same cosmology. The distinction is made in terms of intentions, which can be good or bad, and within these two more or less honorable categories.

The case of Apuleius is thus a fine example of the general rule formulated by Marcel Mauss. Although Apuleius is not a magician, the society makes him into one. In his opinion, this confusion between the philosopher and the sorcerer has two causes. On the one hand, it is the curiosity of the naturalistic philosopher that lends itself to erroneous interpretations, according to which the cutting up of a fish looks like the preparation of a *veneficium*, whereas the diagnosis of a case of epilepsy is understood as an exorcism. On the other hand, it is the curiosity of the theological philosopher, whose private religion is more intense than the norm tolerates, that gives rise to other malevolent interpretations. Both a statuette of a god, adored as a personal divinity, and ritual objects coming from mysteries in which the philosopher was initiated are considered as signs of that too-close intimacy, of the *communitas loquendi cum deis*, which constitutes, in people's eyes, the most characteristic sign of the sorcerer.[65]

In short, the sociological analysis derived from Mauss, who saw not only the sorcerer as a marginal figure, but rather the marginal person as a possible sorcerer ("any abnormal social condition prepares for the practice of magic"), becomes, in the society of Apuleius, a religious analysis: "Any abnormal interest in the sacred can lead to the suspicion of magic."[66]

HOW TO BECOME A MAGICIAN: THE RITES OF INITIATION

IN THE PRECEDING PAGES, we gradually approached the figure of the magician, starting with the study of the different names taken by this personage in the Greco-Roman culture—from *góēs* to *maleficus*, with *mágos/magus* as its center. With C. Furius Cresimus and Apuleius, we encountered two men wrongly declared sorcerers by their society. After the case of these unintentional magicians, we must now examine the case of those who became magicians by their own accord; who were they, and how did they become magicians?

AN EGYPTIAN PROLOGUE

According to the opinion of the ancients, we must seek these magicians in Egypt.[1] "When we were sailing up the Nile, there was among us a man from Memphis, one of the sacred scribes, an extraordinary scholar who knew everything that Egypt could teach him. He told us that he had spent twenty-three years in the secret chambers under the earth, where Isis had taught him how to become

a magician." Thus begins the well-known story of the apprentice sorcerer, immortalized by both the poem of Goethe and the music of Paul Dukas.[2] In the eyes of Lucian, who tells this story in a tone of satire, it is not easy to become a sorcerer. The initiation, which lasts a long time, includes doctrines as well as rites. Pankrates (that is the name of Lucian's extraordinary sorcerer) must remain secluded for twenty-three years underground, close by Isis herself.[3] It seems even more difficult to become a magician than to become a druid, a role that, to believe Julius Caesar, required an apprenticeship of twenty years.[4] In another and somewhat dubious account, the apocryphal autobiography of Cyprian, a former orator who became bishop (d. 258 A.D.), the time is shorter; Cyprian had lived only ten years with the priests of Memphis in order to become a magician.[5]

The *adúta*, those secret and subterranean chambers, call to mind what was slanderingly told about Christ. It was thus affirmed that he was a magician and that he had performed his miracles through hidden techniques; supposedly he had learned these techniques in the secret chambers of Egyptian temples, along with the names of powerful "angels" (*angeli*) and certain secret doctrines.[6] This is a very precise accusation. The "secret chambers of Egypt" not only echo Lucian but also belong to a more or less technical vocabulary to designate the interior of the temple, especially the Egyptian temple. Cassius Dio narrates that Septimius Severus, when visiting Egypt in 199 A.D., took "from practically all the secret chambers" every book that he believed to contain some secret, mysterious teaching;[7] a magical papyrus knows that the true name of a divinity "has been inscribed on the sacred stele in the *adúton* at Hermoupolis where your birth is."[8] And the "angels," another technical term, do not refer to the Judaeo-Christian angels; they are demonic beings who served as assistants to the initiated magicians and whose

names had to be known to the person who wished to make use of their services.[9] The pagans who called the Christ a magician knew what they were talking about and could confirm their accusation by drawing on Christ's biography: had he not, in his youth, spent some years in Egypt?[10]

Egypt, moreover, does not constitute the only reference for these stories. Some Greek facts are close as well—although it would be rash to identify either Greece or Egypt as their sole source. Herodotus tells us that Zalmoxis, the former slave of Pythagoras, was hidden in an underground chamber to prove to his fellow Scythian citizens that there existed a life after death. This story follows the one told about Pythagoras himself, who is reported to have hidden for a time in a small subterranean chamber and to return from it as if he were returning from the dead; he was well-informed, however, about everything that had happened on earth, for he had obtained this knowledge from the Mother, a figure curiously parallel to Isis, who plays the role of teacher for Lucian. At the origin of these stories, there was long suspected a rite of Scythian or Pythagorean initiation, in the latter case into mysteries of the Great Mother Cybele or Demeter.[11] Similar rites are known at the oracular sites. In Clarus, the priest entered, at the end of a labyrinthine pathway, a subterranean chamber to obtain the oracle's answer. At the oracle of Trophonius in Boeotia, each visitor performed a ritual journey into the netherworld before obtaining the answer of the oracular hero.[12] A higher knowledge always results from the subterranean meeting with a superhuman being. Another catabasis is reconstructed in the mysteries of the Dactyls, in the course of which the initiate "descended into the *megaron*" (another subterranean chamber) to meet some infernal beings and thus acquired knowledge that would help the initiate to confront the powers of the netherworld.[13] To become a magician requires rituals that are very widespread. The story told by Lucian is certainly an inven-

tion, being, after all, taken from *The Lover of Lies (Philopseudes)*, but it is grounded in precise information about contemporary beliefs and rituals.[14] It thus must be concluded from it that the magician, being a religious specialist, had to undergo an initiation like all religious specialists in various cultures, from the Siberian shaman to the Christian monk.[15] It must also be concluded that there existed, at the level of the ritual, affinities between the mystery cults and magic. It is these two paths that will be explored in this chapter.

MAGIC AS A GIFT OF THE GODS

Let us take up the story of Pankrates, the great magician, for it contains other reasons of interest.

Pankrates was instructed by Isis herself. The supreme knowledge of the magician is a gift of the gods, and this affirmation is not rare in the world of magicians. Thesallus of Tralles, a doctor of the Neronian era, wished to know whether Egyptian magic still existed. After long investigations, it is Imouthes in person, the god of magic in its center, Heliopolis, who was going to instruct him—at least, if we believe this story from an autobiographical account that is certainly apocryphal.[16] An anonymous magician, the author of a recipe preserved in the Mimaut Papyrus at the Louvre Museum, prides himself in these terms: "There is no procedure more effective than this one; it was tested and approved by Manethon, to whom it was given as a gift by Osiris the Great."[17]

But the idea is much older than the fourth century A.D., from which the papyrus Mimaut dates, and it is not only Egyptian: its first attestation is Greek, in the poet Pindar. According to him, it was Aphrodite who taught Jason erotic incantations and the use of the *iynx*, the magic tool used in this type of magic and sometimes depicted in the hands of an Eros in Greek

earrings (after all, female jewelry has its own erotic aims).[18] Certainly, that is not sufficient to make Jason a sorcerer; no Greek hero is a sorcerer,[19] and Pindar clearly and not without a certain irony suggests that the crafty Medea fell herself victim to another, stronger magic coming from Aphrodite. Despite these reservations, this myth still contains some surprises. To begin with, we note that it is the divinity who gives men magic, and Pindar stressed that by this means, Aphrodite founded an institution. "She gave the iynx to men for the first time and taught Jason the prayers." The passage uses the language of cultural theory, of the stories about the origin of culture or at least of a particular feature of ancient culture. It is Aphrodite who introduced, as a kind of "first finder" (*prōtos heuretēs*), the ritual usage of that curious instrument that is the iynx as well as the vocal rite that accompanies it.[20]

On a more general level, Jason's journey to the land of the Colchians is structured like a myth of initiation. He departs from ordinary geography to reach the limits of the contemporary geographical horizon or even to go beyond this limit. He travels with a group of young men, a kind of age class; he will return as the future king in the company of his queen.[21] In this initiatory framework, the encounter with a goddess and the acquisition of some specialized knowledge are not surprising.

The theme thus seems rather old, and it has an early attestation in Greece. In the eyes of the Greeks of the archaic age, the special knowledge that is magic, the knowledge of its tools, its rites, and of its effective prayers, belongs to the gods, and it is they who make a gift of it to man. The way of acquiring it involves a ritual initiation. (To recall our discussion in Chapter 2, nothing points to a differentiation, in this age, between religion and magic.)

