

Александър Фол

ORPHICA MAGICA

I



Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“

Александър Фол

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На Валерия – заради магическото

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ORPHICA MAGICA I

Summary

A LITTLE TIREDNESS - MANY CONSEQUENCES

Even before the Second World War the classical philology, which was self-sufficient from Marsilio Ficino's time until the flourishing of *Altertumswissenschaft*, began to get bored from constantly gazing at texts and monuments from the Polis' Antiquity. During the last 30 or so years of the 20th c. the brilliance of the Athenian Acropolis began to darken due to the "Black Athena", who M. Bernal brought from the South Things, long-time Interpreted, began to be re-interpreted because of the wish fresh answers to be given to routine questions. Thus the moment of pre-qualifications arrived. The science concerning the Greek-Roman Time began to produce anthropologists, philosophizing translators, ethnologists, cognitivists, folklorists, culturalists, structuralists, art historians, comparativists-indoeuropeanists, archaeologists with "new archaeology", linguists-etymologists, "universalists" like G. Dumézil and M. Eliade, functionalists and even psychoanalysts. The most exotic professional pre-qualification was offered, however, by the shamanism.

Arctic beliefs with shaman ritual practice, or shamanhood, was a book-learning research, defined with the neologism shamanism. This operation (s. ТД 3 245-246 for the difference between shamanhood and shamanism and Neykova 2003 for their incompatibility with the Orphism) is being defended structurally with the statements that shamans, who relate with the Greek mythology, wander around the "dead Siberian fields". West 1983, 146-150 asks himself/herself: "Have the hallucinations of medicine men in Siberia or the Altai really anything to do with Greek myth" and answers positively. This way the circle closes with the old study by K. Meuli from 1935 (West 1983, 146, n. 19; cf. the discussion in Kingsley 1994).

As one can see, the reminding of known conclusions proves to be a suitable beginning of the introduction in the orphic-magical issues, which I shall delineate later. For this beginning, it is important that the Orphic literature can be differentiated also from the so called Orphics, and from the Orphism. "As for

“Orphism”, the only definite meaning that can be given to the term is “the fashion for claiming Orpheus as an authority. The history of Orphism is the history of that fashion”. (West 1983, 2-3).

M. L. West’s statement is commented by Fowden 1986, 96. As he develops his statement, the author finds himself near the hypothesis of the non-literary Orphism with an exhaustive text by M. Foucault (M. Foucault “What is an author” in: Harari J. V. (Ed.) *Textual strategies: perspectives in post-structuralist criticism*, London 1980, 141-160, and especially p. 147), which says: “Hermes Trismegistus did not exist ... – in the sense that Balzac existed – but the fact that several texts have been placed under the same name indicates that there has been established among them a relationship of homogeneity, filiation, authentication of some texts by the use of others, reciprocal explication, or concomitant utilization. The author’s name serves to characterize a certain mode of being of discourse ... this discourse is not ordinary every day speech ... not something that is immediately consumable. On the contrary, *it is a speech that must be received in a certain mode and that, in a given culture, must receive a certain status*” (the Italics is mine – A. F.). Orpheus’ words are with the status of values and virtues for the Orphic culture, i. e., for the historically active behaviour of the non-literary societies in Southeastern Europe, and most of all, in Thrace.

The historically active behaviour is being observed and understood as oral doctrinally-ritualistic faith. From it sufficient motives have being drawn which begin to be written. Orpheus originates (after Гочев 1999, 98-99, n. 85), when statements from different ethno-linguistic origin acquire a written form, organize themselves in segments and are being put in a chain, to create the illusion of a connected text with the myth as commentary. This technique is known from the middle of 6th c. BC, when the myth concerning the child Zagreus and the Titans, was compiled by Onomacritus. The series of statements can be transformed into prayers or into hymns, especially by the aretology, which list the god’s merits.

Passing from the Ancient Greek towards the Thracian Orphism, from the literary philosophical teaching towards the oral, the ethnos’ one, I would like to remind of my thesis that Orpheus is a personification of the attempt of achieving of individual knowledge, an Orphic – the bearer of this essay, exalted and put into motion by the faith’s illumination, and Orphism - a type of doctrinal behaviour. While the ethnos’ Orphism is a finalized world outlook, the literary one is based on a mythical authorship. It defends an initiation practice, which is recognized during the period of its spreading outside esoteric societies by the educated Greek

observers not only in ethnos' Thracian communities, but also in Greece. This practice is documented by the goldlamellae, inscriptions on vases, graffiti, Orpheus' "riddles" in the Derveni papyrus, as well as from texts in Plato's corpus.

Bernabé 1998, 72 had proposed a reconstruction of Plato's Orphic teaching, based on **Plat.** Phaed. 62b, Phaed 70c, Phaed. 69c, Meno 81a, Cratyl. 400c, Resp. 363c, Leg. 701b, Gorg. 493a: Socrates knows an ancient logos of secret writings – a deed by inspired poets ... which organize the initiations, and especially – Musaeus or Orpheus. A teaching for the soul is contained in their secret writings. The soul is immortal, but it carries a certain guilt, probably – the Dionysus' dismemberment by the Titans, – because of which the soul has to suffer a retribution in this or in the other world, where it transforms. During its stay in this world, the soul is locked in the body, which is its grave. In this world, the soul does not live a real life, but a kind of death, despite that the elimination of the guilt can be achieved with certain rituals.

The hellenization of the teaching in the immortality requires a terminological specification of intellectual energy with "soul", but Bernabé's explanation 1998, 65, based on **Aristot.** De anima 410b19 reveals the Orphic understanding for the energy, which is part of the cosmic one, and which is invested into the intellect. Bernabé's clarification discloses this hellenic literary-philosophical interpretation as a re-formulated oral Orphic concept. In the cited passage, the teaching exposed in the Orphic poems, presents *the soul carried by winds*. It enters from the outer world when the person inhales. The energy-wind seems to be a reason for the soul's activity. While the energy-wind is passive in Plato, it becomes clear from the texts on the goldlamellae that the soul, on the contrary, is active before an obstacle which it has to surmount. The difference shows, that Plato's Orphism is not the doctrine documented on the goldlamellae (according to Bernabé 1998, 74-75), or on texts such as the inscription of the Thracian king Kotys I (383-359 BC), who declares himself for Apollo's païs. The passive soul is subject to transformation according to the Ancient Greek polis' version, whereas the active and mobile intellectual energy is immortal.

The reconstruction of the oral orphic faith-ritualism according to the "ancient logos", its development in the concept of the metempsychosis, as well as Plato's irony towards peddling fortune-tellers, the prescriptions for somatic practices and rituals show, that the philosopher unambiguously separates the "mythic Orpheus", the creator of a secret ancient teaching, from Orpheus, the author of poems (Bernabé 1998, 50-51). In other words, Plato separates the

tradition of the oral Orphic doctrine about immortality from its polis' version of the soul's immortality.

The notion of "two Orpheus" is introduced by Sabbatucci 1991. According to him, they differentiate in Pausanias – the one, "the Thracian one" is "more like a god", the Greek one is a poet-singer, the so-called cultural hero (cf. also ΤΔ 3, 135). This recognition seems to give a reason to think, that Socrates is a paradigmatic image not so much of the Greek aretè, but more so of the Thracian Orphic culture, which is motivated by the principle of μετοίκησης of the migration in Socrates' ἀτοπία, i. e. in the Beyond (Medrano 2000).

I add excerpts from magical papyri in Greek (the last general overview s. in Brashear 1995) to this documentation, as well as texts on other materials, which form a new base of source data for the ethnos' Thracian Orphism. Before commencing this research, however, I would like to clarify some more positions.

Orpheus is not the only authority called to impart remote past and authenticity of the non-olympic, of the esoteric mysterial-initiationary faith-ritualism. Orpheus is a naming of an ambassador of the Light, of the Knowledge. Such is also Musaeus, who heads the Eumolpidae's pedigree in Eleusis before the end of the 5th c. BC. A similar role is imposed upon Epimenides, despite him resembling a historical person, upon Linus, Olen, Pamphos, Abaris, Aristeas, Tamiris, Palaephatus (West 1983, 45-62). The declaration of authorship is a good method, even though the sacred books are sometimes anonymous, as is the classical case in **Paus** 8. 15. 2 for the grand Eulesinia in Pheneus (Fol V. 2001).

From this point of view, the "shamanism" may end up being a good technical term for the differentiation of the ethnos' from the polis' Orphism, and for the clarification of the ancient Greek borrowings of non-Greek "cults and practices". According to M. L. West, by returning to Thrace and by taking one more Eastern road, we reach Ionia and the Pontic region. Here the author discovers the main "archaic Greek shamans" Aristeas Proconnensis, Hermodimus from Clasomenae, Pythagoras who is considered to be the Hyperborean Apollo. M. L. West connects the development of a Bacchic cult during the 6th c. BC in Ionia with the king Skyles, the Pontic colonies and with a "direct contact with the Scythians", and concludes: "On the furthest horizon a rivulet of cultural influence trickles into view from the country of the Scythians and Thracians, bringing down to Ionia in the seventh and sixth centuries BC some manifestations of shamanistic theory and ritual. These include the initiatory motif of dismemberment and reconstruction, and

the myths of Orpheus. Tales begin to circulate of shamanistic feats—journeys in the spirit, magical flight, bilocation—performed by Greeks (Aristeas, Hermetimus, Pythagoras) or northerners visiting Greece (Abaris)” (West 1983, 259, n. 1). During the 6th c. BC, “another stream enters this picture from east”. It results in an semi-abstract cosmogony which includes the initial Ocean, Chronos as a creating god, the cosmic egg, the doctrine for the transformations, and “shaman” parables about the soul’s sojourn after death. These parables begin to “be written on Orpheus’ behalf” (West 1983, 260).

If shamanistic theory and ritual is replaced by Orphic doctrine and faith-ritualism in the zone of the Hyperborean diagonal, as is my terminology, the above-said will approach conclusions formulated in my previous studies. The early hellenization of Thracia Pontica, in which I include Olbia, as well as in South and Southeastern Thrace with centre Pangaion mountain, the literary Orphic cult-ritualism related to Miletus, Didyma (for the Ionian language of the Derveni papyrus s. West 1983, 76-80), Athens, Delphi, Thessaly, Macedonia, Crete, Sicily (s. ТД 3, 48-49, 53 sq., 86 sq, 227, 273, 328-331) begins to gain ground. During the 4th c. BC, the spreading of the Orphic faith-ritualism in this space increases, and it establishes the beginning of its profanation. This is when the issues of Orphica Magica originate.

The ambassadors of the Light in the oral culture officiate magically. They are carriers of cosmogonical, mythological and religious models, who teach their students in order to achieve individual knowledge. The individual knowledge is an experience in Beyond, in other words, an assimilation of the teaching of immortality. Of this aristocratic, esoteric, mysterial-initiational level myths/parables are not necessary, because the magic of the theurgy, of the creation of god is executed. The “creators of gods” use a sacred secret language, as is the Samothracian (Thracian in the sense of mysterial), which resounds in the form of epodè.

The language is magical in the esoteric circles as well as in the populated mysterial-initiational festivity. The magical language is terminological, parabolic, instructive, ordering, commanding, allegoric and descriptive. In this sense, the magical language is more understandable than the theological, the philosophically-speculative (after Plato), and from the theurgical (after Proclus and Iamblichus). For this reason, the magical language is more suitable for initiation in the individual knowledge of immortality. When the magical language names, it reveals the invisible, i. e., it creates (cf. XO, 25).

The magical language had been noted in the earliest sources for the Orphic teaching, preserved in the Attic literature, as are epodái in **Eurip.** Alc. 967 and Cycl. 646 (West 1983, 20, n. 47). From Euripides on, and mainly through Plato, the magical faith-ritualism begins to be literary explained, whereas in the Ionian literary environment it retains its mysterial character, which I will discuss later in the context of the texts from the Orphic goldlamellae, the Derveni papyrus and the Olbian inscriptions and graffiti. In Suda, the tradition that Pherekydes had introduced the “Orphic logos” long before Euripides, had been preserved. As West 1983, 20, n. 46 supposes however, it probably concerns Pherekydes from Syros, who is older than his Athenian namesake (an analysis of early literary-philosophical interpretation of oral Orphic faith by Pherekydes from Syros s. Fol V. 2002, 849).

The magical component in the Orphic doctrinal language (for the pseudo-Orphic magical tradition s. Faraone 1999, 11) is noticed by Abel 1885, 286-295, where he had noted five hymns, derived from Greek papyri. E. Abel had put under No. I and II in his collection, two hymns to Apollo, under No. III - to Hecate, under No. IV – to Helios and under No. V – to Selene. These hymns constitute the “magical hymns” chapter.

After concluding that the Orpheus’ poetic image was created to help establish his responsibility for the officiates, W. K. C. Guthrie assists the theses that the initiational orphic ritualism was legalized for the Greeks in a literary way. This conclusion is supported also by the written spells, which are actually concealed instructions for magical rites. The “Orphically magical” in Guthrie 1935, 17-19, however remains only a terminological specification linked with prophecies and music.

Iv. Linforth is known to be quite sceptical towards the Orphism as a whole, but still admits: “As Orpheus during his life-time exercised magical powers by his song, so charms which bore his name had magical power after his death. They must have formed a considerable part of Orphic literature” (Linforth 1941, 138).

M. L. West notices in a sufficient measure the meaning of the papyri: “Simulation of the cosmic music on the cithara and by vocalization (we think of the intoning of the seven vowels in magic rituals attested by the papyri; cf. Orph. fr. 308) enabled the soul to escape the bonds of common death and return to the divine sphere from which it came” (West 1983, 31-32).

PROPHET OF THE LOGOS

One of the most famous records for the Thracians is **Her.** 5.7.1 Legrand/Feix. It says: ... Θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μόνους τούσδε, Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν· οἱ δὲ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν καὶ ὁμνύουσι μόνον τοῦτον καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμέω ἑωυτούς.

In an invocation in Ancient Greek, which can contain simultaneously and separately a declaration, an oath, a promise, a prayer sometimes doubled with a curse/spell, the gods' names are always in acc. case (Rudhardt 1992², 202-204), as ὅμνυμι and ὀρκόω/ὀρκίζω require (cf. for ὅμνυμι **Her.** 1.23, 1.153 Legrand/Feix and ὅμνυμι Ζῆνα in **Eurip.** Rhes. 816 Murray). This requirement premises the formula *the sacred god's name* (the named divine essence) *to be spelled*, for that it executes this for which it had been imperatively summoned. This charm formula is typical for PGM and for magical texts on other materials except papyri. An invocation in Ancient Greek is not the same as Ancient Greek invocation. As Graf 1999², 5 had noticed, the Ancient Greek language of the magical papyri from Egypt does not replicate the Ancient Greek thought. It is primarily a language of the papyri in a multilingual society, a language which reveals freely Egyptian and other magica.

The Thracian royal oath is not “in Hermes”. It puts Hermes in motion, because the Orphic kings, the paides – the “offsprings-servants of Apollo”, *swear* Hermes, the prophet of the mysterially spoken logos. The Hermes-logos will execute the creation of the energy (for the Thracian Orphic logos s. ΤΔ 3, 269 and sq.; for Hermes in the Orphic tetrad and in the hymns – 292-293). The complete Orphic definition of Hermes – λόγου θνητοῖσι προφήτα, or a prophet of the mysterially spoken logos for the mortals, is to be found in **Orphei** Hymni 28 Quandt on v. 4 (XO, 28). The definition is supplemented on v. 10 with “the language..., which is a horrific weapon ...” “... sacredly honored by the people”. The century-long literary tradition about Hermes-logos is preserved in Suda s.v. Ἑρμῆν Adler, where the god is called son of Zeus and of Maya, which means - son of the mind and of the senses. Hermes is winged in order to be fast. Thus Homer (**Hom.** Il. 1. 201 Allen/Fuchs) calls words winged.

I swear the logos is the sacred Orphic formula itself. Its pronunciation is doing, i. e., the spoken is equal to becoming (s. OF p. 312-314 with O. Kern's commentary).

As far as I know, the single specific source for a sacred place where the Orphic oath is pronounced, and - in addition - a source for the reason for the oath being taken, is **Firm. Maternus**. Mathesis 7. 1-3 Monat:

1. Cum incognitis hominibus Orpheus sacrorum caerimonias <ostenderet>, nihil aliud ab his quos initiabat in primo vestibulo nisi iu <ri> siurandi necessitatem [et] cum terribili auctoritate religionis exegit, ne profanis auribus inventae ac compositae religiones proderentur. Sed et †Platonici meum perpetuum a se eum frequenter convenit nec secretarum disputationum veneranda commenta imperitis aliquando intimari. Patiuntur enim haec omnia iacturam, cum perditis ac desperatis animis ingeruntur. [apud] Pythagoras etiam et noster Porphyrius religioso putant animus nostrum silentio consecrari.
2. Unde et ego horum virorum legem insecutus convenio te iureiurando, Mauorti decus nostrum, per fabricatorem mundi deum, qui omnia necessitas perpetuitatis excol <u> it, qui Solem formavit et Lunam, qui omnium siderum cursus ordinesque disposuit, qui maris fluctus intra certos terrae terminos coartavit, qui ignem ad sempiternam substantiam divinae perpetuitatis inflamat, qui terram in medio collocatam aequata moderatione sustentat, qui omnes homines, feras, alites et omnia animantium genera divina artificii maiestate composuit, qui terram perennibus rigat fontibus, qui ventorum flatus cum quadam facit necessitatis moderatione variari, qui ad fabricationem omnium quattuor elementorum diversitate composita, ex contrariis et repugnantibus cuncta perfecit, et ortum occasumque †terrae motum omnium <***> per descensum ascensumque animae, per immortalem aeternae perpetuitatis ordinem,
3. ne haec veneranda commenta profanis vel imperitis auribus intimentur, sed his quos animus incorruptus ad rectum vivendi ordinem casto ac pudico praesidio mentis or[di]navit, quorum illibata fides, quorum manus ab omni sunt facinorum scelere separatae, integris pudicis sobriis ac modestis, ut puro mentis splendore decoratis integra se scientia divinationis insinuet. Accipe itaque omnia partili ratione collecta, et quia te iurisiurandi religione convenimus, accipe quod tibi cum maxima animi trepidatione misimus.

