

SEPHER HA-RAZIM

THE BOOK OF THE MYSTERIES



TRANSLATED BY
MICHAEL A. MORGAN

SEPHER HA-RAZIM



Society of Biblical Literature

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS
PSEUDEPIGRAPHA SERIES

Harold W. Attridge, Editor

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PREFACE TO THE SERIES

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS is a project of the Committee on Research and Publications of the Society of Biblical Literature and is under the general direction of Kent H. Richards (Ilf School of Theology), Executive Secretary, and Leander Keck (Yale Divinity School), Chairman of the Committee. The purpose of the project is to make available in convenient and inexpensive format ancient texts which are not easily accessible but are of importance to scholars and students of "biblical literature" as broadly defined by the Society. Reliable modern English translations will accompany the texts. The following subseries have been established thus far:

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For the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA SERIES the choice of texts is governed in part by the research interests of the SBL Pseudepigrapha Group, of which John J. Collins (De Paul University) is currently Chairman, and James H. Charlesworth (Duke University) is Secretary. This series will focus on Jewish materials from the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman periods and will regularly include the fragmentary evidence of works attributed to biblical personalities, culled from

a wide range of Jewish and Christian sources. The volumes are selected, prepared, and edited in consultation with the following editorial committee of the Pseudepigrapha Group: Sebastian P. Brock (Cambridge University, England), Robert A. Kraft (University of Pennsylvania), George W. MacRae (Harvard Divinity School), George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr. (University of Iowa), Michael E. Stone (Hebrew University, Israel), and John Strugnell (Harvard Divinity School).

In the current volume the series presents only an English translation of an ancient text. This divergence from the usual practice is due to the fact that the Hebrew text of the Sepher Ha-Razim is readily available in a recent edition, while no English translation exists. It is hoped that the current volume will make more widely known this important work of Jewish magical literature.

Harold W. Attridge, Editor

FOREWORD

I wish to express my appreciation to the University of Alberta for the research grant which made the work on this text possible and to Joan Paton, Rhoda Zuk, and Gerane West who assisted in the preparation of the manuscript. Helpful suggestions concerning translation and understanding were received from Harold W. Attridge, Theodore H. Gaster and Roy David Kotansky. Their ideas and suggestions have been incorporated into the text. Most of all I would like to thank Morton Smith, who undertook a detailed review of the translation and whose knowledge and insight made it possible.

Michael A. Morgan

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INTRODUCTION

In 1963, while studying Kabbalistic texts at Oxford, Mordecai Margalioth happened upon a Genizah fragment which gave a magical praxis to assist one in winning at the racetrack. Recalling similar formulas from the Genizah collection and elsewhere, he began a detailed study of the preserved fragments of magical literature. He postulated that these fragments may have all come from a common source which could be reconstructed. His research led to the publication of Sepher Ha-Razim in 1966.

The published text is eclectic. No single document available to Margalioth contained all of the material which was to appear in the final text. Enough was available, however, that he felt confident that he had successfully reconstructed a magical handbook from the early Talmudic period. Since its publication, SHR has proven a valuable source of information for studies pertaining to magic in antiquity and for studies relating to Jewish life in the first centuries CE.

Margalioth was an excellent textual scholar. Even though additional texts have come to light since the publication of SHR, his original work is an exceptional piece of scholarship which demands wider circulation and use among scholars interested in the Judaisms of the Hellenistic age. No doubt a re-editing of SHR is needed in the future. For the present, I hope the scholarly community will find this annotated translation of the Margalioth text a valuable tool for further study.

A. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Codices

There were seven major codices available to Margalioth for the preparation of his text. Each of them contained significant portions of what was to become SHR.

1. פ - The Kaufman manuscript in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy in Budapest. No. 224, pp. 41-63.
2. נ - Jewish Theological Seminary Manuscript Library, JTSL no. 163, p. 15A to p. 48B.
3. נ - Jewish Theological Seminary Manuscript Library, JTSL no. N.014, p. 8B to p. 28B.
4. ד - The Florence Manuscript in the Library Medicea Laurenziana, no. Plut. 44.13, p. 107B to p. 118A.
5. A manuscript in the National Library, Jerusalem, Heb. 8° 476, p. 69B to p. 81B.
6. Schocken Manuscript, Schocken Library, Jerusalem, Kabbalah Manuscript 3. This is a copy of the Florence manuscript.
7. ב - Jewish Theological Seminary Manuscript Library, JTSL no. N.012, pp. 1-24.

Of these seven manuscripts Margalioth used only the five marked with Hebrew letter designations. All of the first six are arranged similarly and are bound together with Maseket Hekhaloth, Maaseh Bereshit, and Shiur Komah. They all contain similar omissions, both accidental and deliberate, by the scribes. Ms. 1 (פ) seems to be the superior version, often completing words and sentences which are omitted in the other versions. It is the most precise and appears to contain the fewest distortions. Mss. 5 and 6 contained no material of special significance and were not used. Ms. 7 (ב) is an expanded and elaborated version. Its editor states that it was produced from two documents, a shorter Hebrew text and an expanded

Latin translation. The lists of angelic names in this version are more extensive than in the others. The text alternates languages and gives both versions in places. In addition, Margalioth (Sepher, 50-51) lists four manuscripts which were not available to him.

Hebrew Genizah Fragments

The following fragments are designated λ.

1. Oxford MS. Heb. C. 18/30:

One parchment page containing nineteen lines on each side. The beginning letters of each line on side one and the concluding letters of each line on side two--from the middle of the page to the bottom--are mutilated.
Content: The beginning of SHR to 1:6.

4. Cambridge T-S K 1/97:

One small paper page containing twenty lines on both sides. Content: 1:13-54.

10. Cambridge T-S K 1/145:

Two large paper pages which are mutilated on all four sides, partially illegible, and torn. The remainder has thirty-six/thirty-seven lines per side.
Content: 2:100-4:47.

14. Cambridge T-S K 21/95, fragment 2:

One small paper page containing twenty lines on side one only. Content: 7:1-9.

The following fragments are designated λλ.

2. Adler JTSL ENA 2750, pp. 4-5.

Two small pages containing seventeen lines on each side--torn and often illegible. Content: P:1-1:1.

6. Cambridge T-S N.S. 135:

One page containing twenty-one lines on each side--torn and often illegible. Content: 1:47-71.

11. Cambridge T-S K 1/102:

One page containing twenty-one lines on each side.
Content: 3:15-46.

12. Cambridge T-S K 1/13:

One page containing twenty lines on side one and seventeen lines on side two. Content: 4:8-30.

The following fragments are designated 2λ.

3. Cambridge T-S K 21/95:

One parchment page containing twenty-two lines on side one and twenty-four lines on side two. Content: P:10-1:18. Similar to 1λ #1.

13. Cambridge T-S N.S. 246/26:

One page containing sixteen-seventeen lines per side but some lines are missing from the top of the page. Content: 4:29-52.

The following fragments are designated λ.

5. Cambridge T-S K 1/98:

One parchment page containing twenty-six lines on each side. The beginning lines on side one and the concluding lines on side two are mutilated. Content: 1:17/65.

7. Oxford MS. Heb. D. 62/50:

One page mutilated diagonally from the top of the page through line 5. Side two is illegible. Content: 2:30-76.

9. Leningrad Antonine Collection No. 238:

One parchment page. Content: 2:30-76.

The following fragment received no designation:

8. Adler JTSL ENA 2673/23.

One paper page, badly mutilated. Content: 1:237-2:25.

The Arabic Fragments

There are ten arabic fragments which were found by Margalioth in the Genizah material. They are designated γ or λγ where they are duplicates.

1. Oxford MS. Heb. f.45:

Eighteen parchment pages and by far the most important of the Arabic Fragments. Content: 1:6-2:8.

2. Oxford MS. Heb. e. 67/32-33:

Two pages. Content: 1:1-18.

3. Cambridge T-S Arabic 31/183:

One page. Content: 1:1-100.

4. Cambridge T-S Arabic 43/260.

5. Cambridge T-S N.S. 298/72:
Two pages torn at the top and missing some sections in the middle. Begins with 2:204.
6. Cambridge T-S Arabic 43/84:
Two pages. Page one begins with 2:130 and page two begins with 4:10.
7. Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Genizah Collection no. 437.
One very torn parchment page. Begins with 4:10.
8. Cambridge T-S Arabic 45/12:
One page beginning at 3:51, and then omitting the fourth firmament and continuing with the fifth firmament.
9. Cambridge T-S Arabic 33/9:
One parchment page beginning with the last line of the third firmament (3:58) and continuing with the fifth firmament.
10. Cambridge T-S Arabic 43/223:
One page beginning with 4:38.

Latin Translation

The Latin translation is titled Liber Razielis Angeli and is found in the Senate Library in Leipzig, Codex Latinus No. 745. Margalioth did not receive a copy of this manuscript until after the type had been set for the Hebrew edition. Consequently he refers to only a few places in it. Unlike the Arabic, the Latin is a free translation and adaptation which has been greatly expanded. Of the Hebrew codices, it is closest to D, whose editor claims to have used a Latin version.

Other Sources

Margalioth drew heavily upon many medieval collections of magical spells and formulas which he felt were descended from his postulated original. The most important of these are:

1. Sepher Raziel, Amsterdam 1701. Siglum: 7.
2. Sepher Raziel, manuscripts and fragments. cf. Margalioth, Sepher, 44f.

3. Sepher Kamay ^cot, JTSL 2272. Siglum: n.
4. Sepher Kamay ^cot, fragments. cf. Margalioth, Sepher, 51.
5. Mafteach Shlomo, Facsimile Oxford 1914. Siglum: n.
6. Sepher Ha-Malbush, Kaufman 245. Siglum: b.

A visual representation of the eclectic nature of the text can be found on the chart produced by Niggemeyer, Beschwörungsformeln, between pages 18 and 19.

B. STRUCTURE

The text of SHR is divided into seven unequal sections preceded by a preface which contains a description of the book's transmission and functions. Before the flood, it was presented by the angel Razi'el to Noah who used it as a guide. After the flood it was passed down through the Biblical generations to Solomon.

The structure of the seven heavens reflects the fairly common cosmology known from Jewish circles during the Hellenistic age. It has close parallels to Talmudic passages, the Enoch literature, and the Hekhaloth literature. The heavens are divided as follows:

1. The first firmament has seven separate encampments. Each encampment is ruled by an angelic overseer who has numerous angels listed as serving him.
2. The second firmament is divided into twelve steps or levels. Each has between nine and twenty angels who can be called upon.
3. The third firmament is ruled by three angels. Each has a troop of angels which serve him.
4. The fourth firmament is divided between thirty-one angelic princes and their encampments who lead the sun during the day and thirty-one angelic princes and their encampments who lead the sun during the night.

5. The fifth firmament is ruled by twelve princes of glory who represent the twelve months of the year.
6. The sixth firmament is divided between an eastern overlord who rules twenty-eight angelic leaders and their encampments and a western overlord who rules thirty-one angelic leaders and their encampments.
7. The seventh firmament is a description of the divine throne followed by a long doxology.

Each firmament, except the seventh, and each subdivision is described as to its nature and function. For each subdivision there is a magical praxis described which can be initiated by calling upon the angels listed in that subdivision and by following the prescribed rites. With few exceptions, the magical praxis will reflect the descriptions of either the angels or the heaven itself. The rules of sympathy and contagion are clearly in evidence.

With minor exceptions, this is an outline of the over all structure of any given subdivision.

I. A description of the firmament followed by

A. A description of the subdivision and its usage organized thus:

1. Names of the angels of the subdivision
2. Description of the angels and their function
3. The purpose these angels can be made to serve
4. The procedures to be followed in preparation
5. The invocation to be spoken to initiate the praxis (in some cases this has been lost)
6. In some cases, additional actions and/or invocations to assist, alter, or reverse the magical praxis

A fine analysis of the form and style of these incantations and invocations has been done by Niggemeyer, Beschwörungsformeln, 63-118.

C. DATE

Dating an eclectic text is difficult at best. The consensus of those scholars who have worked with the text is to support Margalioth's dating of SHR to the early fourth or late third century CE.¹

The reasons generally listed for this are:

1. The reference to the Roman indictions in 1:27-28 (cf. Margalioth, Sepher, 24) gives a clear terminus a quo of 297 CE.
2. The majority of the text is written in a pure midrashic Hebrew which reflects the period.
3. Many of the Greek words found in the text are technical terms used in the magical praxeis of that period.
4. The spells and incantations of SHR closely parallel the magical material preserved in the Greek magical papyri and in the Aramaic incantation bowls.
5. The forms of the adjurations are similar to material we know from the early Rabbinic literature.
6. The cosmological framework of the text reflects the Enoch and Hekhaloth literature of that period.

Although Margalioth's basic assumptions have gained the support of the majority of scholars, we must understand exactly what it is we are dating.

There are two different types of document here. The first is a cosmological framework which shows a marked similarity with the hekhaloth literature. The second is a collection of unrelated magical praxeis which show a marked similarity to the materials preserved in PGM. Chen Merchavya (JE 13, 1594-95) implies that the praxeis were woven into the descriptions of the angels and the

¹A notable exception to the consensus is Ithamar Gruenwald, (Apocalyptic, 226), who dates the work to sixth or seventh century.

heavens. This would make the cosmological framework the primary document. Surely the reverse is true. Gruenwald points out the SHR should not be classed as hekhalot literature despite its similarity. The magical praxeis are the primary source.

It seems to me more likely that the magical praxeis have been provided with a cosmological framework intended to make them appear as legitimate Jewish practices. Thus the formulas, spells, and incantations presumably existed prior to their present form. The use of Greek and Aramaic words is limited to the actual praxeis. The language of those sections is simple and straightforward. It lacks the flowery descriptive wording and the Biblical quotations of the cosmological framework. The only exception to this lies in the long adjurations of the latter firmaments and these hardly seem part of the original praxeis themselves. SHR has a cosmology which concerns itself in great detail with Jewish ritual purity, but praxeis which demand we eat cakes made from blood and flour. We have a framework which speaks of the glory of YHWH, but praxeis which offer prayers to Helios, and invoke Hermes and Aphrodite. We should indeed date SHR to the early fourth century CE but it is crucial to recognize that what fascinates us most about this text, the magic, is part of a folk tradition which dates from an earlier time. For example, the idol used to quell a rising river in 2:115ff. is clearly one which the Rabbis in Avodah Zarah 3:1 forbid Jews to make or possess. Since the Rabbis found it necessary to ban the image, one must assume that it was in popular use prior to the Mishnah's compilation. In dating SHR we are not dating the antiquity of the praxeis themselves.

Just as we cannot date an eclectic text by reference to any one section, so we cannot determine its origin by any one section. Even a number of references will afford no more than a list of possibilities. It is far too easy to be led to a conclusion, for example, that SHR is of Egyptian-Jewish origin. The oldest fragments were preserved there. The passage of the sun to the East via the North reflects Egyptian mythology. The use of hieratic papyrus was a sign of the Egyptian priesthood's magical rites. The listing of the descent through the mother was a common Egyptian practice and of course the Roman indictions point to a possible Alexandrian origin. Most compelling, however, is the close similarity between the material preserved in SHR and that of PGM.

