῶν προγνώστης*, “the prognosticator of fates” (V.409). O’Neil translates this as “prophet of events,” but this misreads the medical terminology and diminishes the force of *μοιρῶν*.⁴¹⁸ Accordingly, Hermes is the one “who sends forth oracles by day and night,” equating him with “the divine Oneiros” (V.410–411).⁴¹⁹ The term prognosticator implies a comparison with the physicians who were skilled in prognosis. Such an implication could be justified by Hermes’ feature as the healer of pain, since he is requested to *ἰάσαι πάντα βροτῶν ἀλγήματα σαῖς θεραπαίαις*, “cure all pains of mortals with your cures” (V.412–413).

2. “The erotic binding spell of Astrapsoukos” (PGM VIII.1–63)

Hermes is addressed as *φαρμάκων (εὐρετά)*, “the (inventor) of drugs,” (VIII.28) in VIII.1–63 (IV/V C.E.).⁴²⁰ The *φάρμακα* here can have both a positive and negative meaning as either healing, or noxious, but later in the same spell the drugs are mentioned in a negative sense.⁴²¹ The *φάρμακα* can also refer to magical potions, or philtres. Hermes’ relationship with magic and medicine, as it is explored in these spells, can be illuminated by the equivalent Egyptian Thoth’s association with magic and medicine, which in fact were two terms the Egyptians used to describe the same art.⁴²² Thoth’s connection to knowledge and wisdom in Egyptian religion was extended to the in-depth knowledge of a magician, or a skilled physician. Instances of Thoth’s association with magic can be found in Egyptian literature such as the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, in which Thoth is called “great of magic in the Bark of Millions of Years.”⁴²³

In “Hermes’ ring” (V.213–303, IV C.E.), the magician identifies himself firstly with the Egyptian god *Θωύθ, φαρμάκων καὶ γραμμάτων εὐρετῆς καὶ*

⁴¹⁷ *Eg. Pyr. T.* Utt. 270.387; cf. also Utt. 359.596; Utt. 515.1176; Utt. 555.1377; Utt. 566.1429, etc.; for Thoth as god of the dead see also Boylan (1922) 136–141.

⁴¹⁸ Betz (1986) 108.

⁴¹⁹ See the address in the *Hymn. Hom.* IV.14 “To Hermes”: *ἡγήτορ’ ὀνείρων*.

⁴²⁰ A similar characterisation is attributed to Thoth in *PGM* V.246–248.

⁴²¹ E.g. VIII.33–35: *διάσωσόν με πάντοτε εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπὸ φαρμάκων καὶ δολίων*.

⁴²² In Egyptian mythology Thoth healed Horus’ injured eye; see also Boylan (1922) 124ff.

⁴²³ *Eg. Bk. Dd.* spell 182; Faulkner (1972) 133; see also Boylan (1922) 124–135.

κτίστης, “Thouth, the discoverer and creator of drugs and letters” (V.246–248). The assimilation between the Egyptian Thoth and the Greek Hermes is expressed implicitly in the title of the spell, “Hermes’ ring.” It is, furthermore, significant that the magician is identified with “Heron the famous” (V.250–251). Heron, Ἡρων, or Heros was a Thracian rider, or soldier god that was worshipped in the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Egyptian areas consisting of Greek populations, especially cleruchs who had settled on a piece of land given to them by the crown.⁴²⁴

Another characteristic of Hermes, as expressed in VIII.1–63, is his ability to assume different μορφάς, “forms” of animals related to various Egyptian deities (VIII.10–12). In this sense, Hermes resembles Helios (III.500ff.) and Helios-Apollo (II.107ff.).⁴²⁵ Hermes is also addressed as πολυώνυμε, “many-named” (VIII.14), as Helios-Apollo can be described as “many-named.”⁴²⁶ Similarly, Selene-Hekate-Artemis, as examined, is described as “many-named” (IV.2830) and “many-formed” (IV.2798). Mene also is addressed as “all-formed and many-named” (VII.757–758). Hermes can, therefore, be assimilated within a basically henotheistic viewpoint.

3. “Lamp divination” (PGM VII.540–578)

Hermes in VII.540–578 (III C.E.) is described as ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ὠοῦ, “you who are from the egg” (VII.555–556). In the spell III.1–164 another god, Helios, is adjured “by the egg,” κατὰ τοῦ [ὦ]οῦ (III.145).⁴²⁷ The reference to the egg is clearly an allusion, as Hershbell points out, to Orphic and Egyptian cosmogonies.⁴²⁸ In the *Orphic Fragments* Phanes is born from the egg.⁴²⁹ In the Egyptian cosmogonies as well, life originated from the egg.⁴³⁰

Conclusion

The assimilation between the Greek Hermes and the Egyptian Thoth due to the resemblance of characteristics and attributes is reflected in the Greek magical papyri. The visual depictions of Hermes-Thoth are a mixture of characteristics attributed to the Greek Hermes and his equivalent, the Egyptian Thoth. Hermes Trismegistos is the synthesis of the Egyptian Thoth reinter-

⁴²⁴ In the Greco-Roman period Heron’s cult also included elements of the Egyptian creator-god Atum, who had both human and serpent form; see Betz (1986) 105; also Bonnet (1952f); also Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) 246 ff.

⁴²⁵ See the discussions in Chpt. 1, above, p. 27; Chpt. 2, above, p. 52, n. 91; in this Chapter, above, pp. 73ff.; 88, n. 125; 102, n. 196; 116; and 132, n. 356.

⁴²⁶ See Chpt. 1, above, p. 27; in this Chapter, above, pp. 74, 104, n. 204, and 131; also n. 425, and below, p. 155.

⁴²⁷ See also PGM XII.100–106.

⁴²⁸ Betz (1986) 133.

⁴²⁹ *Orph. Fr.* 54, 55, 56.

⁴³⁰ Morenz (1992) 177–179.

preted under Greek influence and an instance of the Greek god Hermes that is Egyptianised.

Hermes' cosmic characteristics and his association with Nous reveal influences from Greek philosophy. The description of Hermes as originating from the egg alludes to Orphic and Egyptian cosmogonies. Hermes' address as "many-named" and his characteristic to assume forms of other gods, or animals, facilitate henotheistic religious tendencies.

X. Typhon-Seth

Typhon, Typhaon, or Typhoeus according to the Hesiodic myth in *Theogony* was a monstrous deity, the youngest son of Gaia and Tartaros, who was joined in love to Echidna and had three children, Orthus, Cerberus and Hydra.⁴³¹ His name was associated with the wind⁴³² and with τυφώς, -ῶν, "typhoon."⁴³³ Typhon's origins can be traced to Asia Minor.⁴³⁴ Seth in Egyptian religion was the god of disorder.⁴³⁵ He also represented a foreign god among the gods of the Egyptian pantheon.⁴³⁶ Seth generally personified evil, in contrast to his brother Osiris who represented the good.⁴³⁷ In animal form Seth was compared with various animals such as the ass, the oryx antelope, the gazelle, or even the crocodile and the hippopotamus.⁴³⁸

Typhon was identified with the Egyptian god Seth from the classical to the Greco-Roman periods.⁴³⁹ The assimilation of the Greek Typhon and the Egyptian god Seth in the Greek magical papyri is sometimes explicit. In *PGM* XIVc.16–27 (*IPDM* xiv.675–694), for example, Typhon is equated to Seth when addressed as T[υ]φῶν Σήθ (XIV.20). Similarly, in III.1–164 the "powerful Σ[ή]θ Τυφῶν" is invoked (III.87). In the Greek magical papyri,

⁴³¹ Hes. *Th.* 821–822, 306–315; West (1997) 252; see also *Hymn. Hom.* III.306, 352, 367 "To Apollo"; elsewhere Typhon is mentioned as the son of Hera, e.g. *Hymn. Ap.* III.305–355; Stes. *Fr.* 62.

⁴³² For his connection also with the volcano in Etna see Pi. *O.* 4.6–7, *Fr.* 92 and 93; also A. *Pr.* 354–365.

⁴³³ West (1997) 252, 381; see also LSJ, II.

⁴³⁴ Cf. e.g. Hes. *Th.* 304; Pi. *P.* 1.16–17; for Typhos' association with other oriental monstrous deities see West (1997) 379ff.

⁴³⁵ E.g. Utt. *Eg. Pyr. T.* 144b; see also Velde (1977) 26ff.

⁴³⁶ Morenz (1992) 268–269.

⁴³⁷ For the fight of good against evil represented by Osiris and Typhon see Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 49.371A–C.

⁴³⁸ For the representations of the Seth-animal in Egypt see Velde (1977) 7–26; literary evidence: Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 49–50.371C–D; see also 30.362E–F; see also Griffiths (1970) 409, 489; the combination of the ass, Seth and magic is also attested in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses/Golden Ass*.

⁴³⁹ Hecat. 1. *Fr.* 300 (Hdt. *Hist.* II.144); A. *Supp.* 560ff.; Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 2.351.

among the many associations of the image of Seth with animals, the favourite one is his association with an ass. Indeed, Betz states that, “Because the figure of Seth was believed to be donkey-headed, Typhon in *PGM* IV.3260 and elsewhere (cf. XIa.1–2; IV.2220), probably means ‘ass.’”⁴⁴⁰

A. The symbolism of the blood of Typhon-Seth

In the “Divine Assistance from three Homeric Verses” (*PGM* IV.2145–2240), which involves the resurrection of a dead person who was demised untimely, the magician is advised to add in the ink *μιλτάριον* *Τυφῶνος*, “Typhon’s blood,” (IV.2220–2221).⁴⁴¹ Similarly, in “Pitys’ spell that leads” (IV.2006–2125) there is a reference to the hide and the blood of an ass in the ritual of resurrection of the dead, according to which the magician is instructed, “after taking the hide of an ass” and, “the hide is inscribed with blood of an ass” (IV.2015, 2099–2100).

In XIVc.16–27 (*PDM* xiv.675–694) Typhon-Seth is invoked to cause harm to another person who once wronged him and, as stated, “spilled Typhon’s blood in his (her) own house” (XIVc.26–27). In the part that is written in Demotic the ritual instructions involve the use of the donkey’s head and its blood (*PDM* xiv.675, 680).⁴⁴² In “Himerios’ Recipes” (XII.96–106), among the ingredients for the preparation of Typhon’s ink, “Typhon’s blood” is mentioned.⁴⁴³ In the ritual instructions of the spell to induce insomnia IV.3255–3274, in which Typhon is invoked, the magician should take an unbaked [brick], draw on it a picture of “an ass” running, and then smear it with “the blood of Typhon” and that of a pig and with the juice of an onion (IV.3255–3256, 3259). In the “Spell to induce insomnia” (VII.652–660) the magician should use “blood of a black ox, or of a goat, or of Typhon, but preferably of a goat” (VII.652–653).⁴⁴⁴ In these two cases the name of Typhon is used together with other animals instead of the animal associated with Typhon.⁴⁴⁵

The logical question is: Why is the blood of the ass, associated with Seth’s animal figure, mentioned as the blood of Typhon in the sacrificial practices, or in the rituals in the Greek magical papyri, and what is its significance?

⁴⁴⁰ Betz (1986) 339; also LSJ, s.v. 4; cf. *PGM* IV.3255–3274, VII.652–660 etc.

⁴⁴¹ For discussion of these controversial spells see Chpt. 2, above, pp. 41ff.

⁴⁴² See also in the spell “Apollonius of Tyana’s old serving woman” (XIa.1–40) the mentioning of “[Τυ]φῶ[ν]ος *κράνιον*,” but the use of the blood of a black dog in this case; Betz (1986) 150, n. 1; also in VII.467–477 there is a reference to “the figure of Typhon,” ζώδιον *Τυφωνιαχόν*.

⁴⁴³ See also in the “Erotic spell that leads” (*PGM* LXI.39–71/*PDM* lxi.197–216) the reference to αἷματι *Τυφῶνος* (LXI.60), and the association with the image of Typhon invoked in this spell, εἰδῶλε *Τυφῶ[ν]ος* (LXI.53–55).

⁴⁴⁴ See Betz (1986) 136, n. 114; 75, n. 256; and 77, n. 275.

⁴⁴⁵ See VII.652–653 on ‘Typhon’ as actually meaning ‘ass,’ discussed in the main text.

According to the Egyptian myth, as reflected in the “Spell to restrain” (XXXVI.1–34), Typhon-Seth is described as the one “who slaughtered his own brother” (XXXVI.5). Thus, slaughtering and blood are related to the myth of Osiris and Seth. Similarly, in the *Egyptian Coffin Texts* Seth is represented as referring to Osiris as, “I will cause the god’s body to fear, I will inflict injury on him, I will slaughter him.”⁴⁴⁶ However, the question remains why the blood of Typhon and not that of Osiris is symbolised in the sacrifices, since Typhon is the one who slaughtered Osiris.

In the *Egyptian Pyramid Texts* it is mentioned that Seth has suffered a bloody beating and punishment by Horus and his companions, as was said to Osiris, “your foe is smitten by the children of Horus, they have made his beating bloody, they have punished him (Seth), he having been driven off, and his smell is evil.”⁴⁴⁷

Plutarch, also, in *De Iside et Osiride* mentions that the sacrifices are a way of appeasing Osiris and Isis, “Typhon’s weakened and shattered power, still gasping and struggling,” while at other times his resemblance to an ass and its being thrown down a precipice in the festivals symbolises his humiliation.⁴⁴⁸ Plutarch, furthermore, associates the wine libations with the blood, “as the blood of those who had once fought against the gods, from whom they believe that vines grew when they had fallen and mingled with the earth.”⁴⁴⁹ Griffiths comments that the sacrificial animals were considered as the “bodies of Seth and his followers” in the battle against Osiris and Horus, so that wine was interpreted with “Sethian symbolism.”⁴⁵⁰ In this sense, Typhon’s blood is rich in mythical association.

B. The Religious and Philosophical Assimilations

I. “Spell to restrain anger and to subject” (PGM VII.940–968)

The representation of Seth in VII.940–968 (III C.E.) is, interestingly, mixed. He is addressed as “ruler of all,” παντοκράτωρ,⁴⁵¹ and “creator (κτίστης) of the gods” (VII.961). Seth is considered the supreme god among gods and, although the most terrible of gods, he has the status of the Jewish creator-god.⁴⁵² He is also described as ὁ ἐν τῷ στερεῷ πνεύματι,⁴⁵³ ἄρατος, “the one in the solid

⁴⁴⁶ *Eg. Cof. T.* spell 50.227; Faulkner (2004) 47.

⁴⁴⁷ *Eg. Pyr. T.* Utt. 369.643; see also *Eg. Pyr. T.* Utt. 356.575; Velde also argues that Seth suffers the fate of the sacrificial animals; Velde (1977) 94–98.

⁴⁴⁸ *Plu. De Is. et Os.* 30.362E; see also Griffiths (1970) 407–410.

⁴⁴⁹ *Plu. De Is. et Os.* 6.353B–C.

⁴⁵⁰ Griffiths (1970) 276.

⁴⁵¹ On this term see above, p. 71.

⁴⁵² For the associations of κτίστης see above, pp. 98–100.

⁴⁵³ Hock mistranslates this as: “who are in the overlasting air”; Betz (1986) 143.

pneuma/spirit,⁴⁵⁴ invisible” (VII.960) and πυριλαμπές πνεῦμα, “fire-bright *pneuma*/spirit” (VII.964).⁴⁵⁵ In XIVc.16–27 (*/PDM* xiv.675–694) Typhon-Seth is characterised as “the one in the *empty pneuma* (τὸν ἐ[ν] τῷ κενεῷ πνεύματι), terrible, invisible, ruler of all, god of gods” (XIVc.16–17).⁴⁵⁶ Similarly, in the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829), πνεῦμα is among the four elements (πνεῦμα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, οὐσία γεώδης)⁴⁵⁷ invoked and described by the magician as τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι, “with immortal *pneuma*/spirit,” and τῷ στερεωτάτῳ ἀέρι, “with the most solid air” (IV.505–508). The reference to the god as “fire-bright *pneuma*/spirit” seems to be an allusion to the Stoics.⁴⁵⁸ This applies especially to Posidonios, who asserted, “god is intelligent and fiery *pneuma* (πνεῦμα νοερὸν καὶ πυρῶδες) without having a form (μορφήν), but changing into what he wishes and assimilating to all (συνεξομοιούμενον πᾶσιν).”⁴⁵⁹ Similarly, in another fragment Posidonios asserts, “god is intelligent *pneuma* pervading through every substance,” θεός ἐστι πνεῦμα νοερὸν διήκον δι’ ἀπάσης οὐσίας, which is earth, water, air, heaven.⁴⁶⁰

2. “Nephotes to Psammetichos immortal king of Egypt” (*PGM* IV.154–285)

In this spell (IV.154–285, IV C.E.), written in the form of a letter, Typhon is described as, τῆς ἄνω σκηπτουχίας σκηπτοῦχε καὶ δυνάστα, “bearing the sceptre and master of the *upper* sceptred-realm” (IV.179). This raises the question: Why τῆς ἄνω σκηπτουχίας σκηπτοῦχε? A possible explanation is that Typhon may be associated with Seth’s cult in Ombos in Upper Egypt as a major cult centre for his worshippers.⁴⁶¹ More precisely, however, in the same spell the

⁴⁵⁴ On the association of θεός with πνεῦμα see I.96; III.553–558; IV.505, 510, 538, 617–618, 627, 658–659, 714; IV.1115–1116; XII.323–350; XIII.166, 477; LXII.24.

