

The Book of Wisdom and of the Science of Talismans of Apollonios of Tyana (βίβλος σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως ἀποτελεσμάτων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως)

Earl Fontainelle

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Greek text from Boll 1908, 174–81, based on *MS Berolinensis* 1577 (*quondam* 173) (see *Pinakes diktyon* 9478). The line-numbers are purely *ad hoc* for this document and bear no relationship either to the MS or to Boll's edition. I have added headings to the English; these are for convenience of navigation, and are not there in the Greek. In the translation, pointy brackets (<...>) indicate a missing passage in the manuscript; square brackets ([]) indicate words I have added to the English for purposes of clarity which are not explicitly there in the Greek.

Gratias ago Krateri Hermetis atque Joel Kalvesmaki multissimas.

Introduction

What follows aims at being a useful, straightforward English rendering of a little-known work of folk-astrological and angelic addressative practice known from several manuscripts of East-Roman provenance.¹ The MSS date to the fifteenth century, but

¹This work, fragmentary in the form in which it survives in Greek, still lacks a comprehensive critical edition. Three publications of different MSS exist; to wit, Delatte 1927, 601–03 [from 15th-cen. MS Bononiensis 3632]; Nau 1907 II, 1362–92 [from manuscripts including the 15th-cen. *Parisinus gr.* 2419 and *Parisinus gr.* 2316]; and Boll 1908, 175–81 [from MS *MS Berolinensis* 1577 (*quondam* 173)], the source of the present text. The Arabic translation, known as *Kitāb al-ṭalāsīm al-akbar*, preserves much that is lost from the Greek, and exists in many more MSS, but has not even been printed, much less edited critically. It is summarised by Kraus (1942–43, II, 293–5; cf. Ullmann 1972, 379–80).

the text itself is much older, although how much older is not possible to say with precision;² it must at any rate have existed at some as-yet undetermined point in time before the end of the tenth century in order to have been translated into Arabic.³ The text as it survives in Greek is missing quite a bit of material still found in the Arabic version; the Greek version seems to have been mutilated, and since much of the missing material is of a practical nature, it is tempting to conjecture that a scribe found the practical addressative material problematic – objectionable in a theological context, dangerous in a wordly context, or a mix of the two – and removed it.⁴ Christianising inclusions were made at some point as well, perhaps in late antiquity, but more likely at some later phase of copying/collation in the middle ages.

Because this text uses some specific, less-studied vocabulary germane precisely to the talismanic literature of East Rome, there follow brief explanations for the translation-choices made for two particular terminological clusters.

(Ἀπο)τέλεσμα, (ἀπο)τελεῖν

The verb τελέω has a long and fertile career in the history of ideas relating to initiatory cult; its dual senses of ‘to perfect, complete’ and ‘to initiate’ have led to a very rich semantic sphere for interpretation. A τελετή is, simply, an initiation or an initiatory rite in the context of ancient Greek religion, later adopted by Christianity to refer to the sacraments and other holy mysteries (see Lampe s.v.). The related verb ἀποτελέω does not pertain directly to initiation; its basic meaning is either to complete something or to fulfil a debt. The verb has a specifically-astrological sense, however; it refers to the events brought about by astral influence, and hence to the making of forecasts based on the same (see LSJ s.v.). Related to this derived verb are the noun ἀποτελεσμα, ‘an astrological procedure or reading’ or just ‘the practice of astrology’;⁵ whence ἀποτελεσματικός, an adjective which basically means ‘astrological’, and which serves

²Pingree 1980 suggests some time in the fifth or sixth century; this late-antique version will not, however, have been the mutilated version of the text surviving today.

³This back-of-an-envelope dating is based on using the composition of the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* as a *terminus ante quem*. I am sure it can be narrowed down much more with some philological work.

⁴Other Greek MSS of our text have also clearly been Bowdlerised in this way, but to a lesser degree. So Nau's edition of four MSS contains the following line missing in our MSS: ἐν ᾗ ὀφείλει ενεργεῖν ἐπὶ τε ἀγάπην καὶ ἐχθράν καὶ δεδµοὺς καὶ παντὸς γοητικοῦ πράγματος (after line 65 of the present text). This is blatantly ‘sorcerous’ material, missing in our text. Until the Greek is properly edited and stemmatised we will not know whether this represents a series of copyists of increasing squeamishness or rather multiple, independent forays into the squeamish.

⁵Vettius Valens 332.1; cf. Eust. 900.34, Siml. *In Ph.* 293.11.

to mark works as belonging to that genre.⁶

Our terms, however, have a second semantic sphere with nothing directly to do with astrology: this is the realm of talisman-making. Let us take ‘talisman’ to mean ‘empowered object’ for the moment; further specifics are discussed below. Here we find τέλεσμα and ἀποτέλεσμα as the basic terms for a talisman (in mediæval East Rome this term gains a synonym, στοιχείον, discussed below). Discussions of Apollonios of Tyana, in particular, abound with (ἀπο)τελέσματα from the classical period until well into the mediæval, and Apollonios, in creating his talismans, is usually depicted as enacting the verb (ἀπο)τελεῖν.⁷ Malalas’ account illustrates already in the sixth century all the major features of Apollonios the maker of municipal talismans, who would go on to a long career in East Roman and Islamic lore:

There lived, in the time of the reign of this same Domitian, the most-wise Apollonios of Tyana; he passed the prime of his life travelling around making talismans (τελέσματα) for cities and regions. Leaving Rome, he happened upon Byzantion, and going to Byzopolis (now blessedly known as Constantine’s New City) he also made many talismans (τελέσματα) there at the request of the Byzantines: the (talisman) of the storks, that of the river Lykos, which runs through the middle of the city, that of the tortoise, that of the horses, and certain other wonders.⁸ And finally, having left Byzantion, this same Apollonios made talismans (τελέσματα) for the other cities.⁹

In what follows, ἀποτέλεσμα, -ματα is translated as ‘talisman(s)’. The verbal forms are more difficult to match with a single term of translation; we discuss our *ad hoc* solution below, in the context of our next technical term ...

⁶E.g. the Ἀποτελεσματικά of Paul of Alexandria, the Ἀποτελεσματικὴ πραγματεία of Stephanos of Alexandria, &c.

⁷See Blum 1946, 322 for a representative selection of late-antique writers on Apollonios’ talismanic activities.

