

Prayer in Magic and Religious Ritual

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The relationship between magic and religion has long been a problem widely discussed among historians of religion. Opinions ranged from the one extreme position that magic is different from and in strict opposition to religion if not its most dangerous opponent to the other where the term *magic* is denounced as a semantic trap and altogether expelled from scientific vocabulary.¹ Rather than revive this debate here, I propose to survey some prayers contained in the collection of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* and ask in what respect, if at all, they are different from prayers in contexts traditionally regarded as non-magical. I shall also ask whether such differences as can be detected confirm the most widespread theory about the difference between magic and religion (at least among classicists), the one made famous by Sir James Frazer, namely, that the magician constrains, coerces, and forces the divinity to do his will, whereas religious man meekly submits himself to God's overpowering will. (The slight denigration of religion is Sir James's.)² Among anthropologists, this Frazerian dichotomy is long dead and buried. In classical scholarship however, it loomed very large and still is among us, explicitly³ or, more often nowadays, implicitly.⁴ I choose prayer as the focus of interest because it was, and still is, regarded as the quintessence of religion.⁵ Its occurrence in a magical context is liable to pose some problems to those who support the traditional dichotomy.

When the major magical papyri were published during the latter part of the nineteenth century, scholars began to recognize spells, prayers, and hymns whose religious tone was not to be ignored. Partly they could be isolated as ritual texts of mystery cults that the magicians had appropriated, as they had Homeric verses as well; in the case of many prayers and hymns where no internal features provided clear indications as to their provenance but where one thought to detect religious (as opposed to magic) feelings, this one-sided borrowing was unhesitatingly assumed.⁶ At least in the generation following the pioneering work of Albrecht Dieterich and Richard Reitzenstein, the Frazerian dichotomy, implicitly devaluating magic (at least from a Christiano-centric point of view), helped to facilitate this interpretation and prevented the apparent permeability between magic and religion from becoming a problem.⁷

It should have been otherwise. To the Greeks, a magician not only uttered spells, he also prayed to the gods: Plato, for one, connects the *ἐπωιδαί* (spells) and the *εὐχαί* (prayers) of the magician, both of which helped him to persuade (*πειθεῖν*)

the gods.⁸ In the magical papyri themselves, the usual term for the spoken part of the magical action is λόγος (formula), but the word εὐχή (prayer) occurs several times, as do the verb εὐχομαι and kindred terms.⁹ Although the question is not confined to the formulas labeled εὐχαί, as we shall see presently, it seems safer to start the present investigation with them.

I count five instances where εὐχή occurs as an actual title of a spell (excluding the strongly Jewish-influenced εὐχή Ἰακώβ, PGM XII b):¹⁰ two hexametrical hymns¹¹ and three formulae in prose.¹² Furthermore, there are seven instances where either the formula itself or its context uses this term.¹³ In each instance, the overall structure of the text conforms to the general structure of a Greek prayer, like Sappho's famous prayer to Aphrodite.¹⁴ These prayers are tripartite, have an invocation (*invocatio* in the terminology of C. Ausfeld), a narrative middle part (*pars epica* or, as J. M. Bremer terms it, *argumentum*),¹⁵ and a final section that contains the actual wish addressed to the divinity (*preces*).

This formal arrangement is important, since the tripartite structure is functional. The invocation calls the attention of the divinity (most often with the catchphrase κλῦθί μου) and invites it to come and participate in the ritual (the usual catchword is δεῦρο; Sappho's formula is τυίδ' ἔλθε, line 5). The meticulous listing of cult-places, myths, and epithets that follows assures that the divinity is addressed in all its relevant aspects, so that it will feel a real obligation to come.¹⁶ The narrative in the second part gives the credentials of the persons who pray, establishes their right to ask something from the divinity: they refer either to the sacrifices they have performed earlier or to the one they are presently performing. (Both oblige the divinity to come to their aid.) They may also refer to earlier occasions where the divinity had helped, as Sappho does. This establishes the solvency, so to speak, of the petitioner. Finally, after they have caught the attention of the divinity and established their credentials, they may state their specific wishes. This is the standard form; there exist inversions where the wish immediately follows the invocation, and the *pars epica* rounds out the prayer. In this case, the wish is so urgent that it is brought forward as soon as the attention of the divinity is caught. The necessity to establish the credentials of the petitioner, though, persists.

The εὐχαί in the papyri conform to this formal pattern, as I said. To give only one example, the hexametrical εὐχή πρὸς Σελήνην in PGM IV.2785¹⁷ begins with the invocation

ἐλθέ μοι, ὦ δέσποινα φίλη, τριπρόσωπε Σελήνη

Come to me, O beloved mistress, three-faced Selene (2786f.)

and asks her to listen to these incantations:

εὐμενίηι δ' ἐπάκουσον ἐμῶν ἱερῶν ἐπαοιδῶν

kindly hear my sacred chants (2787)

—incidentally confirming that (at least here) the magician felt no difference between εὐχή (prayer) and ἐπωιδή (incantation). There follows a plethora of epithets and circumscriptions of her power, then her identification with Dike, Moira, Persephone, Megaira, Allecto, Hecate, and Artemis; she is addressed as the mistress of

the whole cosmos. This part ends with an allusion to an otherwise unknown myth that Cronos had handed over his scepter to her,¹⁸ there follows an address and again the request to listen:

χαῖρε, θεά, καὶ σαῖς ἐπωνυμίαις ἐπάκουσον

Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets (2850)

Then follows a reference to the actual sacrifice:

θύω σοι τόδ' ἄρωμα

I burn for you this spice (2851)

—only to be followed by another list of epicleses that now center around the dark and harmful aspects of the goddess. Finally, the actual wish is brought forward:

ἐλθέ ἐπ' ἐμαῖς θυσίαις καὶ μοι τόδε πρᾶγμα ποιήσον

Come to my sacrifices and fulfill for me this matter (2868)

The nature of “this matter” is left open, since the papyrus, as all these collections of magical recipes,¹⁹ only gives a general instruction that has to be adapted to the individual case at hand. Except the general outline, the *preces* have to be left blank, so to speak. Similarly, personal names referring to the person praying or the other persons concerned are often left open by means of the formula ὁ δεῖνα (NN).²⁰

Up to this point, it is impossible to describe the difference between magical and religious prayer in Frazerian terms: the two seem interchangeable. Structurally, all the canonical parts are there. It is not peculiar to magical prayers that the invocation contains a long list of epicleses and conflates scores of divinities and that the *pars epica* is rather short: similar features appear in other late religious texts, for instance, the so-called Orphic hymns.²¹ More peculiar are the *voces magicae*, not mentioned so far. The hexameter immediately preceding the final χαῖρε, θεά of the invocation runs thus

σὺ δὲ χαοῦς μεδέεις, αραχαρα ηφθισικηρε

Chaos, too, you rule, ARACHARA EPHTHISIKERE (2849)

The second part of this verse consists of a palindrome and a word that could be written as ἡ φθισικηρε, containing the vocative of the epiclesis *destroyer of evil demons*—a word confined to magical texts. But in another instance it belongs to a much longer palindrome without clear significance, *ερηκισιθφε αραχαρα εφθισικηρε*.²²

As to the content, the sinister aspect of Selene-Hecate is stressed in the second list of epithets, where we find gruesome names like

αἱμαπότι, θανατηγέ, φθορήγονε, καρδιόδατε

(O you) who drink blood, who breed death and destruction, who feast on hearts (2864)

σαρκόφαγε, καπετόκτυπε, ἄωρόβορε

flesh eater, who strike the graves,²³ who devour those dead untimely (2867)

—which seem to correspond to more popular ideas of magic. But this tendency is

balanced by the identification of Selene with divinities like Dike or Physis and by statements like

ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος εἶ, πάντων δὲ σὺ μούνη ἀνάσσεις,
ἐκ σέο γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ καὶ εἷς σε ἅπαντα τελευτᾷ.

Beginning and end are you, and you alone rule all,
for all things are from you, and in you do all things come to their end. (2836–37)

The dark aspects are but one side of her all-embracing nature.²⁴

As Greek prayer nearly always does, the magical prayer accompanies a sacrifice²⁵—in the case of our hymn a burnt offering (*θυμίαμα*). Again, there is no essential difference between magic and religion. The ingredients are given in detail: if the spell should do good, different sorts of spice (storax, myrrh, sage, frankincense) and a fruit pit are prescribed. If, however, it is intended to do harm, the “magical material of a dog and a dappled goat, as well as of a virgin untimely dead” is called for.²⁶ At least the last-mentioned items again seem to conform to popular ideas of black magic and are unheard of in other rituals beside magic. Therefore they need some explanation.

So far, then, magical prayer in general structure, content, and context is not different from religious prayer, two peculiarities excepted: the *voces magicae* in the prayer, the *materia magica* in the harmful, black version of the ritual. What are the functions of these peculiarities?

Not all the magical words are understood, or even understandable.²⁷ Where we think to see through them, they derive from Near Eastern languages, especially Egyptian, and are names or epithets of divinities. The magician thought them all to be names, *ὀνόματα* or *ἐπωνυμῖαι*. One of their functions is indicated by the way the prayer to Selene uses the palindrome: it forms part of the *invocatio* as another name of the divinity invoked. By using it the magician makes certain that the god would listen, since he had embraced the widest possible sphere of the god's activities and characteristics—a strategy well known from religious prayer.²⁸ A second function is well illustrated by a prose prayer belonging to a spell of Astrapsoukos, which aims at providing general success and well-being (*PGM* VIII.1–60). It begins with a triple invocation; I separate the cola in print to indicate the stylistic features:²⁹

ἐλθέ μοι, κύριε Ἑρμῇ,
ὥς τὰ βρέφη εἰς τὰς κοιλίας τῶν γυναικῶν,³⁰
ἐλθέ μοι, κύριε Ἑρμῇ,
συνάγων τὰς τροφὰς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων,
ἐλθέ μοι, τῶι δεῖνα, κύριε Ἑρμῇ.

The *preces*, obviously urgent ones, follow immediately:

καὶ δός μοι χάριν, τροφήν, νίκην, εὐημερίαν, ἐπαφροdisίαν,
προσώπου εἶδος, ἀλκὴν ἀπάντων καὶ πασῶν.