⁴⁵⁵ Similarly in LXII.24–26: ὁ τῶν θεῶν θεός, ὁ ἐκ πυρός καὶ πνεύματος φανείς μόνος; also XIII.166: Θεός ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ πυρός.

⁴⁵⁶ See also XII.368 and V.121.

⁴⁵⁷ See also III.554–555; see also the discussion in the Helios section, above, pp. 73ff.

⁴⁵⁸ E.g. Zeno *Fr.* 146.1–5 (Epiph. *Haer.* III.2, 9 – Diels (1879) 592, 21); 135 (D.L. VII.157.2); Chrysipp. *Stoic. Fr. Log. et Phys.* 1009 DK II (Aët. *Plac.* I.6): Ὁρίζονται δὲ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐσίαν (οἱ Στωϊκοί) οὕτως· πνεῦμα νοερὸν καὶ πυρῶδες, οὐκ ἔχον μὲν μορφήν, μεταβάλλον δ’ εἰς ὃ βούλεται καὶ συνεξομοιούμενον πᾶσιν; 1037 DK II (Sext. *Pyrrh. Hypot.* III.218); 1051 DK II (Orig. *Cels.* VI.7); 310 DK II (Alex. Aphr. *De Mixt.* p. 224,32 Bruns); 442 DK II (Alex. Aphr. *De Mixt.* p. 224,14 Bruns); 443 DK II (Plot. *Enn.* IV.7.3). See also A. A. Long (1986) 156ff.; also the discussion of κράσις in relation to the four elements in the “Mithras Liturgy” above, pp. 82ff.; and p. 77, n. 72.

⁴⁵⁹ Posidon. *Fr.* 349 (Aët. 302b22); for comment see Kidd and Edelstein (1988a) 2:409–412; see also the discussion on *pneuma* in relation to fetus in Chpt. 1, above, p. 25 with n. 86.

⁴⁶⁰ Posidon. *Fr.* 350 (Commentaria Bernensia ad Luc. IX.578); also see Kidd and Edelstein (1988a) 2:408–409.

⁴⁶¹ See Wiedemann (2003) 223; for the religious significance of the physical place of Egypt within the *cosmos* see above, p. 68.

characteristics of Typhon-Seth's worship on earth assume cosmic dimensions, since they refer to the heavenly order and the firmament as a whole. This is the case when Typhon is addressed as, *σὲ τὸν ἐπ' οὐρανίων σκῆπτρον βασιλεῖον ἔχοντα, σὲ τὸν ἄνω μέσον τῶν ἄστρων ... σὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ στερεώματι δεινὸν ἀνακτα*, "you who hold the kingly sceptre over the heavenly ones, you who are above in the middle of the stars ... you who are the dreaded king over the firmament" (IV.262–264).

Typhon is depicted as a mighty god, causing threats to and instilling fear in other gods and men. In the hymn "To Typhon" (IV.179–201),⁴⁶² included in the "Nephotes to Psammetichos" spell, Typhon is called *δυνάστα*, "master," and *θεὸς θεῶν*, "god of gods" (IV.179–180). In the other hymn "To Typhon" (IV.261–273), included in the spell, he is also called "master" (IV.264) and a few lines later "greatest," *μέγιστε* (IV.277).⁴⁶³ Similarly, in the untitled spell to induce insomnia (IV.3255–3274) Typhon is addressed as, *τὸν μέγαν*, "the great," and *ὁ μέγας μέγας*, "the great, great" (IV.3266–3267, 3270).⁴⁶⁴

Typhon, however, is at the same time described as "fearful and threatening and awful" (IV.265–266). He is also characterised in the transmitted text as *δῆλον*, *ἀμήχανον*, *μισοπόνηρον* (IV.267). There are two problems here: The first one is the reading of *δῆλον*. Preisendanz keeps *δῆλον* of the *paradosis*, although he refers to Kroll's emendation to *ἄδηλον*, "obscure."⁴⁶⁵ But, as O'Neil points out, *ἄδηλον* makes better sense, providing a parallel to the compound negative adjective *ἀμήχανον* and fitting the generally negative tone.⁴⁶⁶ The second problem is the meaning of *μισοπόνηρον*.⁴⁶⁷ O'Neil translates it as "hater of the wicked."⁴⁶⁸ The verb *μισοπονηρέω* can, of course, mean "hate the wicked," but here the meaning of "hated because of wickedness" fits the characteristics of Typhon better. The fear that Typhon causes is spread throughout the cosmos, including the nature deities, when he is presented as the one "at whom the earth, the depths of the sea, Hades, heaven, the sun, the moon, the visible chorus of the stars and the whole cosmos tremble" (IV.245–246).

Typhon's name in IV.154–285 is described as "a hundred letters" (IV.242) and "the powerful name of the hundred letters" (IV.252). Similarly, in the "Powerful spell of the Bear constellation which accomplishes everything"

⁴⁶² Reconstructed hymn 6 "To Typhon" (IV.179–201); Preisendanz (1974) 2:242–243; see also Appendix 3 on p. 178.

⁴⁶³ Reconstructed hymn 7 "To Typhon" (IV.261–273); Preisendanz (1974) 2:243–244; also IV.277.

⁴⁶⁴ For the repetition of the positive (*ὁ μέγας*) see the discussion above, p. 102; and below, p. 152 with n. 482.

⁴⁶⁵ Preisendanz (1974) 2:243.

⁴⁶⁶ Betz (1986) 43, n. 62.

⁴⁶⁷ This epithet as an epithet of a god occurs also in *DT* 271 from Hadrumetum (*DT* 271.36, III C.E.).

⁴⁶⁸ Betz (1986) 43.

(IV.1331–1389), the magician is instructed to write the “hundred-lettered name of Typhon curved as a star” on a papyrus (IV.1379–1381).⁴⁶⁹ The notion of a mighty god having a large number of different names is common in the Greek magical papyri, as has been shown,⁴⁷⁰ but in this case the specific number of a hundred names seems to derive from Typhon’s characteristic of a hundred heads according to Greek myth.⁴⁷¹

3. “*Spell to restrain*” (PGM XXXVI.1–34)

The representation of Typhon-Seth in the spell XXXVI.1–34 (IV C.E.) is rather different, since he is described as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπταίαν πύλῃν καθήμενος* (XXXVI.5), which is translated by Morton Smith as “who sit on the under[world] gate.”⁴⁷² The same phrase occurs again in the “Erotic spell that leads” (XXXVI.69–101), again referring to Typhon-Seth, which O’Neil translates this time as “who sit on the top of the gate” (XXXVI.77).⁴⁷³ In both instances the reference should be to the gate into the underworld, but Morton Smith’s interpretation is more accurate, due to the neat verbal play between the formulations *ἐπὶ* and *ὑπ-*, above and beneath. The picture of this dreadful god is thus quite vivid.

4. *Untitled spell* (PGM XIVc.16–27)/“*Spell to cause ‘evil sleep’*” (PDM xiv.675–694)

In PGM XIVc.16–27/PDM xiv.675–694 (III C.E.) Typhon-Seth is described as *φθοροποιὸν καὶ ἐρημοποιόν, ὁ μισῶν οἰκίαν εὐσταθοῦσαν, ὃς ἐξεβρά(σ)θης ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἔξω χώρας ἐπενομάσ[θ]ης*, “causing destruction and desolation, you who hate a stable household, you who were driven out of Egypt and roamed outside the country” (XIVc.17–19). The description of Typhon-Seth matches his Egyptian characteristics as a god of desert and storm and the lord of foreign lands.

5. “*Separation spell*” (PGM XII.365–375)

In this “*Διακοπός*” (XII.365–375, III C.E.) spell the user invokes the “great god,” “greatly powerful” Typhon to cause fights and enmity between two people, just as Typhon and Osiris had between each other (XII.372–373). The spell is an example of reflection on the battle between Seth and Osiris in the

⁴⁶⁹ For the connection between Typhon and the constellation of the Bear in IV.1879–1881 see the analysis in Chpt. 2, above, pp. 37–38.

⁴⁷⁰ See e.g. Chpt. 2, above, p. 52, n. 91; in this Chapter, above, pp. 73ff.; 88, n. 125; 102, n. 196; 116; 132, n. 356; and 142, nn. 425–426.

⁴⁷¹ Hes. *Th.* 824–825: *ἐκ δὲ οἱ ὦμων ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλὰι ὄφιος*; see also Pi. *O.* 4.11: *ἵπον ἀνέμωσεσαν ἑκατογκεφάλᾳ Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου*.

⁴⁷² Betz (1986) 269.

⁴⁷³ Betz (1986) 270.

Greek magical papyri. The spell can be used to evoke a quarrel between a man and a woman, if the user substitutes the phrase ὡς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Ἰσις (XII.374). Similarly, in the untitled erotic spell (LXXVIII.1–14), the female user of the spell aims to burn down the house and the soul of the male victim, “just as Typhon did not allow Osiris to find sleep” (LXXVIII.8–9).

In the “Spell to restrain anger and to subject” (VII.940–968) Seth is addressed as “you who did not grieve for your own brother” (VII.963–964).⁴⁷⁴ Other spells also provide references to the battle between Osiris and Isis’ son, Horus, and Typhon. In the “Spell to open a door” (XXXVI.312–320), for example, the magician expresses his wish that the door may open for him, by comparing his case with that of Horus attempting to flee “the godless Typhon” (XXXVI.316–319).⁴⁷⁵ Therefore, this mythological allusion to the hate-relationship between Osiris and his family against Seth-Typhon is often used as a model in the erotic spells.

In some spells, the name of Helios is mentioned instead of that of Horus as an adversary to Typhon, due to the common identification between Horus and Helios.⁴⁷⁶ In the untitled erotic spell XXXIIa.1–25, for instance, a homosexual, erotic case is compared with the case of Typhon, the adversary of Helios.⁴⁷⁷ In the untitled erotic spell LXVIII.1–20 the same model of Typhon opposed to Helios is used to depict a heterosexual relationship.⁴⁷⁸ It is worth noting here that because of the process of assimilation between the Greek and the Egyptian deities both Seth and Horus are mentioned with their equivalent Greek names, Typhon and Helios.

Conclusion

This section has examined the religious and philosophical assimilations between the Greek god Typhon and the Egyptian god Seth. Typhon-Seth’s association with the animal figure of the ass has been pointed out. The analysis focused on the symbolism as well as the mythical association of the blood of Typhon in the sacrificial rituals.

In VII.940–968 Seth, addressed as “ruler of all,” is assimilated to the creator of the gods. He is described as the god “in the solid *pneuma*/spirit, invisible” and “fire-bright *pneuma*/spirit.” Similarly, he is presented as “the one in the empty *pneuma*, terrible, invisible, ruler of all, god of gods” in XIVc.16–27 (*IPDM* xiv.675–694). The philosophical assimilation of Seth to

⁴⁷⁴ See Velde (1977) 81ff.

⁴⁷⁵ For the contest between Horus and Seth see the *Papyrus Chester Beatty* I, recto I i–xvi 8; Pritchard (1969) 14–17; see also *Eg. Cof. T.* spell 12.

⁴⁷⁶ See above, pp. 64–65.

⁴⁷⁷ *PGM* XXXIIa.1.

⁴⁷⁸ *PGM* LXVIII.1.

fire-bright *pneuma* alludes to the Stoics' view and, especially, to that of Posidonios.

In IV.154–285 Typhon is addressed as “master,” “god of gods,” “greatest,” “the great” and also “the great, great,” but also as “fearful and threatening and awful.” As was pointed out, this megatheistic notion of Typhon is also attributed to other major gods in the Greek magical papyri.

In XIVc.16–27 (*IPDM* xiv.675–694) Typhon-Seth is described as a god “causing destruction and desolation” and “driven out of Egypt and roamed outside the country.” This reference alludes to Seth's role in the Egyptian pantheon as a divine foreigner, who is able to assume the forms of gods of other religious systems. Finally, the battle between Seth and Osiris is implemented in the erotic and separation spells to evoke a quarrel between a man and a woman. The mythological allusion to the hate-relationship between Osiris and his family against Seth-Typhon is often used as a model in the erotic spells.

XI. Sarapis

In origin, Sarapis was a god created by the Ptolemaic dynasty in the third century B.C. as a way of securing a divine patronage for the newly-founded city of Alexandria and of reinforcing the divine origins of their own dynasty. The divine figure of Sarapis assimilated features of the Egyptian Osiris and the Greek Asclepius and, together with Isis and Harpocrates, he was worshipped in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.⁴⁷⁹ Sarapis' name combines the Egyptian names of Osiris and Apis. Plutarch in *De Iside et Osiride* mentions the legend about Sarapis' creation by referring to Ptolemy Soter's dream of the colossus of Pluto in Sinope, the Egyptian origins of his name and his worship in Memphis.⁴⁸⁰ Sarapis' hybrid character reveals the Ptolemaic dynasty's desire to create a god that could combine features of both Greek and Egyptian gods in order to appeal to these different ethnic and religious groups.

Sarapis' cult expanded to the rest of Egypt during the Roman period and he often was identified with Zeus and Helios, whose divine characteristics defined him as a very powerful cosmic and solar god. It is worth noting that during the Hellenistic and Roman periods many human names, both female and male, were derived from Sarapis. Sarapis is, therefore, a god of particular interest and importance for the processes of divine assimilation with which the Greek magical papyri are concerned.

⁴⁷⁹ For the cult of Sarapis in Egypt see Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) 214–221.

⁴⁸⁰ See Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 30.361F–362E.

1. *Untitled erotic spell (PGM XIXa.1–54)*

In XIXa.1–54 (IV/V C.E.) Sarapis is invoked as ὦ Ὁσάραπι Σάραπι, both with “Osarapis,” an older form of his name, and “Sarapis,” his common name for invocations (XIXa.6). The names of the three sacred bulls of Apis are also mentioned, ὦ Ὁσορ Νοβηχίς, Ὁσορ Μνευει, ὦ Ὁσορ Νωφρίς (XIXa.6).⁴⁸¹ It is also interesting to note that in the ritual of “The bowl divination spell” (IV.154–285) the river water is associated both with Sarapis and with Osiris (IV.226–227).

2. *“Oracle of Sarapis” (PGM V.1–53)*

In the spell “Oracle of Sarapis” (IV C.E.) the god is invoked to give a prophecy to the magician. Sarapis in this spell absorbs the attributes of various Greek gods and of one Persian god, Mithras. The order of the names is interesting, both chronologically and psychologically, Ζεῦ, Ἥλιε, Μίθρα, Σάραπι (V.4–5), with Zeus first, Sarapis last and Helios in the middle with Mithras following him. This god is addressed as “the great, great (ὁ μέγας, μέγας) Sarapis” (V.12). The doubling of the positive for emphatic reasons also occurs in Hebrew and is reflected in the Greek of the Septuagint and of the New Testament. This grammatical phenomenon is used in the magical formula ἦδη ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ, as already discussed in the section on Aion.⁴⁸² The assimilation of Zeus, Helios and great (μεγάλω) Sarapis occurs in two other spells (LXXIII.1 and LXXIV.1–2). Similarly, in XXXIb.1–10, Sarapis is assimilated to Helios (XXXIb.1). In other cases he is also invoked individually (XIII.620 and 640).

3. *“This is the (consecration) ritual for all purposes. Spell to Helios” (PGM IV.1596–1715)*

In this spell to Helios (IV.1596–1715, IV C.E.) the magician is instructed to say, when he completes the consecration spell, “one Zeus Sarapis,” εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις (IV.1715). This is a phrase with henotheistic implications, which has already been discussed in the section on Helios.⁴⁸³

4. *“Another way” (PGM V.459–489)*

In V.459–489 (IV C.E.) Sarapis is assimilated to “the creator,” τὸν κτίσαντα, “the great Mind,” ὁ μέγας Νοῦς, Aion, Zeus and the Jewish Adonai, Iao and Sabaoth (V.464–485). Aune rightly points out that the divine conceptualis-

⁴⁸¹ See Betz (1986) 256.

⁴⁸² Blass and Debrunner (1961) § 493.1. See above, pp. 102, n. 193; and p. 148, n. 464.

⁴⁸³ For such formulations and their implications cf. Arist. *Mu.* 401a12, quoted on p. 70; see the discussion in the section on Helios above, p. 70, n. 35; also p. 105, n. 217.

ation of Nous is an influence from Greek philosophy.⁴⁸⁴ Plutarch in *De Iside et Osiride* connects Osiris (one of Sarapis' constituent gods) with Nous and reason.⁴⁸⁵ Of interest in this case is the assimilation of Sarapis with the Jewish creator-god and with various forms of Yahweh.