⁸All of these talismanic statues and more are discussed in greater detail in the *Patria* and *Parasteis*, sources discussed further below.

⁹10.51 Thurn: Ἦν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δομετιανοῦ ὁ σοφώτατος Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς· καὶ ἤρχμαζεν περιπολεύων καὶ πανταχοῦ ποιῶν τελέσματα εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ εἰς τὰς χώρας, ὅστις ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξελθὼν κατέλαβε τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς Βυζούπολιν, τὴν νῦν λεγομένην εὐτυχῶς Κωνσταντινουπόλιν, ἐποίησε καὶ ἐκεῖ πολλὰ τελέσματα παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Βυζαντίων, τὸ τῶν πελαργῶν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Λύκου ποταμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ μέσου τῆς πόλεως παρερχομένου καὶ τὸ τῆς χελώνης καὶ τὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ θαυμαστά· καὶ λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξελθὼν ἐποίει εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ὁ αὐτός Ἀπολλώνιος τελέσματα.

Στοιχέια, στοιχείωσις, στοιχείω

H. Diels (1899) and O. Lagercrantz (1911) both published detailed monographs devoted to the Latin/Greek pairing *elementum*/στοιχείον,¹⁰ but these books largely ignore post-classical usage; in them you will not find the στοιχέια relevant to our text, in which context the term is related to the making of powerful items – often statues, but not exclusively – which we shall call talismans. Liddell & Scott ignore this post-classical meaning. Lampe's patristic lexicon gives, under στοιχείον (*sub voc.* B.3), 'demonic principle or power', while the Byzantine lexicon of Trapp *et al.* gives for στοιχείον 'böser Geist, Dämon' as well as 'Statue', and for στοιχείωσις 'Beschwörung, Zauberei'. This strictly-demonic/sorcerous cluster of meanings, however, is only part of the story, as shown by the detailed discussion of Clæs Blum (1946), which remains, to my knowledge, the sole work investigating this terminological cluster in detail.

Our evidence-base for the talismanic usage of the στοιχ- words includes the 'guidebooks' to the city of Constantinople known as the *Patria* and the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, wherein talismanic statues, often anachronistically attributed to Apollonios of Tyana, dot the cityscape; chroniclers like the *Continuatio*, Georgios Kedrenos, and others; the astrological literature; and manuals like the *Book of Wisdom*. A process can be seen in the course of time, as the mediæval period shades off into modernity, when further developments in the meaning of the term στοιχείον occur, such that it comes to mean 'demon' or 'spirit'.¹¹ In our period, however, and especially as regards the works attributed to Apollonios of Tyana, the term refers to the making of talismans, objects of occult power, and, while the source of that power can be understood differently in different texts, it is rarely understood by those texts as residing in the power of demons (the exception being the polemics of certain churchmen).¹² Indeed, in an incident widely-reported in mediæval sources, the emperor Alexandros (r. 912–13) is said to have sought out the Orthodox Patriarch Johannes to perform a στοιχείωσις in an effort to keep barbarians at bay; clearly, this

¹⁰For a richer survey of scholarship on the important and polyvalent terms στοιχείον and *elementum*, see Acevedo 2020, xx–xxiii.

¹¹This later usage will plausibly have developed something like as follows: object of power → object powerful because a demon has been bound inside it (the notion that talismans operate primarily *angelically* having dropped out of popular consciousness) → the demon itself. Cf. Blum 1946, 325: 'the original meaning of the word within this sphere of ideas seems to have been that of a magical sign It then grew to represent the demon bound by the magical signs, and the talisman by means of which such a demon exercised its influence. Finally, in modern Greek, it stands for any kind of demon.'

¹²Dagron 1984, 105 cites Nilos of Ankyra (5th c.) and Anastasios the Sinaïte (8th c.) as denouncing Apollonios for demonic *goēteia*.

power could operate through holy as well as unholy means.¹³

How *did* one perform a *stoicheiōsis*? Both within and outside of the technical literature to which our *Book of Wisdom* pertains, a range of beliefs can be found: one might use ‘stoicheiical’ words,¹⁴ ceremonies,¹⁵ and/or the knowledge of occult properties.¹⁶ Sometimes it is clear to an author that it was the *inscribing* of a statue that led to its *stoicheiōsis*,¹⁷ leading to the tempting hypothesis that the original magical use of the term arose as a development from using inscriptions (made up of στοιχεία, that is ‘letters’ in the everyday sense, and most likely inscriptions of pseudo-letter χαρακτήρες) to empower physical objects.¹⁸ Various astrological considerations sometimes play a rôle. In the Βίβλος σοφίας it is clear that the key ingredients for any στοιχειώσεις are knowledge of correct καιρός for making the talisman and knowledge of the correct ὀνόματα; whether these names are to be spoken aloud in a ceremonial context, inscribed, or perhaps both is unclear, but we can see behind the lists of times and names in the manual a concern with getting the right name at the right time so as to create a powerful object.

It is quite difficult to find an exact English term of translation for στοιχεῖον and its cognates in this talismanic context. In some of our sources the term can simply mean ‘a statue’, as sometimes in the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, with no possibility for us to see whether the author means ‘talismanic statue’ or ‘regular statue’; at other times in that text, though, there is no doubt but that these are wonder-working talismans. Is a στοιχεῖον, then, simply ‘a talisman’? There is plenty of evidence that this nominal form is indeed understood as more or less equivalent to the (ἀπο)τέλεσμα found in

¹³*Contin.* p. 155,11 (repeated by Sim. Mag. and Kedrenos), citation from Blum 1946, 320.

¹⁴The Patriarch Johannes, in the incident just related, empowers a three-headed statue in the Hippodrome at Constantinople to counter the three ‘barbarian’ chieftains, using τούς στοιχειωτικούς λόγους.

¹⁵For examples from mediæval East Roman literature, see Blum 1946, 320. So e.g. Kedrenos I p. 229,5, speaking of Troy: Τὸ Παλλάδιον λεγόμενον ξύλινον υπήρχεν εἰδωλον της Παλλάδος· τούτο ἔλεγον τετελεσμένον εἶναι ἀρρήτοις τισί καὶ δαιμονιώδεσι τελεστηρίους, ἥτοι μυσαιοῖς μυστηρίους ἐστοιχειωμένον.