In Firmicus Maternus' story, the place of the pronunciation of the Orphic oath is specified according to the outer and the most popular characteristic of the ritual of silence. The mystical initiational secrecy is preserved with this ritual. The

initial reason of admitting only people initiated in the Orphic mysteries seems to ascend towards the prohibition for people foreign to the family to enter the home sanctuary. The motive for the secrecy was caricaturized by Clemens Alexandrinus and by Arnobius with the interpretation that the oath is an attempt to hide the comic and the dirty in the barbaric rituals (Perler 1950, Sp. 671).

The conventional thinking about the preventive character of the oath of silence cannot, however, exhaust the meaning of the Orphic oath. It puts in motion the mechanism of the divine intervention. The Samothracian oath puts the Tetrad-kernel of the Orphic doctrine in motion. This kernel is named Axiokersa, Axieros, Axiokersos and Cadmillos/Casmillos/Hermes (s. ΤΔ 3, 269-293). According to Herodotus, in European Thrace the Tetrad-kernel is identified with Artemis, Dionysos, Ares and Hermes. *I swear Hermes* means I swear the male, ithyphallic beginning in the sacred marriage in order to continue the re-creation of Hermes' offsprings, of the Thracian Orphic kings, in the Mythological time of the constant becoming, and in the Cyclical time of the constant returning (for the types of time s. Fol 1993).

I swear Hermes is being done in the end of the ritual doctrinal initiation, which is why in the "first vestibule" of the mysterial hall, the vow of silence would be taken. This pledge mandates the person lands in Eleusis or in Samothrace to take the responsibilities of a future mystes. Only when the apparition of the sacred marriage is seen with a designation, then the people called in the mysterial hall could swear Hermes. They are led by their teacher-initiator to pass from the status of ignorance, of the ἀμύητοι, to the one of μύησις, when they listen, but do not hear the logos, because they still don't understand it. Afterwards, the summoned are ushered in ἐποπτεία and can hear the logos, understanding it. In the last stage where the teacher-initiator leads them, the people find themselves having seen (the mysterial hierogamic secret), i. e., they find themselves as εἰδότες. So they not only understand, they *know what they have seen*, thus they are σοφοί.

Walking towards the speaking of the logos, which does the ritual (for such a completion through speech s. XO, 23-32), the Thracian Orphic king faces a mysterial-initiational building from the type of the so called temple next to Starosel, Hissarja region (s. the analysis in ΤΔ 3, 217-218, 229-231, 281-312). Then, the Orphic King ascends the stairs which lead him into the chambers. Observed by the initiated before him in the swearing-doing, and lead by his Orphic teacher, the king enters the first rectangular chamber where he says the vow of silence. After the cleansing procedure he is being introduced in the beehive-like

chamber with the 10 pseudo-columns on the plinth of the circle. There he *finds out the seen and becomes a knowledgeable person*, who has the right to swear the prophet of the logos. The oath consists the doctrinal death-rebirth of the king, who begins to create the new cycle of the Orphic 10-stage Cosmos-Socium. After the eudaimonic Orphic ruler dies, he will be carried in the same beehive-like chamber, in the center of which he will achieve his anthropodemonization on the 10th stage. His grave will be destined in one of the mounds next to the mysterial-initiational sanctuary.

The vow of silence and the swearing Hermes form a magical procedure for the doctrinal Orphics from the male aristocratic (royal, dynastic) societies, which leads them towards a new, another birth, towards palingenesis. The later Hermetism, the Orphic components of which are still to be established, supplies a lot more written data for this magical-religious operation (Гоцев 1999, 11, n. 8 and 20-21, nn. 62-67).

THE OATH

The hypothesis that the vow of silence is being taken by the person coming to be initiated in the Orphic mysteries in the beginning of the ritual procedure while the actual Orphic “swearing Hermes” is being done by the person having achieved a complete initiational status, brings me back to the data of the Orphic ὄρκος in OF.

I begin with the text under OF II 25, considering the reading in **Arist.** *Metaph.* I 3 983b 27 – 984a Ross Tredennick: εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ τοὺς παλαιούς καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς νῦν γενέσεως καὶ πρώτους θεολογήσαντας οὕτως οἴονται περὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπολαβεῖν· Ὠκεανόν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθὺν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως πατέρας, καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τῶν θεῶν ὕδωρ, τὴν καλουμένην ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Στύγα τῶν ποιητῶν· τιμιώτατον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρεσβύτατον, ὄρκος δὲ τὸ τιμιώτατόν ἐστιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαία τις αὕτη καὶ παλαιὰ τετύχηκεν οὕσα περὶ τῆς φύσεως ἢ δόξα, τάχ’ ἂν ἄδηλον εἴη.

The Orphic context is contained in the swearing the water, and in the statement that the oldest is the most respected, and the most respected thing is the oath. Actually, the passage contains a contextual Orphic swearing as a logos (= the prophet Hermes), who creates the cosmic existence (cf. HL fr. 22 for a commentary from a theogonic viewpoint).

OF, p. 312 = **Syrian.** in Aristot. Metaph. B4 p. 1000a 19 (43, 23) Kroll according to **Syriani** In metaphysica commentaria = Commentaria ad Aristotelem Graeca 6. 1. Reimer. Berolini, 1902, 1-195 with **Arist.** Metaph. III 4, 1000a Ross/Tredennick composes his Neo-platonic commentary in the 5th c. AD because of Aristotle's thoughts about the principles-gods (for Syrianus Atheniensis cf. Лосев 2000 = 1988, 11-16). The passage from the commentary is the following: ... χρόνον δὲ καὶ Ὀρφεὺς τὸ πρῶτον ἐκάλει· ὁ δὲ ὄρκον μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ὡς ἔρκος καὶ φρουρὰν τῶν ἄλλων, τὴν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προϊούσαν εἰς τὰς δύο τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὰς τελειότητα τὴν μετροῦσαν αὐτῶν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐπικρατείας τελειώσιν ὠνόμασε χρόνου, ὡς εἰ ἔλεγε τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τελειώσιν.

Chronos, whom Orpheus calls the first, is the initial reason (cf. the same in OF II 68; cf. HL fr. 109) The calling of the Chronos and his homonym Cronos as initial reason wakes up firstly the anthropomorphic image of the Beginning through the Son of the Great Goddess-Mother. Syrianus Atheniensis' commentary supplements OF II 25, as the Chronos-Cronos is being specified with the first oath. The first oath is a protection/defense/guard of the other (oaths – my add. A. F.), i. e., of the other swearing for putting the creative mechanisms in motion.

OF II 300 = **Theon Smyrnaeus** De utilitate mathematicae 105, 1 Hiller proposes during the 2nd c. AD one reference with three verses and a commentary, as follows: ἡ δὲ ὀγδοάς, ἣτις ἐστὶ πρῶτος κύβος, συντίθεται ἕκ τε μονάδος <καὶ ἐπτάδος>. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ὅκτῶ τοὺς πάντων κρατούντας εἶναι θεοὺς, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ὄρκοις ἔστιν εὐρεῖν·

καὶ μὴν ἀθανάτων γεννήτορας αἰὲν ἑόντων
Πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ Γαίαν τε καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἠδὲ Σελήνην
Ἥελιόν τε Φανὴν τε μέγαν καὶ Νύκτα μέλαιναν.

ἐν δὲ Αἰγυπτιακῇ στήλῃ φησὶν Εὐάνδρος εὐρίσκεσθαι γραφὴν βασιλέως Κρόνου καὶ βασιλίσσης Πέρας.

The Ogdoad is embodied in the eight strongest immortals, which are the Fire, the Water, the Earth, Uranos (the Air), Selene (the Moon), Helios, Phanes and the Black Night. The Ogdoad, which evolves from the Monad, according to Theon, is a paradigmatic example of an Orphic thinking which unfolds the Monad into a Tetrad and the Tetrad in an Ogdoad. Thus the first four gods, who are the four cosmogonic elements Earth–Air–Water–Fire, are personificated by the Great Goddess-Mother in her moony (silvery, sacred mountain-like) identification and by the Son-God. In this way the cosmic movement Light–Darkness in both hemispheres of the cosmic ellipse is thought of. The Son travels over this ellipse divided into two hemispheres – the upper, Apollo's, and the lower, Dionysus' one.

The development of the Monad is supplemented by <καὶ ἑπτὰδος>. This is the level, which is vital in the oral-Orphic interpretation of the cosmic building. The level precedes the Ogdoad (= the birth of the Son's παῖς) with the bloody darkness of the hierogamy, i. e. with the sacrifice at the 7th degree of the Son of the Great Goddess-Mother. The eighth degree is the one where the Son's παῖς, born from the sacred marriage, takes the image of Orpheus, who sees and names the gods. The gods are created in the moment when they, once named, occur in the Socium of the king-priest, teacher and prophet. The act of creation happens in the Orphic oaths (for the mechanism of development of the Tetrad s. ΤΔ 3, 203-293). After Orpheus *swears the gods*, they begin to exist and the Cosmos is put into movement through a logos-oath.

Theon from Smyrna supports the idea of the Ogdoad which develops from the Monad. This idea ascends to the role of the Eight in the initiation in the magical. The idea is contained in the context of the frequently mentioned in PGM "Eighth book of Moses" (s. PGM, XIII; PGMB 172 and n. 2; 175, n. 12; 189, n. 112 for the choice of the number eight in the "Moses' texts"; cf. Fol 2003). West 1983, 33-36 examines Jewish Orphica from the 2nd c. BC when Hellenized Jews make efforts to enlarge the meaning of the Jewish cultural tradition. Moses becomes Musaeus, i. e. – Orpheus' teacher. During the 1st c. BC in this cultural circle people begin to insist that the Greek theology originates from the Bible. The figure of Moses between the 1st and 4th c. AD (Gager 1972) is identified with magus (Gager 1994 with sources and references), whose magic is a "quintessential individual activity" (Gager 1994, 183).

OF, p. 312 adduces an excerpt from **Pap. Berol.** 1 305-312 Pathey:

ὀρκίζω κεφαλὴν τε θεοῦ ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ὀλυμπος·
 ὀρκίζω σφρακίδα (sic) θεοῦ ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄρασις·
 ὀρκίζω χεῖρα δεξιτέραν ἣν κόσμῳ ἐπέσχε·
 ὀρκίζω κρητῆρα θεοῦ πλοῦτον κατέχοντα·
 ὀρκίζω θεὸν αἰώνιον αἰῶνά τε πάντων·

310 ὀρκίζω φύσιν αὐτοφυῆ, κράτιστον Ἀδωναῖ[ον]·
 ὀρκίζω δύνοντα καὶ ἀντέλλοντα Ἐλωαῖ[ον]·
 ὀρκίζω τὰ ἅγια καὶ θεῖα ὀνόματα ταῦτα,

ὅπως ἂν πέμψωσί μοι τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα, καὶ τελέσῃ ἃ ἔχω κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν.

In OF's commentary, p. 312-313 O. Kern cites the publisher, who refers to the "holder of the cosmos" (v. 307) expressions from hymns (**Orphei** Hymni 8. 16.

Quandt of Helios – δέσποτα κόσμου and 34. 14 Quandt of Apollo – πείρατα κόσμου), and the famous excerpt from **Eurip.** Hyppol. 952-955, where Orpheus is successfully called “anax” according to the best Thracian-Mycenaean reminiscence for the pair of Great Goddess-Mother and of her Son, as well as **Eurip.** Hyppol. 1308 for the role of the benevolent oath.

PGM II Hymn 23, p. 262 (An die Allgötter 1) not only adduces v. 305-312, but also v. 298-312 and 342-344, and forms the first hymn, of *All gods*, in the collection (for them s. mainly Jacoby 1930). The hymn compiled by K. Preisendanz says:

Δέσποτα, Παρνασσὸν λίπ' ὄρος καὶ Δελφίδα Πυθῶ ἐμετέρων ἱερῶν στομάτων ἄφθεγκτα λαλούντων, ἄγγελε πρῶτε θεοῦ, Ζηνὸς μέγαλοιο, Ἰάω,	300
καὶ σὲ τὸν οὐράνιον κόσμον κατέχοντα, Μιχαήλ, καὶ σὲ καλῶ, Γαβριήλ, πρωτάγγελε, δεῦρ' ἀπ' Ἰόλυμπου, ἀντολίης Ἀβρααμῆς κεχαρημένος, ἴλαος ἔλθοις, ὃς δύσιν ἀντολίηθεν ἐπισκοπιάζῃ, Ἀδωναί. πάσα φύσις τρομέει σε, πάτερ κόσμοιο, Πακερβήθ.	
ὀρκίζω κεφαλὴν τε θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ἰόλυμπος, ὀρκίζω σφραγίδα θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄρασις,	305
ὀρκίζω χεῖρα δεξιτερῆν, ἣν κόσμῳ ἐπίσχεις, ὀρκίζω κρητήρα θεοῦ πλοῦτον κατέχοντα, ὀρκίζω θεὸν Αἰώνων Αἰῶνα τε πάντων, ὀρκίζω Φύσιν αὐτοφυῆ <τε> κράτιστον Ἀδωναί,	310
ὀρκίζω δύνοντα καὶ ἀντέλλοντ' Ἐλωαῖον, ὀρκίζω <τε> τὸ πῦρ τὸ φανὲν πρώτως ἐν ἀβύσσῳ,	343
ὀρκίζω τὴν σὴν δύναμιν τὴν πάσι μεγίστην, ὀρκίζω φθείροντα θεὸν μέχρι ἸΑἴδος εἶσω.	345

O. Kern has not added the three last verses from PGM II, p. 262, but their Orphic character is not doubtful.

A FORMULA FOR KATABASIS

The magic force of the speech is noticed by Tambiah 1968 and 1985, 17-59 (cf. also Graf 1999², 16, 205-233; Frankfurter 1994; Versnel 2002) concluding that most verbs describe “an external act of utterance”, but there are “performative verbs for which the act of utterance constitutes the very carrying out of the

utterance: in saying “I swear, I am performing the oath”. However, such a direct influence is not exercised only by the “performative verbs”, but also by theonyms, which obtain a meaning in the logos and function in the sacred action. This conjecture for the Hellenic religiousness is made by I. Malkin, according to whom Zeus, Poseidon and Hera are not Greek gods, as Heracles is not a Greek hero. This seems not to give birth to any misunderstandings, as for the Greek “religion was a *langue*, the names of the gods formed its *paroles* (Malkin 2002, 130). The theonyms – terms and functions – and the verbs, which “do”, give Hermes’ logos mind, senses and speed by revealing the preserved tradition in Suda (s. the chapter “Prophet of the logos”).

The logos transforms naming into a being. Taking into consideration that the naming-being is equal to a magic procedure (s. ΤΔ 3, 104-137), the general meaning of the Orphic μαγεία is an accomplished doctrinal-ritual contact with the god, thought through sacred naming (for the “barbarian names” with magical force s. ΤΔ 3, 322-355).

Ὁ λόγος ὁ Ὀρφαϊκὸς can be understood fairly well from PGM XIII, which represents a sacred book from 1077 lines in XXV columns under the title ΘΕΟΙ· | ΘΕΟΙ· | Βίβλος ἱερὰ ἐπικαλουμένη Μονὰς ἢ Ὀγδοὴ Μοῦσέως, or “God | Gods: | Sacred book, called The One and Only of Itself (cf. the translation “Unique” of Morton Smith in PGMB, 172), or “Eighth (book) of Moses” (s. PGMB 172, n. 2 for Μόνως, or for the Pythagorean, later – the Platonic Monad, also PGMB 175, n. 12 and 189-190, n. 112 for the choice of the number 8 in “Moses” texts from the magical papyri). The recording of PGM XIII is dated in the 4th c. AD, but after Constantine the Great’s time (PGM II. 86 and PGMB 172, n. 2).

This papyrus contains Orphico-magical formulas. Some of them are ascribed to the “Orpheus the theologian” (PGM XIII. 934-936), i. e. to the “discoverer of the god, describer of the god, creator of the god”, to the Orpheus in the Neo-platonic sense of the word, and to Erotylos. In Suppl. Mag. II 96 A 24 (papyrus from 5th-6th c. AD, unknown place of discovery), the word ηρωτυλος has the possible reconstruction Ἐρώτυλος/Ἐρότυλος (s. Suppl. Mag. II 96 A, p. 243 with commentary of other interpretations, especially of PGMB, 318 with n. 9 for “sweetheart”, “darling”, suitable for the beginning of love-charm). Except in OF I 235 = PGM XIII. 946-953, this writer is probably being mentioned by Zosimus (s. Suppl. Mag. II 96 A, p. 243 with references; PGMB, 334 – with the possibilities of identification).

The Orphico-magical formulas force the divine power to commit the sacred action demanded by the organizer of the magical ritual. The formula, hidden in the groups of letters of ἐφέσια γράμματα = ὁ λόγος ὁ Ὀρφαϊκός (for the magical formulas ascribed to Orpheus in PGM with parallels of the Orphic hymns s. also Morand 2001, 86-90), say according to PGM LXX. 12-13: Ἄσκει κατασκευεῖ εἶρων οἰῶν ἰωρ μεγά σεμνυη | βαυῖ γ', φοβαντία, σεμνή. The abbreviated version is registered in PGM VII. 451, where Ἄσκει καὶ (?) τασκεῖ stays (s. PGMB, 130 with n. 62, who considers the origin and the meaning of the formula as “mystery”).