The tendency of deriving names from Sarapis is also reflected in the Greek magical papyri, especially in the erotic spells in which the names of the persons involved and their mother's names are mentioned. In the erotic spell XVI.1–75, for example, the name of the male victim of the spell is *Σαραπίων*,⁴⁸⁶ and in another erotic spell (XXXII.1–19) the name of the female victim is *Σαραπίας* (XXXII.5, 10, 15).⁴⁸⁷ The name is even given to a plant called *Σαράπιδος βοτάνης*, which is used in an erotic charm, as described in XXXVI.361–371.

As for Sarapis' political significance in Egypt, in the untitled spell V.447–458 the magician is instructed to engrave on a stone Sarapis seated, holding an Egyptian royal sceptre and on it an ibis (V.447–449). This was a common depiction of Sarapis in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁴⁸⁸

Conclusion

Sarapis' hybrid character assimilates features of Greek and Egyptian gods, as reflected in the Greek magical papyri. Sarapis is assimilated to Osiris in the spell XIXa.1–54 and to Zeus, Helios and Mithras in V.1–53. In V.459–489 Sarapis is identified with Zeus and the Jewish Adonai, Iao and Sabaoth, and with abstract deified concepts such as “the great Mind,” the creator and Aion. The address “one Zeus Sarapis” in IV.1596–1715 implies henotheistic concepts. Such concepts are supported by the megatheistic notion of the phrase “the great, great Sarapis” in V.1–53.

XII. Isis

Isis is a goddess who was widely worshipped in Egypt with many important cult centres including those at Abydos, Mendes, or Busiris, or in later times in Philae. At these centres she was still considered as a goddess until 453 C.E.,

⁴⁸⁴ Betz (1986) 109.

⁴⁸⁵ Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 49.371A.

⁴⁸⁶ Also in XXXIc.4 the name *Tasarapion* is mentioned as well as the name *Sarapion*; in *PGM* Christ. 9.5 the name of the father of the person who recites the spell to drive out a daemon is also *Sarapion*.

⁴⁸⁷ This is an untitled, erotic, female homosexual spell (XXXII.1–19), in which the female user, *Ἡραεῖς, ἣν ἔτεκεν Θερμοῦθα[ρ]ιν μήτ[ρ]α αὐτῆς*, wants to bind *Σαραπιάδ[α]*, *ἣν ἔτεκεν* (*Ἐλένη*) *εἰδία μήτ[ρ]α* (XXXII.8–18). In this case the maternal identity of both the user and the victim is emphasised by the role of womb.

⁴⁸⁸ Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) 217; Bonner (1950) pl. 1.

some years after the prohibition of the worship of Egyptian deities by the Roman emperor Theodosius.⁴⁸⁹ The process of Isis' reinterpretation by Greeks dates back to Herodotus, who identifies Isis with the Greek goddess Demeter.⁴⁹⁰

1. *"The erotic binding spell of Astrapsoukos" (PGM VIII.1–63)*

In this spell (VIII.1–63, IV/V C.E.) Isis is represented as superior to all gods, when she is described as "greatest (μεγίστη) of all the gods" (VIII.22); or as having cosmic power, as in the "Marvellous erotic spell that leads" (XXXVI.134–160), where it is stated: "for Isis raised up a loud cry, and the world was thrown into confusion" (XXXVI.141–142).

2. *Untitled spell to acquire an oracle (/“Great Isis the lady”)
(PGM XXIVa.1–25)*

The spell XXIVa.1–25 (III C.E.) starts off with the phrase "Great Isis the lady," Μεγάλη Ἴσις ἡ κυρία, and refers to Hermes together with Isis "who was seeking Osiris" (XXIVa.5–8).⁴⁹¹ Helios is also mentioned as the god that should be invoked for the oracle.⁴⁹² The Egyptian myth of Isis and Osiris is, therefore, reflected in the Greek magical papyri. Similarly, in VII.993–1009 there is a reference to the myth of Isis' act of reassembling Osiris' separated members (VII.1000–1001). In the *magica historiola* IV.1471–1479, included in the "Erotic spell that leads" (IV.1390–1495), Isis is described as having arrived at a meeting, "holding on her shoulders her brother who is her bedfellow." In this gathering Zeus came down from Olympus to meet the "images (τὰ εἰδῶλα) of the dead," which were going to perform a specific task for the magician.⁴⁹³ Of interest in this *magica historiola* is the co-existence of two major Egyptian gods, Isis and Osiris, with the most powerful god from the Greek pantheon, Zeus.

In the "Pudenda key spell" (XXXVI.283–294) the male user of the spell wants his female victim to love him for all her time, "as Isis loved Osiris," and remain chaste, "as Penelope did for Odysseus" (XXXVI.288–289). Here again, the two different models of love, the Egyptian and the Greek, coexist, with the added element of a parallel between the divine and the human.

⁴⁸⁹ Wiedemann (2003) 218–219.

⁴⁹⁰ Hdt. *Hist.* II.59.7; see also Solmsen (1979) 1–25.

⁴⁹¹ See also Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 18.358A–B.

⁴⁹² For the association of the myth of Osiris and the sun in the Egyptian religious festivals see Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 52.372A–C.

⁴⁹³ Reconstructed *Historiola Magica* 27 (IV.1471–1479); Preisendanz (1974) 2:264.

3. *Untitled spell for protection (Ἰσὶ Φυλακτῆριον)*
(PGM VII.490–504)

“Lady Isis,” κυρία Ἰσι (VII.492) is assimilated to the Greek personified, abstract deities, Nemesis andAdrasteia (VII.503) in VII.490–504 (III C.E.). Nemesis is depicted as a Greek deity who personifies divine retribution and righteous anger.⁴⁹⁴Adrasteia was a title often used for Nemesis.⁴⁹⁵ Isis is also identified with Sothis (Ἰσι Σῶθι, VII.494), which is a female name used for the Dog Star Sirius.⁴⁹⁶ She is addressed as “many-named, many-formed,” πολώνυμε, πολύμορφε (VII.503), using epithets that have henotheistic implications, as was pointed out previously.⁴⁹⁷

The notion of one god with many names and variable ritual customs among different nations also occurs in Latin literature. In Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* Book XI, for example, the goddess Isis identifies herself as a divinity worshipped worldwide “in diverse manners, in variable customs and by many names,” *multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multiugo*. This divinity is different for various nations, such as the Phrygians, Athenians, Cyprians, Cretans, Sicilians, Eleusinians; and only the Ethiopians and the Egyptians call her by her true name (*vero nomine*) (*Met.* XI.4).

4. *Untitled spell to acquire a divine assistant (PGM LVII.1–37)*

In the invocation to Isis, included in the untitled spell LVII.1–37 (I/II C.E.), Isis is invoked to show the magician a divine sign (LVII.16–17) and later Kronos is described as the image of the goddess (LVII.27).⁴⁹⁸ Isis is addressed as “chaste Maiden,” ἀγνή Κούρα (LVII.16) and associated with Tyche and a star constellation, when the magician requests of her, “Shake your black Tyche and move the constellation of the bear” (LVII.17–18). In the multi-ethnic Egyptian society of the Greco-Roman period, the Greek Tyche emerged as an important abstract deity and was often assimilated to Isis, addressed as Isis-Tyche, the mistress of Destiny.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁴ Nemesis is mentioned together with Aidos in Hesiod’s *Works and Days*; Hes. *Op.* 200; Pi. *P.* 10.44; see also Burkert (1996a) 185; two Nemeseis were also worshipped at Smyrna; Paus. VII.5.2 and VII.5.3.

⁴⁹⁵ A. *Pr.* 936; Pl. *R.* 451a4; Pl. *Phdr.* 248c2; for the equation of Isis-Nemesis see Apul. *Met.* XI.269.19, *Rhamnusia illi*; see also Griffiths (1975) 153–154; Betz (1986) 131.

⁴⁹⁶ Betz (1986) 131; see also Morenz (1992) 270.

⁴⁹⁷ See e.g. Chpt. 2, above, p. 52, n. 91; in this Chapter, above, pp. 73ff.; 88, n. 125; 103, n. 196; 116; 133, n. 356; and 142, nn. 425–426.

⁴⁹⁸ Other aspects of this spell are discussed in Chpt. 2, above, pp. 50ff.

⁴⁹⁹ See Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) 275ff.; for the identification of Isis-Tyche see also Apul. *Met.* XI.277.4–6; also Griffiths (1975) 141–144.

Conclusion

Isis is described as a cosmic goddess “greatest of all the gods” with many names and forms. The Egyptian myth of Isis and Osiris is reflected in the Greek magical papyri and, particularly, in the erotic spells. Isis is assimilated to Greek personified abstract deities such as, Nemesis, Adrasteia and Tyche. She is also identified with Sothis, the female name for the Dog Star Sirius.

XIII. Aphrodite

Apart from representations of the goddess Aphrodite with Eros and Psyche in “The sword of Dardanus” (IV.1716–1870), discussed in the section on Eros, Aphrodite is invoked in various other spells in the Greek magical papyri.

1. “Erotic spell that leads” (PGM IV.2891–2942)

In the hymn “To Aphrodite” (IV.2902–2939, IV C.E.) Aphrodite retains her Greek epithets as “foam-born Kythereia,” ἀφρογενὴς Κυθήρεια, and “Cyprus-born,” Κυπρογένεια (IV.2914, 2938).⁵⁰⁰ Aphrodite maintains her basic characteristics as the goddess of love (φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ, IV.2910 and 2937). The latter phrase is a Homeric formula.⁵⁰¹ She is described as the one, “who gave birth to Himeros, the lovely Horai and you Graces,” Ἰμερον γεννήσασαν,⁵⁰² Ὡρας ἀγαθὰς τε ὑμᾶς Χάριτας (IV.3229–3230). The personified “Yearning” (*Himeros*) and Graces are related to Aphrodite in Greek literature as, for example, in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, Homer’s *Odyssey*, and in the *Homeric Hymn* “To Aphrodite.”⁵⁰³ There are also examples of the personified Time being associated with Aphrodite as, for instance, in the *Homeric Hymn* VI “To Aphrodite” and in Pindar’s *Nemean* 8.⁵⁰⁴ Although Aphrodite is associated in Greek literature with the personified abstract Yearning, Hours and Graces, however, this seems to be the only reference to her as the parent of all three of them. After having her own “birth” described, she herself takes the active “parenting” role.

⁵⁰⁰ Reconstructed hymn 22 “To Aphrodite” (IV.2902–2939), Preisendanz (1974) 2:260–261; also in IV.2912; Hes. *Th.* 195–200; *Hymn. Hom.* V.6: Κυθερείης, also *Hymn. Hom.* VI.18, X.1; *Anthologia Graeca* V.240.3 etc.; Nonn. *D.* VI.353 etc.; Procl. *Hymn* “To Aphrodite” 1.13; Procl. *In Cra.* 183.

⁵⁰¹ Hom. *Il.* III.445; VI.25; *Od.* V.126; X.335; XV.421; XXIII.219, etc.; see Appendix 4, pp. 180–181.

⁵⁰² Note here the “active” use of the verb γεννώ in contrast to its “passive” equivalents in the epithets ἀφρογενής and Κυπρογένεια.

⁵⁰³ Hes. *Th.* 64, 201; Hom. *Od.* VIII.365; *Hymn. Hom.* V.61–62.

⁵⁰⁴ *Hymn. Hom.* VI.5–6 and 11–13; Pi. *N.* 8.1. On other examples of the personified Horai in the Greek magical papyri see the discussion in Chpt. 1, above, pp. 14ff.

Aphrodite is addressed as ἀλληλοῦχε, “the one who holds things together” (IV.2916–2917). Her important function as a goddess of conjunction, unity and continuity is emphasised here. The epithet implies the influence of the term ἀλληλουχία from Greek philosophy, where it is used by Epicurus⁵⁰⁵ and the Neoplatonist philosophers.⁵⁰⁶

Aphrodite is addressed as θεῶν γενέτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν, “begetter/mother of gods and men,” and assimilated to the abstract Φύσι παμμήτωρ, “all-mother Nature” (IV.2915–2916). Similarly, in XII.201–269 the magician identifies himself among the various Greek and Egyptian gods with Aphrodite (XII.232) and the “Mother of gods called Heaven,” μήτηρ θεῶν ἢ καλ[ου]μένη οὐρανός (XII.233–234).

Aphrodite is also described as αἰθερία, χθονία, “ethereal, chthonic” (IV.2915–2916).⁵⁰⁷ The significance of the doubleness/duality of Aphrodite as expressed in the epithets “ethereal” and “chthonic” needs further discussion. Firstly, on this duality of Aphrodite, in the spell IV.3209–3254 she is identified with “Zeus-sprung Nature of all things,” τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων διογενῆ Φύσιν (IV.3230–31) and characterised as δίμορφον, “two-formed,” but at the same time as ἀμερείην, “indivisible” (IV.3231–3232), a term which also implies philosophical influences.⁵⁰⁸ Similarly, in Plato’s *Symposium* there is a reference to the two-formed nature of Aphrodite, the senior one called “daughter of Uranos/Heaven”⁵⁰⁹ and, accordingly, Οὐρανίαν, “Heavenly”; and the younger one, the child of Zeus and Dione,⁵¹⁰ called Πάνδημον, “worshiped by all the people of the land.”⁵¹¹

Secondly, similar to her address as αἰθερία, Aphrodite is called Οὐρανία (VII.864) in the “Lunar spell of Claudianus” (VII.862–918, III C.E.), in which there is a local reference to Aphroditopolis, where that particular papyrus was thought to be found. In IV.2441–2621 Aphrodite, identified with

⁵⁰⁵ Epicur. *Nat.* II.993.5; Epicur. *Ep. Pyth.* 99.4; Epicur. *Perd. Libr. Rel.* 24.19.1, 24.23.2: ἀλ[λ]ηλουχίαι [...]ια[... σ]υμμετρ[ίαι]ς; 24.49.4: [ἀ]λλη[λου]χοι φύσεις.

⁵⁰⁶ Procl. *Inst.* 97.9–10: τὸ δὲ αὐτόματον ἐν οἷς τάξις ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλληλουχία; Iambl. *Protr.* 116.15–16: καὶ ἀλληλουχίας συμπαθείας τε καὶ συμπνοίας μεγάλα τεκμήρια; Iambl. *In Nic.* p. 7.7–8 Pistelli and Klein: τοῦ δὲ συνεχοῦς κατὰ ἑνωσίν τε καὶ ἀλληλουχίαν. *PGM* IV.2916–2917 (ἀλληλοῦχε) – Lucr. I.1–49 (an invocation to Venus influenced by Epicurean and Empedoclean thought) – and Emp. *Fr.* 17 DK (Love and Strife) may suggest the influence of a Neoplatonic reading of Empedocles. See Introduction, above, p. 8.

⁵⁰⁷ Notice also the combination of the adjectives Χθονία καὶ Οὐρανία (XXIII.14) possibly for Isis in the spell XXIII.1–70, which includes a passage from *Kestos* 18.20 of Julius Africanus. See Preisendanz (1974) 2:151.

⁵⁰⁸ On the epithet ἀμερείην see Appendix 7 on p. 190; also on its philosophical allusions see e.g. Pl. *Tht.* 205e: ἐν τε καὶ ἀμερές, *Prm.* 138a: τοῦ δὲ ἐνός τε καὶ ἀμεροῦς; on ἀμέρεια in the Neoplatonists see e.g. Porph. *Sent.* 34.19; Procl. *Inst.* 86.16ff., 95.7ff., 176.4ff., 190.7ff., 197.10ff.

⁵⁰⁹ See Hes. *Th.* 185–190.

⁵¹⁰ See Hom. *Il.* V.370–430.

⁵¹¹ Pl. *Smp.* 180d3–8.

Selene, is also addressed as “heavenly” (IV.2558). In fact, Aphrodite’s description as Οὐρανία is common at all periods and places in the Greek world.⁵¹² According to Herodotus, the origins of the “Heavenly Aphrodite” are oriental, referring to the temple of the Heavenly Aphrodite in the city of Ascalon in Syria and describing it as “the oldest of all the temples of this goddess.”⁵¹³ This aspect of Aphrodite actually derives, as Burkert points out, from the Phoenician goddess Astarte, who was also called “the queen of Heaven,” and whose worship and cult reveal many similarities with that of Heavenly Aphrodite.⁵¹⁴ Herodotus mentions, moreover, that the Heavenly Aphrodite was called Mylitta by the Assyrians, Alilat by the Arabians and Mitran by the Persians.⁵¹⁵ Godley argues that all these names stand for “the great goddess Mother of Heaven and Earth” whom the various nations named differently.⁵¹⁶

Thirdly, after explaining Aphrodite’s epithet as Heavenly and her association with the great goddess Mother of Heaven and Earth, Aphrodite’s description as χθονία (IV.2915–2916) will be examined. This epithet may already be justified in Aphrodite’s relation to the underworld, as implied in her association with Adonis in the myth of Adonis’ resurrection from Hades, which is mentioned in this spell.⁵¹⁷ However, the examination of Aphrodite’s assimilation to other deities mentioned in this spell can also be helpful. Aphrodite is identified with the Babylonian goddess of the underworld Ereschigal (Ερεσχιγάλ) called Aktiophi(s)⁵¹⁸ (IV.2913). Ereschigal, which in Sumerian means “Lady of the Great Place,” was considered the supreme goddess of the underworld.⁵¹⁹ Thus, the chthonic characteristics of Aphrodite are accentuated here as a result of the assimilation process between these two deities of the Greek and the Babylonian polytheistic systems.⁵²⁰

⁵¹² E.g. *Hymn. Orph.* 55.1; *E. Fr.* 781.15–17; *Derv. Pap.* col. XXI.5; Betegh (2004) 44–45; Paus. I.19.2.6–7, II.23.8.6 and VI.20.6.4.

