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The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period

EDITED BY

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The cover illustration shows the eleventh painting of Salomon Trismosin's *Splendor Solis* (Ms. germ. fol. 42, Bl. 32r, reproduced with kind permission of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz).

Ovidius der Alte Römer hat dergleichen an gezeigt: von den Weisen Alten der sich da wolte widerumb verJungen. / Er solte sich lassen zerteilen und kochen bis zu seiner Volkommenen kochung / und nicht fürbaß. / Dann würden sich die glider widerumben verainigen / und wurden Jungen in Viel Cräfften.

The reference is to the rejuvenation of Aeson and the punishment of Pelias in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VII.159-349. In the image, the Saturnine Alchemist in his cauldron is subjected to "ablution or purification". The dove descending onto his head shows that the whitening work has been initiated whereby black matter is metamorphosed into white.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 1999 the Groningen Research School Rudolph Agricola and the local members of the national Netherlands Research School for Medieval Studies succeeded in obtaining a grant for a bonus incentive programme entitled *Cultural Change: Dynamics and Diagnosis*. Supported by the faculties of Arts, Philosophy and Theology, and financed by the Board of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, the *Cultural Change* programme constitutes an excellent opportunity to promote multidisciplinary approaches of phenomena typical in transformation processes in the fields of art and politics, literature and history, philosophy and theology. In order to enhance cohesion, three crucial 'moments' in European history were selected: (1) the period from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages (*ca.* 200 - *ca.* 600); (2) the late medieval to early modern period (*ca.* 1450 - *ca.* 1650); and (3) the 'Long Nineteenth Century' (1789 - *ca.* 1918). Four international conferences and some twenty workshops are planned for the period 2000-2004.

This volume, the first in the new series *Groningen Studies in Cultural Change*, offers the papers presented at the workshop *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* held from 22 to 24 June 2000. The workshop was organised by Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra, who are also the editors of this volume. The papers have been written by scholars from such varying disciplines as classics, theology, philosophy, cultural history, and law, and they present a stimulating overview of the status, usage and changing perception of magic in two important eras of cultural change in Western history: the era that witnessed the rise of Christianity in Late Antiquity, and the era that marked the period from the rise of learning in medieval Europe to the dawn of modern society. Both editors have added an additional paper.

We thank the Board of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen for the financial support it gave to the *Cultural Change* programme; this is the first programme uniting several faculties and two research schools in a unique project based on a multidisciplinary approach to subjects in the field of the humanities. Last but not least, we should like to thank Mirjam Buigel-de Witte and Marijke Wubbolts for their assistance in organising the workshop, and Nella Gosman-Scholtens and Jan Veenstra for preparing the texts for publication.

Martin Gosman, General Editor

INTRODUCTION: THE METAMORPHOSIS OF MAGIC

Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra

The term 'magic' is commonly used to designate a whole range of religious beliefs and ritual practices, whereby man seeks to gain control over his fate and fortune by supernatural means. In this respect magical artifice does not differ significantly from what is usually associated with religion or even premodern learning, but the concept itself is nevertheless veiled in ambiguity. Flourishing in the shadow of both religion and science, its appeal to either faith or reason often met with fierce opposition. Religious and political authorities regularly frowned upon magical practices because they were deemed secretive, anti-social and manipulative, and were associated with demonic powers. Likewise, scientific authorities condemned magical beliefs as irrational. Yet no religion has ever been without a fair amount of magic, and magical beliefs could easily merge with philosophical and cosmological ideas. It is hence justified to argue that the ambiguity of the term 'magic' mainly derives from the changing appreciations of the beliefs and practices denoted by this concept.

Beliefs and practices cherished and commonly accepted in one cultural or religious context are liable to incur derision and condemnation with a modification of the context or a change of culture. As a number of the essays in this volume shows, this is precisely what happened to magic. Stemming from an earlier, alien or indigenous culture, elements of magic were reinterpreted, rivalled, absorbed, usurped and condemned to fit new contexts and new religious settings. In this volume the reader can witness the rivalry between magi and apostles or priests who vie for the monopoly on miracle and wonder; one encounters the impact of theological condemnation and legal persecution of magic and its practitioners; but beyond absorption and condemnation, one also beholds how the development of magic is in large measure a development of man's changing attitudes towards the spirit world.

Deities, demons, and angels became important protagonists in the magic of the Late Antique world, and were also the main reasons for the condemnation of magic in the Christian era. Supplicatory incantations, rituals of coercion, enticing suffumigations, magical prayers and mystical songs drew spiritual powers to the human domain. Next to the magician's desire to regulate fate and fortune, it was the communion with the spirit

world that gave magic the potential to purify and even deify its practitioners. The sense of elation and the awareness of a metaphysical order caused magic to merge with philosophy (notably Neoplatonism). The heritage of Late Antique theurgy would be passed on to the Arab world, and together with classical science and learning would take root again in the Latin West. The metamorphosis of magic laid out in this book is the transformation of ritual into occult philosophy against the background of cultural changes in Judaism, paganism and Christianity.

The volume begins with Jan Bremmer's discussion of the rise of the term 'magic'. The origin of the word lies in ancient Greece, where the term *mageia* was coined in the last decades of the fifth century BC. The word derives from the Magi, the priestly tribe of the Medes whose wisdom was proverbial. Yet practices of wandering *magoi* (perhaps of Persian origin) were occasionally looked upon in Greece with some condescension, and thus magic came to have an ambivalent meaning, ranging from plain sorcery to esoteric wisdom – an ambivalence that has always complicated a proper understanding of the term. As Bremmer points out in the Appendix to this volume, the opposition between magic and religion, so hotly debated in modern scholarship, is in fact a late nineteenth-century invention, relying on preconceptions that derive from the earlier mentioned ambiguity.

The volume continues with two papers on the prominent, but still insufficiently recognised, role of Jewish magical lore, which has regularly enriched the Western magical tradition. This Jewish magic first becomes visible in the texts of the intertestamental period, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls and the *Testamentum Salomonis*. Florentino García Martínez shows that, despite the condemnation of magic in the Old Testament, the Dead Sea Scrolls contain at least two types of magic, exorcism and divination, that were not only tolerated but actively practised. The Qumran community's view of the spiritual world was essentially dualistic and this dualism legitimised certain practices. Thus incantations and exorcisms were applied in defending the Sons of Light against the Powers of Darkness, and astrology and physiognomy were used in analysing a person's soul by finding out how many particles of light and darkness it consisted of. Compared to biblical prohibitions, the dualistic world view of the community caused a change in Jewish perceptions of magic. Well before the Christian era, this learned and secluded society at Qumran placed magic firmly in the spirit world.

One of the major figures in Jewish magical lore was the legendary King Solomon who, next to unparallelled wisdom, was believed to have the power to constrain and exorcise demons. Sarah Johnston follows the vicissitudes of this fascinating figure well into the modern period in her contribution on the *Testament of Solomon*. The *Testament* is a milestone in the tradition of Solomonic magic, since it embodies, in a sense, the friction between magic and orthodoxy as it was felt in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

Solomon has the power to conjure demons, to contain and constrain them, but he can only do so by means of a magical ring that he received from God through the angel Michael. It is in the name of the one true God that he can command the spirits, and this probably made Solomon the magus a relatively acceptable figure. Even later Christian censorship of pseudo-Solomonic magic, as voiced in the *Speculum astronomiae* (discussed by Nicolas Weill-Parot), approached the orthodox fringe of this demonic magic with some degree of reserve.

In the period between the birth of Christianity and the arrival of Constantine and the Christian Empire, magic and miracle were strong competitors for attention. By concentrating on the apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*, a rich yet long neglected genre, Jan Bremmer shows that early Christians tended to see their spiritual leaders, in this case the apostles, as rivals of popular magicians; the most telling instance is the confrontation between the apostle Peter and Simon Magus. Apostolic miracles came to replace popular magic, and exorcisms and resurrections (clear echoes of Christ's mission) were performed with as much public display as the tricks of the competing magi. In the *Apocryphal Acts*, the distinction between magic and miracle was addressed mainly on a narrative level. Intellectual reflections on magic would gain prominence in the patristic era.

It was in the towering figure of Augustine, as Fritz Graf argues, that Christianity acquired an intellectual authority who greatly determined Christian ideas on magic. Augustine, siding with imperial legislation against magic, shifted the focus of critique from the anti-social to the demonic. He defined paganism in terms of magic, divination and idolatry, phenomena which (however close to Christian cult and creed) he radically separated from the world of true Christian religion. The miracle-maker who is a true believer, works his wonders through God and His angels. The miracle-maker who is a pagan does not: he performs magic and his helpers are demons. Augustine takes his criticism even further by revealing what he believes to be the aims of magic. All magical ritual strives for the purification and elevation of the soul, and is essentially theurgy; but what for Neoplatonists like Iamblichus and, much later, Renaissance magi is a way of touching on the divine, is for Augustine communication with perfidious demons.

Augustine's conviction that magic was based on communications with the spirit world was well founded. Augustine based himself on Apuleius, but there are many other sources, such as the magical papyri, which back up his claim. Ancient magic had one last flourish in Late Antique Egypt, where many magical papyri were found. Anna Scibilia concentrates on the emergence of the *parhedros*, the demon assistant of the magician, which she interprets as a sign of the increasing need for divine assistance that became apparent in Late Antiquity. The spirituality of the Hellenistic period was marked by the aspiration to establish contact with the divine (*communio loquendi cum deis*, in the words of Apuleius), and the Greek magical papyri supply many

telling instances of this desire. In her analysis of the Berlin Papyrus 5025, Scibilia draws attention to one of the more remarkable aspects of the *parhedros*: the magical assistant can also function as a mediator of salvation. This soteriological dimension of magic, whereby the magician can effect his own deification with the help of the *parhedros*, was precisely the source of Augustine's apprehension and the objective of his condemnation. Nevertheless, this theurgical and soteriological aspect of magic would resurface in the Western tradition, as the contributions on the *Almandal* and Christian Kabbalah show.

With the advent of the Christian empire, intellectual and theological condemnation was joined by institutional repression. Magic was marginalised and driven underground, although, of course, it never disappeared entirely. As Bernard Stolte shows, the Byzantine church would deal with magic through pastoral care and advice, but also through the formal channels of the ecclesiastical courts. The church, relying on patristic authority, would stress the incompatibility of magic and orthodoxy and point to the threat that magical practices posed to public order. Secular authorities, relying on Justinianic legislation, followed suit and declared magic a criminal offence. Yet because of the continuity of the Greek tradition, several aspects of ancient magic would remain alive and well in the East until the fall of Constantinople to the Turks.

In the Latin West the medieval Christian church was likewise confronted with a strong and resilient tradition of indigenous non-Christian magic. By studying the competing practices of magic and miracle in Saints' lives, Valerie Flint shows how the church sought to neutralise contemporary magic, mainly by absorption. It required a revision of the role of the bishop who, as a bishop-magus, came to replace the regional magicians of old. Flint draws her material from England in the thirteenth century – a period highly prolific in the production of bishop-saints, and she deals centrally with the canonisation dossier of St Thomas Cantilupe. The supernatural powers of the saint mainly extended to resurrecting the dead (especially those who were killed by a miscarriage of justice) and to fighting injustices in secular law. These miracle-stories provide an interesting index of the functions that local magi formerly had and which were now taken over by Christian priests (as was done previously by the apostles in the *Apocryphal Acts*).

This process of cultural transition, whereby Christianity fed upon ancient magical and cultic beliefs is further pursued in Jan Veenstra's contribution on lycanthropy. His survey of werewolf lore from Late Antiquity to the early modern period shows that with the rationalisation of religion and the christianisation of Western Europe the metamorphosis from man into beast was approached (notably by Augustine) with new philosophical questions. In answer to these, Christian thinkers predominantly forwarded demonological interpretations; these speculations on the capacity of demons

to manipulate perception and nature, would eventually lead to the demonological theories that fuelled the witchcraze.

The spiritual dimension of marvel and miracle became a dominant preoccupation not only for those who believed in the intercession of the saints or who feared the assaults of demons, but also for those who were interested in the influence of the stars and the occult powers of nature. The great scientific and philosophical developments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which were mainly brought about by the Aristotelian corpus newly recovered via Arabic sources, were also shaped and informed by textbooks on astrology and occult science, hitherto unknown to the West. It was through these works that inquisitive readers and magi were introduced to the world of astral spirits.

In his contribution on astrological images, Nicolas Weill-Parot studies the impact of astral magic, mainly by analysing the *Speculum astronomiae* (commonly attributed to Albertus Magnus). The *Speculum* distinguishes between the licit use of stellar influence, which relies on natural causation, and the illicit use of the stars which is allied to the practices of Hermetic or Arabic astral magic and Solomonic magic. Weill-Parot coins the term 'addressativity' to clarify the nature of these types of magic that either directly or indirectly address the spirits of the stars, which were considered angels by some and demons by others. He concludes his contribution by pointing out that in the Renaissance period the concept of magic underwent an important transformation when next to 'addressativity', it also incorporated Neoplatonism and natural philosophy.

This enhancement of the prestige of magic is further explored by Jan Veenstra is his study of the *Almandal*, a practical magical text on the invocation and conjuration of angels. Through an examination of some of its fifteenth-century adaptations (in Middle High German), Veenstra outlines the *Almandal*'s theurgical, redemptive and even intellectual aims which place the text within a tradition of theurgy and soteriology that already found expression in later Neoplatonism and some of the magical papyri. Angelic magic would soar to unprecedented heights in the Renaissance, especially in those quarters where Neoplatonic hierarchies and their concomitant theurgical rituals would couple with traditions of Jewish magic.

In his contribution on Christian Kabbalah, especially as it was developed by Johannes Reuchlin, Bernd Roling provides a comprehensive reconstruction of the mystical and magical texts from Jewish occult traditions that, together with several Christian adaptations, helped to shape the concept of the *natura completa*, man's deified nature. Roling covers a wide field, ranging from the mystical *3 Henoch*, which outlines the transformation from a human into an angelic being (as in Henoch who was transformed into Metatron) through the mediation of a personal daimon, to the *Picatrix*, a philosophical book of magic that gives directions to the philosopher on how to achieve the 'complete nature'. Magic and theurgy acquire a

distinctly redemptive function, since they strive to reverse Adam's fall and to join human nature to the divine. Roling traces these and other influences in the fields of Renaissance magic and Christian Kabbalah, notably in the works of Johannes Reuchlin and Paolo Ricci, where human nature attains its perfection in Christ.

With every change of culture, magic underwent its own transformation. The metamorphosis of magic outlined in this collection of essays essentially follows man's dealings with the angelic and demonic realm. By moving from the Sons of Light at Qumran to the Renaissance magi's quest for the complete nature of Christ, we have, in a special sense, come full circle.

All in all, the contributions in this volume shed new light upon several old obscurities; they show magic is a significant area of culture, and they advance the case for viewing transformations in the lore and practice of magic as a barometer with which to measure cultural change.

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THE BIRTH OF THE TERM 'MAGIC'

Jan N. Bremmer

Although this book studies magic in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, it seems not inappropriate to start our collection with an investigation into the origin of this much abused term.[1] When and why did people start to use the term 'magic'? The practice of magic probably goes back several millennia, but the origin of the term has its roots in ancient Greece. This origin was investigated in a famous article by Arthur Darby Nock in 1933.[2] Nock (1902-63) was the best expert on ancient religion as a whole in the period of 1930-1960,[3] and it was probably his reputation that kept contemporary investigations into magic from taking the trouble to see whether his views can be improved upon. When the origin of the Greek terms *magos* and *mageia* is mentioned, scholars invariably refer to Nock.[4] Yet a closer look at Nock's article soon reveals that he did not collect all the available evidence and that his views on Iranian religion are outdated;[5] moreover, important new evidence has been discovered both on the Iranian and the Greek fronts since the appearance of his study. It is therefore appropriate to review the evidence once again.

The birth of magos and mageia

It is evidently impossible to discuss the meaning of the terms *magos* and *mageia* for the whole of Antiquity. As the Magi were closely associated with the Persian king and his empire,[6] I limit myself to the period before the arrival of Alexander the Great, when their place in society and, perhaps, their

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[1] I use the following abbreviations for references to the fragments of Greek historians and Aristotelic pupils: *FGrH* = Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Wehrli² = Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, 10 vols.

[2] Nock, 'Paul and the Magus'.

[3] For Nock, see the bibliography mentioned by Stewart in: Nock, *Essays*; see also Calder, *Men in Their Books*, pp. 233-234, 284-285.

[4] See Rigsby, 'Teiresias', p. 110; Versnel, 'Some reflections', p. 194, note 14; Gager, 'Moses the Magician', p. 187, note 8; Graf, *Magic*, p. 20, note 1.

[5] As is noted by De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, p. 222, note 62.

[6] Bickerman, *Religions and Politics*, pp. 619-641 (with H. Tadmor); Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, vol. 1, pp. 256-258; De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, pp. 387-403 (a well balanced analysis of the early *magoi*).

doctrines must have undergone more or less serious changes.[7] In this period, the oldest attestation of the word *magos* occurs in a passage of the philosopher Heraclitus as given by Clement of Alexandria in his *Protreptikos* (2.22.2). On the question as to who is the object of Heraclitus's prophecies, the Church Father provides the following quote: 'those who wander in the night (*nyktipolois*): Magi (*magois*), bacchants (*bakchois*), maenads (*lênais*), initiates (*mystais*).[8] There are various oddities in the quotation: the term used for 'bacchant' is not attested before Euripides, that of 'initiate' without any (implicit) qualification, such as 'of Eleusis', not before the Derveni papyrus (below) or the Orphic gold-tablet of Hipponium (v. 16: *ca.* 400 BC),[9] and that for 'maenad' not before Theocritus XXVI. As Clement's tendency to interpret and expand his sources is well-known, one may have one's doubts about the authenticity of the precise wording of the quotation.[10] On the other hand, we should never forget our lacunose knowledge of early Greek literature: it is only two decades ago that the word *nyktipolos* emerged in a fragment of Aeschylus's *Psychagogoi* (F 273a.8 Radt),[11] whereas before it was known first from Euripides. However this may be, the presence of *magoi* in this enumeration seems to be authentic, since its meaning hardly points to magic but to practitioners of private cults, just like the other three categories which all belong to the Orphic-Dionysiac sphere.[12]

This particular meaning of *magos* occurs only three times in our evidence, all in relatively early texts. In addition to Heraclitus we find it in Sophocles's *Oedipus Rex* (387-389). Unfortunately, the precise date of this play is unclear, but there is a general consensus that it belongs to the thirties or twenties of the fifth century. When Oedipus has concluded that Creon has conspired with Teiresias to overthrow him, he denounces him for setting upon him 'this *magos* hatcher of plots, this crafty begging priest, who has sight only when it comes to profit, but in his art is blind'. In this passage *magos* must mean

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[7] This aspect of the Magi is not taken into consideration in recent studies of their position in the Persian empire, but seems to me highly likely.

[8] Heraclitus, fragment 14 DK. I follow the punctuation argued by Graf, *Magic*, p. 21.

[9] For the most recent edition of the 'Orphic' gold tablets, see Riedweg, 'Initiation-Tod-Unterwelt', pp. 389-398.

[10] As do Marcovich, *Heraclitus*, pp. 465-467; Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience*, p. 12, note 18; Rigsby, 'Teiresias', p. 110; Papatheophanes, 'Heraclitus of Ephesus'; Henrichs, 'Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus', pp. 190-191; Burkert, *Da Omero ai Magi*, p. 94, note 19. Its authenticity is accepted by Kahn, *The Art and Thought of Heraclitus*, p. 262 (with some qualms); Conche, *Héraclite*, pp. 167-170; Robinson, *Heraclitus*, pp. 85-86; Graf, *Magic*, p. 21.

[11] Henrichs, 'Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus', p. 190.

[12] This is well observed by Graf, *Magic*, pp. 21-22.

something negative like 'quack, charlatan',[13] still very much as in Heraclitus. The connection with the begging priests also occurs in *On the Sacred Disease* (*c.* 2). This treatise on epilepsy is ascribed to Hippocrates but generally dated to the end of the fifth century or even to the beginning of the fourth century; it is also the first pamphlet-length attack on magic in our sense of the word.[14] According to the anonymous author, those people who first called the disease 'sacred', were the sort of people who are 'now *magoi* and purifiers and begging priests and humbugs. These are exactly the people who claim to be very pious and to possess a superior knowledge'. In a derogatory manner, the *magoi* are again combined with begging priests and other private religious practitioners, as in Sophocles.[15]

The connection of *magoi* with magic starts to appear not in philosophy but in tragedy. Photius (s.v. *magous*) mentions that *mageia* occurred in the tragedians,[16] but until now the word has not turned up with any certainty in the available evidence.[17] Our first example of *magos* occurs in Aeschylus's *Persians* (472 BC). In line 317, a roll-call of the dead Persian commanders, the messenger to the Persian queen mentions *Magos Arabos*, 'Magos the Arabian'. From Elamite tablets found in Persepolis we now know that the name **Magus* was not uncommon among the Persians,[18] but Aeschylus's combination of Magos with Arabia also shows that he did not have a clue about the nature of the Persian Magi. And indeed, the frequent attempts at identifying Persian religious elements in his *Persae* have not been very persuasive.[19]

The situation is different with the later Euripides. In his *Suppliants* (1110) of *ca.* 424-420 BC, Iphis says how much he hates those who try to prolong their life with *mageumata*, 'charms, spells'; in the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (*ca.* 414 BC) the messenger relates how Iphigeneia prepared the sacrifice of Orestes, 'while she sang barbarous songs like a *magos*' (*mageuousa*: 1338), and in the *Orestes* (1497) of 408 BC a Phrygian slave ascribes the escape of Helen to 'black magic or the tricks of *magoi* or thefts by the gods'.

