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Cultural Plurality in Ancient Magical Texts and Practices

Graeco-Egyptian Handbooks and Related Traditions

Edited by

Ljuba Merlina Bortolani, William D. Furley, Svenja Nagel,
and Joachim Friedrich Quack

Mohr Siebeck

LJUBA MERLINA BORTOLANI, born 1980; studied Classics and Egyptology; 2012 PhD; since 2017 post-doc researcher at the department of Classical Philology at the University of Heidelberg.

WILLIAM D. FURLEY, born 1953; 1979 PhD; since 2003 Associate Professor of Classics, University of Heidelberg; Senior Research Fellow of the Institute of Classical Studies (School of Advanced Studies), London.

SVENJA NAGEL, born 1984; studied Egyptology and Classical Archaeology; 2015 PhD; since 2017 post-doc researcher at the Institute of Egyptology at the University of Heidelberg.

JOACHIM FRIEDRICH QUACK, born 1966; studied Egyptology, Semitics and Biblical Archaeology; 1993 PhD; 2003 Habilitation; since 2005 Professor for Egyptology at the University of Heidelberg.

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The Greek Prayer to Helios in *Sefer ha-Razim*, in Light of New Textual Evidence

GIDEON BOHAK/ALESSIA BELLUSCI

1. *Sefer ha-Razim* and the Greek prayer to Helios¹

Sefer ha-Razim, or ‘The Book of Mysteries’, is a Hebrew book of Jewish magic, probably written towards the middle of the first millennium CE, probably in Palestine or Egypt.² It consists of a set of 28 magical recipes which are embedded in a wider literary framework based on the description of the seven heavens and of the angels who inhabit them. In each case, a list of angels dwelling in each heaven, or each subsection thereof, is followed by magical recipes explaining what services these angels may provide, and how to make them perform these services. In some cases, the recipes even include instructions to write down and/or recite the angelic names during the performance of the magical practice associated with them. The magical recipes display a great deal of resemblance to those found in the Greek magical papyri, but the ouranological and angelological lore is very Jewish, as are the book’s language and style. Thus, *Sefer ha-Razim* may be characterised as the work of a Jewish writer who was intimately familiar with the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition, but wanted to make this technology more ‘Jewish’ by excluding some blatantly ‘pagan’ features, by reworking Greek recipes and spells in Hebrew and by embedding them in a very Jewish literary framework, including a long introduction that explains how this book had been used by the likes of Noah and Solomon.

Thus far, no evidence has been found to prove that *Sefer ha-Razim* was used, or even read, in Late Antiquity. But from the ninth century onwards, we find a steady stream of textual evidence attesting to the book’s great popularity. On the one hand, a large number of Genizah fragments prove its popularity in medieval Cairo, and presumably elsewhere in the Jewish communities of the Islamic world, at least from the tenth century onwards.³ On the other hand, a large number of medieval manuscripts of Ashkenazi and Sephardic origins prove its popularity in the Jewish communities of medieval and Renaissance Europe, and the presence of modern Oriental man-

¹ The research presented here was funded by the Israel Science Foundation (Grants Nos. 635/08 and 986/14). We are grateful to JOACHIM F. QUACK, WILLIAM D. FURLEY, SVENJA NAGEL and LJUBA M. BORTOLANI for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

² For detailed introductions to *Sefer ha-Razim*, see MARGALIOH, *Sefer ha-Razim*, 1–62; REBIGER/SCHÄFER, *Sefer ha-Razim* II, 1–125. See also BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 170–75; HARRI, *Jewish Magic*, 276–84.

³ For the Genizah fragments, see REBIGER/SCHÄFER, *Sefer ha-Razim* I, 1–16, 121*–201*.

uscripts proves its ongoing popularity in the Islamicate world as well.⁴ To this we may add the fact that it was widely cited and alluded to by medieval Jewish authors, from the Karaite authors who attacked it from the ninth century onwards to the Ashkenazi Pietists who cited it *in extenso* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was even translated not only into Judaeo-Arabic, but also into Latin (in the court of Alfonso the Wise, in thirteenth-century Castille), all of which shows once again that this was the most influential book of Jewish magic in the Middle Ages.⁵ In the Modern world, it was entirely eclipsed by another Jewish book of magic, the *Sefer Raziel*, first printed in Amsterdam in 1701. In 1966, *Sefer ha-Razim* was reconstructed by MORDECAI MARGALIOTH and is now recognised as the most important work of ancient Jewish magic.

In addition to the wide array of evidence proving that it was *read* in medieval Cairo, we now have some evidence showing that *Sefer ha-Razim* was also *used* there as a magical recipe book. So far, two ‘finished products’ (or ‘activated spells’) produced according to instructions found in *Sefer ha-Razim* have been identified among the fragments of the Cairo Genizah.⁶ In the present study, we present yet another example of a ‘finished product’ that is based on this late antique book. However, the great significance of the fragment published here lies not only in proving once again that *Sefer ha-Razim* was being used in medieval Cairo as a handbook for the production of activated spells, but also in its citation of the Greek prayer to Helios, which is one of the most famous passages of this book.

In its original context, this prayer is a part of a very long ritual, which is found in the book’s description of the fourth heaven, the one in which the Sun dwells. Here, a list of the angels that lead the Sun by day and a list of those who lead the Sun by night are followed by an elaborate ritual ‘to see the Sun by day, sitting in the chariot and rising’, and by an even more elaborate ritual ‘to see the Sun by night, walking in the regions of the north’. Within that ritual, we find detailed instructions, followed by a long adjuration of the angels who lead the Sun by night. Once the practitioner recites this adjuration, a great thunder and lightning will appear, and he or she should then recite a prayer that is clearly directed to the Sun itself, but whose contents must have been utterly opaque to anyone who was not familiar with the Greek language, since it consists of a long set of Greek words transliterated in the Hebrew alphabet. This is directly followed by an appeal to the Sun, this time in Hebrew, to appear to the practitioner and reveal to him or her all that they might want to know. Then, when this is

⁴ For these manuscripts, see REBIGER/SCHÄFER, *Sefer ha-Razim* I, 17–27.