Such a listing is persuasive until objectively analyzed. That an Egyptian Jewish scribal community preserved the text is no argument for its authorship. The sun's passage is part of other folklores and was surely a common theme in the ancient world. Hieratic papyrus was known as a magical tool outside of Egypt. Descent through the mother was a popular aphorism of the Greco-Roman world as well as a basis for Jewish legal definitions and serves in SHR to insure the effectiveness of the praxis. The indictions were used throughout the Roman world and could easily have been part of a document written in Constantinople. That there are close similarities between SHR and PGM is surely of interest but close similarities also exist between SHR and the incantation bowls of Syria. Furthermore, that PGM was found only in Egypt merely points out how fortunate we are that Egypt's climate is so well suited for preserving such material.

Magic was the common property of the people of the Greco-Roman world. The praxeis could have arisen in any part of that world and have been initially preserved in any part of that world. To attempt to locate a single place of origin would be futile.

Furthermore, we should not attempt to place the magical praxeis of SHR within any specific group. The praxeis are part of the popular religion of the age. Jews who could place a mosaic of Helios on their synagogue floors certainly could not have found it strange to offer invocations to that same god. On the other hand, SHR has clearly undergone editing at the hands of more "traditionally" or rabbinically oriented scribes. We can sense the tensions between a developing orthodoxy and a popular religion here. SHR is a fine example of the syncretistic nature of the Hellenistic world.

D. THE TRANSLATION

A translation either can be literal, to render the exact words of the Hebrew, or can be paraphrastic to catch the meaning. This translation contains elements of both sorts. Its purpose is to convey the meaning in each case as clearly as possible. Parentheses have been used to set off words and phrases which are not found in the Hebrew text, but are either implied, understood, or needed to create a readable translation.

I have attempted to follow the Margalioth text as closely as possible. When a different reading is offered it is so footnoted. The technical Greek terms and prayers have been translated in the text and footnoted.

The angelic lists presented a special problem. There was so much conjecture involved in creating these lists in transliterated form that I opted, for the sake of consistency and accuracy, to produce the lists without the speculative vocalization. For those who find this an unsatisfactory solution, I have provided the Hebrew lists in Appendix I.

Hebrew/English equivalents for the text are as follows:

| | |
|--------|--------|
| ' = א | L = ל |
| B = ב | M = מ |
| G = ג | N = נ |
| D = ד | S = ס |
| H = ה | C = כ |
| W = ו | P = פ |
| Z = ז | Ş = ש |
| Ḣ = ח | Q = ק |
| Ṫ = ט | R = ר |
| Y = י | Š = שׁ |
| K = כ | T = ת |

E. ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

- DMP Francis L. Griffith, The Demotic Magical Papyrus, London: H. Grevel & Co., 1904.
- Ginzberg, Legends Louis Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1937.
- Goodenough, Symbols Erwin R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, New York: Pantheon Books, 1953-1968.
- Gruenwald, Apocalyptic Ithamar Gruenwald, Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980.
- Jastrow, Dictionary Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim The Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature, New York: The Judaica Press, 1971.
- JE Jewish Encyclopaedia, Jerusalem: Keter Publishing Ltd., 1972.
- Margalioth, Sepher Mordecai Margalioth, Sepher Ha-Razim, Jerusalem: Yediot Achronot, 1966.
- Niggemeyer, Beschwörungsformeln J. H. Niggemeyer, Beschwörungsformeln aus dem Buch der Geheimnisse, Hildersheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1975.
- PGM Karl Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae, Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, vol. I 1928, vol. II 1931. Quoted by papyrus and line number.
- SHR Sepher Ha-Razim

SIGLA

- κ JTSL no. 163. See p. 2.
- כ JTSL no. N. 014. See p. 2.
- ל Geniza fragments. See pp. 3-4.
- ט Sepher Raziel. See p. 5.
- ח Sepher KamayCot. See p. 6.
- ז Mafteach Shlomo. See p. 6.
- ו Sepher Ha-Malbush. See p. 6.
- ד Geniza fragments. See p. 4.
- ב JTSL no. N. 012. See p. 2.
- ג Arabic fragments. See p. 4.
- פ Florence MS Laurenziana, no Plut. 44.13. See p. 2.
- ק Kaufman. MS. See p.2.

SEPHER HA-RAZIM

TRANSLATION

(PREFACE)

This is a book, from the Books of the Mysteries, which was given to Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mehallalel, the son of Kenan, the son of Enosh, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, by Raziel the angel in the year¹ when he came into the ark (but) before his entrance.

And (Noah) inscribed it upon a sapphire stone² very distinctly.³ And he learned from it how to do wondrous deeds, and (he learned) secrets of knowledge, and categories of
5 understanding and thoughts of humility and concepts of counsel, (how) to master the investigation of the strata of the heavens, to go about in all that is in their seven abodes, to observe all the astrological signs, to examine the course of the sun, to explain the observations of the moon, and to know the paths of the Great Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades,⁴ to declare the names of the overseers of each and every firmament and the realms of their authority, and by what means they (can be made to) cause success in each thing (asked of them), and what are the names of their attendants and what (oblations) are to be

¹Ms. K reads בשעה but "hour" is probably incorrect, as "hour" could be taken to imply the exact moment and to contradict the sense of לפני .

²Cf. Ginzberg, Legends, 1.157, 5.179.

³Cf. Deut 27:8

⁴Cf. Job 9:9; Amos 5:8.

poured out to them, and what is the proper time (at which they
10 will hear prayer,⁵ so as) to perform every wish of anyone
(who comes) near them in purity. (Noah learned) from it
rituals (that cause) death and rituals (that preserve) life, to
understand the evil and the good, to search out (the right)
seasons and moments (for magical rites), to know the time to
give birth and the time to die, the time to strike and the time
to heal,⁶ to interpret dreams and visions, to arouse combat,
and to quiet wars, and to rule over spirits and over demons, to
send them (wherever you wish) so they will go out like slaves,⁷
15 to watch the four winds of the earth, to be learned in the
speech of thunderclaps, to tell the significance of lightning
flashes, to foretell what will happen in each and every month,
and to know the affairs of each and every year, whether for
plenty or for hunger, whether for harvest or for draught,
whether for peace or for war, to be as one of the awesome ones
and to comprehend the songs of heaven.

And from the wisdom of the secrets of this book, Noah
learned and understood how to make gopher wood (into) an ark
20 and to hide from the torrent of the flood waters, to bring (the
animals) with him two by two and seven by seven, to take in
some of every kind of food and every kind of provender. And he
placed (the book) in a golden cabinet and brought it first into

⁵Literally "it (prayer) will be heard by them."

⁶Cf. Eccl 3:2,3.

⁷Cf. Job 38:35.

the ark, to learn from it the times of the day and to investigate from it the times of the night, and in which period he should arise to pour out entreaties. And when he came forth from the ark, he used (the book) all the days of his life, and at the time of his death he handed it down to Abraham,⁸ and Abraham to Isaac, and Isaac to Jacob, and Jacob to Levi, and
 25 Levi to Kohath, and Kohath to Amram, and Amram to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the sages,⁹ and thus generation by generation until Solomon the King arose. And the Books of the Mysteries were disclosed to him and he became very learned in books of understanding, and (so) ruled over everything he desired, over all the spirits and the demons that wander in the world, and from the wisdom of this book he imprisoned and released, and sent out and brought in, and built and prospered.¹⁰ For many books were handed down to him, but
 30 this one was found more precious and more honorable and more difficult than any of them. Happy the eye that will behold

⁸Mss. D and 7 insert Shem into the chronology.

⁹Cf. Pirke Avoth 1:1. This genealogy is similar to the Avot tradition but it puts Solomon the King after the prophets and the sages. Since they should follow Solomon, it seems that an original genealogy ending with Solomon (probably after "elders") has been interpolated by an editor who wanted to claim knowledge of these secrets for the rabbis. Evidence for such an insertion is important because it casts some doubt on other Rabbinic elements in the text, and because of the fact that a Rabbinic editor left the pagan elements stand, illustrates an unfamiliar side of Rabbinic Judaism.

¹⁰Cf. Ginzberg, Legends, 4.149-154, 165-169; Josephus, Antiquities, 8.2.5, #45-49.

it. Happy the ear that listens attentively to its wisdom.
For in it are the seven firmaments and all that is in them.
From their encampments we shall learn to comprehend all things,
and to have success in every deed, to think and to act from the
wisdom of this book.

(THE FIRST FIRMAMENT)

The name of the first firmament is called *Shamayim*.¹

Within it are encampments filled with wrath. And seven thrones are prepared there and upon them are seated overseers, and around them on all sides encampments (of angels) are stationed and are obedient to men at the time when they practice (magic), to everyone who has learned to stand and pour (libations) to their names and cite them by their signs² at the period when (prayer) is heard (so as) to make a magical rite succeed. 5 (Over) all these encampments of angels these seven overseers rule, to dispatch (them) for every (sort of) business so that they will hasten and bring success.

These are the names of the seven overseers who sit upon (the) seven thrones: the name of the first is 'WRPNY'L, and the name of the second is TYGRH, and the name of the third is DNHL, and the name of the fourth is KLMYY', the name of the fifth is 'SYMWR, the name of the sixth is PSKR, the name of the seventh is BW'L. And all of them were created from fire and their appearance is like fire, and their fire is blazing, for from 10 fire they emerged.

And without permission, (the angels who serve them)³ do not go out to engage in magical actions. (They wait) until a command comes to them from (one of) the seven overseers, the

¹*Shamayim* is the common Hebrew word for heaven or sky.

²Or perhaps "by their letters (of their names)."

³Inserted by Ms. 7 (Sefer Raziel) and aids the translation.

occupants of the thrones, who rule over them. For they are subject to the will (of the overseers) and go about (only) with their permission. And each and every one of them goes to his work determined to act quickly in any affair on which he may be sent, whether for good or for evil, whether for superfluity or for shortage, whether for war or for peace. And all of them
15 are to be called by the names (given them) from the day they were created.

And these are the names of the seven encampments which serve the seven overseers (for each encampment serves one of the overseers).

And these are the names of the angels of the first
encampment who serve 'WRPNY'L:

| | | | | |
|----|------------------|---------|--------------------|--------|
| | BWMDY | DMN' | 'NWK' | 'LPY |
| | 'MWK | QTYBY' | PTRWPY | GMTY |
| 20 | P'WR | NRNTQ | RQHTY | 'WRNH |
| | M'WT | PRWKH | 'QYL'H | TRQWYH |
| | BRWQ | SHRWR' | 'TNNY | GYL'N |
| | TKT | 'RNWB | 'ŠMY | YWŠŠ |
| | KPWN | KRBY | GYRŠWM | PRY'N |
| | ŠŠM ^C | 'BB' | NTN'L | 'R'L |
| | 'NYP | TRW'WR | ^C BDY'L | YWWN |
| | 'LWN | MW'L | LLP | YHSPT |
| | RHGL | RWM'PY | YKTY | 'RNY'L |
| | PWBWN | KDY'L | ZKRY'L | 'GDLN |
| | MYG'L | G'WPR | KRTH | KYLDH |
| | DYGL | 'LNW | TYRLY | SBLH |
| | 'BY'L | 'L | KSYL | SYQM |
| 25 | 'ŠBH | YWTNH | R'LKH | HLY'N |
| | 'PTY'L | TY'MY'L | 'L'L | NTY'L |
| | 'PYKH | TLGY'L | N ^C NH | 'STY'L |

These are the angels who are obedient in every matter during the first and second year of the fifteen year cycle of the reckoning of the Greek kings.⁴ If you wish to perform an

⁴Probably a reference to the Roman indictions. See Margalioth, Sepher 24. If we suppose that this reference to the use of indictions is by the government in Constantinople, then the terminus a quo for the cosmological framework is 312 C.E. The Egyptian dating would give us a terminus a quo of 297 C.E.

act of healing, arise in the first or second hour of the night
 30 and take with you⁵ myrrh and frankincense. This (is to be)
 put⁶ on burning coals (while saying) the name of the angel
 who rules over the first encampment, who is called 'WRPNY'L,
 and say there, seven times, (the names of the) seventy-two⁷
 angels who serve before him, and say as follows:

*I, N the son of N beseech you that you will
 give me success in healing N the son of N.*

And anyone for whom you ask, whether in writing or
 verbally, will be healed. Purify yourself from all impurity
 and cleanse your flesh from all carnality and then you will
 succeed.

⁵Literally, "in your hand."

⁶Margalioth suggests reading והוא נתון for והוא בנותן. Possibly והוא בנתן.

⁷Ms. א refers to a list of only seventy names.

35 These are the names of the angels of the second encampment
who serve TYGRH:

| | | | | |
|----|---------|----------|---------|---------|
| | 'KSTR | MRSWM | BRKYB | KMSW |
| | 'STYB | KRYT'L | 'DYR | GB' |
| | 'QRB' | 'NBWR | KBYR | TYLH |
| | BRYTWR | TRTM | NTPY'L | PRY'L |
| | TRWHWN | SLHBYN | 'SLB' | MSTWB |
| | GRHT' | HGR' | 'YTMY'L | HGL |
| | LGH | MNYTY'L | TNYMY'L | 'YKRYT |
| | 'BRYT' | RKYL'L | HSTK | PPTS |
| 40 | 'STYRWP | 'WDY'L | 'SBYR | MLKY'L |
| | 'RWS | DSWW' | HMK | TRGH |
| | ZMBWT | HSNYPLPT | SWW' | 'SPWR |
| | 'RQ | QNWMY'L | NHY'L | GDY'L |
| | 'DQ | YMWY'L | PRWG | DHGY'L |
| | DGRY'L | 'GRY'L | 'RWNWR | DWNRNY' |
| | DLKT | TBL | TLY'L | 'LY'L |
| | MWT'R | 'LPY'L | PYTPT' | LPWM |
| | 'WR | TMR | 'DLY'L | 'STWRYN |
| | 'ZWTY | 'YSTWRTY | D'WBYT | BRGMY |
| | DMWY'L | DYGR' | 'BYB'L | PRWTY'L |
| 45 | QWY'L | DGWGR' | DLGY'L | PDWTY'L |

These are the angels who are full of anger and wrath⁸ and who have been put in charge of every matter of combat and war and are prepared to torment and torture a man to death. There

⁸Reading חמה instead of ח.י.מ.

is no mercy in them but they (wish) only to take revenge and to punish him who is delivered into their hands. And if you wish to send them against your enemy, or against your creditor, or to capsize a ship, or to fell a fortified wall,⁹ or against
 50 any business of your enemies, to damage and destroy, whether you desire to exile him, or to make him bedridden, or to blind him or to lame him,¹⁰ or to grieve him in any thing (do as follows): Take¹¹ water from seven springs on the seventh day of the month, in the seventh hour of the day, in seven unfired pottery vessels,¹² and do not mix them¹³ with one another. Expose
 55 them beneath the stars for seven nights; and on the seventh night take a glass vial,¹⁴ (and say over it) the name of your adversary, and pour the water (from the seven unfired pottery vessels) into it, then break the pottery vessels and throw (the pieces) to the east, north, west, and south,¹⁵ and say thus to the four directions:¹⁶

⁹Probably a walled house as found in the later Roman empire. That it is the wall of a house which is meant is clear from 1:77.

¹⁰Literally, "to smite the light of his eyes...to bind his feet."

¹¹Literally, "take in your hand."

¹²Cf. PGM IV:3210f.

¹³I.e., the waters from the different springs.

¹⁴Cf. PGM IV:222; IV:3210 φιάλη.

¹⁵Literally, "to the four winds of the heavens."

¹⁶Literally, "winds."