Towards the end of the fifth century we find the 'two arts of *goêteia* and *mageia*' in Gorgias's apology for Helen (*c.* 10). Although the passage is not

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[13] Rigsby, 'Teiresias', p. 113, suggests 'kingmaker' and is followed by Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, p. 194, note 107, but refuted by Dawe, *Sophocles*, pp. 32-33.

[14] For a recent study with edition, see Roselli, *Ippocrate: La malattia sacra*.

[15] For the begging priests see Stengel, 'Agyrtes 2', pp. 915-977; Fraenkel, *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*, vol. 3, p. 590f.

[16] Photius, s.v. *magous* = *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Adespota fr. 592 Snell-Kannicht.

[17] It has been suspected in Aeschylus F **36b.2 II.7 Radt by Cantarella, *I nuovi frammenti*, p. 21.

[18] Mayrhofer, *Onomastica*, p. 187; R. Schmitt, *Die Iranier-Namen*, pp. 38-39.

[19] See the refutation by Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, pp. 86-93.

crystal clear, it is the first certain mention of *mageia* in our texts. The second example occurs in the already mentioned *On the Sacred Disease*. As we have seen, the anonymous author connects *magoi* with purifiers, and the same combination recurs when the author somewhat later proceeds with the rhetorical question: 'if somebody is able to remove the disease by purifying and *mageuôn*...' (*c.* 3). However, the latter term comes close to our 'magic' when the author rejects as human trickery the feat of a man bringing down the moon '*mageuôn* and sacrificing' (*c.* 4).[20] Finally, at the end of his work he once again stresses that a real healer 'would not need to resort to purifications and *magiê* (*v.l.*: *mageumatôn*) and all that kind of charlatanism' (*c.* 18). It is clear that in the eyes of the author *magoi* are people who practise healing techniques comparable to those of purifiers and begging priests, that is, to people of an inferior theology and an inferior cosmology.[21]

We have three negative examples left. In his *Republic* (572e), which for our purpose may be dated to the first half of the fourth century,[22] Plato speaks about the son of a democratic man and his encouragement towards lawlessness by his father and relatives: 'when these dread *magoi* and tyrant-makers come to realize that they have no hope of controlling the youth in any other way, they devise to engender in him a sort of passion etc.' Less pronounced is his statement in the *Statesman* (280e), where we hear of the '*mageutikê* (sc. *technê*) regarding spells to ward off evils', but considering Plato's rejection of magic, it can hardly be interpreted in a positive manner; still, the passage is interesting, since it seems to be the first to speak of magic as a *technê*,[23] an expression which will later become especially popular in Latin.[24] Finally, in 330 BC Aeschines (3.137) denounces Demosthenes as a '*magos* and sorcerer' as no scoundrel before him has ever been.

Until now I have focused on the more dubious *magoi*, at least from a Greek point of view, but concomitant with them we also hear about authentic Magi, the hereditary technologists of the sacred from western Iran. These were probably mentioned first in Greek literature by Xanthos of Lydia, an area with a strong Persian presence.[25] Xanthos was an older contemporary of Herodo-

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[20] For the trick, see Hill, 'The Thessalian Trick'; Marzullo, 'Aristoph. *Nub.* 749-755'; Gordon, 'Imagining Greek and Roman Magic', pp. 223-224. For more or less contemporary representations, see M. Schmidt, 'Sorceresses', p. 61.

[21] Cf. Lloyd, *Magic*, pp. 15-28; Graf, *Magic*, pp. 30-32.

[22] For this complicated question, see now Neils, 'The Dramatic Date'.

[23] Note now also its occurrence in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 41.981 and, probably, in the papyrus *PLitPalauRib* 26 a7, b3, cf. Stramaglia, 'Innamoramento', p. 77.

[24] Clerc, *Homines Magici*, p. 154.

[25] Sekunda, 'Achaemenid colonization', pp. 7-29; Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, vol. 1, pp. 721-725.

tus,[26] who had dedicated a part of his work on Lydian history to the *magoi*, which was later called *Magika*. In the two extant fragments he mixes fact and fiction by relating that the *magoi* practised incest (true) and wife-swapping (untrue),[27] but he is the first Greek to mention Zarathustra,[28] if in that curious and still unexplained Greek form of Zoroaster.[29] According to Momigliano, 'Xanthus also referred to the Magi without apparently connecting them with Zoroaster'.[30] Although our evidence is much too fragmentary for such a conclusion, his younger contemporary Ktesias certainly seems to have called Zoroaster a Magus.[31]

Xanthos's *magoi* do not look like 'charlatans', and neither do they, on the whole, in the work of Herodotus, who is still our best source on the position and nature of the earlier *magoi*. It is striking that the 'father of history' nowhere feels the need to introduce the *magoi*, but evidently presupposes familiarity with them on the part of his readers. According to Herodotus (1.107-8, 120, 128; 7.19) they were specialists in the interpretation of dreams and solar eclipses (7.37). They were also indispensable for libations (7.43) and for sacrifices (7.113-4, 191), where they sang a theogony (1.132). Moreover, they observed the rites of exposure and killed noxious creatures (1.140). At least one of these characteristics recurs in the early fifth-century Elamite tablets found in Persepolis, where Magi receive wine for their exclusively Magian *lan* ritual.[32]

It is only once that Herodotus (7.114) seems to connect the Magi with magic. That is when he uses the term *pharmakeusantes*, 'hocus-pocus', for their ritual in his report of the horse sacrifice by the Magi during the Persian crossing of the Thracian river Strymon. The verb derives from *pharmakon*, 'philtre, medicin', which produced not only the male *pharmakeus*, 'sorcerer', but also the female *pharmakis*.[33] In a subtle article, the Swiss archaeologist Margot Schmidt has pointed out that sorceresses were absent from the citizen women of classical Athens, since they lacked the social space to perform sorcery; whenever they are mentioned they are foreigners, such as Medea or the Thessalian sorceresses of the *Clouds* (749).[34] This Athenian social condition,

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[26] See now Fowler, 'Herodotus', p. 64; note also the discussion in *FGrH* 1001.
[27] For the incest, see De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, pp. 424-432.
[28] Xanthos *FGrH* 765 F 31-2; cf. Kingsley, 'Meetings with Magi.
[29] For possible explanations of the form, see most recently Gershevitch, 'Approaches'; R. Schmitt, 'Onomastica Iranica Platonica', pp. 93-98.
[30] Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*, p. 142.
[31] Ktesias *FGrH* 690 F 1; Kephalion *FGrH* 93 F 1 with the commentary by Jacoby.
[32] Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, vol. 1, p. 258; Handley-Schachler, 'The *lan* Ritual'.
[33] For the terms, see Artelt, *Studien*, pp. 38-96.
[34] M. Schmidt, 'Sorceresses', p. 60; also Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 79-95.

which may well have been prevalent in the whole of Greece, will also be the reason why both *magos* and *goês* (below) lacked female equivalents.[35] Considering the etymology, the term *pharmakis* was probably once limited to a woman who collected herbs for magic,[36] but gradually it must have absorbed (or: been ascribed) qualities from the male sorcerers.

After this brief excursion into Greek gender problems, let us now return to male magicians. Some of Herodotus's information about the Magi recurs in Xenophon's *Cyropaedy*, where they have to sing hymns to all the gods at sunrise (8.1.23) and to chose the gods to whom to sacrifice (8.1.23, 3.11). From Xenophon's younger contemporaries, Dino mentions that the Magi were interpreters of dreams (*FGrH* 690 F 10), and Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 64), in perhaps the most interesting piece of information of it all, that the Magi taught the resurrection.[37]

In addition to these historians, it is especially the philosophers who were interested in the Magi. Plato's pupil Heraclides Ponticus wrote a dialogue *Zoroaster* (fr. 68 Wehrli^2), which, presumably, featured his Magus who had circumnavigated Africa before visiting the court of Gelo at Syracuse (fr. 69-70 Wehrli^2). According to Aristotle (fr. 6 Rose^3), the Magi were older than the Egyptians, and in his *Metaphysics* (1091b8) he included them among those who hold that 'good' is the source of all; other details can be found in his pupils Eudemus (fr. 89 Wehrli^2), Clearchus (fr. 13 Wehrli^2) and Aristoxenus (fr. 13 Wehrli^2). This Peripatetic interest makes it even more likely that the almost certainly spurious Platonic dialogue *Alcibiades Maior* has to be assigned to the same milieu, since it mentions that Persian educators teach their youths 'the *mageia* of Zoroaster, the son of Horomadzos: that is the cult of the gods' (1.122a). The explanation is clearly apologetic, just as Dino (*FGrH* 690 F 5) had already denied that the Magi practised 'black magic' (*goêtikên mageian*).

Having looked at all the testimonies regarding Magi and *magoi* in the fifth and fourth centuries, we can now draw the following conclusion: in tragedy, rhetoric and earlier philosophy, *magos* is a term of abuse, whereas historians and Aristotelian philosophers tend to take the Magi seriously. The two traditions converge, so to speak, in the late fourth century when the second group asserts the claims of the 'real' Magi against the abusive interpretation of the first group. Moreover, the abusive usage of *magos* is hardly attested before the

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[35] *Magos* is not used for females until the Roman period, cf. *Anthologia Palatina* 5.16; Lucian, *Asinus* 4; Aesop. 117, ed. Halm; *Etymologicum Magnum* 103, 18, ed. Gaisford. Latin *maga* first appears in Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus* 523, 526.

[36] For women using herbs in magic, see *Odyssey* 4.220 (Helen), 10.213 (Kirke); Sophocles F 534 Radt (Medea); Melanippides *PGM* 757 Page (Danaids); Apollonius of Rhodes 4.50-54.

[37] De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, p. 224-225; *idem*, 'Shadow and Resurrection'; Bremmer, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 47-50.

420s BC in Athens, when we suddenly start to find a whole cluster of references.

This development has not been taken into account in the two most recent explanations for the semantic development from Magus to magician. According to Peter Kingsley the Magi were always magicians in the eyes of the Greeks, since they controlled the weather and knew how to return from the dead.[38] However, attempts at controlling the weather were perfectly normal in Greek religion,[39] and Magical returns from the dead are not attested before Roman times.[40]

Fritz Graf, on the other hand, has looked for an explanation in Tylorian terms. In his *Primitive Culture*, Edward Tylor (1832-1917), one of the founding fathers of social anthropology and the history of religion, observes that many cultures called their neighbours 'magician', such as the southern Scandinavians did with the Lapps and Finns or, we may add, the Romans with the Marsi whom they, perhaps rightly, suspected of snake-charming.[41] However, like Marcel Mauss (1872-1950) in his classic study of magic, Tylor also observed that these neighbours are usually less developed.[42] Now there can be little doubt that the Greeks in general, and the Athenians in particular, had developed a rhetoric in which the Persians were 'the Other', the opponents whose despotism, slavishness, luxury and cruelty were the exact opposite of all the virtues of the Greeks.[43] However, at the same time they had been highly impressed by the Persians and in many spheres of life busily copied them.[44] One can thus hardly say that they looked down on Persia in the same way in which southern Scandinavians once viewed Lapps and Finns or Romans the Marsi. Although the element of 'the Other' may well have played a role, there is, I suggest, also a more concrete reason as to why the Greeks came to consider the Magi as magicians.

Before coming to that reason, let us first look at the question as to when the Greeks will have first witnessed Magi. According to (Pseudo?-)Aristotle

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[38] Kingsley, 'Greeks, Shamans and Magi', and his interesting but usually over-confident *Ancient Philosophy*, pp. 225-226.

[39] Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, pp. 146-153; Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 76-82; Fiedler, *Studien*; Nilsson, *Geschichte*, pp. 116-117; Blöcker, 'Wetterzauber'.

[40] Lucian, *Necyomantia* 6; Gignoux, *Les quatre inscriptions*; Bremmer, 'Magic in the *Apocryphal Acts*' in this volume.

[41] Tillhagen, 'Finnen und Lappen'. Marsi: Robert, *Opera minora*, pp. 934-938; Piccaluga, 'I Marsi', pp. 207-210; Gaiffier, *Recueil*, chapt. IX; Dench, *From Barbarians to New Men*, pp. 159-166; Horsfall, *Vergil*, p. 490.

[42] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. 1, pp. 102-104; Mauss, 'Théorie générale', pp. 26-27 (= Brain, p. 31).

[43] Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, pp. 56-100 and *passim*.

[44] See now the splendid overview by Miller, *Athens*; Gauer, 'Die Aegaeis'.

(fr. 32 Rose[3]) a Syrian Magus had predicted a violent death to Socrates, but this anecdote is just as untrustworthy as Seneca's report that Magi were present in Athens at the moment of Plato's death and had sacrificed to him – a story which looks like an invention by his later followers, who even claimed that Magi had come to Athens to learn from Plato.[45] Although these notices are unreliable, the Ionians must already have had opportunities to see Magi, who probably also accompanied Xerxes in AD 480, in the later sixth century. As in his *Acharnians* (91-122: 425 BC) Aristophanes parodies an embassy scene which assumes knowledge of a Persian embassy on the part of his audience,[46] Magi may also have been intermittently observed during such Persian visits in the course of the fifth century.[47] The fact that teachings of the Magi about the gods, the soul and demons become increasingly visible in the course of the fifth century is another indication of close Greek contacts with their Oriental neigbours.[48]

However this may be, we move onto firmer ground with a different notice. It is now forty years ago that in Derveni, a few kilometers from modern Saloniki, Greek excavators discovered the completely charred top of a papyrus roll on the funeral pyre in a tomb of about 300 BC. More than 200 fragments were recovered which together make up more than 24 columns of text. The content proves to be an allegorical commentary on an Orphic theogony in terms of Presocratic physics, of which the original text must have been written around 420-400 BC.[49] The commentary constitutes the largest part of the extant papyrus (20 columns), but it is preceded by a much shorter theological introduction (6 columns). This part was already known, but more fragments have been published in 1997 and they, rather unexpectedly, reveal the activity of *magoi*.[50] In what is now column VI we read:

> prayers and sacrifices assuage the souls, and the incantation (*epôidê*) of the *magoi* is able to change the *daimones* when they get in the way. *Daimones* in the way are enemies to souls. This is why the *magoi* perform the sacrifice, just as if they were

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[45] Seneca, *Epistula* 58.31; cf. Boyancé, *Le culte des muses*, p. 255, note 3; Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena*, p. 15: 6.20-2.

[46] Chiasson, 'Pseudartabas'.

[47] Embassies could make a lasting impression, as is well illustrated by the visit of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos to the Council of Ferrara of AD 1438, which is often reflected in contemporary paintings, cf. Miller, *Athens and Persia*, p. 90; add Ginzburg, *Indagine*, pp. 35-37, 82-84.

[48] See the rich exposition by Burkert, *Da Omero ai Magi*, pp. 87-111.

[49] Laks and Most, *Studies*, p. 56, note 56 (Ch. Kahn: *ca.* 400 BC), p. 138 (D. Sider, who wonders whether this is not even too early) and p. 174, note 32 (W. Burkert: *ca.* 420-400 BC). I use the translation by Laks and Most, *ibidem*, pp. 9-22.

[50] Tsantsanoglou, 'The First Columns'.

> paying a penalty (...) And on the offerings they pour water and milk, from which they also make the libations (...) Initiates make preliminary sacrifices to the Eumenides in the same way as the *magoi* do. For the Eumenides are souls.

There are many interesting aspects to this fragment,[51] but for our purpose we will only discuss three of them. First, it seems now reasonable to assume that at the end of the fifth century wandering *magoi* (be it Persian or Hellenised ones) were present in the Greek world precisely at the moment we find the first references to 'magical' *magoi*. Unfortunately, we cannot say exactly where these private *magoi* practised, since nothing is known about the authorship or place of composition of the original text. Many possibilities have been canvassed, from Stesimbrotus to Prodicus, but none is really convincing.[52] The fact that the dialect is Ionic with an Attic overlay might suggest some connection with Athens,[53] but a recent study of the dialect of the mythographic fragments shows that at the end of the fifth century Ionic writers, who may have had no personal connection with Attica, already started to adopt Attic forms.[54] In any case, more than a century later the Athenian historian Philochorus did indeed read the commentary.[55]

Secondly, whereas libations of milk are attested for the *Avesta* and recur in Strabo's description of the Cappadocian Magi,[56] water seems to have been completely absent from Zoroastrian libations. Geo Widengren has compared the beaker with water in the Mithraic mysteries, but none of his many examples mentions Zoroastrian libations of water.[57] In other words, the author (or his Magi) must have adapted their rites to those of the Greeks, who actually did libate with water.[58] Thirdly, the *magoi* use incantations: the term used,

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[51] In addition to Tsantsanoglou, 'The First Columns', see now for a first discussion of the new text by Henrichs, 'Dromena', pp. 33-35.

[52] The various suggestions have been listed and refuted by Janko, 'The Physicist', whose own suggestion, Diagoras, is hardly more persuasive than those refuted by him.

[53] Janko, 'The Physicist', p. 62.

[54] Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography*, vol. 1, pp. xliv-xlv.

[55] Obbink, 'A Quotation'.

[56] Strabo 15.3.14 with the detailed discussion by De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, pp. 139-142. For Cappadocian Magi, note also *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* 50, no. 19 and *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor*, vol. 2, no. 404.

[57] Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, pp. 181-184, followed by Henrichs, 'Dromena', p. 46; for water in the Mithraeic mysteries, see now also Gordon, *Image and Value*, VI, pp. 122-124.

[58] Graf, 'Milch, Honig und Wein'; Henrichs, 'The Eumenides'.

epôidê, is typical for a charm and as such already occurs in Homer;[59] it also fits the frequent references to the singing of the Magi.[60]

The activity of these *magoi* may well have given rise to a negative valuation for two reasons in particular. First, the incomprehensibility of their Avestan will have suggested *voces magicae* and possibly influenced Euripides's picture of the 'barbarous songs' of Iphigeneia (above).[61] Secondly, unlike Greek priests the Magi customarily whispered their Avestan and other ritual texts in a very low voice: Prudentius's *Zoroastreos susurros* (*Apotheosis* 494).[62] This whispering must have made the activities of Magi look like 'magical' rites in the eyes of the ancients, since murmuring was closely associated with magic by both Greeks and Romans.[63] In addition to them being 'the other', there are then also two very concrete reasons as to why (all?) Greeks will have looked at the Persian Magi as sorcerers. Although the Greeks must have seen Magi before, the available evidence strongly suggests that familiarity with wandering Magi became much stronger in the final decades of the fifth century, as is also illustrated by (directly or indirectly) the Derveni papyrus. The areas where this development took place must have been Ionia and Athens, exactly where we would have suspected the possible presence of Magi.

Now in religion, as of course in economics, it is not enough to prove a 'supply', but there must also be a 'demand' from religious 'consumers'. Fortunately, this 'demand' is well attested in late fifth-century Athens, where we witness a growing dissatisfaction with traditional religion and an increasing interest in private cults.[64] The presence of privately practising Magi perfectly fits this development.

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[59] Lanata, *Medicina magica*, pp. 46-51; Boyancé, *Le culte*, pp. 33-59; Furley, 'Besprechung und Behandlung'.

[60] Herodotus 7.191; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.1.23; Curtius Rufus 3.3.9, 5.1.22; Catullus 90.5; Strabo 15.3.14; Dio Chrysostom 36.39, 42; Pausanias 5.27.5. For an excellent discussion, see De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, pp. 362-364.

[61] On the *voces magicae*, see now Brashear, 'The Greek Magical Papyri', pp. 3429-3438; Versnel, 'Die Poetik'.

[62] As is frequently attested, cf. Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, vol. 2, pp. 112-113, 245, 285-286; Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, pp. 249-250; Greenfield, '*rtyn mgws*'. For the Near Eastern background of this custom, see Grayson, 'Murmuring in Mesopotamia'.

[63] Admittedly, our first Greek examples are only Hellenistic, but they are so widespread and persistent, that it seems hyper-critical not to assume the same for classical times, cf. Theocritus 2.11, 62: Orpheus, *Lithica* 320; Lucian, *Necyomantia* 7; Achilles Tatius 2.7; Heliodorus 6.14.4, Cf. Soverini, 'Hermes'; Moscadi, '"Murmur"'; Van Mal-Maeder, *Apulée*, p. 70; Valette-Cagnac, *La lecture*, pp. 42-47; Van der Horst, *Hellenism-Judaism-Christianity*, pp. 300-302.

[64] Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, pp. 84-97.