⁵ For the book’s reception history, see MARGALIOTH, *Sefer ha-Razim*, 29–46 and REBIGER/SCHÄFER, *Sefer ha-Razim* II, 86–125.

⁶ The first fragment is T-S NS J 594 (= G39 R-S) published in REBIGER/SCHÄFER, *Sefer ha-Razim* I, 190*–91*, and II, 331. It includes parts of an aggressive spell from the first heaven of *Sefer ha-Razim*, parts of other aggressive spells and the wish that ‘all these curses shall come upon the head of (כל הקללות האלה יחולו על ראש) a person whose name was left blank and a woman named Baqa’, daughter of Aziza, and possibly a third person whose patronymic was Maṣliaḥ. The second fragment is JTSL ENA NS 12.5, first published in BELLUSCI, *Dream Requests Genizah*, 95–7. For a fuller discussion of this fragment and its implications, see BELLUSCI, *Genizah Finished Product*.

done, the practitioner should recite a formula of dismissal, and the Sun would go back to its normal course.

The presence of this unusual Greek prayer in the middle of a Hebrew magical text was noted by GERSHOM SCHOLEM already in 1929, but it was only after the publication of MORDECAI MARGALIOTH's edition of *Sefer ha-Razim* that this prayer began to receive more scholarly attention.⁷ MARGALIOTH himself asked MORTON SMITH to reconstruct the original Greek prayer from its garbled Hebrew transliteration, and SMITH's reconstruction, with some minor modifications, served as the basis for all later discussions of this prayer.⁸ Moreover, this prayer often was adduced by modern scholars, who quoted it or referred to it in their widely divergent reconstructions of the place of Helios and Helios-worship in late-antique Judaism.⁹ However, given the absence of reliable textual witnesses, SMITH's reconstructed Greek prayer remained highly speculative. Moreover, in their recent edition of *Sefer ha-Razim*, REBIGER and SCHÄFER noted that among all the Genizah fragments of *Sefer ha-Razim* that they could muster none contained the Greek prayer to Helios, and suggested that this absence might show that the prayer is a later insertion into the book.¹⁰ Thus, the fragment which we publish here is of some importance for three different reasons, as it (a) provides more evidence that *Sefer ha-Razim* was actually used by medieval Jewish practitioners; (b) proves that the book's readers and users had access to the transliterated Greek prayer, that probably was an essential part of the original composition; and (c) provides a better textual basis for any reconstruction of the original Greek prayer.

In light of all this, the following study will be divided in two main sections. In the first, we describe the new fragment, offer an English translation of its contents and analyse its likely 'Sitz im Leben'. In the second, we focus on the Greek prayer and try to reconstruct its original Greek wording in light of the new textual witness. These two sections will be followed by a brief summary and by two appendices, one with an edition of the Hebrew text of the new fragment, and one with a synopsis of the text of this prayer as found in all the textual witnesses.

2. The new Genizah fragment and its significance

The Cairo Genizah fragment we wish to publish here is found in Jerusalem, in the National Library of Israel, and its shelfmark there is Heb. 4°577.5.30. It is a piece of low-quality paper, 120 mm in height and 77 mm in width, and is inscribed on both

⁷ For SCHOLEM's reference, see SCHOLEM, Unknown Composition, 275 and BOHAK, Gershom Scholem, 148. For subsequent discussions of this prayer, see esp. SZNOL, *Sefer ha-Razim*, and SPERBER, Magic and Folklore, 92–8.

⁸ See MARGALIOTH, *Sefer ha-Razim*, 12–13 and 99, SZNOL, *Sefer ha-Razim*, and M.A. MORGAN, *Sefer ha-Razim*, 71.

⁹ For some pertinent examples, see MO. SMITH, Helios, 210*; MACK, Unique Character, 53; MAGNESS, Heaven on Earth, 30, 33, 36; VON STUCKRAD, Astral Magic, 259–60.

¹⁰ See REBIGER/SCHÄFER, *Sefer ha-Razim* II, 255, and cf. 257.

sides in black ink. It is well preserved, but for a few small holes. The writing is in an Oriental semi-cursive script of the twelfth or thirteenth century.¹¹

The text (see Appendix 1) seems to begin *in medias res* and may be translated as follows (since the *voces magicae* are vocalised, we offer an approximate reconstruction of their suggested pronunciation):

(recto) ... on me, that by the power of the living God / I sat, in the Name of YHWH I adjure / you (pl.) that you (pl.) will co(me) and show yourselves / to me and will talk to me like a person / (who speaks) with his friend, and you will fulfill / all my wishes. / EVINOS AVTAZLIFOS / HILOS NATOS ANDRA / PISTOS PANTA TROFOS / PIRFOROS ISETRA / FOROS AKNOKRIFOS (verso) OPISTOS HAPLA / TROCHOS OCHNO[] / KATATICHOS NIKMONOS / SIGMOS POLIFENTOS / KRIFIM[O]S IPTOS / TRONIOS / ISTRATIOTOS /
MSR¹² WMB YHH 'NW / MHY DMB MNQ 'Y' / HBW R'H YBM HYY MWM

Reading this text, we may easily identify its general purpose as divinatory in nature. The demand 'that you will co(me) and show yourselves to me and will talk to me like a person (who speaks) to his friend, and you will fulfill all my wishes' finds numerous parallels in Jewish magical texts aimed at conjuring demons and angels to appear before the user, and especially in the divinatory technique known as 'dream request'. Among the Genizah fragments, there are more than fifty recipes and 'finished products' related to this practice, which seeks to make a non-human entity (an angel, a demon or a deceased person) appear to the practitioner in a dream and reveal to him or her what they wish to know.¹³ The medieval use of recipes from *Sefer ha-Razim* for dream request rituals is attested in another Genizah fragment, JTSL ENA NS 12.5, a 'finished product' intended to find hidden gold coins by adjuring angels to reveal their location.¹⁴