The next section, in this case, should contain the *pars epica*, the credentials:

ὀνόματά σου ἐν οὐρανῶι • Λαμφθεν Οὐῶθι • Οὐασθεν Οὐῶθι • Ὅαμενωθ •
Ἐνθουμουχ • ταῦτά εἰσι τὰ ἐν ταῖς δ' ᾠγνῖαις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (ὀνόματα).
οἰδὰ σου καὶ τὰς μορφάς, αἶ εἰσι . . .

The list of his forms follows. The list of *voces magicae*, the celestial names of Hermes, is a demonstration of the superior knowledge the magician can display, as the continuation shows: the celestial names are not those ordinarily used and known. The list continues with the sacred forms, then with items of Hermes's sacred biography (again note the triple anaphora):

οἰδὰ σου καὶ τὸ ξυλόν· τὸ ἐβεννίον.
οἰδὰ σε Ἑρμῇ, τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν εἶ καὶ τίς ἡ πόλις σου·
Ἑρμούπολις.

This knowledge, then, serves as the credentials, and justifies a new invocation and repeated *preces*:

ἐλθέ μοι, κύρι, Ἑρμῇ πολυνώνυμε,
εἰδὼς τὰ κρύφιστα τὰ ὑπὸ τὸν πόλον καὶ τὴν γῆν,
ἐλθέ μοι, κύρι, Ἑρμῇ, τῷ δεῖνα,
εὐεργέτησον, ἀγαθοποιεῖ τῆς οἰκουμένης.³¹
ἐπάκουσόν μου,
καὶ χάρισόν με πρὸς πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν γῆν οἰκουμένην εἶδη.
ἀμοιβᾶς μοι τὰς χεῖρας πάντων συνδω(ροδο)κο(ύν)των
ἐπανάγκασον αὐτοὺς δοῦναί μοι, ἃ ἔχουσιν ἐν ταῖς χερσίν.

With this generous wish, the prayer could end. Instead, it continues,

οἰδὰ σου καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικά ὀνόματα • Φαρναθαρ • Βαραχηλ • Χθα • ταῦτά
σοὶ ἔστιν τὰ βαρβαρικά ὀνόματα.

The rest of this prayer can be left aside. (There follows, as a further *argumentum*, the narration of a myth of how Hermes always helps Isis when she calls: so why not likewise help the magician?) The function of the *voces magicae*, at least, is clear. They are not used, as some have claimed,³² to force the divinity: they take the place of, and serve as, the credentials, an ample display of knowledge. In several instances, the papyri state that these names were secret,³³ that the god enjoys being called by them and helps out of joy:³⁴ it was the gods themselves who had revealed them.³⁵ The magician behaves not very differently from an initiate of a mystery cult: both claim a special relationship with their respective gods, based on revealed knowledge—this can explain why parts of mystery rituals were taken over into the prayers of the magical papyri.³⁶

Another text may be adduced as a further illustration and confirmation, a prose prayer (termed *εὐχή* in the text) to Selene in the usual structure (*PGM* VII.756).³⁷ After the invocation with an account of how Selene was created and of her powers, there follows a *pars epica* with two lists: the first gives the acoustic signs that are termed her “companions” and must form part of the magical ritual,³⁸ the second her animal symbols. This part closes with the statement,

I have said your signs and symbols of your name, so that you might hear me, because I pray to you, mistress of the whole world.

This very ample display of secret knowledge again serves to recommend the magician to his divinity.

More can be learned from another set of documents. There exist three versions of

a hymn to Hermes, one preserved on a papyrus in Strasbourg without any context, the other two forming part of a magical prescription to obtain a dream. The Strasbourg version, by far the longest and only fragmentarily preserved, was thought to be a prayer without any use in magic, "the private copy of a pious believer."³⁹ The absence of context, namely, the prescription for the accompanying ritual, is not wholly conclusive, as in some cases (e.g., *PGM* XIV) we have many spells or formulae in the collection of the magical papyri that contain no directions for the ritual. Preisendanz thought that a mutilated hexameter might possibly contain magical words.⁴⁰ Whatever the answer, the controversy as such is significant.

The three texts are similar in structure; they all show the canonical three parts of a Greek prayer. They begin with the invocation to Hermes, followed by a plethora of epithets and a list of functions, expressed by participles. The *argumentum* stresses Hermes's power as a healer and a giver of oracles. The hymn on the Strasbourg papyrus connects it with the *preces* proper:

For you cure, too, man's every ailment, who send [him] oracles by day and night:
send me, I pray, your form, for I am a pious man, a suppliant.

The other two versions add, after the *argumentum*, a very short invocation, then the wish, in a very similar form. The version in *PGM* VII.678 has

δεῦρο, μάκαρ, θεᾶς τελεσίφρονος υἱὲ μέγιστε,
σῇ μορφῇ ἱλαρῶ τε νοῶν· ἀνθεὶς δὲ ἀφθάρτῳ
κούρῳ μαντοσύνην ἔπεμψον ἀληθῇ.

Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son of the goddess who brings full mental powers, by your own form and gracious mind. And to an uncorrupted youth reveal a sign and send him your true skill of prophecy.

There follow two lines of *voces magicae*. This and the "uncorrupted youth" who is to receive the oracle are the main difference from the Strasbourg version. The medium of such a boy is well attested in magic, even outside antiquity;⁴¹ but divination through a medium is, of course, not typically "magical," even though only virgins, not unspoilt boys, are attested in Greek cults.⁴² The third version (*PGM* V.400) differs but slightly. It begins with similar and, at least at the beginning, better hexameters:

δεῦρο, μάκαρ, Μνήμης τελεσίφρονος υἱὲ μέγιστε,
σῇ μορφῇ ἱλαρὸς τε φάνηθ' ἱλαρὸς τ' ἐπίτειλον
ἀνθρώπῳ ὁσίῳ, μορφὴν θ' ἱλαρὰν ἐπίτειλον
(in prose) ἐμοί, τῷ δεῖνα,
ὄφρα σε μαντοσύναις, ταῖς σαῖς ἀρεταῖσι, λάβοιμι.

Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son of Memory, who brings full mental powers, in your own form both graciously appear and graciously render the task for me, a pious man, and render your form gracious to me, NN, that I may comprehend you by your skills of prophecy, by your own wond'rous deeds.

This time, there follow no magical words but a final prose prayer:

δέομαι, κύριε· ἱλεῶς μοι γενοῦ καὶ ἀψευδῶς μοι φανεῖς χρημάτισον
I ask you, lord: be gracious and without deceit appear and prophesy to me.

The fact that in this prayer the *voces magicae* are wholly absent confirms our previous finding: they are part of the whole complex of credentials, but they are not essential. The final prayer, however, would alone serve to demolish the Frazerian dichotomy: the submissive tone—"I ask you, lord, be gracious"—could not be better expressed and does not stand alone in the papyri.⁴³

Two points now have become clear. The εὐχαί in the papyri are in no way different from many other texts, labeled either λόγοι (e.g., VII.668) or some type of λόγοι, or more specifically as, for instance, φίλτροκατάδεσμος (VIII.1). And they do not essentially differ from prayers outside the magical praxis: religion and magic, at least with regard to prayer, are coterminous.

This is not to say that coercion, the idea of magic power over superhuman beings, is absent from magic or at least the magical papyri. That would be ludicrous. But coercion is not omnipresent in the spells and prayers in a manner that would justify taking it as a—or the—*differentia specifica* of magic from religion. The prayers analyzed so far are proof enough.⁴⁴ There also exists a separate class of spells and rituals labeled ἐπανάγκοι (coercive procedures). They are not very frequent, and already their existence as a distinct class of spells could argue against making coercion the distinctive characteristic of magic. In most instances, the coercive spell or ritual is not the rule but a sort of last straw for the magician—when the invoked divinity does not arrive quickly enough,⁴⁵ when the praxis after several repetitions brings no result,⁴⁶ when the divinity appears threatening and dangerous.⁴⁷ But its use is not without severe risks:

Use this for a spell of coercion, for it can accomplish everything, but do not use it frequently against Selene, unless the procedure which you are performing is worthy of its power.⁴⁸

Coercion, then, should be used but reluctantly. The gods are not that easily managed.

There are only a few unambiguous instances where the coercive spell is integrated into a praxis and is to be used without "the necessity for the compulsive procedure arising" (τῆς χρείας τοῦ ἐπανάγκου καλούσης, *PGM* II.63). The clearest case is a ritual forming part of the magician's initiation that is described on the opening pages of the *Eighth Book of Moses* (*PGM* XIII). Towards the end of this ritual, the would-be magician has to eat three figures made from flour, "saying the spell for the gods of the hours (which is in the *Key*) and the compulsive formula for them and the names of the gods set over the weeks".⁴⁹ The divinities concerned are the seven planetary gods already mentioned earlier in the same ritual, who preside not only over the days of the week, but also over the hours.⁵⁰

But even here, precision is necessary. The supernatural world according to the magical papyri has a clear hierarchy, expressed, for instance, in another coercive spell (*PGM* XII.117):⁵¹

Hear me, because I am going to say the great name ΑΩΤΗ, before whom every god prostrates himself and every daimon shudders, for whom every angel completes those things which are assigned.

At the highest point is the supreme god, the "great name"; below him are the lesser gods, then the (evil) daemons and the helpful angels. The same hierarchy was a

common belief in the society contemporary with the papyri, where the manifold world of supernatural powers had gained, under Platonist influence, a clear hierarchical structure. Magic especially used daemons and angels, whom the magician could command with the help of the supreme god.⁵² Another coercive spell has, "If somehow he [sc. the god called for] delays, say in addition this following incantation . . . : the great, the living god commands you, he who lives for eons of eons, who shakes together, who thunders, who created every soul and race $\text{IAO AOI OIA AIO IOA OAI}$ " (IV.1037).⁵³ Similarly, a love charm, that is to say, a spell from a subcategory of coercive spells, invokes Selene in the traditional forms of the prayer: "I call upon you, mistress of this entire world. . . . Give a sacred angel or a holy assistant who will serve this very night, in this very hour . . . and order the angel to go off with her, NN, to draw her by the hair."⁵⁴ Apuleius may have in mind such a relationship between the magician and the upper gods when he defines the magician, according to popular belief, as "someone who, by conversing with the immortal gods, gains an incredible power of charms for everything he wishes."⁵⁵ Planetary gods, on the other side, belonged to the world of the daemons;⁵⁶ here, coercion was not unusual.