⁵¹³ *Hdt. Hist.* I.105.

⁵¹⁴ *Jer* 7:18, 44:17–19; Burkert (1996a) 152–153.

⁵¹⁵ *Hdt. Hist.* I.131.

⁵¹⁶ Page (1931) 137. Note also Pausanias’ report on the combination of the statues of Aphrodite and the Mother of the gods and Tyche (Ἀφροδίτη τε καὶ Μήτηρ θεῶν καὶ Τύχη) in the *stoa* of Dionysus and Hekate, Paus. II.11.8.3–4.

⁵¹⁷ IV.2901: οὐκ ὄψη τὸν Ἀδωνιν ἀνερχόμενον Ἀΐδαο. Notice also the mention of another Greek myth, that of Ixion’s wheel (Ἰξίωνιον τροχόν) in relation to Adonis. On the Adonis cult in Egypt and its fusion with that of Osiris in the Middle Kingdom see Griffiths (1970) 320–321; also Betz (1986) 93; on Adonis’ Semitic origins see Burkert (1996a) 176–177.

⁵¹⁸ Aktiophi(s) was an epithet of Selene, Hopfner (1974); also Betz (1986) 332; on this epithet see also above, p. 137, n. 387 (on Selene-Hekate-Artemis).

⁵¹⁹ Bottéro (2001) 108–109. For Ereschigal as the goddess of the underworld see also the Akkadian myth in “The Tell El-Amarna Tablets,” *Fr.* A and B (obverse); Pritchard (1969) 103.

⁵²⁰ Notice also Preisendanz’s emendation of ἀκτεβορε to ἀκτε(ρο)βόρε, which means “eater of the unburied dead” (IV.3240).

It is significant that in the same spell two Persian words are mentioned, indicating Persian influences, first *Βαρζαν*, which in Persian means “shining light,” and then *Πουζω*, which could be a form of the Persian word “Zouro.”⁵²¹ Aphrodite-Barza, moreover, is described as *πυρὸς μεγάλου περιδινήτειρα*, “causing the great fire to revolve” (V.2917). This association of Aphrodite-Barza with fire suggests Persian influences regarding the role and the cult of fire in the Iranian religion.⁵²²

2. “Aphrodite’s name” (PGM IV.1265–1274)

In the erotic spell “Aphrodite’s name” (IV C.E.) the goddess is addressed as *Νεφεριηρι* (IV.1266). As O’Neil points out, *Νεφεριηρι* stands for the Egyptian *Nfr-iry.t*, which means “the beautiful eye.”⁵²³ The question is, however: What does this description suggest about Aphrodite? *Νεφεριηρι* was a common epithet of the Egyptian Sky-goddess Hathor, who, according to the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, was responsible for the protection of the eyes.⁵²⁴ In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Hathor became the Egyptian equivalent to Aphrodite because of their common characteristics as goddesses of love and joy.

Conclusion

Aphrodite retains her Greek characteristics and epithets as the goddess of love in the Greek magical papyri. She is, furthermore, identified with the Egyptian goddess Hathor. Aphrodite’s description as “ethereal” and “chthonic” denotes her two-formed nature. Her address as “heavenly” reveals oriental influences. Aphrodite’s description as the goddess “who holds things together” implies philosophical influences from the Epicureans and Neoplatonist philosophers. Aphrodite is also assimilated to the abstract all-mother Nature and with other goddesses of Persian, or Babylonian origins, such as the Babylonian Ereschigal.

⁵²¹ IV.2919, 2923, 2931, 2935; Betz (1986) 93, nn. 368–369; Preisendanz (1973) 1:166; on Barza see also XIVa.4: *θεὸν μέγαν Βάρζαν*; on Zouro see Preisendanz (1936b).

⁵²² Boyce (1990) 10, 48–49, 61. See also the discussion in the Helios section, above, pp. 79–84.

⁵²³ Betz (1986) 62, n. 171; see also Preisendanz’s comment on Nefertiti, Preisendanz (1973) 1:115, l. 1266.

⁵²⁴ E.g. *Eg. B. Dd.* 42: “my eyes are Hathor”; Faulkner (1972) pl. 32. For the protection of various divinities of different parts of the bodies of the blessed see Wiedemann (2003) 171ff.

XIV. Bes(as)

The name Bes in Egyptian religion is attributed to a group of daimons of African origin. The figure of Bes was often depicted as a monstrous, dwarf-god and because of his ugly appearance, he was considered to be the protector against the evil eye and of pregnant women in childbirth. His cult reaches back to the Old Kingdom. His depicted ability to ward off evil made him extremely popular in the New Kingdom and his worship was transmitted down into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the Hellenistic period there were images of Bes together with Isis, as a protector of childbirth and alongside the most popular ones of Harpocrates and Isis as protectors of childhood and motherhood, as depicted in amulets and other images in private religious practices.⁵²⁵ The popularity of Bes reflects a typical religious tendency of regarding lesser gods as closer to ordinary people and their concerns.⁵²⁶

1. Spells: "Request for a dream oracle from Besas" (PGM VII.222–249) and "Request for the dream oracle of Besas" (PGM VIII.64–110)

In the Greek magical papyri there are two spells directly related to Besas, Βησᾶς, the Greek form of Bes: VII.222–249 "Request for a dream oracle from Besas" (III C.E.) and VIII.64–110 "Request for the dream oracle of Besas" (IV/V C.E.).⁵²⁷ In the Roman period Besas was extremely popular for his oracle at Abydos.⁵²⁸ In both spells Besas is assimilated to "the headless god." Similar figures are mentioned by Greek authors such as Herodotus who refers to "the headless ones," οἱ ἀκέφαλοι, as monstrous creatures in Libya.⁵²⁹ Plutarch in *De Defectu Oraculorum* mentions a festival in Crete, where the worshippers display "the image of a headless man," εἶδωλον ἀνδρὸς ἀκέφαλον, which they consider to be "Molos," the father of Meriones.⁵³⁰

In VII.222–249 the magician starts off his invocation by adjuring σε τὸν ἀκέφαλον θεόν, τ[ὸ]ν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄρασιν· ὁ ἀστράπ(τ)ων, ὁ βροντάζων, "you the headless daimon who has his vision in his feet; who hurls lightning and thunders" (VII.232–234). The same phrase is repeated towards the end of the invocation: σὺ εἶ ὁ ἀκέφ[α]λος θεός, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχων κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν ὄρ[α]σιν. These words re-appear in the invocation to Besas

⁵²⁵ On the private religious practices including these of Besas in the Hellenistic period in Egypt see Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) chpt. 8, at 304 ff.

⁵²⁶ Cf. e.g. Nilsson (1948) 72; Bell (1954) 65 ff.

⁵²⁷ In another spell also (IV.475–829) the "Besas plant," Βησάδος βοτάνης, is mentioned (IV.806).

⁵²⁸ Wiedemann (2003) 162 ff.

⁵²⁹ Hdt. *Hist.* IV.191.

⁵³⁰ Plu. *Def. Orac.* 417E; see also Paus. IX.20.5; also Betz (1986) 335.

(VIII.91–93) in the other spell VIII.64–110. Grese in these three cases translates τὴν ὄρασιν as “the face” and suggests that the phrase could be either an allusion to the Egyptian religious custom of “putting the head of the beheaded between their feet,” or a reference to Besas, “who has the heads of animals for feet.”⁵³¹ Since these two spells explicitly concern the headless Besas, both explanations presumably can apply. However, τὴν ὄρασιν is obviously better translated as “the/his vision”, rather than as “the face.”

In both spells Besas-the headless one is described as “the one lying on a coffin and having towards the head an elbow-cushion of resin and asphalt,” σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ σορῶ κατακείμενος καὶ πρὸς κεφαλῆς ἔχων ὑπαγκώνιον ῥητίνης καὶ ἀσφάλτου (VII.235–237 and VIII.96–98), and assimilated to Anouth, which is a name of Osiris (VII.237, 243, 246; and VIII.99–100, 102).⁵³² In addition, in VIII.64–110 the magician is instructed to draw “a man naked, standing, having a diadem on his head, in his right hand a sword with a bend placed on his neck and in the left hand a wand,” ἄνθρωπος γυμνός, ἐστῶς, ἔχων βασιλῆιον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ξίφος καμπῇ ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον κείμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐωνύμῳ ῥάβδον (VIII.104–107).⁵³³

In another spell (II.64–186) there is a similar reference to “the headless one” (II.166), accompanied with a figure showing a headless person with “five projections” instead of the head and with something akin to a triangle shape on the top of each one pointing to the right. This figure also holds in his right hand a staff with two circles attached on the top and two “hooks” attached on the other end, and in his left hand a staff with arrows on it all pointing to the right.⁵³⁴

Bonner notes the resemblance of the figure described in VIII.104–107 to a magical gem displayed in the British Museum, where both sides depict a figure wrapped as a mummy, carrying on its head three projections similar to hairpins, or a “crest with plumes or plants,” or simply a crown.⁵³⁵ On both sides of the gem there is something akin to a staff with a circle at both ends and attached to it a “hook” underneath. The only difference between these two figures is that on the obverse the feet of the mummy are turned to the left, but on the reverse they are turned to the right.⁵³⁶

⁵³¹ Betz (1986) 123, n. 19; also Preisendanz (1950b); Delatte (1914); K. Abel (1970); also Dickie (1999a).

⁵³² Also in *PGM* VIII.83 Anouth is presented as Helios’ “holy daimon”; see also Betz (1986) 332.

⁵³³ See the figure in Preisendanz (1974) 2: Abb. 6: *PGM* VIII Kol. III Besas; also in Betz (1986) 148; in the untitled spell for revelation II.1–64 the headless one should also be drawn on a piece of papyrus (II.11–12).

⁵³⁴ Preisendanz (1973) 1:30 and Tafel 1, Abb. 2: *PGM* II.166.

⁵³⁵ Bonner (1950) 108ff.

⁵³⁶ Bonner (1950) pl. VII, 151.

In the spells under discussion, VII.222–249 and VIII.64–110, as has been shown, Besas-the headless god is identified with Osiris. Bonner argues that the three projections on the head of the mummy may be either a crown, or an allusion to the three water plants, which decorate the head of the Nile god Hapi, although Hapi is more often depicted with five water plants on his head. Bonner also suggests that Osiris is identified in this case with the dead because of his characteristic as god of the dead and in light of his connection with Hapi.⁵³⁷ Another explanation, that the three projections might be nails used in *defixio*, seems less plausible, since there is no reference to *defixio* in the mentioned spells.

2. “*Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist in his letter*” (PGM V.96–172, IV C.E.)

The “holy Headless,” ἅγιε Ἀκέφαλε (V.125) is invoked to deliver a person from the daimon who restrains him.⁵³⁸ The Headless one is identified here with “Osoronnohphris,” which in Egyptian means “Osiris the Beautiful Being.”⁵³⁹ Thus, again Besas is assimilated to Osiris. The headless one-Osoronnohphris is addressed as the one “who created (τὸν κτίσαντα) earth and heaven, who created night and day, who created light and darkness” (V.98–101). Furthermore, the magician first describes himself as “Moses your prophet to whom you have given your mysteries accomplished by Israel”⁵⁴⁰ (V.111–114), and then as, ἄγγελος τοῦ Φαπρω Ὁσοροννωφρις, “the angel of Pharaoh Osoronnohphris” (V.116–117),⁵⁴¹ also as “the Grace (ἡ Χάρις) of Aion” (V.156). The magician is also self-defined as, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἀκέφαλος δαίμων ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχων τὴν ὄρασιν, “I am the headless daimon who has his vision in his feet” (V.145–147) and ὁ ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν, “who hurls lightning and thunders,” (V.150–151). In the former phrase, the description of the headless one is exactly the same as in the two spells referring to Besas examined above, although this time the magician identifies himself with the headless daimon. What is striking, however, is the assimilation of the headless-one Osoronnohphris to the Jewish creator-god parallel to the assimilation of the magician-the headless daimon-the angel of Pharaoh Osoronnohphris to the Jewish Moses and the abstract Grace of Aion (a phrase which itself combines Greek and Jewish elements).⁵⁴² These bold equations of the headless god reveal a mixture of Egyptian, Jewish, Hellenistic, as well as polytheistic and monotheistic influences.

⁵³⁷ Bonner (1950) 109ff.

⁵³⁸ Also V.128–129 and V.98.

⁵³⁹ See also IV.1078; also Betz (1986) 337; see also above, p. 87.

⁵⁴⁰ On Moses and Magic see Gager (1972) 134ff.; also Gager (1994).

⁵⁴¹ On Φαπρω (V.114) see Preisendanz (1973) 1:185.

⁵⁴² See above, pp. 73, n. 54; 109, n. 237; and 116, n. 273.

3. “A restraining seal” (PGM IV.2125–2139, IV C.E.)

In the following spell to be examined, “A restraining seal,” there is a reference to a “headless lion,” *λέων ἀκέφαλος* (IV.2132–2133) that should be engraved on an iron ring. Instead of a head, this lion should have the “crown (*βασίλειον*) of Isis” and “he should trample with his feet a skeleton (so that the right foot should trample the skull of the skeleton),” *πατείτω δὲ τοῖς ποσὶ σκελετόν* (ἵνα ὁ δεξιὸς ποὺς πατῇ τὸ κρανίον τοῦ σκελετοῦ) (IV.2131–2135). The description of the figure of the headless lion trampling a skull with his foot fits the references to the Headless one, or to Besas, the headless god examined in the spells above, VII.222–249, VIII.64–110 and V.96–172. This figure is also associated with Osiris, since the magician is instructed to seal the mouth of the skull with dirt “of the doors of Osiris,” which refers to the doors of a temple of Osiris (IV.2117–2118).⁵⁴³

Conclusion

In the case of Besas the process of assimilation initially occurs within the Egyptian religious system. In both VII.222–249 and VIII.64–110 spells related to Besas’ oracle, Besas is assimilated to “the headless god” and to Anouth, which is a name for Osiris. Besas-the headless one-Osoronno-phris is identified with the Jewish creator-god in V.96–172. In the same spell the magician is described as the headless daimon and the angel of Pharaoh Osoronno-phris and assimilated to Moses and the Grace of Aion. These assimilations reveal a mixture of Egyptian, Jewish and Hellenistic influences. The reference, finally, in IV.2125–2139 to the headless lion trampling a skull with his foot alludes to Besas-the headless god, who is also associated with Osiris.

XV. Divine Epithets and Identities

The sections above examined the religious and philosophical assimilations of the gods and abstract concepts in the Greek magical papyri. In this process of assimilation the epithets played an important part in identifying the roles and characteristics of the gods and concepts that underwent this process, involving as it did a mixing of old and new religious ideas and of influences from diverse cultures. This section discusses epithets which seem to be unique to the Greek magical papyri. The raw material is gathered in an Appendix,

⁵⁴³ For dirt, or similar substances as conveying the essence of a being see above, Chpt. 1, p. 22.

which lists firstly those epithets unique to the *PGM* according to LSJ, and secondly the epithets in the *PGM* that are not recorded at all in LSJ.⁵⁴⁴

Most of the epithets that occur only in the Greek magical papyri are included in the hymns, which are mainly written in dactylic hexameters.⁵⁴⁵ Obviously, therefore, most of these epithets are metrically useful. They are mainly used to describe and define the multiple characteristics of the gods. Thus in the hymn “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (IV.2785–2870)⁵⁴⁶ Hekate-Selene-Artemis is described together with other epithets as φιλήρεμε, “lover of silence” (IV.2807), τετραώνυμε, τετραοδίτι, “having four names, of the four crossroads” (IV.2817), νυκτοφάνεια, “appearing by night” (IV.2818–2819), and later as Δαμνῶ, Δαμνομένηα· Δαμασάνδρα· Δαμνοδαμία (IV.2850–2851). All these epithets as compound adjectives, are easily invented, and easily understandable. The φιλ- and τετρα- compounds, for example, are very common. In the last example the repetition four times of Δαμν- compound adjectives creates a powerful climax.⁵⁴⁷ At the same time, these adjectives all describe specific functions of the god, or goddess and thereby allow the magician to summarise distinctive divine attributes with great economy.