The function of Heb. 4°577.5.30 as a 'finished product' (rather than as a copy of *Sefer ha-Razim*) is made clear by its small dimensions, by the absence of ritual instructions, and by the fact that on the verso the end of the text is followed by much blank space at the bottom of the page rather than by the continuation of the recipe from *Sefer ha-Razim*. Moreover, in line 6 of the recto, the expression 'ל' ('to me') is followed by a large blank space, which might have been intended for the insertion of the user's name. However, we are puzzled by the fact that the fragment begins *in medias res*, since we would not expect this page to be preceded by another page, but to be a self-standing unit.¹⁵

¹¹ The handwriting on the fragment is remarkably similar to that found on another Genizah fragment, T(AYLOR)-S(CHECHTER) NS 157.72, which contains a recipe for invoking Michael to descend from heaven and reveal some secrets. If Jerusalem 4°577.5.30 and T-S NS 157.72 indeed were written by the same person, that person clearly had an ongoing interest in this type of rituals.

¹² The next three lines were written in a lighter ink, upside-down to the rest of the text, and after several lines of blank space.

¹³ For a detailed survey of the dream requests from the Cairo Genizah, see BELLUSCI, Dream Requests in the Middle East. For the dream requests from the PGM and PDM, see the contribution by L.M. BORTOLANI in this volume.

¹⁴ For a fuller analysis, see BELLUSCI, Genizah Finished Product.

¹⁵ Another possibility, which seems less likely, is that this was a single recipe, loosely based on a recipe found in *Sefer ha-Razim*. In such a case, the original unit may have consisted of two pieces of

As an adjuration of angels or demons, and/or as a dream request, this fragment would merit no special attention, since many more such texts may be found in the Cairo Genizah. The great importance of this specific text stems from the vocalised set of *voces magicae* that follows this request and sounds like a garbled set of Greek words. Upon closer examination, this turns out to be a copy of the Greek prayer to Helios from *Sefer ha-Razim*. Comparing the text that precedes the garbled Greek prayer in our Genizah fragment and the instructions of *Sefer ha-Razim*, we may note the many parallels between them. The phrase ‘in the Name of YHWH I adjure you (pl.) (בשׁ ה' עליכם השבעתי) that you (pl.) will co(me) and show yourselves to me and will talk to me like a person (who speaks) with his friend (וּתְדַבְּרוּ עִמִּי כְאִישׁ עִם רֵעֵהוּ), and you will fulfill all my wishes (וְכָל חֲפָצִי תַעֲשׂוּ ?לִי?)’, finds its parallel in the adjuration of the angels who lead the Sun by night, ‘by the name of the wondrous God, I adjure you (pl.) (בשׁם האל הנפלא השבעתי אתכם), that you (pl.) will make known to me this great miracle that I desire, and that I may see the Sun... and let me ask him what I wish (וְאֶשְׂאֵל מִמֶּנּוּ חֲפָצִי), and let him speak with me as a man speaks with his friend (וְיִדְבַּר עִמִּי) (כֹּאשֶׁר יִדְבַּר אִישׁ עִם רֵעֵהוּ).¹⁶ It seems as if the producer of the Genizah fragment was paraphrasing the language of *Sefer ha-Razim*, especially by picking out those phrases that he found more useful, and by turning the verbs which in *Sefer ha-Razim* refer to the Sun’s appearance, and therefore do so in the singular, into plural forms, in line with the rest of the adjuration.¹⁷ Thus, it seems as if he did not fully understand that the original spell consisted of two parts, one of which is directed at the angels who guide the Sun by night, and one which is addressed to the Sun itself.¹⁸ Moreover, it seems as if he knew well that in *Sefer ha-Razim* adjurations are always directed at the angels listed in conjunction with them, but in this case thought that the list of transliterated Greek words was in fact a list of angel names, those angels whom he addressed in the plural in the hope that they would reveal to him whatever he wanted to know, and would fulfil his wishes.

Another aspect of our fragment, whose exact significance still eludes us, is the appearance of the sequence ‘MŠR WMB ... HYY MWM’ at the bottom of the verso. The sequence itself is well known, as it consists of the final 13 triplets of the ‘Name of 72 letters’, which is made up of 72 such triplets of letters.¹⁹ But its presence here may be

paper glued together, and the missing piece would have included both the ritual instructions and the beginning of our spell.

¹⁶ Tr. M.A. MORGAN, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 71.

¹⁷ Especially telling is the phrase ‘like a person who speaks to his friend (כֹּאשֶׁר יִדְבַּר אִישׁ עִם רֵעֵהוּ)’, which is based on the biblical description of how God spoke to Moses, ‘face to face, like a person who speaks to his friend (כֹּאשֶׁר יִדְבַּר אִישׁ אֶל רֵעֵהוּ) (Exod 33:11). Here, the change from the singular to the plural weakens the allusion to the original biblical expression.

¹⁸ Another possibility is that he, or the copyists of the copy of *Sefer ha-Razim* which he had in front of him, were aware of the problematic nature of the practice of praying to Helios, and deliberately changed the text. However, in such a case we would have expected to find in our fragment the list of angels provided in *Sefer ha-Razim*’s recipe, and not the prayer to Helios. Given the fact that our fragment might be incomplete, no certain conclusions may be reached on this point.

¹⁹ For this Name, and for the manner by which it is derived from Exod 14:19–21, see, for example, TRACHTENBERG, *Jewish Magic*, 95–7.

explained in several different ways, none of which is very satisfactory: it might be completely unrelated to the rest of the text, and could easily have been added to it long after the original text had already been written. But it may also be related to the fact that the text itself refers to the adjuration being ‘in the Name of YHWH’, as the ‘Name of 72 letters’ is one of the most popular Names of God in medieval Jewish mysticism and magic. Finally, we might even consider the possibility that this name was a part of the answer which our practitioner received in his sleep, and which he wrote down on the margins of his dream request.²⁰ Unfortunately, none of these explanations is quite satisfactory, and for the time being this question must remain open.