The development did not mean that from that moment on *magos/mageia* became the ruling designation for the area of magic, witchcraft and sorcery. The Greeks had already the terms *goês/goêteia*,[65] which continued to remain popular next to *magos/mageia*, perhaps even more popular, since Demosthenes, for example, uses *goês*, not *magos*, in his insults.[66] As Greek linguistic purists of the Roman period considered *goês* 'more Attic' than *magos*,[67] *mageia* and cognates never became really popular in later Greek culture. The Romans lacked this prejudice and thus used *magia*, *magicus* and *magus/maga* much more frequently than the Greeks ever did. However, the status of the Persian Magi always remained a positive factor in the valuation of the term *magos/magus*, as was still the case in early modern Europe,[68] and later 'magicians' therefore called themselves not *goês* or *pharmakeus*, but *magos/magus*.[69]

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[65] Delling, '*goês*'; Burkert, '*Goês*'; Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, pp. 69-70; Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 13-14, 29-31.
[66] Demosthenes 18.276; 19.102, 109; 29.32.
[67] Phrynichus 56.8, de Borries.
[68] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 215-216, 232, 247.
[69] Except for the original Appendix which now appears at the end of this book, this chapter is the abbreviated, corrected and updated version of my 'The Birth of the Term Magic'. For information and comments I would like to thank Matthew Dickie, Peter van Minnen and Herman Roodenburg. Bob Fowler most helpfully criticised various versions and corrected the English.

MAGIC IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Florentino García Martínez

In the recently published *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Philip Alexander begins the article on 'Magic and Magical Texts' as follows:

> Though the Qumran community knew of the biblical prohibition against magic, both sectarian and nonsectarian texts from the Judean Desert prove that, like most of their contemporaries, they believed in and practiced certain types of magic. These magic and magical texts concern two areas: exorcism, healing and protection against demons (4Q510-511, 4Q560 and 11Q11), and divination, augury, and prediction of the future, specifically through physiognomy (4Q186, 4Q561), zodiology and brontology (4Q311), and astrology (4Q186, 4Q318).[1]

In relation to the subject of this volume it is tempting to analyse these magical texts as witnesses of a process of change in the approach to magic within the Jewish world.

A great distance indeed lies between the blanket condemnation of magic in all its forms in the Old Testament ('You shall not practice divination' [*Lev* 19:26]; 'You shall not let a sorceress live' [*Exod* 22:17]) and the Jewish reputation, among Pagans, as practitioners of magic in the mishnaic epoch. Juvenal, for example, laughs at the Jews' interpretation of dreams: *Implet et illa manum, sed parcius; aere minuto qualiacumque voles Iudaei somnia vendunt.*[2] And Lucian of Samosata mocks those fools who turn to Jewish incantations to be cured.[3] The distance is even greater when we consider some Jewish magical manuals such as *Sefer ha-Razim* or *Harba de Mosheh*, not to mention the 'Hebrew Spell' of the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris (PGM iv), or the *Testament of Solomon*.[4]

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[1] Alexander, 'Magic and Magical Texts', p. 502.

[2] Juvenal, *Saturae* VI.542-547: 'She, too, fills her palm, but more sparingly, for a Jew tell you dreams of any kind you please for the minutest of coins' (Ramsay, transl., *Juvenal and Persius*).

[3] Lucian, *Tragopodagra* 171-173: 'Some purge themselves with sacred medicine, Others are mocked by chants impostors sell, And other fools fall for the spells of Jews' (Macleod, transl., *Lucian*).

[4] See the contributions of Sarah Iles Johnston and Jan R. Veenstra in this volume.

Yet I will not use the paradigm of change, tempting as it is, for though I believe that it can describe the facts to us, it cannot help us explain the reasons for this changed view of magic, nor will it aid us in understanding the significant differences between the form used to express this magic in the Qumran texts, and the way it appears later in the Jewish Aramaic magic bowls, the amulets and magical texts of the Cairo Genizah, or the practices of the Hasidey Askenaz, who authored the *Sefer Raziel*.[5] Furthermore, I am convinced that these Qumran texts offer us precisely the opportunity to understand the reasons for the change and for the development in Qumran of a magic perfectly integrated into the world-view of the community.

The magic revealed by these texts is not the magic of the marketplace and cannot be dismissed as an accidental expression of popular religion. Both types of the magic Alexander discovers at Qumran are learned magic: the first type (exorcism) is clearly based upon the biblical text and is expressed within the dualistic world-view of the community; the second (divination) is a direct consequence of the community's determinism. Both forms are thus perfectly adapted to the needs of the community.

The biblical, blanket interdiction of magic was very well known at Qumran. In the final section of the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 60: 16-21)[6] we find a slightly reworked version of *Deut* 18: 10-11:

> When you enter the land which I am going to give you, you shall not learn to do the abominations of those peoples. Among you shall not be found anyone who makes his son or his daughter pass through fire, anyone who practices divination, astrologers, sorcerers, wizards, anyone who performs incantations, anyone who consults a spirit or oracles or anyone who questions the dead; because all those who do these things are an abomination to me.

The biblical interdiction is somehow accentuated here, because it is presented as a direct order from God, and is expressed in the first person. The *Temple Scroll* changes the indirect speech of the biblical texts – which is in the third person – into a direct speech in the first person, with God speaking directly, thus making the prohibition on all forms of magic a direct order of the divinity. In addition, this text, with its list of forbidden activities, gives us a practical definition of 'magic', including the two categories (divination and incantation) into which the texts indicated by Alexander fall.

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[5] Or, for that matter, the magical rituals that contemporary Hasidim from Jerusalem put to practice (according to the Israeli newspapers) shortly before Yitzhak Rabin was killed.

[6] Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, vol. 3, plate 75. Hebrew text and translation in García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, p. 1283.

Equally well known at Qumran was the Enochic tradition's interdiction of magic, where the origin of evil is attributed to the fallen angels, who not only consorted with the daughters of men but taught them all sorts of magic. No less than ten fragmentary copies of the different parts of *1 Enoch* have been found at Qumran, including five that contain remnants of the *Book of the Watchers* (4Q201-202, 204-206).[7] On 4Q201 ii 13-15 and iii 1-5[8] we can read:

> They and their chiefs all took for themselves women, from all they chose, and they began to penetrate them, to be defiled by them, and to teach them sorcery, incantations and the cutting of roots and to explain herbs ... Semihaza taught incantations, and (how) to cut roots; Hermoni taught (how) to undo magic spells, sorcery, magic and skills; Baraq'el taught the signs of the shafts; Kokab'el taught the signs of the stars; Zeq'el taught the signs of the lighting; 'Ar'teqof taught the signs of the earth; Shamshi'el taught the signs of the sun; Sahari'el taught the signs of the moon. And all began to reveal secrets to their wives, and because of this doing men expired from the earth, and the outcry went right up to the heaven.

Aside from the emphasis on the biblical interdiction against all 'magic', and in spite of the use of the Watchers' story to explain the origin of evil on the earth, a good number of other texts – both sectarian and nonsectarian – show us how this forbidden 'magic' was adapted to the needs of a group: Incantations, exorcisms and apotropaic prayers were used to defend the sons of light from the forces of darkness within the cosmic conflict in which they were locked. In this group, the predetermined future had to be ascertained before the aspirant-member was allowed to join it.

The main Qumran texts which attest to one or another form of magic are presented here serially, without regard to the chronological date of the manuscripts, and are grouped in two general categories: literary texts with positive allusions to magical practices, and magical texts in the strict sense.

Allusions to magical practices in literary texts

We begin our inquiry by listing some allusions to these practices (exorcisms and divination) in literary texts that have nothing to do with magic, but which *en passant* allude to the activities directly condemned by the biblical

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[7] Edited by Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, plates I-XXIV; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 1, pp. 398-429.

[8] Completed with 4Q202 ii 18-20 and iii 1-6; the text closely corresponds to *1 Enoch* 7: 1-2 and 8: 3-4.

text quoted in the *Temple Scroll*, or to those activities which were thought to be the result of the Watchers' instruction to the women. These allusions are not overtly clear, but they form a first indication of what we can expect to find in more explicit texts.

I will not comment on the book of *Tobit* – which provides the most complex and interesting example of magical practices in a narrative context – because the four Aramaic (4Q196-199) and one Hebrew (4Q200) fragmentary copies found at Qumran do not add details to the story as it is known from the two Greek and the Old Latin versions.[9] In this text, the protagonist, aided by the angel Raphael, expels the demon Asmodeus from the bridal chamber through a combination of prayer and magical practice (the burning of parts of the fish's heart and liver on incense, using the smoke of the fish to chase the demon); later he uses the gall of the same fish to cure his blind father.[10]

A clear reference to some sort of 'magic' is made in the composition known as the *Prayer of Nabonidus*. This is an Aramaic composition found in Cave 4 (4Q242). It is closely related to the stories told in the biblical book of *Daniel*, yet it lacks many of the legendary elements which colour *Daniel* 4, while it preserves some authentic elements of the original story, such as the name of Nabonidus and the name of the oasis of Teiman in the Arabian desert, the location of the King's exile.[11] The first four lines of the text read:

> Words of the prayer which Nabonidus, King of the land of Babylon, the great king, prayed when he was afflicted by a malignant inflammation, by decree of the God Most High, in Teiman. I, Nabonidus, was afflicted by a malignant inflammation for seven years, and was banished far from men, until I prayed to the God Most High and an exorcist forgave my sin. He was a Jew from the exiles, who said to me ... (4Q242 1-3 1-4)

Following the *incipit* of the composition, we have a summary of the facts in autobiographical form: sickness of the king, retreat to Teiman, prayer to the true God, and forgiveness of sin by an exorcist. The text further specifies that for seven years the king prayed to all sorts of gods to no avail, and that the action of the exorcist – the forgiveness of his sins – also signified the

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[9] Edited by Fitzmyer, *DJD* 19, pp. 41-76, plates I-X; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 1, pp. 382-399.

[10] See Kollmann, 'Gottliche Offenbarung', pp. 293-297; Moore, *Tobit*.

[11] The text has been edited by Collins, *DJD* 22, pp. 83-93, plate VI; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 1, pp. 486-89. Since the preliminary edition by Milik (1965), this text has been the object of many detailed studies. See Lange and Sicker, 'Gattung und Quellenwert', pp. 31-34.

cure of the king. The key elements are, of course, the prayer of the King and the intervention of the Jew who forgives the sins and who is described in the text as a גזר, a *gazer*.[12] The term is known in Aramaic and used to designate a 'diviner', 'soothsayer', and appears, for example, in the list of seers, fortune-tellers, astrologers, magicians, etc., who are incapable of interpreting the king's dreams in the book of Daniel (*Dan* 2: 27; 4: 4; 5: 7,11). My translation of the word *gazer* as 'exorcist' has been questioned,[13] but in view of the connection between sickness and demons, and the fact that this *gazer*'s function is to 'forgive the sin', and that this action results in the curing of the king, I believe that my translation is perfectly appropriate.[14]

In any case, our text presents the action of this *gazer* in a positive way, without any indication that this profession (whatever it was, diviner, soothsayer or exorcist) could be considered as forbidden for a Jew; on the contrary, its practice led to the conversion of the King and his acknowledgement of the true God.

Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the text does not allow us to ascertain which way the *gazer* acts. The following text, a few lines from another Aramaic composition found in Cave 1, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, provide us perhaps with a glimpse of the procedure.[15]

> When Hirqanos heard Lot's words, he went and said to the king: All these plagues and punishments with which the king my Lord is afflicted and punished are on account of Sarai, Abram's wife. They should return Sarai, then, to Abram, her husband and this plague and the spirit of purulent evils will cease to afflict you. The king called me and said to me: What have you done to me with regard to Sarai? You told me: She is my sister, when she is your wife; so that I took her for myself for a consort. Here is your wife; take her away! Go! Depart from all the cities of Egypt! But now pray for me and for my household so that this evil spirit will be banished from us. I prayed that he might be cured and laid my hands upon his head. The plague was removed from him; the evil spirit was banished from him and he recovered. The king got up and gave me on that day many gifts... (1*QapGen* 20: 24-30)

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[12] Lange and Sicker ('Gattung und Quellenwert', pp. 9-10) prefer to read the word as גיר with the meaning of 'Schutzbürger', but this reading seems to be palaeographically excluded.

[13] Alexander, 'Wrestling against Wickedness', p. 329, note 18; Collins, in *DJD* 22, p. 89, opts for a more neutral term, 'diviner'.

[14] García Martínez, 'The Prayer of Nabonidus'.

[15] Cf. Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 1, pp. 28-49. This text has also been intensively studied, but the standard commentary remains Fitzmyer, *A Genesis Apocryhon*.

The story, retold and embellished with many new details, is that of *Gen* 12: 11-20. The King of Egypt, who has taken the wife of Abraham in exchange for many goods, becomes sick and is forced to dismiss her. The narrative of our text, intended to exculpate Abraham and to assure the reader that the Pharaoh Zoan has not touched Sarai, adds many new details to the story (a dream of Abraham, which exculpates him for his lying; a first gift of many goods because Abraham reads from the books of Enoch to the Egyptians; a lengthy description of Sarai's beauty; a prayer by Abraham that Sarai be preserved from defilement; the decisive intervention of Abraham to heal the Pharaoh; and the giving of goods as a result of this intervention).[16] But the elements which interest us here are the specific identification of the origin of the plague – caused by an evil spirit – which affects the Pharaoh, and the way Abraham cures the Pharaoh.

In the lines preceding those just quoted, the results of the prayer Abraham makes for Sarai's preservation are expressed thus:

> 'That night, the God Most High sent him a chastising spirit, to afflict him and all the members of his household. And he was unable to approach her, let alone to have sexual intercourse with her, in spite of being with her for two years. At the end of the two years, the punishments and plagues, against him and against all the members of his household, increased and intensified. And he sent for all the wise men of Egypt to be called, and all the wizards as well as all the healers of Egypt (to see) whether they could heal him of that disease, (him) and the members of his household. However, all the healers and wizards and all the wise men were unable to rise up to heal him. For the spirit attacked all of them and they fled' (1*QapGen* 20: 16-21).

Here there is no doubt of the direct connection between demons (the evil spirit) and the sickness which afflicts the Pharaoh; the one is the origin and the other the cause. In fact, the evil spirit and the sickness are practically identified, since the prayer's expected effect is expressed by the Pharaoh (who is freed from the spirit) and by Abraham (who has the Pharaoh cured of the sickness).

Equally clear is the way Abraham carries out the operation: he prays, of course, but he also lays his hands upon the Pharaoh's head. He is thus clearly presented as an exorcist in spite of the explicit interdiction in *Deuteronomy*. If the double elements of this text (praying and laying on the

[16] On the structure and genre of the whole passage, see Lange, '1QapGen XIX 10-XX 32'.

hands) serve as an indication, we may assume that a similar procedure was involved in 4Q242.

My third example of allusions to magical practices in a non-magical literary text is taken from a very fragmentary manuscript, of which possibly three copies have been preserved. However, it is also possible that the three manuscripts – 4Q375, 4Q376[17] and 1Q29[18] – represent two related compositions on similar topics. The first manuscript (4Q375) discusses the procedure one should follow when a false prophet appears, and it is clearly based on the discussions of the topic in *Deut* 13 and 18. But the test imposed upon this false prophet in 4Q375 is not that of *Deut* 13 (conformity with revealed teaching) nor that of *Deut* 18 (his word has no effect), but a rather complex procedure in which the prophet is brought before the High Priest. The High Priest performs some sacrifices similar to the sacrifices for the Day of Atonement, enters afterwards into the Ark of the Testimony in order to study, and then comes out to decide on the case. The second manuscript (4Q376), which is only a thin strip of leather with the remnants of three columns, apparently continues with the description of the same ritual, and shows how the decision is achieved: through the oracular use of the Urim and Thummim, the two stones engraved with the names of the sons of Israel, which were on the breastplate of the High Priest.

> Col. I ... and before the deputy of the anointed priest ... a young bullock from the herd and a ram ... for the Urim.
> Col. II they will provide you with light and he will go out with it with tongues of fire; the stone of the left side which is at its left side will shine to the eyes of all the assembly until the priest finishes speaking. And after it (the cloud ?) has been removed ... and you shall keep and do all that he tells you.
> Col. III in accordance with all this judgement. And if there were in the camp the Prince of the whole congregation, and ... his enemies, and Israel is with him, or if they march to a city to besiege it or any affair which ... to the Prince ... the field is far away (4Q376 i-iii)

In spite of the fragmentary state of the text, the mention of the Urim and the following description of the working of the left-hand-side stone (shining on the face of all the assembly when the priest is speaking) left little doubt about the procedure followed, a procedure which bestows divine confirmation on the Priest's decision. In addition, the copy of this composition pre-

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[17] See Strugnell, *DJD* 19, pp. 111-136, plate XV; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 740-743.

[18] See Milik, *DJD* 1, pp. 130-132, plate XXX; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 1, pp. 108-111.

served in Cave 1 (1Q29) mentions the right-hand stone when the priest goes out, as well as three tongues of fire, but we are not able to reconstruct the whole sequence. Nevertheless, it seems clear that this 'oracle' of the shining stones is part of the procedure to decide of what sort the self-proclaimed prophet is, and probably also to decide on how to proceed during the eschatological battles, when the Prince of the community (a clear messianic title in the Scrolls) will lead the war against all the sons of darkness.

This oracular shining of the Urim and Thummim is not attested in the biblical text, of course, but we do have an interesting text by Josephus which testifies to the tradition of the shining of the stones and their use *in re militari*. In his *Jewish Antiquities* 3 § 215-218, he says:

> Well, of those stones which, as I said before, the High-Priest wore upon his shoulders – they were sardonyxes, and I deem it superfluous to indicate the nature of jewels familiar to all – it came about, whenever God assisted at the sacred ceremonies, that the one that was buckled on the right shoulder began to shine, a light glancing from it, visible to the most distant, of which the stone had before betrayed no trace. That alone should be marvel enough for such as have not cultivated a superior wisdom to disparage all religious things; but I have yet a greater marvel to record. By means of the twelve stones, which the High-Priest wore upon his breast stitched into the *essên*, God foreshowed victory to those on the eve of battle. For so brilliant a light flashed out from them, ere the army was yet in motion, that it was evident to the whole host that God had come to their aid.[19]

Here Josephus emphasises the military use of the stones to predict victory. Yet his introduction to the entire narrative of the oracular flashing of the stones puts the use of the Urim and Thummim in direct relationship with false prophecy:

> However, I would here record a detail which I omitted concerning the vestments of the High-Priest. For Moses left no possible opening for the malpractices of prophets,[20] should there in fact be any capable of abusing the divine prerogative, but left to God supreme authority whether to attend the sacred rites, when it so pleased Him, or to absent himself; and this he wished to be made manifest not to Hebrews only but also to any strangers who chanced to be present (*Ant.* 3 § 214)

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[19] See Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Loeb vol. 4, transl. Thackeray, pp. 419-421.
[20] This is the reading of the standard text. Other manuscripts read *sykophantôn*.

We could go further in tracing allusions to magical practices in literary texts, that were reported without any indication that these practices (contrary to the biblical and Enochic traditions) were considered to be wrong. But these two examples of exorcisms and the one of divination should suffice. We can now proceed by looking for more explicit texts dealing with exorcisms, healing, and protection against demons – texts that can rightly be considered as magical texts.

Magical texts

The first text is a composition entitled *Songs of the Sage*, preserved in two copies from cave 4 (4Q510 and 4Q511),[21] both written in a Herodian hand which can be dated to the turn of the Christian era. It is a rather extensive collection of songs with a strong incantatory character, although it has been badly preserved and no song can be reconstructed completely. The songs were numbered (first, second) but no other indications of the circumstances surrounding their usage have been preserved.[22] The songs, whoever their author may have been, are intended to be recited by the משכיל ('the sage,' 'the Instructor'). In one instance the *incipit* has been preserved, and the song is attributed to the Sage (למשכיל), but we never know for sure whether the *lamed* is intended as a *lamed auctoris* in such cases,[23] and a translation 'for the sage' and not 'from the sage' is quite possible.[24] In any case, the songs are written in the first person, and the performer is always the same: the priestly functionary who cares for the spiritual welfare of the community: the *Maskil*. He is the one who does 'shout with terrifying voice: 'Woe on all those who break it' (i.e. the covenant) (4Q511 63-64 iii 5) and the one who does 'spread the fear of God in the ages of my generations to exalt the name ... and to terrify with his power all spirits of the bastards, to subjugate them by his fear, not for all eternal times, but for the time of their dominion' (4Q511 35:6-8).

Characteristically, as in most compositions penned by the people of Qumran, the divine name is avoided. Not only do we not find any of the *nomina barbara*, but even the use of the tetragrammaton is avoided entirely; instead, *'el* or *'elohim* are regularly used, and in one case (4Q511 10:12) we

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[21] Edited by Baillet, *DJD* 7, pp. 215-262, plates LV-LXIII; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 1026-1037. See further Nitzan, 'Hymns from Qumran', pp. 19-46; *idem*, *Qumran Prayer*, pp. 227-272; and Alexander, 'Wrestling against Wickedness', pp. 319-324.