The same conception is attested to in Plato's remarks about the beggar priestess and the seers in the *Republic*. These people,

he says, convince their clients "that they possess a faculty of healing, obtained from the gods by means of sacrifices and incantations."[22] So, then, what are these "sacrifices and incantations," which provided these wizards with special powers obtained from the gods, if not rites of initiation?

This search for a knowledge that derived directly from the gods became much more common in the imperial era, and it was not limited to magicians. Their desire for an esoteric and powerful knowledge was shared by others, such as neo-Platonic philosophers, gnostics, and charismatics of all sorts; all of them sought that *communio loquendi cum dis* of which Apuleius speaks. The neo-Platonists sought direct contact with the supreme divinity through ecstasy and theurgy, the white magic of philosophers.[23] The charismatics claimed superhuman powers (or were attributed with them by their society), such as the enigmatic Apollonius of Tyana, known through the fictionalized biography written by the sophist Philostratus. Apollonius, who was elected by Asclepius of Aegae in Cilicia, spent three years in his youth in its sanctuary, in direct contact (by means of dreams) with the divinity of the place. He pursued his training through a period of voluntary silence, a sort of renunciation of verbal communication with the world and humans, which did not prevent him from performing extraordinary deeds, like the quelling of a revolt in Aspendus. Finally, to improve his knowledge, he spent four months as a disciple of the Indian Brahmins. Although a large part of the information that Philostratus, who himself wrote between 216 and 220 A.D., gives us about Apollonius, who lived between Tiberius and the Flavians, is of doubtful value, his *Life* must contain a historical core. It is probable that the information on the years he spent in Aegae came from earlier sources, sources of the second century at the latest, when this sanctuary was acquiring international renown and when it had every interest in making use of the stay of this charismatic neo-Pythagorean for purposes of propaganda.[24] Whatever their historical value, these stories about Apollonius at Aegae already provide a glimpse of a figure gifted with extraordinary religious power, in quest of a purer spirituality than that offered by the civic worship.

The case of Apollonius—as well as that of certain gnostic and hermetic sages—attests to the same kinship between magic and excessive religious fervor that we have already noted in Apuleius. Apollonius, as well as the gnostics and hermetics, aspired to divine revelation by ritual means, which could lead to the accusation of magic. That is what happened not only to Apollonius (at least according to Philostratus) but also to Marcion, founder of the gnostic sect of the Marcionites. Irenaeus, his Christian detractor, accuses him, in his treatise *Against Heresies*, of a whole series of magic practices—possession of demonic assistants, erotic magic, exorcism.[25]

This kinship between magic and gnosticisms is based, however, on much more precise facts; it was Richard Reitzenstein who demonstrated this for the magical papyri, our essential source.[26] The following story, which could be described as an "initiatory myth," provides a fine demonstration. Magic, we shall see, takes several paths to reach superhuman powers. The most effective and most widespread means is to learn the secret name of a higher divinity. The person who knew this name had the power to call on the divinity for assistance, but could also threaten the lesser beings. In several spells in the papyri, the magician claims that the supreme god had revealed his secret name to him, and the magician uses the religious formula that is especially known from the cult of Isis: "I am he whom . . ."[27] In a papyrus—now preserved in Leyden—the magician invokes the divinity with these words: "I am he whom you met at the foot of the sacred mountain and to whom you gave a knowledge of your greatest name." Implicitly, the magician perhaps assumes

the role of Moses, as he explicitly does in another text from the papyri: "I am Moses your prophet to whom you transmitted your mysteries celebrated in Israel." Moses going to the sacred mountain appears also on an amulet with a remarkable variation, as its inscription shows: "Amulet of Moses when he went on the mountain to receive the [entirely enigmatic] *kasty*."[28] The same myth is found in the hermeticists. In the eighth hermetic treatise, Tat, the son of Hermes, brings about a revelation by reminding his father of an old promise that he had made to his son: "When I was your supplicant, when we came down from the sacred mountain talking together, I asked you questions on the doctrine of regeneration, the only doctrine of which I am ignorant; and you promised to reveal it to me." We find the same theme, as Morton Smith recalls it to us, in the story of Christ's transfiguration.[29] But a person's encounter with a divine power that reveals to the person a supreme knowledge is a motif known to all Hellenists. It is indeed at the foot of the Helicon that the Muses reveal both the truth and the lie to Hesiod, the poor shepherd of Ascrae, as he himself tells in the prologue of the *Theogony*.[30] We are thus dealing with a theme that is attested to in all the ancient Middle East and that magic and hermetism took up into their own mythmaking.

MAGIC AND MYSTERY CULTS

Cyprian, if we are to believe his apocryphal autobiography, not only underwent a magic initiation among the priests of Memphis but also was initiated in a whole series of mystery cults in Greece and elsewhere. The text gives a rather amusing list of these cults in which we find the mysteries of Ceres in Eleusis; those of Artemis Tauropolus in Sparta (an obvious confusion of the cruel but famous Spartan Artemis Orthia with the other and even crueler Artemis Tauropolus, who was adored among the Taurians

as well as at Halai Araphenides in Attica); of Hera in Argos; and of Cybele in Phrygia and in the Troad.[31] It is obvious that the author has only a very vague idea of Greek pagan religion, an idea coming from a hasty reading of earlier texts. Nevertheless, the list is interesting: it shows that the epoch saw a close relationship between magic and mysteries. It will be recalled that Apuleius refuted the accusation of magic by invoking his many initiations into mystery cults, whose secret tokens were interpreted by his adversaries as so many magic instruments. But it is especially the magic papyri that at different levels show this association.[32]

The first level is that of vocabulary. The individual magic ritual is often called *mustêrion*, "the secret thing," even *theîon mustêrion*, "the godly secret thing"; even more often, one simply speaks of *teletê*, "rite."[33] Magic in general, as the combination and linked series of different rites, is called *tà mustêria* or *hai teletaí*, "mysteries"—although *teletê* referred, in the Greek of the fifth century B.C., to any ritual whatever; in the imperial epoch, its meaning is more restricted and reserved for secret, mysterious rites.[34] The *mustêrion*—a singular not attested before Hellenistic Greek—also designates magical objects or tools, like a ring or ointment. A magic ring of special power is even called "a great secret thing," *megalomustêrion*.[35] The magician's colleagues are called "fellow initiates," *súnmustai*; ordinary people are the "uninitiated ones," *amustēriastoí*; and a magician of superb knowledge becomes "he who introduces to the mysteries," *mustagōgós*.[36]

It could be—and has been—thought that this terminology is not that of the magicians, but that of the mystery rites that the magicians had adapted to their purpose; they kept a terminology that, however, had lost its proper meaning and was of no importance for understanding the ritual. Many scholars firmly believe that there are such adaptations of earlier, nonmagic rituals. A case in point is the so-called "Mithras Liturgy" in the

great papyrus book of the Bibliothèque Nationale, a ritual scenario that Albrecht Dieterich had isolated and put into relation to the mysteries of Mithras. A number of scholars doubted such a reconstruction, and Reinhold Merkelbach prefers to interpret it rather as an Egyptian initiatory rite—at any rate, in this text the magician is called an "initiate," and his colleague a "fellow-initiate."[37] But the theory of a mechanical adaptation is too radical, anyway. Even if the magicians should have adapted entire ritual scenarios from their sources, nothing allows us to surmise that the mystery terminology was alien to the world of the magicians, that it was only a relic of an earlier state. The authors of the magic papyri were not stupid enough just to combine materials from different sources without eliminating contradictions and dissonances. And there are unambiguous cases in which the terminology of the mysteries is consciously applied to the magic rites. The magician, without any doubt, considered himself the adept of a mystery cult, who underwent a ritual, an experience very close to that of the well-known mystery cults. In the text that, according to Betz, came from an initiation into the cult of the Dactyls, the magician affirms having been initiated into their cult—an affirmation that has an obvious goal in the magic ritual, which is to insist in one's initiation, in front of the infernal beings whom the magician encounters, on the means to claim special protection from one's familiarity with the powers governing the infernal world.[38] Centuries earlier, in a Euripidean tragedy, Heracles explained to his father why he was able to brave the dangers of the beyond in order to fetch up Cerberus: "I have been initiated in Eleusis."[39] Moreover, the devotees of Bacchic mysteries, who carried with them into their graves the famous "Orphic" gold leaves, had learned during initiation what they should say when the guardians or the rulers of the nether world intercepted them; this knowledge, made permanent on the leaves, constituted proof of

their initiation and assured their bliss after death.[40] To the magicians, it was not just the mysteries of the Greeks that counted. One of them addressed himself to the supreme god in these terms: "I am your prophet Moses, to whom you conveyed your mysteries celebrated by the Israelites": not only does he claim to know these mysteries, but also he proves his intimacy with a powerful god, whose power stands at the magician's disposition too.[41]

Yet if magic and mysteries have such close links, what, then, are their common features? There are at least three of them, I think: magic and mysteries involve secrecy, they seek direct contact with the divine, and they are reached by means of a complex ritual of initiation.