Incidentally, we just learned that with regard to daemonology and the structure of the divine, the magicians' views were not different from those of religious individuals in the same period (and arguably before)—just as prayer, in form and intention, could be coterminous in magic and in religion. And it is not only in Frazerian terms that the difference between the two seems to disappear; the *voces magicae* can be reduced to a separate, but not essentially irreligious, phenomenon.

This leaves us with ritual. We have already noted that magical ritual could contain fumigations ($\epsilon\pi\theta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$) not different from those accompanying, for instance the "Orphic" hymns: again, magic and religion appear coterminous. There are also libations of wine, honey, and milk, which belong to religious ritual as well,⁵⁷ and there is animal sacrifice. Here, at least, a more fundamental difference appears. Animal sacrifice occurs, as far as I can see, in the form of a holocaust (as in religious ritual) or strangulation—but never in the most usual and widespread form of the Olympian sacrifice, the killing of an animal followed by a common meal of the sacrificing group.⁵⁸ In the cases where the animal or parts of it are eaten, the magician always appears to be alone, in marked contrast to the ordinary sacrificial meal.⁵⁹ The difference is important: the community, which finds its identity and its feeling of *communitas* in the Olympian sacrifice and the ensuing meal, is absent from the magical praxis. The magician is an isolated individual—either an itinerant specialist working for a customer or an individual layperson (so to speak), practicing the ritual in his or her own interest. The sacrifices in *Papyri Graecae Magicae* are obviously not public festivals; but it remains debatable to what extent they differ from equivalent private small-scale ceremonies conducted by ordinary householders for their household gods.

Holocaust itself was viewed by ancient and modern theorists as standing in opposition to the Olympian sacrifice, as the sacrifice apt for the powers of the underworld.⁶⁰ It did stand in opposition to the Olympian sacrifice, but it was not addressed to underworldly or chthonic powers only.⁶¹ In a similar way, the libation of (unmixed) wine, honey, milk, and oil stands in opposition to libations with mixed

wine, the ordinary libation ritual in Greek sacrifice.⁶² In both cases, the magician who performs this ritual puts himself in opposition to the more frequent way of Greek ritual practice—but not, it should be underlined, to religion as such. Both holocaust and libations with fluids other than mixed wine occur outside magical ritual, in “religious” rituals. Perhaps even the burnt offering without any ensuing (or accompanying) animal sacrifice can be understood in a similar way. It could be seen as the refusal of animal sacrifice, with the consequent marginalization of the performer, as M. Detienne showed for Pythagoreans and “Orphics.”⁶³

This same tendency of reversal or opposition to ordinary (civic) religion can be seen in smaller details, as in the ritual to which one of the hymns to Hermes (*PGM* V.401) belongs, a praxis to procure oracular dreams with the help of a small statue of Hermes.⁶⁴ Before he goes to bed and after all the preparations have been made, the performer burns incense, salt, and “soil from a wheat-field” on an altar and recites the hymn three times, facing east; then he goes to bed without reacting to other persons’ questions.⁶⁵

Unlike the incense, the traditional and well-known ingredient of burnt offerings, salt and soil are strange: they are not luxury goods imported from the east and used only in ritual but basics of human life. Precultural man, like the animals, had no use for them, since he lived on raw flesh and acorns.⁶⁶ Burning these substances thus could become a ritual sign for the alienation from the ordinary human world: accordingly, the magician no longer responds to attempts of human communication. The ritual moves him into a sphere removed from his fellow men, where he will converse with the divinity.⁶⁷

A somewhat different explanation accounts for the strange burnt offering that accompanied the *Prayer to Selene* (*PGM* IV.2785) if one wanted to work harm. To do good, one had to burn spices and a fruit pit,⁶⁸ to work evil, the magical material of a dog, of a dappled goat, and of a virgin untimely dead (*PGM* IV.2875–78; see p. 191 and Appendix, pp. 199–202). These same substances appear (among many more) in a so-called *Slander spell to Selene*, a spell that ascribes unholy actions to an opponent in order to arouse Selene’s wrath against her: “For you the woman NN burns hostile incense, goddess: the fat of a dappled goat, and blood, defilement, embryo of a dog, the bloody discharge of a virgin dead untimely” (*PGM* IV.2642)⁶⁹. Obviously, these substances are things that should not be sacrificed to the goddess,⁷⁰ and such a sacrifice would alienate the sacrificer from her. The burnt offering works evil by a sort of abbreviated slander spell.

Thus, the main distinction of magic lies in the ritual, not in the prayers and not so much in the forms of the ritual—they are shared between magic and religion—as in the function. The rituals of the magician put him in opposition to ordinary, “religious” ritual and isolate him from his fellow man. The distinction, then, lies rather in social than in psychological factors. This, of course, would fit perfectly the social differentiation that made the magician an outsider and the outsider a potential magician—the best-known example being Apuleius, who had to defend himself against a charge of magic in the small town of Oia where he resided as a foreigner, scholar, and young husband of an elderly, rich widow.

There is a final conclusion to be drawn. Dieterich, Reitzenstein, and their contemporaries and pupils were convinced that the magicians had taken over entire mystery

rituals, hymns, and prayers into their magical praxeis; the *Mithrasliturgie* seemed to confirm this view. But the spoken parts of mystery rituals on one side and hymns and prayers on the other are distinct. Since the magician felt himself to be an initiate, it is understandable that he appropriated parts of the *legomena* of mystery rituals that suited his purpose. As in the case of the catabasis ritual that H. D. Betz isolated, it was precisely by means of these appropriations that the magical performer could prove his special relationship with, and intimate knowledge of, the Lady of the Dead—just as any initiate could do, as Heracles did as an initiate of Eleusis, or as the persons buried with the so-called Orphic golden leaves did.⁷¹ Hymns and prayers had no such function in mystery cults, and after a close scrutiny of some hymns, E. Heitsch concluded that there existed no *Ur-Fassung* that could be reconstructed:⁷² the magicians used verses and formulas that came from a common stock of tradition, a stock that both magicians and non-magicians could use. In the world of syncretistic religion and magic, no provenances and clear borrowings of traditional formulae can be shown.

Appendix: The texts

Sappho Frag. 1

ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε,
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα,
πότνια, θῦμον,

- 5 ἀλλὰ τνίδ' ἔλθ', αἶ ποτα κατέρωτα
τὰς ἔμας αὔδας αἰοῖσα πῆλοι
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χρύσιον ἦλθες

- ἄρμ' ὑπασδεύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἄγον
10 ὥκεες στρουθοὶ περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα δύννεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνω αἶθε-
ρος διὰ μέσσω,

- αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο· σὺ δ', ὦ μάκαιρα,
μειδιαίσαις ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ
15 ἦρε' ὅττι δηῦτε πέπονθα κῶττι
δηῦτε κάλημμι,

- κῶττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι
μαινόλαι θυμῳ· τίνα δηῦτε πείθω
ἄψ σ' ἄγην ἐς Φάν φιλότατα; τίς σ', ὦ
20 Ψάπφ', ἀδίκησι;

καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει·
αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει·
αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει
κωὺκ ἐθέλοισα.'

- 25 ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον
ἐκ μερίμναν, ὅσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι
θῦμος ἱμέρρει, τέλεσον· σὺ δ' αὐτα
σύμμαχος ἔσσο.

Ornate-throned immortal Aphrodite, wile-weaving daughter of Zeus, I entreat you: do not overpower my heart, mistress, with ache and anguish, but come here, if ever in the past you heard my voice from afar and acquiesced and came, leaving your father's golden house, with chariot yoked: beautiful swift sparrows whirring fast-beating wings brought you above the dark earth down from heaven through the mid-air, and soon they arrived; and you, blessed one, with a smile on your immortal face asked what was the matter with me this time and why I was calling this time and what in my maddened heart I most wished to

happen for myself: "Whom am I to persuade this time to lead you back to her love? Who wrongs you, Sappho? If she runs away, soon she shall pursue; if she does not accept gifts, why, she shall give them instead; if she does not love, soon she shall love even against her will." Come to me now again and deliver me from oppressive anxieties; fulfil all that my heart longs to fulfil, and you yourself be my fellow-fighter. (Text and translation by D. A. Campbell in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, vol. I, *Greek Literature* [Cambridge 1985]), 203f.

Inscription from Phrygia, 175 A.D. (A. Körte, *AM* 25 (1900):421, n. 33)

[- - - - - βρέχε γαι]αν,
καρπῷ [ὄπ]ως βρι[θη καὶ ἐν]ί σταχύνεσσι τεθήλη.
τ[αὐτ]ᾶ [σε] Μητρεόδωρος ἐγὼ λίτομαι, Κρονίδα Ζεῦ,
ἀμφὶ τεοῖς βωμοῖσιν ἐπήρρατα(!) θύματα ῥέζων.

[Zeus . . . wet the ea]rth, that she becomes heavy with fruit and flowers with ears of corn.
This I, Metrodorus, beg you, Zeus son of Cronos, while I am performing delightful sacrifice on your altars.

Magical Papyri (All of the Greek texts are from *PGM*, 2d ed.; the translations, with minor corrections, are from the English translation edited by H. D. Betz [*GMPT*].)

PGM IV. 2785–2879 Hymn 18: line divisions correspond to the metrical pattern reconstructed and set forth by E. Heitsch in *PGM* vol. 2, pp. 253–55.)