PGM LXX represents a “swearing Hecate-Ereshigal” against fear of punishment, and contains liturgical traces from the honoring of the Idaean Dactyles. The papyrus is examined in detail by Betz 1980 (cf. also PGMB, 297-298), who notices in it an Orphic katabasis ritual. The decoding of the formula can begin with PGM LXX. 13-15, where the text says: τετέ[λ]εσμαι καὶ εἰς μέγαρον κατέ[β]η Δακτύλων | καὶ [τ]ὰ ἄλλα εἶδον κάτω, παρθένος, κύων, | καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα. These words concern the person initiated, who will tell the remaining “down”, i. e., he will finish naming Ereshigal δράκαινα, στέμμα, κλειε, κηρύκειον, [τ]ῆς ταρταρούχου χρύσειον τὸ κάλυδον (PGM LXX. 10-11). In PGM LXX. 20 Brimō appears. Brimō is equalized with Hecate and Ereshigal.

The person initiated turns towards himself with the spell formula (in PGM LXX, 12-13), which can be decoded as follows: “*Honor* (s. ἄσκέω in **Pind.** Pyth. 3. 109 and Ol. 8. 22 Maehler-Snell which means honoring a god) *and honor down there* (in the mystical crypt) *the eros* (s. ἔρων = acc. ἔρωτα *of the mountains* ὄρεων, of the womb of the Great Goddess-Mother Earth) *ιωρ (?) the great sacral charismatic* (ἦρ = ἦρα = χάρις; cf. **Ps. Orphei** Lith. 763, Abel: ἦρα κομίζεις; cf. ἦρι in OF II 238₁ with the different readings ἐρι/ιτερα in OF, p. 251), *bark three times* (to name the divine female dog Ereshigal – cf. OF II 224 b₅ = **Procl.** in Plat. Rempubl. II 338, 10 Kroll, where it reads αὖ κύνεόν τέ δέμας φωνῆ τε βαρεία, *causing fear* (for φοβαντία cf. OF II 58, v. 4 for φοβεροῖο δράκοντος; φοιβάντρα s. in PGM II. 202, which would be made by Φοῖβος and would mean a divination function), *sacred* (δαίμονα σεμνὸν in OF II 85, v. 1) or, in another version – “honor and honor in the crypt the conception of the mountains of Ereshigal who is sacral charismatic, causing fear, sacred”. The ritual plans swearing the Great Goddess-Mother in the crypt (in the mountain womb), where the conception (of the Son) takes place in the presence of the male origin (the Eros). The text corresponds to an invocation in an Orphic hymn.

After the pronunciation of the formula, the magic scenario includes the “descending down there”, where the initiated person is mandated to tell everything about Ereshigal-Hecate-Brimò, i. e., to list the transformations of the Goddess.

The combination of Hecate with Brimò produces an impressive oral-Orphic chthonic personification (s. Betz 1980, 294 with n. 41 about the Thessalian Hecate-Brimò). Hecate, who is associated with the so called initial goddess-mothers in Thrace – “perhaps called Kotys, Semele, Bendis and/or Brimo and identified with Leto” (von Rudloff 1999, 47), – is connected also with the solar alternative of the Son, with Apollo Didymus and with Delphic Apollo. In PGM Brimò, the great chthonic goddess, is mentioned multiple times (s. TД 3, 185 about Brimò as one of the symbols in the text of the Orphic goldlamella from Pherae, Thessally; cf. PGMB, 333 with references about Brimò as an epithet of Artemis from the Thessalian Pherae and for the six-fold mention of the goddess in PGM). “The angry, muttering, awful” Brimò occurs among “sacred names” in a moon spell (PGM IV. 2291 – PHORBA BRIMŌ) and in a love spell (PGM IV. 2965 – PHORBA BRIMŌ). She is known also from the Orphic katabasis formula in PGM LXX. 20 – PHORBA PHORBA BRIMŌ AZZIEBYA.

DEMONIZATION

The demons are a dynamic and multifaceted personification of the change of the cosmogonic, theogonic and doctrinal-ritual perspective. For the acceptable understanding of the Orphic, i. e., of the Indo-Iranian Thracian demonization (TД 3, 203-268), I would like to dare attach a relatively long excerpts from a mid-Persian text (9th c.) with a commentary (Bishop 1987, 95-100).

The title of the work is “Shkand-Gumanig Wizar” or “The Doubt-Dispelling Interpretation” (according to Zachner 1956, 64-65). This mid-Persian text insists that “It is obvious that things that are (dissimilar in substance) cannot exist in one place. If all things were one, this one would be nameless, for it is only through the possession of a name that one thing can be distinguished from another. That evil is principally distinct from good can be inferred from the fact that neither is the cause of the other. That each exists in and by its own essence is proved by the eternal antagonism and opposition between the two ... There never has been nor will there be anything which is neither good nor evil nor a mixture of the two. Thus it is abundantly clear that there are two first principles, not more, and that

good cannot arise from evil nor evil from good... If God is perfect in goodness and knowledge, plainly ignorance and evil cannot proceed from Him; or if it can, then he is not perfect; and if he is not perfect, then he should not be worshipped as God or as perfectly good.”

The text is written at least 1900 years after Zoroaster and contains elements of oral, doctrinal-ritual Orphism.

Such components can be noticed in Yasna 30 from the “Gathas” (Bishop 1987, 95-96):

1. ...
2. Listen with your ears to the best things; Examine with a lucid mind one two choices for decision which every man must make for himself being ready to declare yourselves to Him before the final Test.
3. There were two primeval spirits twins renowned to be in conflict; one good, the other evil in thought, word and deed. Between them the wise choose rightly; not so the ignorant.
4. When those two spirits came together at the beginning, they created Life and Non-life, so that at the end the worst existence will be for the Lie-followers; and the Best Mind will be for the righteous.
5. ...
6. Between the two, the daēvas did not choose correctly, for deception came upon them while they were deliberating. For they chose the worst intention, then they rushed together in fury with which they afflict this mortal existence.

The commentary (Bishop 1987, 97) supports that when daēvas were deceived, chose to afflict the world with fury, i. e., with a demon who is called “he of the bloody club” and has two potent times – the time of first things (paourvim) and the end time (apemen). Did Ahura Mazda and the “transforming of the (Vedic – my add. A. F.) daēvas into demons (-monsters) didn’t happen before Zoroaster? Boyce’s 1975, 192 affirmative answer, who established Ahuric triad from Ashura Medha, Mithras and Varuna-Apam Napat, permits us to think about the pre-literary Indo-Iranian concept for the divinely protected demons-mediators between the mortals and the immortals, i. e. about daēvas – the free Orphic energy identifications. They remain with these qualities in the oral faith-ritualism, while in an Indo-Iranian environment they obtain the signs of Evil, despite the luminous Mithraic religiousness. The Indo-Iranian environment begins to canonize itself before the 6th c. BC, and the signs of Evil are necessary in the Zoroastrian doctrine. This transition ends in Yasna 32, who treats the demons with “bad intention, lies

and perversity” – “the daēva-lovers ... disappear from the Lord Wisdom and from truth ... In this way you have led men astray from the good life and immortality (Bishop 1987, 98-99).

This type of daēvas is an Iranian category, which establishes the transforming of daēva from a god into a demon (an evil character, a monster). Whereas in Zoroaster’s poetry, the daēvas’s “worsening” may be considered more as an “element of spiritualization”, by the magi such a softening of the sharp contrast is lacking. They are overly busy with “physical purity and the extirpation of the agents of corruptions”, which gives their teaching a training character. This outer side of the teaching deprives the spiritual side.

The gods and the demons (the evil forces) do not, however, oppose each other as bearers of Good and Evil. Bishop 1987, 100 concludes that monotheism does not refute the term “dualism”. “The God and the Devil” are not two equal principles, as the honoring of the Devil is the biggest sin. The two principles always exist, but the gods’ choice to become demons evokes an existence which has to be thought over through the demons themselves when they become powerless at the final victory of the Master-Wisdom.

The refined speculative interpretation, which “frees from doubt”, as is suggested in the title of the work, is not an obligatory measure for the doctrinal-ritual oral Orphism, because its gods (which are becoming demons-mediators, and the demons-mediators becoming gods) are not universal pantocrators. They are sought and achieved only by initiated people. Those people are unreachable by the spiritual evil, because in the oral faith the value’s obstacle does not consist of defending the Good against an implicated enemy-destroyer. The Orphic value’s obstacle surmounts the perishable because of rendering to the imperishable.

The surrendering to the imperishable – the overcoming of the Orphic value’s obstacle – is adequately defined with *μυεῖν*, thankfully to **Greg. Nazian.** *Contra Julianem imperatorem* 1(= 4) MPG (= Bernardi 1983). The rhetorical question towards emperor Julian the Apostate, *αὐτὸ δὲ πόθεν σοι τὸ μυεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ μυεῖν καὶ τὸ θρησκεύειν? οὐ παρὰ Θρακῶν?* or “How come you are to be initiated in the mysteries and to be able to initiate and to treskeuein”. The answer is written down – “isn’t it from the Thracians?” (TJ 3, 256). Lamagna 1999, 230-231 with n. 3-7, 232, 239, 241, for whom the Orphic mysteries and the Dionysus’ orgies are two sides of the Thracian religiousness, adduces other sources to support

the data. The most important ones are **Greg. Nazian.** Carm. Mor. I 2, 34, 149-152 MPG and **Greg. Nazian.** Orat. 39, 5 MPG.

The individual mysterial initiation distinguishes itself with no doubt from the Dionysus' mysteries, but it connects with them in a single Orphic faith. *Τὸ μυεῖν καὶ τὸ θρησκεύειν* by Gregorius Nazianzenus determines the double quality of the Orphic faith-teaching. Both co-being of this faith-teaching are possible because of the 'demons' race", to use the expression of **Plut.** Mor. 415A Ziegler (TД 3, 255-258). For Plutarchus it doesn't matter whether this is because of the Magi, because of Zoroaster or because of the Thracian Orpheus, the Egyptians or the Phrygians (cf. Campbell L. A. 1968, 4G12, N. 12). The eudemonic, "happydemon-like", magical Thracian Orphic faith-hope, which is not ethnic, but a spiritual-behavior achievement of ethnos societies, obtains, this outlook providing, the function of one of the shaping kernels in the oral culture of the Eastern Mediterranean.

This characteristics was anticipated to a high degree by Grégoire 1948 (cf. TД 3, 256-257. "Que serait, en effet, la religion grecque sans les apports de la Thrace?" – says H. Grégoire's main statement. For him, the Thracians are "religious creatures" like the Thessalians. The Thessalians' name originates from **τασθαλος* meaning "pious". Thessaly's reputation as a place of witchcraft and wizardry is known as early as from Aristophanes' "The Clouds". The same statement is supported by Plutarchus, Plautus, Horace, Apuleius, Claudianus, and other authors. "The Masters of religion and magic", the Thracians and the Thessalians are the most manifested of the oral Thracian Orphism with its Apollonian and Dionysian levels. Those levels originate in Thessaly, Boeotia and Phocis , as I tried to show in TO.

The ecstatic initiation is *μυεῖν*, and the enthusiasmic divine obsession is *θρησκεύειν*.

THE NINE LANGUAGES OF NAMING

There are nine languages used in the magical ritual communication. This communication is done and takes place only if the nine of them are thought in Cyclical and Doctrinal time, in the spaces of co-experiencing and of the relying on the spiritual energy. Each one of the nine languages contains an open and a hidden way of expression. The open way is the one of the herald, of the teacher/magus, the

hidden one – of the God. The nine languages do not describe. They exemplify *the image, the name, the number, the tone, the material, the form, the color, the movement and the function* according to the model of Herodotus' and the Samothracian's Orphic Tetrad (ТД 3, 269-293).

The image of the Great Goddess-mother with the name Artemis / Aksiokersa / Queen / Ruler is put into the numbers-essences from 1 until 4. These numbers signify the repose, the self-conception, the carrying of the Son and his birth. They sound at the tones re-mi-fa-sol. The material of this image is the Earth-Mountain with silver ore, the color is black, its orgiastic movement is rhythmized by the tympan, and its function is cosmogonic.

The image of the Son-Paredros called Dionysus / Aksieros, which associates its duality with Apollo / Helios, is contained in the numbers 5, 6 and 7. They signify the going up to the zenith, the circling/putting into movement of the two hemispheres of the Cosmos and the hierogamy. The three levels/degrees sound on sol-la-si (in the simplified musical space without semitones) and are associated with the fiery-solar material, with the gold, and with the form of the cosmic axis. The color naming of the Son-Paredros is the red coloration of the hierogamic death and the white coloration of his new birth. The movement of the god is led by wooden instruments in the chthonic metamorphose and from string instruments in the solar one. His function is to die in a sacred marriage with the Great Goddess-Mother, to inseminate the cave-womb with his blood and to be born again for the next cosmic cycle.

The image of païs of the Son-Paredros is the god/anthropodemon with names Ares / Axiokersos / Orpheus / Rhesus / Zalmoxis. He was born from the hierogamy (the Heptad), and enters his high rank and immortalizes himself doctrinally in the number sequence Ogdoad, Enead and Decade. It can be assumed that the numbers-essences sound (in a simplified musical space) as do, re and mi. The named image of the energy's immortality of the believer inhabits a cave-womb (a crypt) where his anthropodemon-like form is marked with the colors of the noble ore metals. His movement is aimed by the tempo of the cymbals, from the resound of the weapons and from the jingling decoration of the horse and the rider. The movement is thought in the social, and in the ritual-doctrinal reality as an execution of the function of païs. This function requires a self-sacrifice in order to achieve the death-new birth Beyond, and to establish the beginning of the new social cycle.

The image of the all-creating sacred logos has the name of Hermes and the number correspondence in the Monad, developed to the Decade of the completed building of the Cosmos. Hermes resounds in all tones of the lyre created by him (four- or seven-strung). The material of the prophet of the logos are the words born by the mind and by the feelings, the words with wings. The prophet's form is the cypress-like, rhombic form, his colors – white and green – are the colors of life after death. The movement of the secret logos is spiritualized from the four- or seven-string lyre, and is equal to the execution of Hermes' function – the ithyphallic principle is an intercourse between the worlds and guarantees the connection between the Upper and the Lower Earth during the Middle one – this of our obstacles.

Relicts from the doctrinal-ritual Orphic magica have been preserved also in Suppl. Mag. 1 49, which represents an 83-line papyrus with an erotic charm from Oxyrhynchus, dated in the 2nd-3rd c. AD. One part from the excerpts, which interests me (lines 65-73 – cf. Suppl. Mag. I, p. 203), says:

64 ... “ασκι κατὰ κκι[ερῶν]
 65 ὀρέων μελαναυγία χῶρον <Περσεφόνης> ἐκ κήπου [ἄγει προς ἄ-]
 66 μυλγον ἀνάγκης τὴν τετραβάμονα π[αῖς ἀγίην Δή-]
 67 μητρος(ς) ὀπ[η]δῶν, ἔξ ἀμακαντορήας [ναμοῦ θα-]
 68 λεροῖο γ[ά]λακτος, θεομενον < > λαμπάδος ἰνωδί[α]
 69 Ἐκάτη φρεικῶιδι φωνῆ βαρβαρεον κράζουσα θεὰ
 70 [2- 3]ν ἡγεμονεύεις. νύξ, ἔρεβον σκότιον, ἐών,
 71 φάος, Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή, ἐξετωνεπε τετραβάμων δορκ[]
 72 πασαεα καιετῶ ἀγαλλομένη Ἄφροδίτη, Περσεφονίη, φορβη
 73 ιωχαρις οιωαιαιω πρόσκοπη ιωδαμασεα.” φύλαξον ἄλυ-
 74 τον τὸν κατὰ(τα)δεζμον τοῦτον εἰς αἰῶνα· βαρφο[ρ 1- 2?]
 75 φορβα φορ φορβα φορβα φορβα φορβα φορβα β[ορ-]
 76 [φορβα φορβα φαβη φορφορ φορφορ· ἄξ[ον,]

The English translation is according to Suppl. Mag. 1 49.
 “Aski (= “go”) under the shadowy mountains at the milking from the garden (of Persephone) the child leads of necessity in the dark-gleaming land the holy four-footed servant of Demeter, the goat with her ceaseless flow of rich milk, demanding (?) ... torches for (?) Hecate of the cross-roads (and?) with a terrible voice the shouting goddess leads the stranger (?) to the god. Night, obscure Erebus, eternity, light, pure Artemis ... four-footed deer (?) Aphrodite delighting in her girdle, Persephoneia, phorbê shooter of arrows οἰδαίαιδ provident iōdamasea”.

Keep this binding charm indissoluble forever: bôprphôr phorba phor phorba phôrbôr phorba phorba bor phorba phorba phabeê phôprphôr phôprphôr. Drive ...”.

Apollo-the Wolf appears in Suppl. Mag. I 34, in a papyrus with three sections, 9, 8 and 7 lines each. It is dated to the 6th c. The place of discovery is unknown.

A	+ B +	+ C
1 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς	Ἡριχθονιη	λύκος λευ-
θερα-	ριχθονιη	κός, λύκος λευ-
πέυει	ιχθονιη	κός, λύκος λευ-
4 τὸ ῥίγος	χθονιη	κὸς θεραπευ-
καὶ τὸν	θονιη	κάτω τὸ ῥίγο-
πυρετὸν	νιη	πύρετον Ἰωσήφ.
7 καὶ πᾶσαν	ιη	ταχέουσι <++
8 νόσον τοῦ	η	
9 σώματος Ἰωσήφ τοῦ φοροῦν-		

In the commentary in Suppl. Mag. I, p. 101 the white wolf is associated with Horus and with Apollo, both of whom become syncretised (cf. the same in Mayer – Smith 1994, 37 with one line more in the second column, because of the spelling of ονιη). Apollo and the Wolf are honored as a Sun in Lycopolis during Late Antiquity. Jesus Christ, equalized with Apollo-the Wolf, with the white hyperborean Apollo, is the healer of Joseph, who is initiated in the Faith and heals each sickness of his body. Such a healer-initiator is also Apollo.