Returning to the adjuration itself, we may note that it is hardly surprising that a Jew living in Cairo in the twelfth or thirteenth century would have no clue as to the nature of a Greek prayer to Helios which had been transcribed in Hebrew letters, and took it as a set of angelic names or mere *voces magicae*. In his world Arabic was the main language of communication, with Hebrew serving as a language of communication among Jews, and between Jews and God, and Aramaic being known especially to learned Jewish scholars with a good rabbinic training; in his world, Greek was virtually unknown. And yet, while our practitioner probably was unaware of the exact nature of the meaningless series of *voces magicae* he was copying and thought of it as a list of angel names, the very fact that he copied this series is of great importance for anyone who wishes to study the contents of the Greek prayer to Helios found in *Sefer ha-Razim*, since it is by far the earliest textual witness to that prayer that we currently possess. In what follows, we shall therefore focus on this aspect of the text.

3. The Greek prayer to Helios in light of the new fragment

As noted above, we now have, for the first time, a Genizah fragment containing the Greek prayer to Helios. It is an Oriental manuscript, dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century, whereas the earliest non-Genizah manuscripts of *Sefer ha-Razim* where we can read this prayer come from Italy and Ashkenaz of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Comparing the new textual witness with those previously available (see Appendix 2), we may note several important features. First, there is no doubt that the Genizah fragment preserves a longer text than all other textual witnesses, including some words that are paralleled in only some of the other manuscripts.²¹ Second, in the Genizah fragment the ‘magic words’ are vocalised, a feature that finds its parallel in only one other manuscript (M248).²² Moreover, in at least some cases the Genizah fragment presents a vocalisation that accurately preserves the pronunciation of the original Greek words (see, for example, the vocalisation of $\pi\tau\epsilon\phi\phi\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ as פִּיפְפוֹרוֹס), thus proving

²⁰ For such practices, see GOLDREICH, Automatic Writing, esp. 312–16.

²¹ See especially the sequence פִּיפְפוֹרוֹס אִי־סֶרְא פִּיפְפוֹס, which is paralleled in only two other manuscripts, one from Italy and one from Yemen, and which is highly likely to have been a part of the original prayer (see below).

²² Comparing the vocalisations in the two manuscripts, we find many small differences and no clear evidence of direct continuity from the Genizah fragment to the sixteenth-century manuscript.

that it was added to the transliterated Greek prayer at a time when its contents were still understood, at least in part.²³ On the other hand, it seems clear that neither the letters nor the vocalisations found in our Genizah fragment are entirely accurate, for even a cursory reading makes it clear that some of its ‘words’ cannot be an accurate rendition of Greek words or phrases, and in at least one case (that of אֶבְרִיִּים), the non-Genizah manuscripts clearly preserve a reading that is much more likely than that found in the Genizah fragment. It thus seems that the Genizah fragment preserves a better copy of this text than all the previously available versions, but is far from preserving the prayer in its ‘original’ state. Moreover, we must always remember that the Hebrew alphabet simply was inadequate for the transliteration of Greek words and texts, mainly because it could not represent the Greek vowels. Thus, every Greek word became a cluster of Hebrew consonants, with only -o- and -i- sounds being represented by a *vav* or a *yod*. And, once the Hebrew text was written down and copied from one manuscript to another, there were numerous confusions between orthographically similar letters (*vav* and *yod*, *bet* and *kaph*, etc.) and even between orthographically similar clusters of letters (e.g., *tet* and *nun* + *vav* or *tzadi* and *yod* + *nun*), as even a quick look at our synopsis surely demonstrates.²⁴

In light of these considerations, we wish to offer a word-by-word analysis of the prayer, as found in the Genizah fragment and in all other textual witnesses, with an eye to the earlier reconstruction of this prayer by MORTON SMITH and the modifications of this reconstruction offered by subsequent scholars.²⁵ To do so, we list in parentheses the Hebrew text offered in M(ARGALIOTH)’s edition, followed by the Greek reconstructions of SM(ITH), MO(RGAN) and SZ(NOL), and then offer our own reconstruction of the original Greek text.

אֶבְרִיִּים (EVINOS) [אֶבְרִיִּים M; εὐσεβῶ SM, εὐσεβής MO, εὐσέβει SZ]:²⁶ If we follow the Genizah fragment, we must abandon the earlier reconstruction of this word and opt for an adjective such as εὐγενής, ‘noble’, perhaps transliterated as אֶבְרִיִּים*, with a palatalisation of the *gamma*. This epithet is applied to Helios in PGM VII 516. Another possibility would be εὖνους, ‘well disposed, kindly, friendly’, but this adjective would seem less relevant in this context.

אֶבְרִיִּים (AVTAZLIFOS) [אֶבְרִיִּים M; ἀνατολικὸν SM, MO, SZ]: Here, the presence of a *zayin* as the fourth letter in the Genizah fragment seems *a priori* less likely than the *vav* found in all the non-Genizah manuscripts. But we are not sure which Greek word lurks here, and the reconstruction favoured by earlier scholars, ἀνατολικὸν, ‘easterly’, seems quite remote both from the reading preserved in our Genizah fragment and from those preserved by the other manuscripts. An epithet beginning with

²³ The exact date when the so-called Tiberian vocalisation system came into use is not really known, but most scholars assume that this happened around the eighth century CE.

²⁴ For these processes, as seen in other Greek spells transliterated in Hebrew letters, see also ROHRBACHER-STICKER, *From Sense to Nonsense*, and cf. KRIVORUCHKO, *Greek Loanwords*.