¹⁶See n. 18 below.

¹⁷*Patria* p. 191, 14 on the inscriptions on certain statues in the Hippodrome of Constantinople: τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐμερῶν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων εἰσὶν πάσαι αἱ ἱστορίαι, ἃς ἐστηλώσατο Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς εἰς μνήμην τον ἐντυγχανόντων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης της πόλεως τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐστοιχειώσατο. Cf. *ibid.* 206,15.

¹⁸Blum (1946, 323) argues for this etymology of the East-Roman magical use of στοιχεῖον, following undeveloped suggestions by some earlier scholars. It seems plausible to me, but I would modify Blum’s remarks with the additional suggestion that χαρακτήρες will have played a rôle in this development, based both on the graphical affinities of the χαρακτήρες used in ancient Greek magic with letters (see Gordon 2011, 2014), and the nearly-universal fact that in the magical literature from late antiquity it is precisely by inscribing χαρακτήρες that statues are activated.

earlier sources, so I am reasonably happy with that.

But how to translate the verbal forms of both ἀποτελεῖν and στοιχειεῖν presents some difficulty in English: ‘Talismanise’? ‘Entalismate’? Blum (1946) uses ‘consecrate’ for the verbal στοιχειέω, but this, with its ‘churchy’ feel, is inapt, for example, for the kinds of talismans Apollonios was making in late antiquity, which are often depicted as relying for their efficacy on natural (if occult) causes.¹⁹ Nau (1907) uses ‘incantare’ and its cognates, but this leans too heavily on the spoken/sung word, which in some talismanic *praxeis* is not present. In translating both verbal clusters I opt in what follows for ‘activate’, a word commonly used in the academic study of magic for a whole range of practices thought to endue objects with power or operational potency. While the talisman-maker is in some sources seemingly envisioned as himself literally setting up a statue or empowered monument,²⁰ the underlying meaning of both ἀποτελεῖν and στοιχειοῦν seems to be the act of making these emplacements into receptacles of effective power – through some combination of ritual actions and/or occult properties – once the statue was already in place. A στοιχειώσις or an act of ἀποτελεῖν will be an ‘activation’.

¹⁹We can probably assume a naturalistic understanding in other authors, such as Malalas, who never specify how Apollonios’ talismans work, but who are drawing on a classical tradition, exemplified by Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonios*, depicting the sage’s powers as deriving from his deep penetration into the mysteries of Pythagorean philosophy. Cf. e.g. the Hieroklēs responded to in Eusebios’ *Contra Hieroclem* (at XL and elsewhere); Pseudo-Justin *Quaestiones ad orthodoxos* 24, PG 79, col. 269 (cited at Dagron 1984 105).

²⁰See Cameron and Herrin 1984 144–45 on the στοιχειοσάμενος as ‘artificer’, i.e. the one who made the magic statues.

βίβλος σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως ἀποτελεσμάτων Ἀπολλονίου τοῦ Τυανέως Ὁς ἔγραψε καὶ
 ἐδίδαξε Σούστουμον Θάλασσον τὸν αὐτοῦ μαθητὴν λέγων αὐτῷ οὕτως· υἱὲ ἄκουσόν μου·
 καὶ ἀποδείξω σοι μυστήριον σοφίας τὸ πολλοῖς ἄγνωστον καὶ ἀγνώριστον καὶ ἀπόκρυφον
 περὶ καιρῶν καὶ χρόνων ὥρων ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν, ἔτι ὀνομασίας καὶ ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν καὶ
 5 σοφίας ἀληθινῆς τῆς ἐν αὐταῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένης· καὶ ἀποκαλύψω σοι τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ δοθείσης
 μοι γνώσεως τὰ ἀποτελέσματα, δι' ὧν στοιχειοῦνται πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῆς
 γῆς. ἰδοὺ γὰρ τέσσαρας βίβλους τιμιωτέρας χρυσῶν καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν ἐκτίσαμεν· μίαν
 μὲν ἀστρονομίας, ἑτέραν δὲ ἀστρολογίας, τρίτην σχολαστικὴν καὶ τετάρτην πασῶν οὐσαν
 τιμιωτέραν ἐν ἣ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ φοβερά ἐστι σημεῖα καὶ ἐξ ἴσης τεράστια καὶ μυστήρια· λέγω
 10 δὴ τὴν περὶ στοιχειώσεως τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δημιουργηθέντων καὶ ὀρωμένων κτισμάτων, ἵνα
 ὁ μεταχειριζόμενος εἰ βούλεται, <...> ἐπιτετευγμένως καὶ εὐστόχως τὰ τοιαῦτα τεράστια
 διαπράττεσθαι. πάσης ἀπέχεσθαι πονηρὰς πράξεως, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας
 ὁμιλίας καὶ συνελεύσεως. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲ γυναικὶ ὀφείλει ὑπηρέτιδι χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς
 τοιαύτας ἐνεργείας, ἐπειδὴ παράλογα ἀπ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἀποβαίνειν πεφύκασιν· εἰ γὰρ τύχοι
 15 ἐν ἐμμήνοις οὖσα, τὰ δένδρα ἐν οἷς ἂν πλησιάσῃ ξηραίνονται, καὶ βρύσιν ὕδατος ποιοῦσι
 βλάπτεσθαι <καὶ> ἄνω καὶ ἐκτὸς στρομβεῖσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι.