- 2785 Εὐχὴ πρὸς Σελήνην ἐπὶ πάσης πράξεως ·|
‘ἐλθέ μοι, ὦ δέσποινα φίλη, τριπρόσωπε Σελήνη,
εὐμενίη δ’ ἐπάκουσον ἐμῶν ἱερῶν ἐπαοιδῶν·|
2790 νυκτὸς ἄγαλμα, νέα, φαεσίμβροτε, || ἥριγένεια,
ἡ χαροποῖς ταύροιςιν | ἐφεζομένη, βασίλεια,
ἥελιον | δρόμον ἴσον ἐν ἄρμασιν ἱππεύουσα,
ἡ Χαρίτων τρισσῶν τρισσαῖς | μορφαῖσι χορεύεις
2795 ἀστράσιν κω||μάζουσα, Δίκη καὶ | νήματα Μοιρῶν, |
Κλωθῶ καὶ Λάχεσις ἡδ’ Ἄτροπος εἶ, τρικάρανε, ||
Περσεφόνη τε Μέγαιρα καὶ Ἀλληκτώ, | πολύμορφε,
2800 ἡ χέρας ὀπλίζουσα || κελαιναῖς λαμπάσι δειναῖς,
ἡ φοιβερῶν ὀφίων χαίτην σείουσα μετώποις,
ἡ ταύρων μύκημα κατὰ στο|μάτων ἀνείσα,
2805 ἡ νηδὺν φολί|σιν πεπυκασμένη ἐρπυστήρων, ||
ιοβόλοις ταρσοῖσιν κατωμαδίοις | δρακόντων,
σφιγγομένη κατὰ | νῶτα παλαμναίοις ὑπὸ δεσμοῖς, |
νυκτιβόη, ταυρώπι, φιλήρεμε, ταυροκάρηνε,
2810 ὄμμα δέ σοι || ταυρωπόν, ἔχεις σκυλακώδεα φωνήν,
μορφὰς δ’ ἐν κνήμασιν ὑποσκεπάουσα λεόντων.
μορφό|λυκον σφυρόν ἐστιν, κύνες φίλοι | ἀγριόθυμοι·
2815 τοῦνεκά σε κλήζουσι || Ἐκάτην, πολώνυμε, Μήνην, |
ἄερα μὲν τέμνουσαν, ἄτ’ Ἄρτεμιν | ἰοχέαιραν,
τετραπρόσωπε θεά, | τετραώνυμε, τετραοδίτι,
2820 Ἄρτεμι, Περσεφόνη, ἐλαφιβόλε, νυκτο|φάνεια,
τρίκτυπε, τρίφθογγε, | τρικάρανε, τριώνυμε Σελήνη, |

- θρινακία, τριπρόσωπε, τριαύχε|νε καὶ τριοδίτι,
 2825 ἢ τρισσοῖς ταλά|ροισιν ἔχεις φλογός (ἀκ|άματον πῦρ ||
 καὶ τριόδων μεδέεις τρισσών δεκάδων τε ἀνάσσεις·
 ἴλαθί μοι κα|λέοντι καὶ εὐμενέως εἰσάκουσον, |
 ἢ πολυχώρητον κόσμον νυκτὸς | ἀμφιέπουσα,
 2830 δαίμονες ἦν φρίσ|σουσιν καὶ ἀθάνατοι τρομέουσιν, |
 κυδιάνειρα θεά, πολυνώνυμε, καλλιγένεια,
 ταυρώπι, κερόεσσα, θεῶν | γενέτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν
 2835 καὶ Φύσι | παμμήτωρ • σὺ γὰρ φοιτᾷς ἐν Ὁ|λύμπῳ,
 εὐρεῖαν δέ τ' ἄβυσσον | ἀπείριτον ἀμφιπολεῖς.
 ἀρχή | καὶ τέλος εἶ, πάντων δέ σὺ μούνη | ἀνάσσεις·
 ἐκ σέο γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ | καὶ εἰς (σ'), αἰών(ι)ε, πάντα τελευτᾷ.
 2840 ἀένα||ον διάδημα εἰς φορέεις κροτάφοισιν,
 δεσμούς ἀρρήκτους, ἀλύτους μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο
 καὶ χρύ|σειον σκήπτρον εἰς κατέχεις πα|λάμαισιν.
 2845 γράμματα σῶ σκήπτρῳ || α[ὕ]τ[ό]ς[ε] Κρόνος ἀμφεχάραξεν,
 δῶ|κε δέ σοι φορέειν, ὄφρ' ἔμπεδα πάν|τα μένοιεν·
 'Δαμνῶ, Δαμνομέ|νεια • Δαμασάνδρα • Δαμνοδαμία.'·
 σὺ δέ χάους μεδέεις αραραχα|ραρηφθισικηρε.
 2850 χαῖρε, θεά, καὶ || σαῖσιν ἐπωνυμίαις ἐπάκουσον. |
 θύω σοι τόδ' ἄρωμα, Διὸς τέκος, | ἰοχέαιρα,
 οὐρανία, λιμ(ε)νίτι, | ὀρίπλανε εἰνοδία τε,
 2855 νερτε||ρία νυχία τε, αἰδωναία σκοτία τε,|
 ἥσυχε καὶ δασπλῆτι, τάφοις | ἐνὶ δαῖτα ἔχουσα,
 Νύξ, Ἑρεβος, | Χάος εὐρύ· σὺ γὰρ δυσάλυκτος· | Ἀνάγκη,
 2860 Μοῖρα δ' ἔφυσ, σὺ τ' || Ἑρινύς, βάσανος, ὀλέτις σὺ, Δίκη σὺ. |
 Κέρβερον ἐν δεσμοῖσιν ἔχεις, | φολίσιν σὺ δρακόντων |
 κυανέα, ὄφροπλόκαμε καὶ | ζωνοδράκοντι·
 2865 αἰμοπότι, || θανατηγέ, φθορηγενές, καρδιόδαυτε,
 σαρκοφάγε καὶ | ἄωροβόρε, καπετόκτυπε, | οἰστροπλάνεια·
 2870 ἐλθέ ἐπ' ἐμαῖς | θυσίαις καὶ μοι τόδε πρᾶγμα || ποιήσον.' |
- ἐπίθυμα τῆς πράξεως· ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν | ἀγαθοποιῶν ἐπίθυε στύρακα, |
 2875 ζμύρναν, σφάγγον, λίβανον, | πυρῆνα, ἐπὶ δέ τῶν κακο|ποιῶν οὐσίαν
 κυνὸς καὶ αἰγὸς | ποικίλης, ὁμοίως καὶ παρθένον | ἄωρου.

2785 Prayer to Selene for any spell:

- "Come to me, O beloved mistress, Three-faced
 Selene; kindly hear my sacred chants;
 Night's ornament, young, bringing light to mortals, /
 2790 O child of morn who ride upon fierce bulls,
 O queen who drive your car on equal course
 With Helios, who with the triple forms
 Of triple Graces dance in revel with /
 2795 The stars. You're Justice and the Moira's threads:
 Klotho and Lachesis and Atropos.
 Three-headed, you're Persephone, Megaira,
 Allekto, many-formed, who arm your hands /
 2800 With dreaded, murky lamps, who shake your locks
 Of fearful serpents on your brow, who sound

- The roar of bulls out from your mouths, whose womb
Is decked out with the scales of creeping things, /
2805 With pois'nous rows of serpents down the back,
Bound down your backs with horrifying chains
Night-Crier, bull-faced, loving solitude,
2810 Bull-headed, you have eyes of bulls, / the voice
Of dogs; you hide your forms in shanks of lions.
Your ankle is wolf-shaped, fierce dogs are dear
2815 To you, wherefore they call you / Hekate,
Many-named, Mene, cleaving air just like
Dart-shooter Artemis, Persephone,
2820 Shooter of deer, night / shining, triple-sounding,
Triple-headed, triple-voiced Selene
Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets, /
2825 And you who oft frequent the triple way
And rule the triple decades, unto me
Who'm calling you be gracious and with kindness
Give heed, you who protect the spacious world
At night, before whom daimons quake in fear /
2830 And gods immortal tremble, goddess who
Exalt men, you of many names, who bear
Fair offspring, bull-eyed, horned, mother of gods
And men, and Nature, Mother of all things,
2835 For you frequent Olympos, / and the broad
And boundless chasm you traverse. Beginning
And end are you, and you alone rule all.
For all things are from you, and in you do
All things, Eternal one, come to their end.
2840 As everlasting / band around your temples
You wear great Kronos' chains, unbreakable
And unremovable, and you hold in
Your hands a golden scepter. Letters round
2845 Your scepter / Kronos wrote himself and gave
To you to wear that all things stay steadfast:
Subduer and subdued, mankind's subduer,
And force-subduer; Chaos, too, you rule.
2850 ARARACHARA / RA ÊPHTHISIKÊRE.
Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
I burn for you this spice, O child of Zeus,
Dart-shooter, heav'nly one, goddess of harbors,
Who roam the mountains, goddess of crossroads, /
2855 O nether and nocturnal, and infernal,
Goddess of dark, quiet and frightful one,
O you who have your meal amid the graves,
Night, Darkness, broad Chaos: Necessity
Hard to escape are you; you're Moira and /
2860 Erinyes, torment, Justice and Destroyer,
And you keep Kerberos in chains, with scales

- Of serpents are you dark, O you with hair
 Of serpents, serpent-girded, who drink blood, /
 2865 Who bring death and destruction, and who feast
 On hearts, flesh eater, who devour those dead
 Untimely, and you who strike the graves
 And spread madness, come to my sacrifices,
 2870 And now for me do you fulfill / this matter.”
- 2875 **Offering for the rite:** *For doing good, offer storax, myrrh, sage, frankincense, a fruit pit. But for doing harm, offer magical / material of a dog and a dappled goat as well as of a virgin untimely dead.*