The divulging of what happened during the mystery rites was strictly forbidden—although it was not everywhere that one paid with one's life for any disclosure, even involuntary, as one did in Eleusis. The same prohibition is attested to for the magic rites and for objects connected with them (we are reminded of Apuleius's problem with his secret tokens). The papyri very often require secrecy, although not always in such excited words as in the case of a magical consecration of a ring, a "supreme and divine action," called Ouphôr and used by one Urbicus: "This is the true rite . . . So keep it in a secret place as a great mystery. Hide it, hide it!"[42]

To believe the magicians, the secret character of their art also came from its Egyptian origin; the documents were written in a writing that could be read by only a few rare scholars. Thus, in one of the papyri in Leyden, the somewhat pompous author of a collection of magic recipes presents the text as follows: "Interpretation which the temple scribes employed, from the holy writings, in translation. Because of the curiosity of the masses, the scribes inscribed the names of the herbs and other things they had made use of, on the statues of the gods, so that the

masses, since they do not take precautions, might not practice magic, being prevented by the consequence of their misunderstandings. But we have collected the explanations from many copies, all of them secret."[43]

This text illuminates the mentality of the magicians of the time. In the course of the imperial era, the knowledge had been lost that made it possible to read the hieroglyphs (engraved, among other things—or, in our text, exclusively—on Egyptian statues).[44] The enigmatic signs became a secret writing, seeming to contain a powerful knowledge, but one of very difficult access. The knowledge of these secrets distinguished the true magus from the masses (aptly enough, the Christians suspected any study of the hieroglyphs as magic)[45]—in an opposition rather close to that of Apuleius separating the *philosophi* from the *imperiti*, the philosophers from the common folk. Again, there is the reproach of excessive curiosity, only this time attributed not by the *imperiti* to the magicians and philosophers, but reversed and addressed to the crowd. The consequence of secrecy is the necessity of initiation and training; prolonged practice was needed to be able to read and translate these writings and to become a specialist in the language of magic, one who could construct a text on the basis of several models.[46]

The second characteristic shared by magic and the mysteries is the quest for direct contact with the sphere of the divine. We must take a closer look at the concrete forms that this *communio loquendi cum dis* could take in the world of the magicians. Once again, it is the papyri that provide the most valuable clues.

For the magician, this contact is indispensable if the magician wishes to perform his ritual (the *praxis*, to use the technical term). In order to achieve the goal of the rite, to end the quest for love, knowledge, or power, the magician needs the help of the gods, of a divine or demonic assistant, and to get it, must know the secrets of the supreme god. In this quest, the magician

distinguishes himself or herself from the adepts of Gnosticism, hermetism, or neoplatonism less through the religious forms that are used than through the aim of his or her actions.[47] The magician rarely seeks knowledge for its own sake, usually pursues a more practical goal, and has a material need to satisfy—though (to blur the all too clear-cut distinction again) it is not entirely unheard of that a magician seeks only community with the gods, as, on the other hand, theurgy could have its very utilitarian aims as well.[48]

It is even more difficult to grasp the difference between the traditional initiate and the magicians. Again, it is not so much a matter of forms: ecstasy is well-known among magicians, as it is among the followers of Bacchus; however, unlike the initiates of an ecstatic cult, the magicians usually do not seek the experience of the divine as the final goal, but rather are looking for information and prophesy.[49] Still, to blur the differences again, the mystery cults always had a utilitarian side as well, for they were supposed to improve the human condition, in this life as well as in the next. Already in the middle of the seventh century B.C., the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, a fundamental document on the Eleusinian mysteries, promises to send "Plutus [divine Wealth] to the hearth of the great house" of those who have been initiated . . . "and, in the dark world of the dead, their fate will be different," for the familiarity with the infernal divinities guarantees them a better destiny. And at the other extreme of the chronological chain, well after the middle of the second century A.D., Apuleius, in his *Metamorphoses*, tells not only how Lucius underwent initiation into the mysteries of Isis but also how the goddess helped her initiate in his efforts to construct an existence as a lawyer in Rome.[50] All that does not differ so much from what the sorcerers seek, if only in that they show no interest concerning eschatology, the fate of the soul and the individual after death.

There is a still more important difference at another level. The experience of the mystery cults is a communal one, and one of the reasons for the success of these cults in the Hellenistic and imperial eras was their social function. The associations of initiates could offer a group identity, and, on a more practical level, communal services to individuals who were increasingly cut off from their traditional groups.[51] The hypothesis has even been expressed that the mysteries of Mithras were created for the middle-level civil servants of the imperial government and of the army to offer them a stable point during the moves throughout the provinces of the empire necessitated by their career. In this perspective, the mithraea almost identical everywhere appear like a chain of Hilton hotels.[52] However that may be, it is significant that an itinerant intellectual such as Apuleius was initiated "in most of the rites of Greece"; reality cannot have been very different from what happened to Lucius, the hero of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses;* Lucius found, at Corinthian Cenchreae as well as in Rome, Isiac communities that immediately accepted him and helped him both materially and spiritually.[53]

Here again we must introduce light and shade. There existed a communal spirit among the magicians; cooperation and a sense of solidarity are not unknown, as is shown by the term "fellow initiate" mentioned before; and long magic initiation periods in an Egyptian temple took place not in isolation, but in a community. One must, however, be careful not to confuse fiction and reality, and here the papyri are once again of great help to us. These texts, although in their current state they appear to be a rather heterogeneous mass reaching us in a state of unequal transmission, give us an inkling of their much more uniform and coherent predecessors. In them we find incantations, rites, and books that claim to have been transmitted from father to son or daughter, from magician to king.[54] We note, moreover, that the letter is the dominant literary form in the papyri, as is attested

to by the conclusion of a recipe: "Here, my child, is the sacred book that brings good luck, the Monad, which no one could interpret or carry out before. Be well, my child." "Be well," *khaîre,* the equivalent of the *vale* in Latin letters, is the usual formula for good-bye in Greek letters.[55]

Nevertheless, the majority of the papyri do not testify to this communal spirit. Indeed, most of the texts give the impression of being meant for an isolated individual who will make use of them for the individual's own personal ends. The bid to refer oneself to a "fellow initiate" or to collaborate with a mystagogue is rare and exceptional; and even in this case, we notice signs of distrust, that to which at least this text testifies, clearly showing that there existed different degrees of collaboration: "If you wish to use a fellow initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure with you for seven days, and let him abstain from meat and a bath. And even when you are alone and you carry out the things communicated by the god, you speak as in a prophetic ecstasy. But if you wish to show him, then judge whether he is truly worthy as a man, treating him as if you were yourself judged in the ritual of immortalization, *apothanatismós,* and whisper to him the first prayer that begins as follows: 'First origin of my origin ΑΕΗΙΟΥΩ.' And say the rest as an initiate, over his head, in a whisper, so that he may not hear, as you are anointing his face with the secret. This ritual immortalization takes place three times a year."[56]

This passage marks the end of the "Mithras Liturgy," a ritual meant to induce the appearance of a god and his prophecy before the magician in trance; it is called "immortalization," because the practitioner leaves his mortal nature to converse with the god. The text contrasts two ways of collaborating with a colleague. In the first instance, the magician may invite a colleague to listen with the magician to what the god will prophesy; the colleague has only a more or less passive role, but

nonetheless, needs the same purifications as the magician. In the second instance, the "fellow initiate" may also be shown the rites ("to show," *deîxai*, is also a technical term for introducing performers into mystery rituals), and it goes without saying that the conditions are then much stricter. Some reservations remain, however; the most important prayer must be said *sotto voce*, so that the other does not hear it: the fellow initiate is effectively initiated and capable of seeing the apparition (the reason for anointing the eyes) but lacks the ultimate knowledge necessary for performing the ritual. Thus, there remains an indisputable hierarchy.