χρὴ οὖν ὥς εἴρηται ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα παραφυλάττεσθαι, εἴγε ὅλως τις ἐθέλει ὑπὸ τὸν
 τῆς Ἀνάγκης ζυγὸν ἀγαγεῖν πάντως τὰ ὄντα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, δένδρα λύων καὶ ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία
 καὶ ἔρπετά καὶ ἀνέμων πνοὰς καὶ ποταμῶν ῥοὰς δέων. ὧν ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀκριβῶς
 20 μεταχειριζόμενος ὀνομασίας λέγει καὶ ὀνομάζει τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ παντεξουσιάζοντος θεοῦ,
 ἀρμοζούσας ἐκάστῳ καιρῷ καὶ χρόνῳ, καθὼς μέλλει τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑποτελεῖν· τοῖς γὰρ μετὰ

Preamble

The Book of Wisdom and of the Science of Talismans of Apollonios of Tyana, who wrote [it] and taught it to his student Soustoumos Thalassos,²¹ speaking as follows: Hear me, Son, and I shall reveal to you a mystery of wisdom, unknown, unkenned, and hidden from the many, concerning opportune moments and times of the hours of day and night, along with their names and powers, and the true wisdom hidden within them. And I shall reveal to you the talismans (*apotelesmata*) of the knowledge given me by God, through which all things that God made upon the earth are activated (*stoicheiountai*).²² For behold, I have created four books more valuable than gold or precious stones; one on astronomy, another on astrology, a third theoretical and a fourth which is more valuable than all, in which are found the great and awful signs and, equally, miracles and mysteries. I mean indeed the <...> concerning the activation (*stoikheioseōs*) of the visible creations crafted by God, so that the practitioner, if he wishes, <...> successfully and aptly perform these miracles. [It is necessary] to refrain from all shameful actions, especially intercourse and engaging with women. For it is not fitting to use a female assistant²³ for such practices, since many unintended outcomes occur from their [female] nature. For if she should happen to be ‘on her monthlies’, any trees she should approach will dry out,²⁴ for they stop the bubbling-up of water, causing it to whirl about and be carried away.²⁵

So it is necessary, as I have said, strictly to guard against such things, if indeed someone wholly under the yoke of Necessity wishes entirely to control the beings²⁶ upon the earth, loosing trees and binding birds, beasts, reptiles, the blasts of wind and the currents of rivers. The one properly practising this science of these [matters] speaks the names – and invokes [the name] of the great and supremely-authoritative²⁷ God –

²¹Nau suggests that the otherwise-unknown name Soustoumos is a corruption of the Roman name Postum(i)us, which was written in Greek as Πόστουμος or Πόστουμος.

²²On this translation, cf. Blum 1946, 318. The verb στοιχειώω is active in form, passive in meaning (see Lampe s.v.), and the things that God made must clearly be the subject; our post-classical author uses plural verbs with neuter plural subjects; cf. ll. 41, 70, 82, 93 below. This is *not* the Apollonios of Philostratos, who, despite his provincial origins, speaks the most polished Attic Greek (V. A. I.7).

²³Literally a ‘maidservant’.

²⁴On menstruating women making things go wrong with plants, cf. Plin. *N. H.* VII 64 (rendering fruit trees barren).

²⁵This is unclear. I read the καί in the sense of ‘for in fact’, à la καὶ γάρ in classical Greek. Nau reads ... καὶ βρύσει ὕδατος ποιοῦσι βλάπτεσθαι αὐτὰ ἄνω καὶ ἐκτοστρομβουσθαι, which he translates as *et aquarum vi et ventorum procellis eradicantur et prosternuntur*. I think the author, whatever his precise meaning, is still discussing the water-uptake of the trees.

²⁶Or ‘properties’, a meaning which τὰ ὄντα can take in post-classical Greek.

²⁷The verb παντεξουσιάζω seems to be a *hapax legomenon*, appearing only in this text, but its meaning

τῶν τοιούτων ὀνομάτων παρακαλοῦσι καὶ δεομένοις εὐήκοος γίνεται.

τὰς τοιαύτας δὲ ὀνομασίας ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ βίβλῳ συνερμηνεύσω. [ΙΣ' ΧΣ' ΘΣ' ΚΣ'] 'Ο
δὲ μέλλων ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου γεννησθαι αὐτὸς μέγας διδάσκαλος γενήσεται καὶ
25 τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος σώσει καὶ τοὺς εἰδώλων ναοὺς καταλύσει: τὴν δὲ ἀποτελεσματικὴν ἣν
ἐγὼ ποιήσω οὐκ ἀφανίσει, διότι πᾶν ὅπερ ἀπετέλεσα μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἀπετέλεσα
καὶ ἐστερέωσα· ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὃν ἐγὼ ἐν Τυάνοις ᾠκοδόμησα, ἐν ᾧ καὶ χρυσοῦν στῦλον ἔστησα,
οὗτος παρὰ πάντων προσκυνητὸς γενήσεται. προσήκει δὴ σε προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ ὅτε
30 καὶ Σελήνης καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ θαλάσσης ὀνομασίας, Σελήνης καλοσχηματίστου οὔσης πρὸς
τοὺς ἀστέρας κατὰ τε τρίγωνον καὶ ἐξάγωνον, προσθετικῆς οὔσης τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς.

Ἔαρ. 'Απὸ τῆς ιγ' τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς μέχρι καὶ τῆς ιγ' τοῦ Ἰουνίου λέγεται ἔαρ,
οὔτινος ζῶδιά εἰσιν ταῦτα· Γ' Υ' ΙΙ· [ἄτινα καὶ οὕτως Ῥωμαικῶς ὀνομάζονται· Κριὸς Ταῦρος

is clear.

appropriate to occasion [καιρῶ] and time;²⁸ accordingly he will be successful in such [matters]. For He becomes heedful to those who summon and bind with names such as these.

And I shall give an interpretation of these names in this book.²⁹ Jesus Christ Lord God. The one destined to be born from the Virgin in Bethlehem, he will become a great teacher and save the human race and destroy the temples of idols;³⁰ but he will not erase the talismanic [art] which I shall enact, because everything that I have activated I have activated and established³¹ through His power. But the temple which I constructed in Tyana, in which I also set a golden pillar, shall be revered by all. It is indeed fitting for you to pay heed, particularly³² when you wish to accomplish a wondrous work, so that you may invoke the names of each proper occasion and time, of Sun and Moon, of winds and sea, [the name] of the Moon being the most propitious *vis à vis* the stars according to trine and sextile, when they are advancing through the degrees [sc. of the celestial circle].³³

Operative Names of the Seasons

Spring. [The period] from the 13th of the month of March up to the 13th of June is called ‘spring’, whose zodiacal signs are these: ♈ ♉ (which are called Ram; Bull;

²⁸Sometimes, as here, Apollonios makes the καιρός/χρόνος distinction familiar from astrology: χρόνος is just ‘time’ but the καιρός is the specific, proper time for taking some action; hence, ‘occasion’. However, later on he will use καιρός in its more quotidian meaning of ‘season’. I translate the term accordingly when appropriate.