PGM VIII.1–26

- Φιλτροκατάδεσμος Ἀστραψούκου. λόγος •** | ἑλ[θ]έ μοι, κύριε Ἑρμῇ, ὡς τὰ
 βρέφη εἰς τὰ(ς) κοιλίας τῶν γυναι[κ]ῶν. ἔλθέ μοι, κύριε Ἑρμῇ, συνάγων τὰς
 τροφὰς τῶν θεῶν | καὶ ἀνθρώπων, (ἐλθ)έ μοι, τῷ δεῖνα, κύριε Ἑρμῇ, καὶ δός
 5 μοι χάριν, τρο[φ]ήν, νίκην, εὐημερίαν, ἐπαφροδισίαν, προσώ(π)ου εἶδος, |
 ἀλκὴν ἀπάντων καὶ πασῶν. ὀνόματά σοι ἐν οὐρανῷ· | Ἰαμφθεν Οὐῶθι:
 Ο[ὕ]ασθεν Οὐῶθι: Ὁαμενώθ: Ἐνθομουχ: | ταῦτά εἰσιν τὰ ἐν ταῖ(ς) δ’
 10 γωνίαις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (ὀνόματα). οἶδά σου | καὶ τὰς μορφάς, αἶ εἰσι· ἐν τῷ
 ἀπηλιώτῃ μορφῇ ἔχεις | ἰβέως, ἐν τῷ λιβὶ μορφῇ ἔχεις κυνοκεφάλου, ἐν τῷ
 βορέα | μορφῇ ἔχεις ὄφεως, ἐν δὲ τῷ νότῳ μορφῇ ἔχεις λύκου. | ἡ βοτάνη
 σου ηλολλα: ετεβεν θωγτ: οἶδά σου καὶ τὸ ξύλον· τὸ ἐβεννίνου. οἶδά σε,
 Ἑρμῇ, τίς εἰ καὶ πόθεν εἶ, καὶ τίς ἡ | πόλις σου· Ἑρμούπολις. ἔλθέ μοι, κύρι’
 15 Ἑρμῇ, πολυνυνμε εἰδῶς | τὰ κρύφια τὰ ὑπὸ τὸν πόλον καὶ τὴν γῆν.
 ἔλθέ (μοι), κύρι’ Ἑρμῇ, || τῷ δεῖνα, εὐεργέτησον, ἀγαθοποιεῖ τῆς οἰκουμένης.
 ἐπάκουσόν | [μ]ου καὶ χάρισόν με πρὸς πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν γῆν οἰκουμένην
 εἶδη. ἀνοίξας μοι τὰς χεῖρας πάντων συνδω(ροδο)κο(ύν)των, ἐπανάγκασον
 20 αὐτοὺς δοῦναι μοι, ἃ ἔχουσιν ἐν ταῖς || χερσίν. οἶδά σου καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικά
 ὀνόματα· Ἐφραναθα: | βαραχήλ: χθα: ταῦτά σοι ἐστὶν τὰ βαρβαρικά
 ὀνόματα. | ἐὰν ἐπεκαλέσαστά σε Ἴσις, μεγίστη τῶν θεῶν ἀπάντων, | ἐν πάσῃ
 κρίσει, ἐν παν(ν)τὶ τόπῳ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους | καὶ δαίμονας καὶ
 25 ἐν(ν)δρα ζῶα καὶ ἐπὶ(γ)γεια καὶ ἔσχεν τὴν χά[ρι]ν, τὸ νίκος πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ
 ἀνθρώπους κ[α]ὶ (παρά) πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν | κόσμον ζῶοις, οὕτως κἀγώ, ὁ δεῖνα,
 ἐπικα[λ]οῦμαι σε.’

Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos:

- Spell:** “Come to me, lord Hermes as fetuses do to the wombs of women. Come to me,
 lord Hermes, who collect the sustenance of gods and men; [come] to me, NN, lord
 5 Hermes, and give me favor, sustenance, / victory, prosperity, elegance, beauty of face,
 strength of all men and women. Your names in heaven: LAMPHTHEN ΟΥΘΗ ΟΥASTHEN
 ΟΥΘΗ ΟΑΜΕΝΟΘ ΕΝΘΟΜΟΥΧ. These are the [names] in the 4 quarters of heaven. I also
 10 know what your forms are: in the east you have the form / of an ibis, in the west you have
 the form of a dog-faced baboon, in the north you have the form of a serpent, and in the
 south you have the form of a wolf. Your plant is the grape which is the olive. I also know
 your wood: ebony. I know you, Hermes, who you are and where you come from and
 15 what your city is: Hermopolis. Come to me, lord Hermes, many-named one, who know
 / the things hidden beneath heaven and earth. Come [to me], NN, lord Hermes; serve
 well, benefactor of the world. Hear me and make me agreeable to all the forms

throughout the inhabited world. Open up for me the hands of everyone who [dispenses
 20 gifts] and compel them to give me what they have in their / hands. I also know your
 foreign names: PHARNATHAR BARACHEL CHTHA. These are your foreign names. Whereas
 Isis, the greatest of all the gods, invoked you in every crisis, in every district, against
 25 gods and men and daimons, creatures of water and earth and held your favor, / victory
 against gods and men and [among] all the creatures beneath the world, so also I, NN
 invoke you.

PGM VII.756–94

εὐχή. | ἑπικαλοῦμαι σε, πάνμορφον καὶ πολυνύμῳν δικέρατον θεὰν
 Μήνην, ἧς τὴν μορφήν | οὐδὲ εἰς ἐπίσταται πλὴν ὁ ποιήσας τὸν
 760 σύμπαντα || κόσμον, Ἰάω, ὁ σχηματίσας (σε) εἰς τα εἴκοσι καὶ | ὀκτὼ
 σχήματα τοῦ κόσμου, ἵνα πᾶσαν ἰδέαν | ἀποτελέσῃς καὶ πνεῦμα ἐκάστῳ ζῳῷ
 καὶ | φυτῷ νέμῃς, ἵν' εὐερ(νὲς) ᾗ, ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ἢ εἰς φῶς | αὐξανομένη καὶ
 765 ἀπὸ φωτὸς εἰς σκότος || ἀπολήγουσα (εἰς μείωσιν ἄρχουσα ἀπολήγειν).
 καὶ ἔστιν σου | ὁ α' σύντροφος τ[οῦ] ὀνόματος σιγῇ, | ὁ β' ποππυσμός, | ὁ γ'
 770 στεναγμός, | ὁ δ' συριγμός, || ὁ ε' ὀλολυγμός, | ὁ ς' μυγμός, | ο' ζ'
 775 ὕλαγμός, | ὁ ἡ μυκηθμός, | ὁ θ' χρεμετισμός, || ὁ ι' φθόγγος ἐναρμόνιος, | ὁ ια'
 πνεῦμα φωνᾶεν, | ὁ ιβ' ἦχος [ἀ]νεμοποιός, | ὁ ιγ' φθόγγος
 780 ἀναγκαστικός, | ὁ ιδ' τελειότητος ἀναγκαστικὴ ἀπόρροια. ||
 βοῦς, γῆψ, ταῦρος, κύνθαρως, ἰέραξ, καρκίνος, | κύων, λύκος, δράκων.
 ἵππος, χίμαιρα, || θέρμουθις, αἶξ, τράγος, κυνοκέφαλος, | αἰλουρος, λέων,
 785 πάρδαλις, μυγαλός, | ἔλαφος, πολύμορφος, παρθένος, λαμπάς, || ἀστραπή,
 στέλμα, κηρύκειον, παῖς, κλείς. |
 εἰρήκᾳ σου τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ σύμβολα | τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἵνα μοι ἐπακούσῃς,
 ὅτι σοι | ἐπέχουμαι, τῇ δεσποίῃ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου. | ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἡ
 790 μόνιμος, ἡ κραταιά, || ἀφειδω μιντηρ οἶα πῖζεφνδωρ | χανθαρ
 χαδηροζο: μοχθιον εοτνευ | φηρζον αινηδης λαχαβω πιττω | ριφθαμερ
 ζμομοχωλειε τιηδραντεια | οισοζοχοβηδωφρα.' κοινόν.

Prayer: “I call upon you who have all forms and many names, double-horned
 760 goddess, Mene, whose form no one knows except him who made the entire /world,
 IAŌ, the one who shaped [you] into the twenty-eight shapes of the world so that they
 might complete every figure and distribute breath to every animal and plant, that it might
 flourish, you who grow from obscurity into light and leave light for darkness” /
 765 (beginning to leave by waning).

“And the first companion of your name is silence, the second a popping sound, the third
 770 groaning, the fourth hissing, / the fifth a cry of joy, the sixth moaning, the seventh
 775 barking, the eighth bellowing, the ninth neighing, / the tenth a musical sound, the
 eleventh a sounding wind, the twelfth a wind-creating sound, the thirteenth a coercive
 sound, the fourteenth a coercive emanation from perfection. /

“Ox, vulture, bull, beetle, falcon, crab, dog, wolf, serpent, horse, she-goat, asp,
 780 goat, he-goat, baboon, cat, lion, leopard, fieldmouse, deer, multiform, virgin, torch, /
 785 lightning, garland, a herald’s wand, child, key.

“I have said your signs and symbols of your name so that you might hear me, because I
 pray to you, mistress of the whole world. Hear me, you, the stable one, the mighty one, /
 790 APHEIBEOŌ MINTĒR OCHAŌ PIZEPHYDŌR CHANTHAR CHADĒROZO MOCHTHION EOTNEU PHĒRZON
 AINDĒS LACHABŌŌ PITTŌ RIPHTHAMER ZMOMŌCHŌLEIE TTĒDRANTEIA OISOZOCHABĒDŌPHRA” (add
 the usual).

And your [soldier]; and so, [while I'm asleep],
[Send to me your unerring] mantic skill."

PGM VII.668–85 (Cf. Hymn 15/16 Heitsch, *PGM* vol. 2, p. 249)

... λέγων τὸν λόγον ζ' | πρὸς τὸν λύχνον·
 670 'Ερμῆ, παντοκράτωρ, ἐνκάρδιε, κύκλε Σελήνης,
 στρογγύλε, τετράγωνε, λό|γων ἀρχηγέτα γλώσσης,
 πειθοδικαίουσινε, χλα|μυδηφόρε, χρυσοπέδιλε,
 (αἰ)θέρι[ον] δρόμον εἰλίσσων ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης,
 πνεύματος, ἡελίου | ἡνίοχε, ἀθαν(ά)των τε λαμπάσι τέρπων
 675 τοὺς | ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης βροτοὺς β[ί]ον ἐκτελέσαντας, ||
 Μοιρῶν τε κλωστήρ σὺ λέγῃ (καί) θεῖος Ὀνειρος, |
 ἡμερινοὺς καὶ νυκτερινού[ς] χ|ρησμοὺς ἐπιπέμπων. |
 ἰᾶσαι πάντων βροτῶν ἀλγῆματα (σαῖς) θεραπείαις· |
 δεῦρο, μάκαρ, θεῆς τελεσίφρονος υἱὲ μέγιστε, |
 680 σὴ μορφῇ ἱλαρῷ τε νοῷ· δεῖγμ' ἀνθείς δὲ ἀφθάρτῳ ||
 κοῦρψ μαντοσύνην (τῇν σὴν) ἔκπεμψον ἀληθῆ.
 Οἰοισ|ενμιγαδων· Ὀρθά· Βαυβώ· νιοῖρε· κοδηρεθ | δοσηρε· συρε· συροε·
 σανκιστη· δωδεκακι[σ]τη·|ἀκρουροβόρε· κοδηρε· ρινωτον· κουμετανα· |
 685 ρουβιθα· νουμιλα· περφερο[ν]· Ἀρουωρηρ· || Ἀρουηρ· λέγε ἐπτάκις καὶ
 κοινά, ὅσα θέλεις.