It is in the ritual of magical initiation that the similarities and differences between magic and mysteries are the most clear-cut. The magicians as well as the initiates, neoplatonists, or hermeticists all took an interest in the extraordinary experience that the initiation could provide. Apuleius (in the eleventh book of the *Metamorphoses*) is our best witness for the mystery cults; his text reveals the fascination that he felt for the rituals and the experiences that resulted from them. We come across the same fascination in the magical papyri. The initiation ritual often leads the magician (and the modern reader) well beyond ordinary experience, which confirms our reservations against a commonplace and utilitarian interpretation of these rites. The rites can assume strange forms: "Crown yourself with black ivy when the sun is in the middle of the sky, at the fifth hour; and while looking upward, lie down naked on the linen [which had been spread out on the roof of the house] and have your eyes covered with a black band. Have yourself wrapped like a corpse, close your eyes, and—still turned to the sun—begin these words."[57]

Such a rite can have surprising results: "After you have said this three times, there will be this sign of divine encounter (but you, armed by having this magical soul, be not alarmed): a sea falcon flies down and strikes you on the body with its wings,

signifying this: that you should arise. But as for you, rise up and clothe yourself with white garments . . ."[58] (Only a spoilsport will ask how many times the falcon appeared this way.)

The structure of this ritual resembles any rite of initiation, as will be shown later. As always, however, it is the differences that are the most interesting, and one of them seems to be fundamental. In the mystery cults, a single initiation (or, in some rare cults, a series of well-hierarchized rituals) sufficed to change the status of the initiate definitively, and to promote the person from the outside into the group of initiates.[59] In magic, things are more complicated; we are dealing with two very distinct types of initiation. On the one hand, we find in our documentation (that is, in both the papyri and the literary texts) a single ritual that definitively transforms a layperson into a magician. We have seen this situation in the case of Lucian's Pancrates and in the rumors concerning Christ, but also in Plato's account of the itinerant seers or in the story of Nero, initiated into magic by a real magus, Tiridates of Armenia, "with magic banquets." Comparable rituals were used, in the ancient world, to initiate priests or other religious specialists.[60] But we also find in the papyri a whole gamut of rituals that transform the status of a person who is already a magician to promote the person to a higher level of power. In this case as well, we are dealing with initiatory rites, rituals performed in order to change the status of a human. Among this second group, there are two kinds that seem particularly important. The first kind makes it possible to obtain a *párhedros*, an "assistant"; the second contains the *sústasis* ("rite of encounter"), the rituals for presenting the magician to a god. Both types of rites introduce the sorcerer to the domain of the divinity.

The *sústasis* can be illuminated thanks to a rather brief ritual that belongs to a complex and much more extensive ritual, at least in the first version of what is called the *Eighth Book of Moses*.

The book contains only that single prolonged ritual scenario whose intention is to bring about the visit of a divinity who is able to provide revelations about the future. In its preparatory stage, the version A, the longest and most elaborate, interpolates (according to the commentary of the *Key*) another ritual to aid in the preparatory rite; it is the "Introduction to the Gods of the Hours of the Day"—to benefit from their help means to be helped at every moment of the day by a specific divinity, which facilitates the main ritual task.[61] Every contact with a divinity is dangerous and risky, because the god might by angry or an evil demon might use the god's form in order to deceive the magician.[62]

The ritual instructions use the language of the mysteries. They begin with an introductory remark (l. 32): "You will be made their initiate as follows . . ."; and it ends with this confirmation (l. 38): "You will then have been made their initiate." It thus is indeed a typical initiatory progression, during which the candidate is transported by the ritual from an earlier state to a new and permanent state expressed here in the transition from the future (*telesthēsēi*) to a perfect tense (future anterior *tetelesménos ésēi*): the help of the gods in the mysteries in which the magician will have been initiated and will enjoy as a personal protection, will be assured and definitive for that person.

The ritual itself is very simple. At the new moon, the future initiate forms three statuettes of fine flour, one fitted with the head of a bull, the next with the head of a goat, and the third with the head of a ram, all three represented on the zodiac, holding Egyptian whips. The initiate fumigates these statuettes with incense, and then eats them while reciting the prayer and the "constraining formula" contained in the *Key*, but not detailed in our text. Version B adds (which could have been guessed) that the *Key* also contained the names of the "Gods of the Hours of the Day," which are unknown to us.[63]

The period of the new moon, the interval between the month past and the month to come, is an auspicious period for all magic acts. It is also the moment when the Greeks exposed the meals of Hecate at the crossroads, these crossroads being themselves intervals between spaces.[64] It is thus a rather commonplace date. The three statuettes presumably represented the "Gods of the Hours of the Day," which explains their position on the zodiac. The fact that they are only three in number suggests that these gods operated in four groups of three gods each. The whips—explicitly described as Egyptian—as well as the animal heads, testify to the Egyptian origin of these statuettes. It will be noted, however, that though the ram and the bull are well-known sacred animals in Egypt, the goat is not—it might just be a Greek element.[65] The ritual program itself, with the fabrication of the objects, their sacralization by fumigation, and their total appropriation by ingestion at the same time as the invocation of the god concerned, recall the structure of a mystery rite. Both initiations, in mystery cults as well as in our magical ritual, take up the canonical structure of a rite of passage according to the analysis of van Gennep, with its progression from separation to marginality and back to integration; the ritual considered so far performs separation as a way to marginality where (in mystery cults as well as here) the human performer meets his gods.[66]

But the initiation to the minor divinities that are the "Gods of the Hours" brings only limited benefits. It is much more advantageous to obtain a *párhedros*, a superhuman or even divine assistant: Plotinus impressed an Egyptian colleague with his personal spirit "not being from among the demons, but a god."[67] It is the parhedros who makes it possible for the sorcerer to perform what a human cannot do alone, especially divination and obtaining dreams. Precision about the function of such a parhedros comes from the accusation brought forward by Irenaeus against the gnostic Marcion: "He even has an assistant

demon, thanks to whom he takes on the appearance of prophesying himself and makes the women prophesy whom he judges worthy of partaking of his Grace."[68] It is the prophecy by possession that is in question here. Thanks to the power that the sorcerer has over demons, the sorcerer not only is an exorcist but can also command the demons to enter into his or her own body or that of others.

One of the magic papyri preserved in Berlin provides us with an even longer list of what a parhedros might be used for, such as to help bring on dreams, to couple women and men (i.e., erotic incantations), to kill enemies, to open closed doors and to free people in chains, to stop the attacks of demons and wild animals, to break the teeth of snakes, to put dogs to sleep. The parhedros might also bring forth water, wine, bread, oil, vinegar, and anything else one wants to eat (with the exception of fish and pork, not eaten in Egypt). The parhedros even helps to acquire demons in fine livery and, when one wishes, to organize a banquet in "rooms with ceilings of gold and walls of marble" ("which," the cautious writer adds, "you will judge partly real, and partly only illusory").[69]

This remarkable passage finds its closest parallel in a somewhat unexpected text. Celsus, the bellicose pagan, makes Christ a magician also, but a rather entertaining one: "He—Origen writes, meaning Celsus—likens Christ's miracles to the works of the sorcerers, who promise to perform rather surprising things, and to the achievements of the Egyptians. For a few oboli the latter sell their venerable knowledge on the public square, drive out demons from men, cure illness with a breath of air, evoke the souls of heroes, bring forth rich meals, tables filled with delicacies and food of all kinds that in reality do not exist, and make move as living what is not really so but appears so to the imagination."[70]

Egyptian magicians, it seems, are not devoid of pleasurable

aspects. After all, they had to earn their living by professional miracle-working, in fairs and public squares. In the papyri, we sometimes find instructions meant for shows such as teaching how to ride on a crocodile or how to free a person chained in a locked room: "Having put a man in chains, you will lock him up in a room, and remaining outside, say the formula six or seven times; then, for the door to open, say the formula . . ."[71] What is striking in this portrait of everyday magic is not simply that it does not resort to the help of a demoniac parhedros (as the papyrus suggested) for its extravagant feats; it is rather the fact that this magic of the fair contains things that we would consider much more serious: healing, necromancy, and exorcism. But it is our categories again that are at odds with the ancients—many contemporaries of Christ accepted these facts as facts, not illusions. Even the Roman officer who kept guard over Perpetua and her fellow martyrs was afraid that they might disappear from jail, with the help "of some magical incantations."[72] Healing through a mere breath of air is found, moreover, in the instruction for an exorcism in the magic papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[73]

Obviously, for the magician, it is essential to obtain a parhedros; one does not become a true *magus* without such an assistant. To acquire one is thus also a kind of initiatory rite. The papyri supply us with a series of examples—a most characteristic one is taken from the same papyrus in Berlin.