In the same hymn Hekate-Selene-Artemis is also characterised as ζωνοδράκοντι, αίμοπότι, θανατηγέ, φθορηγενές, καρδιόδαιτε, άωροβόρε, οίστροπλάνεια, “girdled with snakes, drinking blood, death-bringing, breeding corruption, feasting on hearts, devouring those who die untimely, causing the wanderings of madness” (IV.2864–2868). In this case, the unique epithets are used successively in a sequence. The combination of the new words and of the occurrence in a sequence is intense and dramatic. The piling-up of adjectives about the goddess also allows the magician to summarise many of the goddesses’s essential attributes quite economically.

There are, however, even more complex compounds. Typhon, for example, in the hymn “To Typhon” (IV.179–201) is addressed as γνοφεντινάκτα, βρονταγωγέ, νυκταστράπτα, ψυχ(ρ)οθερμοφύσησε, πετρεντινάκτα, κοχλαζοκύμων, βυθοταραξοκίνησε, “shaker of darkness, bringer of thunder, emitter of lightning-flashes by night, breathing cold and hot, shaker of rocks, causer of earthquakes destructive of walls, with splashing wave, stirring the deep to movement” (IV.182–184) and later as, χθονοριφῆ, “flung on the ground” (IV.196). These epithets emphasise many of the different aspects of Typhon’s destructive character. The main consonants that each epithet contains also help to create a dramatic and emotional atmosphere when they are being pronounced.

⁵⁴⁴ See Appendix 7 on pp. 190–192.

⁵⁴⁵ See Appendix 3 on pp. 178–179.

⁵⁴⁶ Preisendanz (1974) 2:253–255.

⁵⁴⁷ Similar repetitions are quite common in the *PGM*; cf. e.g. αίωναίε, αίωναχ(τ)ινοκράτωρ, αίωνοπολοκράτωρ of the “first-begotten and first-born god”-creator-god addressed in a spell/prayer for deliverance (I.200–201).

Other highly elaborate, composite, compound adjectives include *βροντο-κεραυνοπάτωρ*, “father of the thunderbolt” (IV.3102), of Kronos; and *φριξωποβρονταξαστράπτα*, “hurler of frightful thunder and lightning” (V.19) of Sarapis-Zeus-Helios-Mithras.

The richness of the magicians’ religious thinking, as it has been analysed is, therefore, suitably accompanied by rich linguistic inventiveness, above all in the invention of epithets for the various gods and in the rhetorically powerful ways in which these epithets are employed.⁵⁴⁸

XVI. Conclusion

In conclusion the question may be raised: How coherent are all these religious and philosophical assimilations? Is there any real religious consistency and uniformity within the Greek magical papyri?

Betz provides positive answers in this regard. He refers to a Greco-Egyptian syncretism represented in the Greek magical papyri, describing it not only as “a mixture of diverse elements” from various religions, but also as “a tendency toward assimilation and uniformity,” and he further argues that “this syncretism is more than a hodge-podge of heterogenous items. In effect, it is a new religion altogether, displaying unified religious attitudes and beliefs.”⁵⁴⁹ For Barb, however, “much that we are accustomed to see classified as late ‘syncretism’ is rather the ancient and original, deep-seated popular religion, coming to the surface when the whitewash of ‘classical’ writers and artists began to peel off.”⁵⁵⁰ For Scibilia, “this [contributions from the pantheons of different religions] should not be taken as a sign of syncretism, but the combination of divinities is yet another illustration of magic’s natural receptiveness.”⁵⁵¹

At this point, the problematics of the notion of “syncretism” will be considered.

Syncretism is not a term that the authors, magicians, or collectors of the Greek magical papyri ever employ, or refer to, in the magical spells and handbooks. This does not, necessarily, mean that it is an inappropriate term to use when analysing these texts. The English word derives from the Greek term “*συγκρητισμός*,” which is used by the Greek philosopher and biographer Plutarch (c. 45–120 C.E.) of the political “union,” or federation of Cretan communities when outside enemies attacked, i.e. in reality it refers to the

⁵⁴⁸ For a tabular form of the religious assimilations of gods from various religious traditions see Appendix 6 on pp. 184–189.

⁵⁴⁹ Betz (1986) xlv–xlvi.

⁵⁵⁰ Barb (1964) 4, n. 16.

⁵⁵¹ Scibilia (2002) 74.

political “coming together” of Cretans.⁵⁵² The term is, however, widely used by modern scholars when discussing ancient religion. They employ it in the broad sense of the “mixing” of different religious elements, as if derived from the Greek verb *συγκεράννυμι*: to mix. This meaning is often applied in contemporary discussions of Roman and Egyptian religion.⁵⁵³

This usage includes the notion of “union,” as deduced from the prefix *συγ-*. The term “*σύγκρασις*” (from the verb *συγκεράννυμι*) is in fact, as already mentioned, used in the Greek magical papyri to describe Helios’ cosmic constitution (VII.511), and “*κράσις*,” is also found in the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829). Both these terms occur only once, but it is clear that the magicians were cognizant of the philosophical concept of “mixing.” Thus, while the modern term “syncretism” implying the “mixing” of different religious elements or diverse religions to form some sort of “union” is based at least partly on a false etymology, this term does connect with notions existing in the ancient world. When Plutarch, moreover, uses the word *συγκρητισμός* in the narrow political sense described above, he is certainly suggesting an implicit etymological connection with the general political and philosophical process of *σύγκρασις*. In this sense religious “syncretism” can be a useful practical term, seeing that it describes an important religious phenomenon, which itself can take on many different forms. This is why Richard Gordon in his entry on “syncretism” in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* asserts, paradoxically, “the term’s real value lies in its imprecision.”⁵⁵⁴

Gordon himself distinguishes two main types of syncretism in the ancient world, “internal” (as in ancient Egyptian religion before it was affected by outside influences) and “contact,” referring to three major modes: a) “the construction of the ‘traditional’ Greek and Italo-Roman pantheons which took the form of variable fusion in the proto-historic period between the incomers’ deities and the religions of the indigenous populations”; b) “the identification, or interpretation of others’ gods in Greek, or Roman terms”; c) “the integrating devices of the Greco-Roman polytheism to counteract its inherent fissility.” This typology allows no space for Barb’s “popular religion” model.

Without seeking to provide answers to any of these theoretical questions, some of these categories will be used pragmatically in an attempt to reach some conclusions. In effect, there are two interrelated issues. Firstly, how is the process of assimilations handled? Secondly, to what extent does henotheism come into play? As has been examined in this chapter, the process of

⁵⁵² Plu. *De Frat. Amor.* 19; similarly, Michael Apostolius’ *Paroemi* (XV C.E.) referring to (again) the Cretan federation to defend themselves against an enemy army; Mich. Apost. *Par.* 15.80.5.

⁵⁵³ Thus e.g. on such ‘syncretism’ in the Hellenistic and Roman periods see MacMullen (1981) 90ff.; Lane Fox (1986) 35ff.; on Egyptian syncretism see Morenz (1992) 139–142; on Egyptian-Jewish syncretism, Barclay (1996) 119–124.

⁵⁵⁴ *OCD* 1462–1463.

religious and philosophical assimilations of the gods in the Greek magical papyri is a complex one and functions on many levels.

The first level involves a religious system by itself (as in Gordon's "internal syncretism"). In the religious assimilations of the gods described in the Greek magical papyri, there is reference, for example, to the identifications of Helios and Apollo, and Selene/Mene, Hekate and Artemis and often Persephone. In these cases, the process of assimilation, according to their common features, initially occurs in Greek religion and mythology and it is reflected also in the Greek religious cults. Similarly, on the Egyptian side, Besas, for example, is identified with Osiris and the headless god.

The next level of these assimilation processes involves the procedures of interpretation and adaptation regarding the Egyptian gods in terms of the equivalent Greek ones. The Greeks seemed to be already familiar with this process from the classical period, as the repeated references from Herodotus have shown (i.e. Gordon's "contact syncretism," mode b above). As reflected in the spells, for example, Helios is assimilated to Horus Harpocrates, Hermes with Thoth, Eros with Harpocrates, Aphrodite with Hathor and Typhon with Seth. The converse also applies. Isis, for example, is identified with Nemesis, Adrasteia and Tyche, Osiris with wine (Dionysus), and the Egyptian Thoth with the Thracian Hero. This assimilation process involves systematic comparison between the gods of two great polytheistic religious systems.

Such assimilations become even more complex, when influences from other pantheons are added in. Examples to note are: the Persian and Babylonian pantheons, as expressed in the identifications of Helios-Horus Harpocrates with Mithras, or Sarapis-Helios-Zeus with Mithras, or in the assimilations of goddesses of oriental origins. The latter include Aphrodite-Hathor with the Heavenly Goddess, the all-mother Nature and the Babylonian Ereschigal, or Hekate-Selene-Artemis-Persephone with Ereschigal.

Within the Egyptian pantheon, Seth is depicted as playing a particularly significant role in these processes. He represents "the foreigner god." This concept of an Egyptian god recognised as "a divine foreigner," who could assume the forms of major gods of other religious systems, reveals a more or less conscious attempt by the Egyptians to deal with the issue of assimilation and adaptation to other gods of other religious cultures with which they were in contact.

On one level, the assimilation process becomes even more complicated when it involves the comparison, not only between two or more polytheistic systems, but between polytheistic and monotheistic systems as well. That is the case with Jewish and Christian religious influences displayed in the Greek magical papyri. Helios-Horus Harpocrates-Mithras, for instance, is also addressed as the living god, Iao and Sabaoth. Chrestos is associated with Helios, and Jesus Christos/Jesus is identified with magical names of Jewish origins, such as those of IABA, IAE, ABRAOTH, AIA, and the Egyptian

Thoth. The creator-god is also assimilated to the Greek Helios, Kronos and Titan, the Egyptian Abrasax, the Jewish Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, Raphael and Michael, or even with the Jewish concept of “father of all powers,” or “god of the powers.” On another level, therefore, the comparison with monotheistic systems helps to simplify the assimilation process, because it has the propensity for henotheistic solutions.

This chapter has also examined various abstract concepts personified and deified, with a particular emphasis on Aion. The abstract concept of Aion, or the god of Aions is assimilated to the creator-god of all and various Greek, Egyptian and Jewish gods, or even to other abstract concepts, such as Wisdom, Tyche, Hour and Day, the encompassing, the system, the spirit, or the form of the world. These assimilations reflect an attempt to appropriate the gods from various religious traditions to a single concept of Eternity, by simultaneously emphasising its abstract quality due to its identification with other abstract concepts.

Another important issue that was focused on is the characteristic of most gods to assume various forms of other gods, or, in some cases, of various animals. There have been references, for example, to the various “forms” of Helios. Helios-Apollo is mentioned as “many-named.” Hermes is another god addressed as “many-named.” Similarly, goddesses such as Selene-Hekate-Artemis and Isis are described as “many-named” and “many-formed.” Eros is invoked to help the magician as an “assistant,” “having assumed the likeness” of other gods. Selene also is described as “assuming all forms.” This multi-morphous nature (“many-formedness”) and multi-nominality (“many-namedness”) of gods already occurs within separate religious systems, but it is an important vehicle in the assimilation of gods from different religious systems. This aspect of the Egyptian god Seth has already been pointed out. The ‘many-formedness,’ however, facilitates a henotheistic tendency. This becomes explicit in the example of the creator-god that is assimilated with “Aion of Aion,” “who is transformed into all (gods).”

The notion of ‘one-ness’ as transcending apparent plurality is also expressed in the following addresses: “one Zeus Sarapis,” εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπισ (IV.1715), or when in the hymn “To the creator of all” (XII.244–252) the creator of all-king of Aions is addressed as “one god immortal (εἷς θεὸς ἀθάνατος); the begetter of all” (XII.246–247), or in the assimilation of “the one and blessed (τὸν ἓνα καὶ μάκαρα) of the Aions and father of the cosmos” with “Helios, father of the cosmos” (IV.1169–1170, 1181–1182). It even comes to the fore in the message that the user of “The sword of Dardanos” (IV.1716–1870) spell is instructed to write on a golden leaf, εἷς θουριήλ· Μιχαήλ· Γαβριήλ· Οὐριήλ· Μισαήλ· Ἰρραήλ· Ἰστραήλ (IV.1813–1815).

There are other attempts to create a sense of order within a formally polytheistic framework, which fall short of henotheism and of what might be described as a megatheistic concept, where the emphasis falls on such-and-

such a god as being the “greatest”; or the search for a “forefather,” or some similar first principle as the “self-engendered,” or the “hermaphrodite,” apparently sometimes derived from Orphic cosmogonies.

In the assimilation process of the gods and abstract concepts, the richness and linguistic inventiveness of epithets stand out. They played an important part in identifying the roles and characteristics of the gods and abstract concepts that underwent this process, which involves a mixing of old and new religious influences from different religious systems. These epithets are included in the invocations to the gods and the hymns of the Greek magical papyri and some of them also occur in the *Homeric* and *Orphic Hymns*, or even in Proclus’ *Hymns*.

A constant concern in this chapter has been the question of religious and philosophical influences on the Greek magical papyri. In light of this, a case has been made for religious and philosophical influences from the Neoplatonists, the *Chaldaean Oracles*, the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the Nag Hammadi Library. The authors of the spells and/or the magicians use these religious and philosophical influences of syncretistic character in active ways, for example, to underwrite unifying abstractions such as Intelligence or Mind, or to reconcile the notion of apparent plurality with ‘one-ness.’ The various assimilations of the gods within a religious system, or between different systems and the various names and forms, reveal a religious tendency towards henotheism, as was found. These assimilations may also at the same time reflect influences from the Neoplatonist philosophers on the notion of the “one (which) is at the same time and many and that anything manifold has the many in one.”⁵⁵⁵ On the whole, therefore, the function of the assimilations is to support fundamentally henotheistic concepts.

Thus far, this study tends to support Betz’s claims. This raises the question whether there are any difficulties in applying his model. It might be argued that there is inconsistency, when in one spell a particular god is singled out as “the greatest,” or “the ruler of the cosmos,” etc., and in another spell a different god receives prominence. This formal inconsistency, however, tends to resolve itself into a fairly unified henotheism.

There are also internal inconsistencies. For example, in the spell “Eros as an assistant” (XII.14–95), although Eros is described as the greatest god and identified with Harpocrates and Osiris, he is subsequently ordered “on the command of the highest god Iao, Adoneai” (XII.62–63). In this case, however, the ‘negotiating mechanism’ of the spells should be taken into consideration. Eros is ‘flattered’ in an initial *captatio benevolentiae*, but he is then reminded that he is himself under higher authority. Similarly, in the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829) Helios-Mithras is addressed as “the great

⁵⁵⁵ Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.2ff.; also Iambl. *Myst.* VII.3.

god" (IV.481), although in IV.1035–1046 Helios is presented as being subordinate to "the great living god" (IV.1037–1039).

There are also cases where, while formal assimilations are being made, it seems to be important to the magicians and/or authors of the spells to retain an emphasis on minor local identities, for example, in the visual representation of Besas.

To conclude, it would be apt to revisit Betz's claims concerning a Greco-Egyptian syncretism represented in the Greek magical papyri, which is not just "a mixture of diverse elements" from various religions, but also "a tendency toward assimilation and uniformity," and a "syncretism [which] ... is a new religion altogether, displaying unified religious attitudes and beliefs."⁵⁵⁶ As has been examined, these religious assimilations involve gods from various different religious systems.

With very few exceptions, these assimilations, however complicated, are consistent. It is, therefore, correct to speak of "unified religious attitudes and beliefs." These religious and philosophical assimilations, moreover, were not just invented by the magicians and/or authors of the spells as a way of securing the gods' help by calling them by their equivalent names in other religions. The assimilations were a key vehicle for the functionality of a magical interreligious system, which supported coexistence in the heterogenous society of the period, at least in the larger cities in Egypt. This does not imply that this magical system, although it drew on other religious systems, should be judged by comparing it to formal religious systems.

⁵⁵⁶ Betz (1986) xlv–xlvi.

Epilogue

As set out in the objectives (Introduction), this monograph aimed to examine and discuss the various concepts of the divine. The examination started off in the first chapter with the religio-philosophical concept of the personal daimon and the magico-theurgic ritual of systasis. In the second chapter the religious concept of the divine assistant, *πάρεδρος*, was investigated by examining the various categories of assistants, their divine epiphanies and the relationship between the divine assistant and the individual. The third chapter focused on the concept of god, by examining the manifold religious and philosophical assimilations of the gods. These assimilations and unions were carefully examined by establishing the philosophical, religious, mystical and theurgic correlations, and by testing the influence these assimilations and unions exerted on the spells mentioned.