60 HHGRYT who dwell in the east,¹⁷ SRWKYT who dwell in the north, CWLPH who dwell in the west, KRDY who dwell in the south, accept from my hand¹⁸ at this time that which I throw to you, to affect N son of N, to break his bones, to crush all his limbs, and to shatter his conceited power, as these pottery vessels are broken. And may there be no recovery for him¹⁹ just as there is no repair for these pottery vessels.

Then take the vial of water²⁰ and repeat over it the names of these angels and the name of the overseer, who is TYGRH and say thus:

65 *I deliver to you, angels of anger and wrath, N son of N, that you will strangle him and destroy him and his appearance,²¹ make him bedridden, diminish his wealth, annul the intentions of his heart, blow away his thought and his knowledge and cause him to waste away continually until he approaches death.*

If you wish to exile him conclude the formula thus:

That you will exile him and banish him from his children and his home and he will have nothing left.

If he is one to whom you are in debt, conclude (the formula) thus:

That you will plug his mouth and make his planning vain and he will not think of me, nor speak of me; and when I pass in front of him, he will not see me.

70 If (the rite is) for a ship²² say thus:

¹⁷Literally, "in the east wind," et. al.

¹⁸Literally, "for the name of."

¹⁹Margalioth has "for them" and records no variant but the context requires "for him."

²⁰Reading של מים instead of שלמים .

²¹I. e., so that the body will no longer be recognizable.

²²Either your enemy's ship or one on which he is.

I adjure you angels of wrath and destruction, that you will rise up against the ship of N son of N and that you not permit it to sail from any place. But if²³ wind (sufficient) for sailing²⁴ come to it, then let (the wind) carry it out to sea and shake it (so it sinks) in the midst of the sea and let neither man nor cargo be saved from it.

If you wish to fell a fortified wall say thus:

75 *I adjure you, angels of fury, wrath, and anger, that you will go with the force of your power and fell the wall of N son of N. Smite it to dust and let it be overturned like the ruins of Sodom and Gemorah, and let no man place stone upon stone on the place²⁵ (where the wall was); if it be built during the day, let it be overturned at night.*

Then pour out (the water) upon the four corners of the house. (In a like manner) if you wish to make your enemy bedridden, or to destroy his appearance, or to (do) any grievous thing, pour the water upon his doorstep. If (you wish) to exile him, pour out the water to the four directions.

80 If (you wish) to bind your creditor, throw the water on his garments. And if (you wish) to sink a ship, cast the vial and its water in the midst of the ship (while saying) the name of the ship and its master. And if you wish to overturn a wall, dig at the four corners of the wall and divide the water among (the four corners). (Use the water) thus in each case. Do it in (a state of) purity and then you will succeed.

²³Reading ואלו for ולא.

²⁴Possibly read מנהיג with Ms. ק, a leading wind."

²⁵Reading במקומה with Ms. פ for בקומה. Possibly בחומה, "on the wall."

These are the names of the angels who serve DNHL²⁶ in the third encampment:

| | | | | |
|----|---------|---------|----------|---------|
| 85 | 'WGRBBW | 'WBS'L | BRTWBV'L | KLWBY'L |
| | RHBY'L | 'WHY'L | KRBTWN | KRB' |
| | D'YNWT | 'YNYK | 'BYRM | 'TGL' |
| | 'WTWT | 'ŠTNW'L | 'ŠPR | TGRY'L |
| | 'MYK'L | 'TDŠW | 'WRY'L | 'RMWD |
| | 'STWN | 'K'L | 'N'WR | 'SKYR' |
| | LBY'L | 'LCŠH | HSNY'L | LMWSY |
| | 'DWT | TYRWM | 'LPY | 'YMYK |
| | 'RGL' | MYG'L | 'LY'L | MDNY'L |

90 These angels tell everyone who, in purity, gains power over them, what will happen on the earth in each and every year, whether for plenty or for famine, whether rains will be abundant or sparse, and whether there will be a dearth and whether there will be produce, and whether locusts will come and whether there will be strife among kings, and whether a sword will come among the great men of the kingdom,²⁷ and whether death or suffering will befall mankind.

If you wish to know and understand what will be in each and every year, take a hieratic papyrus²⁸ and cut it into

²⁶Probably a variant of Daniel or Danel, both of which are found as divine angelic names.

²⁷This seems to imply either strife or execution.

²⁸יִרְטִיקוֹן, i.e., ἱερατικόν - a hieratic sheet of papyrus. "Hieratic" (priestly) here refers especially to the Egyptian priests who were famed for their magic and from whence came the types of writing and paper that they used and were thought suitable for magical operations.

slips) and write in hieratic with a mixture of ink and myrrh²⁹ each and every possibility separately.³⁰ Then take a new flask and put in it spikenard oil³¹ and throw in the written slips³² (as well); then stand facing the sun³³ when he comes forth from his bridal chamber³⁴ and say:

100 *I adjure you O sun that shines on the earth, in the name of the angels who make men of knowledge understand and comprehend wisdom and secrets, that you will do what I ask and make known to me what will be in this year--do not conceal a thing from me.*

And you will adjure (the sun with) this adjuration for three days, three times³⁵ and the third time you will scrutinize the oil. Notice everything brought up upon the face of the oil, that is what will happen in that year. If two

²⁹ מלנון for σμορνό-μέλαν(ον) - a special ink used for magical purposes.

³⁰ I.e., one possibility on each slip.

³¹ Cf. PGM I:278.

³² Literally, "things."

³³ Cf. PGM II:87; III:325; IV:260; V:237.

³⁴ Here the text has צאתה מחופתה . If the final ה's were taken as feminine terminations (which they usually are) this would mean "when she comes forth from her bridal chamber." However, the sun is most often masculine. The verb forms and pronouns referring to the sun in this context are all masculine. Therefore, it is more plausible to explain these endings as Aramaizing spellings for the masculine termination י.

³⁵ Literally, "3 days 3 times." Possibly once a day or three times each day.

possibilities come up, then there will be (these) two and
if three come up, there will be three. Afterwards, take
105 the oil and burn it while saying the names of the angels
that serve in this encampment. And (as for) the rest of
all the written (slips), hide them³⁶ in a wall or in a
window. And so, (as in) every operation, act in purity,
and you will succeed.

³⁶Reading קזניג for קגניג , implying a ritual burial or storage both here and elsewhere in the text.

These are the names of the angels who serve KLMYH³⁷

in the fourth encampment:

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----------|---------|---------|
| | 'BRYH | 'YMRHY | DMN'Y | 'MNHR |
| | Y'MNWK | PTKY' | TWBY'L | GWLY'L |
| | 'WPRY | GMTY | 'WRNY'L | PRYKYHW |
| | Y'RN | LTMY'L | 'WRYT | TYMWGW |
| 110 | 'NMRY | 'LMYNY'L | YKMTW | STRTW |
| | SB ^c QNY | BWRTY'S | RSPWT | KRSWN |
| | 'M'P | WP'TN' | 'H'L | S'BY'L |
| | BLQYR | PKHWR | HSTR | STRY'L |
| | 'LYSS | HLSY'L | TRSPW | QRSTWS |
| | MLKY'L | 'RDQ | HSDY'L | 'HSP |
| | 'MY'L | PRNWS | GDY'L | SBYB'L |

These are the angels³⁸ who bring around³⁹ the opinion
 115 of the king and the good will of the nobles, chiefs, and
 leaders of the kingdom, directing and bestowing favor and
 mercy upon all who arise in purity to request anything from
 them. Perform this rite zealously and you will succeed.

If you wish to turn the king's opinion to your favor, or
 (that of) the chief of the army, or a rich man, or a ruler,
 or a judge of a city, or all the citizens of the state, or

³⁷ Here spelled with a η instead of a κ as in 1:8. The manuscripts show other variations, BLMY', GDYMY'.

³⁸ Perhaps the 36th angel comes from Χρυστόζ. Cf. 1:130.

³⁹ משובבים is possibly from שובב. Margalioth suggests amending to שתשובנו or משתבים. Possibly amend to מטבבים. Cf. 1:127 שתשובנו.

(if you wish to change) the heart of a great or wealthy woman, or the heart of a beautiful⁴⁰ woman, (do this). Take a lion cub and slaughter it with a bronze knife and catch its
 120 blood and tear out its heart⁴¹ and put its blood in the midst (of the heart) and write the names of these (above mentioned) angels in blood upon the skin between its eyes; then wash it out with wine three years old and mix (the wine) with the blood.

Then take three of the chief spices, istorgon⁴² and myrrh and musk,⁴³ and stand clean and pure, facing the brilliant star⁴⁴ and put the spices on the fire; then take in your hand the cup in which are the wine and the blood and say (this spell over it while burning the incense) and call
 125 on the name of the overseer and the names of the angels of this encampment. (Do this) twenty-one times over the blood and over the wine and say to the brilliant star, the name (of the star) which is that of Aphrodite, three hundred (times)⁴⁵ and (the name of the) angel ḤSDY'L (and then say):

⁴⁰Reading יופיה for ביופיה.

⁴¹Cf. PGM III:425 and DMP 25:27, p. 155.

⁴²איטטרוקון is probably στύραξ (styrax), a fragrant gum.

⁴³מושך. ושורה דמושך. If Margalioth is correct in assuming that מושך is a transliteration of the Persian *musk* and the Greek *moschos*, then the ך implies an Aramaic form making שורה the Aramaic "chain" or "chord." Margalioth points out the similarity between the Arabic targum of SHR which reads WSWRT 'LMSK and the Arabic targum of the Song of Songs 1:13 which reads SRH 'LMSK. Thus the targum renders "bag of myrrh" as "bag of musk."

⁴⁴I.e., Aphrodite-Venus. Cf. 1:126.

⁴⁵אפרודיטי ש Cf. PGM IV:2891. Margalioth suggests deletion of the ש.

I adjure you in the name of the angels of the fourth encampment who serve KLMY' that you bring around for me King N so that the heart of his army and the heart of his ministers (will be) in my hand, I, N son of N, and I will find favor and mercy before him and he will do what I want and ask, whenever I ask (anything) from him.

130 When you finish repeating the adjuration twenty-one times, look up and you will see (something) like a coal of fire descending into the blood and wine.⁴⁶

If you wish to enter the presence of the king or any (great) man, or a judge, wash yourself with "living" water⁴⁷ and take some of the blood and some of the wine and anoint your body, and place the lion's heart over your heart. If (you wish) to
135 bring around the citizens of the city⁴⁸ take the lion's heart and hide it in the midst of the city, and write on a (piece of) gold foil⁴⁹ the (name of) the overseer and (the names of the angels of) his encampment and say thus:

*You angels who go around and circulate in the world, bring around (to me) all the citizens of this city, great and small, old and young, lowly and distinguished. Let the fear and terror of me be over them as the terror of the lion is over all the animals. And as this heart is mute while I am speaking, so let
140 all of them listen to me, and let none of the children of Adam and Eve be able to speak against me.*

⁴⁶Cf. the notion of the descent of the holy spirit, body and blood of Christ into the bread and wine of the Eucharist. Note the use of QRSTWS in the angelic list of this encampment. Cf. 4 Ezra 14:39.

⁴⁷מֵיִם חַיִּים, "living water," i.e., water from a stream or spring, not from a cistern.

⁴⁸מְדִינָה is here translated as "city" as it fits the sense better than "state" which was used in 1:118.

⁴⁹צִיָּץ, gold plate, metal disc, or lamella, often used for making amulets.

Hide the heart in the middle of the city and go into seclusion⁵⁰ for three days and after three days appear in the city. (For this occasion) put some of the lion's blood under the soles of your feet.

If you wish to bind yourself to the heart of a great or wealthy woman⁵¹ take some perspiration from your face (and put it) in a new glass vessel; then write on it, (i.e.) on a
145 tin *lamella*,⁵² the name of the overseer and the names of the angels, and throw (the tin *lamella*) in the midst (of the flask) and say thus over the perspiration of your face:

I adjure you angels of favor and knowledge, that you will turn (to me) the heart of N daughter of N and let her do nothing without me, and let her heart be (joined) with my heart in love.

Take the new flask and bury it under her doorstep⁵³
and say:

Just as a woman will return to the infant of her womb, so this N will return to me to love me from this day and forever.
150

This should be written⁵⁴ at the full moon.

⁵⁰Literally "hide your face."

⁵¹This love potion is independent of the previous use of the lion's blood.

⁵²Either the phrase "on it" or "on a tin *lamella*" seems to be a repetitive addition.

⁵³Literally "the place of her coming in and going out."

⁵⁴Reading יכתוב for יכתב .

These are the angels who serve 'SYMWR in the fifth encampment:

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | BTW'R | ŠKYNTTK | 'DWM' | TQW |
| | MQP' | LHB' | ^C LY | ^C ZY |
| | ŠKNY'L | KNWR | BNṠ | QRB' |
| | SRK | HLŠY'L | HRMN ^C | ^C BR |
| | HWD | MLKYH | PR ^C TWP | 'D ^C T |
| | QWP | MNMLK | DYNAMWR | 'LPNṪTWS |
| | DYDRYWK | KLNH | NYNHY' | DŠNHY' |
| 155 | MLGDM | DYMHN | LYBRNK | TTQHH |
| | 'PNY'L | ZBYTWR | DKNSWR | RMGDL |
| | LHTQWP | ^C LY | GDGDL | PRWŠ |
| | MSRWŠ | KDYR | MWS | DYQN' |
| | NŠR | TWB | DRWMY'L | DYR'Z |
| | DMWL' | DYDY'L | T ^C Y | KRM |
| | 'TR | ^C QB | HWNMWR' | 'NQYW |
| | GZRY'L | ŠBY'L | ŠBYWD ^C | YYQR |
| | 'DWT | RGBY'L | | |

160 These are the angels who obey (you) during the night (if you wish) to speak with the moon or the stars or to question a ghost or to speak with the spirits.

If you wish to speak with the moon or with the stars about any matter, take a white cock and fine flour, then slaughter the cock⁵⁵ (so that its blood is caught) in "living water."⁵⁶ Knead the flour with the water and blood and make three cakes

⁵⁵Reading 150 for 150.

⁵⁶Cf. above, note 47.

and place them in the sun, and write on them with the blood
 the name(s) of (the angels of) the fifth encampment and the
 name of its overseer and put the three of them on a table of
 165 myrtle wood, stand⁵⁷ facing the moon or facing the stars
 and say:

*I adjure you to bring the planet of N and his star
 near to the star and planet of N, so his love will be
 tied with the heart of N son of N.*⁵⁸

Or say:

*Place fire from your fire in the heart of this N
 (masc.) or that N (fem.) so she will abandon her
 father's and mother's house⁵⁹ because of love for
 this N (masc.) son of N (fem.).*⁶⁰

Then take two of the cakes and place them with the cock
 in a new flask; then seal its mouth with wax and hide the
 flask in a place not exposed to the sun.⁶¹

170 If you wish acts of kindness (to be done to you); take the

⁵⁷ Reading עומד for אימר.

⁵⁸ The grammar here is most confusing. It would seem that the first clause (1:165,166) is a homosexual love formula and that the second (1:166,167) is bi-sexual. Another possibility is that the first clause uses a common masculine to imply that the formula could be used by any party. The fact that the second clause specifically provides for attraction of either a male or a female to a man seems, however, to imply that the first clause is indeed homosexual. The question is influenced by our rendering of ונאמר . Does it imply a new formula or a continuation of the former? Cf. its usage in the first firmament, second encampment (p.27). Also compare DMP 22:40 p.143; and PGM IV:345f. and 1480f.

⁵⁹ Literally "her father's house and her mother." This is probably a colloquial construction.