> A demon comes as an assistant: he will reveal everything to you, he will live, eat, and sleep with you.
> (1) Take two of your fingernails and all the hairs from your head. Take a Circaean falcon and deify it [drown it] in the milk of a black cow, after you have mixed Attic honey with the milk. And once you have deified it, wrap it with an undyed [that is, pure] piece of cloth and place beside it your fingernails and your hairs; take some royal papyrus, write what follows on it in ink of myrrh,

and set it in the same manner along with the fingernails and the hairs, then smear it with uncut frankincense and old wine.

(1a) Here is what you will write on the paper: A EE HHH IIII OOOOO ΥΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ. But write it arranged in two figures.

(2)(a) Take the milk with the honey and drink it before the sun rises, and something divine will be in your heart. Take the falcon, set it up in a temple made of juniper wood, and having crowned this same temple, make an offering of non-animal food, and have on hand some old wine.

(b) Before going to bed, make a prayer before this same bird after you have offered it a sacrifice as you usually do and say this spell: A EE HHH IIII OOOOO ΥΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ, come to my place, good farmer, good demon . . . Come to my place, o holy Orion, you who dwell in the north, who cause the currents of the Nile to roll down and mingle with the sea, transforming them with life as does the sperm of man in sexual union, you who built the world on an indestructible foundation, who are young in the morning and old in the evening, you who journey through the subterranean pole and who rise, breathing fire, you who have parted the seas in the first month, who ejaculate your sperm into the sacred figtree of Hermupolis. This is your authoritative name: ARBATH ABAOTH BAKCHABRE.

(c) But when you are dismissed, be shoeless and walk backward, and set yourself to the enjoyment of the food and dinner and the prescribed food offering, coming face to face as companion to the god. This rite demands total purity; hide, hide the procedure and abstain from intercourse with a woman for seven days.[74]

This rite (of which I shall not explain all the ramifications) proceeds in two main phases: the preparation and the execution. The first phase includes the preparation of the rite's ingredients: one drowns the falcon in the milk, makes a mummy of it, and sets down next to it pieces of one's own fingernails and hairs as well as a choice papyrus on which a short formula is inscribed,

and then one coats the whole with a mixture of incense and wine.

The execution of the actual rite begins shortly before sunrise. Here again two phases are distinguished:

(a) A preparatory rite of introduction: the magician drinks the mixture of milk and honey in which he has drowned the falcon; he sets the mummy down in a small sanctuary, crowns it, and prepares a meal.
(b) The rite proper is the sacrifice to the deified falcon, accompanied by a long prayer, that constitutes the central evocation.
(c) When the god has appeared (that is, when the rite has reached its goal), the god and the magician eat together like colleagues.
(d) To end the rite, the magician withdraws in bare feet, walking backward.

The order of the ritual sequences in the last part of the rite is not very clear. I have tried to clear it up by separating enjoying the meal and walking backward. The final prohibitions (the requirement of maximal purity and sexual abstinence) are elements that do not concern the time following the rite, but rather the preparatory period to which this kind of ritual purity normally belongs, not only in magic, but in all rituals putting the human in contact with the divine (as do the mystery rites); it is a rite of commonplace separation in the sequence of the rites of passage.

Another commonplace rite is that of eating and drinking. In our scenario, we see two variants. First the magician drinks a special milk, which transforms him, making him divine: "Something divine will be in your heart," which points to an ecstatic experience. This rite—performed shortly before sunrise—marks the transition to the marginal space in which the magician will

encounter the god. The ingredients contribute to it: milk and honey are liquids used in marginal rites; the color black is also a marginal color; and the milk from a black cow is often mentioned in magic, and some comparable beverages are found elsewhere.[75] A single example, taken from a papyrus, will also help us to understand why one drinks the milk in which a sacred animal has been drowned, in this case the sacred falcon of Horus. In the three versions of *Moses* VIII, the magician writes the most important charm on the two sides of a tablet of sodium carbonate, and then he erases the text of one side by licking it, while he washes the other side with milk from a black cow; then he mixes this milk with some pure wine and drinks the whole, after which he makes a prayer, and the god appears.[76] Here again, the ritual act of drinking marks the transition that immediately precedes the entry into marginality. In this rite of passage, the milk and the pure wine express one more time the reversal characteristic of the marginal phase. But there is more: by licking or drinking the central incantation, the magician appropriates this cardinal text. This concept is widespread in Near Eastern thinking. In Egyptian rituals, one often either licks a sacred text or drinks a liquid in which a text has been dissolved. And in a popular tale from the Ptolemaic era, the hero ingests a secret book of the god Thoth, which he so much sought, and, in doing this, appropriates all the powerful knowledge contained in the book.[77] We will also recall the prophetic initiation of Ezekiel, during which God forces him to eat a book.[78] We also find some modern parallels to this rather unappetizing ritual (we are reminded that sodium carbonate is used to make soap) and to its ideology. In northern Italy during the fifteenth century, at the decisive moment of the initiation of a witch, the candidate drinks a beverage made of the excrement of a giant toad, hair, and ashes. In the confession of a Bernese sorcerer of the same epoch, a similar drink (unforgivably, the recipe is not spelled

out) had the result that the candidate "felt in my heart the image of our art and the principal rites of our school."[79]

These parallels help give a better understanding of the role of the falcon that was deified in the milk. The central prayer is a mixture of various allusions to Egyptian mythology, based on the cult of the sun. The god "who is young in the morning and old in the evening, who passes the subterranean pole and who gets up breathing fire" is, of course, the sun god. He "who separated the seas in the first month" is again the sun, Rê, who was born of the chaotic primordial waters; and he "who ejaculates his sperm into the sacred figtree of Hermopolis" is again he, creating by masturbation the gods of Hermopolis. It is thus indeed a form of the sun god with whom the magician wishes to join forces.[80] But the falcon is also a form of the same god, both sacred animal and symbol of the god. By drinking the milk in which a falcon was drowned, a person thus appropriates the life of this sacred animal; it is the reason for which, after drinking, one will have "something divine" in the heart. In the same way that Ezekiel appropriates the divinatory power by eating the book or that the Bernese sorcerer appropriates his art by drinking a magic beverage, the Greco-Egyptian sorcerer appropriates a part of the divine essence, which makes it possible for him to leave human existence to meet the god. In these rites, eating and drinking are acts of immediate and perfectly comprehensible appropriation of an essence. In their structure, these rites mark the entrance into the space of the other; in their ideology, they mark the entrance into the world of the god.

This brings us to the second rite in which the meal is consumed. This meal taken in common with the god (face to face) represents the *communio*, the overall equality between man and god. The meal is made up of "non-animal" vegetarian food and old wine. There is nothing exceptional about the wine (apart from the quality), and if it is pure wine, which is very possible,

it is not specified. The vegetarian food is quite characteristic of that world in which this sort of diet is constitutive of that renunciation of the human norm sought by charismatics like Apollonius. Death, associated with meat, which is the result of a violent death, is incompatible with the divine. An anecdote told by Porphyry in his *Life of Plotinus* is revealing. The philosopher introduces an Egyptian priest to his divine personal assistant. But in the excitement of this experience, one of his friends, a spectator of the scene, accidentally strangles the little bird that he is holding, and the demon disappears because he cannot bear the presence of death.[81]

One last aspect is unambiguously Egyptian. The falcon is, it has been said, a symbol of the god and his sacred animal. As a sacred animal, it could not be killed, and such "murders" could give rise to mutinies in Greco-Roman Egypt.[82] However, killing a sacred animal also takes on a symbolic function in the structure of the rite; by killing the animal, the sorcerer cuts himself off from the laws meant for human beings. The murder of the sacred animal then becomes a rite of separation, comparable to those ritual murders spoken of in the secret societies. In the thinking of Egypt, killing a sacred animal had always been a sign of extreme impiety. Such was the case of Cambyses or Antiochus Epiphanes, who killed the bull Apis, or in the much crueler story, told by Manetho, of the coalition of the Hyksos and the Jews who forced the priests to kill and eat their sacred animals.[83]

In the structure of our rite, in which we would expect to find the tripartite structure of the rite of passage, the rites of integration seem poorly in evidence. In many cases, it is the common meal that reintroduces the participants to ordinary life, even though in our ritual, this meal with the divinity is the main event of the phase of marginality. We have, however, those curious instructions concerning the behavior of the magician at the moment when he may leave: the magician must walk backward

barefoot. Walking backward is found as a final rite in a whole series of ritual scenarios for magic.[84] Normally, the rites of integration express the new status: walking backward could be the sign that the magician has definitively left the human norm, and going barefoot can have the same function. After all, it is also characteristic of the charismatics like Apollonius.