Chapter 1 focused on “The Religio-Philosophical Concept of the Personal Daimon and the Magico-Theurgic Ritual of Systasis.” The process by which the individual connects with the personal daimon is specified by the magico-theurgic ritual of systasis, which is accomplished by a series of transitional ritualistic processes at a cosmic level implying influences from Egyptian religion, Orphic cosmogony and Chaldaeo-Persian magical beliefs. The concept of the personal daimon is paralleled to philosophical approaches of Platonism and Neoplatonism and also of Stoicism. This notion of the personal daimon conceptualised an essentially internal agent that is assimilated to the individual’s soul or destiny. In some cases, however, there was a slight degree of externality, as in the example of the individual’s shadow, in the description of the process as “communication,” or in the notion of “sending the personal daimon.”

The mentioned relationship between the individual and the personal daimon was further focused on the individual’s philosophical and religio-mystical internalisation of the divine. This is illustrated by the magician’s tendency to assimilate himself with the divine through the mystical factor of his personal knowledge of the forms and the names of the divine. The assimilation of the magician with the divine has been paralleled to similar assimilations from the mystery religions and the *Cologne Mani Codex*. The chapter also discussed influences from the religio-philosophical texts of the Corpus Hermeticum and the Gnostic Nag Hammadi Library on these assimi-

lations and the notions of knowledge and image. In sum, the goal of the spells involving the personal daimon is the theurgic union with the divine. This union is achieved by the power of the secret knowledge, cognizance of the words and symbols, and the magical rituals.

Chapter 2, "The Religious Concept of the Paredros," examined the concept of the divine assistant and how the relationships are established between the paredros and the divine, as well as the paredros and the magician. It was indicated that the definition of paredros as "an assistant daimon" was much too restrictive and that the basic term of "assistant" covers an extremely wide range of "assistants." These include different types of daimons, the resurrected spirit and body of the dead, the god Eros, or a god or a goddess, revealed to the magician as an angel, an image, or a human form. The term may further refer to the very concept of divine assistance, the actual process of conceptualising the divine, or even to the spell which activates the assistance.

The examination of a particular application of the term to a god or a goddess revealed in many forms (an angel, an image, or a human form), in the broader religious and philosophical thought, processes the tendency towards henotheism and the notion of "one and many" of the Neoplatonist philosophers. The divine epiphanies of the gods, or goddesses and their various transformable forms have also been paralleled to the epiphanies of the gods in heaven and their visible forms of stars of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and the divine epiphanies from the Nag Hammadi Library. These divine epiphanies together with the problems created by the use of the terms "god" and "angel" in the same context, revealed serious theological and indeed philosophical concerns regarding the magicians and/or authors of the spells. These issues involved the relationship between a god and his or her various transformable forms and, therefore, the exact determination of divinity.

The chapter also examined the relationship between the magician and the paredros, the divine assistant. This relationship is initially an external one, established first by a ritualistic process of reciting spells and practicing rituals, which the magician should follow, in order to receive the assistant. However, this relationship shows further implications. The divine assistant could also be used as a medium in the relationship-union between the magician and the god. In such a case, the process of receiving the assistant is transformed into an internal, mystical transformation of the individual magician. This transformation is expressed in the equation between the magician and the god, as defined by the assimilation of the magician to the assistant and of the assistant to the god concerned.

Chapter 3 investigated "The Concept of God through the Manifold Religious and Philosophical Assimilations." The religious and philosophical assimilations of the gods functioned on many levels. The assimilation process initially involved gods from a religious system as such, and then the compari-

son between two or more polytheistic systems. This process of assimilation also functioned between polytheistic and monotheistic systems.

The examination focused on religious assimilations with various gods and philosophical concepts, as expressed in the notions of multi-nominality, 'many-namedness,' and multi-morphous nature, 'many-formedness,' of the gods (i.e., their ability to assume various forms of other gods, or animals). It was found that these assimilations may reveal Egyptian influences, since the depiction of the gods in various animal forms, or in human forms with animal heads, was a major characteristic of the Egyptian religious personification of the divine.

These above-mentioned multi-notions of 'many-namedness' and 'many-formedness' of the gods and their various transformations also suggest philosophical influences from the Neoplatonist philosophers based on the idea that the "one is at the same time also many and that anything manifold has the many in one."¹ The main significance of these Neoplatonic philosophical concepts on the notion of "one-ness" as transcending perceptible plurality is that they are translated in the religious sphere into a tendency towards henotheism.

Other important religious and philosophical influences of syncretistic nature reflected in the Greek magical papyri are the influences from the *Chaldaean Oracles*, the Corpus Hermeticum and the Nag Hammadi Library. On the whole, therefore, the function of the religious and philosophical assimilations is to support fundamentally henotheistic concepts.

The tendency towards henotheism within a formally polytheistic framework is supported by megatheistic concepts. An apt example is the description of a god as the "great, great," or "greatest," or by references to similar concepts as the "forefather," the "self-engendered," or the "hermaphrodite" apparently in some cases derived from Orphic cosmogonies.

These religious tendencies are supported further by the assimilations to abstract deified concepts. An example is the assimilation of Aion with the creator-god, or with different Greek, Egyptian and Jewish gods, or even with other abstractions, such as Nous (or Phrenes), Wisdom, Tyche, the encompassing, the system, the spirit, the mixture, or the form of the world. Such assimilations reveal an attempt to appropriate many and various gods from different religious systems to a single abstract concept of Eternity. The assimilations with epithets defined the characteristics and roles of various deities and divine concepts. Some of these epithets, which are included in the invocations to the gods and the *PGM* hymns, are also used in the *Homeric* and *Orphic Hymns*, or even in Proclus' *Hymns*.

Thus, the nature and thinking of these magical texts is inclusive of various religious and philosophical currents and traditions into the general Greco-

¹ Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.2ff.; also Iamb. *Myst.* VII.3.

Egyptian magical context of the papyri. The interreligious character of the Greek magical papyri is reflected in the idealising definition of magic given by Plotinus, as “the love and the strife again in the all.” This is based on the pre-Socratic Empedocles’ concept of “Love” and “Strife,” and Plotinus’ further explanation of how magic works: “indeed by sympathy and by the fact that there is by nature a concord of the things alike and opposition of the different things, and by the diversity of the many powers which contribute to the one living being.”²

The manifold religious and philosophical assimilations of the Greek magical papyri were a key vehicle for the functionality of a magical inter-religious system, which supported diversity, coexistence and unity.

² Plot. *Enn.* IV.40.1–7; Emp. *Fr.* 17 DK; also Iambl. *Myst.* IV.9; and Procl. *Hier. Art* 148.1–7 and 151.10–11.

Appendix 1

Table 1: List of *PGM* and *PDM*

Preisendanz (1973) [vol. I]	<i>PGM</i> I–VI
Preisendanz (1974) [vol. II]	<i>PGM</i> VII–LXXXI
Betz (1986 – in translation)	<i>PGM</i> I–LXXXI <i>PDM</i> xii <i>PDM</i> xiv <i>PDM</i> lxi <i>PGM</i> LXXXII–CXXX <i>PDM</i> Supplement

Table 2: *PGM* and *PDM* Handbooks

PGM (Preisendanz [1973] [vol. I]; and Betz [1986]):

<i>PGM</i> I	1–347	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)
<i>PGM</i> II	1–183	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)
<i>PGM</i> III	1–731	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)
<i>PGM</i> IV	1–3274	(No title) Magical Handbook (IV C.E.)
<i>PGM</i> V	1–489	(No title) Magical Handbook (IV C.E.)

PGM (Preisendanz [1974] [vol. II]; and Betz [1986]); and *PDM* (Betz [1986]):

<i>PGM</i> VII	1–1026	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)
<i>PGM</i> XII	1–495	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)
<i>/PDM</i> xii	1–164	<i>PDM</i> xii.1–49 <i>PGM</i> XII.1–444 <i>PDM</i> xii.50–164: <i>PGM</i> XII.445–495
<i>PGM</i> XIII	1–1077	(IV C.E.) 1–734 (Version A.1–343, B.343–645 and C.646–734; version A: XIII.1–343 has the title, “A sacred book called ‘Monad,’ or ‘Eighth Book of Moses’ about the holy name”; and version B: XIII.343–645, “The holy, hidden book of Moses called ‘eighth’ or ‘holy’”); and 734–1077
<i>PGM</i> XIV	a, b, c	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)
<i>/PDM</i> xiv	1–1227	<i>PDM</i> xiv.1–92

	<i>PDM</i> xiv.93–114: <i>PGM</i> XIVa.1–11
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.115–450
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.451–458: <i>PGM</i> XIVb.12–15
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.459–674
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.675–694: <i>PGM</i> XIVc.16–27
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.695–1227
<i>PGM</i> LXI 1–71	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)
<i>/PDM</i> lxi 1–216	<i>PDM</i> lxi.1–42
	<i>PDM</i> lxi.43–48: <i>PGM</i> LXI.i–v (not in Preisendanz)
	<i>PDM</i> lxi.49–57
	<i>PDM</i> lxi.58–62: <i>PGM</i> LXI.vi–x (not in Preisendanz)
	<i>PDM</i> lxi.63–158
	<i>PDM</i> lxi.159–216: <i>PGM</i> LXI.1–71
<i>PDM Supplement</i>	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)

Table 3: *PGM* and *PDM* Texts

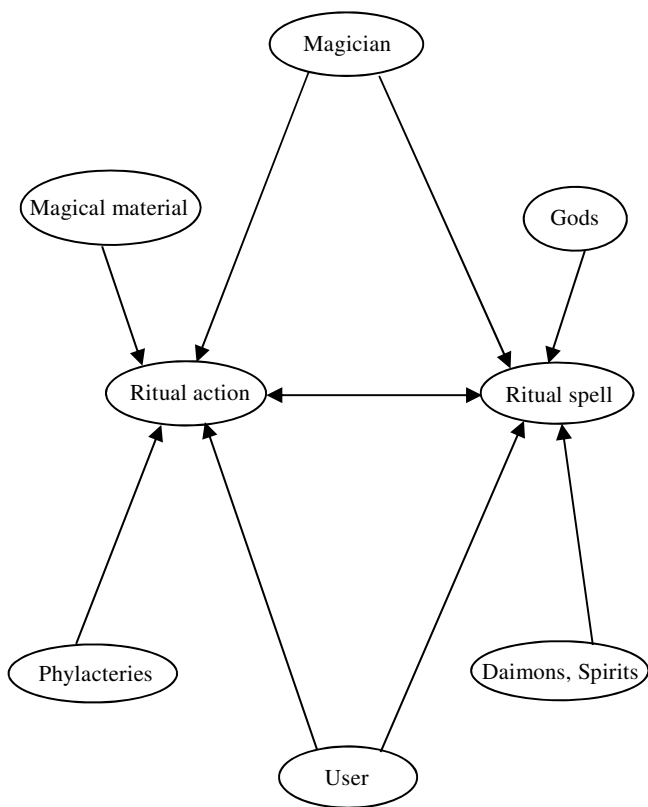
The Bilingual *PGM* and *PDM* Magical Handbooks:

PGM (Preisendanz [1974] [vol. II]; and Betz [1986]) and *PDM* (Betz [1986])

<i>PGM</i> XII 1–495	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)
<i>/PDM</i> xii 1–164	<i>PDM</i> xii.1–49
	<i>PGM</i> XII.1–444
	<i>PDM</i> xii.50–164: <i>PGM</i> XII.445–495
<i>PGM</i> XIV a, b, c	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)
<i>/PDM</i> xiv 1–1227	<i>PDM</i> xiv.1–92
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.93–114: <i>PGM</i> XIVa.1–11
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.115–450
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.451–458: <i>PGM</i> XIVb.12–15
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.459–674
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.675–694: <i>PGM</i> XIVc.16–27
	<i>PDM</i> xiv.695–1227
<i>PGM</i> LXI 1–71	(No title) Magical Handbook (III C.E.)
<i>/PDM</i> lxi 1–216	<i>PDM</i> lxi.1–42
	<i>PDM</i> lxi.43–48: <i>PGM</i> LXI.i–v (not in Preisendanz)
	<i>PDM</i> lxi.49–57
	<i>PDM</i> lxi.58–62: <i>PGM</i> LXI.vi–x (not in Preisendanz)
	<i>PDM</i> lxi.63–158
	<i>PDM</i> lxi.159–216: <i>PGM</i> LXI.1–71
<i>PDM Supplement</i>	Magical Handbook in Demotic Egyptian, Hieratic and Old Coptic
	(No title) <i>PDM</i> Magical Handbook (III C.E.)

Appendix 2

(πρᾶξις, πραγματεία, οἰκονομία, μυστήριον)



Appendix 3

*PGM Hymns*¹

Hymn 1	To the creator of all	<i>PGM</i> XII.244–252
Hymn 2	To the creator of all (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> III.550–558
Hymn 3	To Helios (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.939–948
Hymn 4	To Helios (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.436–461 (A), 1957–1989 (B), VIII.74–81 (C), I.315–325 (D)
Hymn 5	To Helios and to the gods of all (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> III.198–229
Hymn 6	To Typhon (Iambic trimeter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.179–201
Hymn 7	To Typhon (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.261–273
Hymn 8	To Apollo (Iambic pentameter)	<i>PGM</i> I.296
Hymn 9	To Apollo (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> II.2–7
Hymn 10	To Apollo (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> VI.22–38
Hymn 11	To Apollo and to Apollo-Helios (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> II.81–101, 133–140, 163–166
Hymn 12	To Apollo and Daphne (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> III.234–258
Hymn 13	To Daphne (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> VI.6–21
Hymn 14	To Daphne (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> VI.40–47
Hymns 15/16	To Hermes (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> V.400–420 (A 1–15), VII.668– 680 (B 1–12), XVIIIb (C 1–23)
Hymn 17	To Hekate-Selene-Artemis (Iambic trimeter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.2242–2417
Hymn 18	To Hekate-Selene-Artemis (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.2786–2870

¹ As they are reconstructed in Preisendanz (1974) 2:237–266; some of these hymns are included in the Appendix of Abel's edition of the *Orphica* under the title "Hymni Magici"; E. Abel (1885) 286–295. See also Heitsch (1963) 179–199.

Hymn 19	To Hekate-Selene-Artemis (Iambic tetrameter acatalectic)	<i>PGM</i> IV.2574–2610, 2643–2674
Hymn 20	To Hekate-Selene-Artemis (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.2522–2567
Hymn 21	To Hekate-Selene-Artemis (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.2714–2783
Hymn 22	To Aphrodite (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.2902–2939
Hymn 23	To the gods of all (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> I.297–314, 342–345
Hymn 24	To the gods of all (from Julius Africanus’ <i>Kestoi</i> 18.20) (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> XXIII.25–43
Hymn 25	To the underworld deities (Iambic trimeter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.1399–1434
Hymn 26	To the underworld deities (Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.1459–1469
<i>Historiolae magicae</i>		
Hist. mag. 27	(Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> IV.1471–1479
Hist. mag. 28	(Dactylic hexameter)	<i>PGM</i> XX.6–20
Hist. mag. 29	(Trochaic and Cretic) ²	<i>PGM</i> XXIX
Hist. mag. 30	(Iambic trimeter)	<i>PGM</i> IX.12–13

² Betz (1986) 266; also Powell (1925) 195–196.