... saying the spell 7 times to the lamp:
 "Hermes, lord of the world, who're in the heart,
 O circle of Selene, spherical
 670 And square, / the founder of the words of speech,
 Pleader of Justice's cause, garbed in a mantle,
 With golden sandals, turning airy course
 Beneath earth's depths, who hold the spirit's reins,
 The sun's and who with lamps of gods immortal
 Give joy to those beneath earth's depths, to mortals
 675 Who've finished life. / The Moirai's fatal thread
 And dream divine you're said to be, who send
 Forth oracles by day and by night; you cure
 Pains of all mortals with your healing cares.
 Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
 Of the goddess who brings full mental powers,
 By your own form and gracious mind. And to
 680 An uncorrupted youth / reveal a sign
 And send him your true skill of prophecy,
 ΟΙΟΣΕΝΜΙΓΑΔΩΝ ΟΡΘΘΑ ΒΑΥΒΩ ΝΙΟΕΡΕ ΚΟΔΗΡΕΘ ΔΟΣΗΡΕ ΣΥΡΕ ΣΥΡΟΕ
 ΣΑΝΚΙΣΤΗ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΚΙ[Σ]ΤΗ·|ΑΚΡΟΥΡΟΒΟΡΕ· ΚΟΔΗΡΕ· ΡΙΝΩΤΟΝ· ΚΟΥΜΕΤΑΝΑ· |
 685 ΑΡΟΥΕΡ" (say it seven times and add the usual, whatever you wish).

PGM V.392–423 (Cf. Hymn 15/16 Heitsch, *PGM* vol. 2, p. 249)

... ὅταν δὲ βούλη χρᾶσθαι, | πρὸς κεφαλῆς σου τίθει τὸν ναόν || σὺν τῷ
 395 θεῷ καὶ δίδωκε ἐπιθύω[ν] | λίβανον ἐπὶ βωμοῦ καὶ γῆν ἀπ[ὸ] || σιτοφόρου χωρίου
 καὶ βῶλον ἀλὸς | ἀμμωνιακοῦ ἄ· κείσθω πρὸς κε-|φαλὴν σου, καὶ κοιμῶ μετὰ τὸ

400 εἰ|πείν μηδενὶ δούς ἀπόκρισιν. ||
 ‘Ἐρμῇ κοσμοκράτῳρ, ἐνκάρδιε, κύ|κλε σελήνης,
 στρουγύλε καὶ τε|τράγωνε, λόγων ἀρχηγέτα γλώσσης,|
 405 αἰθέριον δρόμον || εἰλίσσων ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης |
 πνεύματος ἡνίοχε, Ἥλιον ὀφθαλμέ, μέγιστε |
 παμφώνου γλώττης ἀρχηγέτα | λαμπάσι τέρπων
 410 τοὺς ὑπὸ τάρ|ταρα γαίης τε βροτοὺς βίον ἐκτελέ|σαντας·
 μοιρῶν προγνώστης σὺ | λέγῃ καὶ θεῖος Ὀνειρος,
 ἡμερινοὺς [καί] | νυκτερινοὺς χρησμούς ἐπιπέμ|πων.
 ἰάσαι πάντα βροτῶν ἀλγῆμα|τα σαῖς θεραπέαις.
 415 δεῦρο, μάκαρ, Μνή||μης τελεσίθρονος υἱὲ μέγιστε.
 σῇ | μορφῇ ἱλαρός τε φάνηθι ἱλαρός τ’ ἐπίτειλον
 ἀνθρώπῳ ὁσίῳ μορφὴν θ’ ἱλα|ράν ἐπίτειλον ἐμοί, τῷ δεῖνα,
 420 ὄφρα σε |μαντοσύναις, ταῖς σαῖς ἀρεταῖσι λάβοι||μι
 δέομαι κύριε· ἰλεῶς μοι γενού |
 καὶ ἄψευδῶς μοι φανεῖς χρημάτισον.’ |
 δῶκε καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης.

395 *But when you want to use it, place the shrine beside your head / along with the god and
 recite as on the altar you burn incense, earth from a grain-bearing field and one lump
 of rock salt. Let it rest beside your head, and go to sleep after saying the spell without
 giving an answer to anyone. /*
 400 “Hermes, lord of the world, who’re in the heart,
 O circle of Selene, spherical
 And square, the founder of the words of speech,
 Pleader of justice’s cause, garbed in a mantle,
 With winged sandals, turning airy course /
 405 Beneath earth’s depths, who hold the spirit’s reins,
 O eye of Helios, O mighty one,
 Founder of full-voiced speech, who with your lamps
 Give joy to those beneath earth’s depths, to mortals
 410 Who’ve finished life. / The prophet of events
 And Dream divine you’re said to be, who send
 Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
 All pains of mortals with your healing cares.
 Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
 415 Of Memory, / who brings full mental powers,
 In your own form both graciously appear
 And graciously render the task for me,
 A pious man, and render your form gracious
 To me, NN,
 That I may comprehend you by your skills
 Of prophecy, by your own wond’rous deeds. /
 420 I ask you, lord, be gracious to me and
 Without deceit appear and prophecy to me.”

Recite this both at sunrise and moonrise.

Notes

1. Among the vast literature, I note O. Petterson, "Magic-Religion: Some Marginal Notes to an Old Problem," *Ethnos* 22 (1957): 109–19; J. Goody, "Religion and Ritual: The Definition Problem," *BritJournSoc* 12 (1961): 142–64; M. Wax and R. Wax, "The Notion of Magic," *CurrAnthr* 4 (1963): 495–518; D. Hammond, "Magic—A Problem in Semantics," *AmAnthr* 72 (1970): 1349–56; R. Grambo, "Models of Magic," *Norveg* 18 (1975): 77–109; D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," in *ANRW* vol. II, pt. 23, sec. 2 (Berlin, 1980), 1507–23; M. Winkelman, "Magic: A Theoretical Reassessment," *CurrAnthr* 23 (1982): 37–66.

2. O. Petterson (see n. 1) p. 111 points out that submission was characteristic for religion as early as Paul and was subsequently highlighted by Luther, Calvin, and, later, Schleiermacher—hence the Frazerian dichotomy still seems to have a strong grip on Christian, especially Protestant, minds.

3. To give a few instances through time (see also n. 7): L. Deubner, *Magie und Religion* (Freiburg, 1922), 16 (= *Kleine Schriften zur klassischen Altertumskunde* [Königstein, 1982], 290); S. Eitrem, *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike* (Zürich, 1947), 37–40; J. de Vries, "Magic and Religion," *HR* 1 (1962): 214–21; A. A. Barb, *The Survival of Magic*, in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford, 1963), 101; G. Luck, *Hexen und Zauberei in der römischen Dichtung* (Zürich, 1962), 4 (in his recent book of texts *Arcana Mundi* [Baltimore, 1985], Luck concedes that there may exist "a religious mood in magical texts," still upholding the old dichotomy; his further attempt at differentiation—that magical prayer never contains "consciousness of sin and the prayer for forgiveness"—is even more Christiano-centric). R. MacMullen (*Paganism in the Roman Empire* [New Haven, 1981], 70) defines magic as "the art that brings about the intervention of supernatural powers in the material world": this sounds like another subtle variation of Frazer.

4. See, e.g., the attempts to discern magical elements in Roman religion, from E. E. Burriss, *Taboo, Magic, Spirits: A Study of Primitive Elements in Roman Religion*, 3d ed. (New York, 1972); cf. idem, "The Magical Element in Roman Prayer," *CPh* 25 (1930): 48–49 to H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (London, 1981), 15; or in Greek hymnic poetry, A. Burnet, *The Art of Bacchylides* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 6 with nn. 2f. (I owe the reference to Dirk Obbink.)

5. Bibliography: C. Ausfeld, *De Graecorum Precationibus Quaestiones*, *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie Suppl.* 28 (1903): 502–47; K. Ziegler, *De Precationum apud Graecos Formis Quaestiones* (Breslau, 1905); F. Schwenn, *Gebet und Opfer: Studien zum griechischen Kultus* (Heidelberg, 1927) on evolutionary derivation of prayer from spell; K. von Fritz, "Greek Prayer," *RevRel* 10 (1945/46): 5–39; E. des Places, "La prière cultuelle dans la Grèce ancienne," *RevSocRel* 33 (1959): 343–59; H. S. Versnel, "Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer," in *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. H. S. Versnel (Leiden, 1981), 1–64; a general introduction in W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 73–75.

6. Mystery rituals: A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 3d ed. (Leipzig, 1923); H. D. Betz, "Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95; also see n. 36. Prayers: the principle is stated by R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), 14: "Die Gebete . . . die z.T. ohne Rücksicht auf den Zweck der magischen Handlung aus älteren Quellen übernommen und für sie nur durch die Aufnahme unverständlicher Formeln überarbeitet sind"; his own analysis on p. 20f. of *PGM*.VIII.1–12 only shows

that the prayer combines earlier material, not that this material was "religious." Th. Schermann (*Griechische Zauberpapyri und das Gemeinde- und Dankgebet im 1. Clemensbrief* [Leipzig, 1909]), shows the close parallels between prayers in PGM and early Christian prayer, without drawing conclusions as to borrowing processes.

7. For Deubner and Eitrem, see n. 3; a typical statement is that of M. P. Nilsson, "Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri," *Bull.Soc.R.Lettres Lund* no. 2 (1947–48): 60: "Es ist sehr richtig . . . dass die Magie in ihrer Haltung den Göttern gegenüber der Religion grundsätzlich entgegengesetzt ist [the old Frazerian dichotomy]. Die Zauberer haben aber immer und überall sich Brocken und gar grössere Stücke der Religion angeeignet"—without drawing any conclusions for the theoretical position. Nilsson refers to A. J. Festugière, *L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'évangile* (Paris, 1932); the second edition (Paris, 1981) still has, on pp. 284–85, "Une action magique . . . est d'essence magique, c'est-à-dire qu'elle commande une attitude particulière à l'égard de la divinité. On ne la prie point pour lui exprimer de la révérence ou de l'amour. . . . Ce n'est pas une prière, une demande, mais une sommation. On force la divinité à agir" (italics Festugière's).

8. Pl. *Leg.* 10.909b (certain people seduce men) τοὺς δὲ τεθνεώτας φάσκοντες ψυχαγωγεῖν καὶ θεοὺς ὑπισχνούμενοι πείθειν, ὡς θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐπιαιδαῖς γοηέοντες ("claiming that they could draw up the souls of the dead, and promising to persuade the gods, because they bewitch with sacrifices, prayers, and spells"). Cf. *Resp.* 2.364b, about the activity of beggar priests and seers (ἀγύρται καὶ μάντις): ἐάν τέ τινα ἐχθρὸν πημῆναι ἐθέλῃ, μετὰ σμικρῶν δαπανῶν ὁμοίως δίκαιον ἀδίκῳ βλάβει ἐπαγωγαῖς τισιν καὶ καταδεσμοῖς, τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς φασιν, πείθοντές σφισιν ὑπηρετεῖν ("If someone wishes to harm an enemy, he will with small expense harm him, be he just or unjust, with spells and enchantments, since they persuade, as they claim, the gods to help them").