²⁹The rare word συνερμενεύω clearly has something to do with interpreting, but the exact meaning, as different from ἐρμενεύω, is difficult to pin down. See Trapp s.v.

³⁰Apollonios speaks about Jesus as someone coming in the future; while modern scholarship would locate Jesus and Apollonios in roughly the same time-period, Jesus is generally acknowledged to have been the younger of the two. Our author seemingly thinks Apollonios came first, and has him here giving an *ex eventu* ‘pagan prophecy’ predicting Christ’s coming and future greatness. Nau 1907, 1368 cites two church fathers who attribute a related message to Apollonios, with the chronology right and the message anti-polytheist, to the effect of ‘Woe is me, that the Son of Mary has come before me!’

³¹ἐστερέωσα, recalling Gen. 1:6-7 LXX.

³²I read the emphatic καί here.

³³We have entered into properly-astrological terminology here. Καλοσχηματίστος will be related to the better-documented καλοσχηματίζομαι, which LSJ translates as ‘to be grouped in propitious lineation’, citing CCAG VI.61. The (lit.) ‘triangle’ and ‘hexagon’ refer to conjunctions generally known in astrological literature by the special Latinate labels ‘trine’ and ‘sextile’. Προσθετικός has a specific astronomical meaning – namely, advancing rather than moving in retrograde – and thus cannot apply to the moon; I think that the text must have read αστέρας ... προσθετικούς.

³⁴This bracketed passage is clearly an explanatory note by an East Roman copyist. Note that ‘Romaic’,

Δίδυμοι.] ὀνομάζεται δὲ οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς Ἰλεκβρουθέν. ἀπὸ τῆς ιγ' τοῦ Ἰουνίου μέχρι τῆς ιγ' τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου λέγεται θέρος, οὔτινος ζῳδιὰ εἰσι ταῦτα. Ϡ Ϟ Ϡρ. ὀνομάζεται δὲ οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς Λιουράν. ἀπὸ τῆς ιγ' τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μέχρι καὶ τῆς ιγ' τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου μετόπωρον· οὔτινος ζῳδιὰ εἰσι ταῦτα. ϡ ϡ ϡ. ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὁ καιρὸς οὗτος Ἀμβλμβηρ. ἀπὸ τῆς ιγ' τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου μέχρι καὶ τῆς ιγ' τοῦ Μαρτίου χειμῶν· καὶ τὰ ζῳδια ταῦτα. ϣ ϣ ϣ. ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὁ καιρὸς οὗτος Σαρδααφέη ἢ Σαρδαφεή.

Περὶ τῶν ὥρῶν τῆς ἡμέρας πῶς καλοῦνται καὶ τί ἔργον ποιεῖ ἐκάστη ὥρα. Ἡ πρώτη ὥρα τῆς ἡμέρας καλεῖται Ἰαέκ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσεύχεσθαι. ἡ β' ὥρα τῆς ἡμέρας καλεῖται Ναουράν· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ εὐχαὶ καὶ ὕμνοι τῶν ἀγγέλων. ἡ τρίτη ὥρα καλεῖται Χαρσιάρω· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ εὐχαριστοῦσιν πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τὸν θεόν· καὶ ἀποτελεῖται ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶν στοιχεῖον τῶν ὄρνεων. ἡ τετάρτη ὥρα καλεῖται Σλαχνέ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ εὐχαριστοῦσιν πάντα τὰ ποιήματα τὸν θεόν· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀποτελεῖται πᾶν στοιχεῖον ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ δρακόντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων ἰοβόλων. ἡ ε' ὥρα καλεῖται Σαγλάτ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ αἰνεῖ πᾶν ζῶον τὸν θεόν· καὶ ἀποτελεῖται ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ πᾶν στοιχεῖον τετραπόδων, λέοντος πάρδου ἄρκτου λύκου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. ἡ ς' ὥρα καλεῖται Τῇ ἐχμούλ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ δυσωποῦσι τὰ Χερουβὶμ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ἡ ζ' ὥρα καλεῖται Βερουκ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ αἰνοῦσι τὰ τάγματα τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ. <...>. ἡ θ' ὥρα καλεῖται Χαπβρόουη <...>. Ἡ ι' ὥρα καλεῖται Βουχοῦν· ἐν αὐτῇ αἰνοῦσι τὰ ὕδατα τὸν θεόν· καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ καταβαίνειν ἐπιπολάζει ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ἀγιάζει αὐτά.³⁵ εἰ μὴ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν, διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἂν ἔβλαπτον οἱ δαίμονες τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ εἰ ἄνθρωπος καθαρὸς ἄρῃ ὕδωρ καὶ μίξῃ μετὰ ἀγίου ἐλαίου, πᾶν νόσημα ἰάσεται· καὶ δαιμονῶντας καθαρῶς καὶ ἀπελάσει δαίμονας. ἡ ια' ὥρα καλεῖται Σημβροῦ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ εὐφραίνονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἡ ιβ' ὥρα καλεῖται Δακνειοῦν· ἐν αὐτῇ εὐπρόσδεκταί εἰσιν αἱ εὐχαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς θεόν.

which we might also just call 'Roman', is what mediæval Greek-speakers called the Greek language; there was no Greek language or cultural identity for about a thousand years, since in our period 'Ελλην meant primarily 'a polytheist' and 'Ελληνικός meant primarily 'polytheistic'. The 'Byzantines' defined themselves as Orthodox Romans and called their language 'Romaic'.

³⁵Cf. Septuagint Gen. 1:2: καὶ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.

Twins in Romaic).³⁴ This season is called Ilekbrouthen. From the 13th of June up to the 13th of September is called ‘summer’, whose zodiacal signs are these: ☿ ♈ ♉. This season is called Liouran. From the thirteenth of September up to the 13th of December is called ‘autumn’, of which the zodiacal signs are these: ♊ ♋ ♌. This season is called Amblmbēr. From the 13th of December up to the 13th of March [is called] ‘winter’, and the zodiacal signs are these: ♍ ♎ ♏. This season is called Sardaapheē or Sardapheē.