⁶⁰ Note the definition of an individual by specification of his mother. This is common in Egyptian magic texts and used often in SHR. A common saying was, "the mother is certainly known, the father uncertain."

⁶¹ See also 2:173. Cf. PGM VII:915. καὶ ἄλω μὴ δεῖξῃς

remaining cake, crumble it, and place it in aged wine in a glass cup, and say the name(s) of the angels in the presence of the moon and the stars and continue thus:

I adjure you that you will give favor, kindness, and affection, to N, from the favor, kindness, and affection that radiate from your countenance. (Give them to) me, N son of N, so that I will find favor, kindness, affection, and honor in the eyes of every man.

Then blow into the wind and wash your face each dawn,
175 for nine days, with the wine and the cake crumbled in it.

If you wish to question a ghost; stand facing a tomb and repeat the names of the angels of the fifth encampment (while holding) in your hand a new flask (containing) oil and honey mixed together and say thus:

180 *I adjure you O spirit of the ram bearer⁶² who dwell among the graves upon the bones of the dead, that you will accept from my hand this offering and do my will and bring me (the spirit of) N son of N who is dead. Raise him up so that he will speak to me without fear and tell me true things without concealment.⁶³ Let me not be afraid of him and let him tell me (for) my question, (the answer) I need from him.*

He should appear immediately. But if he does not, repeat the adjuration a second time (and) up to three times. When he appears set the flask before him and after this speak your words while holding a twig of myrtle in your hand.⁶⁴ If you
185 wish to release him, strike him three times with the myrtle and pour out the oil and honey, and break the cup, and throw the myrtle from your hand, and return home by a different route.

⁶²קריפוריין , i.e., Κρυσφόρος or Hermes.

⁶³Cf. PGM IV:1034. Spirits do not always tell the truth.

⁶⁴The flask and myrtle are to protect the person reciting the incantation. Cf. Goodenough, Symbols 2.174.

If you wish to speak with the spirits, go out to "the place of the killed"⁶⁵ and call out there in a singsong, whimpering way:

190 *I adjure you in the name of the angels who serve in the fifth encampment, and in the name of the overseer who is over them, who is 'SYMWR, that you will hear me at this time and send me the spirit of HGRGYRWT.⁶⁶ She shall go according to my will for whatever I send her and shall obey me in everything until such and such a time.*

If you see opposite you a column of smoke, speak your words and send (her) for whatever purpose you wish.

These are the names of the angels who serve PSKR in the sixth encampment:

| | | | |
|------------|----------|---------|---------|
| 'ZY'L | 'RBY'L | TRYPWN | PWKBWS |
| PSTMR | LYNNY'L | QRWNYDN | ŠWKDWN |
| 195 SLBYDM | C'MY'L | CWZY'L | PNY'L |
| TRMY'L | HMMY'L | SRMY'L | NYMMWS |
| NWDNYY' | B'RYB' | ZWNNWM | HŠTW'L |
| SDRY'L | HWPNY'WN | QDMY'L | KPNYY' |
| 'RMY'L | C'DMWN | HRMWR | ŠPLY'L |
| SPRY'L | QHNY'L | ŠBKRYR' | 'RMWNYS |
| TWPWMWS | PŠSY'L | HTPY'L | PRSWMWN |
| NHLY'L | | | |

200 These are the angels of might who gird on power and strength to run from place to place and to fly in all corners

⁶⁵ Possibly the place of public executions or the place where executed criminals were buried, or a place where multiple murders had been committed.

⁶⁶ חגרגירות . The reference is unknown. Possibly from "Hagar the Proselyte," הגר גירות.

of the earth to return a man, a fugitive, either a slave who fled or a thief who fled. (If you wish to catch a fugitive) take four copper *lamellae* and write upon each and every one of them the name of the man and the name of his mother,⁶⁷ the name of the overseer, PSKR, and the names of the angels who serve him, and say:

205 *I charge you, angels of might, to seize N son of N, wherever he goes and wherever he dwells, whether in a city or in a country, whether at sea or on land, whether eating or drinking. You shall make him fly like a flying bird and bring him against his will, and not let him linger one moment, whether by day or by night.*

Then take (the) four copper *lamellae* and hide them in the four directions⁶⁸ whether in the city or in the country.

These are the names of the angels who serve BW'L in the seventh encampment:

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| 210 | NWHRY'L | DBB'L | DYMTMR | DB'L |
| | MḤṢYN | 'WR | DY'M | BBYT'L |
| | SRWR' | 'HGYH | PRWPY'L | MKSY'L |
| | CLZY'L | TKWRKS | QRWY'L | RMV'L |
| | LḤSWN | SLHY'L | 'HY'L | 'KR |
| | 'WBR | SRWGY'L | YDW'L | ṢMSY'L |
| | ṢPTY'L | RḤBY' | 'HMWD' | MRMRYN |
| | 'NWK | 'LPRT | 'WYGR' | QRWKNS |
| | SRPY'L | GDRY'L | 'RDWD' | PWRTNY'L |
| | 'GMY'L | RHTY'L | DYTRWN | ḤZ'L |
| 215 | PTW'L | GLGL' | DMNṢR | ZZY'L |

⁶⁷On descent through the mother, cf. First Firmament, note 60 (p. 37).

⁶⁸I.e., towards the north, south, east, and west.

These are the names of the angels in charge of dreaming, to make anyone who approaches them in purity know what the dream (was) and what its interpretation is.

If the king, or the head of the city, or governor, or your friend summons you and you want to give him an answer from your wisdom, say to him, "I will make known to you what is in your heart concerning me." (or "what you thought about me," or
 220 "what you want to do," or "what is the interpretation of your dream.")⁶⁹ "Give me a period of three days and I will make known to you all that is in your heart." Then go out on Sunday to the sea shore or to a river bank during the third hour of the night. Wear a new cloak⁷⁰ and do not eat (the meat of) any animal,⁷¹ nor anything which yields blood (when slaughtered), and do not drink wine. Take myrrh and pure frankincense and place them on burning coals in a new earthen vessel, and turn your face toward the water and repeat three
 225 times the name of the overseer with the name(s) of the angels of the encampment. When you see a pillar of fire between heaven and earth say thus:

⁶⁹The magician is to choose the appropriate phrase.
 Cf. PGM I:175.

⁷⁰ $\gamma\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa$ i.e., $\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$. Semetic pronunciation often avoids double consonants by the introduction of vowels.

⁷¹ Hebrew $\eta\eta\tau$. Margalioth reads $\eta\lambda\tau$, fish, which might be possible in sympathy with "the river." But see 2:8 and notes. Furthermore the next phrase, "anything which issues blood" would not classically apply to "fish." In 5:35 we read "both small animals and all that yields blood *even* fish." Thus it seems that SHR would go out of its way to make the distinction if it was appropriate.

230 I adjure you by the One who measured the waters in the palm of His hand and rebuked the waters so that they fled from Him, and made winds flying in the air his personal servants, as a fiery flame, who rebuked the sea and dried it up, and made rivers a desert,⁷² by His name and by its letters, I adjure you, and by the names of the angels⁷³ of the seventh encampment who serve BW'L, that you make known to me what is in the heart of N son of N and what is his desire, and what is the interpretation of his dream and what is his thought.

Do likewise on the second and third nights and you will see that a pillar of fire will appear to you with a cloud on it like the image of a man.⁷⁴ Question him and he will tell you whatever you ask. And if you wish to release him throw some of the water, from the sea or the river by which you are standing, toward heaven three times and say under your breath:⁷⁵

235 *Invisible Lord BW'L, sufficient to our need, the perfect shield bearer,⁷⁶ I free you, I free you, subside and return to your (heavenly) course.*

Say this seven times. Perform the entire rite in purity and you will succeed.

These are the names of the seven spirits who serve in the firmament called *Shamayim*.

PEACE.

⁷²The adjuration is a combination of Isa 40:12; Ps 104:4; 107:33; and Nah 1:4.

⁷³Reading שמות for בשם ז, i.e., "the names of" for "the name of seven" angels, since there are 44 angels in this encampment.

⁷⁴Cf. Ezek 1:4.

⁷⁵Cf. PGM III:108.

⁷⁶With Margalioth, *Sepher* 80, following the transcription of Morton Smith. אורורי גרי/באל פוט/מוס טרגי טליגוס אספדיפורוס
 ἄορατε κύριε Βουήλ, ποτ' ἡμᾶς ἄρακιε, τελικὸς
 ἀσπιδηφόρος.

(THE SECOND FIRMAMENT)

The second firmament is called "heaven of heavens."¹ In it are frost and fog² and treasuries of snow and treasuries of hail, angels of fire and angels of moisture³ and spirits of terror and spirits of dread. The firmament is full of fear, for within it are innumerable angels constituting armies upon armies and over them are officers and overseers. Within the
5 firmament are twelve steps⁴ and on each and every step stand angels in their splendor, and over them is one high official over another. Nevertheless, for human affairs, they are obedient to everyone who approaches them in purity.

If you wish to ask something of any who stand on the steps of the second firmament, cleanse yourself for three weeks from all fruit of the palm,⁵ from all kinds of animals, small and large,⁶ from wine, from (all) types of fish and from all (animals) that yield blood (when slaughtered); and do not approach a woman in her impurity,⁷ and do not touch anything

¹שמי שמים, a common designation in mystical literature for the second heaven.

²כפור וקטור, קטור = "smoke." Here it seems to imply mist or fog in parallel to frost, snow, hail, etc.

³Reading זיעה, i.e., "moisture" with Mss. ה and א instead of זיע, i.e., "trembling."

⁴מעלות, i.e., steps, levels, divisions.

⁵Reading דקל for דקה with Margalioth.

⁶דקה וגסה, i.e., small and large animals. This is a common distinction found in Rabbinic literature between sheep and goats as opposed to cattle.

⁷Cf. Ezek 18:6.

which has died,⁸ and do not come near a leper or one afflicted
 10 by venereal discharge, even accidental, and guard your mouth
 from every evil word and from every sin; and sanctify yourself
 from every sin.

Upon the first step stand these:

| | | | |
|---------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| 'HMRY'L | HDRY'L | RŠY'L | HS ^C Y'L |
| DMYMY'L | ZBDY'L | RNZY'L | C ^N S'L |
| KTBR'L | | | |

These, their station is on the first step. They stand in
 terror, cloaked in wrath, girded with dread, surrounded by
 15 trembling, their raiment like an image of fire, their faces
 like the appearance of lightning, and their mouths never cease
 (to utter) mighty words. Nevertheless, their voice is not
 heard, for their task is to silence, to frighten, and to
 terrify anyone who opposes the man who calls on them in purity.

If you wish to silence a great and powerful people, or a
 governor, or a judge, or the citizens of a city, or of a state,
 take a handful of ashes from beneath the bread offering⁹ of an
 20 idol and say over it backwards¹⁰ seven times the names of the
 angels written above (as standing) on the first step, and say:

*I ask from you, angels of silence, that in this
 place, you silence every mouth and every heart of the
 children of Adam and Eve who arise against me to (say)
 anything evil. Let their mouths utter good things about*

⁸Cf. Lev 21:11.

⁹Cf. Testament of Job 7. Here reading פה for פאת

¹⁰מפּרַע, possibly "out of order" or "irregularly," but most likely "backwards" the normal meaning. Saying things backwards is a well-known magical practice.

*me and let me be exonerated in my lawsuit; do not permit any mouth to speak evil about me.*¹¹

Then sprinkle the ashes, either in the city or in the
 25 state, either before the governor or before the judge, and
 you will be exonerated.

Upon the second step stand these:

| | | | |
|--------|--------|---------|---------|
| CZZY'L | HNN'L | PSSY'L | YŠCY'L |
| DLQY'L | 'RPD' | MR'WT | RYPYPYS |
| 'MNY'L | NHMY'L | PRZYRWM | CNB'L |

These, their station is on the second step. They stand with
 strength, filled with might, surrounded with love, and in
 their presence fire burns, and they hasten to bring the
 30 (ruling) planets of the sons of man into conjunction for love.

If you wish to put the love of a man into the heart of a
 woman, or to arrange for a poor man to wed a rich woman, take
 two copper *lamellae* and write upon them, on both sides, the
 names of these angels, and the name of the man and the name of
 the woman and say thus:

*I ask of you, angels who rule the fates of the
 children of Adam and Eve, that you do my will and
 bring in conjunction the planet of N son of N into
 conjunction with (the planet of) the woman N daughter
 of N. Let him find favor and affection in her eyes
 and do not let her belong to any man except him.*

 35

Place one (*lamella*) in a fiery furnace and the other in
 her ritual bath.¹² Do this on the twenty-ninth of the month

¹¹In this formula note that two angelic names, הטעיאל and דמיאל which are derived from verbs meaning "to silence" (הס, דממט).

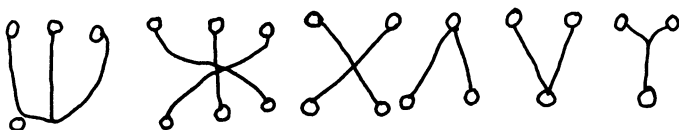
¹²By Rabbinic law, if the woman uses a ritual bath, *mikvah*, she is either about to be married or married, thus limiting the formula's usefulness to bridegrooms, husbands and

when the moon has waned completely. Take care to keep yourself from intercourse, from wine, and from all (kinds of) meat for three days.¹³

Upon the third step stand these:

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|
| YHW'L | D ^C YHW | 'LY'L | BRKY'L |
| ^C LY | SPWM | PNYMWR | 'L ^C ZR |
| GBLY'L | KMŠY'L | 'WDH'L | Y ^C Š'L |
| 40 RPPY'L | PSPY'L | | |

14



adulterers. Since we do not know in what circles this document circulated, it is of course impossible to draw a definite conclusion about its intended use.

¹³Since the introduction to the Second Firmament gives general rules of abstinence to follow before using the formulas of the Second Firmament, we must assume that these rules are to be followed after the spell has been cast in order to insure effectiveness.

¹⁴These characters appear here in Ms. N. Such symbols, which were used to enhance the power of amulets and spells, were common both in the Greek and Jewish worlds. Cf. Margalioth, Sepher 4; PGM IV:2706; VII:810, 816, 860, 922. These characters are also reproduced in the sixth step of the Second Firmament and in the Third Firmament. Full magical alphabets coalesce at a later date. Cf. Robert Ambelain, La Kabbale Pratique (Paris: Edition Niclaus, 1951), or the chart reproduced in Gustav Davidson, A Dictionary of Angels (London: Macmillan, 1967) 335. The use of ringed symbols may derive from the punch writing on Greek allotment plates which were worn in a similar fashion to amulets. Cf. John H. Kroll, Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972).

These, their station is on the third step, for their function is to shake and agitate the hearts of men and to make void their intentions and nullify their thoughts. Dread is theirs and fear where they walk, and their appearance is (full) of wrath, and they are exceedingly harsh and mighty men of war, and fear goes before them and trembling after them,¹⁵ and they roar and cause trembling as they go shaking¹⁶ (the world), and their voice is like the voice of thunder and in their hands are rods of fire and their faces are like sparks of fire and
 45 fire comes forth from their eyes, and all of them are ready to nullify and make void (whatever they are asked to).