²⁵ In our attempts to identify the Greek words lurking behind the Hebrew transliterations, we made much use of the standard Greek dictionaries and of KRETSCHMER/LOCKER, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*; BUCK/PETERSEN, *Reverse Index*; MUÑOZ DELGADO, *Léxico*.

²⁶ In a later publication, MO. SMITH translated this word as ‘holy’, clearly based on a reconstruction of the Greek word as ἅγιος; see MO. SMITH, *Helios*, 210* and cf. 214*, n. 109.

עט- seems very probable, but the number of possible candidates would be extremely large.

הִילֹס (HILOS) [הִילִיֹס M; Ἡλιος SM, MO, SZ]: In this case, the spelling הִילִיֹס, offered by several non-Genizah manuscripts (with הִילִיֹס as a close variant) seems preferable to that offered by the Genizah fragment. The identification of the Greek word as Ἡλιος seems evident, as the reference to Helios is exactly what we would expect in a prayer addressed to the Sun in Greek.

נָאֻטֹס (NATOS) [נֹאֻטֹס M; ναύτης SM, MO, ναύτος SZ]: Given the close correlation between the Genizah fragment and the non-Genizah manuscripts, we have little doubt that ναύτης, 'sailor', indeed is the most likely Greek word lurking here. We might even postulate an original transliteration of this Greek word as נֹאֻטֹס*, which became נֹאֻטֹס because the scribes who copied this word expected an -os ending, as in many other 'words' in this sequence. And the reference to the sun as a sailor might be derived from the Egyptian and Graeco-Egyptian image of the boat of the sun, sailing through the heavens.

אַנְדְּרָא (ANDRA) [אַנְדְּרֹר M; ἀγαθός SM, MO, SZ]: Here the Genizah fragment offers a reading that is quite different than that supported by the non-Genizah manuscripts, and thus undermines the reconstruction supported by previous scholars. The Genizah fragment's reading looks like an accurate transliteration of ἄνδρα, the accusative form of ἄνθρωπος, 'man', but we are unsure why this word should appear in the accusative, and why it should appear in a text addressed to Helios. One possibility would be that this word should have joined the following word, but a compound such as ἄνδρα-πιστός (or, rather, ἄνδροπιστός) makes little sense. Another possibility is that it should have joined the previous word – and cf. the series of -andra epithets in PGM VII 695–6 (βιάσανδρα, δαμάσανδρα, καλέσανδρα, κατανίκανδρα) – but the combination of נֹאֻטֹס and אַנְדְּרָא does not yield any meaningful Greek compound.

פִּיֶּסְטֹס (PISTOS) [פִּיֶּסְטֹס M; πιστοφύλαξ SM,²⁷ πιστός MO, ὕψιστος SZ]: This seems like an accurate transliteration of the Greek πιστός, 'faithful', 'trustworthy', definitely a possible epithet of the ever-reliable sun, as already suggested by MORGAN.

פָּנְטָא (PANTA).²⁸ Greek πάντα, 'all, everything', but see our comments on the following word.

טְרוֹפֹס (TROFOS): Greek τρόφος. Normally, we would expect the two words to be combined into a single compound adjective as πάντροφος, 'all-nourishing', an epithet that would be most suitable for Helios, even though we were unable to find it applied to the sun in any Greek text. Alternatively, we would suggest the form παντοτρόφος, which is applied, for example, to the creator God in the Sibylline Oracles (παντοτρόφον κτίστην, *Or. Sib.* fr. 1.5).

²⁷ MO. SMITH's reconstruction clearly combined פִּיֶּסְטֹס with the next word in MARGALIOH's edition, i.e. אַקֵּט, whereas MORGAN reconstructed the word אַקֵּט as ἀκτῶν and joined it to the subsequent word, קוֹרִיפֹס. But note that MO. SMITH, *Helios*, 210*, translated this as 'highest governor', clearly reflecting a different reconstruction.

²⁸ The next five words are not attested in most of the non-Genizah manuscripts of *Sefer ha-Razim*. They thus were not included in MARGALIOH's text and in the reconstructions of the Greek text offered by MO. SMITH, MORGAN and SZNOL.

פִּירְפּוֹרוֹס (PIRFOROS): This compound adjective may safely be reconstructed as πυρφόρος, ‘fire-bearing’, which is a most appropriate epithet for the sun. Moreover, this epithet is found in a Greek prayer to Helios (PGM IV 438–63), where we find the vocative form πυρφόρε (*ibid.* 458) as one of many epithets addressed to the Sun.

אִיֶּטְרָא (ISETRA): This could represent the transliteration of several different words, but as the following word is φόρος, we assume that the two ‘words’ make a single compound adjective, for which see our comments on the following word.

פּוֹרוֹס (FOROS): The most likely Greek equivalent would be φόρος, probably part of a compound adjective. ἀστροφόρος, ‘star-bearing’, is one possibility,²⁹ ἀστραπηφόρος, ‘lightning-bearer’, is another (and note how in *Sefer ha-Razim*’s ritual, the Sun’s appearance is preceded by thunder and lightning). If the latter suggestion is correct, we would assume that an original transliteration אַסְטְרַאפִּיפּוֹרוֹס* was corrupted as a result of the similarity between פִּי and פּוּ.

אַקְנוֹקְרִיפּוֹס (AKNOKRIFOS) [אקט קוריפוס M; ἀκτῶν κορυφαῖος MO, κόρυφος SZ]: While we are unable to offer an obvious candidate for the Greek word lurking here, we may tentatively suggest the adjective νυκτικρυφής, ‘hidden by night’, which certainly is appropriate for the Sun.³⁰ If this indeed was the original Greek word, it would seem that an original transliteration אִיֶּקְטִיקְרִיפִּיס* was corrupted in such a way that יִי became א, the ט was preserved by some of the non-Genizah witnesses, but not by the Genizah fragment, and the יס ending was ‘standardised’ into -os.