[22] Two instances of the *incipit*, both incomplete, have been preserved: 4Q511 2 i; For the sage, song [...], and 4Q511 8:4: [For the sage,] second so[ng...].

[23] As לדוד, 'Of David' in the Psalms.

[24] As it is in other cases in which the formula is used at Qumran, such as 1QS 3:13.

find *yod* used as a substitute for the divine name (יוד),[25] unless this is a scribal error for ידו, 'his hand'.

The background of these songs' demonology is anchored in the demonology of *1 Enoch* and the story of the fallen angels, as illustrated by the use of the word 'bastards' to designate them (several times we find רוחי ממזרים ['spirits of the bastards'] and even עדת ממזרים ['congregation of the bastards']), besides other more common designations for demons, such as 'ravaging angels, demons, Lilith, owls, jackals', etc.:

> And through my mouth he terrifies all the spirits of the bastards (which) subjugate all impure sinners. For in the innards of my flesh is the foundation of ... and in my body wars. The laws of God are in my heart, and I get profit ... all the wonders of man. (4Q511 48-50: 2-5)

In these songs the dualistic view of the community transpires, with the division of the human and angelic world into two conflicting camps.[26] The *Songs* are a product of the Qumran community, and are quite close, in language and content, to the communal blessings and curses we find in the *Rule of the Community* or in the Qumranic collections of liturgical blessings and curses, in which the priest and the Levites or the whole community ritually bless or damn the angels and the demons, as well as the faithful or unfaithful members of the group. But in these songs the blessing and cursing is done only by the Maskil, who engages in spiritual warfare against the forces of evil and combats them with these liturgical hymns. He is the one who proclaims the power of God, but his liturgical proclamation is clearly intended to frighten (לפחד) the demons:

> And I, a sage, declare the splendor of his radiance in order to frighten and terrify all the spirits of the ravaging angels and bastard spirits, demons, Lilith, owls and jackals, and those who strike unexpectedly to lead astray the spirit of knowledge, to make their hearts forlorn. And you have been placed in the era of the rule of wickedness and in the periods of humiliation of the sons of light, in the guilty periods of those defiled by iniquities; not for an everlasting destruction but rather for the era of the humiliation of sin. (4Q510 1: 4-8 [= 4Q511 10: 1-6])

What this text implies, in practical terms, is that the Maskil's solemn proclamation of God's power will protect the community and its members from attacks by demons. It is not a question of expelling the demons (thus there

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[25] Nebe, 'Der Buchstabenname YOD', pp. 283-284.
[26] Lange, 'The Essene Position', pp. 431-433.

are, properly speaking, no hymns of exorcism), but of creating a *cordon sanitaire* around the community that the demons cannot cross, and of defending the faithful in the time of trial. That Belial and his host repeatedly attempt to cause the Sons of Light to stumble, is a recurring theme in the scrolls. These *Songs* testify to the faith in the protective force of prayer in keeping the demons away, and in the efficacy of liturgy to abort their attacks. Although they are addressed to God rather than to the demons, the hymns use words of praise as words of power to achieve their prophylactic function.[27] That the *Songs* were intended for liturgical (public) use, is implied by their ending, preserved on the last column of fragments 63-64 of 4Q511, which contains the response of the community, with a double 'Amen, Amen' in the colophon: 'May *they* bless your works always, and may your name be blessed for eternal centuries. Amen. Amen'. The liturgical use of these songs with a general apotropaic function illustrates, as Alexander has remarked, 'how fine is the line dividing prayer and hymn, on the one hand, from magical incantation, on the other'.[28]

This line has apparently been crossed out in the next text, 4Q444,[29] which is very closely related to 4Q510-511 (with which it shares several expressions), but which also contains curse formulas against different classes of demons.

> And I belong to those who spread the fear of God; he opened my mouth with his true knowledge, and from his holy spirit[...] ... [...] and they became spirits of dispute in my (bodily) structure. The precept of [...] the innards of the flesh. A spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and justice, did God place in my heart... [...] ... and be strong in the precepts of God and in battling the spirits of iniquity, and not ... [...] ... the wailing cries of her mourning. *Blank* Cursed be[30] [...] afflictions, and until its dominions are complete [...] those who inspire him fear, all the spirits of the bastards, and the spirit of uncleanness (4Q444 1-3 i 1-8)

Although the poor state of the text does not allow many conclusions to be drawn, it seems clear that the initial prayer is followed by a direct curse after the blank. The protagonist speaks in the first person and, in defining

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[27] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, pp. 253-259.

[28] Alexander, 'Magic and Magical Texts', p. 503.

[29] Edited by Chazon in *DJD* 29, pp. 367-378, plate XXVI; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 924-925.

[30] I read ארור with the *editio princeps* (*DJD* 29, p. 372) instead of ארוד ('I will subdue') of *DSSSE* 2, p. 924, although the reading is far from certain, since the leader is broken at the only distinctive element which differentiates the *dalet* from the *resh* in this hand, namely the right upper part (ר/ד).

himself, uses the same expression found at the beginning of one of the hymns of the Sage, 'the terrifier of God' (4Q511 35: 6).[31] He exhorts others to be strong in fighting the 'spirits of iniquity', and orders them to address these spirits directly when cursing them. The use of the word 'bastards' in the descriptions of these demons assures us that we are within the same demonological context as the *Songs of the Sage*, but no Maskil is present here. The practitioner directly addresses the patient and the demons. Apparently, the protective barrier has not worked properly and the evil forces have taken hold of a community member, so that a direct intervention to expel them is called for.

The same situation also pertains to the collection of hymns against the demons that is attributed to David (לדוד with a *lamed* here clearly intended as a *lamed auctoris*, 11Q11 v 4), but which also mentions Solomon, the most famous exorcist in the Jewish tradition.

This composition (11Q11),[32] copied in a Herodian hand of the early first century A.D., is called *Apocryphal Psalms*, because it consists of at least three apocryphal psalms followed by Psalm 91, a psalm frequently quoted in Jewish amulets and incantations and considered in the talmudic literature as the most appropriate remedy against demons.[33] These compositions have been linked with the 'four songs to sing over the stricken / afflicted / possessed' or whatever may be indicated by הפגועים, listed among the David compositions which appear in 11Q5 27: 9-10.[34] The compositions are real exorcisms, in the strict sense of the term,[35] employed in chasing the demon away from the possessed person and to cure him from his sickness.[36] Here follows, as an example, the translation of the fourth of these psalms:

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[31] ואני מיראי אל: the expression is considered to be a technical term for an exorcist; see Baumgarten, 'The Qumran Songs', pp. 442-445. The expression אני מירא appears also in 8Q5, a manuscript from Cave 8 (edited by Baillet, *DJD* 3, pp. 181-182, plate XXXV; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 1166-1167) which is, apparently, another exorcism and of which only two small fragments have been preserved.

[32] Published originally by Van der Ploeg, 'Le Psaume XCI'; *idem*, 'Un petit rouleau'; edited by García Martínez *et al.* in *DJD* 23, pp. 181-205, plates XXII-XXV; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 1200-1205. See also Puech, '11QPsAp[a]: un rituel d'exorcismes', and 'Les psaumes davidiques'.

[33] *y. Erub* 10.11 [26c]; *b. Shebu* 15b; *y. Shabb.* 6.8b, where it is called שיר של פגעים 'the song of the stricken'.

[34] Edited by Sanders, *DJD* 4; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 1172-1179.

[35] So also Alexander, 'Wrestling against Wickedness', p. 326, and Puech, '11QPsAp[a]: un rituel d'exorcismes', p. 403.

[36] The text uses both the noun רפואה 'cure, medicine' (11Q11 ii 7), and the verb שלם in the *pi`el* form, 'to heal' (11Q11 v 3) in the expression 'Raphael has healed'.

> Of David: Against ... an incantation in the name of YWHW. Invoke at any time the heavens. When he comes upon you in the night, you shall say to him: Who are you, oh offspring of man and of the seed of the holy ones? Your face is a face of delusion, and your horns are horns of illusion. You are darkness and not light, injustice and not justice... the chief of the army. YHWH will bring you down to the deepest Sheol, he will shut the two bronze gates through which no light penetrates. On you shall not shine the sun which rises upon the just man to ... You shall say... (11Q11 v 4-11)

The song is addressed to a sick person (in the second person singular) who is exhorted to confront the demon and it is intended to remind the demon of God's power and of the guardian angels' strength, which can imprison him in the abyss. The demonology is complex; we find references to demons, to the Prince of Animosity, and, in the quoted text, to the 'bastards', here described as 'offspring of man and of the seed of the holy ones'; if the reference to the horns is not metaphorically intended, we may even have here the first allusion to 'horned' demons. Equally complex is the angelology of the song: Raphael appears as the healer, but there are also references to a 'powerful angel', and the 'chief of the army of YHWH' (which may be Michael); even Solomon is mentioned, although we cannot be sure about his function.[37] It is important to note that this angelology and demonology are deeply indebted to the dualistic world-view of the community, as reflected in the *Tractate of the Two Spirits* (1QS 3: 13-4:27); these exorcisms and cursings of the demons echoe the ritual cursing we find in the 1QS 2, in 4Q280[38] and in fragment 7 of 4Q286.[39]

Apparently the psalms are to be recited in the name of the afflicted, the one who is maltreated by a demon, the one who is stricken or possessed. We do not know who should recite the psalms, but in light of the *Songs of the Sage*, the Maskil might be a likely candidate,[40] although his name never

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[37] In the *DJD* edition of this text (García Martínez *et al.*, *DJD* 23, p. 191) we have suggested that the manuscript could be a collection of different materials, some attributed to Solomon, the exorcist *par excellence* in the Jewish tradition, and we have proposed as a possible reconstruction for the line in which his name appears (11Q11 ii 2): 'he shall utter a spell which Solomon made, and he shall invoke the name of YWHW'. For Solomon, see also the contribution of Sarah Johnston in this volume.

[38] Edited by Nitzan in *DJD* 29, pp. 1-8, plate I; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 636-637.

[39] Edited by Nitzan in *DJD* 11, pp. 7-48, plates I-IV; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 644-649.

[40] So Alexander, 'Wrestling against Wickedness', p. 328.

appears in the preserved text. Neither can we be certain whether the exorcism was a public or a private affair. That the exorcists address the sick in the second person singular is clear; at least in two cases, part of a response 'Amen, Amen, Selah' has been preserved (11Q11 vi 3 and 14), although the verb is incomplete and can be reconstructed with a singular or plural ending. Alexander prefers to reconstruct a singular form, interpreting the procedure as follows: 'The songs are recited over the sick one, who may be too weak to recite them himself, but who assents to them with the response Amen, Amen, Selah'.[41] We have reconstructed a plural form,[42] interpreting the liturgical acclamation as the expression of the community's presence near the sick bed and of its association with the exorcism.

A noteworthy difference between this text and the *Songs of the Sage* is that in these Psalms the sacred name YHWH is written in full and in normal square characters. For some, this would be an indication of a non-qumranic origin of the composition,[43] but I believe that a more probable explanation is that its use here depends on the magical character of the text and the efficacy of the divine name that is specifically invoked. Another noteworthy characteristic of the scroll is its small size (less than 10 cm high) which could point to a sort of pocket edition of the composition, in an easy-to-carry format, ready for use at the sick bed.

Each of these three texts are basically learned literary compositions, with many biblical allusions and echoes of other Qumran writings. But happily, we have also recovered some fragments of a manuscript which has all the appearance of coming from a practical manual, a book of spells, or collection of adjurations, from which, depending on the circumstances, a spell could be copied and adapted to the needs of the client.[44] That this is

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[41] 'Rather an individual is in view, and the situation is one of specific crisis. Consequently the responsum "Amen, Amen, Selah" should be taken as the reply of the individual. I would, therefore, restore at col. v, l. 14, ויענה אמן אמן סלה' (Alexander, 'Wrestling against Wickedness', p. 326).

[42] וישנו אמן אמן סלה, because of the parallel with *Neh* 8.6, with other curses found in 4Q268 7 and 1QS 2 where the double Amen appears with a plural verb, and, of course, with the colophon of 4Q511 previously quoted, García Martínez *et al.*, *DJD* 23, pp. 203-205. Puech, '11QPsAp[a]', p. 381, and 'Les psaumes davidiques', p. 162, also reconstructs the plural.

[43] So Puech, '11QPsAp[a]', p. 402.

[44] 8Q5 (see note 31) could be a manuscript of the same type. The preserved text starts with an invocation of the name of God: 'In your name, O Hero' (or 'In your mighty name' if one prefers to reconstruct the article before *Gibor*) followed by the formula identifying the action of the exorcist אני מירא, 'I terrify and ...' The second line has preserved the designation of the subject of the action, described in general terms as 'from this man, who is from the sons of ...' Still, the manuscript is so fragmentary that not much can be extracted from it.

the case, and that our text is not a charm intended to be directly used by the client (in the form of an amulet carried by the person, for example), is suggested by the appearance of the leather, which shows no trace of having been folded, as we find in the *tefillim*.

The text has not yet appeared in the *DJD* Series, but it was published in a learned article by Penny and Wise in 1994.[45] It is very difficult to read[46] (and even more difficult to understand), but apparently it contains an adjuration (or several, if the two columns do not concern the same spell) against demons which attack pregnant women and disturb the sleep. It has nothing 'qumranic', but it was found among the manuscripts of Cave 4, and after what we have seen in the previous texts, its presence is not surprising:

> Col. I: ... and heart and ... the midwife, the chastisement of girls. Evil visitor ... who enter the flesh, the male penetrator and the female penetrator ... iniquity and guilt, fever and chills,[47] and heat of the heart ... in sleep, he who crushes the male and she who passes through the female, those who dig... wicked...
>
> Col. II: *before him... and ... before him and ... And I, oh spirit, adjure ... I* enchant you, oh spirit... on the earth, in the clouds...

In spite of the many uncertain aspects of the transcription and translation of the text, there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the verb used in the second column by the magician to address the demon: אמי, used as a participle (מומה) in line 5, and in the *af'el* form with the suffix of second singular on line 6 (אומיתך), in both cases with רוח as the object: 'And I, O spirit, adjure...' and 'I enchant you, O spirit'. The most characteristic element of the incantation is the specification of the demons as male and female evil beings. This all inclusive language appears in many magical texts of later date and is intended to prevent any loopholes. Perhaps its use was prompted here by the ambiguity of the word רוח which, although technically feminine, is considered masculine in this text, as is shown by the masculine suffix used on col. ii, 5.[48]

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[45] Penny and Wise, 'By the Power of Beelzebub'; see also Naveh, 'Fragments', and Alexander, 'Wrestling against Wickedness', pp. 329-337; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 1116-1117.

[46] E.g.: according to my reading of the photographs PAM 43.574 and 43.602, the assumed name of Beelzebub is only the result of a wrong reading by the editors.

[47] According to Naveh, 'Fragments', p. 257, this is the designation of malaria 'the most frequently mentioned illness in the fifth-seventh century Palestinian amulets'.

[48] In the already quoted 4Q510 1: 5 'to frighten and terrify all the spirits of the ravaging angels and bastard spirits', we find רוח used both in the masculine (רוחי מלאכי חבל) and in the feminine (רוחות ממזרים) in the same sentence.

If the two columns of text preserve parts of the same incantation, the first one would have contained the description of the sickness and sickness-provoking demons, while the conjuring formula would have been written in the second column. The intended use of the charm is to adjure the offending spirit, and to neutralise the nefarious effects of his acts on the person. The formulae of our text are not very different from the ones used in the vast corpus of Aramaic or Mandaic incantation bowls several centuries younger, and the concerns they reflect are the same. But this exemplar found at Cave 4, proves, even more clearly than the texts already presented, that magic was really used, and not only in a prophylactic way.

The following three texts belong to the other category of magic Alexander has listed: they all deal with divination, augury and prediction of the future.

The first, also an Aramaic scroll (4Q318),[49] is basically a *Brontologion*, a well known divinatory genre which interprets thunder as an omen of important events, preceded by a *Zodiology* or *Selenodromion*, which locates the position of the moon on the signs of the Zodiac during each day of the year, month by month. Once this has been completed (it takes up the greater part of the scroll in spite of the use of numbers instead of words for the days), the author explains the significance of the thunder, by its occurrence in the diverse zodiacal signs. The last preserved part of the manuscript, with the end of the *Selenodromion* and the beginning of the *Brontologion*, reads:

> (Month of) Adar: On the 1st and on the 2nd, Aries. On the 3rd and on the 4th, Taurus. On the 5th and on the 6th and on the 7th, Gemini. On the 8th, on the 9th, Cancer. On the 10th and on the 11th, Leo. On the 12th and on the 13th and on the 14th, Virgo. On the 15th and on the 16th, Libra. On the 17th, on the 18th, Scorpio. On the 19th and on the 20th/21st, Sagittarius. On the 22nd and on the 23rd, Capricorn. On the 24th and 25th, Aquarius. On the 26th and on the 27th and on the 28th, Pisces. On the 29th and on the 30th, Aries. *Blank*
> If it thunders in (the sign of) Taurus, revolutions against ... and affliction for the province and a sword in the court of the King and in the province ... there will be. And for the Arabs ... famine. And they will plunder each other. *Blank*
> If it thunders in (the sign of) Gemini, fear and distress from the foreigners and ... (4Q318 frag. 2 col. ii [col. viii of the *editio princeps*])

[49] Edited by Greenfield and Sokoloff in *DJD* 36, pp. 259-274, plates XV-XVI with the title of *4QZodiology and Brontology ar*; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 676-679. See also Albani, 'Der Zodiakos'; Wise, 'Thunder in Gemini', pp. 13-50.

The *Selenodromion* is 'a table in which the days of the twelve synodic months – in each of which the new moon occurs in one of the twelve zodiacal signs – are correlated with the sign in which the moon is on that day'.[50] As such it is very schematic, which allows the reconstruction of the whole year although only few remains have been preserved.[51] The year is formed by twelve months, apparently of 30 days each,[52] giving a year of 360 days.[53] The author has distributed the twelve zodiacal signs among the thirteen units of two or three days into which he has divided each month. The basic pattern, that can be recognised in the two best preserved months, Shevat and Adar, is the following:[54] 2 (days 1 and 2), 2 (3 and 4), 3 (5, 6 and 7); 2 (8 and 9), 2 (10 and 11), 3 (12, 13 and 14); 2 (15 and 16), 2 (17 and 18), 3 (19, 20 and 21);[55] 2 (22 and 23), 2 (24 and 25), 3 (26, 27 and 28); 2 (29 and 30). Each month, thus, begins and ends with the same zodiacal sign; each month begins always with a new zodiacal sign, and the signs rotate through the month, so that successive months begin with successive signs of the Zodiac. Once the correlation of the moon with the zodiacal signs of the whole year has been completed, the brontological interpretation begins, in which the thunder allows the prediction of future events.

Very few elements of the *brontologion* have been preserved (when it thunders in Taurus and in Gemini) and the predictions are so general that no historical context can be extracted from them. The mention of the Arabs comes as no surprise: they also appear in other *brontologia* preserved in Greek.[56] Apparently the predictions were arranged according to the zodiacal signs, and not according to the months of the year, as is the case in Akkadian and Greek *brontologia*. Surprisingly, the first zodiacal sign is Taurus, not Aries. This has been interpreted in the light of the *thema mundi* or

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[50] According to Pingree, 'Astronomical Aspects', p. 270.

[51] According to the editors, the *Selenodromion* would have covered 8 columns of 9 lines on the original manuscript.

[52] The two preserved ends of a month (frag. 2 i 4 and 9) are clearly months of 30 days. Wise, 'Thunder in Gemini', p. 20, assumes a year of 364 days and reconstructs Adar as a month of 31 days.

[53] This is neither the 364-day year used at Qumran of four three-month units of 30-30-31 days, nor the 354-day year of the Jewish lunar calendar; the *Selenodromion* reflects the calendar of traditional Mesopotamian astronomy which has also somehow remained under the 360-day calendar used in *1 Enoch*; see Albani, 'Der Zodiakos', pp. 27-32.

[54] In the *editio princeps* the pattern given by Greenfield and Sokoloff (*DJD* 36, p. 265) is wrong; it was corrected by Pingree ('Astronomical Aspects', p. 271) who studied the astronomical aspects of the manuscript.

[55] On 4Q318 2 ii 4, day 21, apparently forgotten, has been added above the line.

[56] See the extracts from Suppl. gr. 1191 quoted by Pingree ('Astronomical Aspects', p. 272) and the references given by Wise, 'Thunder in Gemini', pp. 32-33.

'world horoscope',[57] but could be no more than an adaptation to the order of the *selenodromion* which, following the order of the MUL.APIN tablets, also begins with Taurus.[58]

This fact indicates that both parts of the text, the *selenodromion* and the *brontologion*, are not accidentally juxtaposed by a scribe, but were intended to be read together, as a unity. If both parts are read together, they do not predict what will happen when it thunders in a given zodiacal sign, but what will happen when it thunders at the moment the moon is in one of these zodiacal signs. Since these days are scattered throughout the year, the purpose of the first part of the text is to allow the practitioner to find out when these days occur. Once this has been ascertained, the second part allows him to predict what will happen.