The summoning of Apollo-the Wolf is an episode from the big magical mystery drama with the main character being the uranic-solar image of the Son. A scene of this drama is acted out in Suppl. Mag. II 87 (= PGMB, CV), a papyrus with an unknown place of discovery, dated to the 3rd-4th c.AD. The upper part of the column contains a hymn of a great god (Sarapis ?). The preserved lines say:

- 1 ὅπ[] ὅλων ἀναφανεῖς κ[
αἰώ[ν]ι[ο]ν φύειν, ὁ ἀκάματ[ο]ς ο [
ὁ τῆς μεσημβρίας δ[] γ[] με[]
4 φύλ[α]ξ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, κύριε πα[]
ἄγνωστε, ὃν καθαρᾶ ψυχῇ ἐγὼ ο[]
νοσ[] σε ἀγιαστί· εἴλεός μοι γεν[οῦ]

Ζ[ε]ϋ Ιαω Ζήν Ἥλιε ιουε[
 8 κανβαλχανβαλ θανωαμα[
 χωχ ἴνα εἰπ[. .] [. .] θεῶν [
 Αωτ Αβαωτ· βακυμ[α]κ Αβαωθ Ιαω?
 Ιαβωκ· ἰάκουσον μου, τοῦ δεῖνα[
 12 ωρου ωρου ωρου· αε ιαια [
 [] ουω ιυαση ιαωα [[ει]] [
 θεός, ὁ προπάτωρ θεός, ὁ [
 τήν οἰκουμένη[ην]. [. . .] [

In the hymn the god is named this one, who occurs before all other things, according to his eternal nature ..., who is in his zenith ... guardian. He is sworn as an omnipotent master, an unknown, with a clean soul, towards whom one sends the prayer for benevolence. The forms of address Zeus, Iao, Helios, Sabaoth, Jacob occur, as well as the naming primary god-father, who illuminates the entire inhabited world.

The language of the substance of the Great Goddess-Mother and of her Son-Paredros is contained in τετραξ, in the Tetrad from Ephesia grammata. This language is hinted in ασκι κατασκει from the beginning of the spell password, which in Suppl. Mag. I 49, v. 6 is read ασκι κατὰ κει[ερῶν]. The order for descending (to perform a katabasis) directs to the shadowy mountain, i. e., to the darkness of the cave-womb, where all realities of the Orphic gods-paredroi will begin to live their mysterial life and where the horrid phorba will be heard. It is the appeal of the images-names of the Great Goddess-Mother.

Ασκι leads the believer towards the hidden Orphic knowledge – the *katabasis is anabasis, the descend is a raising*. The pronunciation of voces magicae brings up the question whether they are senseless sounds, relicts from unknown foreign languages or languages, corrupted by “perfectly normal languages” (Vernsel 2002, 141). In the theurgy voces magicae serve for “the god to be shown” (Vernsel 2002, 116 with n. 34). The synchronizing of the consonances is probably a hidden naming of cosmic forces in the same way in which the seven planets or the seven archangels would be announced with the seven vowels of the ancient Greek language (Vernsel 2002, 115 with n. 30; for the ritual of the heptagram cf. e PGM XIII. 824-840 = PGMB, 191), the spreading of which was defined in PGM V. 24-30 = PGMB, 101-102.

THE KING-AIÒN

The magical Orphic faith is not carried by Hellenic mytho-legendary figures, because the high literariness, as well as the initiatory formula of the border with orality, cannot ascribe “low” or “foreign” qualities. The Greek polis society does not have the need to “make” some Greek a sorcerer, charmer, wizard, magician, conjurer, witch, but the Hellenic hero of the myth has the right to receive magical help. For this reason Aphrodite gives to Jason ἰὺγξ (a “raging” bird tied to a wheel) and teaches him love-epodài (**Pind.** Pyth. 4. 213-218 Maehler with text, translation and commentary in TД 3, 129). This excerpt is commented by Faraone 1993 and 1999, 6-9, 24-28, 56-69, 135-138, 151-161, who adds to ἰὺγξ the wheel, the whip and other tools for torture and erotic magic (cf. Graf 1999²: 92-93 with n. 18 and 179-180 with n. 11 for magical instruments, depicted on Athenian vase-painting from the 5th c. BC and produced as golden earrings from the 4th c. BC).

The forcing and even the subjugating of the divine, achieved with epodài is an Orphic trust. Graf 1999², 91 and n. 11 stands very close to this conclusion, but it seems he is convinced that he won't risk if he does it? Fr. Graf does not define the “magical” Orphism as an oral one, despite sources for Zalmoxis which he processes (s. TД 3, 131-135). According to the “ritual of magicians”, Zalmoxis hid in a basement chamber for magic, where he taught with epodài. He wanted to prove to his “fellow Scythians citizens” (sic ?) “that there existed a life after death”. The prove repeated Pythagoras' prove. Pythagoras hides for a certain amount of time in a small basement room and returned from there as if returning from death. He, however, was well informed what happened in the meantime on earth from the Mother – “a figure curiously parallel to Isis”. In the doctrinal Orphic metaphor the Teacher is led in the secrecy of immortality from the Great Goddess-Mother herself. This deed is presented on a Thracian royal golden and silvery Orphic objects, but the image is named as early as the Minoan period on the island of Crete, where it had been documented multiple times. The name Isis is a doubtless supreme female god-paredros. Also for the initiated Orphics, for whom the *finding out of the name* is one of the main mysterial rituals (with an Egyptian origin). The finding out of the name is tèchne of the participant in the mysterial drama, who uses ὀνόματα βαρβαρικά, unvoiced in ancient Greek. The ὀνόματα βαρβαρικά are divine naming of a foreign, secret (Thracian?) language. The transition to this initiation is thought-of in a crypt, cave, mysterial hall, “Zalmoxis' home”, which are doors leading to Beyond.

The force putting the Cosmos into movement is the god Son-Fire-King. This character cannot be thought-of and even less situated in the polis, during either period after the 8th c. BC and later. He occurs in the atmosphere of religiousness, of εὐσέβεια, which is typical for well-organized and centralized ethnos. In ethnos functions the king-priest-teacher, who is emblematic for the ethnos society from the time of its spiritual flourish during the 5th and until the end of the 4th c. BC in South-Eastern Europe, mainly in Macedonia and Thrace.

When the King is summoned, he is thought-of as a powerful demon, as a supremacy, as a Αἰὼν. *The King is god of the gods and forever Αἰὼν* (cf. the translations in Graf 1999², 81 and n. 43 and PGMB, 7 = PGM 1, 164-166). Αἰὼν, in the early Greek meaning, is “a living force, (the entire) life”. Added to Cosmos, the word begins to mean “the unending” (Cosmos), i. e., eternity. This is the meaning of Αἰὼν in **Plat.** Tim. 37d Burnet and **Arist.** De caelo 279a 23-8 Moreaux, thanks to whom the mysterial-initiational character of the naming itself was completely clarified (s. Syll.³ 1125 inscription from Eleusis 1st c. BC – 1 c. AD under a statue of Αἰὼν. The statue glorifies Rome and the continuation of the mysteries; for the god with lion head of Mithraism from the Αἰὼν type LIMC I, 399-411 M. le Glay; Beck 1984; Festugière 4 (1954), 152-199). It seems that Αἰὼν becomes a main idea/image of the magical faith, when it occurs as a theonym on goldlamella in Egypt (PGMB, 61) and gradually covers the unnamed imagery of Helios with Horus–Heros–Heron as well as the combined Helioros.

In PGM I. 164-166 (= PGMB, 7) the king is a powerful demon, whom the magus reaches as his paredros, helper and assistant. The king is “god of the gods”, because he is Αἰὼν, a “firmly established” (cf. Graf 1999², 81 with n. 43). An important combination between Αἰὼν and φύλαξ occurs in the 10-line phylacterion on the goldlamella from Amphipolis, 2nd-3rd c. AD, which is now in the British museum (Zuntz 1971, 279-281). The lamella contains a spell for protecting some person by each male and female demon. It ends with the address in lines 9-10 ... ἄγιε θεὲ ἁγίων μόνος αἰώνων φύλαξε. | ΙΓΓΔΧΡSΑΤΑΝ (text, translation and commentary in Kotansky 1994, No. 38 with p. 206-210). The reading “O holy god of the Holy (Ones), only guardian of Aions” on line 9 is compared with PGM IV. 3066 where the text in translation says: “I conjure you by the one who, from the Holy Aeons, stirs together the four winds” (Kotansky 1994, 210; cf. Kotansky 1994, No. 28, p. 111-117, and especially p. 115 for Αἰὼν from a goldlamella, Augustus’ time, Rome, which is now in the Cabinet des Médailles of the National Library in Paris). The king, who is the god-sun, is also a guardian. He is depicted

with figures, with the four winds on the Modena's relief The king-sun is textually confirmed in a magical spell.

The magus *reaches the king-master, god of the gods* with categories of meanings from the nine languages of naming.

TRUE, IF IT IS BELIEVED

The magical Orphism does not rely on the vision of the evil demons, contrary to early Christianity. The Orphic magic does not need to overcome Evil to reach the level of the King-Aiōn with victory of the perfect knowledge, because of the condition for the inevitable doctrinal-ritual value's obstacle. The perfect knowledge awakes itself through a password while remembering.

The theurgy, which Iamblichus values more than theology, does not have anything in common with the "horizontal sympathy" (with wizardry, *goetia*), but uses the "vertical possibility" to "ascend the soul towards the primary source". The theurgical ritual is done thanks to the symbols, of the passwords for communication "between the different classes of the being and of the divine". The symbols – the material ones (songs, dances, spells, hieroglyphs) and the superior poetic ones – play the role of passwords. According to Iamblichus, "the barbarian names and terms" must not be translated in Greek... I think that the theurgic priority of the naming with "barbarian names" consists in the linking of τὸ σύμβολον ("the sign for bringing two faces closer together and recognizing them" – s. **Eurip.** *Med.* 613 Murray) with τὸ ἄγαλμα and with "co-seeing", as is τὸ σύνθημα / σύνθεμα (the second form is a late one).

Σύμβολον or each of the two halves of the united whole, is the prove of identity of the other person/thing as a part of the Whole/Good/Entirety (s. for the Dionysus' symbols the Gurob papyrus in TD 1, No. 9). The symbol is a tangible material, a link (connection) with the gods, a sacred object-mediator, which fuses the mysterially initiated person with the god via the notion that the other half of the tangibility of the object-mediator is "in the god", who expects a sympathetic binding.

Ἄγαλμα, who originates from ἀγάλλω with the meaning of "glorify", is a gift to a god, statue for honoring a god, in which the divine light can enter. According to the Egyptian notion, the image is made for the god to occur in it and

to sojourn in it. In the ancient Greek thinking, ἄγαλμα is an image of a god, whereas εἶκων – an image of a human, i. e., a portrait.

Σύνθημα/σύνθεμα is the utterance of the link human-god in a spelling form. For this reason, the synthema are “the other sides” of the ἄγαλμα and of the symbol and this is because the “co-seeing”/“joint seeing” contain the naming. In this way the synthema can become equal in meaning to the divine names, but only in a purely speculative way – the human verbal formalization, regardless of how insightful when it names, is not capable of “unveiling Isis’ face covered with a veil”, in the wonderful vision of **Plot.** Enn. VI 9. 11 Broecheier.

In the “co-state of seeing” the Monad creates the Whole/Good/Entirety or the United (Ἔν) can be examined by Νοῦς, who, if he wants to think the Beyond according to himself, probably is multiple (**Plot.** Enn. V. 3. 11 Broecheier; for the three hypostases Ἔν-Νοῦς-Ψυχή in **Plot.** Enn. V 1. 10 Broecheier; cf. Лосев 2000 = 1988, 363-373). The idea of development in multiple is embodied in numbers from 1 to 10 because, after the decade, their order must only be repeated and, according to the supposed teaching of Pythagoras, the order begins to sound in tones, but continues to be expressed in the other languages from the nine ones.

The numbers-essences, which resound, do not create, however, any kinds of images. They co-contain the images Earth–Air–Fire–Water, i. e., the cosmogonic Tetrad-model as a given, but not as an accomplished deed. The accomplishment begins with the Fire’s metamorphosis to a Sun, which sets the two hemispheres of the Cosmos into movements and begins to die out/set and ablaze/go up, i. e. to die and be re-born in a cyclical, “Egyptian” way – every day. In such a way the naming with a numbers/essence/tone/image set the “seen Universe” in a sacred act.

The images, however, are not only identifications, but also personifications, which is why the Tetrad-module occurs as a graded of the consequence of the putting into movement of the cosmogonic and the mythological model. The sequence is not in a Linear time, despite that it looks like it at a first glance. The sequence constantly becomes and constantly returns towards its beginning degree, towards the Monad. Otherwise said, the sequence co-happens in the Mythological and in the Cyclical time (ТД 3, 15-23).

The personifications in the cosmogonical and in the mythological model are the Great Goddess-Mother – Son, who occur in different doctrinally Orphic

theonyms in order to be named different manifestations-parts of their essences. As long as the cosmogony and the putting in motion by the sacred logos are thought-of/believed-in, the imagery continues to be personificized, however on an initiational-prophetic level where the collective image of the king-ruler-teacher-prophet-magus Orpheus occurs.

Orpheus' appearance forms obligatorily the religious model woven into the ethnos oral Orphism most suitable for it. In this co-state, the birth and the death of the Son in his hierogamy are thought-of/believed also as a hierogamic creation of the bearer of the Faith, of the offspring, of païs, who consequently died and is born again after he organizes the society. In this situation the language of the images passes into a language of the action-duty, of the ritual.

The sacred orality clarifies the naming of the Son and of his païs from the fifth degree with the Son/Helios/Apollo/Sabazius, and continue onto the sixth degree with Apollo/Dionysus, onto the seventh with Dionysus/Zagreus, onto the eighth with Ares, onto the ninth with païs of the Son according to Kotys' inscription on the silver jug No. 112 from the Rogozen treasure (TД 3, 184 and 326) and onto the 10th with the dismembered Orpheus (s. TД 3, 258-260 for this scene in the Attic red-figured vase-painting).

Païs' naming is contained in the naming of the gods-paredroi. The most eloquent of them seem to be the two spears, the rython, the phiale, the ring and/or the crown for initiation, the krateres, the kantharoi, the jugs for libation "drop after drop" (for this technique s. TД 3, 341). Païs' mysterially-initiational function is seen in Eleusis (Clinton 1974, 98-114; Clinton 1988, 70). The selection of παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας is an old custom in Athens, documented in an inscription from around 460 BC. The archont-basileus, who is one of the most archaic institutional personifications, selects each year a païs with a lottery. The païs will lead the group παῖδες ἀφ' ἐστίας and will be leading the procession from Athens to Eleusis.

The Orphic sacred logos' naming, which serves itself with the nine languages, covers the singularity and the transitions towards plurality with terminological instrumentation of the symbola-agalmata-synthemata. However, in the Orphic-magical theurgic ritual practice, the instrumentation can in the utmost be judged as a written Neo-platonic practice of qualified observers of sacred acts during the period of the late paganism.

RIDDLES AND ANSWERS

In SEG 27, 226 bis is published an Orphic goldlamella, owned by the Paul Getty Museum, which may originate from Thessaly:

ΔΙΨΑΙΑΥΟCEΓΩΚΑΠΟΛΛΥΜΑΙ
ΑΛΛΑΠΙEMOYKΡΑΝΑCΑΙΕΡOΩ
ΕΠΙΛΕΞΙΑΛΕΥΚΗΚΥΠΙΑΡΙCCOC
4 ΤΙCΔΕCΠΩΔΕCΙΓΑCΥΙOCEΙΜΙ
ΚΑΙΟΥΡΑΝΟΥΑCΤΕΡΟΕΝΙOС
ΑΥΤΑΡΕΜΟΙΓΕΝOCOΥΡΑΝΙΟΝ

The verses reproduce the goldlamellae found on Crete and do not add anything new.

The low literary level of the texts (Zuntz 1971, 278-286) compared with the Orphic-Pythagorean examples in verses and prose, is a secure sign for a living ethnos' doctrinally-ritual orality. This orality is touched by the initially occurred literariness and thanks to it suggests magical faith. The formula records such a faith shows two levels in the border interactive contact between the Orphic orality and the ancient Greek literariness. The first level is the one of the text which implies an ancient Greek thought accessible to a typical textually critical, terminologically-philosophical and culturally-historical analysis. The second level is the concealed one, where the Teacher and his initiated students handle oral-Orphic doctrinal meanings of the Greek words and idioms.

The purificational-saving meaning of the Orphic goldlamellae, which is ascribed to them most frequently, is summarized by Parker 1983, 299-300 with n. 91 and 98 with the words that "the idea of deliverance through purification becomes inescapable" thanks to Empedocles, Orphism and poetry. "The soul convinces Persephone" via the goldlamellae that enters the underworld in purity. Such observations and conclusions become more and more insufficient in relation to the epigraphic material, which, above all, confirms the conclusion that the documents are texts of low literature. This follows from their doctrinal formula intention expressed in a record on the border between orality and literariness in Crete, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace and South Italy, where the goldlamella from Hipponion for now offers the best proof for the low literariness, but also for the high orality of the South-Italian Orphism (last publication in SEG 26. 1139).