אִוִּפִּיסְטוֹס (OPISTOS) [אויפיסטוס M; εὐπιστος (ὑπιστος?) SM, εὐπιστος MO, SZ]: Either ὁ πιστός, ‘the faithful one’, which would fit very well, but repeat an adjective that already appeared a few words earlier, or ὑπιστος, ‘the most high’, a common epithet both in ancient Jewish texts (where it sometimes is applied to the Jewish God) and in Greek magical texts, where it is applied to several different deities.³¹ If we adopt the latter possibility, we should assume a corruption of אִיֶּפִּיסְטוֹס* through the changing of יא to א and the fall of one ס.

הַאֶפְלָא (HAPLA) [הופלה M; ὅς πάλαי SM, MO, SZ]: This looks like some form of the Greek ἀπλοῦς, ‘single, simple’, but would make little sense in a Greek prayer to Helios.³² Or, if we follow the reading of the non-Genizah manuscripts, we might suggest ἑξαπλοῦς, ‘six-fold’, but this too would make little sense in this context. On the other

²⁹ For this adjective, as used for Isis, see LSJ, s.v.

³⁰ This adjective is found in Arist. *Metaph.* 1040a30, and applied there to the Sun. It is not attested in the Greek magical papyri, but its opposite, νυκτοφάνεια, ‘appearing by night’, appears in a hymn to Artemis-Selene (PGM IV 2524, 2819–20). Note also the Hebrew Prayer of Jacob, where the Sun is said to be ‘hidden by night (והוא נִסְתָּר בַּלַּיָּה), in order that it would not be considered a god’. For this text, see SCHÄFER/SHAKED (eds.), *Magische Texte II*, 31, and LEICHT, *Qedushah*. And cf. below, n. 34.

³¹ See MUÑOZ DELGADO, *Léxico*, 133; MO. SMITH, *Helios*, 210*, translated this adjective as ‘most exalted (*hypsistos*)’.

³² It ought to be noted, however, that the concept of ‘oneness’ attributed to the solar god would fit in an Egyptian context, as the epithet w^c, meaning ‘the one, the one alone’, is documented in the sources since the early Ramesside Period, especially in relation with Amun-Re; see, for example, ASSMANN, *Search for God*, 242–3.

hand, SMITH's attempt to read this and the next three words as part of one syntactical unit is extremely clever, but far from convincing.

טְרוֹכּוֹס (TROCHOS) [טרוכוס M; τροχόν SM, MO, τροχός SZ]: This looks like an accurate transliteration of the Greek word τροχός, 'wheel', which could refer to the sun's disk, or to the circle of heaven, or to the chariot or wheel, upon which it rides in heaven, but it is not clear how it would fit within the rest of the prayer. It is, of course, possible that this and the previous word should be read as a single compound, such as ἀλίστροχος, 'rushing through the sea' or ἐπίτροχος, 'swift'.

[אֹכְנוֹ] (OCHNO[]) [אובינוס M; ὄβριμον (οὐράνιον?) SM, ὄβριμον MO, ὄβριμος SZ].³³ As the Genizah fragment is damaged at this point, not much can be said about the Greek word behind the Hebrew transliteration, except to note that the reconstructions offered by SMITH, MORGAN and SZNOL seem even less likely than they did before the Genizah fragment was discovered.

קַטַּטִּיכּוֹס (KATATICHOS) [קאטאטיס M; καθίστης SM, MO, καθέστης SZ]: The first part of the word must be the Greek prefix κατά-, but the second part is more obscure. If we follow the non-Genizah manuscripts, SMITH's suggestion of καθίστης, 'founder', seems very plausible (although we would expect a θ to be transliterated by a ת, not a ט), but if we follow the Genizah fragment's reading, we would have to emend the text in a manner that still eludes us.

נִיקְמוֹנוֹס (NIKMONOS) [קזמונטס M; κοσμητής (κοσμώντης?) SM, κοσμητής MO, κοζμοντής SZ]: In this case, MARGALIOTH adopted the reading of a single manuscript (B245), but the Genizah fragment corroborates the reading of all the other manuscripts. The most obvious Greek word would be νικώμενος, from νικάω, 'to win, conquer', but one would expect either the active form, νικῶν, or a preceding negation (as in PGM XIVc 19: ὁ ... μὴ νικώμενος).

סִיגְמוֹס (SIGMOS) [סיגמוס M; ἅγιος SM, MO]: In light of the Genizah fragment, which corroborates what is found in the few non-Genizah manuscripts that contain this word, the earlier reconstructions seem quite unlikely, but we are unable to offer a better one.

פּוֹלִיפֶּנְטוֹס (POLIFENTOS) [פילי פאנטור M; πολοκράτωρ (πολυπράκτωρ?) SM, πολοκράτωρ MO, φιλιπάντωρ SZ]: The first part of the word clearly is the Greek πολύ, 'much', which is prefixed to many Greek adjectives, but the second part is less clear. πολύφαντος, 'conspicuous', would be the most obvious candidate, but as far as we know this adjective is never used to describe Greek gods or the Sun. Thus, we hesitantly suggest πολύφωτος, 'brightly shining', which was reconstructed by PREISENDANZ in PGM II 121, or perhaps πολυφεγγής, with a similar meaning.

קְרִיפִּימּוֹס (KRIFIM[O]S) [קירי פומאוס M; κύριε πόμπος SM, MO, SZ]: Perhaps the Greek adjective κρύφιος, 'hidden', which is attested in late-antique Greek texts (as a synonym for κρύφιος) and appears once in the Greek magical papyri, as a divine epithet (PGM IV 1762; cf. PGM IV 1801, for a similar use of κρύφιος). However, its application to the Sun seems counter-intuitive, although it might make more sense in

³³ MO. SMITH, *Helios*, 210*, translated this adjective as 'heavenly', clearly reflecting his preference for οὐράνιον at this stage.

an Egyptian context.³⁴ Another possibility is *κάρπιμος*, ‘fruit-bearing’, which is applied to Helios-Apollo in one of the Orphic Hymns (*Orph. H.* 8.12) and could be a suitable epithet for the fruit-producing Sun.