The Hours of the Day

Concerning the hours of the day: what they are called and what work each hour accomplishes. The first hour of the day is called Iaek; in this hour it is good for human beings to pray.³⁶ The 2nd hour of the day is called Naouran; in this hour [there are] prayers and hymns of the angels. The 3rd hour is called Kharsiarō; in this hour all the flying [creatures] give thanks to God, and every talisman [against] birds is activated in it.³⁷ The 4th hour is called Slakhne; in this hour all the creations give thanks to God, and in this hour every talisman [against] snakes, scorpions, serpents/dragons,³⁸ and the rest of the venomous [creatures] is activated. The 5th hour is called Saglat; in this hour every animal praises God, and every talisman [against] four-footed creatures – lion, bear, wolf, and the like – is activated. The 6th hour is called Tē ekhmoul; in this hour the Cherubim entreat on behalf of³⁹ the race of humans. The 7th hour is called Berouk; in this hour the ranks of angels give praise before God < ... > The 9th hour is called Khapbrouē < ... > The 10th hour is called Boukhoun; in this [hour] the waters praise God, and the spirit of God ‘descends and hovers upon the waters’ and sanctifies them (For if this were not the case, the demons would have harmed the race of humans through the water). In this hour if a man in a pure state should draw water and mix it with holy oil, he will cure every illness. And he will purify demoniacs and drive out demon. The 11th hour is called Sēmbrou; in this hour the chosen of God

³⁶The text would say ‘pray to human beings’ in normal Greek, but this cannot be the meaning.

³⁷Lit. ‘talisman of birds’; the sense would be ‘talisman *against* birds’, presumably concerned with birds who eat seed-corn and otherwise mess with crops. The next set of talismans ‘of snakes, scorpions, &c.’ is clearly to be understood as apotropaic in this way.

³⁸While the two terms are often interchangeable, when used side-by-side *Δράκοντες* are generally big, non-venomous snakes, as opposed to *ὄφιδες*, which tend to be small and venomous. The creatures mentioned here are explicitly venomous, and thus likely to be dragons in the sense of mythical, giant creatures (with thanks to dragon-expert Daniel Ogden).

³⁹On this usage cf. Cyril of Skythopolis, *Life of Sabas* 143.2 (thanks to Joel Kalvesmaki for this reference).

Περὶ τῶν ιβ' ὥρῶν τῆς νυκτός. Ἡ α' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται Σουχουλούμ· ἐν αὐτῇ αἰνοῦσιν οἱ δαίμονες τὸν θεόν· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οὔτε ἀδικοῦσιν οὔτε κολάζουσι μέχρι ἂν ἡ δέησις αὐτῶν τελειωθῇ. ἡ β' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται Βεπτερούλ' ἐν αὐτῇ αἰνοῦσιν οἱ ἰχθύες τὸν θεόν καὶ πᾶν εἶ τί ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι. ἡ γ' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται Ταχράν· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ αἰνοῦσιν οἱ δράκοντες τὸν θεόν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πυρός βάθος καὶ πάντα ὅσα εἰσὶν κατωτέρω, ἃ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις νοῆσαι ἢ ἐξειπεῖν οὐ δύναται. ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὀφείλει ποιεῖν στοιχείωσιν ἀποτελεσμάτων εἰς δράκοντάς τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ περὶ πυρός. ἡ δ' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται Ἀγγέλ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ διέρχονται οἱ δαίμονες ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι καὶ οἷος ἄνθρωπος διέλθῃ ἐκεῖ, βλαβήσεται καὶ φόβον καὶ φρίκην λήψεται ἐκ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων φαντασίας· ἡ δ' αὐτῇ ὥρα ἐπιτελεῖ ἐπὶ τε (*sequuntur 23 signa cryptographica*) καὶ εἰς πᾶν (*13 signa*). ἡ ε' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται Κοσγάρ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ αἰνοῦσι τὰ ἐπάνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὕδατα τὸν θεόν καὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ. ἡ ς' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται Ζερούς· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ δέον ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι· ἔχει γὰρ <οὐ> μικρὸν φόβον. ἡ ζ' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται Μαχλουχ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀναπαύονται πάντα τὰ ζῶα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπνοῦσι· ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐὰν ἀρπάσῃ ἄνθρωπος ὕδωρ καὶ λάβῃ αὐτὸ ἱερεὺς καὶ μίξῃ μετὰ ἁγίου ἐλαίου καὶ ἀγιάσῃ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀλείψῃ ἀσθενοῦντα, ἂν ἀγρυπνῇ, παρευθὺ τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλαγῇσεται. <.....>. ἡ θ' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται Σοφγού. ἡ ι' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται Χαλτοῦ. ἡ ια' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται Γαλγού· ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνοίγονται αἱ πύλαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ ὁ προσευχόμενος ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει καὶ καρδίᾳ εὐάκουστος γίνεται· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ περίπτανται ταῖς πτέρυξι σὺν ἡχῷ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ Σεραφίμ· καὶ ἔστιν χαρὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ· ἀνατέλλει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐξ Ἑδὲμ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τήν. ἡ ιβ' ὥρα καλεῖται Ἀλσιγκουλ· ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀναπαύονται τὰ τάγματα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ πύρινα τάγματα.

rejoice. The 12th hour is called Dakneioun; in this hour the prayers of humans are acceptable before God.

The Hours of the Night

On the 12 hours of the night. The 1st hour of the night is called Soukhouloum; in this [hour] the demons praise God, and in it they neither commit injustices nor punish until their entreaty be completed. The 2nd hour of the night is called Bepteroul; in it the fishes praise God, and whatever is in the waters. The 3rd hour of the night is called Takhrav; in this hour the serpents/dragons⁴⁰ praise God, and that the abyss of fire and whatever is beneath them, which the human nature cannot comprehend or express. In this hour it behoves to perform activations for talismans against dragons [?] and snakes and concerning fire. The fourth hour of the night is called Ankhel; in this hour the demons go about among the tombs, and should a man go there, he will be struck and will take on fear and trembling from the phantasms of the demons. And this hour reaches completion at both [23 *kharaktēres* or secret letters] and [13 *kharaktēres*]. The 5th hour of the night is called Kosgar; in this hour the waters above the heaven praise God and his works. The 6th hour of the night is called Zerous; in this hour one should relax and take a break, for it holds little [to] fear. The seventh hour of the night is called Makhouloukh; in this hour all the animals relax, and the humans sleep. If a man – a priest – grabs some water and takes it and mixes it with holy oil, he will both consecrate it [sc. the water?] and, anointing a sick person, who keeps vigil, he will straightway be freed from the illness. < ...> The 9th hour of the night is called Sophgou. The tenth hour of the night is called Khaltou. The 11th hour of the night is called Galgou; in it the gates of heaven are opened, and one praying, pure in conscience and heart, is heard. In this hour the angels, the Cherubim, and the Seraphim audibly⁴¹ fly about on [their] wings, and there is joy in the heaven and the earth, and the Sun also rises from Eden over the whole earth. The 12th hour is called Alsingkoul; in this hour the ranks of heaven and the fiery ranks rest.