In spite of its title (*4QHoroscope*), the second text (4Q186)[59] is really a physiognomy, in which the characteristics of a person, the character of his spirit, are deducted from his physical looks and linked with astrology. The text is rather curious and intriguing, but it supplies one of the keys to understand the background of 'magic' within the Qumran community. Although the language of the text is Hebrew, the text was written with a mix of square (Aramaic) script, palaeo-Hebrew characters, some Greek letters and the script we know as 'cryptic' from other Qumran manuscripts. Besides, it was written not from right to left, but from left to right. These peculiar characteristics show that the contents of the text were not intended for everybody, and that uttermost care was taken to keep them accessible only to a very few experts.

In the best physiognomical tradition,[60] the purpose of our text is to find out more about the character of a person with the help of his physical marks, such as the colour of the eyes or the form of the teeth; its author has coupled these characteristics with the zodiacal sign under which the person was born. This combination of physiognomy and astrology will enable the determination of the parts of light and of darkness that the spirit of the person in question really has.

Frag. 1 Col. II 5-7 And his thighs are long and slender, and his toes are slender and long. And he is in the second column. His spirit has six (parts) in the house

[57] Wise, 'Thunder in Gemini', pp. 39-48.
[58] See Albani, 'Der Zodiakos', pp. 27-32.
[59] Edited by Allegro in *DJD* 5, pp. 88-91, plate XXXI; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 1, pp. 380-383. Among the recent studies of this text, cf. F. Schmidt, 'Astronomie juive ancienne', who concentrates on its astronomical aspects; and Alexander, 'Physiognomy', who analyses its physiognomic elements in the context of the ideology of Qumran .
[60] Barton, *Power and Knowledge* (pp. 95-131), gives a good summary of the subject.

of light and three in the house of darkness. And this is the sign in which he was born: the period of Taurus. He will be poor. And his animal is the bull.

Frag. 1 Col. III 3-6 And his teeth are of differing length. His fingers are <stumpy>. His thighs are stumpy and each covered with hair, and his toes are stumpy and short. His spirit has eight parts in the house of darkness and one in the house of light.

Frag. 2 Col. I 1-9 (on) their order. His eyes are of a color between black and stripped. His beard is ... and curly. The sound of his voice is simple. His teeth are sharp and regular. He is neither tall not short, and like that from his conception. His fingers are slender and long. His thighs are smooth and the soles of his feet are ... and regular. His spirit has eight (parts) in the house of light, in the second column,[61] and one in the house of darkness. And the sign in which he was born is .... His animal is ...

While many of the physiognomical texts of Antiquity concentrate on a specific part of the body (chiromancy, metoposcopy, phrenology, etc.), our text considers the whole body, from head to toe, concentrating on the visible parts. The character of the spirit of the person in question (his רוח), determined in this way by the practitioner, is measured on a nine-point scale, according to how many parts of light or darkness the spirit possesses. Why there are nine points, is not explained; but one of the clear advantages of this scale is that nobody can have an equal share of light and darkness. Against the background of the dualistic and deterministic world-view of Qumran, as reflected in the *Tractate of the Two Spirits* of 1QS iii 13 - iv 2, and of the importance of the casting of lots at the moment of enrolling in the Community as a new member (1QS vi 13-23), it is easy to understand this need for specifying the measure of light and darkness in each person. Yet it could also have played a role in determining the rank of each member of the community.[62]

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[61] It is not obvious what the expression means. For Schmidt ('Astronomie juive ancienne', pp. 134-138), 'column' here will have an astrological meaning, equal to each single quadrant in which the Zodiacal circle could be divided, while Alexander ('Physiognomy', p. 388) interprets the expression as a reference to a 'second list' (the list for the righteous, in this case), an allusion to 'the heavenly books in which the history of the world, and the names of humanity are inscribed'.

[62] Alexander, 'Physiognomy', pp. 391-393. In 1QS v 23-24 we can read: 'And they shall be recorded in order, one before the other, according to one's insight and one's deeds, in such a way that each obeys another, junior to the senior. And their spirit and their deeds must be tested, year after year, in order to upgrade each one to the extent of his insight and the perfection of his path, or demote him according to his

Next to providing this physiognomical determination of the nature of a person's spirit, our text also allots to each person a particular animal and a zodiacal sign (probably the birth sign). This link with the Zodiac makes it likely that only twelve human types were described. Since, in the preserved text, animal and sign (bull and Taurus) are identical, one may wonder what animals were listed alongside the zodiacal signs that do not represent an animal, in the parts of the text that were lost. Unfortunately, we do not know whether a person's characteristics were thought to be the result of the zodiacal sign under which he was born,[63] or whether his physiognomy was used for determining his birth sign. What seems clear is that all means available were used in examining the qualities of the incumbent members of the group and in determining their rank in the community.

The last of our texts can be dealt with very briefly, by simply noting in what ways it differs from the previous one, to which it is closely related. This text, *4QPhysiognomy ar* (4Q561),[64] was written in Aramaic, without recourse to the mixed scripts which accentuate the cryptic character of 4Q186. 4Q561 is purely physiognomical; it does not mix physiognomy with astrology, and it does not show the pronounced interest in the proportion of light and darkness which characterises 4Q186. The text is straightforward, and the preserved elements simply describe the future character of the person on the basis of his physical characteristics.

> Frag. 1 Col. I: ... his ... are mixed and not numerous. His eyes (will be) between pale and dark. His nose (will be) long and handsome. And his teeth (will be) well aligned. And his beard will be thin, but not extremely. His limbs (will be) smooth ... stumped and fat.
> Frag. 1 Col. II: his voice will be ... and filled ... not long, And the hair of his beard (will be) abundant ... will be between fat and ... and they will be short ... somewhat fat. His nails (will be) ... And his height ...

It would be interesting to compare the physical characteristics reflected in these two physiognomical texts with the descriptions we encounter in other Qumran texts, such as the one which is called *Horoscope of the Messiah* (4Q534), and which deals with the birth of Noah,[65] or with the concrete description of the physical beauty of Sarai reported in *1QapGen* xx 2-7, to

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failings'.

[63] Or conceived, according to the interpretation by Schmidt.

[64] This text has not yet been published in the *DJD* Series. For a preliminary transcription and translation, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2, pp. 1116-1119.

[65] See García Martínez, '4QMes ar and the Book of Noah', pp. 1-44.

quote two examples which may reflect similar concerns. Yet this would lead us away from our main topic.

Conclusion

Our survey clearly shows that, within the Qumran community, the blanket condemnation of magic in the Old Testament and in the Enochic tradition, although theoretically sustained and even intensified, had already evolved into a practice in which at least two types of magic, exorcism and divination, were not only tolerated but actively used. The Dead Sea Scrolls thus bear witness to the process of change in the approach to magic in the Jewish world long before the Christian era, and they show that this change has taken place within a very learned and secluded society.

But our survey has shown something more, and perhaps more interesting, namely the reasons why these two types of magic found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, exorcism and divination, were put to practice within this learned and biblically based community. In a dualistic world-view in which one of the basic tenets was the division of the angelic world and the individual person into two opposing camps of light and darkness, and in which these two opposing forces were locked in a perennial combat, the use of apotropaic prayers, incantations and exorcisms was necessary in order to erect a barrier to protect the Sons of Light against the assaults of all the forces of darkness; it was equally necessary in expelling evil forces that broke through the barrier and got hold of some community member. In a deterministic world-view in which a person's future has been fixed from eternity and the parts of light and darkness allotted to each man have been determined from creation, divination is an indispensable tool for unravelling that predetermined future. This peculiar deterministic and dualistic world-view reflected in the magical texts of our survey allow us to understand why, in spite of biblical prohibitions, magic was not only tolerated but actively practised by the Qumran community.

THE *TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON* FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO THE RENAISSANCE

Sarah Iles Johnston

Introduction

To work on the *Testament of Solomon* properly a scholar must acquire something like one of Solomon's legendary magical rings – not the ring that he used to imprison demons, which the *Testament* itself describes, but the one that enabled him to understand and speak the languages of all earth's creatures.[1] The *Testament* drew upon and in turn influenced so many cultures' folk beliefs, magical practices and literatures that unless a scholar is fluent in numerous languages, ancient and modern (Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic and Persian as well as in all the contemporary European languages, just to name a few) it is impossible to present the text and its significance completely. A scholar must also have infinite time at his or her disposal, for the territory that the *Testament* inhabits is not only geographically vast, but also temporally so: it stretches backwards into much older Jewish lore and the traditions represented in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, and then stretches forward into the *Arabian Nights*, medieval folklore, Renaissance *grimoires* and even modern novels and films.

Lacking both a magical ring and infinite time, I have chosen to provide a brief survey of our knowledge about the *Testament*, its background and its dissemination and, following that, to discuss the relevance of two of its most distinctive features for the study of the history of magic: the use of demons for the benefit of humanity and the imprisonment of demons in sealed containers. It is my hope that this small taste of what the *Testament* has to offer will stimulate other scholars to undertake further, more detailed work.

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[1] I thank the organisers of the conference for inviting me to deliver the paper on which this was based and many of the audience members for their comments. In addition, I am grateful to Gideon Bohak and Dick Davis for their help with some of the comparative materials I used, and particularly to Jan Bremmer for his many suggestions as I completed the essay.

Description of the document

The *Testament of Solomon* is a document written in Koine Greek, purporting to be the testament (*diathêkê*) of King Solomon and narrated in the first person.[2] Like many ancient testaments, it has two components: (1) an extensive middle section that conveys information and (2) a frame, consisting of a brief opening statement that explains who the narrator is, how he acquired the information he is about to convey and why he wants to convey it, and a closing statement exhorting the reader to make good use of the information and explaining what happened to the narrator after he had acquired it. Later tradition picks up on Solomon's final words and explains that we must be prepared to cope with the demons whom Solomon once had captured because they subsequently were freed by the Babylonians (or 'Chaldeans' as the text variously calls them), who had been ordered by King Nebuchadnezzar to destroy the Temple, under which the demons' bottles had been buried. The Babylonians, thinking that the bottles contained gold, opened them.[3]

The information that Solomon passes along to his readers in the *Testament* comprises a demonology. Solomon tells us in the opening statement that, during the time when the Temple was being built, his favorite workman was attacked each night by a vampire-like creature who sucked out his energy through his thumb; the demon also stole half of the workman's provisions and wages (*TSol*, 1.4). Solomon asked God for help, and *via* the angel Michael, God delivered a magical ring to Solomon. This ring, upon which was engraved the famous 'Seal of Solomon', could be used to control and bind all the demons of the world (*TSol*, 1.5).[4] With a little help from the

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[2] Work on the *Testament* (*TSol*) should begin with consultation of the following works: Duling, 'Testament' (1992); Jackson, 'Notes' (which corrects and amends Duling); McCown, *The Testament*; Preisendanz, 'Salomo', pp. 684-690.

[3] The story appears most fully in an eighteenth-century manuscript from a Greek monastery in Jerusalem, which McCown includes in his edition; Bonner, 'The Sibyl' (pp. 5-6), translates the text, discusses the relevant portions, and shows that it is likely to be much older. The tradition is already alluded to at *TSol*, 5.5 and 15.9-15 as well. See also *The Testament of Truth* = *Nag Hammadi Codex* IX.3 70.5-24 for an alternative and early attested (second or third century) version that blames the Romans for opening the bottles when they destroyed the Temple.

[4] On instructions for making rings to be used in exorcisms of demons, see *Cyranides* I.13 and the discussion at Bonner, 'Technique'. Lucian, *Navigium* 42-45 mentions magical rings that are able to do all sorts of things; cf. also his *Philopseudeis* 45. The magical papyri include recipes for making magical rings, e.g., *PGM* V.213-303, VII.628-42, XII.201-350; cf. also *Sepher ha-Razim* 6,16-29. Solomon's ring is first mentioned at Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 8.41-9; cf. *bGittim* 68a-b. Cf. also *PGM* IV.3039, which adjures a demon by Solomon's seal (but without mention of a

angel Ouriel, Solomon first brought under his control Ornias, the demon who was persecuting his workman; he then forced Ornias to bring Beelzeboul, a more powerful demon, into his presence (*TSol*, 1.10-3.5). Beelzeboul was compelled to call up all the other demons, one by one, so that Solomon might learn from each of them what his or her name was, how each of them persecuted mortals, and how each could be controlled (*TSol*, 3.6 ff.).[5] The bulk of the rest of the *Testament* describes how some of these demons were then sealed immediately into vessels with the help of the ring while others were first set to work building the Temple, carrying out tasks that ranged from plaiting hemp into ropes to lifting stones that were too heavy for humans to handle. At the end of the *Testament*, Solomon relates how, seduced by the beauty of a foreign woman, he agreed to sacrifice grasshoppers to the gods Raphan and Moloch and thus fell out of God's grace, losing his power over the demons (*TSol*, 26.1-6). He ends his *Testament* by exhorting other people to use the information that he has passed on to them to protect themselves against demons as best they can, and to resist temptations to leave their faith better than he had (*TSol*, 26.8).

Date and place of composition; orientation of composer

The most recent scholar to study the *Testament* extensively, Denis Duling, favors dating the text between the first and third centuries AD; previous scholars had suggested dates between the first and thirteenth centuries AD with proposals clustering in the first five centuries of the Common Era. Most scholars accept that some of the traditions underlying the *Testament*, most importantly the tradition that Solomon could exorcise demons, go back at least as far as the first century BC.[6] It is now also agreed that the

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ring), and similarly, amongst others, Isbell, *Corpus*, nos. 7.118, 18.18, etc. Further on Solomon's ring within a broader cultural context, Preisendanz, 'Salomo', pp. 670-676; Duling, 'The Eleazar Miracle', pp. 21-22, and, on the Islamic development of the legend of Solomon's ring(s), Walker, 'Sulaymân', p. 823. Further on magical rings, see also Versnel, 'Polycrates', pp. 35-36, with note 77 for bibliography.

[5] Jackson, 'Notes', rightly recognises and emphasises that one manuscript of the *Testament* (MS L, from the British Library) includes interpolations made by a medieval reader who used it as a practical *grimoire* for performing exorcisms; the interpolations are intended to improve and expand the *Testament*'s usefulness in this field. Jackson's work not only clears up some supposed textual problems but underscores how important the *Testament* was to the development of later magical theory and practice. The article also provides ancient and medieval parallels for some of the *Testament*'s magical and demonological features that are not found elsewhere.

[6] Duling, 'The Testament' (1983), pp. 940-943, reviews the arguments and previous scholars' opinions; his own opinion is given on pp. 941-942. See also McCown, *The Testament*, pp. 105-106.

original language of the document was the Koine Greek in which it has been transmitted to us, although Moses Gaster earlier had argued that the existing *Testament* was a translation from a lost Hebrew original.[7]

Fifteen manuscripts of the *Testament* and a fragment of a sixteenth are now known.[8] C. C. McCown's 1922 edition drew on ten manuscripts to create a composite on which Duling's translation of the *Testament* was based; McCown also commented on three other manuscripts that were recognised at the time of his publication.[9] A. Delatte subsequently published another, shorter version of the *Testament* and K. Preisendanz a papyrus fragment from the fifth or sixth century AD; Duling discusses a final, Arabic manuscript dating to the seventeenth century.[10]

Hypotheses regarding the place of composition vary and include Syria-Palestine, Babylonia, Asia Minor (especially Ephesus) and Egypt; Duling reaffirms McCown's judgment that we cannot assign a place with certainty, but adduces good reasons to favor Babylonia or Egypt. The religious orientation and cultural background of the composer have also been much debated: proposals include Christian, Palestinian Jew with awareness of Christian ideas of the time, Essene and Egyptian Gnostic, but current consensus is that the author was a Greek-speaking Christian.[11] The backgrounds of the rituals and beliefs represented in the *Testament* are diverse. Some passages find their closest parallels in the Greek and Demotic magical papyri of approximately the same date, which in turn draw on Egyptian, Greek, Roman and Jewish ideas; others seem borrowed from haggadic (i.e., traditional Jewish) lore. There are also passages that bear close resemblances to passages in the Old and New biblical Testaments; most scholars suggest that the Testaments and the *Testament* drew on common older sources, however,

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[7] Duling, 'The Testament' (1983), p. 939, and Gaster, 'The Sword', pp. 294, 309.

[8] See list and description at Duling, 'The Testament' (1983), pp. 937-939, with particular attention to the notes; cf. McCown, *The Testament*, pp. 10-28, and Duling, 'Testament' (1992), p. 119.

[9] Preceding McCown, *The Testament*, the only edition available was that of Fleck, *Wissenschaftliche Reise* (repr. in *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 122, 1315-1358).

[10] Delatte, *Anecdota*, pp. 211-227; Preisendanz, 'Ein Wiener Papyrusfragment', and see now Daniel, 'The Testament'; Duling, 'Testament' (1992), p. 119. See also McCown, *The Testament*, pp. 82-87, for a discussion of how the manuscripts differ from one another. The most recent translation into English is that of Duling, 'The Testament' (1983); see also Conybeare ('The Testament'), whose translation, however, draws upon Fleck's edition, which used only the Paris codex.

[11] Duling, 'The Testament' (1983), pp. 943-944, for a summary of earlier views and arguments in favor of Babylonia; Duling, 'Testament' (1992), for arguments that favor Egypt. Another thorough discussion (although outdated) is that of McCown, *The Testament*, pp. 88-90.

rather than that the *Testament* drew directly on the Testaments. In short, we are dealing with a document that is like so many other religious documents from the late antique Mediterranean: it is a well mixed *bricolage* to which we can hardly assign an ethnic or religious background in any useful sense.[12]

Solomonic traditions that preceded the Testament

The basis for Solomon's reputation as a controller of demons (and later, a worker of all sorts of magic) goes back to *1 Kings* 4.29-34 (5.9-14 in Hebrew), which describes him as being extremely wise, as having composed 3000 proverbs and 1005 songs (translated as *ôidai* in the Septuagint), and as knowing a great deal about plants and animals. Over the centuries, these statements were interpreted to mean that he wrote incantations (*epôidai*)[13] and knew the magical uses of plants and animals. These claims were joined by others that credited him with the knowledge of astrology and 'forces of spirits' as well, by at least the second century BC.[14] A key text for our understanding of how Solomon's reputation developed is Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8.2.5, which makes him, among other things, an expert exorcist whose name could be used by later exorcists to chase demons out of those whom they possessed (Josephus clearly alludes to *1 Kings* 4.29-34 at several points, which supports the idea that it is here that the tradition of Solomon as an exorcist and magician finds its root). The Dead Sea Scrolls contain a fragmentary recension of Psalm 91, known to the Rabbis as an exorcistic text, which mentions Solomon's name just before the term 'demons',[15] and the Targum Sheni to Esther describes him as ruling over not only animals but also devils and spirits of the night. Thus, by the first century AD, Solomon's reputation as a controller of demons seems to have been well on its way towards becoming a central part of his legend, if it were not so already. Solomon's identity as the son of David, whom texts of

[12] The most thorough survey of these topics is that of McCown, *The Testament*, pp. 51-90; although somewhat outdated now, it still is a starting point for further work. Preisendanz's thorough review of Solomon's reputation in Antiquity is also important ('Salomo'). See also Duling's various publications as listed in the bibliography. On Jewish magic more broadly, including traditions that influenced the *Testament*, see Alexander, 'Incantations', pp. 375-379.
[13] Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8.2.5.
[14] *Wisdom of Solomon* 7.15-22.
[15] 11Q11, cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden, 2000), vol. 2, pp. 1200-1205.

about this time credit with curing Saul of an evil spirit by playing upon his harp, probably contributed as well.[16]

Solomonic traditions to which the Testament contributed

Solomon's reputation as a controller of demons developed further into a generalised reputation as a magician during the late antique, Byzantine, medieval, Renaissance and early modern periods.[17] In particular, he was credited with the authorship of numerous books of magical and alchemical knowledge, some of which explicitly included demonological information of the sort that is found in the *Testament*. The best known, in addition to the *Testament*, is probably the *Key of Solomon*, a treatise that first appeared in the fourteenth century.

As late as the eighteenth century, in both Europe and the east, practicing magicians believed that the *Key* and other treatises they followed had been composed by Solomon. The existence of *any* book of magic written by Solomon could have been regarded as miraculous, for there was also a tradition that Hezekiah had burned or hidden all of Solomon's magical writings after his death, for fear of how the less pious might use them.[18]

Like several other Jewish figures from the Bible or Late Antiquity (e.g., Abraham, Moses and Maria the Jewess),[19] Solomon also was credited with the invention of alchemical processes and devices. Earlier sources explicitly

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[16] Further on the development of the tradition at Duling, 'The Testament' (1983), pp. 944-951; Duling, 'The Eleazar Miracle', and *idem*, 'Solomon'; Jordan and Kotansky, 'A Salomonic Exorcism': McCown, *The Testament*, pp. 90-93.