Appendix 4

Homeric Lines Copied in *PGM*

Rhaps. <i>Odyssey</i> , lines	<i>Odyssey</i> , lines [<i>PGM</i> VII: Homer Oracle]
I	302, 356, 65
II	329, 273
III	115, 117, 216, 196
IV 458	607, 688, 685
V	208, 38, 346, 220
VI	201, 244
VII 332	65, 35, 30, 64, 76
VIII	329, 244, 466
IX 75	137
X 513–514	495
XI 34–43, 48–50, 51, 588	358, 366, 80, 224, 456, 443, 427, 278
XII	342
XIII	308, 339, 421
XIV	161
XV	344, 128
XVI	19, 72, 79, 81
XVII	244, 66, 550
XVIII	10, 176
XIX	306, 360
XX	316, 355, 237
XXI	214, 180, 310, 293, 257, 288, 133, 207, 236, 129, 180, 209, 339, 369, 196, 212, 342, 363, 202, 322, 156
XXII	412
XXIII	7, 26
XXIV	19

Rhaps. <i>Iliad</i> , lines	<i>Iliad</i> , lines [<i>PGM</i> VII: Homer Oracle]
I 75, 96, 37–38	212, 542
II 548	101, 204, 325, 24, 66, 200
III 278–280, 40, 445	41, 65, 51, 255, 57
IV 141	26, 443, 101, 62, 264, 95, 412, 161, 264, 362, 320
V 385	899, 654, 83, 408, 218, 740, 218, 127, 413
VI 25	441, 264, 432, 326
VII 741	360
VIII 486, 424	94, 246, 282, 299, 413
IX	120, 385, 378, 482, 43, 310, 698, 137, 598, 133
X 193, 39–41, 521, 564, 572	303, 294, 71, 383, 447
XI	371, 69, 125, 789, 654
XII	234, 243, 216, 173, 412
XIII 437	
XIV	80, 81, 212, 110, 53
XV 412	203, 52, 129
XVI	250, 282, 91
XVII 714	201, 197
XVIII	328, 134, 128, 328, 329, 10, 535, 463, 121, 117
XIX	138, 107, 185, 189, 176, 119, 139, 138, 175
XX 215–216	250, 242
XXI	21, 223, 474
XXII	513, 393, 79, 268, 484, 219, 50, 185, 348, 13, 263, 495
XXIV 530–533	725, 726, 602, 363, 369, 203

Appendix 5

Magicians, or other Figures Engaged with Magic in the *PGM*

Agathokles (Ἀγαθοκλεύς)	<i>PGM</i> XII.107
Apollobex (Ἀπολλώβηξ)	<i>PGM</i> XII.121
Apollonius of Tyana (Ἀπολλώνιος Τυανεύς)	<i>PGM</i> XIa.1
Sortes Astrampsychi	<i>PGM</i> XXVI.1–20
Astrapsoukos (Ἀστραψούκος)	<i>PGM</i> VIII.1
Claudius Ptolemaeus (ἐν τῇ ε' τῶν Πτολ<ε>μαϊκῶν)	<i>PGM</i> XIII.979
Dardanos (Δάρδανος)	<i>PGM</i> IV.1716
Demokritos (Δημόκριτος)	<i>PGM</i> VII.795, XII.351
Euenos (Εὕηνος)	<i>PGM</i> XIII.965
Erōtylos (Ἐρώτυλος)	<i>PGM</i> XIII.950
Hieros (Ἱερός)	<i>PGM</i> XIII.954
Himerios (Ἡμέριος)	<i>PGM</i> XII.96
Iymhotep	<i>PDM</i> xii.24
Jacob (Ἰακώβ)	<i>PGM</i> XXIIb.1
Jeu (Ἰέος)	<i>PGM</i> V.96
Julius Africanus	<i>PGM</i> XXIII.55–63
Keryx (Κήρυξ)	<i>PGM</i> I.43
Klaudianos (Κλαυδιανός)	<i>PGM</i> VII.862
Manethon (Μανεθῶν)	<i>PGM</i> III.440
Mithras (Μίθρας)	<i>PGM</i> V.4, III.462
Moses (Μωυσῆς)	<i>PGM</i> V.109, VII.619, XIII.1, 343, 971, III.444
Nephotes (Νεφώτης)	<i>PGM</i> IV.154
Orpheus (Ὀρφεύς)	<i>PGM</i> XIII.933
Osoronnophris (Ὅσοροννώφρις)	<i>PGM</i> V.100
Ostanes (Ὀστάνης)	<i>PGM</i> IV.2006, XII.121

Pachrates (Παχράτης)	<i>PGM</i> IV.2446
Pibechis (Πίβηχης)	<i>PGM</i> IV.3007
Pitys (Πίτυς)	<i>PGM</i> IV.1928, 2006, 2140
Pnouthis (Πνούθις/Πνούθιος)	<i>PGM</i> I.42
Psammetichos (Ψαμμήτιχος)	<i>PGM</i> IV.154
Pyrrhus (Πύρρος)	<i>PGM</i> XIII.970
Pythagoras (Πυθαγόρας)	<i>PGM</i> VII.795
Solomon (Σολομών)	<i>PGM</i> IV.850, XCII.6
Syrian woman from Gadara (Σύρα Γαδαρηνή)	<i>PGM</i> XX.4
Thessalian Philinna (Φιλίννη Θεσσαλή)	<i>PGM</i> XX.13
Thphes (Θφής)	<i>PGM</i> XIII.959
Zminis of Tentyra (Ζμίνις Τεντυρίτης)	<i>PGM</i> XII.121
Zoroaster (Ζωροάστρης)	<i>PGM</i> XIII.968

Appendix 6

A List of Epithets Recorded in the LSJ and LSJ *Supplements* as Particularly Found in the *PGM*¹

ἀγγελοδείκτης, ὁ: revealer of angels; *PGM* IV.1373 (and pap.): ἀγγελοδείκτας
ἀδαμάστωρ, ὁ: unsubdued (LSJ: ἀδάμαστος, -ον: unsubdued; ἀδαμάτωρ); *PGM*
IV.2717 and hymn 21: ἀδαμάστωρ; in pap.: ἀδαμάτωρ
ἀεροδρόμος, -ον: traversing the air; *PGM* III.258 (pap.) and hymn 12²:
ἀεροδρόμε (Πύ[θιε] Παιάν); also *PGM* III.497, IV.1359, 1374
αἰμοπότις, ἡ: drinking blood; *PGM* IV.2864 (and pap.): αἰμοπότι; in hymn 18:
αἶμαπότι
αἰωνακτινοκράτωρ, ὁ: eternal lord of the sun's rays; *PGM* I.200: αἰων-
ακ(τ)ινοκράτωρ; in pap.: αἰωνακινοκράτωρ
αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ, ὁ: eternal ruler of the poles; *PGM* I.201 (and pap.):
αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ
αἰωνόφθαλμος, -ον: seeing with eternal eyes; *PGM* V.465–466: αἰων-
όφθαλ[λ]μος; in pap.: αἰωνόφθαμος
ἀλκιμόβριθος: mighty in weight; *PGM* IV.1364 (and pap.): ἀλκιμοβρίθους
ἄκαμνος, -ον (LSJ: ἀκάμας, ὁ [κάμνω]: untiring, unceasing); *PGM* II.91 (and
pap.): ἄκαμνε; in hymn 11: ἀκάμας
ἀκτινοχαῖτις, ἡ: with rays for hair; *PGM* IV.2286 (pap.) and hymn 17: ἀκτινο-
χαῖτι
ἄλλοιόμορος, -ον: unfortunate; *PGM* IV.1407 (and pap.): (ἥρωες) ἄλλοιόμοροι;
in hymn 25: ἄλλοιῶ μόρω
ἀναγκεπάκτης, ὁ: bringer of compulsion; *PGM* IV.1361 (and pap.):
ἀναγκεπάκτας
ἀνεμαφέτης, ὁ: wind releaser; *PGM* IV.1363 (and pap.): ἀνεμαφέτας
ἀνεμοεπάκτης, ὁ: wind bringer; *PGM* IV.1360 (and pap.): ἀνεμοεπάκτας
ἀνηλιοδείκτης, ὁ: one that points the direction without the aid of the sun; *PGM*
IV.1374 (and pap.): ἀνηλιοδείκτας

¹ LSJ. Also: Jordan (2008); *DGE* (1959); Muñoz Delgado (2001); Betz (1986). The dates of the papyri cited in this list are: *PGM* I (III C.E.), *PGM* II (III C.E.), *PGM* III (III C.E.), *PGM* IV (IV C.E.), *PGM* V (IV C.E.), *PGM* VII (III C.E.), *PGM* XVIIb (II C.E.).

² Preisendanz has identified twenty-six hymns in his second volume; Preisendanz (1974) 2:237–264.

- ἀπειροδιοικητής, ὁ: director of the infinite; *PGM* IV.1354 (and pap.): ἀπειροδιοικητάς
- ἄφελόζωος, -ον: living simply; *PGM* IV.1371 (and pap.): ἄφελοζώους
- ἄφρωραίος, -α, -ον: foam-beautiful; *PGM* IV.3232 (and pap.): ἄφρωραίαν
- ἄωροβόρος, -ον: devouring those who die untimely; *PGM* IV.2867 (pap.) and hymn 18: ἄωροβόρε
- βορβοροφόρβα, ἡ: feeding on filth (LSJ: βόρβορος, ὁ: filth); *PGM* IV.1402 (pap.) and hymn 25: βορβοροφόρβα
- βρονταγωγός, ὁ: bringing thunder; *PGM* IV.182 (pap.) and hymn 6: βρονταγωγέ
- βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ, ὁ: father of the thunderbolt; *PGM* IV.3102 (and pap.): βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ
- βυθόκλονος, -ον: convulsing the deep; *PGM* IV.1364 (and pap.): βυθοκλόνους
- βυθοταραξοκίνησος, ὁ: stirring the deep to movement; *PGM* IV.185 (pap.) and hymn 6: βυθοταραξοκίνησε
- γαληνοβάτης, ὁ: treader on the calm sea; *PGM* IV.1364 (and pap.): γαληνοβάτας
- γνοφεντινάκτης, ὁ: shaker of darkness (LSJ: γνόφος, ὁ: later form of δνόφος, ὁ: darkness; ἐντινάσσω: to hurl; pass., to be shaken); IV.181 (pap.) and hymn 6: γνοφεντινάκτα
- γογγυλόρυγχος, -ον: with round nozzle; *PGM* IV.2183 (and pap.): γογγυλόρυγχε
- δαιδάλη, ἡ: cunning (LSJ: δαιδάλεος, -α, -ον: cunning); *PGM* IV.2266 (pap.) and hymn 17: δαιδάλη
- δαιμονοτάκτης, ὁ: ruler of daimons; *PGM* IV.1374: δαιμονοτάκτας; in pap.: δαιμονατ
- Δαμνῶ, Δαμνοδαμία, Δαμνογόνη (δαμνάω, δάμνημι, δαμάζω): she that subdues
- Δαμασάνδρα, ἡ: subduer of men; *PGM* IV.2850–2851 (and pap.): Δαμνῶ, Δαμνομένηα· Δαμασάνδρα· Δαμνοδαμία; also *PGM* III.434: (Ἄρτεμι) Δαμνω; also *PGM* VI.19: δ]αμάσα[ν]δρα (Daphne); also *PGM* VII.695: δαμάσανδρα (Ἄρκτη); in hymn 18: Δαμνῶ, Δαμνομένη Δαμασάνδρα· Δαμνοδαμία
- ἐκδικόφως, ὁ: the punisher of mortals; *PGM* IV.1373–1374 (and pap.): ἐκδικοφῶτας
- ἐρωτοτόκεια, ἡ: (fem.) the producer of love (LSJ: ἐρωτοτόκος, -ον, an epithet used for Aphrodite in Procl. *Hymn* 2.13); *PGM* IV.2556 (pap.) and hymn 20: ἐρωτοτόκεια (Ἀφροδίτη)
- ζωνοδράκοντις, ἡ: the one girdled with snakes; *PGM* IV.2865 (pap.) and hymn 18: ζωνοδράκοντι
- θανατηγός, -ον: death-bringing; *PGM* IV.2865 (pap.) and hymn 18: θανατηγέ
- θανατοσυνάρτης, ὁ: joiner together of deaths; *PGM* IV.1372–1373 (and pap.): θανατοσυναρτάς

- θεροκαυσώδης, -ες: causing summer heat; *PGM* IV.1360 (and pap.):
θεροκαυσώδεις
- θυμάνδρεια, ἡ: brave, valiant; *PGM* IV.2267 (and pap.): θυμάνδρεια; in hymn
17: θυμάντρια
- ἰνδαλίμη, ἡ: the one who appears (placed between εἰδωλή and δείχτειρα; LSJ:
ἰνδάλλομαι: appear, seem; ἰνδαλμα, τό: form, appearance; mental image);
PGM IV.2272 (pap.) and hymn 17: ἰνδαλίμη
- ἰσοπάρθενος, -ον: resembling a maiden; *PGM* IV.2250 (and pap.): ἰσοπάρθενος
(κύων); in hymn 17: ἰσοπαρθένος
- καλέσανδρα, ἡ: summoner of men; *PGM* VII.695 (and pap.): καλέσανδρα
- καρδιόδαιτος, -ον: feasting on men's hearts; *PGM* IV.2865 and hymn 18:
καρδιόδαιτε; in pap.: καρδιοδίαιτε
- καρχάροπλος, -ον: "sharply armed" (Betz); "mit scharfer Waffe Versehene"
(Preisendanz) (LSJ: κάρχαρος, -ον: saw-like, jagged, harsh); *PGM*
VII.700–701: καρχάροπλε; in pap.: χαρχαροπεπλε
- κατανικάνδρα, ἡ: she that subdues men; *PGM* VII.696 (and pap.):
κατανίκανδρα
- κεραύνοπλος, ὁ: the one armed with the thunderbolt; *PGM* IV.2261–2262
(pap.) and hymn 17: ἐν ᾗ προλυσσᾷ (προλυσσάω [v]: to advance raging)
Κέρβερος κεραύνοπλος
- κινησίπολος, -ον: heaven-shaken; *PGM* IV.1372 (and pap.): κινησιπόλους
- κισσεοχαίτης, ὁ: wreathed with ivy; *PGM* II.99 (pap.) and hymn 11:
κισσεοχαίτα
- κοιρανόμοιρος, ὁ: lord of fate; *PGM* IV.1360–1361 (and pap.): κοιρανομοίρους
- κοχλαζοκύμων, -ον: with splashing wave; *PGM* IV.184 (pap.) and hymn 6:
κοχλαζοκύμων
- κραταιόφρων, -ον: stern; *PGM* II.85–86 (pap.) and hymn 11: κραταιόφρων
- κραταιόχθων, ὁ, ἡ: wielder of power over the earth; *PGM* IV.1355 (and pap.):
κραταιόχθονας (also in *PGM* VII.353)
- κρημνοβάμων, -ον: cliff-walking; *PGM* IV.1365: κρημνοβάμονας; in pap.
κριμνοβ
- κυνολύγματος, -ον: perhaps for κυνολούγματος, -ον: howling like a dog;
PGM IV.2549 (pap.) and hymn 20: κυνολύγματε
- λυκώ, -ους, ἡ: she-wolf (LSJ: for λύκαινα, ἡ: she-wolf; of Artemis in
Mithraism; Porph. *Abst.* IV.16); *PGM* IV.2276 (pap.) and hymn 17: λυκώ
- μελιοῦχος, ὁ: *PGM* VI.33 and hymn 10: Μελιοῦχε; also *PGM* III.45–46.; V.4–
6: (Ζεῦ, "Ἥλιε, Μίθρα, Σάραπι, ἀνίκητε), Μελιοῦχε, Μελικέρτα,
Μελιγενέτωρ; also in *voces magicae*, VII.379–380, 384: Μελιβου Μελι-
βαυ Μελιβαυβα[υ; LVII.33: Μελιβευ³

³ The μελι- compounds also found in *PGM* and elsewhere; e.g. *PGM* VII.63: οἶνον
μελίφρονα (quoted from Hom. *Il.* VI.264); *PGM* VII.23: (οἶ[τ]νος) μελι[γ]ηδής – quoted from
Hom. *Od.* XXI.293; there are many examples of this compound in Homer, e.g. *Il.* II.34:

- μορφόλυκος, -ον: having the form of a wolf, wolf-shaped; *PGM* IV.2811–2812 and hymn 18: μορφόλυκον (σφυρόν); in pap. μορφαίλυκον
- νήβουσα, ἡ: name of a plant; *PGM* IV.2307 (pap.) and hymn 17: νήβουσα
- νυκταιροδύτεια, ἡ: she that rises and sets by night; *PGM* IV.2545 (pap.) and hymn 20: ἡ νυκταιροδύτεια
- νυκταστράπτει, ὁ: emitter of lightning-flashes by night; *PGM* IV.182 (pap.) and hymn 6: νυκταστράπτα
- νυκτοφάνεια, ἡ: the one appearing by night (LSJ: νυκτοφανής, -ές: appearing by night); *PGM* IV.2819 (pap.) and hymn 18: νυκτοφάνεια; also in *PGM* IV.2524
- ὄβριμοδυνάστης, ὁ: powerful potentate; *PGM* IV.1365 (and pap.): ὄβριμοδυνάστας
- οἰστροπλάνεια, ἡ: causing the wanderings of madness; *PGM* IV.2868 (pap.) and hymn 18: οἰστροπλάνεια
- Ὀργογοργονίστρια, ἡ (LSJ: Ὀργογοργονίστρια, ἡ); *PGM* IV.1418–1419 (and pap.): (Ερινύν) Ὀργογοργονίστριαν; in hymn 25: Ὀργογοργονίστριαν
- οὐρανοκευθμωνοδίαίτος, -ον: dwelling in the recesses of heaven; *PGM* IV.1350–1351 (and pap.): οὐρανοκευθμωνοδιαίτους (παρέδρους τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ)
- παλίνεδρος, -ον: coming home to roost; *PGM* IV.2555 (pap.) and hymn 20: (πτηγῶν δ' ἐξῆς παντοῖα γένη) παλίνεδρα
- πανθυπακουστής, ὁ: one who hears everything; *PGM* IV.1369 (and pap.): πανθυπακουστάς
- πειθοδικαιόσυνος, -ον: pleading the cause of justice or obedient to justice; *PGM* V.402 (pap.) and hymns 15/16: πειθοδικαιόσυνε; also in *PGM* VII.669; XVIIb3
- περιδινήτεια, ἡ: the one causing to revolve (LSJ: περιδινήτης, ὁ: found in Hsch.); *PGM* IV.2919 (pap.) and hymn 22: περιδινήτεια; also in *PGM* IV.680: τὸν περιδίνητον ἄξονα
- περιδιοπλανήτης, ὁ: the whirling planet; one who wanders around; *PGM* III.557 (and pap.): (ἀστέρας ἀερίου(ς), ἑώου(ς)), περιδιοπλανήτα[ς]: The three types of stars; in hymn 2: περιδιοπλανῆται
- πετρεντινάκτης, ὁ: shaker of rocks (LSJ: ἐντινάσσω). *PGM* IV.183 (pap.) and hymn 6: πετρεντινάκτα
- πλανησίμοιρος, -ον: causing fate to go away; *PGM* IV.1368 (and pap.): πλανησιμοίρους
- πνευματοδότης, ὁ: spirit giver; *PGM* IV.1371 (and pap.): πνευματοδώτας
- πνευματόφως, ὁ: shining spirit; *PGM* IV.595 (and pap.): πνευματόφως

μελίφρων ὕπνος; IV.47: ἐϋμμελίφ Πριάμοιο; IV.165; VI.258: μελιγδέα οἶνον; IV.346; XVI.143: Πηλιάδα μελίην; XVII.9; *Od.* VII.181: μελίφρονα οἶνον; X.519: μελικρήτω etc.; *DT* 22.32, 38.12.