The enlargement of the territory of the doctrinally-ritual Orphic texts in ancient Greek in Sicily is very encouraging (s. also the chapter “Purification of the god”). Frel 1994 publishes a new goldlamella from a private collection in Genève, found in a terracotta lamp originating from the mid-western part of Sicily (Petro, close to Entella?). The texts are dated hesitantly in the 3rd c. BC, but in HL, fr. 475 is shown as a possible 4th c. BC:

Col. I
 ἐπεὶ ἄμ' μελ]ηνίον θανισθαι
]εμνήμεος ἥρας
]σκότος ἄμφικαλῦσαι
 ἔστ' ἐπὶ] δεξιὰ λίμνην
 5]κῦραι κυπαρίσσον
 ἐνθα καταρχόμενοι ψυ]χαὶ νεκύων ψύχονται
 ταῦτης τῆς κρένης μῆ] δὲ σχεδὸν ἐπέλασθαι
 πρόσθεν δὲ εὐρήσεις τῆς] Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης
 10 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον] φύλακοι θ ὑποπέθασιν
 οἳ δὲ σε εἰρήσονται ἐν] φρασί πευκαλίμησιν
] μου φονηεντά.
 Γῆς οἶδος εἰμὶ καὶ] οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
 δίψαι αὔος ἐγὼ κ' ἀπόλ]υμαι ἀλλὰ δοτεμμοὶ
 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον τῆς] Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης

Col. II
 αὐτὰρ ἐ]μοὶ γενὸς οὐρανόων
 καὶ τοὶ ἄν] [ἐλεῶσιν ὑποχθονίοι βασιλεῖς
 καὶ τότε τ]οὶ πιεῖν ὕδωρ προρέον
 καὶ τότε δ]ώσωσιν τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης.
 5 σύμβολα φ]
 καὶ φει]
 σεν]

As the publisher of the new Orphic goldlamella from Sicily informs, the first column from 14 lines is separated from the second one, which consists of 7 lines, through a horizontally incised line. The second column is limited from the left with a thin vertical line which begins from the level between the first and the second line of the first column. In col. II, v. 5 σύμβολα φ] explain the previous four lines of the second column, which contain the known formulas γενὸς οὐρανόων of the initiated, ὑποχθονίοι βασιλεῖς (in correspondence with the goldlamella from Hipponion and the drinking of water τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης). These three formula reproduce at least two of the ones written above the horizontal line in col.

I, v. 12-14 and certify that the initiated person is a son of Gaia and of Uranos, who is covered with stars, he is also thirsty and drinks water from Mnemosyne's lake.

In other words, the two columns form the two parts of σύμβολα, which double the consecration of the formulas by connecting them in order to join *the Faith with the Believed* under the control of the guardians of the initiators. This interpretation leads towards the goldlamella from Pherai, where the hidden divine personifications are named, and Brimò (TД 3, 184-186, 347) is doubled. The magical formation of groups of letters which contain names-theonyms, is epodè with a spelling character and catharactic effect to the level where the incantation itself can be a purification itself (Parker 1983, 232 with n. 153 according to Aristotle and Diodorus).

On one hand, this opinion suggests the vicinity of epodè with the spell, with the Orphic oath, which exercises a magical, forcing influence on the divine power in order to secure immortality. On the other hand, the doubling of the divine naming is an old practice from the doubled Neolithic idols to the doubled Great Goddess-Mothers and Fortunae (Simon 1995) and is fixed from the doubled first syllable of the theonym of the female paredros in the Thraco-Phrygian contact zone (s. TД 3, 83-84). Such doubling makes the σύμβολα sacred in their part of *the believed by the initiated*, as well as in their part of *The Faith in the achievable immortality*.

Such a double metaphor for gods', and for the teacher's presences could be certified with OF II 113, where καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ὀρφέως οὐρανὸς ὄψρος πάντων καὶ φύλαξ' εἶναι βούλεται, i. e. "Orpheus' sky is considered a guardian/protector and guardian of all things" (Bernabé 1992, 42-43). The double metaphor seems clear also in PGM XX 5-11 (PGMB, 258-259 with references):

[<σεμνοτάτης δὲ> θεᾶς παῖς μ]ηστοδόκος κατεκαύθη,
ἀκροτάτῳ δ' ἐν ὄρει κατεκαύθη· <πῦρ δ' ἐλάφυξεν>
ἑπτὰ λύκων κρήνας, ἑπτ' ἄρκτων, ἑπτὰ λεόντων·
ἑπτὰ δὲ παρθενικὰ κυανώπιδες ἤρυσαν ὕδωρ
κάλπιδι κυανέαις καὶ ἐκοίμικαν ἀκάματον πῦρ.

The verses state that païs is the most honored Goddess "burns" on the highest mountain as an initiated being. Seven wolfs' springs, seven springs of bears, seven springs of lions and seven virgins with black eyes draw water and extinguish the tireless fire with black pitchers. Later it is explained how the pain runs away from the head, the lion from underneath the stone, how stormily

hurrying wolfs and solid ungulate horses rush because of “my perfect epodè”, confirms the magical operator. The servant, “leader of the mystes”, of the Goddess executes sacred acts with spells in the hierogamic Heptad to protect the believer. The late pagan monotheistic ideologization does not eradicate, however, the magical sacred doings of the Son of the Great Goddess-Mother, preserved in writings of “Orpheus’ riddles” – as said in Derveni papyrus (last interpretation by Betegh 2004) – and probable answers from all periods of the oral Orphic faith.

THE SEVENTH DAY ONE

The individual penetration/insight in the relation àgalma–symbolon–synthema, i. e., in the theurgic naming, is registered on the Orphic goldlamellae, as well as on the bone graffiti from Olbia (Graf 1991a, 89), which document an Orphic society in the Black sea Milesian apoikia during the 5th or during the 4th c. BC (s. TD 1, No. 6; TД 3, 199-201). The dating in the 5th c. BC is sustained with paleographical data in SEG 28, 659-661; SEG 41, 621; SEG 42, 720. Zhmud 1992 also prefers the 5th c. BC, as well as IGDOP, 154, No. 94 (cf. West 1983, 17-20), but Dettori 1996, 306-308 reminds that the key word in the language of the text on the bone graffiti is ἀλήθεια. This word, however, is an Attic form and it is encountered for the first time in such an early source, “in data alta, seppure non altissima” (Dettori 1996, 306).

The lamellae from Olbia become part of the spiritual life of Thracia Pontica (Fol 1996, 1997; Porozhanov K. in: Fol et alii 2000, 27-40). Pontic Thrace includes the spiritual space from the line Thasos–Samothrace until the Northwestern corner of the Black Sea between the Danube’s and Bug’s outflows, but with influence also on the Bosporian kingdom (Ustinova 1999). This is a blessed earth of the interactiveness between orality and literariness. This becomes obvious mainly through the professing of local and foreign cults. The Olbian lamellae register such occurrences. We have access to documents of (quasi?) esoteric society of Orphics, who translate-define oral Orphic realities in ancient Greek. For unknown reasons they have (ritually?) allowed themselves to keep such writing in a (sacred ?) pit of the Olbian temenos. If, of course, the lamellae are not simply thrown away in the trash from later ignorant thieves. According to L. Dubois, J. Vinogradov’s opinion seems acceptable, that these documents are “utilisés pour l’édification par un prêtre qui aurait été le chef local de la secte ... Ces objets qui ne portent pas de marques d’usure ont dû être transporté dans une ciste ou une

corbeille. Il s'agirait plutôt d'une sorte de bréviaire orphique" (IGDOP, 155). This supposition waits for its proofs.

The formula-spelling similarities between the texts of the Orphic goldlamellae and the Olbian bone lamellae defines them as (parts of) sacred logoi (Riedweg 2002) of the magical Orphic faith in immortality. The text-graffito on a bone lamella found on the island of Berezan nearby Olbia belongs to the same group of data. The Orphic character of this lamella is pointed out by L. Dubois: "il y a de grandes chances, en égard à la rareté des inscriptions sur os aux hautes époques, pour que notre document soit aussi un texte réédigé en milieu orphique" (IGDOP, 148).

The bone lamella is dated on paleographical data either in 550-525 BC, or "plutôt Ve siècle" (according to IGDOP, 146, No. 93 with references which lacks Буркейт 1990). The archaeological environment is not known. The size of the lamella is 3 – 3.5 x 4.8 x 0.4 cm. The texts are as follows (IGDOP, 146-148, No. 93).

Face a 1:

ΕΠΤΑ ΛΥΚΟΣ ΑΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΕΒΔΟ
ΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΛΕΩΝ ΔΕΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΤ

Ἑπτά· λύκος ἀσθενής· ἑβδο-
μήκοντα· λέων δεινός·

ΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΤΟΞΟΦΟΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΣ ΔΟΡΕ

ἑπτ(α)
κόσιοι· τοξοφόρος, φίλι(ο)ς
δωρε-

5 Η ΔΥΝΑΜ ΙΗΤΗΟΣ ΕΠΤΑΚΙΧΙ ἡ δυνάμι (ι)ητήρος· ἑπτακι(σ)χί
ΛΙ ΔΕΛΦΙΣ ΦΡΟΝΙΜΟΣ ΕΙΡΗ λι(οι)· δελφίς φρόνιμος εἰρή-
ΝΗ ΟΛΒΙΗ ΠΟΛΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΞΩ ΕΚΕΙ νη Ὀλβίη πόλι· μακαρίζω ἐκεῖ·
ΜΕΜΝΗΜΑΙ ΛΗ Μέμνημαι Λη
ΤΟ το (ς).

Face a 2:

ΕΕΠΤΑ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ΔΙΔΥΜ
ΜΙΛΗΣΙΩΙ
ΜΗΤΡΟΛ ΟΛΒΟΦΟΡΟΣ
ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ ΒΟΡΕΩ

ἑπτά.
Ἀπόλλωνι
Διδυμ(εῖ)
Μιλησίωι
Μητρὸ(ς) ὀλβοφόρος
Νικηφόρος Βορέω

Face b:

ΕΒΔΝ ΒΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΑΑΑ

Ἑβδ(ο)μ(ήκοντα?) βοῦ(ς)
Διδ(υμεῖ) ΑΑΑ

ΑΑ ΑΑΑΑ ΑΑΑ

ΑΑ ΑΑΑΑ ΑΑΑ

ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ ΒΟΡΕΩ

Νικηφόρος Βορέω

Быркeпт 1990 cautionary connects the lamellae of the Olbian Orphics with the lamella from Berezan, while Ehrhardt 1987, 117 is certain. Ehrhardt even compares it with lamella No. 2 from A. Rusjaeva's publication. Rusjaeva's No. 2 example has an incised rectangle from the opposite side, which is divided in 7 parts. The figure reminds of Apollo's birthday, which was taking place on the 7th number each month, as well as of the probability for a society made up of hebdomastes. L. Dubois confirms one more time that "le caractère orphique du document ... apparaît clairement dans la nature même du support, ainsi que dans las indications chiffrées". The occurrence of both verbs in first person in face a 1. 6-7 "... situe stylistiquement notre texte aux confins de la réponse oraculaire, de l'hymne et de la prière" (IGDOP, 148).

Other arguments are contained in the numbers, which L. Dubois considers an "élément constituant de la théologie des Pythagoriciens mais aussi, avant eux des Orphiques ... La seule explication possible à cette diffusion est que les tenants de la mystique du chiffre 7 étaient au nombre des premiers colons: l'orphisme pontique a donc vraisemblablement une origine milésienne. Or ce chiffre est aussi celui d'Apollon, le dieu né le septième jour ... que l'on consultait à Delphes le sept de mois, à la naissance duquel les cygnes ont tourné sept fois autour de Délos ... et qui a inventé la lyre à sept cordes" (IGDOP, 149).

Penkova 2003 determines that the texts from Berezan are a first-class testimony for the Thracian oral Orphism in the zone of the Hyperborean diagonal. In text "A", according to the author's numeration of the three inscriptions on the lamella, she sees a possibility for μητρὸς ὀλβοφόρος to be read Μητρῶα ὀλβοφόρος. The reading MHTPOA would be most adequate for the hidden meaning of the further, secondly inserted text, where the key word is ἐπτὰ (TΔ 2, 133 for the festivals in honor to the Great Goddess-Mother and Sabazius "Metroa and Sabazia" – according to Strabo's terminology). The author introduces in the Dionysiac-Zagrean issue "the seven bulls" about the Apollo Didymus, winner of Boreas, mentioned in text "B" (face b according to IGDOP). She hesitates whether βούς may be in singular and then the translation would be "seventy: bull".

In such a context EEITTA could not be a "mistake of the engraver", but a password for a mysterial paredria, which is realized between the magically doubled Διδυ-/Διδυ- – Great Goddess-Mother/Mountain, known from the oronym Διδυμένη, and her Son, who is a "carrier of bliss and/or riches" and a "carrier of victory, winner". The city of Olbia is found in the "entrance hall of the

Hyperborean country”. Thus, Olbia takes the key meeting place and starting point in the Hyperborean diagonal of the spiritual Orphic space (s. ΤΔ 3, 170-203). The eventual reading Μητρολ(ήπτως) ὀλβοφόρος/νικηφόρος Βορέω/Διδυμ(εὺς) would mean that the Didymus, who carries bliss, the winner, obsessed by the Mother, directs his spell towards Boreas.

In such a way the initial introductory text, which in IGDOP, No. 93 is face a 2, turns out to be a transfer of paredria from the Asia Minor sanctuary near Miletus up to North in the zone of the Hyperborean diagonal via the bliss-carrier and the winner Apollo of Didyma, who belongs “to the Mother”. In this context the main engraved inscription from 8 lines face a 1, according to IGDOP, is a coded sacred logos of a doctrinal-ritual language.

The language begins with Hepta, which is a theonym, and a number-essence for the seventh hierogamic degree of the Death-New birth of the Son-paredros Sun/Fire (s. ΤΔ 3, 269-294). The sacred seven is a well-spread idea/image of the Orphic hierogamy and its relation with the Pythagoreanism in ancient Greek is doubtless (for the hebdomadism s. West 1983, 61, n. 86). The paredria from hepta type, i. e., a Great Goddess-Mother – Son, is mythologized in the idea that Apollo is born on the seventh day of the month. After the swans greet him by flying over Delos seven times, they carry the god by the Hyperboreans, where he stays in a country with an “always clear sky” (for the “white radiation of the Hyperborean North” s. ΤΔ 3, 203-268).

The Seventh Day One is a definition of **Aeschyl.** Sept. 800 Murray about Apollo, who is also Loxius (cf. for Loxius-Phoibos **Aeschyl.** Eum. 19 Murray; s. also **Her.** 1, 91. 2 Legrand/Feix about this appellation in Pythia’s words). The epithet is owed to the notion that the sun crosses the ecliptic “aslant/slantwise”. The other explanation of the epithet is drawn from the oracles, which are λοξοί, i. e., “indirect, ambiguous, equivocal, double meaningful”. The first etymology is an oral-Orphic one. It is owed to the relationship Cosmos-Human, i. e. to the humans dependence on the situation and movement of the heavenly bodies.

The theonym Hepta, which is also a number-essence, is multiplied by 10, i. e. by the modul of the cosmos in the Orphic-Pythagorean teaching (s. ΤΔ 3, 269-293). In this way the new cycle of creation of the Universe is thought and of the Socium. In the new cycle 70 is equal to Apollo/Son-Sun. He is a “terrifying lion” in the zenith of the creation of the cosmos, which he had executed by putting the Great Goddess-Mother/Cosmos in motion. This is the doubling of the idea/image

of Apollo Hebdomaget, who on position 700 is already an “archer”, “a friend because/via his gift”, “with the ability/energy/power/mightiness of the healer”. The interpretation of this position of Apollo (s. Буркерт 1990, 158) does not cause difficulties on the West Black sea coast where honoring Apollo the Healer in the zone of the Hyperborean diagonal is connected with Apollo’s bow and the golden arrow in the circular temple by the Hyperboreans.

Apollo the Healer occurs once in Olbia with Delphic Apollo (IGDOP, No. 65), whose cult is considered introduced in the city later, during the third quarter of the 6th c. BC from a new wave of Milesian apoikists (IGDOP, 151). Delphic Apollo’s initiations (IGDOP, NoNo 2, 60-64) define him as a North Pontic god (s. SEG 34, 767 and 769; SEG 42, 716)). His Athenian temple, the Delphinium, is used however as a tribunal for cases of equitable homicide in a much earlier age. This social function had not been attributed to the god under the influence of the Delphic doctrine and most probably originates from his quality of a Dophin, i. e., wise, careful (Parker 1983, 141-142 with n. 158). This circumstance reflects the Athenian religious influence in Olbia (Dettori 1996, 306-310 with nn. 58, 61, 65, 66, 71, 75).

Among the dedications to Apollo the Healer found in Olbia (IGDOP, NoNo 54-59, 93, 99, 101) a graffito occurs, which resembles a solar disk. It is inscribed on a rectangular kalipteros found in the South (the second) temenos, where Apollo the Healer’s temple had been built in the second half of the 6th c. BC. Seven letter are inserted between the second and the third circle and the letters are divided by seven lines. The inscription mentions Ἱητρόον, i. e., a sanctuary of the healer. The 9 of 10 (?) rays of the sun are a symbol of Apollo, which is represented also on the city’s coins, while the seven letters remind “la symbolique apollinienne si fréquente à Olbia” (IGDOP, 111). The god who is named The Seventh Day One, probably is commonly understood in the institution of the magistrates οἱ ἑπτὰ (IGDOP, 88).

The text from Berezan is Orphico-magical spell. It is not thought in Linear, but in Mythological, Cyclic and Doctrinal time. This transforms the initiated person in a magical operator of the Faith carried by him. The verb μακαρίζω in face a 1, 6 (IGDOP, 152, n. 131) presents him. The presence of the Orphic Dionysus in Olbia is certified with the bone lamellae and even with the early, around 500 BC, testimony of “euoè” in Damonassas’ inscription on a mirror (IGDOP, No. 92). This assertion is analyzed by L. Dubois in IGDOP, 145-146 with a conclusion about “haute antiquité de l’Orphisme dans l’Olbia achaique”. He

specifically points out the mirror as one of the symbols of Dionysus' mystery and secrets (cf. TD 1, NoNo 9 and 17 for the Gurob papyrus and for the data of Clemens Alexandrinus).