[17] Survey at Duling, 'The Testament' (1983), pp. 956-957; see also McCown, *The Testament*, pp. 93-104; Preisendanz, 'Salomo', pp. 684-703 (emphasising the pseudonymous books attributed to Solomon), and Alexander, 'Incantations', pp. 375-379. For the Jewish tradition, Ginzberg, *The Legends*, vol. 4, pp. 149-172. For the Byzantine materials, see Greenfield, *Traditions*, *passim*, esp. part II (consult the index of proper names s.v. 'Solomon' and 'Solomon's Magic Treatise') and Greenfield, 'A Contribution'. The best introduction to the *Key* and other magical works attributed to Solomon in the medieval, Renaissance and early modern periods is Butler, *Ritual Magic*, *passim*, esp. pp. 47-153; see also Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic*, pp. 58-76; McCown, *The Testament*, pp. 100-104, and Seligsohn, 'Solomon'. References to Solomon are also found throughout Kieckhefer's *Magic* and *Forbidden Rites*.

[18] McCown, *The Testament*, pp. 96-100; Preisendanz, 'Salomo', pp. 664-666, and Alexander, 'Incantations', p. 378, for ancient sources and development of the tradition; it is found in Recension C of the *Testament* as well as a number of other sources.

[19] Generally on Jewish alchemy and its legends, Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, chapt. 2. On Solomon in particular, pp. 26-30, and frequently throughout. See also Preisendanz, 'Salomo', pp. 699-701.

linked this ability to his existing reputation as a controller of demons but later sources simply built upon the ever-growing and ever-broadening association between Solomon and virtually all types of arcane knowledge. Zosimus, writing in the third or fourth century AD, and his anonymous Syriac commentator discuss miraculous flasks invented by Solomon, originally for the confinement of the demons trapped during the building of the Temple but subsequently adapted for use as alchemical vessels.[20] In the early tenth century, Arabic writers ascribed the invention of iron tools to Solomon; in 1620 in Frankfurt, the German alchemist Michael Maier published *The Philosophical Week*, a book purporting to record the secrets of Solomon, the Queen of Sheba and Hiram, Prince of Tyre (who may have been understood as the Hiram who helped in the construction of the Temple).[21] Johann Joachim Becher, writing in the mid-seventeenth century, and others claimed that Solomon had possessed the Philosopher's Stone, having obtained it from the Queen of Sheba who inherited it from her husband.[22] Solomon's understanding of animal languages and his control over animals was also helpful in his pursuit of precious metals: the *Stone Book of Aristotle*, an Arabic treatise from the mid-ninth century, relates a Herodotean-sounding story about how Solomon commanded ants to dig up red sulphur (that is, gold), in the Valley of the Ants.[23]

Folklore, especially Arabic folklore, embroidered Solomon's reputation both as a controller of demons and as a general magician even further.[24] The proverbial 'genie in a bottle' of the *Arabian Nights* originates in the story of Solomon sealing the demons in bottles upon completion of the Temple;

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[20] Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 27-28.

[21] Full title: *Septimana philosophica, qua aenigmata avreola de omni natvrae genere a Salomone Israelitarum sapientissimo rege, & Arabiae regina Saba, nec non Hyramo, Tyri principe, sibe inuicem in modum colloquii proponunter & enodantur: vbi passim nouae, at verae, cum ratione & experientia conuenientes, rerum naturalium causae exponuntur & demonstrantur, figuris cupro incisis singulis diebus adiectis.*

[22] Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 26-27. The Greek work, entitled *The Book of Imouth*, is lost and is known now only through the anonymous Syraic translation and commentary and through mention in Georgius Syncellus's *Chronographia* edited by Goar (Venice, 1652). For the Syriac manuscript, see Berthelot, *Histoire*, pp. xx, xxx, 214 (note 1), 238 and 264-666. The manuscript is in the Cambridge University Library (MS 6.29). Further also at Berthelot, *Les Origines*, p. 9; Scott and Ferguson, *Hermetica*, p. 140.

[23] Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, p. 26. On the Herodotean story, see Peissel, *The Ants' Gold*, pp. 144-149; Karttunen, *India*, pp. 171-180.

[24] On Solomon's appearances in the Koran and Islamic tales, see Walker, 'Sulaymân'; McCown, *The Testament*, pp. 78-82. On Jewish folklore, Ginzberg, *The Legends*, vol. 4, pp. 149-172.

some passages in the *Arabian Nights* explicitly call the genii's bottles 'Solomonic' and describe his seal upon their tops. Early haggadic stories credited Solomon with a magical carpet on which he could fly through the sky; whether this gave rise to the carpet stories in the *Arabian Nights* or both drew from a common folkloric source is impossible to say.[25] More generally, the *Arabian Nights* often refer to Solomon's magical powers in passing.

Demons working for the glory of God and good of humanity

One of the most striking aspects of the story told in the *Testament* is the fact that Solomon compels demons to work for the glorification of God and the good of humanity when he uses them to help build the Temple. This, so far as I have been able to discover, is the first example of demons being so used from any Mediterranean culture. The closest ancient analogy, on which the tradition represented in the *Testament* may draw, is the use of supernatural assistants to do things that benefit the individual magician who controls them, such as making a woman fall in love with the magician or fetching articles that the magician needs. We find instructions for gaining control of such assistants throughout the Greek and Demotic magical papyri of the first few centuries AD.[26] The rituals that the papyri record are several centuries older than the papyrus texts themselves, and have probably evolved from far earlier ritual techniques for manipulating the souls of the dead. The most famous and most commonly used of these older techniques were those employing 'curse tablets' or *defixiones*, in which the souls of the dead, especially the unhappy dead, were adjured to do things such as curse women with insomnia until they gave in to the desires of the magician, or cause a charioteer to crash on the race-course. We have examples of these tablets from Greece and its colonies as early as the late sixth century BC. They increase in popularity and are found throughout the Mediterranean as late as the fifth and sixth centuries AD. Notably, just as Solomon receives the ring that empowers him to command demons from God, so do the magicians who used curse tablets rely on Hecate, Hermes and other gods to compel the dead souls to do their bidding.[27] From at least the start of the first millennium BC, Mesopotamian magicians also used ghosts to accomplish various goals.[28] In short, it seems that many Mediterranean magicians con-

[25] On the carpet story, Ginzberg, *The Legends*, vol. 4, pp. 162-163.
[26] E.g., *PGM* I.1-195, VII.505-28, XIa.1-40, XII.14-95, LVII.1-37, and the contribution of Anna Scibilia in this volume.
[27] Gager, *Curse Tablets*, pp. 12-14; Graf, *Magic*, pp. 118-174; Johnston, *Restless Dead*, pp. 71-81.
[28] Overview in Johnston, *Restless Dead*, pp. 87-90, with citations to more detailed discussions by specialists in the notes.

sidered the control of ghostly or demonic entities to be essential to the completion of their work: the better one was at controlling demons, the greater a magician one was. The *Testament*, then, in presenting Solomon as controlling *all* of the demons, presents him as a *spectacularly successful* magician even as it simultaneously presents him as a completely pious one by combining his lordship over demons with his well-known construction of the Temple and attributing that success to the ring that God conveyed to him.

The *Testament* also stands at the beginning of a long tradition of presenting Solomon as an exorcist. The *Testament* begins with Solomon's desire to cure his favorite workman of demonic problems and it is only in the course of pursuing this end that he meets the other demons at all. This, of course, further substantiates the picture of Solomon that the *Testament* wants to project: he is a beneficent magician, working only for the good of other people. The message is underscored within the *Testament* by an implicit admonition against using demons for privately-oriented goals: when Solomon conjures up Beelzeboul he asks the demon to reveal 'heavenly things' to him. Apparently misunderstanding the request, Beelzeboul offers to teach him how to use a magical mixture of plants and oils to see the 'heavenly dragons who pull the chariot of the Sun' (*TSol*, 6.10-11). According to the magical papyri and theurgic documents contemporary with the *Testament*, viewing such cosmic sights not only was entertaining, but also taught the viewer more about how the cosmos functioned and thus how to put its powers to work.[29] Solomon refuses the offer and rebukes Beelzeboul for making it, again underscoring that his interest in magic is completely altruistic and within the confines of properly pious Judaism.

The *Testament* clearly indicates that other people may use beneficial magic, as well. The beginning of the *Testament* explicitly claims that Solomon passes along his knowledge of how to avert and exorcise demons so that readers may use it to protect themselves. The fact that Solomon lends his magical ring to his possessed workman both so that he may capture the demon who is persecuting him and so that he may use it to capture a wind-demon who is persecuting the Arabians, further confirms that it is proper for others to make use of Solomon's exorcistic powers (*TSol*, 22). The stories that Hezekiah had burned or hidden all of Solomon's magical books lest others be tempted into abusing his knowledge, in contrast (above, note 18), suggest that later Jewish tradition was uncomfortable with magic of any type and from all sources, however reputable. The plethora of magical books attributed to Solomon in later ages belay these stories, but an admoni-

[29] Cf. Jackson, 'Notes', pp. 43-44.

tion sprang up to take their place: manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon* include Solomon's statement to his son Roboam:

> If thou dost not intend to use for a good purpose the secrets which I teach thee here, I command thee rather to cast this testament into the fire than to abuse the power thou wilt have of constraining the Spirits, for I warn thee that the beneficent Angels, wearied and fatigued by thine illicit demands, would to thy sorrow execute the commands of God, as well as to that of all such who, with evil intent, would abuse those secrets which He hath given and revealed unto me.

As E. M. Butler noted, 'this good advice would, if adopted, render a large part of the [*Key of Solomon*] of very doubtful value'.[30]

A story that similarly manages to present Solomon as a powerful magician and yet warn against the dangers of using demons for the wrong reasons and without God's blessing is found in the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Adam*, which dates to the first or second century AD and perhaps emerged from a Syrio-Palestinian baptismal sect.[31] Before explaining the real origin of a Redeemer-figure called the *Photor*, the author of the *Apocalypse* rejects several false explanations that currently were circulating. According to one of them, Solomon sought to sire the *Photor* upon a particular virgin and sent his army of demons out to find her. Unable to find the correct virgin, the demons instead returned with another virgin on whom Solomon subsequently sired a false *Photor* (*ApocAd.* 7.13-16). Here, even more clearly than in the *Testament*, we glimpse a tradition whereby Solomon used demons for much the same purpose as any other Mediterranean magician would have used them: to obtain the object of his personal desires, specifically a sexual partner, as is so often the case in the curse tablets and magical papyri. On the one hand, the story excuses Solomon by overlaying his actions with the implication that he performed them with the hope of redeeming humanity. On the other hand, the fact that the demons returned with a false virgin and then duped Solomon into accepting her, drives home the message that Solomon was wrong to use demons without God's explicit instructions, even if he sought to do so for the benefit of humanity. Indeed, it comes close to dismissing completely any possibility for the proper use of demons: we see here the Judaeo-Christian distrust and rejection of magic at an early stage of its development; such distrust and rejection thrives under monotheism, which requires that God and his angels be presented as so

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[30] Butler, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 49-50.

[31] McCrae, 'The Apocalypse', and cf. the remarks of Duling, 'The Testament' (1983), p. 946.

powerful that humans cannot control them and demons so defective that humans cannot trust them to provide anything of benefit.

In spite of the implicit warnings included in these stories of Solomon's interaction with demons, they helped to pass down to later ages – even to revitalise – the old concept of the magician's demonic or ghostly assistant. In folklore, it was expressed in the Arabian tales of genies or Ifrits who, once released from the bottles in which Solomon had trapped them, were compelled to fulfill their liberators' desires. The stories also led to a medieval European tradition of tales in which the Devil or his agent was tricked by clever villagers or saints into building bridges, churches or other structures – participants in the conference that gave rise to this volume told me the Swiss tale of the 'Teufelsbrücke' in Göschenen and the German story of St. Wulfstan compelling the Devil to build a church; many other examples are recorded in the Brothers Grimm's *Deutsche Sagen*. These stories all have happy endings because the benefit of the Devil's work, as in the *Testament of Solomon*, is directed towards society at large or God himself, but the darker tale of Faust was among those that continued to make it clear how dangerous it was to seek personal gain from demons.

Imprisonment of demons

As noted above, the method that Solomon used to imprison the demons whom he brought under his control – sealing them into containers – stands at the beginning of a long tradition of both folk tales and practice.[32] Although earlier examples of this method cannot be found, it is analogous to a few other practices that were earlier or approximately contemporary with the *Testament*. One of the closest is the Aramaic custom of trapping demons under inverted bowls that have been magically empowered; the earliest extant examples date from the sixth century AD but the practice is assumed by scholars to be older.[33] The bowls have exorcistic and apotropaic incantations written circularly around their interiors; sometimes a demon or an avertive power is drawn in the middle of the incantations. Some bowls include Solomon's name or a drawing of his Seal, which suggests they may

[32] For further mentions of Solomon performing the trick, see *The Testimony of Truth* = *Nag Hammadi Codex* IX 3, 70.5-24; *Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori*, p. 36, ed. H. Usener; Leontius of Byzantium, *Patrologia Graeca* 86, col. 1980; cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 295. For the prehistory of the trick, see also Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old*, pp. 59-63 ('A Goddess in a Jar').

[33] These bowls have been compared to Solomon's bottles by a number of scholars, the earliest to my knowledge being McCown, *The Testament*, p. 65. See also Alexander, 'Incantations', pp. 352-355 (with extensive bibliography), and most importantly among recent publications, Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets*.

have been attempts to accomplish what Solomon did with his bottles through simpler and more easily obtainable means. The practice was to place the bowls, face down, in the four corners or the doorways of the dwelling that needed to be protected. It seems clear, particularly on the analogy of the Solomonic bottles, that the demon was meant to be caught under the inverted bowl like a trapped insect.

Other *comparanda* include the Greek practice of luring dangerous ghosts into statues that are meant to represent them and then binding those statues in chains or disposing of them in outlying areas such as forests. Instructions for such rituals date back as early as the fourth century BC. Later spells teach how to call gods or demonic assistants into physical objects such as statuettes or bowls of liquid not so much to entrap them and thus prevent their doing harm but so as to compel them to serve those who had called them.[34] These techniques share with Solomon's bottle trick and the Aramaic incantation bowls the assumption that, although demons, ghosts and gods do not normally obey the same rules of physical existence as do human bodies – that is, they can fly, they can become invisible, they are exceedingly strong, *etcetera* – nonetheless, physical objects, when properly consecrated by spoken spells, amulets or sacred devices such as Solomon's seal, can retain them. Raymund de Tarrega, a fourteenth-century alchemist who was executed during the Inquisition for, among other things, having written a book variously entitled *De invocatione demonum* or *The Book of Solomon*, also wrote a book called *De secretis naturae sive quinta essentia*, in which he makes a point very much like this: 'God's ability to subject the demons to sensate things', Raymund says, 'is made clear by Solomon's acts of necromancy, with which the demons were forced to perform good works; or with the evil virtues of words, stones, and plants. It is therefore clear how the demons are subject to the action of sensate things'.[35]

As was mentioned above, the story of Solomon's imprisonment of demons in bottles leaves its mark on Arabic folklore. From there it eventually moves into the popular fiction of many cultures and even into American films and television. The 1942 film 'I Married a Witch' imprisons witches in bottles;[36] during the 1960s, a popular American TV comedy entitled 'I Dream of Jeannie' revolved around an astronaut who released a

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[34] Johnston, *Restless Dead*, pp. 58-60 with notes; Faraone, *Talismans*, pp. 54-93; Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 495-496, on theurgic invocation of gods into statues; Johnston, 'Charming Children', on calling gods and demons into bowls of liquid in order to obtain prophecies.

[35] On Raymund de Tarrega, see Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, chapt. 13. The passage to which I refer is given by Patai on pp. 201-202.

[36] Based on Thorne Smith's novel *The Passionate Witch*, completed by Norman Matson and published after Smith's death in 1941 (Garden City, NJ).

beautiful genie from a bottle and, like Solomon and others, quickly learned that this was a mixed blessing. Robert Louis Stevenson's 'The Bottle Imp' sets the motif in nineteenth-century Hawaii. Translated into Samoan during Stevenson's extended stay in the Samoan Islands, the story led natives to believe that the author actually possessed a marvelous bottle containing such a spirit – a relatively rare case of literature influencing belief, instead of the other way around.[37] The possibility of containing a mighty entity within a tiny vessel never loses its power to fascinate.[38]

The story also leaves its mark on real magical and alchemical practices of later ages. Solomon is credited with the invention of special flasks or bottles that were used in alchemy, as we learn from Zosimus and the Syriac author who copied and commented on Zosimus's texts; they describe these as being the same as the flasks in which Solomon contained the demons. The flasks were seven in number, like the planets, and manufactured from a composite of gold, silver, copper and other materials – nine in all – at the order of an angel and according to the dictates of the Philosopher's Stone. 'Through [these bottles]', the Syrian commentator tells us, 'all other works can be accomplished', a phrase that apparently refers to all alchemical works. Notably, the Syrian also refers to these bottles as 'talismans', which emphasises that it was the Seal imprinted upon them as much as any materials that went into bottles that was important in guaranteeing their excellence.[39]

The use of vessels to imprison and thereby control demons, however popular in folklore and however mimicked in the construction of alchemical vessels, almost died out in the practice of demonological magic itself. In European *grimoires* of the medieval, Renaissance and early modern periods, Solomon's Seal and other ritual techniques attributed to Solomon are repeatedly used to invoke and control demons, but very seldom, as far as I have been able to discover, do magicians attempt to contain demons physically.[40] Instead, it becomes the magician himself who must be contained: according to the *grimoires,* he must stand inside of a magical circle when he invokes demons, in order to protect himself from their attacks. The Seal of Solomon and other magical signs attributed to Solomon are used to streng-

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[37] See Levin, 'Introduction'.

[38] See also Horálek, 'Geist' for a review of the motif in folklore and literature throughout the world, and Haas, 'Ein Hurritischer Blutritus', pp. 77-83, although I find his connection of the motif to the story of Pandora somewhat unlikely. Also Bonner, 'The Sibyl', although again the connection seems distant to me.

[39] See Duling, 'The Testament' (1983), p. 950 note 94, and Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 27-28.

[40] A partial exception is found in the *Lemegeton*, where an angel is called into a crystal; Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic*, pp. 71-72.

then the circle or, in the form of amulets, are worn on the magician's body, to protect him more directly.[41] There are many distant analogies for this sort of behavior in Mediterranean and European cultures – to name just one, the hanging of apotropaic plants or smearing of apotropaic materials on house doors and windows to prevent demons and ghosts from entering: as long as one stayed home within the protected space, one was safe.[42] But even better analogies for what the magicians were aiming at can be found in modern science: like an ichthyologist descending in a metal cage to study sharks, or a biologist studying the effects of radiation from inside the safety of a special suit, the magician protects himself through his *own* confinement so that he can allow the dangerous elements he is using to run free and do their work. To put it another way, there was no desire to replicate Solomon's bottles because they were too good at doing exactly what Solomon had hoped they would: stopping humans and demons from interacting. I should add that it was not just a matter of the legend having died out – in fact, the *Lemegeton* begins by narrating a version of the story mentioned earlier in this essay, according to which Solomon trapped all the demons in a brazen vessel that he threw into the sea. The Babylonians dregged up and opened the vessel in the belief that it contained treasure, with predictably dire results. The manuscript of the *Lemegeton* provides an illustration of this vessel but, notably, no instructions for reproducing it. Unlike other illustrations in *grimoires*, this one seems to be there purely to entertain the reader, or perhaps to lend an air of authority.[43]

Conclusion

The *Testament of Solomon* had a significant and extremely long-lived effect on both the ways in which magic actually was practiced in the centuries after its composition and on the way in which magic was *imagined* to be performed. To some extent, this must have been due to the prestige of his name; like Moses,[44] another Jewish patriarch credited with both wisdom

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[41] Butler, *Ritual Magic*, frequently throughout, for instance, pp. 73-76 and 52; Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic*, pp. 220-235.

[42] E.g., the pitch smeared on doors during the Anthesteria in Athens to avert ghosts: Photius s.v. *miara hêmera* and Nicander, *Theriaka*, 861-862, and the hanging of buckthorn on doors of houses where women were giving birth in order to prevent demons from entering (also at Photius s.v. *miara hêmera*). The middle-European custom of hanging garlic at entrances to avert vampires is a well-known variation.

[43] The illustration is reproduced in Butler, *Ritual Magic*, opposite p. 66.

[44] Gager, 'Moses'.

and magical knowledge, Solomon's imprimatur bespoke both power and, if one chose to read it this way, piety.

But another reason that Solomon's *Testament* and more generally, his reputation as an exorcist and all-round magician survived so long may have been the prominent role that *demons* played in his story. Mediterranean and European forms of magic (indeed, Mediterranean and European forms of religion) have, from the start, been built upon the premise that the cosmos is full of entities who both thwart and, when properly controlled, benefit humanity. Temporally situated as it was at the crossroads between a very old, multi-cultural 'pagan' tradition of such demons and the emergent Christian tradition of Satan and his minions (which in turn influenced Islamic, Arabic traditions), the *Testament* could scarcely fail to win the fame that it did.