If you wish to nullify a great man's intentions towards you, or the thoughts of an army officer, or the intentions of military men, or any other evil intentions or thoughts (directed against you); go out at midnight when the moon is full, barefoot,¹⁷ and pure, and wrapped in a new cloak.¹⁸ Stand under the moon and say twenty-one times the names of the angels written above, (those) who stand on the third step of
 50 the "heaven of heavens," and say:

Moon, Moon, O Moon, bring my words before the angels who stand upon the third step: nullify the thought concerning me of N son of N and the intention of his heart and his plot. Let his mouth be unable to speak

¹⁵This calls to mind the figure of Ares and his attendants.

¹⁶שגג, commonly associated with earthquakes.

¹⁷The text reads גיח, i.e., "alone." Margalioth reads גיח "barefoot." This is justified by other magical texts of a similar nature.

¹⁸לגוסא, i.e., סτολή. Cf. First Firmament, note 70 (p.41).

against me, destroy his knowledge, and thwart his intentions, and let his purpose¹⁹ be devastated, so that every time he sees me he will be filled with love for me, and let him be changed so that he becomes my friend, and let him not remember any hatred of me, and let me find favor and affection in his eyes.

55 Then write (the names of) the angels and these (following) characters²⁰ upon a silver *lamella*; put them on a tablet over your heart,²¹ and during all the days you wear it²² you shall succeed.

Upon the fourth step stand these:

| | | | |
|---------|-------------------|---------|---------------------|
| SGRY'L | MLKY'L | 'WNBYY | PGRY'L |
| CNNY'L | KLNMY' | 'WY'L | MPNWR |
| KWZZYB' | 'LPY'L | PRYBY'L | S ^c QMYH |
| KDWMY'L | 'SMD ^c | HWDYH | YHZY'L |

60 These, their station is on the fourth step.²³ They are girded with storm and the sound of their steps is like the sound of bronze. They fly from the east and turn from the west towards the gate.²⁴ They are swift as lightning and fire is around

¹⁹Literally "heart."

²⁰והכרטיורים for χαρακτῆρες. Cf. note 14 (p.46).

²¹Reading על לוח על לבך. This is a recipe for an amulet. The idea is that you put the silver foil on a stronger tablet and wear it suspended over your heart (chest).

²²Literally, "it is upon you."

²³Note the ninth angel, KWZZYB', and the thirteenth, 'SMD^c. KWZZYB' is most probably Bar Kochba. This would clearly date the angelology as post 135 CE. 'SMD^c is most probably Asmodeus. Cf. Tob 3:7,17.

²⁴פילון for πυλών.

them. They withhold²⁵ sleep from men, and they can do good or do evil.

If you wish to give your enemy trouble in sleeping,²⁶ take the head of a black dog that never saw light during its days and take a *lamella* from a strip of (lead) pipe from an aqueduct,²⁷ and write upon it (the names of) these angels and say thus:

65 *I hand over to you, angels of disquiet who stand upon the fourth step, the life and the soul and the spirit of N son of N so that you may tie him in chains of iron and bind him to a bronze yoke. Do not give sleep, nor slumber, nor drowsiness to his eyelids; let him weep and cry like a woman at childbirth, and do not permit any (other) man to release him (from this spell).*

Write thus (as above) and put (the inscribed lead *lamella*) in the mouth of the dog's head²⁸ and put wax on its mouth, and seal (it) with a ring which has a lion (engraved) 70 upon it. Then go and conceal it behind his house or in a place he frequents.²⁹

If you wish to release him (take the dog's head) away from where it is concealed and remove its seal and withdraw the text and throw it into a fire, and he will fall asleep at once. Do this with humility and you will succeed.

²⁵Literally "separate."

²⁶Cf. PGM IV:2943.

²⁷פסוקרונפורון for ψυχροσφύραρον . Cf. PGM VII:397.

²⁸Cf. PGM XXXVI:232,370.

²⁹Literally "a place in which he goes and comes." His door-step is most likely, as this was a popular and effective place for magic deposits. Cf. First Firmament, note 53 (p.35).

Upon the fifth step stand these:

| | | | | |
|----|-----------|---------|--------|--------|
| | QWN'QRY'L | PTWNY'L | NQRY'L | 'Y'L |
| | Y'BWTY'W | BBSB'W | BKPY | MBWM |
| 75 | SKTB'Q | 'MRY'L | Y'L'L | MKS'BW |

These are they who stand on the fifth step. They grasp shield and spear, and brass helmets are on their heads, and their garments are coats of mail. To their right and left are (storms) as of hailstones. Trembling (accompanies) their running and they stride upon rivers of fire, grasping torches, and hurrying to return an answer, and their mouths never silent from roaring, and their breath³⁰ is like flaming fire, and their fire is blazing (so that) the breath of their mouths
80 kindles fire, for all their actions concern the treasuries of fire, for from fire they emerged and they are stationed in fire.

If you wish to light an oven in the cold, take a lump of sulphur (that weighs) about seven shekels³¹ and divide it into the number of compartments in the oven. Then upon each and every (lump of sulphur) write with a bronze stylus³² the names of the angels who stand upon the fifth step and say:

85 *I adjure you, angels of fire and angels of flame, by the King who is a consuming fire, that you shall stand with me and kindle the oven which is in such a place, and it shall be that anyone who approaches it will be amazed at its heat.*

³⁰Perhaps "their spirit," but "breath" is more likely here.

³¹Or possibly 27 shekels exactly. Reading כ'י'ז.

³²Reading בעשש נחושת של בעתה with Mss. ס and ח instead of בעשש נחושת.

Do this in the proven manner³³ and you will succeed.

Then take the sulphur and cast it into each and every burner of it (the oven) and it (the sulphur) will blaze up strongly. Every day that you wish to light (the oven) write (as directed) and cast (the sulphur) into the midst (of the oven).

Upon the sixth step stand these:

| | | | | |
|----|---------------------|----------------------|--------|--------|
| | 'BYHWD | QYTR | ZLQY'L | STRY'L |
| 90 | 'DRK | GHL [.] Y'L | TMKY'L | SMKYH |
| | RB ^c Y'L | YWQMY'L | SMYHWD | MHRY'L |
| | DWMY'L | KRKWS | QNZ | QNY'L |
| | KNTWN [.] | | | |

These are they who stand on the sixth step. They behave with humility, but their faces are full of glory. Their garments are garments white as light. They stand like giants, awesome as the scholars of a court,³⁴ seated in thrones of glory, trusted to give true (judgments), and in charge of healing.

95 If you wish to heal a man who has had a stroke and half of him is dried up, either by an (evil) spirit or by witchcraft, take spikenard oil and three measures of honey and stand facing the sun as it rises, repeating three times each day for seven days the name of the man and the name of his mother and the names of the angels who stand upon the sixth step. And on the seventh day take him and stand him naked before the sun, and smear oil all over his flesh, while burning myrrh, frankincense, and chosen spices in the sunlight. Then again write upon a

³³ ~~קרינה~~ for δοκιμή, or possibly δόμα.

³⁴ Literally, "of a yeshivah" or academy.

silver *lamella* (the names of) these angels of glory with these characters:³⁵



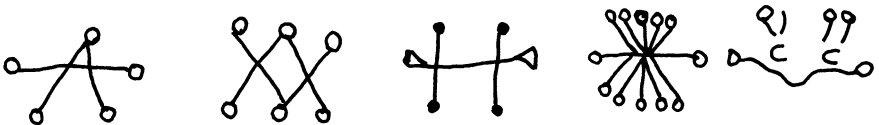
(Write these on the *lamella*) as an amulet and put it on his neck with a (cord of) asbestos³⁶ and incense of spices. Write it thus on the twentieth of the month and you will succeed.

Upon the seventh step stand these:

| | | | |
|--------|-------|----------|--------|
| P·THYH | RZY'L | 'GRY'L | HGDY'B |
| 'DRWN | KRQT' | Q·TYPWR | 'BRY'L |
| ŠTQY'L | °MY'L | SYKBRDWM | |

105 These are they who stand on the seventh step, girt with strength, their might like a lion. Half of them are like fire and half of them cold as water. They stand in their place (and are weakened from their fear).³⁷ They are wondrous because of their deeds and no one can comprehend their image,

³⁵See note 14 above (p.46). The characters given in the text are from Ms. η . Ms. δ reads:



³⁶אמילנטון for ἀμιάντος i.e. "asbestos." Properly an adjective meaning "undefiled." Asbestos was used to fashion magical chains. Cf. PGM XIII:300; and the Fifth Firmament, line 40 and note 11 (p.76).

³⁷The text appears to be corrupt. Compare with lines 157-160 below.

for they come great in stature with sparks of light upon their eyelids. Those who stand below are unable to look at their appearance and those, too, who stand above are frightened by their appearance; for they turn to every side and above, and they move in all four directions.³⁸

If you wish to expel from the city every dangerous wild animal, whether lion, or wolf, or bear, or leopard, or (if you wish to quell) a river or sea which is rising and washing against buildings, (do the following). (For the wild animals) make a bronze image in the likeness of the one (which you desire to expel) and then make an iron *lamella* and write upon it, on the obverse and reverse, the names of the angels (of the seventh step) and bind it upon (the image) and bury it at the entrance of the city and let its face be facing north. If it is a river or a sea you wish to bind so that it will not come and flood (the city), make a stone image (of a man), write (the names of) these angels on two copper *lamellae* and place them beneath his heels, and make a marble staff and place it on his shoulder, his right hand grasping the staff and his left hand open and his face towards the water.³⁹

³⁸This implies that the angels can look in all directions at once.

³⁹This image seems to be forbidden by Rabbinic texts. Cf. Mishnah Avodah Zarah 3:1; Maimonides, Mishnah Torah on A.Z. 7:6. Note that there are no spells, rituals, or sacrifices mentioned to be used when employing this figure. Perhaps a later hand has deleted them.

Upon the eighth step stand these:

| | | | | |
|-----|--------|--------|---------|---------|
| | 'BRH | BRQY'L | 'DWNV'L | CZRY'L |
| | BRKY'L | CMY'L | QDSY'L | MRGY'L |
| | PRW'L | PNY'L | MRBNY'L | MRNYS'L |
| 120 | SMY'L | CMNY'L | MTN'L | HWD HWD |

These are they who stand upon the eighth step.⁴⁰

Their appearance is as shining amber, they speak by their deeds, trembling and fire are in their dwelling place, (their presence) is filled with fear.⁴¹ They rule the spirits that wander in the earth, and in a place where their name is invoked an evil spirit cannot appear.

If you wish to drive off an evil spirit so it will not come to a woman when she is in childbirth and so it will not kill her child, before the woman's pregnancy write (the names of) these angels on a golden *lamella* and place it in a silver tubular case and let her wear it, and at the time of childbirth take four silver *lamellae* and write upon them (the names of) the angels and place them in the four sides of the house⁴² and no (evil) spirit will come in.⁴³

⁴⁰The sixteenth, הוּד הוּד, is not an angelic name. It is rather a description of their magnificence. Possibly amend to read הוּד הוּד both here and in 2:121.

⁴¹The text says, "they are filled with fear," but the meaning is clearly that they frighten those they encounter.

⁴²Probably the center of the four walls and not the corners.

⁴³Literally "come up," but the meaning is come up into (the house)."

Upon the ninth step stand these:

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------|----------|---------|
| | GDWDY'L | SKSY'L | TRSWNY'L | NSHY'L |
| | 'SDD' | RBNY' | HLYL'L | TWQPY'L |
| 130 | SMKY'L | PDH'L | QRB' | SY'L |
| | PR'L | PTHY'L | | |

These are they who stand on the ninth step. Quick and mighty, flying through the air, their strength is a breastplate and they appear to have swords in their hands; prepared for war, grasping bows and holding javelins, they leap forth from the fire. And they have horses of fire, and the harness of their chariots is of fire, and terror goes with them wherever they turn.

If you wish that a man going forth to war be protected from
 135 arrow, sword, or any blow, take seven leaves of a bay tree⁴⁴
 and write these names on them, two on each and every one of
 them, and put them in spikenard oil, and on the day he goes
 forth to war, let him smear (the oil) upon his flesh and upon
 his sword and his bow and arrows. Again write (the names of
 the angels) on a silver *lamella*, put them in a bronze tubular
 case, and let him tie it over his heart, then no blow will
 touch him.

⁴⁴Reading ערא for ער. Cf. Jastrow, Dictionary 1109; PGM XXIV:15; I:264.

Upon the tenth step stand these:

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------|--------|--------|
| 140 | DKRY'L | HRY'L | ŠBQY'L | 'TKY'L |
| | SMYK'L | MRMW'L | QN'L | SPTP |
| | YH'L | 'LSDQ | 'KPP | °ZM'L |
| | MKMYK'L | TRKY'L | TBGY'L | |

These are they who stand on the tenth step.⁴⁵ They have been commanded (to reward) truth. Before them are myriads upon myriads (of angels) holding reed (pens) for fire and writing scrolls uninterruptedly, and recording acquittal for all those who call upon their names, (so that they) will be rescued and saved from forced tribute, the law of the land, and from every death penalty.

145 If you wish to rescue your friend from a bad judgment, or from any difficulty, purify yourself from all impurity, and do not cohabit with a woman for three days; then stand before the sun at the dawn and repeat these names (of these angels) and say:

150 *I beseech thee O great angel who art called "sun," who ascend the steps of the firmament, who watch the children of men, that you will perform my request and will bring my words before the King of Kings of Kings, the (Holy One) Blessed be He, to whom I pray concerning the case of N son of N, who is in trouble and has a bad case; and that you will bring over for him, from (God's) presence, something good and a time of relief. Let those who sought to do him evil be ashamed and let him be rescued without injury.*

In addition, write (the names of) these angels on a copper lamella and conceal it in the east, so it will be exposed to the sun at sunrise.⁴⁶ Do everything in purity and you will succeed.

⁴⁵For the tenth angel read קַדְקַא as one word with Ms. n.

⁴⁶Literally, "at its arising."

Upon the eleventh step stand these:

| | | | | |
|-----|--------|---------|---------|----------|
| 155 | RPDY'L | DMW'L | M'RYNWS | 'MYN'L |
| | ṢHY'L | ᶜQRY'L | 'DNY'L | RDQY'L |
| | ṢLMY'L | 'STTY'L | ST'L | 'GLGLTWN |
| | 'RMWT | PRHG'L | NPPMYWT | |

These, their position is upon the eleventh step. There is fear where they stand, a great multitude stationing (themselves) and establishing camps of ministering (angels) in the heaven, for on their command angels of fire run and return, causing (men) to descend from greatness and rise to splendor.

160 They fly to and fro, resuming their places, glorifying their creator and extolling their maker.

If you wish to restore to office one who has fallen from his place, a king, or minister, or governor, or judge, take oil and honey and fine flour and place them in a new glass vial,⁴⁷ and purify yourself from all impurity, and do not eat *nevelah*⁴⁸ and do not touch a woman's bed,⁴⁹ for seven days. Then on the seventh day stand beneath the moon, in its fourteenth, fif-

165 teenth, or sixteenth day,⁵⁰ and take the vial in your hand, and write on it (the names of the angels of) this encampment of the

⁴⁷ ַלְּנִיָּהּ for φιάλη.

⁴⁸ That is meat from an animal which has died from natural causes

⁴⁹ This expression should probably be understood as a metaphoric prohibition of cohabitation, though the literal meaning may be understood as a Rabbinic precaution against impurity.

⁵⁰ That is, "on the full moon." It seems to be implied by 2:163 that one may begin preparations on either the seventh, eighth, or ninth, but since 2:172 implies that the adjuration is to be recited on all three days of the full moon, one must begin preparations on the seventh.