The three rows in face b of the bone lamella from Berezan constitute a record for the Dionysus' magic-spelling naming, as follows:

Ἐβδ(ομαγε)ν(ῆς) Βοῦ(ς) Διδ(υμεῦς) ΑΑΑ
 ΑΑ ΑΑΑΑ ΑΑΑ
 Νικηφόρος Βορέω

The reading specified above, has its reasons, but in the Dionysus-Zagreus' context of the spell, the first row could be understood as *The bull born seventh, who is Didymus*. In this way Apollo is equalized with Dionysus in the Orphic doctrinally-ritual duality of the Son-Sun/Fire.

The study against "Phantasmomagica Olbiopolitana" occupies itself in detail with Lebedev's 1996 and 1996a statement about the so called Pharnabazus' ostrakon (Vinogradov-Rujaeva 1998, 153-155 and 157-161). The alternative hypothesis for a magical interpretation is argued by Bravo 2000-2001. Vinogradov-Rujaeva 1998, 161-164 contest Lebedev 1996a, who interprets two graffiti on the bottom of an Attic black-figure patera from Olbia as defixiones. The fragment (s. IGDOP, No. 79) is dated to the 5th c. BC (the second quarter of the century?).

Graffito A: Ἐάνθιππος (sic) Δήμητρι Περσεφόνει Ἰάκωι ἐς Δημήτριον, or Xanthippus executes an initiation of the Eleusis' triad in Demeter's sanctuary (the difference in the readings, which does not change the meaning of No. 79, s. in Dettori 1996, 306-307, n. 57).

Graffito B: Ἐάν(θιππος) Δ(ήμητρι) ἀν(έ)θ(ηκεν) (ἐς) ἱε(ρὸν) (τῆς) θ(εᾶς) Δ(ήμητρος). It would mean, Xanthippus makes an initiation of Demeter in the sanctuary of the goddess Demeter.

A discussion about the initiation from the first half of the 4th c. BC is adduced to the votive text Δη(μήτηρ), Περσ(εφόνη), Κόρη. Ἐ(ρμῆς?) Δῖοι Κάβιροι. In the center of the circle occurred from the inscription read ΗΡΩ, may be Ἡρώ, Ἡρώναξ or similar (s. IGDOP, No. 85). In such inscriptions the gods' names occur in the nominative case, not only in the dative. The text is interpreted by Lebedev 1996a as a magical one. L. Dubois in IGDOP, 134-135 noted the Cabiri's

identification with the Samothracian gods, their spreading in Pontus and their possible association with Demeter because of their main attitude towards one Goddess-Mother (IGDOP, 134, n. 83 following Hemberg 1950, 288).

The initiations of the Eleusis' Triad and of the Samothracian Tetrad could truly be understood as spells. They document, however, the oral doctrinally-ritual Orphic faith, which is integrated in the Eleusis' mysteries and is a core of the Samothracians. The mysterial initiation is also a mean to express an oath bondage with the chthonic gods. In this sense, the Xanthippus' graffito, more expressive than the other, is the circular inscription with the names of Demeter, Persephone, Core, Hermes and Cabiri, which unusually connects the Triad from Eleusis with the Tetrad from Samothrace. Thus the Heptad, the number-essence of the Great Goddess-Mother and of the Seventh Day One is being named with a sacred Orphic-magical technique.

I will terminate the discussion about the Olbian documents with the so called priest's writing, published by Rusjaeva–Vinogradov 1991, 201-202 (cf. SEG 42, 710 and IGDOP, No. 24) and dated either in 550-510 BC (according to the publishers and Bravo 2000-2001, 162-164), or around 400 BC (IGDOP, 55 and 57, who thinks that the text is inscribed over a ceramic fragment 120 years older). The inscription is put over a trapezoid part of an amphora or of oinochoe. The part was found in the southern part of Olbia's citadel. The inscription is very damaged, illegible, and the 12 preserved rows are incised round the inner concave side of the fragment.

The first row (according to IGDOP, 57-63) contains the expression "from honey and a ram", which definitely suggests a sacrifice done, more from hymnothet, rather than from agonothet / oinothet. The honey and the ram are naming of the Great Goddess-Mother and of Dionysus, which is why the hymnothet in row 1 could be also a figure of priest–creator of hymns. L. Dubois adds θεοποίητος from row 3 and suggests a translation of the first three rows as follows: "Au poète j'offrirai en sacrifice du miel, un bélier et un porc comme tu me l'ordonnes au moment où tu m'envoies vers les lieux qui sont l'oeuvre des Dieux ...". This translation would seem very close to the scenario when the hymnothet-priest orders to a follower of his to carry Demeter's and Dionysus' agalma-symbol (honey, ram, piggy) in order to leave for the "divine acts" (places) ... (of the Great Goddess-Mother and the Son, the Orphic gods-paredroi).

Row 4 is very difficultly understood, but there is a very possible probability for the idiom ἵπο φῶς to mean “torche du sanctuaire”. This would be very suitable for the scenarios of doctrinal ritualism honoring the chthonic gods. Situating of sacred topoi begins with row 5, which uncertainly reads “women ... in Chalkene” (cf. the opinions in IGDOP, 59-60). The situating becomes obvious from the toponym Hylaia of Dnjepr, mentioned in row 6. Row 7 provides the exceptionally important data that “the altars are broken” (in Hylaia). We understand from row 8 that these altars were built for the Mother of Gods, for Borysthene and for Heracles. It seems that this environment profited “slaves” after a shipwreck (row 9), but the dignity of the ritual is saved by Metrophanes, who (row 10) probably committed a sacred act (ἱεουργίη) in pine-tree forests of Hylaija (row 11; cf. IGDOP, 62 with the “allusion au commerce du bois” ?). In the last row, 12, the well-known white wild horses occur. The Scythians capture them for sacrifices (ΤΥΡΑ, may be Tyras’ population, i. e. Τυράνοι according to IGDOP, 63). The sacred acts’ cycle seems completed with Scythian ritualism.

According to Bravo 2000-2001, 162-164, the text does not constitute a letter of a priest to another, higher priest. It is an official note from one Olbian magistrate to another. Admitting that the inscription is not κατάδεσμος, the author considers the ostrakon for a magical one. It was used with a magical purpose in its quality of κατάδεσμος against the recipient, because it possesses the two signs of a spelling object. One sign is the net of lines, which puts in frame the inscription, and the other one is the red ochre with which the ostrakon was later covered with a magical purpose. As in the cases with Aristotle’s and Pharnabazus’ ostraka, the death spell is marked via a symbol the paralyzing action (of Hermes) In this case, “the priest’s letter”, as a product, would be one of the most ancient testimonies for the magical “non said” κατάδεσμος.

Rusjaeva–Vinogradov 1991, 202 relate the text of the inscription with **Her.** 4, 5; 4. 19; 4. 52 and 4. 76 for Hylaia on the left coast of Borysthene (north of today’s city of Crimea), and with domain of Gods’ Mother (Cibele ?). Cibele’s cult is established by Anacharsis. The authors conclude that the altars’ breaking, mentioned in row 7, constituted an act which confirms **Her.** 4. 76; 4. 77 and 4. 80 about the Scythian’s reactions against the foreign customs and their “religious intolerance”. The Scythians have obviously not been influenced by Anacharsis’ innovations. He imports the cult to the Gods’ Mother from Kyzikos. The Scythians also do not accept the ancient Greek personification of the god Borysthene. Even more important in this reaction is the fact that the Scythians reject Heracles himself, who, “according to the Scythian legend” (**Her.** 4. 8-9, Legrand/Feix)

fornicated with a semi-woman/semi-snake in the Hylaia cave on Dnjepr. Thus he gave birth to the three tribe's father, Agathyrsos, Gelonos and Skythes. If the dating of 400 BC is true, then Herodotus' "tale for the three brothers" and also the imported religiousness were rejected in the rudest way by the Scythians on the Northern Black sea coast.

HYMNIC SPELLS

According to Calame 1998, 151, the Greeks do not know the term "religion", they don't have a common understanding of religion and do not use the word πανθεών. Depending on the poleis and regions, the configuration of Greeks' gods is different. The conclusion strengthens the promising hypothesis about the influence between orality and literariness in the ethnos' and polis' environment. One observes different consequences in the Thraco-Phrygian zone/Constantinople's chora in result of this constant process. In this zone the Pontic region pulsates with a transition from an open ritual towards a mysterially-initiational Faith and vice versa.

Now I can return to the texts of OF, p. 312-314 (s. the chapter "The Oath") with a further examination of **Orphei** Hymni 34 Quandt (= XO, 81-83; Morand 2001, 14-15).

Ἀπόλλωνος, θυμίαμα μάνναν.

Ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, Παιάν, Τιτυοκτόνε, Φοῖβε, Λυκωρεῦ,
Μεμφίτ', ἀγλαότιμε, ἰήιε, ὀλβιοδώτα,

χρυσολύρη, σπερμεῖε, ἀρότριε, Πύθιε, Τιτάν,

5 Γρύνειε, Σμινθεῦ, Πυθοκτόνε, Δελφικέ, μάντι,
ἄγριε, φωσφόρε δαῖμον, ἐράσμιε, κύδιμε κοῦρε,

† μουσαγέτα, χοροποιέ, ἐκηβόλε, τοξοβέλεμνε,

Βάκχιε καὶ Διδυμεῦ, † ἐκάεργε, Λοξία, ἀγνέ,
Δήλι' ἀναξ, πανδερκές ἔχων φαεσίμβροτον ὄμμα,

10 χρυσοκόμα, καθαρὰς φήμας χρησμούς τ' ἀναφαίνων·

κλυθί μου εὐχομένου λαῶν ὑπερ εὐφροني θυμῶι·

τόνδε σὺ γὰρ λεύσσεις τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα πάντα

γαῖάν τ' ὀλβιόμοιρον ὑπερθέ τε καὶ δι' ἀμολγοῦ,

νυκτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίαισιν ὑπ' ἀστεροόμματον ὄρφνην

15 ῥίζας νέρθε δέδορκας, ἔχεις δέ τε πείρατα κόσμου
παντός· σοὶ δ' ἀρχή τε τελευτή τ' ἐστὶ μέλουσα,

παντοθαλής, σὺ δὲ πάντα πόλον κιθάρη πολυκρέκται
 ἀρμόζεις, ὅτε μὲν νεάτης ἐπὶ τέρματα βαίνων,
 ἄλλοτε δ' αὖθ' ὑπάτης, ποτὲ Δώριον εἰς διάκοσμον
 πάντα πόλον κινᾶς κρίνεις βιοθρέμμονα φύλα,
 20 ἀρμονίηι κεράσας {τήν} παγκόσμιον ἀνδράσι μοῖραν,
 μίξας χειμῶνος θέρεός τ' ἴσον ἀμφοτέροισιν,
 εἰς ὑπάτας χειμῶνα, θέρος νεάταις διακρίνας,
 Δώριον εἰς ἔαρος πολυηράτου ὄριον ἄνθος.
 ἔνθεν ἐπωνυμίην σε βροτοὶ κλήζουσιν ἄνακτα,
 25 Πάνα, θεὸν δικέρωτ', ἀνέμων συρίγμαθ' ἰέντα·
 οὔνεκα παντὸς ἔχεις κόσμου σφραγίδα τυπῶτιν.
 κλυθι, μάκαρ, σώζων μύστας ἱκετηρίδι φωνῆι.

- 3 σπέρμιε ψ: corr. Schrader
 4 γρύνιε καὶ ψ: corr. Hermann
 7 Βαχιε] Βράγχιε h, cf. p. 20*, 25* s.
 12 ὑπ' αἰθέρι Wiel
 14 δεδωκας ψ: corr. h, cf. p. 20*
 17-23 non satis perspicui
 19 κρίνας ψ: corr. h cf. p. 20*
 20 del φ
 24 ἐπωνυμίααις ψ: corr. h

The last two verses form Apollo's final magically-spelling invocation. Apollo holds κόσμου σφραγίδα τυπῶτιν (v. 26). From this follows that κλυθι, μάκαρ (v. 27) are symmetrically situated in regard to ἐλθέ, μάκαρ on v. 1 for that the god, who has been called ἄναξ twice (v. 8 and 24), is asked to rescue the initiated ἱκετηρίδι φωνῆι (v. 27). The happy two last words in the hymn in the dative case emphasize the meaning of the divine voice/speech/synthema, which is connected via the divine symbolon of κόσμου σφραγίδα with Apollo's agalma presented in the hymn.

Now I remind ὀρκίζω σφραγίδα θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄρασις from PGM I. 306 (cf. OF, p. 312, v. 10 = PGM I. 262, v. 10 = PGMB, 11, v. 308). Σφραγίζω in the sense of "closing, enclosing with a seal, certifying with the seal, closing as if enclosing with a seal-sign" is a known and widely used as a seal of god, and especially – as an Apollo's attribute (PGM III. 26; cf. with PGMB, 25-30). Among the instructions attributed to Apollo Helios one of them, considering a magical ring

with an engraved image of Helios, deserves attention. With the help of the ring, the magical operator wished to command the god to accomplish something for him (PGM XII. 270-350 = PGMB, 163-165). With this ritual one executes a transport on Egyptian temple ritual practice of “introducing the god in his statue” into a domestic magical procedure. This transport happened during the Late Antiquity (according to Thissen 1991). The small Helios’ figure hewed out in the ring constitutes a traditional cult image with an Egyptian naming of Apollo-the Sun, who, with this act, is “introduced in his image” in order to fulfill the will of the one who had summoned him.

The ring is put in an exceptionally strong ritual function in PGM IV. 1596-1715 (= PGMB, 68-69), the text of which represents an “Hourly hymn” with an initiation-spell to Helios from the 4th c. AD.

The magical operator swears the Earth, Heaven, Light, Darkness, the Great God, who created everything, SAROUSIN and Agathon Daimonion, the Helper, to fulfill for him everything done with the help of this ring of stone. The ring is stone – the stone is in the shape of a ring. It is κόσμου σφραγίς, which serves also a phylakterian function. The ring/circle/seal/stone/phylaktery occur twelve times in the twelve zodiac positions which carry, according to the Egyptian tradition (s. Faulkner 1969; Hornung 1999), the named sacred re-embodiments of Helios – cat, dog, snake, scarab, donkey, lion, goat, bull, falcon, baboon, ibis and crocodile.

The record from the 4th c. AD preserves the Egyptian tradition of the “Hourly Solar Hymns” from the New Kingdom, but also the Orphic plurality in the singularity. In the Orphic hymns, singularity is “the logos which makes thyepolia”. The phylakterian function of Helios, which is Egyptian, but also an Orphic vision, is added to these echos. It is probably thought also by the owner of the graffito-text from Berezan discussed in the previous chapter, especially because in the Ionian cultural linguistic environment Apollo’s oracles, inscribed on stone and bone, protect those who have heard them. The cities which had received oracles in Apollo’s sanctuary in Claros inscribe them on stone to have their habitants protected (for 27 such inscriptions, s. Várhelyi 2001).

Now I can return to the swearing verses, discussed in the beginning of this study, but together with the entire text about Apollo’s invocation in PGM I. 262-347 to which they belong. The text says as follows:

Ἄπολλωνιακὴ ἐπίκλησις | λαβὼν κλῶνα δάφνη[ς] ἐπτάφυλλον ἔχε
265 τῆ δεξιᾶ] χειρὶ | καλῶν τοὺς οὐρανίους θεοὺς καὶ χθονίους

- δαίμον[α].
- γράφον εἰς τὸν κλῶνα τῆς δάφνης τοῦς Ζ' ρυετικούς χαρακτήρας.
- 270 χαρακτήρες οἶδε· *𐀚𐀔𐀓𐀑𐀕𐀗𐀓𐀔𐀗𐀓𐀔𐀗* τὸν μὲν πρῶτον χαρακτήρα εἰς τὸ
 πρῶτον φύλλον, τὸν [δε]ύτερον ἢ πάλιν οὕτως εἰς τὸ δεύτερον, ἄχρι
 τῶν Ζ' φύλλων καὶ | τῶν Ζ' χαρακτήρων. βλέπε δέ, μὴ ἀπολέσῃς
 [καὶ] σεαυτὸν βλάβης· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστον σώματος φυλακτικόν, ἐν
 πάντες ὑποτάσσονται καὶ θάλασσα καὶ πέτραι φρίσσουν | καὶ
 φυλ<ά>σσονται χαρ>ακτήριον τὴν θεῖαν
 275 ἐνέργειαν, ἥνπερ ἢ μέλλεις ἔχειν. ἔστιν γὰρ φυλακτήριον μέγιστον
 πρᾶξεως, ἵνα μηδὲν πτοηθῇ. ἴστιν δὲ ἡ πρᾶξις· | λαβὼν λύχνον
 σκεύασον διὰ βυσσίνου ράκους | καὶ ροδίνου ἐλαίου ἢ ναρδίνου καὶ
 280 σολίνας σεαυτὸν προφητικῶ
 στήματι ἔχε ἐβεννίνην ῥάβδον ἐν τῇ λαιῶ χειρὶ καὶ ἢ τὸ φυλακτήριον
 δεξιῶ, τουτέστιν τὸν κλῶνα τῆς δάφνης, ἔχε δὲ ἐν ἐτοίμῳ λύκου
 ὅπως ἂν ἐπιθῇ | τὸν λύχνον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ λύκου, καὶ βωμὸν
 κτηράμενος ἐγγύς τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ λύχνου, ἵνα ἐπιθῆς τῷ θεῶ·
 εὐθέως εἰσέρχεται
 285 τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα. ἔστιν ἢ δὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμα λύκου ὀφθαλμός, στυράξ,
 κιννάμωμον, | βδέλλα καὶ ὅτι ἔντιμον ἐν τοῖς ἀρώμασι, καὶ σπονδὴν
 ἀπὸ οἴνου καὶ μέλι[ι]τος καὶ γάλακτος καὶ ὀμβρίου ὕδατος <καὶ |
 πλακοῦντας Ζ' καὶ πόπανα Ζ'. ταῦτα μέλλεις ὅλα ποιῆσαι | ἐγγύς
 290 ἀπὸ ἢ πάντων μυσαρῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πάσης ἰχθυοφαγίας | καὶ
 συνουσίας, ὅπως ἂν εἰς μεγίστην ἐπιθυμίαν ἀγάγῃς τὸν θεὸν εἰς σέ.
 ἔστιν

δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα, <ἀ> μέλλεις γράψαι | εἰς τὸ βύσσινον ῥάκος καὶ
 ἐλλυχνιάσεις εἰς τὸν ἀμίλτων
 295 λύχνον· | ἄβεραμενθουλωρθεξ ἀναξ εθρενλυοω θνεμα ραιβαι· ||
 αεμινναε
 βαρωθερ ρεθωβαβ εανιμεα. ὅταν τελέσης πάντα τὰ προειρημένα,
 κάλει τῆ
 ἐπαιδιῆ·
 Ἐἰναξ Ἐπόλλων, ἐλθέ | σὺν Παιήνι, χρημάτιόν μοι, περὶ ὧν ἀξιῶ,
 κῦριε.
 Δέσποτα, | λίπε Παρνάσιον ὄρος καὶ Δελφίδα Πυθῶ | ἡμετέρων ἱερῶν
 στομάτων ἀφθεγκτα
 300 λαλούντων, || ἄγγελε πρῶτε <θε>οῦ, Ζηνὸς μέγαιον, Ἰάω, καὶ σὲ τὸν
 οὐράνιον κόσμον κατέχοντα, Μιχαήλ, καὶ σὲ καλῶ, Γαβριήλ
 πρωτόγγελε·
 δεῦρ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου, Ἀβραάξ, ἀντολίης κεχαρημένος, ἴλαος ἔλτοισ,
 ὁς
 δύειν ἀντολίηθεν ἐπικοπιάζει[ς, Ἄ]δωναί· || πάσα φύσις τρομ[έ]ει σε,
 πάτερ
 κό[ς]μοιο, Πακερβηθ. | ὀρκίζω
 306 κεφαλὴν τε θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ὀλυμπος, || ὀρκίζω σφραγίδα θεοῦ, ὅπερ
 ἐστὶν
 ὄρασις, | ὀρκίζω χέρα δεξιτερὴν, ἣν κόσμῳ ἐπέσχεσ, | ὀρκίζω κρητήρα
 θεοῦ πλοῦτον
 310 τέχοντα, | ὀρκίζω θεὸν αἰώνιον Αἰῶνά τε πάντων, || ὀρκίζω Φύειν
 αὐτοφυῆ,
 κράτιστον Ἀδωναῖον, | ὀρκίζω δύνοντα καὶ ἀντέλλοντα Ἐλωαῖον, |
 ὀρκίζω
 τὰ ἅγια καὶ θεῖα ὀνόματα ταῦτα, ὅπως | ἂν πέμψωσί μοι τὸ θεῖον
 πνεῦμα
 καὶ τελέση, | ἂ
 315 ἔχω κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν. || κλυθι, μάκαρ, κλήζω σε, τὸν
 οὐρανοῦ
 ἡγεμονῆα | καὶ γαίης χάεός τε καὶ Ἄϊδος, ἔνθα νέμονται ... | πέμψον
 δαίμονα τοῦτον ἐμαῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπαιδαῖς | νυκτὸς ἐλαυνόμενον
 προτάγμασιν
 σῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, |
 320 οὔπερ ἀπὸ σκήνου ἐστὶ τόδε, καὶ φρασάτω μοι, || ὅσσα θέλω
 γνώμησιν,
 ἀληθείην καταλέξασ, | πρηῦν, μειλίχιον μηδ' ἀντία μοι φρονέοντα. |
 μηδὲ

325 ^{ἀρτιον}
 325 ^{ὄρτιον}
 330 ^{κατακλίσεως, περι}
 335 ^{προειρημένου}
 340 ^{ἀριστεράν,}
 345 ^{ὀρκίζω τὸν}
 350 ^{καὶ μή |}

325 ^{ὄρτιον}
 330 ^{κατακλίσεως, περι}
 335 ^{προειρημένου}
 340 ^{ἀριστεράν,}
 345 ^{ὀρκίζω τὸν}
 350 ^{καὶ μή |}

325 ^{ὄρτιον}
 330 ^{κατακλίσεως, περι}
 335 ^{προειρημένου}
 340 ^{ἀριστεράν,}
 345 ^{ὀρκίζω τὸν}
 350 ^{καὶ μή |}

The English translation in PGMB, 10-12:

265 ^{your}
 270 ^{Write on the}

265 ^{your}
 270 ^{Write on the}

265 ^{your}
 270 ^{Write on the}

matching up of the 7 characters and 7 leaves. But be careful not to lose a
 left
 [and]
 do harm to yourself. For this is the body's greatest protective charm, by
 which
 all
 are made subject, and seas and rock tremble, and daimons [avoid] the
 characters'
 275 magical powers which / you are about to have. For it the greatest protective
 charm for the rite so that you fear nothing.
Now this is the rite: Take a lamp which has not been colored red and fit it
 with a
 piece of linen cloth and rose oil of spikenard, and dress yourself in a
 280 prophetic
 garment and hold an ebony staff in your left hand and / the protective
 charm in
 your right (i.e., the spring of laurel). But keep in readiness a wolf's head so
 that you
 can set the lamp upon the head of the wolf, and construct an altar of
 unburnt
 clay
 near the head and the lamp so that you may sacrifice on it to the god. And
 immediately the divine spirit enters.
 285 The burnt offering is a wolf's eye, storax gum, cassia, balsam gum and
 whatever
 is valued among the spices, and pour a libation of wine and honey and milk
 and
 rainwater, [and make] 7 flat cakes and 7 round cakes. These you are going
 to
 make
 290 completely [near] the lamp, robed and refraining from all / unclean things
 and
 from all eating on fish and from all sexual intercourse, so that you may
 bring
 the
 god into the greatest desire toward you.
Now these are the names, [which] you are going to write on the linen
 cloth
 and

which you will put as a wick into the lamp which has not been colored red:
 “ABER-
 295 AMENTHŌOULERTHEXANAXETHRENLYOŌTHNEMARAIBAI / AEM
 INNAEBARŌ-
 THERRETHŌBABEANIMEA. When you have completed all instructions set
 out
 above, call the god with this chant:
 “O lord Apollo, come with Paian.
 Give answer to my questions, lord. O master
 Leave Mount Parnassos and the Delphic Pytho
 Whene’re my priestly lips voice secret words, /
 300 First angel of [the god], great Zeus. IAŌ
 And you, MICHAEL, who rule heaven’s realm,
 I call, and you, archangel GABRIEL.
 Down from Olympos, ABRASAX, delighting
 In dawns, come gracious who view sunset from
 305 The dawn, / ADŌNAI. Father of the world,
 All nature quakes in fear of you, PAKERBETH.
 I adjure God’s head, which is Olympos;
 I adjure God’s signet, which is vision;
 I adjure the right hand you held o’er the world;
 I adjure God’s bowl containing wealth;
 I adjure eternal god, AIŌN of all;
 310 / I adjure self-growing Nature, mighty ADŌNAIOS;
 I adjure setting and rising ELŌAIOS:
 I adjure these holy and divine names that
 They send me the divine spirit and that it
 Fulfill what I have in my heart and soul.
 315 / Hear blessed one, I call you who rule heav’n.
 And earth and Chaos and Hades where dwell
 [Daimons of men who once gazed on the light].
 Send me this daimon at my sacred chants,
 Who moves by night to orders 'neath your force,
 From whose own tent this comes, and let him tell me /
 320 In total truth all that my mind designs,
 And send him gentle, gracious, pondering
 No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
 Be angry at my sacred chants. But guard
 That my whole body come to light intact,

325 For you yourself arranged these things among
 Mankind for them to learn. / I call you name,
 In number equal to the very Moirai,
 ACHAIPHŌTHŌTHŌAIELAEA
 AIEAIEIAŌTHŌTHŌPHIACHA
 And when he comes, ask him about what you wish, about the art of
 prophecy,
 About divination with epic verse, about the sending of dreams, about
 obtaining
 330 revelations in dreams, about / interpretations of dreams, about causing
 disease,
 about everything that is a part of magical knowledge.
 Cover a throne and couch a cloth of linen, but remain standing while you
 sacrifice with the aforementioned burnt offering. And after the enquiry, if
 you
 335 wish / to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff,
 which
 you are holding in your left hand, to your right hand; and shift the sprig of
 laurel,
 340 which you are holding in your right hand, to your left hand; and extinguish/
 the
 burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering while saying:
 “Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
 O elder-born, self-generating god.
 I adjure the fire which first shone in the void;
 I adjure your pow’r which is greatest o’er all;/
 345 I adjure him who destroys e’en in Hades,
 That you depart, returning to your ship,
 And harm me not, but be forever kind.”

Translation by E. N. O’Neil

The text contains an unusual number of parallels with Apollo’s cult
 (PGMB, 10, n. 50 with the main study by Eitrem 1947, 47-52). The parallels begin
 with the number-essence about the leaves from “the god’s tree” (for the first temple
 in Delphi made by Apollo with laurel twigs, s. TД 3, 297 with sources and
 references), as well as the numbers-letters-signs, which form agalma-synhema,
 connected by symbolon of the Seven Day One, the Son-Sun born in the Heptad
 hierogamy. The fact that eight instead the announced seven signs are written
 (PGM, 10 n. 51) could be a mistake, but it could be an attempt of the compiler to

have himself included as “pairs of the god” on the eighth level. The numbers-letters-signs possess such compelling, coercing, commanding force – the force of the spelling naming, – that everyone obeys them (v. 274). The god himself obeys.

The ritual is clear. The light, i. e. (Apollo’s) solar image cannot occur from a “red womb ness”, i. e. – from the hierogamic death of the god – because he did ablaze before the 7, at the 5. The linen is the mandatory prophetic matter for the “wick of the light source”, as well as for the clothes of the soothsayer. The head of the wolf (v. 280) is Apollo’s good agalma in his chthonic fire image. On this image the solar will be put, which is represented with the lamp on the wolf’s head. This is how both hemispheres of the Cosmos, of the Great Goddess-Mother, are built. The hemispheres, the lit and the darkened ones, in the meantime name the Air and the Fire. Mother-Earth herself is thought in the altar of clay. This altar was constructed from Earth and Water, the other two main cosmogonic elements.

The divine spirit enters then, when the two symbols (objects-mediators) begin to accomplish their sacral act – the ebony scepter of the prophet-ruler in the left and the laurel twig in the right hand. The right hand is the one of the oracle’s patronage, extended by Apollo over Orpheus beheaded (TД 3, 258-259). When functioning, the symbols connect *the believed with the Faith*. The Faith replies to the spell with sending a divine spirit.

The gifts are burned for that the fire begins to act in the way it was spelled, as described on v. 343. The wolf’s eye names the fire once more in order to double the “flashing in the emptiness” among the fragrances. They fly towards the god as a symbolon, which informs the god for the libations and for the small loafs of bread. The libation is done with four sacred liquids in the ritual – two of Apollo and two of Dionysus: water and honey and wine and milk. Apollo’s and Dionysus’ agalmata are also the seven loafs of bread served twice. Apollo’s loafs are flat, solar, Dionysus’ – spongy, round, “pectoral” ones (for them s. TД 2 No. 5). The sexual intercourses and fish consummation are prohibited (s. PGMB, 10, nn. 52-53).

The magical naming from the synthema type follows. They are written on the linen wick of the “lamp, unpainted in red” (about the names s. PGMB, 10, nn. 54-55 and 11, nn. 57 and 59 with references). Apollo’s hymnic invocation itself is written there (s. v. 296-327). This Apollo’s hymn (s. PGMB, 10 nn. 56 about the verses; cf. not only Orphic hymn 34 discussed above, but also **Orphei** Hymni 8 Quandt of Helios) contains, text to the other ancient naming of the Delphic god,

also the ones from the Late Antiquity and the magical ones. The verses of the Orphic oath from 305 until 314 can be recognized in their natural spelling context, and they charm the god with magical, “sacred and divine” naming in his manifestations. The divine spirit sends them to the magus. PGMB, 11 n. 58 admits the variant of the swearing which says in translation “I conjure (you) (with) the head of the god”, which does not contradict the formula in 1 person sing.

The naming of images, positions, functions and actions in the Orphic hymns are equal to spells of a god. The spells are probably hidden from the mystes, but not for the hymn-leading Teacher-initiator. He “sees the naming” and for this reason compels it to execute his will. The head of the god is Olympus, the highest panthocratic visibility. The ring is the vision of “surrounding of the cosmos” on the sixth degree, when the Son sets the upper and lower hemi-spheres in movement. The right hand of the god, of the soothsayer, is the destiny. The krater – the vessel with spiritual wealth – is carried by mystes in a procession, it gets libations with it, and mixed with wine and water (for those three possibilities s. the verb κρᾶτηρίζω, s. Ginouvès 1962, 397 – Demosthenes’ description of Sabazius’ procession in Athens, – cf. ΤΔ 2, No. 5). Adonaios and Eloaios are personifications of the sovereign and of the Judaic supreme god, who, during the 4th-5th c. AD are transformed in commonly accepted magical naming. The magus swears them together with the other sacred naming.

This strongest fragment from the hymn-invocation-epodè is followed by one speculative-philosophical rhetoric where images and terms, including the human species and the citations of “the name in equal parts with the true Moires” (v. 325-326), interweave. In this passage three things could be emphasized. The first thing is that the god, except Heaven and Earth, rules over Chaos and Hades, i. e., the abyss and the underworld. They are put in opposition ascending to “Theogony” by Hesiod. The second thing relates to the demon who shuttles during nighttime, sent by the god to the magus. He is the mediator according to the old idea/image of the intellectual energy, which carries the prayer-appeal (ΤΔ 3, 20, 94, 169, 186, 196). The third thing is especially important. It is contained in the series of letters THŌTHŌ in the palindrome from v. 327 (PGMB, 11, n. 60). Hermes, meaning the Great Hermes, as we know, is coded in Toth’s duple naming. The hidden presence of the Orphic prophet, and the predominant hegemon of speech associates the spell with the kernel of the doctrinally-ritual Faith, recognized in the last verses. They reveal the technique of questions and answers between the magus and the god. Only one isolated question about the repertoire of the destructive magic in Apollo’s invocation-epodè concerns the swearing of

sickness and suffering, while the magical procedure is followed with the effort of learning a craft from the god. The god is obliged to pass on this knowledge to the operator. This craft includes also the super complicated “divination with epic verses” or, in Orphic language – *the making of immortality with a naming* (for this s. TД 3, 130-132).

This leads to the culmination during which a throne is covered with a linen cloth. This is a throne of the god. The strength of the magical operator during this episode is so big, that he is capable of keeping the god on the throne until he wants to, and release him when he wants – by extinguishing the light and switch the places of the symbols. This way, the link god-magus will be disconnected. The universal, unique and multi-essential god leaves the meeting with the magus on a ship – an expected Egyptian stylistics.

While Apollo’s hymnic spells are a frequent motif in the papyri both because of Egyptian and Ancient Greek (Ionian and Delphic) tradition, the fire alternative of the Orphic Son of the Great Goddess-Mother, the Son-Fire, Dionysus-Zagreus is sworn very rarely. During the era of the late paganism, towards and after the 4th c. AD, this lack does not impair the notion about the dual Son (Apollo and Dionysus). This notion is explained by Macrobius in his description of “Sabazius’ religion” in Thrace. More so, the chthonic image of the Son melts faster in Early Christianity, because in Early Christianity, contrary to Sol Invictus, he cannot be easily adapted. This becomes obvious with his partial integration through the figure of the Thracian Heros, the horseman mediator between the worlds. These circumstances enlarge the relict value of an inscription on a papyrus from the 4th c. AD, which almost certainly contains a fragment of a hymnic spell of Dionysus-Zagreus (P. Berol. 17202 with an unknown discovery place, discussed by Brashear–Kotansky 2002, 3-24).

The text includes six parts, completely different in their content:

I. an exorcism with allusions to the birth and miracles of Jesus (1-12); II. a pagan $\phi\mu\omega\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ to silence opponents (13-19); III. a prose, hymnic invocation (20-22); IV. an adjuration with ritual procedures against a thief (23-30); V. a spell to achieve an erection (31-33); and VI. a “Sacred Stele” called the “second” (34-30).

Brashear–Kotansky 2002, 8-9 offer the third part with translation into English:

- 20 III [ca. 12], $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ = who traverses the air,
21 [ca. 12], $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\chi\epsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\omicron\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}$ ($\mu\epsilon$) = star holder, mountain walker,
22 [ca. 12], $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\acute{o}\iota\ \delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omicron\nu$ = come to me, O serpent.

The commentary of these three rows (Brashear–Kotansky 2002, 20-21) points out that the fragmented section is a part of a hymnic invocation. The authors see in them “astrological elements ...” “... involving the presence of the constellation of Draco”. Such a supposition evokes another one, namely that the invocation might be a part of *ἀύτοπιος* or *σύστασις* (cf. PGM IV. 930-1114 for spells that invoke the very presence of powerful stellar, or light-bearing deities). PGM III. 255-257 is a suitable parallel: *οὐροδρόμε ... ἔλθè ... ἀεροδρόμε Πύθει Παιᾶν* (= Hymn 12). The hapax *ἀστροδοῦχε* (row 21) probably could be compiled from *ἀστρο* + *οὔχος* (*ἔχειν*). Such a form, however, does not exist, despite *ταρταροῦχε* (voc.) in PGM IV. 2242 (= Hymn 17), *δαδοῦχε* in PGM IV. 2522-2567 (= Hymn 20. 32) and *δαϊδοῦχε* in **Orphei** Hymni 9. 4 Quandt, and *ἀλληλοῦδχε* (= Hymn 22. 3). The publishers do not notice the closeness of *ἀστροδοῦχε* and the form *δαδοῦχε* in Hymn 20. 32 with *Δαδοῦχος*, the second-in-meaning priest in the Eleusis mysteries. This priest “gives light” during the procession and the mystery (Clinton 1974, 47-68).