This rite made use of some elements of the Egyptian sun mythology, yet the *parhedros* was named Horos-Agathos Daimon. A god, of course, is more powerful than a *parhedros*; one can obtain even the Sun God himself in this role. The great papyrus of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains a ritual instruction, addressed to king Psammetichus by a certain Nephotes. Its purpose is to obtain powerful divinatory abilities: "When you have tried it, you will be amazed at the miraculous nature of this operation."[85] The operation includes two very distinct parts: the actual divinatory rite, which must be repeated each time one wants to consult the god about the future (lines 222–285), and the prior rite, which is named *Sustasis to Helios*, a rite that was performed once and that definitively transforms the performer: "Come back as lord of divine nature after performing this rite."[86]

Its form is as simple as it is odd. At sunrise, the future magician goes up to the highest part of his house and unfolds a sheet of pure white linen. At noon, the magician crowns himself with black ivy, undresses, and stretches out on the sheet, with eyes "covered with an all-black band" and wrapped up like a corpse; with eyes still closed but turned to the sun, the magician recites a long prayer to the god Typhon. At the end, a sea falcon will appear and touch the recumbent body with its wings. This is the central act. After that, the magician rises, dresses all in white, makes a fumigation with incense, thanks the god, and comes down from the roof.

The prayer enlightens us about the meaning that the rite had for the indigenous participants. The magician played the role of

an associate of Seth-Typhon, killed by his enemies Isis and Horus. And in our text, Seth-Typhon is a form of the Sun God. The god is fooled, and in the form of a bird, he comes to aid his endangered associate.

This is the ideology, the mythological superstructure. Underlying it, however, we recognize a well-known ritual structure. The magician seeks the point farthest in space from his everyday dwelling. As the magician seeks contact with the Sun, it is the vertical direction that matters, and thus the magician must go up onto the roof, which is the highest point of the house. The magician performs the ritual in a pure space, as in other rituals one seeks the inside of a temple or a place "on the banks of the Nile, not yet touched by a man's foot."[87] Our ritual creates this space by unfolding the sheet of pure material. In this sacred space, the magician undresses, then in the end puts on other clothes, new and white. The initiatory function represented by such changes of clothes is well-known. In this same space, the magician undergoes ritual death and resurrection. The magician is wrapped up like a mummy and crowned with black ivy, the plant of Osiris, that infernal Dionysus, Lord of the Dead. The resurrection follows, resulting from contact with the divine, thanks to the wing of the falcon. Restored to life, the magician is transformed into a superhuman Lord "just like the gods." This is a most instructive example of the initiatory symbolism of death and rebirth, whose curious absence has been noted in the Greco-Roman mystery cults.[88]

By way of conclusion, I would like to stress a few points. A rite of initiation is also a kind of self-definition, and this is also true for magicians. The most prominent feature of this self-definition is the search for the divine. Apuleius's fellow citizens, it seems, had not been completely wrong to suspect of a magician someone who went in for the divine more zealously than was either usual or necessary.

The rites of initiation analyzed in this chapter follow a well-defined ritual structure and contain well-known ideologies—be it van Gennep's tripartition, the ideology of death and resurrection, or the function of a change of status. This fact is not that surprising, but it should be stressed that this does not mean that these rites have a venerable antiquity. The use of the terminology of the mystery rites and the fact that a certain number of rites peculiar to mystery cults crop up in the middle of magic, make us rather suspect that mystery rites could have had a decisive influence on the formation of magical rites. To prove this hunch, however, would be quite another matter.

Magic thus fits into a set of well-known facts about the religion of the imperial era, and one final remark will confirm it. The essential goal of the potential magician is to acquire a *parhedros*, that demoniacal or divine companion who helps and protects the magician for life. But the search for such a powerful helper is not the prerogative of magicians. The philosophers too had their companions, as is shown by Plotinus and his Egyptian rival; Socrates' *daimonion*, which became a focus of later platonic interest, was viewed as a precursor of this conception.[89] Moreover, this quest for companions and individual protectors intensified in later antiquity until, finally, the Christian saints became the most effective and sought-after *parhedroi*.[90]

Zosimos, *Historia* II, 40,3; Boethius: his own *Consolation of Philosophy* I, 4,134–148; and Pierre Rousseau, "The death of Boethius: The charge of maleficium," *Studi Medievali* 20, 1979, pp. 871–889. Extensive, but sometimes rambling, discussions in Clerc 1995, esp. pp. 153–237.

57. Andreas Alföldi, "Stadtrömische heidnische Amulett-Medaillen aus der Zeit um 400 n. Chr.," in *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, suppl. 1) (Münster: Aschendorff, 1964), pp. 1–9; an exciting amulet represents a scene of necromancy (5, Taf. 1,4), another one a Bacchic dance in front of Hecate (7, Taf. 2,6), which combines magic and mysteries.
58. Zacharias, *Life of S. Severus*, 61.
59. Paulus, *Sententiae*, 5,23,18 "libri magicae artis . . . penes quoscumque reperti sint, bonis ademptis, ambustis his publice in insulam deportantur, humiliores capite puniuntur."
60. Kieckhefer 1989: 12f.
61. See the arguments of Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Natalie Zemon Davis, "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion," in Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman, *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 307–336; Dario Rei, "Note sul concetto di religione popolare," *Lares* 40, 1974, pp. 262–280.
62. *Apology*, XXVII, 1–3 "qui providentiam mundi curiosius vestigant."
63. *Apology*, XL, 1.
64. *Apology*, XL, 3.
65. Later cases in Brown 1972: pp. 124–127 (Boethius, Mummolus of Bordeaux); and Hypatia of Alexandria, according to Maria Dzielska, *Hypatia of Alexandria* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995).
66. Mauss 1973: 24 "Toute condition sociale anormale prépare à l'exercice de la magie."

4. HOW TO BECOME A MAGICIAN

1. E.g., John Chrysostomus, *Homely on Matthew* VIII 4; see Fowden 1986: pp. 79–87.
2. Lucian, *The Lover of Lies*, 34–36.

3. Fowden 1986: p. 166f. wishes to identify him with the magician and priest Pachrates of Heliopolis, mentioned in PGM IV, 2446–2455; but Heinz J. Thissen, "Ägyptologische Beiträge zu den griechischen magischen Papyri," in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe (Hrsgg.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain* (Louvain: Peeters, 1991), p. 296 tries an Egyptian etymology for the latter name: Pa-hrt, "he who belongs to the (divine) child."
4. Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* VI, 14.
5. Pseudo-Cyprian, *Confessions* 12, see Hopfner 1983: p. 22f. For another sorcerer taught in Memphis, Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis eremitae* 12; and already the powerful divinities of the Delian Serapeum came from Memphis, Helmut Engelmann, *The Delian Aretalogy of Sarapis* (Leiden: Brill, 1975); in a Demotic text, it is the capital of sorcery, G. Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, trans. A. S. Johns (New Hyde Park, N. Y.: University Books, 1967) (orig. Paris, 4th ed. 1911, p. 425f.).
6. Arnobius, *Against the Gentiles*, I, 43 1, 43: "magus fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit, Aegyptiorum ex adytis angelorum potentium nomina et remotas furatus est disciplinas."
7. Dio Cassius LXXV, 13,2.
8. PGM VIII 41ff. The Christians told a story about how the emperor Julian underwent initiation in an *aduton*: Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V, 2, and the Coptic Christians suspected magic in all Egyptian temples; see the story of the Coptic saint Shenute in Trombley 1993: vol. 2, 211.
9. Origen, *Against Celsus* I, 25. Hopfner 1974: pp. 64–82 (§§ 135–162); for a *defixio* Audollent 1904: no. 74; Daniel and Maltomini: 1992, no. 97b.
10. Celsus (in Origen, *Against Celsus* I, 28) follows Jewish sources in his account of how young Jesus had been forced through poverty to look for work in Egypt, where he learned magic. For all this, Smith 1978: pp. 45–80; still interesting is E. M. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), pp. 66–73.
11. Zalmoxis: Herodotus IV, 96; Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 73; Pythagoras Diogenes Laertius 8,41, following Hermippus frg. 20 Wehrli *Die Schule des Aristoteles*. Suppl. 1 (Basel/Stuttgart: Schwabe,

1974). See Walter Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 156–161.