These are the names of the hours which God made in the 7 days; I learned and took these from God, and I have made you conversant with them and clarified them for you. Nothing of these [matters] will be hidden from one with right understanding,

⁴⁰See n. 38 above.

⁴¹I have translated σὺν ᾗχλῳ, ‘with sound’, as meaning that one can literally hear them.

⁴²I am supposing a verb ὑποταγέω, ‘to subject to’, based on the lexically-attested ὑποταγή, ‘subordination, subjection’.

80 Αὐταὶ εἰσιν αἱ ὀνομασίαι τῶν ὥρων ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ζ' ἡμέραις· ταύτας ἔμαθον καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἐγνώρισά σοι. τῷ οὖν καλῶς νοήσαντι οὐκ ἀποκρυβήσεται τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑποταγήσονται.

Περὶ τῶν εὐλοτημένων ὥρων τῶν ἡμερῶν· αὐταὶ αἱ ὥραι τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς ὅπερ βούλει ποιῆσθαι ἔσεται βέβαιον καὶ ἀσφαλές.⁴³

85 Οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐπιστατοῦντες τὰς ζ' ἡμέρας εἰσὶν οὗτοι. ἡ ἡμέρα α' ἡγουν κυριακὴ ἔχει ὥρας ἀγαθὰς τὴν α' β' γ' δ'· διοικεῖ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος Μιχαήλ. ἡ ἡμέρα δευτέρα ἔχει ὥρας ἀγαθὰς τὴν α' β' γ'· διοικεῖ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος Οὐριήλ. ἡ ἡμέρα γ' ἔχει ὥρας ἀγαθὰς τὴν α' β' γ' δ'· διοικεῖ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος Καταχάηλ. ἡ ἡμέρα δ' ἔχει ὥρας ἀγαθὰς τὴν α' δ'· διοικεῖ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος Ῥαμαήλ. ἡ ἡμέρα ε' ἔχει ὥρας ἀγαθὰς τὴν ε' ζ' η'· διοικεῖ
90 δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος Ῥαφαήλ. ἡ ἡμέρα ζ' ἥτοι τὸ σάββατόν ἐστιν ἀργὸν καὶ κατάπαυσις πάσης ἐνεργείας. αὐταὶ αἱ ὥραι τῶν ἡμερῶν εὐλογημέναι εἰσὶ παρὰ θεῷ. ἐπὶ παντὶ οὖν ἔργῳ ὃ θέλεις κατασκευάσαι, φύλασσε ταύτας ὡς φυλάσσεται θησαυρὸς ἐν τῇ γῇ· οἱ γὰρ σοφοὶ ἀπέκρυψαν ταύτας ὡς θησαυρὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν, διότι ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα σοφίας ἐστί· καὶ τὴν βίβλον ταύτην μὴ ἀπιστήσης, ἐπειδὴ βαθμοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐκατέρων ἐποίησεν
95 καὶ μετὰ τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ κρυπτοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα τελειοῦνται. ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὥρων τῶν ἀνωτέρω γεγραμμένων ἀπετέλεσα ἀποτελέσματα καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τις περὶ τούτων ἀμφιβολία. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐγίνωσκον, ὅτι ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσιν ἐνταῦθα οὐ μένει ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλῳ κόσμῳ πορεύεται, τὴν ἐμὴν σοφίαν οὐκ ἐφάνερον τινί, τέκνον ἐμόν, διότι ὑπὲρ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων τιμίων τιμιωτέρα ἐστί. σοὶ δὲ δεῖξω χάριν τοῦ διαμένειν τὸ μνημόσυνόν μου αἰεὶ.

100 Αἱ ὀνομασίαι τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν δουλευόντων τοὺς δικαίους· Συμπά, Ἰδά, Γαλμαήλ, Ἐνθοώρ, κεφαλὴ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν τὸ ὄρος Ὑφνηδ· Βερφαήλ, Γουζαήλ, Ἐναμερφαήλ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀββαήλ καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν πύργων Γαναήλ, Φερφαήλ, Ἀσυναραήλ, Γαβριήλ καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν πύργων Τελγραδέχ ἢ Τετραδέχ, Δαναήλ, Τεπταδαήλ, Ἀαβραήλ καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν πύργων Ἀρκαήλ.

⁴³This is clearly the title of a short treatise, originally separate, which has been incorporated into the larger Apollonian text.

and all things will be subjected to him.⁴²

A System of Angels of the Hours

Concerning the blessed hours of the days: these are the hours of the days in which whatever you wish to do will be solid and safe. The angels presiding over the 7 days are as follows. Day 1, that is to say the Lord's [day], has the good hours 1, 2, 8, and 9, and the angel Mikhaël administers it. The second day has the good hours 1, 2, 6, and the angel Ouriël administers it. The 3rd day has the good hours 1, 2, 8, and the angel Katakhaël administers it. The 4th day has the good hours 1 and 4, and the angel Ramaël administers it. The 5th day has the good hours 5, 6, 7, and 8, and the angel Raphaël administers it. The seventh day is the work-free Sabbath and a break from all activity. These are the hours of the day blessed by God. Whatever undertaking you wish to manage, guard these as a treasure in the earth is guarded. For the wise concealed these [hours] like a treasure in the earth, even within their hearts, because [the] spirit of wisdom is within them. And doubt not this book, since God made each step,⁴⁴ and through his terrible and hidden name all things will be brought to completion. But I have activated talismans with the hours written above, and there is no ambiguity about the matter. And were I not aware that human nature does not remain here but goes on to another world, I would not have revealed my wisdom to anyone, my child, because it is more valuable than gold and precious stones. But to you I shall show favour, that you remain my memorial for all time.