9. We still are badly in need of an *index verborum* to the second edition of PGM; see, on the problem, H. D. Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago, 1986), [= *GMPT*] xliv.

10. I exclude PGM XXIIb from further discussion because in a Jewish spell submission under the One God is nearly inevitable (a fact, though, that already undermines the Frazerian categorization); see also PGM IV.3008–78, a slightly hellenized orthodox Jewish exorcism (W. L. Knox, "Jewish Liturgical Exorcism," *HTR* 31 [1938]:191–203, where the magician says he has power over the daemon *ὅτι ἐπεύχομαι ἅγιον θεόν* [PGM IV.3029] "because I pray to the holy god")—although such submission is not confined to Jewish spells, as will be shown presently.

11. PGM IV.2785–2870 (= hymn 18 to Hecate-Selene); VI.5–46 (the hexametrical parts 6–21 and 40–47 = hymns 13 and 14, both to Daphne). In structure and function, the hymn is a versified prayer or spell. For a good discussion and earlier literature, see J. M. Bremer, "Greek Hymns," in *Faith, Hope, and Worship*, ed. H. S. Versnel (Leiden, 1981), 193–214; cf. Th. Wolbergs, *Griechische religiöse Gedichte der ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, vol. I, *Psalmen und Hymnen der Gnosis und des frühen Christentums* (Meisenheim, 1971); K.-D. Dorsch, *Götterhymnen in den Chorliedern der griechischen Tragödie* (Münster, 1983). For the magical hymns, PGM, vol. 2, p. 264 gives a bibliography; add H. Riesenfeld, "Remarques sur les hymnes magiques," *Eranos* 46 (1946): 153–60. E. Szepes ("Magic Elements in the Prayers of the Magical Papyri," *AAHung* 24 [1976]: 205–25) begins with the definition of religion as submissive versus magic as coercive and making claims on the gods (a position that overstates the Frazerian dichotomy and is belied by most Greek prayers, except the one of Socrates) and tries to find elements of magic, thus defined, in the hymns—which he does, given the generous definition. Morton Smith, "The Hymn to the Moon, PGM IV.2242–

2355," in *Proc. XVIth Intern. Congr. Pap.* (Chico, Calif., 1981), 643–54.

12. *PGM* VII.756–94; XII.103–6; XXXVI.211–30.

13. *PGM* II.9 (formula) and 13 (context of the same formula); III.498 and 590 (in the same formula). IV.2545 (in a hexametrical hymn to Selene [= hymn 20.20], εὐχαῖσιν <τ') ἐπάκουσον ἐμαῖς, πολυδώνε Μῆνη, cf. *ibid.* IV.2566 [= hymn 20.38], εὐχομένοι τ' ἐπάκουσον ἐμοί, λίτομαί σε, ἄνασσα), 2973 (context, no formula), and 2998 (formula). In two other instances, *PGM* III.174 and 176, the text is too fragmentary to be of any help.

14. Frag. 1 L.-P. (the text is given in the Appendix along with a metrical prayer where the *preces* follow immediately after the [lost] invocation).

15. J. M. Bremer (see n. 11), 196–97.

16. For more details on the very standardized forms of these parts see E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede*, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1923) pt. II, esp. pp. 143–76.

17. For the text see the Appendix, pp. 199–202; for the date of *PGM* IV, see E. N. Lane, "On the Date of *PGM* IV," *SCent* 4 (1984): 25–27.

18. *PGM* IV. 2844, γράμματα σῶι σκηπτρῶι αὐτὸς Κρόνος ἀμφεχάραξεν, δῶκε δέ σοι φόρειν, ὅφρ' ἔμπεδα πάντα μένοιεν: Hecate, not Zeus, is here the successor as lord of the universe. For Cronos see S. Eitrem, "Kronos in der Magie," in *Mélanges J. Bidez*, vol. 1 (Bruxelles, 1934), 351–60.

19. This is explicitly stated in, e.g., the introduction to the *Spell of Pnouthis* (the sacred scribe, *PGM* I.42), who speaks of "all the prescriptions bequeathed to us in countless books" (τὰ πάντα καταλειπόμενα ἡμῖν ἐν βίβλοις μυρίαῖς συντάγματα). After Paul's successful exorcism in Ephesus, a huge number of such books (obviously containing prescriptions for exorcism) were burnt by "those interested in officiousness" (οἱ τὰ περίεργα πράξαντες, *Acts* 19.19); see A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed. (Tübingen, 1923), 216. See, further, Lucian *Philops.* 31, who mentions "very many Egyptian books" on this topic.

20. E.g., *PGM* I.254 and 261; III.341 and 567 (the magician); IV.3013 (the person exorcised).

21. "Orphic" hymns: see W. Quandt, *Orphei hymni*, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1962); parallels between them and hymns in *PGM* IV were collected by B. Kuster, *De Tribus Carminibus Papyri Parisinae Magicae* (Königsberg, 1911). Other instances: *Anth. Pal.* 9.524f.

22. The longer form, e.g., IV.1794, the shorter in II.100; see, esp., R. Merkelbach, "φθισίκηρε," *ZPE* 47 (1982): 172; L. Koenen, *ZPE* 8 (1971): 206.

23. This translation, given by Preisendanz ("die die Gräber schlägt"), seems preferable to E. N. O'Neil's translation (in *GMPT*) "you who make grief resound": κάπετος is "grave" already in Homer (*LSJ* s.v.); the goddess is the one who disturbs the graves.

24. In *PGM* IV.2834 the papyrus has οὐ γὰρ φοιτᾷς ἐν Ὀλύμπωι, εὐρείαν δὲ τ' ἄβυσσον ἀπείριτον ἀμφιπολεύεις. Preisendanz follows E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque* (Paris, 1868), 453, in writing σὺ γὰρ, and the translator E. N. O'Neal follows; whereas A. Henrichs in hymn 18.33 (after E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der Kaiserzeit*, 2d ed. vol. 1 [Göttingen, 1963], lix) keeps the transmitted text. The correction is easy (the addition of σὺ <τε> γὰρ, proposed in A. Meineke, *Hermes* 4[1870]:66, gives the required metrical form) and necessary; the transmitted form excludes Selene from Olympus, whereas all other predication make her an all-embracing, omnipotent divinity). For a similar correction, see XII.254 and XIII.779.

25. See Iambl. *Myst.* 5.26, ἔργον τε οὐδὲν ἱερατικὸν ἄνευ τῶν ἐν εὐχαῖς ἱκετειῶν γίγνεται. See the remarks of W. Burkert, (see. n. 5), 73.

26. *PGM* IV.2874, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κακοποιῶν· οὐσίαν κυνὸς καὶ αἰγὸς ποικίλης, ὁμοίως καὶ παρθένον ἄωρον. Preisendanz translates the end "desgleichen von einer vor-

zeitig verstorbenen Jungfrau"; this seems preferable to O'Neil's version in *GMPT* "or in a similar way, of a virgin untimely dead."

27. As already Iamblichus said (*Myst.* 7.4), τὰ ἄσσημα ὀνόματα . . . ἡμῖν μὲν ἄγνωστα ἔστω ἢ καὶ γνωστά ἔνια, περὶ ὧν παρεδεξάμεθα τὰς ἀναλύσεις παρὰ θεῶν. cf. A. Dieterich (see n. 6), 32–40; Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1923; repr. Amsterdam, 1974 [= *OZ*]); detailed discussions in his analysis in *Arch.Orient.* 3 (1931): 119–55 and 327–58; 7 (1935): 90–120; 10 (1938): 128–48; *GöttNachr.* (1931):441–58 and (1937): 147–56; a list in *PGM*, vol. 3, pp. 243–78 (*voces magicae*) and 279–80 (palindromes); F. Maltomini, "Nuovi papiri magici," pt. II: "I papiri greci," *SCOr* 29 (1979): 55–124; on the alleged connection with Christian glossolalia see D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* vol. II, pt. 23, sec. 2 (Berlin, 1980), 1549–51.

28. Cf. J. Alvar, "Matériaux pour l'étude de la formule *sive deus sive dea*," *Numen* 32 (1985) 236–73.

29. See text in the Appendix, pp. 202–3. The title given in the papyrus, φιλτροκατάδεσμος, is too narrow and indicates only one (perhaps the most sought for) application. R. Reitzenstein (see n. 6) pp. 20–21 analyzes the different layers of this complex text. This does not affect our analysis. For triple expressions in religious language, so prominent in our text, cf. E. Norden (see n. 16), 348–54; for anaphora in prayer, *ibid.*, 149–60 ("Du-Stil").

30. Explained by A. Dieterich (see n. 6) p. 97; provided with Egyptian background by R. Reitzenstein (see n. 6) p. 19, see 365 with more parallels in A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei* (Giessen, 1908), 36; and misunderstood in *GMPT*, p. 145, n. 2.

31. In itself a very short *argumentum*: Hermes helps the whole world, so why not me?

32. From A. Abt (see n. 30), 44–49 into the reference books—C. Zintzen, "Zauberei, Zauberer," *Der Kleine Pauly*, 5 (Stuttgart, 1975), 1467.

33. *PGM* IV.1266, Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μηδενὶ ταχέως γνωσκόμενον· Νεφεριηρι (an Egyptian epithet); XII.240 (=XIII.763) τὸ κρυπτόν ὄνομα καὶ ἄρρητον.

34. The material in Hopfner *OZ* 1, 176.

35. Iambl. *Myst.* 7.4f. (see also above, n. 27); cf. Porph. *De Philos. ex Or. Haur.* p. 157 Wolff. One of the consequences is that these names cannot be translated; Iambl. *Myst.* 7.5; Origen, *C. Cels.* 5.45.

36. The magician as a *mystagogos*, A. Abt, (see n. 30), 36f.; magic and mystery religions, R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3d ed. (Leipzig, 1927), 128–31 et passim; fragments of mystery rituals, the famous *Mithrasliturgie* and a ritual of the Dactyls (H. D. Betz [see n. 6]); the claim to be "enthroned" (*PGM* VII.746, [see n. 43]) refers back to Meter mysteries; see *GMPT*, p. 139, n. 134.