12. Clarus: W. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 137–39. Trophonius: P. and M. Bonnechère, "Trophonios à Lébadée: Histoire d'un oracle," *Etudes Classiques* 57, 1989, pp. 289–302.
13. Thus the reconstruction of the ritual from a magic ritual in PGM LXX, offered by Hans Dieter Betz, "Fragments from a catabasis ritual in a Greek magical papyrus," in Betz 1990: pp. 147–155 (orig. *History of Religions* 19, 1980, pp. 287–295); but see Jordan 1988b: pp. 245–259, who draws attention to parallels with a binding spell.
14. See Hans Dieter Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1961).
15. The 1958 synthesis by Mircea Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Dallas: Spring Publications, 1994) remains as superficial as it is dogmatic; for the Christian world, see Victor Saxer, *Les rites de l'initiation chrétienne du IIe au VIe siècle: Esquisse historique et signification d'après leurs principaux témoins* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1988).
16. Thessalus of Tralles, *De virtutibus herbarum*, I, 13–14; see Hans-Veit Friedrich, *Thessalos von Tralles: griechisch und lateinisch* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1968); Armand-Jean Festugière, "L'expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos," *Revue Biblique*, 1939, p. 45ff; Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Fowden 1986: pp. 162–165.
17. PGM III, 440.
18. *Pythian Odes*, IV, 213–218. See Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, "L'iynge dans le discours mythique et les procédures magiques," *Kernos*, 6, 1993, pp. 277–89; Christophe A. Faraone, "The wheel, the whip, and other implements of torture: Erotic magic in Pindar, Pythian 4, 213–19," *Classical Journal* 89, 1993, pp. 1–19. For the earrings, see the catalog by Dyfri Williams and Jack Ogden, *Greek Gold: Jewelry of the Classical World* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1994), 96f. no. 49f. (330–300 B.C.).

19. The case of Orpheus, who comes closest to it, is more complicated; see Fritz Graf, "Orpheus: A Poet Among Men," in Jan Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretation of Greek Mythology* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 80–106.
20. On the theory of culture and on the "inventors of culture," A. Kleingünther, ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΤΗΣ *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung* (Philologus. Supplementband 26:1) (Leipzig: Teubner, 1933).
21. For some initiatory aspects of the myth of Jason, see Alain Moreau, "Introduction à la mythologie X–XIX: Les mille et une facettes de Médéee," *Connaissance hellénique* 24–33, 1985–1987; id., *Le mythe de Jason et Médée Le va-nu-pied et la sorcière* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994); Fritz Graf, "Medea, the enchantress from afar: Remarks on a well-known myth," in James J. Clauss and Sarah Iles Johnston, *Medea* (Princeton N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 21–43.
22. Plato, *The Republic*, 364 B.C. Compared with the translation given in the text, the alternative that connects θυσίαις τε καὶ ἐπῳδαῖς with ἀκεῖσθαι ("heal . . . through sacrifices and incantations") is less natural.
23. It has been discussed whether Plotinus had already practiced it. Philip Merlan offered good arguments in favor of this hypothesis, "Plotinus and magic," in *Kleine philosophische Schriften* (Hildesheim, New York: Olms, 1976), pp. 388–95 (*Isis* 44, 1954, pp. 341–48). For a recent discussion, see G. Fowden, "The Platonist Philosopher and His Circle in Late Antiquity," *Philosophia/Athen* 7, 1977, pp. 359–383; G. Shaw, "Theurgy: Rituals of Unification in the Neoplatonism of Jamblichus," *Traditio* 41, 1985, pp. 1–28; Georg Luck, "Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism," in Neusner, Frerichs, and Flesher 1989: pp. 185–225.
24. On the charismatics in general, see Ludwig Bieler, ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ: *Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (Vienna: Oskar Hoefels, 1935/1936); see also G. Fowden, "The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 102, 1982, pp. 33–59; G. Anderson, *Sage, Saint, and Sophist: Holy Men and Their Associates in the Early Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1994). For Apollonius at Aegae, see Fritz Graf, "Maximos von Aigai: Ein Beitrag zur Uberlieferung über Apollonios

von Tyana," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 27/28, 1984–1985, pp. 65–73.

25. Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies*, I,13,3. On accusations of magic brought forward against gnostics, see Kurt Rudolph, *Die Gnosis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 3rd ed., 1990), p. 187f.; on μαγεία in gnostic texts, Ioan P. Coulianou, *The Tree of Gnosis* (San Francisco: Harper, 1992) p. 106f.
26. Richard Reitzenstein, *Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904), pp. 146–160.
27. For the formula *egō eimi*, known especially from the aretalogies of Isis, and the cults of Isis, see Jan Bergman, *Ich bin Isis: Studien zum mephitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien* (Upsala, 1960). Examples later in n. 104.
28. Leyden papyrus: *PGM* XII, 87–95. Moses: *PGM* V, 110. Amulet: a copper tablet, edited in Kotansky 1994; no. 32; other amulets Louis Robert, "Amulettes grecques I: Théophanies sur les montagnes," *Journal des Savants* 1981, pp. 3–27 (*Opera Minora Selecta* vol. 7 [Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1990], pp. 465–489).
29. Tat: *Corpus hermeticum*, 13, 1; Reitzenstein 1904: Chapter 7. Jesus: Smith 1976, p. 121.
30. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 23. See also the exorcism P. Carlsberg 52 (7th century A.D.), in William M. Brashear, *Magica Varia* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25) (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1991), pp. 16–62 (the exorcist represents himself as a demon on top of Mt. Sinai).
31. Martin P. Nilsson, "Greek mysteries in the 'Confession' of St. Cyprian," *Harvard Theological Review* 40, 1947, pp. 167–176, repr. in Nilsson 1960: pp. 106–116.
32. A synthesis in Hans Dieter Betz, "Magic and mystery in the Greek magical papyri," in Betz 1990: pp. 209–229, and in Faraone and Obbink 1991: pp. 244–259. The vocabulary is collected in Festugière 1932: pp. 303–306.
33. Μυστήριον e.g., *PGM* IV, 476. XIXa, 52, see A. D. Nock, *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 11, 1925, p. 158.—Τελετή e.g., PGM XII, 95. See C. Zijderveld, Τελετή: Bijdrage tot de kennis der religieuze terminologie in het Grieksch (Diss. Utrecht: 1934).
34. E.g., *PGM* IV, 746 (magic ointment); 794 (amulet in the shape of a scarab); XII, 331, 333 (amulets).

35. *PGM* XII, 322.
36. PGM IV, 733 συνμύσται, compare IV, 479 μύσται. XIII, 57, 380, 427 ἀμνστηρίαστοι. IV, 172 μυσταγωγός.
37. *PGM* IV, 475–829; μύστης ΙΩ, 479; συνμύστης 733. See primarily Dieterich 1923 and Merkelbach 1992, but also Festugière 1932: pp. 310–313; and Marvin W. Meyer, *The "Mithras Liturgy"* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976). In a still unpublished paper, Sarah Iles Johnston understands it rather as a theurgical ritual.
38. *PGM* LXX, 12–19, τετελεσμένος, see Hans Dieter Betz, "Fragments from a catabasis ritual in a Greek magical papyrus," in Betz 1990: pp. 147–155.
39. Euripides, *Hercules* 613: "have been successful, because I saw the rites of the initiates."
40. The texts in Giovanni Pugliese-Carratelli, *Le lamine d'oro 'orfiche'* (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1993); in emblematical the scene on the leaf from Hipponium, p. 20 (and already id., *Parola del Passato* 29, 1974, p. 108f.).
41. *PGM* V, 110, see earlier, n. 27.
42. Eleusis: George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 224–226.—Magic: *PGM* XII, 315–322. See Betz 1995: pp. 153–175, esp. 154–160.
43. *PGM* XII, 403–408.
44. On the growing ignorance of the hieroglyphs under the empire, see Pieter W. van der Horst, "The secret hieroglyphs in classical literature," in Jan den Boeft and A. H. M. Kessels (eds.), *Actus: Studies in Honour of H. L. W. Nelson* (Utrecht: Instituut voor Klassieke Talen, 1982) pp. 115–123; and Fowden 1986: pp. 63–65. See the symptomatic testimony of Olympiodorus, *De arte sacra*, in M. Berthelot (ed.), *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (Paris: Steinheil, 1887), pp. 87f. (repr. London: Holland Press, 1963); or Iamblichus, *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum* VIII, 5,267f. On the other hand, the Christians who destroyed the Alexandrian Serapeum still recognized the *ankh* as a sign for life (though now referring to Christ, the eternal life), Socrates, *Historia* V, 17 (PG 67,608A–609A), Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* XI,29.
45. Magicians: e.g., Claudianus, *In Rufinum* I, 145ff. (the witch

Megaera knows "quid signa sagacis / Aegypti valeant"). Christians: Rufinus *Historia Ecclesiastica* XI, 16 (the sacerdotal school of Canopus and their "litterae sacerdotales" is "magicae artis publica schola").