(eleventh) step and recite over it seven times, while facing the moon, the names of the angels and say:

170 *I bring my petition before you, O Moon, who travel by day and by night with chariots of light and angels of mercy before and behind you. I adjure you by the King who causes you to rise and set, as you are thin and become full and return to your place, so restore N son of N to his place and let him be (again) honored in the eyes of all who see him, and as you have glory in the world, so bestow glory upon him in the eyes of all the children of Adam and Eve, and restore him to his office, and let him rule as at the beginning and let him not move from his position (again).*

Do this for him for three days, and afterwards make them⁵¹ into a cake and dry it at night so that the sun does not shine on it, and have him eat it for three days, before sunrise, and bury (the) vial, with the writing still on it,⁵² in his house.

175 Upon the twelfth step stand these:

| | | | |
|---------|-----------|----------|---------|
| 'STRYMY | BR'WT | BMR'WT | DRWDY'L |
| SDRLY'L | TLHBM | BRG'L | PY'L |
| PP'L | YKPTYNY | KLPTWN | BWBWKWK |
| 'WMTWN | 'RTMYKTWN | 'SMYGDWN | SPNYG |
| PRNYG'L | PSYKSWK | T'GYSWN | 'RTLYDY |

180 These, their position is on the twelfth step. Surrounded by righteousness, rays of majesty on their heads, full of understanding, they understand how to praise (the Lord). They stand in two equal companies, half of them singing and the other half answering after them. Their language heals, their speech binds up (wounds), and anything they mention will be successful.

⁵¹I.e., the oil, honey, and flour.

⁵²Literally, "and vial bury written." One expects "and bury the inscribed vial" in order to parallel 2:165.

If you wish to cure a headache (affecting) half the head⁵³ or to bind or rebuke the spirit causing blindness, take fat that covers the brain of a black ox, and while in (a state of) purity, write on it the names of these angels and place it in a silver tubular case, then bind the tube with seven colors⁵⁴ and place it beside the pain. (In order to succeed) abstain
185 from meat, from wine, from (contact with) the dead, from menstruating women, and from every unclean thing.

⁵³Cf. PGM VII:199.

⁵⁴Cf. PGM VII:271.

(THE THIRD FIRMAMENT)

The third firmament is filled with storerooms of mist from which the winds go forth, and inside it are encampments of thunder from which lightning emanates. Within, three princes sit on their thrones; they and their raiment have an appearance like fire and the appearance of their thrones is like fire, fire that gleams like gold, for they rule over all the angels of fire. They are like fire in their strength and their voices
5 are like the roar of a peal of thunder. And their eyes are like sunbeams, and they rule over the wheels of flame and fire. Moreover, they have wings to fly. The whinnying of their mouths is as horses,¹ their appearance like torches; when they speak they cause trembling, when they shout they cause weakness. They soar in every direction and fly to every corner (of the world).

These are the names of the princes who rule in the habitation² which is the third firmament. The name of the first is YBNY'L, the name of the second is RHTY'L, and the
10 name of the third is DLQY'L. YBNY'L is in charge of all things concerning the igniting and extinguishing of fire. RHTY'L is in charge of every chariot of fire³ causing it to

¹Cf. Nah 2:5.

²יָבֵנָה, i.e., habitation, temple, place.

³The chariots of fire are the heavenly fires over which these princes rule. The circling celestial bodies are viewed as the circling chariots of the hippodrome. Thus RHTY'L appears as the ruler of chariot races and his name (*RHT* = run) indicates that he was created for this function. The association of RHTY'L with the other angels of fire comes through Helios who drove a fiery chariot and team and was therefore the most conspicuous of charioteers and thus became the patron of their profession.

run (successfully) or to fail.⁴ DLQY'L is in charge of flames of fire, to kindle or quench (them).

These are the names of the angels who serve YBNY'L:

| | | | | |
|----|---------|----------|---------|---------------------|
| | ŠCYPY'L | 'DRY'L | TDHDY'L | B ^C ŠY'L |
| | THPY'L | RLBY'L | BLNY'L | THZRY'L |
| 15 | 'CZY'L | 'MNHY'L | MLTHY'L | DYBQY'L |
| | BRŠS'L | SH'L | TTB'L | QSMY'L |
| | TSY'L | QSTSDY'L | NMDY'L | |

If you wish to extinguish (the fire which heats) a bathhouse so it will neither flare up nor burn, bring a salamander⁵ and place it in a glass vessel with oil aged for three years. Do not set it upon the ground, but repeat backwards over it seven times during the third hour of the night the name of
 20 the overseer and the names of the angels who serve before him, and say:

I adjure you, O salamander, in the name of YBNY'L and in the name of the angels of fire who serve him, just as you were driven from fire, so drive away and extinguish the fire from the bathhouse⁶ of N son of N. And you, angels of fire, all of whose deeds pertain to fire, do not permit fire to enter or warm this bathhouse, but stand on the gates of his (the owner's) house and enter it, and make it like cold snow⁷ or cold water.

⁴Literally, "stumble." The author is writing of chariots but thinking of horses.

⁵ΚΥΓΓΙΝΑΒΩ for σαλαμάνδρα. The salamander is well known in the ancient world as being associated with fire. Cf. Ginzberg, Legends 5.52, n. 157f.

⁶Deleting *טלה*, i.e., "blazing" since the purpose was to prevent ignition and the adjective implies the bathhouse is already ablaze.

⁷Cf. Prov 25:13.

Then take the flask of oil and put some of it on the four corners of each and every room. If you wish to undo the spell, take some of the remaining oil and stand facing the sun and repeat the name of YBNY'L and the names of the angels who serve him and say:

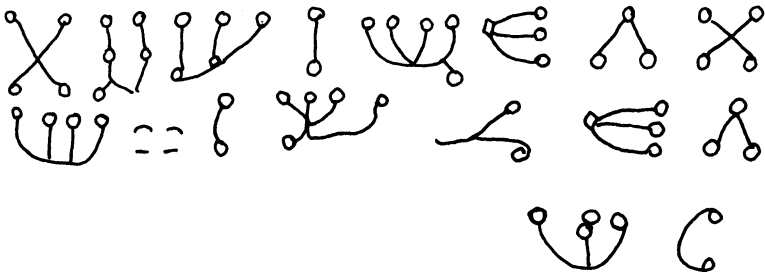
30 *I adjure you, angel of fire and angel of conflagration, that you will undo what I have bound and will permit the angels standing at the gates of the bathhouse of N son of N to ignite and kindle its fire as before.*

Then take the flask of oil and pour (some of it) in the four corners of each room and the fire will ignite and burn.

These are the names of the angels who serve RHTY'L:

| | | | |
|----------|---------|---------|--------------------|
| 'GR' | ZRGRY | GNTS | T ^c ZM' |
| LTSRP'L | GDY'L | TMNY'L | ^c QHY'L |
| GWHPNY'L | 'RQNY | SPYQW'L | MWŚY'L |
| SWSY'L | HTNY'L | ZKRY'L | 'KNSP |
| 35 SDQY | 'HSP | NKMR' | PRDY'L |
| QLYLY'L | DRWMY'L | | |

8



⁸These characters are from Ms. n . Cf. Second Firmament, note 14 (p.46).

If you wish to race horses, (even) when they are exhausted, so that they will not stumble in their running, that they will be swift as the wind, and the foot of no living thing will pass them, and they will win popularity in their running, take a silver *lamella* and write upon it the names of the horses and the names of the angels and the name of the prince⁹ who is over them and say:

40 *I adjure you angels of running, who run amid the stars, that you will gird with strength and courage the horses that N is racing and his charioteer¹⁰ who is racing them. Let them run and not become weary nor stumble. Let them run and be swift as an eagle. Let no animals stand before them,¹¹ and let no other magic or witchcraft affect them.*

Take the *lamella* and conceal it in the racing lane (of the one) you wish to win.

These are the names of the angels who serve DLQY'L:

45 NWRY'L 'ZLYBN 'YLY'L MLKYH
 HYLY'L HRH'L SLQY'L SGRY'L
 PSKY'L CQRY'L SMNY'L SBBY'L
 NHLY'L TGMLY'L 'MYNW'L TLB^CP
 QTHNY'L 'PRY'L 'NGY'L MŚRY'L
 'MNGN'N

If you wish to give proof¹² (of your powers) to your

⁹The texts read "princes," but the singular is necessary. Cf. Ms. n

¹⁰הַנִּיּוֹכָרִים for ἡνιόχος.

¹¹Cf. Dan 8:4.

¹²דַּקְמָה probably for דֹּמָמָה - "proof" or "demonstration," but possibly דֹּמָמָה - i.e. "example." Cf. Second Firmament. note 33 (p.51).

beloved or to your friend, for example, to fill a house with fire which will not burn, take a root¹³ of a wild plant¹⁴ and put it on burning coals and as the smoke rises in the house, 50 recite the names of the angels and the name of their overseer, who is DLQY'L. When the smoke rises seven times, and when the smoke will be....¹⁵ all those who see it will see it as fire. When you recite the names of the angels say:

55 *I adjure you, O angels cloaked in fire, by Him who is all fire, who sits upon a throne of fire, and whose ministers are a flaming fire,¹⁶ and encampments of fire serve before Him. By His great name I adjure you, that you show me this great miracle and fill this house with your fire. Let me and all with me see this great miracle and not be afraid.*

When you finish your words, you will see the house filled with fire. If you wish to cause (the fire) to subside speak the adjuration backwards and say:

Angels of fire, extinguish, extinguish at once, hurry, make haste.¹⁷

How great are your works O Lord, you have made all of them in wisdom.¹⁸

¹³Reading עקד for עגר.

¹⁴אגריאנופוריט for ἀγρλοφορος.

¹⁵The text seems corrupt. We seem led to understand, "and when the smoke will be (all that can be seen) all those who see it will see it as fire."

¹⁶Cf. Ps 104:4

¹⁷Cf. 1 Sam 20:38

¹⁸Cf. Ps 104:24. This is the end of the Third Firmament and not part of the adjuration.

(THE FOURTH FIRMAMENT)

The fourth firmament is pitched¹ upon a storm wind, and stands on pillars of fire, and is held up by crowns of flame,² and full of treasuries of strength, also storehouses of dew. As each of its corners are swift angels running with each other, prancing, prancing.³

Within are seven rivers of fire and water, and along them, on both sides, stand innumerable angels. On one side stand
5 angels of fire that burn with an incandescent flame and on the other side angels of cold wrapped in hailstones. Neither do the (angels of cold) quench (the angels of fire) nor do (the angels of fire) ignite the (angels of cold). These immerse themselves in the rivers of fire and those immerse themselves in the rivers of water,⁴ and they all recite and chant⁵ songs and praises to the Life of the World for He created them to glorify His power.

Within the (fourth) firmament is the lovely bridal chamber of the sun, filled with light and all aflame. The angels of fire, girded with strength, surround him (the sun) and lead him
10 during the day. Then the angels of water, their bodies like

¹That is, it is pitched like a tent upon its posts.

²Greek capitals on columns seem implied.

³Cf. Judg 5:22 .

⁴The immersion is for ritual purification. Presumably they immerse themselves in the river of their own substance, rather than the opposite, but the text leaves the question open.

⁵They thus alternate like a choir. The singing thus seems to be antiphonal.

the sea and their voices like the voice of waters⁶ strengthen themselves with an adornment of might and lead him at night.

These are the names of the angels that lead him during the day:

| | | | | |
|----|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | 'BR'SKS | MRRM'WT | MWKTY'L | M'RYT |
| | SDQY'L | YHSY | HSY'L | RB'L |
| | Y'BWK | MY'L | KRYMK' | MRM'N |
| | PW'L | GBRY'L | 'STWN | TWQPY'L |
| 15 | 'LY'L | NPLY | 'W'L | QWDSY'L |
| | HWDY'L | NRWY'L | YRSY'L | MLKY'L |
| | 'GRYT'L | LHGY'L | MNWRY'L | PL'W'L |
| | NWRY'L | HRM'Y'L | NSBRY'L | |

These are the princes of the encampments who lead the sun during the day.⁷

And these are the names of the angels who lead him at night:

| | | | | |
|----|----------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| | PRSY'L | SRSY'L | CGY'L | NBYM'L |
| 20 | CMY'L | YSRY'L | 'SMCW'L | SPTY'L |
| | S'W'L | RDRY'L | S ^c SY'L | LYBB'L |
| | BNRY'L | SGRY'L | MNH'L | LMY'L |
| | PRY'L | PDH'L | LYBR'L | RBS'L |
| | HMQY'L | BGHY'L | NBRY'L | QSPY'L |
| | R ^c DNY'L | HTNY'L | 'SPPY'L | HLW'L |
| | SM'Y'L | ZHZH'L | NKBRY'L | PS'L |
| | QMNY'L | ZH'L | HDY'L | |

⁶Perhaps read כקול מים רבים, "like the voice of many waters." Cf. Ps 93:4.

⁷Apparently each of the thirty-one named here and below is a leader of others. Note the first angel, ἄβρααξ, is a transliteration of the correct spelling.

These are the princes of the encampments who lead him at night.

25 If you wish to view the sun during the day, seated in his chariot and ascending; guard yourself, take care, and keep pure for seven days from all (impure) food, from all (impure) drink, and from every unclean thing.⁸ Then on the seventh day stand facing (the sun) when he rises and burn incense of spices weighing three shekels before him, and invoke seven times the names of the angels that lead him during the day. Then if you
30 are not answered after these seven times, go and invoke them in reverse order seven times, and say:

I adjure you, angels that lead the sun in the power of your strength on the heavenly paths to illuminate the world, by the One whose voice shakes the earth, who moves mountains in His anger, who calms the sea with His power, who shakes the pillars of the world with His glance, who sustains everything with His arm, who is hidden from the eyes of all the living, who sits upon the throne of greatness of the kingdom of the glory of His holiness, and who moves through the entire world; I repeat (your names) and adjure you by His great, fearful, powerful, majestic, forceful, mighty, holy, strong, wondrous, secret, exalted, and glorious name;⁹ that you will do my will and desire at this time and season, and will remove the radiance of the sun¹⁰ so I may see him face to face as he is in his bridal chamber. Let me not catch fire from your fire and give me¹¹ permission to do my will.

35

⁸ Abstinence from impure food and drink seems implied rather than a fast. This creates a parallel to "unclean things" and follows the same pattern as previous commands of abstinence found in SHR.

⁹ For an example of this type of listing see BT Berakhot 33b.

¹⁰ The rays of the sun obscure the sun angel.

¹¹ Reading לֹא for לֵא with Ms. ל .

At the completion of your adjuration, you will see him
in his bridal chamber and you can ask him (to foretell
40 questions) of death or life, good or evil. And if you wish to
release him, repeat the adjuration and say:

*I adjure you that you return the radiance of the
sun to its place as in the beginning.*

Then the sun will go on his way.

If you wish to see the sun during the night, proceeding
(on his course) in the north,¹² purify (yourself) for three
weeks of days from all (impure) food and drink, and from every
45 unclean thing. Then stand during the third hour¹³ in the
night watches, wrapped in white garments, and say twenty-one
times¹⁴ the name of the sun and the names of the angels that
lead him at night, and then say:

*I adjure you, angels that fly through the air of
the firmament, by the One who sees but is not seen, by
the King who uncovers all hidden things and sees all
secret things, by the God who knows what is in darkness,
50 and who transforms the shadows into morning,¹⁵ and who
illuminates the night as the day, before whom all secrets
are as clear as the sun, for whom there is nothing too
difficult.¹⁶ In the name of the Holy King who walks
upon the wings of the wind,¹⁷ by the letters of the
complete name that was revealed to Adam in the Garden
of Eden, (by)¹⁸ the Ruler of the planets,¹⁹ and the*

¹²Cf. 1 Enoch 72:5.