The written form, preserved in the hymn, doubtlessly associates the chthonic night mystery with Zagreus’ one. This theonym is still not used in the recreation of the Eleusis mysteries, but Clinton 1974, 17, n. 41, who summarizes the opinions before and after World War II, concludes that Dionysus plays an “important role, if not the principal one” at least since the second quarter of the 4th c. BC. Still, the chthonic Zagreus – the bloody-fire-like hypostasis of the god, - is the most suitable personification of the underworld metaphor of the oral doctrinally-ritual faith in the Great Goddess-Mother and in the Eleusis mysteries.

The most important naming is *ὀρεοδρῶ(με)*, a “special Dionysiac epithet” (s. **Eurip.** Bacch. 985 Murray), which is certain in the form *ὀρειδρόμος*. The authors comment that in **Eurip.** Bacch. 1018-1019 “Dionysus is urged to appear in the form of bull, dragon, or lion”. The hymn summons the snake and the lion in row 939, with other worlds – “the power of Draco and Leon are being called upon!”.

The hymnic spell awakes an old Zagreus’ naming, which is contained in the oral Orphism and is preserved in one fragment by Euripides (TD 1, No. 7). The mountain wanderer, who is a “star-holder” in the night of his own sacrificial ritual, is summoned to appear in the image of the (horned) snake, after he had re-embodied himself in a bull and lion. His occurrence is a “crossing through the air”, i. e., he purifies himself in order to visit his mystes in the same way as the initiated

people beseech the summoned gods in the Orphic hymns “to change their faces”, in order to emanate and create goodness.

GOD’S PURIFICATION

The “magic god” purifies/expiates/protects. Such functions are contained in the folklore ritual antiquity. The Hittite army marches in the beginning of the seasonal campaigns during springtime between the two cut up halves of a murdered captive. The Macedonian and Boeotian armies march between the two halves of a sacrificed dog. The zone between the two halves absorbs the pollution (for this ritual technique s. Parker 1983, 22, nn. 19-20 and p. 226). The two halves of a sacrificial rooster are carried around a vineyard in Metana to create a protecting circle against destructive winds. A red he-goat is an anti-plague sacrifice in Cyrene, dedicated to Apollo. Hermes receives a statue in Tanagra because he had carried a ram around the city walls (Parker 1983, 275, n. 90 with **Paus.** 2. 34. 2 for the rooster; the Cyrene’s catharactic law – SEG 9, 72; SEG 20, 717; Parker, Appendix 2. 332-351 for the red he-goat; **Paus.** 9. 22. 1 for Hermes’ ram). Purifications with metal relate to this lower rank of the magically-purifying actions. Parker 1983, 228 adduces **Pind.** Ol. 1. 1. – “water is best, and gold shines out like blazing fire” – to ask himself how to purify with gold. “It was perhaps by sprinkling of water from a gold vessel?” (Parker 1983, 228, n. 118).

Jameson–Jordan–Kotansky 1993, 14-16 publish a sacred law from Selinus. The law is written in two columns on a lead lamella and is dated to the second quarter of the 5th c. BC or earlier. The lamella is exported from Italy, purchased by Paul Getty Museum, and consequently returned. The spells written on it are defined by the publishers as defixiones.

The first column (A) is restored by Jameson et alii 1993, 12. Κοτυτίον is mentioned in col. A, v. 7. Θυσία are executed before the festival. Κοτύττια are mentioned for the first time in an epigraphic document. They bear the name of the Edonian Goddess Κότυς/Κοττώ/Κοτυττώ and similar, including the Latinized Coto (s. Detschew 1976², 259) and are documented until the present day in Athens, Corinth and Sicily.

The context where the Kotyttia are registered, allows some new things to be said, which regard the magical character of the oral Orphic faith. The mystical celebration and the Olympic games are put in the inscription after θυσία of Zeus

Eumenes, of the Eumenides and of Zeus Meilichios (col. A, v. 7-9). Consequently we can think of purification of the chthonic hypostasis of a Great Goddess-Mother with a theonym Kotyttò. Such a possibility is revealed in another chthonic goddess, Hekate. The goddess has to be released from the pollution, since “the goddess’ power to harm was expressed in her impurity”. She has to be released so that the “goddess’s pollution for shameful ends” not to be used (Parker 1983, 222-224, nn. 84-87 following **Theophr.** Char. 16. 7; for “pollution in magic” s. **Theophr.** 5. 121; for “pollution and magical attack” – **Orph.** Lith. 591 (585)).

The sacrifices show that they are ritual-magical purification. The ram fleece offered to Zeus Meilichios (sometimes also offered to Zeus Ktesios) purifies a murder (Parker 1983, 28-29, n. 58 with **Hesych.** s.v. μαμιάκτες· μείλιχιος καθάρσιος). It is believed that the wave will swallow the pollution caused by murder when the person purifying himself steps with his left foot on the fleece. According to Parker 1983, 373, n. 18, the left foot is “more inferior” (for the purifying fleece of Zeus in Eleusis s. Parker 1983, 285). In this case it is only reasonable not to reject the supposition about purification through the left sacred side. In accordance with the Cyrene’ law (SEG 9. 72, v. 50-55; cf. Parker 1983, 332-351, App. 2), the murderer who comes as a suppliant, has to be made to sit on the threshold of a white fleece and to be smeared (Parker 1983, 350). The technique of swallowing/sucking-in of a pollution is widespread also in other rituals (Parker 1983, 231, n. 140 with **Dem.** 18. 259; about the Sabazius’ smearing with mud and bran – s. ΤД 2, 82-84). **Hesych.** s.v. μαγίδες μαγμὸν is adduced for purification through sucking pollution in from cheese or from loafs of whole meal bread. Both the loafs and the cheese are offered to Trophonius and to Hekate (Parker 1983, 231, n. 141).

The ritual is even stronger when challenged from the need to have the polluted Τριτοπάτορες purified. They are chthonic spirits of forefathers of the murderer. Their purification is done with libation, “through the roof” of the hypogaion, where it is believed, they sojourn.

OF II 318 = **Suda** Adler s. v. Τριτοπάτορες· Δήμων ἐν τῇ Ατθίδι φησὶν ἀνέμους εἶναι τοὺς Τριτοπάτορας, Φιλόχορος δὲ τοὺς Τριτοπάτριες πάντων γεγονέναι πρώτους· τὴν μὲν γὰρ γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥλιον, φησὶν, ὃν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα τότε καλεῖν, γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἠπίσταντο οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τούτων τρίτους πατέρας. Φανόδημος δὲ ἐν φησὶν, ὅτι μόνοι Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσί τε καὶ εὐχονται αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ γενέσεως παίδων, ὅταν γαμεῖν μέλλωσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὀρφείῳ Φυσικῶ ὀνομάζεσθαι τοὺς Τριτοπάτορας Ἀμαλκείδην καὶ Πρωτοκλέα καὶ Πρωτοκρέοντα, θυρωροὺς καὶ φύλακας ὄντας τῶν ἀνέμων. ὁ δὲ τὸ Ἐξηγητικὸν

ποιήσας Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς φησὶν αὐτοὺς εἶναι, ὀνόματα δὲ αὐτῶν Κόττον, Βριάρεων καὶ Γύγην.

“Tritopatores: Demon in the Atthis says that the Tritopatores are anemoi (winds), (while) Philokhoros (says) that the Tritopatores were born first of all. For the men of that time, he says, understood as their parents Ge (the earth) and Helios (the sun), whom then they called Apollon. Phanodemos in [book] 6 maintains that only [the] Athenians both sacrifice to them and pray to them, when they are about to marry, for the conception of children. In the Physikos of Orpheus the Tritopatores are named Amalkeides and Protokles and Protokleon, being doorkeepers and guardians of the winds. But the author of Explanation claims that they are [the same as the Hekatonkheires, offspring] of Ouranos (Heaven) and Ge (Earth), and that their names are Kottos, Briareon and Gyges.”

The idea of a for-mysterical participation in a hierogamic teletè is suggested in the Samothracian Orphic initiation. Though in late texts, the Cabiri purify the Great Goddess-Mother. The Syracusan Artermis or Hekate, who is called Ἄγγελος, stole Hera’s magical myrrh, and gave it to Europa. After Hera begun to persecute Hekate, Zeus ordered to the Cabiri to purify Ἄγγελος (Parker 1983, 223, n. 86 with **Schol. Theocr.** 2. 11/12 and **Hesych.** s. v. ἄγγελος). This enlightens the possible doctrinally-ritual equalization between the Great Goddess-Mother Axiokersa in Samothrace and Kotyttò in Sicily.

Ginouvé 1962, 399, n. 2 describes the sanctuaries of the Cabiri in Delos, Imbros and Thebes. They are located near springs and rivers, the water of which purifies. Distinguishing between Great Gods, Samothracian gods and Cabiri (following Hemberg 1950), the author generalizes that the cathartic rituals practiced in these sanctuaries are equal in meaning. She adduces Ch. Picard in *Revue d’Histoire des Religions* from 1952 about the Theban Cabiri. Ch. Picard thinks that the pre-Greek cult “s’est surtout teinté ensuite d’aspects thracophrygiens” and that the cult seems to confirm the mysterially-purifying character of the ritual initiatory rituals. On Samothrace such ritual, apart from the washing and changing clothes, is done with drops of blood (TД 3, 285). According to Parker 1983, 284. n. 18 and p. 374, n. 29, the mysteries in Agrae are an analogy of the Samothracian one. He thinks that the bloody guilt is purified with blood and connects the piece of information about the Hesychian glosse for κοίης. “Zeus’ fleece”, for example, is used for purification in the Eleusis mysteries (**Suda** s. v. Διὸς κώδιον πρὸς τοὺς καθαρμούς; s. however, Clinton’s 1974, 68 doubt, in regard to the relationship with the Eleusis mysteries). Parker links the information also with the Cabiri and with the Athenian practice for purification with water and blood. In TД 3, 285 I suggested that the Hesychius’ glosse is christianized during

the late 5th c., and that for this reason the glosse has the meaning of “from blood” and not only “with blood”.

My opinion, that the meaning of purification “from blood” is given late for the bloody catharsis, is supported by the formulation of the problem regarding the reason why in Homer’s time the murderer is not purified (Parker 1983, 130-143). It is noted from the old authors that Homer keeps silent regarding any purification from homicide. The purification from such a sin occurs as an idea, and, as it seems, as a practice, during the 5th c. BC without having any succession with the Homeric antiquity. May be the best example is Oedipus (for the murder and the incest as a plot of the polis’ moral s. ТД 3, 149). In the “Odyssea” Oedipus continues to be Theban king after his deeds are revealed (**Hom.** Od. 11. 271-280 Fuchs). In the “Iliad” the king is honored after his death with sepulchral competitive games (**Hom.** Il. 23. 679 Allen/Fuchs). The attitude towards the Theban king changes in Pherecydes, who presents Oedipus as having two marriages following the one with his mother (Parker 1983, 385-386 with 3FGrH fr. 95; 16 FGrH fr. 10. 8; **Paus.** 9. 5. 11).

Under whose influence does this attitude change during the 5th c. BC? Parker 1983, 138-143, n. 161 replies first to this question with the influence of the Delphic Apollo, who purified himself in Crete after killing the Python. The author cites **Paus.** 2. 7. 7; 2. 30. 3; 10. 7. 2; 10. 16. 5, but not the myth in Pindarus about the purification of the god with the water of the Peneus river (s. ТД 3, 297). The Delphic mytho-history of Pindarus would help Parker’s 1983, 143 hypothesis, because he examines a “more interesting possibility” for explaining the purification introduced in the polis during the 5th c. BC with Orphism. The author sees the explanation within the frames of the common restrain from any murder of animals prescribed by Orphism, but states that this “eccentric religious movement” could hardly impose this new practice in society. R. Parker concludes that nothing occurs to explain the after-Homeric change – “but, very probable, there was nothing to explain”, he says.

The Orphic literature does hardly influence a society where people who can read, and philosophizing people, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Such an esoteric circle, closed in itself, is not capable of changing ritualism. It cannot mythologize the oral Faith. The non-literary Orphic teaching and ritualism has two alternatives in Sabazius’ image, the chthonic and the solar one. This discrepancy is presented by Parker 1983, 302, n. 111, where **Eurip.** Fr. 79 Austin is cited (s. TD 1, No. 7) with the sentence “the initiate’s pure and vegetarian life is

paradoxically (sic!?) inaugurated by the characteristic Dionysiac rite of “eating raw (flesh)”. He continues to doubt, because according to him, “it is unfortunately uncertain what reality, if any (sic!?) lies behind this imaginative portrayer set in the fabulous land of Crete”.

The Orphic Sabazius is a changeable identification, which functions as good and bad, but in the specific environment about specific people with specific tasks in relation to them. For this reason the invocations are an appeal for such a change, which would obligate the god to behave properly during the requested appearance. The change also includes a cathartic removal of pollutions, which the god conglomerates on his “clean effigy” when called by others. The god’s purification is a method of new mastering of the divine will by the one who seeks it, for that the will cannot be directed towards the Evil. The Orphic magica premises the god’s purification as a pre-initiational ritual acts, which are not single. They are re-created each time when the fateful relation with the god has to be established again.

INTRODUCTION TO ORPHICA MAGICA II

M. True 1995 examines a Chalcidian neck-amphora owned by The Paul Getty Museum (L.88.AE.56). It is made by Inscription Painter, who is considered the creator of the Chalcidian production from black-figure vase-painting which begins a little before 570 BC. The Painter had painted the 39.6 cm high vase between 550 and 540 BC (True 1995, 426). This very early vase-painting represents Diomedes and Odysseus in the night slaughter of the Thracians who were led by Rhesus. Afterwards Odysseus leads away the horses of the murdered warriors. The wonderful images with names of the heroes are accentuated not so much with a scene of death, but rather with a magnificent white Thracian horse represented in a central position (True 1995, fig. 25. 1 a, b, c, and especially fig. 25. 1 a).

The neck-amphora puts forward again the problem for the initial records of the oral ethnos Thracian Orphism, which I have dated towards the middle of the 6th c. BC in TO, TD 1, TД 2 and 3, and in XO. The Onomacritus’ myth about Zagreus and the fragment by Ibycus for “the brilliantly known” Orpheus date back to approximately this time. This is also the time of the so called Pisistratus’ revision of the “Iliad”, which interpolates the tenth song in the poem, or at least inserts

substantial culturally-historical realities united around the personification of the southwestern Thracian king Rhesus. During the decade between the years 550-540 BC Inscription Painter names three things with images, forms, colors and functions: Resus' anthropodemon-like stasis, the hierogamic Orphic Death-New Birth of the bull-god from his joining with the Great Goddess-Mother, and the mission of the esoteric teacher and prophet born from the gods-paredroi. In such a way are thought Orpheus and Zalmoxis. Together with Rhesus they form the group of Apollo's/Dionysus' named paides. The paides begin their new literary life in mythological, legendary, poetic, tragic and prose subjects in ancient Greek as well as in Latin.

The middle of the 6th c. BC is the good dating of the first interactive contacts of the oral Thracian doctrinal faith with the written records in the zone of the Hyperborean diagonal. I define this faith as a Thracian Orphism from the culturally-historical viewpoint on the spirituality in Southeastern Europe after the middle of the 2nd mil. BC. The Thracian ethnosness is the best synonym of the non-polis type of culture, i. e. behavior. The ethnos Thracian Orphism forms itself in the spiritual space from Crete up North with pre-Classic kernel in Boeotia, Thessaly, Macedonia and South-Southwestern Thrace. During the Sub-Mycenaean period and during the centuries of the polis' strengthening, the non-Olympic faith-teaching stabilizes itself in some Greek ethnos regions, but mainly in the Thracian territories. The data from these regions completely clarify how the aristocratic esoteric doctrine upholds the ethnos culture-behavior in an ideological way through its interrelation with the people's open initiational mystery. In this open mystery the believers purify and free themselves from guilt through the obsession of the Son, which they experience. These two levels of the Thracian Orphism are the most richly documented in the zone of the Hyperborean diagonal.

This documentation is not usually studied as a common source base for the Orphic oral teaching (Orphic hymns, texts from PGM, goldlamellae, the Derveni and the Gurob papyri and the Olbian/Berezan lamellae), proves the Orphism's entirety (Morand 2001, 299-306). The entirety, however, is not a characteristic of the literary Orphism. It relates to the oral one, because the faith in immortality is not a questionable consolation, as is the reincarnation of the soul, but is an achievable goal in ecstasis as well as in enthousiasmos.

The faith in immortality represents a magical knowledge for a direct contact with the divine energy, which is forced to incorporate the one summoning it to its mightiness. The Thracian ethnos Orphism is a teaching about this

compulsion, about the way where the god follows to admit the right of a co-happening in the secrecy “to become a god from a mortal”, as it is said in the Orphic goldlamella. The earned right of the mortal to become a hierogamic pair of the paredroi is a magical achievement. The traces of this achievement in the texts from Roman time and from the transitional period from Antiquity to the Middle Ages certify the hard dying Orphic hope that death is not dirt, ashes and oblivion. Death could be surmounted with an esoteric knowledge-remembrance, which is achieved through education in dying, i. e., in immortality! Such is the content of Orphica Magica.