46. For the many copies used by a magician to constitute his text, see *PGM* V, 51; XII, 407.
47. Nock 1972: p. 193 formulated the difference between hermeticists and magicians: "The authors and readers of the Pistis Sophia (like Neoplatonist students of theurgy) were passionately eager to know how the wheels went round, the authors and readers of the magical papyri desired simply to be able to make them turn." This is too simplistic, as will be shown.
48. See Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus* X, 1–9; Eunapius, *Life of the Sophists*, 410–413 (Maximos von Tyrus); Marinus, *Life of Proclus* XXVIII (theurgy, fabrication of amulets, weather magic, divination); Psellus, *Explanationes in Oracula Chaldaica*, PG 122, 1133 AB (weather magic of Proclus).
49. For magic ecstasy, see, e.g., PGM IV, 738.
50. Homer, *Hymn to Demeter*, 480ff.; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 30.
51. Underscored by Burkert, 1987.
52. Reinhold Merkelbach, *Mithras* (Königstein/Ts.: Hain, 1984), p. 160ff; see the implicit reservations of Robert Turcan, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain* (Paris: Les Belle Lettres, 1989), pp. 234–239.
53. Apuleius, *Apology*, LV, 8; *Metamorphoses* XI, passim.
54. According to Marinus, *Life of Proclus* XXVIII, the philosopher had been taught theurgy by Asclepiogenia, who had been taught by her father Plutarch, who had learned it from his father Nestorius. For similar chains of transmission in the middle ages, see Kieckhefer 1989: p. 59.
55. *PGM* XIII, 342f., compare 213 (τέκνον: Moses VIII). Other examples are *PGM* I, 42 (Pnouthis to Keryx); IV, 152 (Nephotes to King Psammetichos); 2006 (Pitys to King [sic] Ostanes), compare 475 (addressed to the daughter).
56. *PGM* IV, 733–747.
57. *PGM* IV, 172–176.
58. *PGM* IV, 210–215.

59. Like the sequel of *mûesis* and *epópteia* in Eleusis or the very elaborated hierarchy of rites in the mysteries of Mithra, see Burkert 1987: p. 42f.
60. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XXX, 16: "magicis etiam cenis eum initiaverat." (W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart, 1977, 163 no. 46.)
61. Version A of Moses VIII: *PGM* XIII, 1–230; the "introduction to the gods of the hours of the day," ibid., 29–39. For those gods (genuinely Egyptian), see G. Soukiassian, *Lexikon der Aegyptologie* vol. 6, 1986, p. 102f; they are mainly the aides of Osiris.
62. For these *antitheoi*, see Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes* IV, 12 "magi, haruspicum fratres, suis in actionibus memorant antitheos saepius obrepere pro accitis, esse autem hos quosdam materiis ex crassioribus spiritus, qui deos se fingant nesciosque mendaciis et simulationibus ludant."
63. Which shows that such commentaries contained not only explanations but also additional rites.
64. Sarah Iles Johnston, "Crossroads," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88, 1991, 217–224.
65. We find a comparable series in the rather enigmatic formula of the Bacchic, "Orphic" eschatological texts. For a long time we have known the acclamation, "Kid, you fell into the milk"; a new text discovered in Thessaly now gives more—bull and ram, both fallen (or, in the case of the bull, having jumped) into the milk. See my articles in Philippe Borgeaud (ed.), *Orphisme and Orphée: En l'honneur de Jean Rudhardt* (Geneva: Droz, 1991), pp. 87–102; and in Thomas H. Carpenter and Christopher A. Faraone (eds.), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 239–258.
66. Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris: Nourry, 1909).
67. Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus* X.
68. Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies* I, 13,3.
69. *PGM* I, 96–130.
70. Origen, *Against Celsus I*, 68. See Eugen V. Gallagher, *Divine Man or Magician? Celsus and Origen on Jesus* (Society of Biblical Literature. Dissertation series 64), (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982).
71. *PGM* XII, 161; compare XIII, 289.

72. *Passio Perpetuae* XVI, 2.
73. *PGM* IV, 3080. For demons and air, see Porphyry, Frg. 327 Smith (in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* IV, 23): the Egyptians (and other knowledgeable people) whip the air, before they sacrifice, in order to drive away the demons. Smith 1978: p. 113 recalls John XX, 22 (Christ breathes the spirit on the disciples).
74. *PGM* I, 1–42.
75. Milk, magic, and other ritual liquids: e.g., PGM III 694 (milk, wine); IV 2192 (milk, wine, honey, oil); XII 215 (milk, wine, honey); XIII 135 (milk, wine); 1015 (milk, wine, water). Fritz Graf, "Milch, Honig und Wein: Zum Verständnis der Libation im griechischen Ritual," in *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1980), pp. 209–221; A. Henrichs, "The Eumenides and wineless libation in the Derveni Papyrus," in *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Naples, 19–26 May 1983), Naples: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1984, pp. 255–268.
76. *PGM* XIII, 131–139; 413–440; 683–693; compare *PGM*, XIII, 890, in which a tablet of gold must be licked; Wortmann 1968: 102 no. 5 publishes a magical papyrus (with a recipe against an illness) which twice reproduces the same text but whose first version was rinsed with water; Wortmann supposes that one dipped a stele of Horos in this water, unless this water was drunk.
77. Ritner 1993: pp. 95–102 (licking); pp. 102–110 (drinking). The Egyptian tale in Fowden 1986: p. 59f. with n. 48.
78. *Ezekiel*, 2,8–3,3.
79. Ginzburg 1989: p. 21 (northern Italy); p. 288 (Berne, Switzerland).
80. See the commentaries in PGMTr ad loc.; for the role Egyptian solar mythology played in late antiquity, see Wolfgang Fauth, *Helios Megistos: Zur synkretistischen Theologie der Spätantike* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 125) (Leiden: Brill, 1995).
81. Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus*, X, discussed in Philip Merlan, "Plotinus and magic," *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976), pp. 388–395 (originally published in *Isis*, 44, 1954, pp. 341–348).
82. The cardinal text is satire 15 of Juvenal; the necessary information in J. Gérard, *Juvénal et la réalité contemporaine* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1976), pp. 385–387.

83. Cambyses: Herodotus III, 27; Antiochus: Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 11; the Hyksos and the Jews: Manetho, *FGrHist* 609 F 10, from Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*, I, 248.
84. See *PGM* IV, 26–51; 2442–2495; XXXVI, 264–274.
85. *PGM* IV, 160.
86. *PGM* IV, 219.
87. PGM IV, 28. Another pure place is the temple, Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus* X.
88. Mircea Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth* (New York: Harper & Row, 1955). Burkert 1987: pp. 99–101.
89. Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus* X; Sokrates' daimonion: Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*; Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*.
90. See the demonstration of Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), Chapter 3; add Lothar Kolmer, "Heilige als magische Helfer," *Mediaevistik* 6, 1993, pp. 153–175.

5. CURSE TABLETS AND VOODOO DOLLS

1. We do not have available a recent bibliography, but see Karl Preisendanz, art. "Fluchtafeln (Defixion)," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 8, 1972, cols. 1–29; Christopher. A. Faraone, "The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells," in Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink, *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 2–32; and Gager 1992: pp. 3–41; for the magical dolls (or rather images), Christopher A. Faraone, "Binding and burying the forces of evil: The defensive use of 'voodoo dolls' in ancient Greece," *Classical Antiquity* 10, 1991, 165–205 (based on his Stanford thesis of 1988, *Talismans, Voodoo Dolls and Other Apotropaic Statues in Ancient Greece*, University Microfilms Nr. 8826138).
2. Richard Wünsch, "Appendix continens defixionum tabellas in Attica regione repertas," in *Inscriptiones Graecae*: II/III *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* (Berlin: Reimer, 1897). Wünsch himself added more texts, "Neue Fluchtafeln," *Rheinisches Museum* 55, 1900, pp. 62–85, 232–271, with important discussions of Ziebarth 1899.

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