אִפְטוֹס (IPTOS) [אִפְטוֹס M; εὔφωτος SM, MO, SZ]: If we adopt the Genizah fragment’s reading, the most likely Greek word would be *ὑπατος*, ‘highest’, an epithet associated with some Greek gods from Homer onwards. In the Greek magical papyri, it is found in a compound form, *πανυπάτα*, ‘most high (goddess)’ (PGM VII 700).

תְּרוֹנְיוֹס (TRONIOS) [תְּרוֹנְיוֹס M; τύραννος SM, MO, SZ]: The Genizah fragment’s reading does not entirely vitiate the reconstruction offered by all earlier scholars (although we would expect a τ to be transliterated by a ט, not a ת), but a word such as **θρόνιος* seems more plausible. As this is not a self-standing adjective, we might suggest a combination with the previous word, to form the compound **ὑπατοθρόνιος*, ‘he of the highest throne’, which we would compare with the adjective *πρωτοθρόνιος*, ‘filling the first seat’, which is an epithet applied to several Greek deities.³⁵

אִסְטְרַאטְיוֹטוֹס (ISTRATIOTOS) [אִסְטְרַאטְיוֹטוֹס M; ἀστροθητής (ἀστροθέτης?) SM, στρατιώτης MO, SZ]:³⁶ Here the Genizah fragment seems to support the reconstruction *στρατιώτης*, ‘soldier’, offered by MORGAN and by SZNOL, with a prosthetic *aleph*, as is common in the entry into Hebrew and Aramaic of Greek words beginning with στ-clusters. Another possibility is *ἀστροθέτης*, ‘the one who orders the stars’, which is attested in PGM XII 175 and especially in PGM LXXVII 18.

4. Summary and conclusions

This, then, is where we currently stand. The new Genizah fragment certainly does not preserve an accurate transliteration of the original Greek prayer to Helios, and does not enable its complete reconstruction. It is clearly superior in some of its readings to the previously available textual witnesses, but in a few cases it seems inferior to them. It thus enables a more reliable reconstruction of the Greek text, but also serves as a powerful reminder of how tricky such reconstructions are, since the very act of transliterating Greek words in the Hebrew alphabet was bound to lead to ambiguous words, and the act of copying these meaningless clusters of Hebrew letters was bound to lead to textual corruption. Thus, we would be able to reconstruct this prayer in its entirety only if we find it transmitted in Greek letters, quite an unlikely event. But even if one may debate our identification of this or that Greek word, our overall findings seem to indicate that the original Greek text consisted of a string of Greek epithets, all probably related in one way or another to the sun or to the Greek sun-god, Helios. Such

³⁴ See ASSMANN, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 70–72 and 133–55. *κρυπτέ* (‘hidden’) occurs among the names and epithets of god that should be pronounced in the context of the consecration of a magical ring in PGM XII 201–69 (PGM XII 265). Cf. above, n. 30.

³⁵ For this epithet, see LSJ, 1545. An alternative reconstruction would be **ἐπταθρόν(ι)ος*, ‘having seven thrones’, but we are unaware of parallels to this imagery with relation to Helios.

³⁶ MO. SMITH, *Helios*, 210*, translated this as ‘soldier’, clearly reflecting his acceptance of *στρατιώτης* as the original Greek word here.

strings of epithets are quite common in Greek hymns, prayers and invocations, including those found in the Greek magical papyri. Moreover, one of the common features of such hymns is the occurrence of compound adjectives, including – especially in the PGM – compound adjectives that seem to have been invented *ad hoc* by the magicians themselves.³⁷ In this respect, our prayer displays the same tendencies displayed by the PGM, but there also are two crucial differences.³⁸ First, in the PGM hymns, the epithets usually appear in the vocative, as is expected in an invocation of a deity, but in *Sefer ha-Razim* the epithets all seem to be in the nominative case. Second, in the PGM hymns, there often is some sort of meter, most commonly dactylic hexameter, which does not seem to hold true for the Greek prayer found in *Sefer ha-Razim*. Whether these differences are due to the Jewish author's ignorance of such linguistic and cultural niceties or to his sense that they are unnecessary in a Greek prayer embedded in a Hebrew text we cannot really say. What we can say, however, is that the Greek prayer to Helios that emerges from our analysis is a far simpler and humbler text than that assumed by earlier scholars. In the final analysis, some of the high-sounding Greek phrases found in their reconstructions were due to their own linguistic ingenuity more than to that of the Jewish magicians of Late Antiquity.

³⁷ For this process, see PACHOUMI, Greek Magical Papyri, esp. 62–3. For a list of the epithets not included in LSJ, see *ibid.*, 151–61.

³⁸ For a useful survey of the prayers to Helios in the PGM, and an interesting comparandum to our own prayer, see COHN, P. Mich. 3404. For the Helios-related vocabulary of the PGM, see also PACHOUMI, Assimilations of Helios.

Appendix a: an edition of Jerusalem, NLI Heb. 4°577.5.30

	recto
1	עלי שבכוח אלהים חיים
2	ישבתי בש' ה' עליכם
3	השבעתי שתב ³⁹ ותתראו
4	לי ותדברו עמי כאיש
5	עם רעהו וכל חפצי
6	תעשו ל ⁴⁰ [י]
7	אבינוס אבתןליפוס
8	הילוס נאטוס אנדרא
9	פיסטוס פנטא טרופוס
10	פיפפורוס איסטרא
11	פורוס אקנוקריפוס
	verso
1	אופיסטוס האפלא
2	טרוכוס אוקנ[]
3	קאטאטיכוס ניקמונוס
4	סיגמוס פזיליפ?אנטוס
5	קריפימא?ו[ס] איפטוס
6	תרוניוס
7	איסטראטיטוס
8	מצר ⁴¹ ומב יהה ענו
9	מח?י? דמב מנק איע
10	חבו ראה יבם היי מום

³⁹ An abbreviation for שתבואו, 'that you will come'.