A List of Various Secret Names

The names of the angels serving the just: Sympa, Ida, Galmaël, Enthoör, but their chief is the mountain Yphnēd; Berphaël, Gouzaël, Enamerphaël, and the great Abbaël and the ruler of the towers⁴⁵ Ganaël, Pherphaël, Asynaraël, Gabriël, and the lord of the towers Telyradekh or Teptadekh, Danaël, Tetradaël, Aabraël, and the ruler of the towers Arkaël.

⁴⁴This is unclear. A βᾰθμός is a step or rung on a ladder, hence a rank (such as e.g. either bishop, deacon or indeed archangel, angel). The sentence literally reads 'since God made the steps of each [thing]'.
⁴⁵The towers here and further below are the signs of the zodiac, according to Nau 1382 n. 5.

- 105 Περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρσι καιροῖς τοῦ χρόνου" ἔαρ Ἀθερνύφ· θέρος Ἀηχμοῦν· μετόπωρον Ἀποβριομούμ· χειμῶν Φουμαρίδ ἢ Ἀπαριοῦμ.
- Περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῆς Σελήνης τῶν δ' καιρῶν· ἔαρ Ληβανουθάν· θέρος Δηνφύβ· μετόπωρον Αἰδέχ· χειμῶν Σαρνάχ ἢ Σαρνάρ.
- Τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τεσσάρων καιρῶν τοῦ χρόνου" ἔαρ Σαχ- σαούρ· θέρος Ἀμκούρφ·
110 μετόπωρον Μαφθάατελ· χειμῶν Νιαχηνιάμ.
- Τὰ ὀνόματα τῆς γῆς τῶν δ' καιρῶν τοῦ χρόνου· ἔαρ Μασιχα- βήλ· θέρος Μαδερβιλισταηθέν· μετόπωρον Ναινένθε· χειμῶν Χεμρα.
- Τὰ ὀνόματα τοῦ ἀνέμου τῆς ἀνατολῆς τῶν δ' καιρῶν· ἔαρ Ἀχλιαρή· θέρος Αὐτερά· μετόπωρον Ἀαρίθ· χειμῶν Βελτατουθήλ.
- 115 Τὰ ὀνόματα τοῦ βορρᾶ τοῦ ἀνέμου τῶν δ' καιρῶν· ἔαρ Ἀμνύ· θέρος Ἀχριχι· μετόπωρον Βαγλάτ· χειμῶν Συχנסούρ.
- Τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τῆς ἄρκτου· ἔαρ Μέν παμύρ· θέρος Σαππούρ· μετόπωρον Ἀνζηρίν· χειμῶν Δαρβοῦν.
- Περὶ τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τοῦ νότου· ἔαρ Μαχδάμ· θέρος Κεσωδούρ· μετόπωρον Μαθηλιάλ·
120 χειμῶν Βεμιχῶ. sic Περὶ τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τοῦ δυτικοῦ ἀνέμου· ἔαρ Μαλχβίμ· θέρος Σαππούρ· μετόπωρον Ἀριχά· χειμῶν Δαρπούλ.
- Οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐπικρατοῦντες τὴν θάλασσαν· ἔαρ Κλείμ· θέρος Βαχριμή· μετόπωρον Μανδρομίλ· χειμῶν Σχινδάτπερ.
- Οἱ δουλεύοντες τὸν Δευχαήλ τὸν πρῶτον· Ἀγριππόνερ, Ῥωμαήλ, Καθαρβιάλ, Ἰσβαήλ,
125 Ἀρχηχνήλ, Χαλδῆλ, Χαραυτουνε, Βερμαριήβ, Ἀνηθάχ, Ἀτερουήλ, Ὀρνιαήλ, Ἀρμουτάρ, Ἀβρητούμη, Ἀχναήλ, Ἀλπαρή, Χαρινδήλ, Ἀμμοῦρ, Ἡδρουθέ, Ῥεραδήχ καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ὀρέων, Ἀβρασάξ.

Concerning the names of the Sun in the four seasons of time: Spring, Athernyph. Summer, Aëkhmoun. Autumn, Apobriomoun. Winter, Phoumarid or Aparioum.

Concerning the names of the Moon during the 4 seasons: Spring, Lēbanouthan. Summer, Dēnphyb. Autumn, Aidekh. Winter, Sarnakh or Sarnar.

The names of the four seasons of time: Spring, Sakhsaour. Summer, Akmourph. Autumn, Maphthaatel. Winter, Niakhēiniam.

The names of the earth during the 4 seasons of time: Spring, Masikhabēl. Summer, Maderbilistaēthen. Autumn, Nainenthe. Winter, Khemra.

The names of the east wind during the 4 seasons: Spring, Akhliarē. Summer, Autera. Autumn, Aarith. Winter, Beltatouthēl.

The names of the north wind during the 4 seasons:⁴⁶ Spring, Amny. Summer, Akhriki. Autumn, Banglag. Winter, Sykhnsour.

The names of the four names [*sic*] of the north wind: Spring, Men pamy. Summer, Sappour. Autumn, Anzērin. Winter, Darboun.

On the 4 names of the south wind: Spring, Makhdam. Summer, Kesōdour. Autumn, Mathēlial. Winter, Bemikhō.

On the 4 names of the west wind: Spring, Malkhbim. Summer, Sappour. Autumn, Arikha. Winter, Darpoul.

The angels ruling over the sea: Spring, Kleim. Summer, Bakhrimē. Autumn, Mandromil. Winter, Skhindatper.

Those serving the first Deukhaēl: Agripponer, Rhomaēl, Katharbial, Isbaēl, Arkhēkhnel, Khaldēl, Kharautoune, Bermariēl, Anēthakh, Aterouēl, Khaldēl, Kharautoune, Bermariēb, Anēthakh, Aterouēl, Orniaēl, Armoutar, Abrētoumē, Akhnaēl, Alparē, Kharindēl, Ammour, Ēdrouthe, Rheradēkh, and the ruler of the mountains, Abrasax.

⁴⁶Our author gives two (different?) north winds, the βόρρα and the ἄρκτος. I have no idea what the difference is meant to be. Nau translates them as *Boreas* and *Aquilo*, respectively, but ignores the apparent weirdness of having five winds listed rather than the traditional four.

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