37. See Appendix, p.203.

38. For the acoustic signs, cf. A. Dieterich (see n. 6), 40–43, 228f.; R. Reitzenstein (see n. 6), 264–65; R. Lasch, "Das Pfeifen und Schnalzen und seine Beziehung zu Dämonenglauben und Zauberei," *ARW* 18 (1915): 589–93. Already Dieterich (see n. 6) p. 69, noted that such signs are not confined to magical ritual, see Aristoph. *Vesp.* 626; Pliny *HN* 28.25; Sophr. *Vita Cyri et Ioann.* (Migne, *PG* 87. 3521B). For comparable lists of signs and symbols see, e.g., *PGM* III.499; IV.1646 (Helios); LXX.9 (Hecate).

39. The texts appear in the Appendix, pp.204–6 (*PGM* XVIIb, VII.668–85, and V.392–423). See R. Reitzenstein, Review of Berliner Klassiker Texte VI, *GGA* 173 (1911):564 (copied by "offenbar ein gläubiger Heide zum Privatgebrauch"); E. Heitsch, "Zu den Zaubershymnen," *Philologus* 103 (1959): 223–36.

40. In the *apparatus criticus* to PGM XVII b.11.

41. PGM II.56, V.87, VII.554; Apul. *Apol.* 43; Hippol. *Haer.* 4.28; cf. R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytus' Capitel gegen die Magier* (Leipzig, 1913), 30–33; Th. Hopfner, "Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri," in *Recueil N. P. Kondakov* (Prague, 1926), 65–74; E. R. Dodds, "The Ancient Conception of Progress" and *Other Essays* (Oxford, 1973), 190 and 201.

42. The Pythia at Delphi is the obvious example. E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910), 75–76 gives the sources. For Argos, Apollo: Paus. 2.24.1; for Patara, Apollo: Hdt. 1.182.2. Cf. in Rome Cic. *De div.* 2.86, Tibull. 1.3.11 (a boy for Praeneste).

43. See, e.g., PGM VII.745, πάντως δέομαι, ἱκετεύω, δοῦλος ὑμέτερος καὶ τεθρονισμένος ὑμῖν ("Emphatically I beg, I supplicate, I your servant and enthroned" [i.e., initiated; see n. 36]); XIII. 72, ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, κύριε, ἵνα μοι φανῇς ἀγαθὴ μορφῇ, ὅτι δουλεύω ὑπὸ τὸν σὸν κόσμον τῷ σῶι ἀγγέλω ("I call upon you, lord, to appear to me in a good form, for under your order I serve your angel" [there follows a series of *voces magicæ*, giving the name of the angel]).

44. See also the remark of A.-M. Tupet (*La magie dans la poésie latine*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1976], 16) that invocations in the form of a command instead of a prayer are more common in literary descriptions of magic than in the actual magical texts.

45. PGM IV.1035, ἐπάναγκος • εἰάν πως βραδύνῃ, συνεπίλεγε τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὕστερον τῆς θεολογίας ("Charm of compulsion: If somehow he delays, say in addition this following incantation").

46. PGM II.45 (after two days of failure); IV.1295 (ἐπάναγκος τῆς γ' ἡμέρας); IV.1434 (after three days of failure); IV. 2676 (the third day).

47. PGM IV.3112.

48. PGM IV.2567, τούτῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπ(αν)αγκαστικῶν χρῶ· δύναται γὰρ πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν· μηδὲ πυκνῶς δὲ ποιεῖ πρὸς Σελήνην, εἰ μὴ (δ) ἐπάξιον ἦν τῆς ἐνεργείας πράξεις. It does not appear from the context in which situation the spell was used; but since the charm is very close to the following one, IV.2622–2707, where the coercive spell clearly is the last try (see n. 45), the same should be assumed here.

49. PGM XIII.35, λέγων τὸν ὠρογενῶν, τῶν ἐν τῇ Κλειδί, καὶ τὸν ἐπάναγκον αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐβδοματικούς τεταγμένους. The second version, PGM XIII 381 is not very different: εὐρήσεις καὶ τοὺς ὠρογενεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἡμερησίους καὶ τὸν ἐπάναγκον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Κλειδί τῇ Μουσέως (an otherwise unknown book). For PGM VIII see Morton Smith, "The Eighth Book of Moses and How It Grew," *Atti XVII Congr. Intern.Pap.* (Naples, 1984), 683–93.

50. See F. Boll, C. Bezold, and W. Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 6th ed. (Darmstadt, 1974), 178–80.

51. PGM XII.120 (another coercive spell), ἐπάκουσόν μου, ὅτι μέλλω τὸ μέγα ὄνομα λέγειν ἈΠΘ ὃν πᾶς θεὸς προσκυνεῖ καὶ πᾶς δαίμων φρίσσει, ὡς πᾶς ἄγγελος τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἀποτελεῖ.

52. Surveys on daemonology in later antiquity: M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, vol. 2 (München, 1961), esp. 210–12 and 540–42; C. Colpe et al., "Geister (Dämonen)," *RAC* 9 (1975): 546–797, esp. 640–68 (C. Zintzen), with vast bibliography. See also O. Böcher, *Dämonenfurcht und Dämonenabwehr* (Stuttgart, 1970)—the subtitle, *Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, is not very relevant; J. den Boeft, *Calcidius on Demons* (Leiden, 1977); J. Z. Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demoniatic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity," in *ANRW* vol. II, pt. 16, sec. 1 (Berlin, 1978), 425–39 (important from the point of view of methodology).

53. *PGM* IV.1037 (the beginning in n. 45), ἐπιτάσσει σοι ὁ μέγας θεός, ὁ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ὁ συνσεῖαν, ὁ βροντάζων, ὁ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν καὶ γένεσιν κτίσας.

54. *PGM* VII.881, ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, δέσποινα τοῦ συμπάντος κόσμου, . . . δὸς ἱερὸν ἄγγελον ἢ πάρεδρον ὅσιον διακονή[σον]τα τῇ σήμερον νυκτί, ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥραι, . . . καὶ κέλευσον ἄγγέλωι ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα ἄξαι αὐτὴν τῶν τρίχων.

55. *Apul. Apol.* 26 *Magus est qui communione loquendi cum dis immortalibus ad omnia, quae velit, incredibili quadam vi cantaminum polleat.* There is no reason to see in the *communio loquendi* the uttering of coercive spells, despite A. Abt (see n. 30), 118–24; cf. the way Plato expresses the fact (see n. 8).

56. M. P. Nilsson (see n. 52), vol. 2, 540.

57. *PGM* IV.2191 (milk, honey, wine, and oil accompanying the sacrifice of a cock and a prayer to Aion for the consecration of a magical tablet); IV.3149 (milk of a black cow and holocaust); XII.214 (wine, honey, milk, and saffron accompanying a holocaust and a prayer for the consecration of a magical gem); XIII.1015 (milk, wine not mixed with seawater, water for the consecration of a magical tablet).

58. Holocaust: IV.40 (white cock); IV.2396, 3148 (falcon or onager); XII.35 (white chick); XII.213 (a pure white goose, three cocks, three pigeons). Strangling: XII.30 (seven birds). "Sacrifice as is customary" (I.25), whatever that was.

59. Explicit at *PGM* XII.36, ποιῶν τὴν τελετὴν κατάφαγε τὸν νεοσσὸν μόνος, ἄλλος δὲ μηδεὶς συν[έστω] ("while conducting this portion of the ritual, consume the chick by yourself, allowing no one else to be present". Two other instances only prescribe eating, and the magician appears to be alone: IV.2398 (the σπλάγχνα, inward parts of an onager[?], otherwise burnt), and IV.3150 (συννευαχοῦ, "feast together" with a statue).

60. See W. Burkert (see n. 5), 60–64 for examples and bibliography.

61. E.g., the rituals that M. P. Nilsson labeled "Jahresfeuer," *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig, 1906), 223–25; more in F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985), 410–17.

62. See F. Graf, "Milch, Honig, und Wein," in *Perennitas: Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1980), 209–21.

63. M. Detienne, *Dionysos mis à mort* (Paris, 1977), 163–217.

64. The text in the Appendix, pp. 205–6 (*PGM* V.392–423).

65. There are ample parallels to the last prescription, e.g., *PGM* II.23, V.458, VII.1011, VIII.67, XXII b.33.

66. See. C. Segal, "The Raw and the Cooked in Greek Literature," *CJ* 69 (1974): 289–308; A. Henrichs, "The Sophists and Hellenistic Religion," *HSCP* 88 (1984): 139–58, esp. 142–43.

67. See the *communio loquendi cum dis* in *Apul. Apol.* 26 (see n. 55).

68. I feel unable to explain this detail.

69. IV.2642, ἡ δεῖνά σοι ἐπιθύει, θεά, ἐχθρόν τι θυμίασμα· αἰγὸς στέαρ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ αἷμα καὶ μύσαγμα, κύνειον ἔμβρυον καὶ ἰχώρα παρθένου ἁώρου. Another slander spell with accompanying sacrifice: IV.2455.

70. In itself, the sacrifice of a dog was offered to divinities of marginality and reversal: Hecate, Enyalios, birth goddesses (F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* [Rome, 1985] 422); the goat was forbidden in some cults (*ibid.*, 256); the usual animal had to be monochrome and pure (P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, 3d ed. (München, 1920), 151–52); pregnant animals, i.e., mother and embryo, were offered only in exceptional rituals (P. Stengel, *ibid.*, 125 and 255).

71. H. D. Betz, (see n. 6); cf. also the simple reference to the enthronement (see n. 36). Heracles: *Eur. Heracl.* 613; H. Lloyd-Jones, "Heracles at Eleusis," *Maia* 19 (1967): 206–29.

The gold leaves prescribe the actual words one had to speak to the guards in the underworld; G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), 358–70; W. Burkert, “Orphism and Bacchic Mysteries: New Evidence and Old Problems of Interpretation,” in *Protocol of the Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies*, Colloquy 28 (Berkeley, 1977), 1–8.

72. E. Heitsch, “Zu den Zauberhymnen,” *Philologus* 103 (1959): 215–36, esp. 220; idem “Drei Helioshymnen,” *Hermes* 88 (1960): 150–58. For the connections with the “Orphic” hymns, see n. 21.