- προφαίδιμος, -ον: (LSJ: φαίδιμος, -ον: radiant, glistening, glorious); *PGM* VII.700 (and pap.): προ[φαίδι]με
- Πυθολέτης, ό: dragon-slayer; *PGM* VI.32 (pap.) and hymn 10: Πυθολέτα
- πυριδρακοντόζωνος, -ον: girt with fiery serpents; *PGM* IV.1405 (pap.) and hymn 25: πυριδρακοντόζωνε
- πυρίθυμος, -ον: fiery-spirited; *PGM* IV.592 (and pap.): πυρίθυμε
- πυρίφοιτος, -ον: walking in fire; *PGM* IV.2748 (pap.) and hymn 21: πυρίφοιτε
- πυροπεμψίφλογος, -ον: sending flames of fire; *PGM* IV.1361 (and pap.): πυροπεμψιφλόγους
- πυροσώματος, -ον: fire-bodied; *PGM* VII.700 (and pap.): πυροσώματε
- σιδηρόψυχος, -ον: iron-hearted; *PGM* IV.1366–1367 (and pap.): σιδηροψύχους
- σκοτιοέρεβος, -ον: inhabitant of dark Erebos; *PGM* IV.1361 (and pap.): σκοτιοερέβους
- σκυλακάγεια, ή: leader of dogs; *PGM* IV: 2721–2722 (pap.) and hymn 21: σκυλακάγεια
- στηριγμοθέτης, ό: foundation-layer; *PGM* IV.1355 (and pap.): στηριγμοθέτας
- στρατηλάτης, ή (voc. -άτι) (LSJ: στρατηλάτης, ό: leader of hosts, general, commander); *PGM* IV.2275 (pap.) and hymn 17: στρατηλατί
- στρεψηλάκατος, -ον: turning the spindle; *PGM* IV.1357 (and pap.): στρεψηλακάτους
- ταρταροῦχος, -ον: controlling Tartarus; *PGM* IV.2242 (pap.) and hymn 17: ταρταροῦχε; also *PGM* IV.2294: ταρταρούχου (Κερβέρου); IV.2325: ταρταροῦχε; IV.2334: τῆς ταρταρούχου; and LXX.10–11: [τ]ῆς ταρταρούχου
- ταρταρόφρουρος, -ον: guardian of Tartarus; *PGM* IV.1368 (and pap.): ταρταροφρούρους
- ταυροδράκαινα, ή: bull-snake; *PGM* IV.2613–2614 (and pap.): ταυροδράκαινα
- τειχοσεισμοποιός, -ον: causing earthquakes destructive of walls; *PGM* IV.183–184 (and pap.): τειχοσεισμοποιέ; in hymn 6: τειχοσεισμοποι(η)σε
- τετραοδίτις, ή: the one of the four crossroads; *PGM* IV.2818 and hymn 18: τετραοδίτι; also *PGM* IV.2561: τετραοδίτι; in pap. τετραοδειτι
- τετραώνυμος, -ον: having four names; *PGM* IV.2818 (pap.) and hymn 18: τετραώνυμε; also *PGM* IV.2560: τετραώνυμε
- ύσγηνοϊδής, -ές: scarlet in appearance (LSJ: ύσγηνον, τό); *PGM* III.556: ύσγηνοϊδῆ (τε σελήνη(ν)); in hymn 2: ύσγηνοειδῆ(ς); in pap. εισγηνονϊδῆ
- φαλεροῦχος, ό: the one wearing φάλαρα; *PGM* II.90 (pap.) and hymn 11: φαλεροῦχε
- φθορηγενής, -ές: breeding corruption; *PGM* IV.2865 (and pap.): φθορηγενές; in hymn 18: φθορηγόνε
- φιλήρεμος, -ον: lover of silence; *PGM* IV.2807 (pap.) and hymn 18: φιλήρεμε
- φοβεροδιακράτωρ, ό: “fearful ministers” (Betz); “Erhalter des Schreckens” (Preisendanz); *PGM* IV.1356–1357 (and pap.): φοβεροδιακράτορας; also VII.354: φοβοδιάκτορας – “fearful ministers” (Betz), “Geleiter der Furcht” (Preisendanz); (LSJ: φοβεροδιακράτορες: variant for φοβοδιάκτορες, οί).

But, διακράτωρ derives from διακρατέω: to hold fast, control; and διάκτωρ, ὁ, or διάκτορος, ὁ derives from διάγω: to carry over, live. So, φοβεροδιακράτωρ, ὁ should mean “holder of fear”

φρικτοπαλαίμων, ὁ: shudderful fighter (LSJ: φρικτός, -ή, -όν: to be shuddered at; παλαιμονέω: to wrestle, fight); *PGM* IV.1356 (and pap.): φρικτοπαλαίμονας; also VII.354

φριξωποβρονταξαστράπτης, ὁ: hurler of frightful thunder and lightning; *PGM* V.20 (and pap.): φριξωποβρονταξαστράπτα

φωτοπλήξ, ὁ, ή: smiting with rays of light (LSJ: πλήσσει/[ττ]: to strike); IV.2242–2243 (pap.) and hymn 17: φωτοπλήξ

χαμαίλυκος, ὁ: “colt’s foot” (Betz); “Huflattich” (Preisendanz); *PGM* IV.2308 (pap.) and hymn 17: χαμαίλυκον

χασματυπουργός, ὁ: servant in the chasm; *PGM* IV.1355–1356 (and pap.): χασματυπουργούς; also VII.353–354

χθονοριφής, -ές (ρίπτω): flung on the ground; *PGM* IV.196 (pap.) and hymn 6: (μή) με ρίψης) χθονοριφῆ

χιονοβροχοπαγής, -ές: snow and rain congealing; *PGM* IV.1358–1359 (and pap.): χιονοβροχοπαγεῖς

χιονοδροσοφερής, -ές: bringing snow and dew; *PGM* IV.1362–1363 (and pap.): χιονοδροσοφερεῖς

χρυσοκέλευθης, ὁ: travelling on a golden path; *PGM* II.91 (pap.) and hymn 11: χρυσοκέλευθα

ψυχροθερμοφύσησος, ὁ: breathing cold and hot; *PGM* IV.182–183 and hymn 6: ψυχ(ρ)οθερμοφύσησε; in pap. ψυχοθερμοφύσησε

Appendix 7

A List of Epithets from the *PGM* that are not recorded in the LSJ and LSJ Supplements

This is a list of epithets in the *PGM*¹ that are not recorded at all in the LSJ and LSJ Supplements.² Most of these epithets that occur only in the *PGM* are included in the hymns.³ They are mainly used to describe and define the multiple characteristics of the gods. The richness of the magicians' religious thinking is suitably accompanied by rich linguistic inventiveness, above all in the invention of epithets for the various gods.

ἀβρονόη, ἡ: gracious-minded; *PGM* IV.2547: ἀβρονόη;⁴ in pap. and hymn 20:

ἀπρονόη;⁵ ἀπρονόη, ἡ: improvident

αἰωναῖος, ὁ: eternal; *PGM* I.200: αἰωναῖε⁶

ἀκρίη, ἡ: extreme; *PGM* IV.2277: ἀκρίη; in pap. ἀρχή and hymn 17: ἀρχή⁷
(ἀρχέω)

ἀμερείη, ἡ: indivisible; *PGM* IV.3231–3232: ἀμερείη⁸

ἀρηγός, ὁ, ἡ: helper; *PGM* IV.2281 (and hymn 17): ἀρηγέ⁹

¹ The dates of the papyri cited in this appendix are: *PGM* I (III C.E.), *PGM* II (III C.E.), *PGM* III (III C.E.), *PGM* IV (IV C.E.), *PGM* VII (III C.E.).

² See Pachoumi (2011d).

³ Preisendanz has identified twenty-six hymns in his second volume; Preisendanz (1974) 2:237–264. Of these I include epithets from hymn 5: “To Helios and to the gods of all” (*PGM* III.198–229), hymn 11: “To Apollo and to Apollo-Helios” (*PGM* II.81–101, 133–140, 163–166), hymn 12: “To Apollo and Daphne” (*PGM* III.234–258), hymn 17: “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (*PGM* IV.2242–2417), hymn 18: “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (*PGM* IV.2785–2870), hymn 20: “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (*PGM* IV.2522–2567) and hymn 21: “To Hekate-Selene-Artemis” (*PGM* IV.2714–2783). Most are written in dactylic hexameter, twenty-one out of twenty-six hymns; but, hymns 6, 17 and 25 are in iambic trimeter, hymn 8 in iambic pentameter and hymn 19 in iambic tetrameter acatalectic; therefore, most of these epithets are metrically useful.

⁴ Recorded in Jordan (2008).

⁵ Preisendanz (1973) 1:152 and (1974) 2:258. ἀπρόνοος was recorded in *DGE* III (1959).

⁶ *PGM* I.195–222: Protective spell.

⁷ Preisendanz (1973) 1:142, (1974) 2:251.

⁸ *PGM* IV.3209–3254: “Aphrodite’s saucer divination.” ἀμέρειος was recorded in *DGE* II.

⁹ ἀρηγός was recorded in *DGE* III; also recorded in Jordan (2008).

- ἀστρο[δ]ία, ἡ: star-coursing; *PGM* IV.2559: ἀστρο[δ]ία; in pap. and hymn 20: +αστροχία+; ἀστροχία, ἡ: she who has stars
- Ἄυδναία, ἡ: infernal; *PGM* IV.2725 (and hymn 21): Ἄυδναία; Reitzenstein emends it to Ἀἰδωναία, ἡ;¹⁰ also in *PGM* IV.2855: αἰδωναία
- βαριδοῦχος, -ον: the one who has a boat; *PGM* IV.2274 (and hymn 17): βαριδοῦχε
- γιγάεσσα, ἡ: giant; *PGM* IV.2714 (and hymn 21): γιγάεσσα
- Δαμναμενεύς, ὁ: he who subdues by force; *PGM* II.165–166 (and hymn 11): Δαμναμενεύς¹¹
- Δαμνομένηα, ἡ: she who subdues by force; *PGM* IV.2850–2851: Δαμνομένηα (pap.); in hymn 18: Δαμνομένη¹²
- δείχτειρα, ἡ: the one who shows forth, exhibitor; *PGM* IV.2274 (and hymn 17): δείχτειρα
- Δωδωνίη, ἡ: off/from Dodona; *PGM* IV.2275 (and hymn 17): Δωδωνίη¹³
- εἰδωλίη, ἡ: ghostly; *PGM* IV.2272: εἰδωλίη; in pap. and hymn 17: εἰδωνη (note also εἰδωλε – not in LSJ – in *PGM* LXI.53–55)
- εὐπατόρεια, ἡ: she who is of a noble sire; *PGM* IV.2717 (and hymn 21): εὐπατόρεια
- εὐρύστοχος, -ον: wide-aimed; *PGM* IV.2281–2282 (and hymn 17): εὐρύστοχε;¹⁴ in pap. εὐροστουχε
- θοηρυσσηρις, ὁ: the one with muddy wrinkles;¹⁵ *PGM* IV.2185: θοηρυσσηρις¹⁶
- καπετόκτυπος, -ον: the one who makes the graves to resound; *PGM* IV.2867 (and hymn 18): καπετόκτυπε; in pap. κοπετ-
- κατα(καμ)ψυψαύχενος, -ον: bending down necks that show off; *PGM* IV.2718–2719 (and hymn 21): κατα(καμ)ψυψαύχενε; in pap. καταψυκαυχενα
- Κλωθαίη, ἡ: of Klotho; *PGM* IV.2280 (and hymn 17): Κλωθαίη
- λοφαίη, ἡ: the one with a crest; *PGM* IV.2267 (and hymn 17): λοφαίη
- μηνοτύραννος, ὁ: ruler of the month; *PGM* IV.2664 pap. (and hymn 19): μηνοτύραννε; Preisendanz emends it to: μόνη τύραννε¹⁷
- μιτρίη, ἡ: the one with a headband; *PGM* IV.2274–2275 (and hymn 17): μιτρίη
- ὀλκίτις, ἡ: the one who draws (swords); *PGM* IV.2267 (and hymn 17): ὀλκίτι (φασγάνων)

¹⁰ Preisendanz (1973) 1:159; also Betz (1986) 89.

¹¹ Recorded in *DGE* V.

¹² Recorded in *DGE* V, “fuerza dominadora.”

¹³ Δωδώνιος was recorded in *DGE* VI; in LSJ we find: Δωδωναῖος, -α, -ον, Δωδωνίς, -ἶδος, ἡ, and Δωδωνεύς, -έως, ὁ.

¹⁴ Recorded in Jordan (2008).

¹⁵ Preisendanz also suggests from Θόηρις – Ὀσιρις; Preisendanz (1973) 1:139.

¹⁶ *PGM* IV.2145–2240: “Tristych of Homer as assistant.”

¹⁷ Preisendanz (1973) 1:156–157.

ὄμβρολίγματος, ὄ: crying like a shrill storm of rain; *PGM* IV.2185: ὄμβρολίγματε¹⁸
 οὐροδρόμος, -ον: running with fair wind; *PGM* III.255 (and hymn 12): οὐροδρόμε; Dillon and O’Neil read and translate οὐρ(αν)οδρόμε, “heavens’s runner”; also Preisendanz as “Himmelläufer”¹⁹
 πανγαίη, ἡ: holding the whole earth; *PGM* IV.2279: πανγαίη; in hymn 17: παγγαίη,²⁰ cf. Hsch. παγαίη
 πανθυποτακτ(ικ)ός, ὄ: the most subordinate; *PGM* IV.1370: πανθυποτακτ(ικ)ούς²¹
 πα[ν]υπάτα, ἡ: the most high; *PGM* VII.700: πα[ν]υπάτα²²
 πανφόρβα, ἡ: the one who eats everything; *PGM* IV.2749 (and hymn 21): πανφόρβα
 προμηθική, ἡ: forethinking; *PGM* IV.2267: προμηθική (in LSJ the adverb: προμηθικῶς: shrewdly, warily); in pap. and hymn 17: προθμηεισδauγῆ²³
 πυπυληδεδεζω, ἡ: not found in LSJ and LSJ *Suppl.*; *PGM* IV.2750 (pap.) and hymn 21: πυπυληδεδεζω
 πυρεσίθυμος, ὄ: fiery at heart/in spirit; *PGM* III.209: πυρεσ[ίθυμε]; in hymn 5: πυρὸς [ἄτμόν
 τετραπροσωπεινή, ἡ: the one with four faces; *PGM* IV.2560 (and hymn 20): τετραπροσωπεινή
 φθισίκηρος, ὄ: destroying death; *PGM* IV.2852 (and hymn 18): φθισίκηρε;²⁴ in pap. ηφθισικηρε
 φῶσφω[ρ], ὄ: bringing light; *PGM* III.255 (and hymn 12) φῶσφω[ρ]; from φωσφόρε²⁵ (φωσφόρος, -ον²⁶); in pap. φῶσφω[ρ]

¹⁸ *PGM* IV.2145–2240: “Tristych of Homer as assistant.”

¹⁹ Betz (1986) 25, n. 60; and Preisendanz (1973) 1:43.

²⁰ Recorded in Jordan (2008).

²¹ *PGM* IV.1331–1389: “Power of the Bear constellation that accomplishes everything”; also recorded in Jordan (2008).

²² *PGM* VII.686–702: “Bear Charm.”

²³ Preisendanz (1973) 1:142; and (1974) 2:251.

²⁴ Merkelbach also translates φθισίκηρε as, “Vernichter des Todesloses”; Merkelbach (1982).

²⁵ Also Betz (1986) 25; and Preisendanz (1973) 1:43.

²⁶ Also in *PGM* IV.3047–3048, 3069, V.175, 210 and LXXVIII.12.

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