MAGIC IN THE *APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES*

Jan N. Bremmer

Apart from some references to Jesus or the demise of magic in the Later Roman Empire,[1] Christian texts are clearly not seen as useful or interesting sources in the recent major studies on ancient magic.[2] This is, I dare say, a mistake, as I want to illustrate on the basis of a specific corpus of texts from the later decades of the second and the earlier decades of the third century. In those years Christians produced a series of works, the so-called *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (*AAA*), in which anonymous authors made the case for their versions of Christianity. On the whole, these works were discursive rather than narrative, but in their narrative parts they closely resembled the ancient novel. The corpus consists of five *Acts*, those of John, Paul, Peter, Andrew and Thomas. They were written in Asia Minor, the first two probably in the south west of present-day Turkey, the next two also or perhaps in northern Asia Minor, whereas the last derives from Syria, probably Edessa. The oldest is the *Acts of John* (*AJ*), which was written about 160 AD; shortly afterwards followed by the *Acts of Paul* (*AP*) and around the turn of the century by the *Acts of Peter* (*APt*) as well as the *Acts of Andrew* (*AA*); the *Acts of Thomas* (*ATh*) concluded the series around AD 230. Unfortunately, none has survived in its original version. We have only fragments (although some of a considerable length such as the *AJ*), translations (such as the famous confrontation of Peter and Simon Magus which survived only in a late fourth-century Latin version of the *APt*), and rewritten versions (such as large parts of the *AA*).

In addition to these five Christian 'novels' we have one more novel that deserves to be included. Around AD 230-240 an author, probably in Edessa, wrote a 'novel' with the Roman bishop Clemens as its protagonist. The 'novel' itself has been lost, but two rewritten versions survive, the Greek

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[1] I use the following abbreviations for references to the fragments of Greek historians, the Greek magical papyri, and the fragments of the pupils of Aristotle: *FGrH* = Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*; *PGM* = Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae*. All translations from magical papyri are from Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*. Wehrli[2] = Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*.

[2] See, for example, Bernand, *Sorciers grecs*; Graf, *Magic*; Gordon, 'Imagining Greek and Roman Magic'; Graf and Johnston, 'Magie'; Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*.

Homilies (before AD 325) and the *Recognitions* (somewhat later), which survived only in a Latin translation by Rufinus. Comparison of the two versions regularly allows us to reconstruct the so-called *Grundschrift*, the lost original of the two revised 'novels'. In many ways these rewritten versions enable us to see what the original *AAA* must have looked like, since the latter have often lost their discursive parts in favour of a later, more narrative approach. In fact, Gregory of Tours explicitly states in his Latin epitome of the *AA* that he has cut out the orations because they were not attractive enough for his readers.

In these 'novels' we frequently find reference to magic and exorcism, although, as far as we can see from the surviving parts of the *AJ* and *AP*, the theme of magic played virtually no role in these two earlier works. Can it be that the increasing measures taken by the Roman government against magic are also reflected in the prominence of the theme in the *APt* and *AA*, *Acts* which are to be dated later than the earlier two?[3]

My contribution is a synthesis of my work on the 'novels' in recent years.[4] I would like to show that this *corpus* (which is fairly homogeneous in time, place and genre) has been wrongly neglected by students of ancient magic, whereas, in fact, it provides valuable information on the changes and tensions occurring in the Roman Empire through the gradual rise of Christianity – even if in a limited period of time. I will therefore first look at some realities and representations of magic (§ 1), then at exorcism (§ 2), thirdly at the confrontation between Peter and Simon Magus (§ 3), and close with a few observations on the place of this episode of magic in the *longue durée* from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages (§ 4).

Realities and representations of magic

Let us start with the simple question of the inventor of magic. For various, not totally transparent reasons the Greeks first ascribed the invention of magic to the Persians or, to be more precise, to a tribe of the Medes, the Magi. As they also knew that the founder of Persian religion was called Zarathustra, or in the Greek transcription Zoroaster, it is no wonder that already in the fourth century BC the pseudo-Platonic *Alcibiades* (155a) ascribed the origin of *mageia* to 'Zoroaster, the son of Horomasdus'. The Roman Pliny (*Natural History* 30.2.3) followed this tradition in an excursus

[3] For the problems of chronology, place of composition and readership of the *AAA* see my 'The Novel'.

[4] I have freely used, but always adapted, expanded and updated, my 'Magic'; *idem*, 'Aspects of the Acts'; *idem*, 'Man, Magic'; *idem*, 'La confrontation'.

on magic, for which he drew on Greek sources, about whom 'all authorities agreed'.

That is to say, all authorities except the Christians, who had their own ideas about the origin of magic. Admittedly, Christians sometimes followed pagan tradition closely by ascribing the invention of magic to humans, such as the Persian Ostanes, the Greek Typhon or the Egyptian Nectabis, whereas in other cases they followed their Jewish predecessors by ascribing the invention to the Fallen Angels.[5] However, they also appropriated pagan tradition into their own ideas about the origin of magic. This happens in the *Recognitions* (1.30.2-3), where we first hear of one of Noah's grandsons as the inventor of magic, the altar for demons, and animal sacrifice. Later we learn that the inventor really is Noah's son Ham, who taught the art to his son Mestraim, 'the ancestor of the Persians', whom his contemporaries called Zoroaster. In other words, this is a combination of the proverbial Antiquity of Zoroaster, who according to Eudoxos had lived 6000 years before Plato, and the curse on Ham's son Kanaan in *Genesis* (9.25).

In addition to magic itself, we also hear some interesting details about magicians. In the Coptic fragment of the *AA*, a magician says before 'attacking' a Christian girl: 'If I have spent five and twenty years under the instruction of my master until I was trained in his skill, this is the beginning of my craft' (*AAcoptic* 10). The same teacher-pupil relationship perhaps underlies the episode of Exuos, an upper-class youth, who had left his parents in order to follow Andrew. When the inhabitants of Patras tried to smoke out the apostle with the help of a military cohort, their son extinguished the fire with a dish of water. The parents realised that their plan had failed and exclaimed: 'Look, our son has become a magician!' Not wholly surprisingly, they had identified the miracles performing Andrew as a master magician in the Latin epitome of the *AA* (*AAlatin* 11). It is strange, though, that the text calls our magician 'young' after such a long training. Could there be an Egyptian background to this qualification, since in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* the Egyptian priest and magician Zatchlas is also called a *iuvenis*?[6]

The passage is also an interesting testimony to the ancient belief that magic could only be learnt after many years of instruction. In the *Recognitions* (1.5) Clemens planned to travel to Egypt to become instructed by local priests and to hire a magician to perform necromancy.[7] Both Celsus and the Talmud

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[5] Humans: Tertullian, *De anima* 57.1. Angels: Tertullian, *De cultu feminarum* 1.2.1, 2.10.2-3.

[6] For the importance of this episode for the study of ancient magic, see the excellent analysis by Stramaglia, 'Aspetti'.

[7] For ancient necromancy, see most recently Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 237-239; Ogden, *Greek Necromancy*; Bremmer, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 71-86.

reproached Jesus of having learned magic in Egypt;[8] Bishop Cyprian (*Confessiones* 12) had been ten years with the Memphitic priests training to become a magician, and Lucian's lover of lies (*Lovers of Lies* 34-6) had even spent twenty-three years in subterranean chambers of Memphis where Isis had trained him to become a magician. Our author, then, evokes the picture of a magician who is so well trained that he can hardly be defeated by the apostle in a confrontation. Egypt was notorious as a country with a long priestly tradition of magic not only in Greek and Roman culture but also in Jewish circles, since according to the Talmud nine-tenths of the world's witchcraft had descended on Egypt.[9]

The young magician did not speak himself, but, according to the apostle, it was the demon Semmath, who had entered him. This demon was presumably related to the demon Sammoth in one of the Leiden magical papyri (*PGM* XII.79). Magicians were traditionally believed to be accompanied by a demon that helped them perform their magic, the so-called *parhedros*.[10] According to Irenaeus, the heretic Marcus Magus had such a 'demonic assistant (*daimona parhedron*), through whom he himself seems to prophesy and through whom he rouses to prophecy those women whom he thinks worthy of participating in the grace'.[11] As the assistant was indispensable, he is sometimes even mentioned right at the beginning of a ritual, such as in a Berlin magical papyrus: 'A [daemon comes] as an assistant who will reveal everything to you clearly and will be your [companion and] will eat and sleep with you' (*PGM* I.1-3). The idea of a *parhedros* also occurs in the *Recognitions* (2.13.1-2, cf. *Homilies* 2.26), where a former pupil of Simon Magus relates that the heretic, in answer to the question as to how things *arte magica effici*, answered that he evoked the soul of a pure child that had died a violent death, a so-called *biaiothanatos*. This soul, as Simon explains, 'I have forced to assist me and it is through it that everything takes place that I order'. The *biaiothanatos* is a stock character in magic, but to my knowledge not normally employed as a *parhedros*.

How did magicians stay alive? The question may seem odd, but do we know anything about the ways they supported themselves? The answer seems obvious: they took money for their services. It is also obvious that people did not like this, given that in descriptions of magicians the fact is often stressed in

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[8] Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.28, 38, 46; *Talmud, bSanh* 107b; Arnobius, *Adversus nationes* 1.43; Kollmann, *Jesus*, pp. 179-181.

[9] For Egypt as the country of magic *par excellence* see Achtemeier, 'Jesus and the Disciples', pp. 155-156; Graf, 'How to Cope', pp. 94-95; Frankfurter, 'Ritual Expertise', pp. 119-121; Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 203-205, 215-217, 229-231.

[10] Zintzen, 'Paredros'; Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, vol. 1, § 1ff; Colpe, 'Geister', pp. 621-622; Ciraolo, 'Supernatural Assistants'; Graf, *Magic*, pp. 107-116. See the contribution of Anna Scibilia to this volume.

[11] Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1.13.3, cf. Förster, *Marcus Magus*, p. 94ff.

a negative way. Thus, in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (2.28) the Egyptian Zatchlas is prepared to perform a necromancy *grandi praemio* and the baker's wife persuades 'an old hag' (*veteratricem quandam feminam*) to bring back her husband *multisque...muneribus* (9.29); in Lucian's *Lovers of Lies* (14) the Hyperborean magician even requires 20 *minae*, with 4 in advance (sic), for a necromancy and an erotic spell. It is against this background that we must read the observation in the *ATh* (20) that the friends of the king first think that the apostle is a magician because of his healings and exorcisms, but the fact that he asks no reward is clearly a decisive argument against this idea. Similarly, Siphor stresses that 'he (Thomas) did not ask for reward, but demands faith and holiness' (104). The same attitude is found in the *AJ*, where the apostle answers a request by a father for an exorcism of his two sons by saying: 'My physician takes no reward in money, but when he heals for nothing he reaps the souls of those who are healed in exchange for the diseases' (56). The 'free treatment' is one of the clear contrasts worked out by the Christians in their efforts to distinguish themselves from pagan magicians (§ 4).[12]

How did people on the popular level react to magic? In an interesting discussion of the growth of the repression of magic, Richard Gordon paid some attention to popular attitudes as exemplified in the ancient novel.[13] He points out that in Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* 1.10) people plan to stone a witch, and in Heliodorus (8.9) a woman accused of being a witch and a poisoner are burnt alive. For such lynching the *AAA* also supply some examples.[14] In the *AP*, in reaction to the complaints of Thecla's fiancé, the crowd shouts of Paul: 'Away with the magician! For he has corrupted all our wives' (15). And when Paul has appeared before the governor in court, the crowd shouts: 'He is a sorcerer! Away with him!' and Thecla's mother calls out 'Burn the lawless one!' (20). In the *APt* the fickle multitude of Rome also intends to burn Peter after Simon Magus seemed to be the better magician. They immediately start to look for wood and kindling, but when Peter has triumphed they call out 'let Simon be burnt instead of Peter' (28). As burning is also mentioned as a punishment by a third-century legal source ([Paul], *Sententiae* 5.23.17: *ipsi autem magi vivi exuruntur*), one may wonder whether that law did not codify typical crowd behaviour.[15]

Finally, the *Pseudo-Clementines* contain an interesting notice about the persecution of magicians, which is also neglected by Gordon. In the *Recogni-*

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[12] For more examples, see Körtner and Leutzsch, *Papiasfragmente*, p. 463, note 266.
[13] Gordon, 'Imagining Greek and Roman Magic', pp. 263-264; Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 158-159 (insufficient).
[14] Cf. Poupon, 'L'accusation'.
[15] Note also Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10.6 for the crowd's inclination to a summary execution.

tions (10.55.3) the centurion Cornelius, a figure lifted from the canonical *Acts of the Apostles* (10.1), relates that the emperor has given an order to find all magicians in Rome and the provinces and put them to death. Cornelius therefore suggests that people tell Simon Magus that he has been sent to arrest him and have him punished. In a similar passage in the *Homilies* (20.4-6), Caesar has killed many magicians but not given a general order that they all be arrested. Unfortunately, the passage is absent from the Arabic epitome of the *Recognitions*, which is based on the original, but lost Greek version of the *Recognitions*. Apparently, the notice was taken from the later *Homilies*, as we somehow would suspect, since the persecution of magicians accelerates after the Roman government became Christian. The imperial persecution described in the *Homilies*, then, may well be inspired by the increasing repression of magic as becoming visible in Late Antiquity.[16]

Exorcism

Any reader of the *AAA*, especially the *Acts of Andrew*, will be struck by the multitude of references to demons and exorcism. Exorcism as we know it from the New Testament did not occur in Greece and Rome, but the word 'exorcism' and the techniques of the practice are clearly of Jewish origin.[17] This origin may be surprising to some, but magic was a flourishing business in the Palestine of Jesus' days.[18] The Jewish origin was probably also the reason that non-Jewish exorcists expelled demons with the formula 'God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob'.[19] In this respect, it seems significant that when Lucian wants to represent an exorcist in his *Lovers of Lies* (16), he introduces 'the Syrian from Palestine'. We cannot discuss in detail all the relevant passages concerning exorcism, but we can certainly pose several questions: Where are the demons and what do they look like? How do they affect the possessed? How do the apostles approach them and how do they react? How does the victim of demonic possession respond to his exorcism? In what kind of context does exorcism take place? And what is the reaction of the public? Investigation into ancient exorcism has rarely transcended the stage of collecting the facts,

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[16] For these measures see Fögen, *Die Enteignung*; Krause, *Gefängnisse*, pp. 121-122; Kippenberg, 'Magic'; Neri, *I marginali*, pp. 258-286; Gordon, 'Imagining Greek and Roman Magic', pp. 243-266; Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 251-272.

[17] Cf. Ritoók, 'Horkos und Exorkismos'.

[18] Alexander, 'Jewish Elements'; add to his survey Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*; Fassbeck, 'Vom Mosaik zur Magie'; sometimes too apologetic, Janowitz, *Magic in the Roman World*. See also the contributions of Florentino García Martínez and Sarah Iles Johnston to this volume.

[19] Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.22-3, 4.33-4, 5.45, cf. Fassbeck, 'Vom Mosaik zur Magie', p. 111.

but we must always take into account that exorcism is a ritual scenario that takes place between the exorcist, the person possessed, the demon(s) and the public. Any analysis that neglects one of these aspects presents us only with an inadequate view of this ancient ritual.[20]

Let us start with the demons. These often do not belong to a specific magician but seem to be independent beings who sometimes lurk in specific places. It is rather striking for us moderns to find them regularly in the baths, a belief abundantly illustrated by the *AA*.[21] When the apostle Andrew comes near Sinope, he heals the son of Cratinus, who had been 'struck' (see below) by a demon when frequenting the women's bath (*AAlatin* 5). Subsequently, in Patras he resurrected the wife of the pro-consul Lesbios,[22] Callista, who, whilst taking a bath together with her steward, had been 'struck' by a demon (*AAlatin* 23). Finally, in Corinth he exorcised both an old man and a youth whom he had met in the baths (*AAlatin* 27). Gregory's narration supplies no more information about the last case, but in the earlier ones we can easily recognise the underlying pagan, Jewish and Christian objection to mixed bathing.[23]

The demons manifested themselves in rather different ways. The demon that had struck the proconsul's wife and her steward is just called a *daemon teterrimus*, but those who beat up Lesbios were 'Aethiopians', pitch-black men, a favourite manifestation of ancient demons (*AAlatin* 22).[24] Demons could even appear as animals. In Nicaea seven demons lived in tombs along the road (*AAlatin* 5, 7), another place fit for demons. Their number, seven, is typical of groups of demons in the New Testament.[25] When the apostle arrived in the city, the Nicaeans approached him with olive branches in the Greek way

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[20] For exorcism, see Thraede , 'Exorzismus' (learned but insufficient on the *AAA*); Brown, *Society*, pp. 123-126; Lane Fox, *Pagans*, pp. 327-330; Kotansky, 'Greek Exorcistic Amulets'; Graf, 'Exorcismus'. For modern Greece, see Stewart, *Demons*, pp. 211-221.

[21] Bonner, 'Demons of the Bath'; Hopfner, *Griechish-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* I § 195; Dunbabin, '*Baiarum grata voluptas*'. Note also the striking example in Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Gregorius Thaumaturgus*, p. 92ff.

[22] For the name Lesbios, see Berges and Nollé, *Die Inschriften*, vol. 1, p. 251, who also accept the possibility of the literary meaning (referring to Sappho and Alcaeus) as postulated by me for the *AA* in Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', p. 16.

[23] For mixed bathing see Martial 7.35, 11.75; Juvenal 6.422-3; Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogos* 3.5.32; Schöllgen, 'Balnea mixta'; Hilhorst, 'Erotic Elements', p. 196; Eliav, 'The Roman Bath'.

[24] Bremmer, 'Aspects of the Acts', p. 8; add Courtès, 'Traitement patristique'; Frost, 'Attitudes Towards Blacks'; Habermehl, *Perpetua*, pp. 148-160.

[25] Tombs: *Matthew* 8.28; *Mark* 5.2,3,5; *Luke* 8.27; Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, vol. 4, pp. 516ff. Seven: *Ezekiel* 9.1-2; *Matthew* 12.45; *Mark* 16.9; *Luke* 8.2, 11.26; *Testamentum Salomonis* 8.1. For canine demons, see Loth, 'Hund', pp. 822-823; add *Testamentum Salomonis* 10.1-4.

of supplication. The apostle gave in to their entreaties and ordered the demons to show themselves. At that very moment they appeared as dogs, a fine illustration of the ambivalent standing of the dog among Jews and Greeks.[26]

How did the demons affect their victims? As the above mentioned examples show, some victims felt 'struck', 'beaten' or 'whipped' by the demons. We do not find this belief in the New Testament, but just as the wife of the proconsul and her steward were *percussi* by a demon (*AAlatin* 23), so Stratocles's servant Alcmanes was *ab inpulsu daemonis percussus* (2; *AAlatin* 34). Indeed, the explanation of illness or possession as the result of being hit was very widespread and regularly occurs in the magical papyri, where, for example, in a recipe for a love spell the advice is to 'glue it to the dry vaulted vapour room of a bath, and you will marvel. But watch yourself so that you are not hit'.[27] A variant of beating was hitting with a 'lash', a belief perhaps reflected in Lesbios's feeling of being 'whipped' by 'Ethiopians' (*AAlatin* 22).

From the Middle Ages until virtually our own times, people who display socially unacceptable behaviour and extreme signs of motor disorder, often with contortions and dislocations, were considered to be possessed. It is no different in the *AAA*. The old man in the bath (above) trembled (*AAlatin* 27). Some servants of Antiphanes were 'grinding their teeth ... and insanely laughing' (*AAlatin* 29).[28] In the *ATh* (62-4) possessed women are even 'gnashing their teeth and dashing their heads on the ground'; moreover, the demons 'throw them down wherever they find them, and strip them naked'. In fact, lying on the ground must have been typical. The son of Cratinus had gone mad and fallen on the ground in front of the apostle (*AA* 5).[29] In the Coptic fragment the soldier fell on the ground and started to foam at the mouth (*AAcoptic* 9), just like Stratocles's servant Alcmanes, who was moreover 'utterly convulsed' and sitting on a dung heap (*AA* 2-3; *AAlatin* 34), not a very dignified position. One may at least ask to what extent these possessions, or their descriptions, were dependent on the New Testament where, for example, in *Mark* a dumb spirit 'convulsed 'his' boy, and he fell on the ground and rolled about, foaming at the mouth' (9.18, 20).[30]

It could be even worse. The Nicaean canine demons killed the son of old parents (*AAlatin* 7), just as a demon killed the proconsul's wife and her stew-

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[26] Loth, 'Hund'.

[27] *PGM* XXXVI.76; see also *PGM* VII.282; Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 3.14; Eitrem, *Notes*, pp. 36-37. For the widespread background of this belief see also Honko, *Krankheitsprojektile*.

[28] Teeth: Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis* 12.10. Laughter: Bremmer, 'Aspects of the Acts', p. 11; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 4.20.

[29] See also the exorcism in *Recognitions* 4.7.2.

[30] Note also the descriptions in Lucian, *Lovers of Lies* 16; *Testamentum Salomonis* 12.2, 17.3, 18.21; *Talmud*, *bGittim* 70a.

ard (*AAlatin* 23), and strangled the son of a Thessalonian (*AAlatin* 14). In the latter case one may well wonder whether the narrative here does not exaggerate the feeling of suffocation that is attested for some possessed people. Exaggeration certainly plays a role in the earlier scenes, and this raises a problem to which we will return immediately, viz. to what extent these scenes were stock descriptions rather than representations of reality.