¹³Cf. PGM XXXVI:136.

¹⁴This adjuration is triple the previous one in both number of
days and times the adjuration is spoken.

¹⁵Cf. Amos 5:8.

¹⁶Cf. Jer 32:17.

¹⁷Cf. Ps 104:3.

¹⁸Reading המושל for במושל .

¹⁹"By the ruler of the planets," stars or fate.

55 sun, and the moon, who²⁰ bow down before Him as slaves before their masters, by the name of the wondrous God, I adjure you, that you will make known to me this great miracle that I desire, and that I may see the sun in his power in the (celestial) circle (traversed by) his chariot, and let no hidden thing be too difficult for me. Let me see him perfectly today, and let me ask him what I wish, and let him speak with me as a man speaks with his friend and tell me the secret of the depths, and make known to me hidden things, and let no evil thing happen to me.

When you finish speaking, you will hear a peal of thunder from the north and you will see something like lightning come forth and light up the earth before you. And after you see him, you will assuredly bow down to the ground and fall upon your
60 face to the earth and pray this prayer:

65 *Holy Helios who rises in the east, good mariner, trustworthy leader of the sun's rays, reliable (witness), who of old didst establish the mighty wheel (of the heavens), holy orderer, ruler of the axis (of the heaven), Lord, Brilliant Leader, King, Soldier.²¹ I, N son of N, present my supplication before you, that you will appear to me without (causing me) fear, and you will be revealed to me without causing me terror, and you will conceal nothing from me and will tell me truthfully all that I desire.*

²⁰ Reading $\delta\iota\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ for $\delta\iota\eta\eta\eta\eta$.

²¹The prayer to Helios here is transliterated into Hebrew from Greek. Cf. Margalioth, Sepher 12 and 99f. The following transcription differs from Margalioth in the underlined words: εὐσεβῆς ἀνατολικὸν ἥλιος, ναύτης, ἀγαθός, πιστός ἀκτῶν κορυφαῖος,

εὐπιστός, ὃς πάλαι τροχὸν ὄβριμον καθίστης, κοσμητῆς ἅγιος.

πολοκράτωρ, κύριε, πομπὸς εὐφωτος, τύραννος, στρατιώτης.

Then stand up and you will see (the sun) in the north proceeding to the east.²² After this, put your hands behind you, and bow your head low, and ask whatever you desire. And after you have questioned him, lift your eyes toward heaven and say:

70 *'WRPLY'L, 'WRPLY'L,*²³ *I adjure you by the One who formed you, for His splendor and His glory, to illuminate His world, and who gave you rulership of the day, that you will not harm me,²⁴ and will not terrify me. I shall neither fear nor tremble, and you will return to your course in peace when I release you²⁵ and you will not pause in your course from now on forever.²⁶*

AMEN SELAH.²⁷

²²Cf. 1 Enoch 72:5.

²³אורפליאל, this is apparently a name for the sun. Possibly אור פלי אל. The "marvelous" or "hidden" "light of God." Where פלו = פלאיה פלאו

²⁴Cf. PGM I:346; IV:3122; V:41.

²⁵Reading ואתירך for וחתירך.

²⁶Cf. Ps 115:18.

²⁷This is the conclusion of the Fourth Firmament and not part of the preceding adjuration.

(THE FIFTH FIRMAMENT)

The fifth firmament is exceedingly exalted. It is magnificent in appearance, for within it are clouds of splendor. It is filled with angels of majesty, and within it (their knees) knock with fear. They are stationed in troop after troop, glorifying (the One) who carved them into flame. The sound of their running is like the crashing of the sea, and their walk is like wheels of thunder. Therein, moreover, are twelve princes of glory seated upon magnificent thrones, the appearance of their
5 thrones is like that of fire. They quarter the heavens at the middle by facing the four directions of the world, three by three toward each direction.¹ And (the) angels run when they send them, and their roaring shakes the world. Lightnings issue from their breath and they have wings of fire and are wreathed with crowns of fire, and the (fifth) firmament shines from the lustre of their faces. They are in charge of the twelve months of the year and understand what will be in each and every month, and without them nothing can happen, for they were created for
10 this. Each is stationed over his month² since they make known month by month that which will be in each and every year.

These are the names of the twelve princes of glory of the fifth firmament:

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------|------------------------|---------------------|
| Š ^c PY'L | DGHY'L | DYDN'WR | T ^c NBWN |
| TRWRGR | MWR'L | PHDRWN | YLDNG |
| 'NDGNWR | MPNY'L | HŠ ^c NDRNWS | 'BRKY'L |

¹This seems slightly redundant. Perhaps one λ should be deleted, thus reading "three toward each direction.

²Cf. Isa 47:13.

These are they who are in charge of the twelve months of the year, from the month of Nisan to the month of Adar, each in his month, as they are written.³

15 If you wish to know in which month you will be taken from the world, or what will occur in each and every month, or in which month there will be rain, whether the grain will be plentiful, whether the olive tree will drop its fruit, or in which month kings will set forth for war, or in which month there will be pestilence among men and cattle, or in which month an epidemic will fall among men, or whatever you wish (to know); ask them and you will know.

If you wish to know in which month you will be taken from
20 the world;⁴ take refined gold *lamellae* and make from them twelve pieces of foil,⁵ then write on each of them the name of an angel and the name of his month. Then take good oil that has aged for seven years and throw all the pieces of foil into it and recite this adjuration seven times over the oil, and say:

25 *I adjure you, O angels of wisdom and understanding, by the One who spoke and the world came into being, by the name of the God of Truth, the majestic and glorious, The King high and exalted, strong and powerful, mighty and wondrous, God of all creatures, Refuge of Hosts, righteous, pure and upright and trustworthy, and by the name (of Him) who established you over all the months of the year, He who sits in hidden heights,⁶ who*

³This probably means "as they are written above," i.e., the preceding list gives them in the order of their months from Nisan to Adar.

⁴Cf. PGM I:188; XIII:711.

⁵Literally, "hammered out pieces."

⁶Cf. Ps 91:1.

30 *reveals secret mysteries, who rules over death and life, who is King forever and ever and ever, who is established for all eternity. By this adjuration, the great, powerful, strong, fearful, terrible, wondrous, pure, and holy, I adjure you that you will truthfully make known to me the month in which I will be taken, and tell me my fate,⁷ in accordance to my request.*

Then put the oil in a new glass vessel (and place it) under the stars for seven nights without exposing it to the sun. And on the seventh night, get up in the middle of the night, and look at the oil and see which month is written upon whichever piece of foil floats on the surface of the oil. In that month it is your fate to be taken. But before you perform this rite, 35 purify yourself from all impurity for three weeks of days, and guard yourself from all (meat of) small animals⁸ and from all that yields blood (when slaughtered) even fish, and do not drink wine, and do not come near a woman, and do not touch a grave, be wary of nocturnal pollution, and walk in humility and prayer, and make your prayers and supplications long, and devote your heart to the fear of heaven, and you will succeed.

After the rite, take the oil and be careful of it for it has great healing power. Make a ring of purified silver, with a large hollow space within.⁹ Take all the pieces of foil and

⁷Literally, "cast my lot for me."

⁸See 1:223; 2:8; and note 71, First Firmament (p.41); note 6, Second Firmament (p.43).

⁹οσιρηλο perhaps for μεγαλοκοιλος i.e. "pot bellied." The equivalent is dubious, but the sense is clear: a ring with a large top containing a compartment for storage.

40 and put them in the ring with a white flower¹⁰ and with
 asbestos,¹¹ and seal (it) and place it on your finger; then
 no evil eye and no evil spirit will come near you, and no evil
 thing will have dominion in (your) house. In the oil is a
 great (power of) healing to the sick.

¹⁰ פרח לבן is literally "white flower," and is possibly Greek in origin. Cf. PGM XII:356. Possibly an extract or wine made from the flower.

¹¹ אמלינטון for ἀμλαντος . Cf. 2:101 and note 36, Second Firmament (p.52).

(THE SIXTH FIRMAMENT)

As for the sixth firmament, its storehouses are full of honey.¹ Within is the place prepared for the spirits of the righteous. Light and fire encompass it and within are myriads, thousands upon thousands,² and armies and encampments (of angels) standing in awe and trembling. And on the head of each of them is (what) appears as a crown of fire, and their fire has the appearance of gold. The regiments of the army march within (the sixth firmament), and their strength is like an
5 inextinguishable fire and they are in fear from dread of their rulers. For two officers rule over them, one in the west of the (sixth) firmament and one in the east. And before the armies of spirits are myriads of angels created from flame and burning like fire. Their bodies are like fiery coals and upon coals of fire is their station. And they tremble and shake to sing forth³ songs and praises to the Exalted One of the Universe, who has prepared them to praise His honor and honor His praise.

10 These are the holy angels who rule over all the encampments of the sixth firmament. The name of the first is 'PRKSY⁴ and the name of the second is TWQPYRS. And all the princes of the encampments serve before them.

¹ חפן, or possibly "fine flour."

² Cf. Ps 68:18.

³ Deleting ומהם, "with them," following Ms. 7.

⁴ ἄβραξας ? The common ancient spelling was ἄβρασαξ. Cf. 4:14 and Fourth Firmament, note 7 (p.68).

These are the heads of the encampments which are in the west of the firmament:

| | | | | |
|----|---------|---------|----------|--------------------|
| | WYWTN | DWKMS'L | KRH'L | 'ŠRY'L |
| | BYW'L | NRH'L | GSQY'L | GR ^c YH |
| 15 | ŠRY'L | MSGY'L | HNY'L | 'WRPNY'L |
| | 'QWDW | MWK'L | 'LNYTK'L | DM'L |
| | 'KZ'N | ŠYR'YWM | NHRY'L | BHDRK |
| | ŠWPRY'L | SDRKYN | DBWB'WR | 'MLY'L |
| | TMPNYH | BHHML | PRNYN | 'MŠTY'L |
| | TYMNRHQ | | | |

Over these 'PRKSY, who has his camp in the west, is ruler.

These are the heads of the encampments which are in the east of the firmament:

| | | | | |
|----|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 20 | GWRV'L | SNY'L | ^c ZRY'L | ŠRY'L |
| | 'LY'L | MLKY'L | MLMY'L | ŠMY'L |
| | RNH ^y 'L | 'QRY'L | QŠTY'L | 'BRKY'L |
| | ŠDRY'L | SPYPY'L | 'RM'T | DMW'L |
| | MRY'L | ^c NNY'L | NYPLY'L | DRMY'L |
| | G ^c ŠY'L | MNHR'L | BHNYRY'L | 'PŠRY'L |
| | QL ^c Y'L | HDRNY'L | DLRY'L | Š ^c PY'L |
| | DLGLY'L | ^c DNNY'L | THRY'L | DBRY'L |
| | HMNKY'L | HNY'L | TWBY'L | |

Over these TWQPYRS, who has his camp in the east of the firmament is ruler.

25 If you wish to go on a journey (or) to war⁵ and if you wish to return (safely) from the war or from the journey, or

⁵Reading למלחמה או למלחמה for למלחמה, to correspond to the clear separation following "to return from the war or from the journey."

(if you wish) to flee from the city and you want it to appear that a large and powerful company is with you, so that all who see you will be afraid of you, as of one who has with him a military escort armed⁶ with swords and spears and all of the implements of battle, (then) before you depart from the city or from the place where you dwell, purify yourself from all impurity and cleanse your flesh from all sin and transgression, and make yourself an iron ring and a pure *lamella* of gold and
 30 write (on the *lamella*) during the third day of the month,⁷ the names of the overseers and the names of the heads of the encampments (both east and west), and put (the *lamella*) in the ring, and engrave upon the ring, outside of the *lamella* the image of a man and a lion.⁸ Then at the time you set out to go on your way⁹ and you see that men are coming to seize you, take the ring and put it in your mouth, and lift your eyes to heaven with a pure and cleansed heart and repeat the names
 35 of the overseers¹⁰ and the names of the heads of the sixth heaven who serve before them and say:

⁶Reading ויהיו חגורים והם חגורים for ויהיו חגורי with Ms. ל .

⁷Reading בשלושה בחודש with Mss. ח and ל, thus deleting ימים. Cf. PGM IV:170.

⁸The *lamella* is placed on the top of the ring and the engraving is done around it.

⁹Reading מן במקום שתעא למלחמה בדרך instead of מן במקום שתעא למלחמה with Mss. ת, ח, ת.

¹⁰PRKSY and TWQPYRS.

I adjure you, O angels of strength and might,¹¹
 by the strong and the mighty right hand (of the
 Lord), by the force of His might and by the power of
 His rule, by the God revealed at Mt. Sinai, by the
 myriads of His chariots,¹² by the God whose ministers
 are a thousand thousands of ten thousands, by the
 Lord who saved Israel, all six hundred thousand,
 from Egypt, by the life of the worlds, who spoke
 to Moses face to face, by the Lord who brings
 40 princes to naught,¹³ by the Rock whose hand is
 sufficient to save and to rescue, by the One who
 commanded and ignited the camp of Sennacharib,¹⁴ by
 His name and by its letters; I repeat (your names)¹⁵
 and adjure you that you come and stand with me, to
 aid at this time in every place that I will go. Be
 seen with me as a great army, in all your might and
 with the strength of your spears, and let all who
 see me, from near or far, and all who come to fight
 45 me or to seize me, be shattered before me by their
 great fear of your terrible appearance.¹⁶ And let
 them not be able to harm me or approach me, let fear
 and terror fall upon them¹⁷ and let fear of me fall
 upon them and all the children of Adam and Eve and
 upon every dangerous animal, and let them (all)
 tremble and recoil from before me.

When you finish speaking the adjuration, you will see some-
 thing like fog and smoke before you. Then take the ring from
 your mouth and put it on your finger. And when you come to your
 house and wish to release (the angels), return the ring to your
 50 mouth and stand facing the sun and repeat (the names of the)
 angels in reverse order and thereafter say:

I release you, go on your way.

Then put the ring on your finger.

¹¹Cf. Ps 24:8.

¹²Ps 68:18.

¹³Cf. Isa 40:23.

¹⁴Cf. 2 Kgs 19:35; and Isa 37:36. Neither source mentions any fire.

¹⁵I.e., those of the ministering angels and their overseers.

¹⁶Cf. Matt 26:53.

¹⁷Cf. Exod 15:16.

(THE SEVENTH FIRMAMENT)

The seventh firmament, all of it is sevenfold light, and from its light all the (seven) heavens shine. Within it is the throne of glory, set on the four glorious *Ḥayot*.¹ Also within it are the storehouses of lives,² and the storehouses of souls. There is no calculation or limit to the great light within it, and the fullness of the light illumines all the earth. The angels are fixed in pillars of light, and their light is as the light of the brilliant star³ and cannot be extinguished, for
5 their eyes are like flashes of lightning, and they stand upon the margins of (the divine) light, and glorify in fear the One who sits upon the throne of glory. For He alone sits in the heaven of His holiness, seeking out judgment, evening the scales of justice; judging in truth and speaking in righteousness.

And before Him the books of fire are open

And from before Him flow rivers of fire.⁴

When He rises⁵ the gods are afraid,

And when He roars the pillars shake,

¹The "living creatures" of Ezekiel's vision. Cf. Ezek 1:5ff. The *ḥayot* and *oḥanim* are part of or equivalent to the class of heavenly beings, like the *cherubim* in Ezek 10, who are the supports of the heavenly throne of the deity.