⁴⁰ The reading of this word is uncertain.

⁴¹ Lines 8–10 are written after a space of several lines and in an up-side-down direction in relation to lines 1–7.

Appendix b: a synopsis of the prayer, as found in all the textual witnesses

Our synopsis incorporates all the manuscripts in which the Greek prayer to Helios may be found, as re-examined by us at the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the National Library of Israel, in Jerusalem (the numbers in parentheses are the IMHM microfilm-numbers).⁴²

M – MARGALIOTH, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 99 (eclectic edition).

B244 – Budapest, Oriental Library, Kaufmann A 244, fol. 59 [F(ICHE) 96; indicated as פ in MARGALIOTH, *Sepher ha-Razim*]; Italian, seventeenth century.

B245 – Budapest, Oriental Library, Kaufmann A 245, fol. 42b–43a [F 15787; indicated as ל in MARGALIOTH, *Sepher ha-Razim*]; Oriental, sixteenth/seventeenth century.

F44 – Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 44.13, fol. 120a [F 17831; indicated as ט in MARGALIOTH, *Sepher ha-Razim*]; Italian, sixteenth century.

M248 – Moscow, Russian State Library, Günzburg 248, fol. 298a [F 47644]; Seferdi-Oriental, sixteenth century.

M738 – Moscow, Russian State Library, Günzburg 738, fol. 129a–b [F 47568]; Italian, fifteenth century.

N1879 – New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, JTS 1879 (163), fol. 45a [F 10977; indicated as ס in MARGALIOTH, *Sepher ha-Razim*]; Italian, fifteenth century.

N8115 – New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, JTS 8115 (829), fol. 27a [F 11306; indicated as צ in MARGALIOTH, *Sepher ha-Razim*]; Italian, fifteenth century.

N8117 – New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, JTS 8117 (832), fol. 29a–b [F 11308; indicated as כ in MARGALIOTH, *Sepher ha-Razim*]; Italian, seventeenth/eighteenth century.

P849 – Paris, Heb. 849, fol. 62b [F 14478]; Ashkenazi, fifteenth/sixteenth century.

TA42 – Tel Aviv, Bill Gross, 42, fol. 170b [F 43552; GFC YM.011.014]; Yemenite, nineteenth century.

G – Jerusalem, National Library, Heb. 4°577.5.30 (Genizah fragment).

⁴² After some hesitation, we decided to exclude from our synopsis the Latin version (edited by REBINGER/SCHÄFER, *Sefer ha-Razim* I, 47) and the Arabic one (for which see FODOR, Arabic Version, 420). In both cases, the readings are quite remote from those found in the Hebrew manuscripts, and therefore of lesser relevance for the reconstruction of the original prayer.

סיגמוס	קומנוס	קאטאטיס	אובינס	טרוכוס	הופלה	אויפסטוס	קוריפוס	אקט	M
	טוקומונס	קצטי אסטור	אוכינס	טרוכוס	הופלה			אקט	B244
סנימס	ניקומינס	קאטאטיס	אובינס	טרוכוס	האפלה			אקט	M248
	ניקומינס	קאטאטיס	אובינס	טרוכוס	הופלה			אקט	P849
	ניקומינס	קאטאטיס	אובינס	טרוכוס	הופלה			אקט	N8117
	ניקומינס	קאטאטיס	אובינס	טרוכוס	הופלה			אקט	F44
	ניקומינס	קאטאטיס	אובינס	טרוכוס	הופלה			אקט	N1879
	ניקומינס	קאטאטיס	אובינס	טרוכוס	הופלה			אקט	N8115
סיגמוס	קומנוס	קאטאטיס	אוכינס	טרוכוס	האסל	אויפסטוס	קוריפוס	אקט	B245
סיגמוס	טוקומונס	קאטאטיס	אורנוס	טרוכוס	הבלאטרוכוס	אויפסטוס			M738
דיגמס	טוקי מינס	קאטאטיס	אודנוס	טרוכוס	הפלא	אויפסטוס		אקטאקריפוס*	TA42
סיגמוס	ניקומנוס	קאטאטיס	אוקן]	טרוכוס	האפלה	אויפסטוס		אקטאקריפוס	G

טיוטוס	אטרא	תיריונוס	איופטוס	פומאוס	קורי	פאנטור	פילי	M
טיטוס	אטרא	תיריונוס	אופיטורי	פומאוס	קורי	פאנטור	פילי	B244
טולוס	אטקרא	תיריונוס	אופיטוס	פומאוס	קורי	פאנטוס	פילי	M248
טיוטוס	אטרא	תיריונוס	אופיטורי	פומאוס	קורי	פאנטור	פילי	P849
טיטוס	אטרא	תיריונוס	אופיטורי	פומאוס	קורי	פנטור	פילי	N8117
טיטוס	אטרא	תיריונוס	אופיטורי	פומאוס	קורי	פאנטור	פילי	F44
טיוטוס	אטרא	תיריונוס	אפיטורי	פומאוס	קודי	פאנטור	פילי	N1879
טיוטוס	אטרא	תיריונוס	אופיטורי	פומאוס	קורי	פאנטור	פילי	N8115
איטראטירטוס		טרוניוס	איופטוס	קוריפומאוס		פליכאנטוס		B245
אטראזיטוס		תיריוניוס	איופטומוס	קוריפומאוס		פיליפנטוס		M738
טיטוס	אטרא	תרוניוס	איופטוס	קוריפומאוס		פילופנטוס		TA42
איטראטירטוס		תיריוניוס	איפטוס	קוריפומאוס		פילופנטוס		G

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