²"Lives" are here thought of as entities placed by the deity in all living things, and causing them to live. They are distinguished from "souls." Cf. Gen 2:7, "the breath of lives."

³This is certainly a reference to Aphrodite-Venus, who has been referred to previously. Cf. First Firmament, note 44 (p.33).

⁴Cf. Dan 7:10.

⁵Possibly "When He lifts (His voice)."

And from His voice the doorposts tremble.⁶
 His soldiers stand before Him,
 But they do not gaze upon His likeness.
 10 For He is hidden from every eye,
 And none can see Him and live.
 His appearance is hidden from all,
 But no appearance is hidden from Him.
 He uncovers deep things from the darkness,⁷
 And He knows the secrets of obscurity.
 For light dwells with Him,⁸
 And He puts on light as a garment.⁹
 He sits on light as a throne,
 And light is a wall around Him.¹⁰
 The *Ḥayot* and *Opanim* bear Him up,
 As they fly with their wings.
 They have six wings each
 And they cover their faces with their wings,
 And they turn their faces downward.
 15 Their faces are turned toward their fellows,¹¹
 And they do not lift their faces upwards,
 Because of their fear and their terror.

⁶Cf. Isa 6:4.

⁷Cf. Job 12:22.

⁸Cf. Dan 2:22.

⁹Cf. Ps 102:4.

¹⁰Literally, "closes off what surrounds Him."

¹¹Literally, "to the four of them."

Troops upon troops stand one above another before Him,

And immerse themselves in rivers of purity.

And wrap themselves in garments of white fire,

And sing with humility in a strong voice:

"Holy Holy Holy is the Lord of Hosts,

The whole world is full of His glory,¹²

He is prior to all creatures;

He was when earth and heaven were not yet.

He is alone;

There is no stranger with Him.

By His strength He upholds the heaven(s),

And in all the heavens He is feared,

20 And by all the angels He is revered,

For by the breath of His mouth they were formed

And to glorify His power they were established.

He (acts) alone and who can turn Him back?¹³

And if He commands none can annul.

For He is the King of Kings of Kings,

Ruling over all of the kings of the earth,

And exalted among the angels of heaven.

He searches hearts before they are formed,

And He knows thoughts before they occur.

Blessed be His name

And blessed the greatness of His glory.

¹²Cf. Isa 6:3.

¹³Cf. Job 23:13.

For ages and ages,

And for an eternity of eternities.

For there is no God apart from Him,¹⁴

5 And there is no God beside Him.

Blessed is His name in each generation

And blessed in the heavens on high.

Blessed is His name with its might,

And blessed its mention with the beauty of His power.

For as His name so is His praise as it has been said (in
scripture): As is your name, O God, so is your praise to
the ends of the earth; your right hand is full of
righteousness.¹⁵

He brings the pure to reverence Him,¹⁶

And in His wrath drives away the impure.

He moves mountains by His might and strength,

They did not know when He overturned them in His wrath.¹⁷

He holds the world as a cluster of grapes,

30 Bearing all that was, is, and will be.¹⁸

He is the Ancient of Days,¹⁹

¹⁴Cf. 2 Sam 22:32.

¹⁵This is a prose gloss which breaks the continuity of the hymn.

¹⁶Literally, "to His fear," i.e., to worship and magical practices.

¹⁷Cf. Job 9:5.

¹⁸Cf. Heb 1:3.

¹⁹Cf. Dan 7:9.

And with Him are enduring riches and righteousness.²⁰

Blessed be His glory from His habitation,

And blessed (be He) in the beauty of His dignity.

The hearts of those who fear Him He fills with knowledge,

To search and to know the power of the fear of His name.

Blessed be His name in the dwelling place of His splendor,

And blessed in the beauty of His strength.

Blessed be His name in the storehouses of snow,

And blessed in the rivers of flames.

Blessed be His name in the mists of brilliance,

And blessed in the clouds of glory.

35 Blessed be His name in the myriads of chariots,²¹

And blessed in the thousands upon thousands (of His
warriors).

Blessed be His name in the chains of fire,

And blessed in the ropes of flame.

Blessed be His name in the peals of thunder,

And blessed in the bolts of lightning.

Blessed be His name in the mouths of all on earth,

And blessed in the depths of the earth.

Blessed be His name amid all the deserts,

And blessed amid the waves of the sea.

Blessed be His name alone on His throne,

²⁰Cf. Prov 8:18.

²¹Cf. Ps 68:18.

And blessed in dwelling places of His majesty,
Blessed be His name in the mouth of all living,

And blessed in the song of every creature.

40 Blessed be the Lord forever,

AMEN, AMEN, HALLELUJAH.

APPENDIX: ANGELIC LISTS

THE FIRST FIRMAMENT

And these are the names of the angels of the first encampment who serve אורפניאל:

בומדי דמנא אנוך אלפי אמוך קטיביא פטרופי גמתי פאאור נרנתק רקהתי אורנה מאות פרוכה אקילאה תרקויה ברוק סחרורא אתנני גילאן תכת ארנוב אשמי יוצש כפון כרבי גירשום פריאן ששמע אבבא נתנאל אראל אניף תרואור עבדיאל יוום אלון מואל ללף יחספת רחגל רומאפי יכתי ארניאל פובזן כדיאל זכריאל אגדלן מיגאל גאופר כרתה כילדה דיגל אלנו תירלי סבלה אביאל אל כסיל סיקמה אשבה יותנה ראלכה חליאן אפתיאל תיאמיאל אלאל נוילא אפיקה תלגילא נענה אסתיאל.

These are the names of the angels of the second encampment who serve תיגרה:

אכסתר מרטום ברכיב כמשו אשטיב כריתאל אדיר גבא אקרבא אנבור כביר תילה בריתור תרטם נטפאל פריאל תרוחון שלהבין אשלבא משתוב גרחתא חגרא איטמיאל חגל לגח מניתיאל תנימיאל איכרית אבריתא רכילאל חשתן פפש אסתירוף אודיאל אשכיר מלכילא ארוש דשווא המן תרגח זמבות הצניפלפת שווא אשפור ארק קנומיאל נהיאל גדיאל אדק ימומיאל פרוג דחגילא דגריאל אגריאל ארונור דונרניא דלכת תבל תליאל אליאל מותאר אלפילא פיתפרא לפום אור טמר אדליאל אסטורין אזותי איסטורטי דאובית ברגמי דמומיאל דיגרא אביבאל פרוטיאל קומיאל דגוגרא דלגילא פדותיאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve דנהל in the third encampment:

אוגרבכו אובשאל ברותוביאל כלוביאל רחביאל אוהיאל כרבתון כרבא דאינוט אינין אבירם אתגלא אותות אשתנאל אשפר תגריאל אמיאל אתדשו אוריאל ארמוד אסתון אכאל אנאור אסכירא לביאל אלעשה חסניאל למושי אדות תירום אלפי אימין ארגלא מיגאל אליאל מדניאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve כלמייה in the fourth encampment:

אבריה אימריה דמנאי אמנהר יאמנוך פטכיא טוביאל גולילא אופרי גמתי אורניאל פריכיהו יארן לטמיאל אוריט תימוגו אנמרי אלמיניאל יכמטו סטרטו צבעקני בורתיאס רספות כרסון אמאף ופאטנא אחאל סאביאל בלקיר פכהור הסתר סתריאל אליסס חלסיאל טרספו קרסטוס מלכילא ארדק חסדיאל אחסף אמיאל פרונוס גדיאל סביאל.

These are the angels who serve אסימור in the fifth encampment:
 בתואר שכנתתך אדומא תקו מקפא להבא עלי עזי שכניאל כנור
 בנש קרבא סרן חלשיאל הרמנע עבר הוד מלכיה פרעתוף אדעת
 קוף מנמלך דינמור אלפנטוס דידריוך כלנה נינחיא דצנחיא מלגדם
 דימהן ליברנן תתקהא אפניאל זביטור דכנסור רמגדל להתקוף

עלי גדגדל פרוץ מסרוץ כדיר מוס דיקנא נשר תוב דרומיאל
 דיראז דמולא דידיאל טעי כרם אתר עקב הונמורא אנקיו גזריאל
 צביאל צביודע ייקר אדות רגביאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve פסכר in the sixth encampment:

אזיאל ארביאל טריפון פוכבוס פסתמר לינניאל קרונידן שוכדון
 סלבידם עמיאל עוזיאל פניאל תרמיאל חממיאל צרמיאל ניממוס
 נודניא באריבא זוננוס חסטואל סדריאל הופניאון קדמיאל כפניא
 ארמיאל עדמון הרמור צפליאל ספריאל קחניאל שבכיריא ארמוניס
 טופמוס פצציאל חטפאל פרסומון נחליאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve נואל in the seventh encampment:

נוהריאל דכבאל דימתמר דבאל מחשיו אאור דיאם בביתאל סרורא
 אהגיה פרופיאל מכסיאל עלזיאל תכורכס קרומיאל רמיאל לחסון
 סלחיל אחיאל אכר אובר סרוגיאל ידואל שמיאל שפטיאל
 רחביא אחמודא מרמירן אנוך אלפרט אומיגרא קרוכנס סרפיל
 גדריאל ארדודא פורטניאל אגמיאל רהטיאל דיתרון חזאל פתואל
 גלגלא דמנצר זזיאל.

THE SECOND FIRMAMENT

Upon the first step stand these:

אחמיאל הדריאל רציאל הסעיאל דמימיאל זבדיאל רנזיאל
 ענשאל כטבראל.

Upon the second step stand these:

עזיאל חננאל פצציאל ישעיאל דלקיאל ארפדא מראות ריפיפיס
 אמניאל נחמיאל פזירום ענבאל.

Upon the third step stand these:

יהואל דעיהו אליאל ברכיאל עלי ספום פנימור אלעזר גבליאל
 כמשיאל אודהאל יעצאל רפפאל פספאל.

Upon the fourth step stand these:

צגריאל מלכיאל אונביב פגריאל ענניאל כלנמיא אומיאל מפנור
 כוזזיבא אלפיאל פריביאל צעקמיה כדומיאל אשמדע הודיה יחזיאל.

Upon the fifth step stand these:

קונאקריאל פתוניאל נקריאל איאל יאבותיאו בבסבאו בכפי מבוס
 סכתבאו אמריאל יאלאל מכסבאו.

Upon the sixth step stand these:

אביהוד קיטר זלקיאל סתריאל אדרך גחליאל תמכיאל סמכיה רבעיאל
 ינקמיאל שמיהוד מהריאל גומיאל כרכוס קנז קניאל כנטון.

Upon the seventh step stand these:

פתחיה רזיאל אגריאל הגדיאב אדרון כרקטא קטיפור אבויאל
שתקיאל עמיאל סיכברודום.

Upon the eighth step stand these:

אברה ברקיאל אדוניאל עזריאל ברכיאל עמיאל קדשיאל מרגיאל
פרואל פניאל מרבניאל מרניסאל שמיאל עמניאל מתנאל הוד הוד.

Upon the ninth step stand these:

גדודיאל סכסיאל תרסוניאל נצחיאל אצדא רבניא חלילאל תוקפיאל
סמכיאל פדהאל קרבא ציאל פראל פתחיאל.

Upon the tenth step stand these:

דכריאל חריאל שבקיאל אתכיאל סמיכאל מרמאל קנאל צפתף יהאך
אל צדק אכפף עזמאל מכמיכאל תרכיאל תבגיאל.

Upon the eleventh step stand these:

רפדיאל דמואל מארינוס אמינאל צחיאל עקריאל אדניאל רדקיאל
שלמיאל אסתיאל סטאל אגלגלתון ארמות פרחגאל נפפמיות.

Upon the twelfth step stand these:

אסטרימי בראות במראות דרודיאל שדרליאל תלהבס ברגאל פיאל
פפאל יכפתיני כלפתון בובוכון אומטון ארטמיכטון אשמיגדון
ספניג פרניגאל פסיכסוך תאגישון ארטלידי.

THE THIRD FIRMAMENT

These are the names of the angels who serve יבניאל:

שעיפיאל אדריאל תדהיאל בעשיאל טהפיאל רלביאל בלניאל
תהזריאל אעזיאל אמנחאל מלתיחיאל דיבקיאל ברשסאל סחאל
תתבאל קסמיאל טסיאל קסטודיאל נמדיאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve רהטיאל:

אגרא זרגרי גנטס תעזמא לתטרפאל גדיאל תמניאל עקהיאל
גוחפניאל ארקני צפיקואל מושיאל סוסיאל התניאל זכריאל
אכנסף צדקי אחסף נכמרא פרדיאל קליליאל דרומיאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve דלקיאל:

נוריאל אזליבן איליאל מלכיה חיליאל חרהאל שלקיאל צגריאל
פסכיאל עקריאל סמניאל צבביאל נחליאל תגמליאל אמינואל תלבעף
קטחניאל אפריאל אנגיאל משריאל אמנגנאן.

THE FOURTH FIRMAMENT

These are the names of the angels that lead (the sun) during the day:

אבראסכס מרמראות מוכתיאל נארית צדקיאל יחסי חסיאל רבאל
 יאבוך מיאל כרימכא מרמאן פואל גבריאל אשתון תוקפיאל אליאל
 נפלי אואל קודשיאל הודיאל נרומיאל ירשיאל מלכיאל אגריחאל
 להגיאל מנוריאל פלאואל נוריאל הרמאיאל נסבריאל.

And these are the names of the angels that lead (the sun) during the night:

פרסיאל צרציאל עגיאל נבימאל עמיאל ישריאל אשמעואל
 שפטיאל שאואל רדריאל שעסיאל ליכבאל בנריאל צגריאל מנהאל
 למיאל פריאל פדהאל ליבראל רבצאל חמקיאל בגהיאל נבריאל
 קצפיאל רעדניאל חתניאל אספייאל חלואל שמאיאל זחזחאל
 נכבריאל פצאל קמניאל זהאל חדיאל.

THE FIFTH FIRMAMENT

These are the names of the twelve princes of glory of the fifth firmament:

שעפיאל דגהיאל דידנאור תענבוך תרורגר מוראל
 פחרון ילדנג אנדגמור מפניאל חשנדרנוס אברכיאל.

THE SIXTH FIRMAMENT

These are the heads of the encampments which are in the west of the firmament:

ויותן דוכמסאל כרהאל אשריאל ביואל נרהאל גצקיאל גרעיה
 שריאל מסגיאל חניאל אורפניאל אקודו מוכאל אלניתכאל דמאל
 אכזאן שיראיוס נהריאל בהדרך שופריאל סרכין דנובאור אמליאל
 תמפניה בהחמל פרנין אמצתיאל תימנהרק.

Over these אפרכסי, who has his camp in the west, is ruler.

These are the heads of the encampments which are in the east of the firmament:

גוריאל סניאל עזריאל שריאל אליאל מלכיאל מלמיאל צמיאל
 רנחיאל אקריאל קשתיאל אברכיאל שדריאל ספיפיאל ארמאת דמאל
 מריאל ענניאל ניפליאל דרמיאל געשיאל מנהראל בהניריאל אפשריאל
 קלעיאל הדרניאל דלריאל שעפיאל דלגליאל עדנניאל טהריאל
 דבריאל המנכיאל הניאל טוביאל.

Over these תוקפירס, who has his camp in the east of the firmament, is ruler.

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