How did the apostle react to the demonic powers? Whereas he had taken the initiative in addressing the Nicaean canine demons, it usually was the other way round. For example, in Philippi a youth cried out: 'What is there between you and me, Andrew? Have you come to chase us from our proper place?' (*AAlatin* 17). Virtually the same approach takes place in a Corinthian bath, when a youth addresses Andrew with: 'What is there between you and me? Have you come here to unsettle us from our place?' (*AAlatin* 27). In the *ATh* an incubus-like demon 'with a very loud voice said in the hearing of all: "What have we to do with thee, apostle of the Most High?"' (44-5) These initiatives are clearly influenced by the New Testament, where the Gadarene demoniacs address Jesus first with the words: 'What have we to do with you, son of God?' (*Matthew* 8.29, cf. *Mark* 1.24, 5.7, *Luke* 8.28), and they are thus not likely to be authentic,[31] but in Megara all the demons cried out in unison (*unius vocis impetu*): 'Why do you chase us here, holy Andrew?' (*AAlatin* 29), which makes a more convincing impression. The demonic initiative is probably to be explained from the public arena in which the confrontation takes place. Before the community can accept that the possessed persons are healed, it has to be convinced that the demons have actually left. So the demons have to make themselves manifest before they can be properly expelled.

Not all demons co-operated, however, and in the magical papyri a magician therefore says: 'I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, to tell whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by the seal which Solomon placed on the tongue of Jeremiah, and he told'.[32] For those who persisted in keeping silent, the papyri supply an effective recipe: 'If you say the Name to a demoniac while putting sulfur and asphalt to his nose, the demon will speak at once and go away'.[33]

Normal people might have been frightened by the sudden outburst of the demons, but an apostle was of course not so easily impressed. In the case of the possessed house of Antiphanes, Andrew reacted as if there were nothing

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[31] For the Old Testament background of the formula (*1 Kings* 17.18) see Bächli, 'Was habe ich mit Dir'; Guillemette, 'Mc 1, 24 est-il une formule?'.

[32] *PGM* IV.3037-41; see also Lucian, *Lovers of Lies*, 16; Theophilos, *Autolycus* 2.8; *ATh* 74; *Testamentum Salomonis* 5.2ff, 13.2. For Solomon, see also Sarah Iles Johnston's contribution to this volume.

[33] *PGM* XIII.242-4; note also Josephus, *Antiquities* 8.47.

strange about the situation (*nimis de his admirans*: *AAlatin* 29). Similarly, after having been invoked by Maximilla in order to heal Alcmanes who was 'foaming at the mouth', he entered 'smiling' (*AA* 3). The reader is left in no doubt that our hero will confront the 'villain' and convincingly despatch him. But how does he do it?

At first it may seem surprising how unimpressive the actual exorcism sometimes is. In the case of Alcmanes, the apostle just invokes God in a prayer in the characteristic participle style of prayer: 'O God, who does not hearken to the magicians ... grant now that my request be speedily fulfilled before all these in the slave of Stratocles, putting to flight the demon whom his kinsmen could not drive out' (*AA* 5; *AAlatin* 34).[34] In the Coptic fragment, he addresses the soldier as follows: 'It is now fully time for you to come out from this young man, that he may gird himself for the heavenly palace' (*AAcoptic 14*). It is rather striking that in these and other cases the demons are not exorcised in the name of Jesus, whereas we have many testimonies that this was common practice among Christians, as both Justin and Origen indicate.[35] This striking absence is clearly one more sign of the less orthodox character of these *AAA*. And when it does happen, as in the *APt* (11), where Peter exorcises *in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi* we may well suspect an orthodox intrusion in this late translation (§ 3).

In other cases the apostle seems to be less quiet. To the son of Cratinus he speaks *increpans*: 'Go away (*discede*) from the servant of God, you enemy of the human race' (*AAlatin* 5), and the same verb is used when he expels the demons from the old man and the youth in the swimming pool (*AAlatin* 27). This approach was probably more like real practice, since both Jesus and Apollonius of Tyana, too, were sometimes agitated while exorcising demons and rebuked them.[36] Also the order '*discede*' will have been part of traditional Jewish exorcism, since the comparable Greek command '*exelthe*' is a recurrent term in New Testament exorcism stories and occurs in the magical papyri,[37] but is absent from pagan exorcisms.[38]

Faced with the supernatural power of the apostle, what could a demon do? In the already mentioned exorcism in the *AJ* (57) the demons 'immediately

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[34] For the participle style see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 166-168.

[35] Justin, *Dialogue with Tryphon* 35; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.67, 2.33, 3.24, 28.

[36] Eitrem, *Some Notes*, pp. 51-2, who compares *Mark* 1.43, 2.12 and Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 4.20; add *Mark* 9.25; Lucian, *Lovers of Lies*, 16, 31; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, 3.38. Cf. Kee, 'The Terminology'; Thraede, 'Exorzismus', pp. 51 and 66 (many more examples).

[37] *Mark* 1.25, 5.8, 9.25; *Acts* 16.18; compare also *APt* 11 (*exi*); *ATh* 73,74 and 77; Cyprian, *Epistula* 69.15; *PGM* IV.1227, 1242-4, 3007ff and V.158; Thraede, 'Exorcismus', p. 52; Jordan and Kotansky, 'A Salomonic Exorcism', p. 55ff.

[38] As is observed by Kollmann, *Jesus und die Christen*, p. 202.

came out from them', just as in the *Recognitions* (4.7.2) they leave 'immediately'. In the Coptic fragment of the *AA* (*AAcoptic* 14) the demon quietly leaves the young soldier on the order of Andrew and assures him that 'I have never destroyed a limb of his'. In the case of Alcmanes, the demon uses the term 'fleeing': 'I flee, servant and man of God, I flee not only from this slave, but also from this whole city' (5) – the terminology of actual exorcistic formulae.[39] That was not enough for Andrew. He showed the extent of his power by ordering the demon to stay away from wherever the Christians were.[40]

Not all demons were so placid, however. The demon of Cratinus's son left *multo clamitans* (*AAlatin* 5), and a soldier even died when the demon left him (*AAlatin* 18). The last example looks like a narrative exaggeration of a traditional theme in exorcism: the demon's dramatisation of his departure by an act of physical violence. In the *APt* (11) a leaving demon kicks a statue of the emperor to pieces and in the *ATh* (46), when a demon departed, 'fire and smoke were seen there, and all who stood by there were astounded'. The theme is already present in *Mark*, where evil spirits leave amid loud shouting (1.26, 9.20) or even destroy a herd of swine (5.13). It seems likely that a certain illusionist performance in this respect must have been part of the contemporary exorcist's trade.[41]

Naturally, not only did the demon have to demonstrate his departure, but the exorcised persons also had to show that they had been healed. So Alcmanes rose from the floor and sat down with Andrew 'sound in mind and tranquil and talking normally' (5). Once again these aspects have to be seen against the public character of the ritual. It is only when everybody has noticed the expulsion of the demon and the recovery of the possessed can he function again in the community.

The last actor in this scenario to be considered is the public. During resurrections crowds are always prominently present and acclaim the apostle with traditional formulae such as: *Magnus est Deus Christus, quem praedicat servus eius Andreas* (*AAlatin* 7),[42] *Non est similis tibi, Domine* (*AAlatin* 24) or *Non est similis deo Andreae* (*AAlatin* 13), the latter exclamation typically being uttered in the theatre.[43] But what about exorcisms? The great Gibbon,

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[39] Kotansky, 'Greek Exorcistic Amulets', p. 258ff.

[40] For *Geisterbannung* in general see Weinreich, 'Gebet und Wunder', p. 13ff.

[41] For more examples, see *Luke* 4.41; *Testamentum Salomonis* 1.12-14, 3.4, 4.11; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, 4.20; *ATh* 44, 75; Cf. Bonner, 'The Technique of Exorcism' and his supplement in *Harvard Theological Review* 27 (1944), pp. 334-336; Delatte, *Un office byzantin*, pp. 30.1, 54.17, 56.16, 84.11, 90.10, 91.6, 92.2 and 21.

[42] For the acclamation 'Great is ...', see Versnel, *Ter unus*, pp. 194-196; note also *AA Martyrium prius* 6.

[43] For the theatre as the place of performance in later Antiquity see Söder, *Die Apo-*

who called exorcism 'the awful ceremony', thought that the ritual was performed in front of many spectators and so led to the 'conviction of infidels'.[44] And indeed, it is true that in the time of the European religious wars, exorcism often had been the arena in which Catholics and Protestants had tried to establish the superiority of their faith.[45] In the *AA*, however, and other early Christian literature, we notice nothing of this crowd activity. On the contrary, Christian and pagan authors alike stress that the Christians exorcised in a manner as simple as possible. Apparently, Christians wanted at all costs to avoid the dangerous accusation of being magicians, and thus they practised exorcism without the usual hocus pocus of traditional magicians.

The confrontation between the apostle Peter and Simon Magus

In the canonical *Acts* (8.5-25) it is told that in Samaria a magician named Simon tried to buy the magical powers from the apostles, who indignantly rejected his request.[46] The episode made Simon into the prototypical magician, used by the Christians as a kind of bogeyman,[47] and as such he also features in the *APt*. Towards the end of the fourth century this 'novel' was translated by the Manichaeans in North Africa into Latin, together with the other major *AAA*,[48] but only a few fragments of this translation have survived, the largest of which describes the confrontation between the apostle Peter and Simon Magus. The confrontation was very popular in the Middle Ages and in the time of the Reformation, when the victory by Peter was often cited as an example of how people of authority could directly confront magicians and defeat them.[49]

The *APt* starts with the call of Peter to Rome after Simon Magus has succeeded in disturbing the Roman congregation. At that time Simon Magus resided in Aricia (4). The reason for this particular place is not explained, but it can hardly be separated from the fact that Aricia had a famous sanctuary of the

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kryphen Apostelgeschichten, pp. 158-162; Saïd, 'The City in the Greek Novel', pp. 221-222; Kolb, 'Die Sitzordnung'.

[44] Gibbon, *The History*, vol. 2, p. 28ff.

[45] Ernst, *Teufelsaustreibung*; Walker, *Unclean Spirits*; Greenblatt, 'Loudon and London', as well as his *Shakespearean Negotiations*, pp. 94-128; De Waardt, *Toverij*, pp. 171-174.

[46] For an excellent discussion see Heintz, *Simon "Le Magicien"*.

[47] For Simon Magus, see most recently Edwards, 'Simon Magus', who overlooked the still valuable Rudolph, 'Simon – Magus'; Hanig, 'Simon Magus'; Adamik, 'The Image'; Schneider and Cirillo, *Les* Reconnaissances, pp. 559-570; Theissen, 'Simon Magus'; Zangenberg, '*Dynamis tou theou*'.

[48] See my 'The Novel', pp. 39-45 and 'Aspects of the Acts', pp. 14-20.

[49] See most recently Melero-Moneo, 'Iconografía'; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 568-569; De Loos-Dietz, 'Traces', pp. 159-162.

goddess Diana, the Roman goddess of the moon and, later, of magic.[50] In Rome, Simon promises to fly and indeed in a somewhat peculiar way he knows to evoke the idea of a flight. In modern stereotypes of witches, flying is of course one of their most famous powers, but this is only a relatively late development, not attested before AD 1428.[51] Was it different in Antiquity? The Norwegian papyrologist Sam Eitrem interpreted the invitation of the devil to Christ to jump down from the temple (*Matthew* 4.6) as an invitation to fly, but that seems somewhat far-fetched, although he does mention Simon Magus in this connection.[52] The first reliable testimony is a mid second-century papyrus with an enumeration of the powers of the magician: '... it will stand still; if I order the moon, it will descend;[53] if I wish to prevent the day, night will linger on for me; and again, if we demand the day, the light will not depart; if I wish to sail the sea, I have no need of a ship; if I wish to move through the air, I shall become weigthless'.[54]

The magician in Lucian's *Lovers of Lies* can perform resurrections (below) and also fly. As the Peripatetic Cleodemus tells us, 'I saw him soar through the air in broad daylight and walk on water and go through fire lightly' (13). Cleodemus adds that he even wore Hyperborean shoes, which confirmed his Northern origin. One may wonder whether this flying magician had to come from the North, since another famous miracle worker from Antiquity who was credited with flying on an arrow, Abaris, also came from the Hyperboreans.[55] More or less contemporaneously is the example from Apuleius, although it is somewhat different from Simon Magus. The slave girl friend of the first-person *raconteur* Lucius tells him that her mistress 'intended to feather herself as a bird and fly away'. To this end the witch took off her clothes and anointed herself from 'the tips of her toenails to the top of her hair. After a long, secret (!) conversation with her lamp she began to shake her limbs in a quivering tremor'. Eventually, she turns into an owl. 'So she let out a plaintive screech and began testing herself by jumping off the ground a little

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[50] See Bremmer, 'James Georg Frazer'.

[51] Ginzburg, 'Deciphering', p. 124. For flying witches in Europe, see most recently Pócs, 'Feenflug und Hexenflug'; Henningsen, 'Der Hexenflug'; Tschacher, 'Der Flug durch die Luft'.

[52] Eitrem, 'Die Versuchung Christi', pp. 9, 36 (applauded by Smith, *Jesus*, p. 105).

[53] For this famous magical trick, see most recently Gordon, 'Imagining Greek and Roman Magic', pp. 223-224.

[54] *PGM* XXXIV.3-7, re-edited by Stephens and Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels*, pp. 173-178 and Stramaglia, 'Il soprannaturale', pp. 39-45.

[55] See Heraclides Ponticus fr. 51c Wehrli[2] for the first mention of the flying Abaris. Earlier sources only mention that he carried the arrow in his hand, cf. Bremmer, *Rise and Fall*, p. 33.

at the time. Soon she soared aloft and flew out of the house on full wing'.[56] The transformation of a witch into a bird already occurs in Ovid and seems to be an older motif.[57] However, it is not as powerful a feat as flying in human form. Apparently the claims of modern magicians surpassed those of the witches of old.

In the *Recognitions* (2.9, varied in 3.47, 57) flying is part of a list of magical feats Simon Magus claims to be able to perform, such as being able to disappear and reappear, pass through mountains, untie himself when tightly bound, make statues come alive and throw himself unhurt into a fire. Finally, flying occurs in the magical papyri, where a *demon parhedros*, 'the only lord of the air', will help his magician 'to carry you [into] the air, and again hurl you into the billows of the sea's current and into the waves of the sea';[58] incidentally, it is interesting to note that similar powers were also attributed to late antique monks, since the Egyptian Patermouthios was reputed to have moved through the air.[59]

With his feat Simon managed to rouse the necessary opposition to Paul who was called a 'sorcerer' and 'deceiver' (4: *magus*, *planus*: § 1).[60] In order to counter this bad influence Peter travelled to Rome and challenged Simon in the house of the senator Marcellus, a great benefactor of the Christians (8). The passage is an interesting, albeit fictitious, testimony to the presence of magicians in the houses of the Greco-Roman elite.[61] Here Simon is chased away by a dog (9). After this first triumph Peter resurrects a dried fish (13). A fish is a somewhat curious object of apostolic attention, but from a literary point of view this first resurrection whets the appetite of the reader, whose curiosity is now raised as to what further miracles Peter will perform.[62] Subsequently Simon is struck dumb by an infant (15); in other words, he has been defeated by categories he should have easily defeated himself if he had possessed any real powers. Moreover, Peter also mentions that in Palestine Simon had attempted to deceive an honest woman, Eubola, with magic incantations, *magico carmine*, but, after being prevented by Peter from doing so, he had disappeared from Palestine (17). From a narrative point of view, this

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[56] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 3.21, transl. Hanson; note also 2.20, 22.

[57] Ovid, *Amores* 1.8.13-4, *Fasti* 6.141-2, *Metamorphoses* 15.356-60 (Hyperborean males and Scythian women); Petronius 63; Festus 414L; Pfister, 'Wasser- und Feuertaufe', p. 271ff.

[58] *PGM* I.119-120, 129.

[59] *Historia monachorum* X.20.

[60] For the designation *planus*, from Greek *planos*, 'wanderer, impostor, sorcerer', see Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 75, 225.

[61] Many examples in Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 193-201.

[62] This does not exclude the possibility that the fish also refers to the resurrection of Christ, as argued by Norelli, 'Sur les Actes de Pierre', pp. 230-231.

scene, which is related in great detail, helps to raise the expectations of the reader that Peter will also succeed in defeating Simon in the decisive confrontation. It also indicates that from a moral point of view Simon does not score very high.

The negative manner in which Simon is depicted in the *APt* has recently been well studied from various perspectives.[63] We may perhaps add one detail which has not yet received the attention it deserves. When Simon comes on stage for the very first time, 'he spoke to the people *voce gracili*' (4), and the low quality of his voice is also remarked upon by the speaking dog, who mentions Simon's *vocem tuam infirmem et inutilem* (12). In the first centuries of the Christian era, the voice played an important role in the self-fashioning of the sophists.[64] Accordingly, physiognomists paid much attention to the quality of the voice. Adamantius tells us the *kosmios* male speaks with a 'heavy' voice (2.49) and the so-called Anonymous Latin Physiognomist points out that the voice of a timid man is *mollis* (91). Simon's voice, then, is one more indication to the reader that Peter's opponent is not only dishonest, he is not even a 'real' man at all!

The 'shoot-out' between the apostle Peter and Simon Magus takes place on the Forum Romanum, the heart of the capital, in front of the cream of Roman society, *senatores et praefecti et officia* (23). The place is interesting, since today we think of the magician as performing in private. However, in the first centuries of our era this certainly was not the case. In that period, magic was openly performed in theaters, crossroads, temple precincts and public squares. It is only towards the end of Antiquity that theurgists and magicians started to opt for secrecy.[65]

At the Forum Peter challenges Simon to do something which he will undo. The prefect of the city, who wants to look impartial, gives one of his slaves to Simon to be killed and, presumably, resurrected. Simon speaks into the slave's ear and he dies. We are not told what he said, so we must presume that he whispered as befitted a magician (25).[66] Similarly, the Jewish author Artapanus tells how by whispering into his ear Moses caused the Pharao to fall mute on the ground, only to be later revived again.[67] In the famous fourth-cen-

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[63] See Luttikhuizen, 'Simon Magus'; Czachesz, 'Who is Deviant?'.

[64] See Gleason, *Making Men*; Rousselle, *Contamination spirituelle*, pp. 87-114 ('Parole et inspiration. Le travail de la voix dans le monde romain').

[65] Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* II, § 47, 51, 150-3 and 'Mageia', pp. 391-393; Scobie, *Apuleius*, p. 53, note 62-63; Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 233-236.

[66] Moscadi, '"Murmur"'; Van Mal-Maeder, *Apulée*, p. 70; Valette-Cagnac, *La lecture*, pp. 42-47; Van der Horst, *Hellenism-Judaism-Christianity*, pp. 300-302.

[67] Artapanus *FGrH* 726 F 3 (= Clemens, *Stromateis* 1.154.2; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.27). For Moses and magic, see Gager, 'Moses the Magician'; Bloch,

tury Paris magical papyrus the formula to cause a trance has to be said seven times into the ear in order to let a man or little boy fall into trance.[68] In the fifth-century *Actus Silvestri* (II.1035-7), the magician Zambri (= Jambres) even kills an ox by whispering the name of God into its ear;[69] as the author probably knew the *APt*,[70] the scene may well have been inspired by our *Acts*. In fact, examples of whispering formulae into the ears of children used as mediums are still well-attested in Greek and Jewish texts in early modern times.[71]

Our curiosity about the reaction of Peter is momentarily left unsatisfied, since at the very moment of the slave's death a widow intervenes and asks Peter to resurrect her only son, who has just died (25). From a narrative point of view, the widow's interruption raises the suspense, since, for a moment, we are left wondering whether Peter will perform more than one resurrection.[72] However, the impatient prefect adds urgency to his case by mentioning that the slave just killed is also a favourite of the emperor (26). It is interesting that Peter does not resurrect the slave himself but asks the prefect to do it for him by holding the slave's right hand. This the prefect does and the slave regains his life. Still, this was only a slave, and it is perhaps significant that the author lets the *praefectus urbi* resurrect a slave, whereas he reserves the resurrection of a free man for the apostle. An indirect resurrection is a typical trait of the *AAA*. Three times John empowers a person for a resurrection (*AJ* 24, 47, 82-3), Paul does it once (*AP* 26), as does Thomas (*ATh* 53-4). This indirect resurrection seems to be a typically Christian feature, which demonstrates the great power of the apostles.

After this indirect resurrection, the apostle immediately resurrects the son of the widow as if not wanting to leave any doubt about his own capacities. In addition, he also carefully imitates Christ, whose words to the paralytic he uses when addressing the widow's son: 'rise up and walk' (27). However, it is only the third resurrection that will be the scene for the great confrontation – not about a slave, not about the son of a widow, but about the son of a senator.

Immediately after the first two resurrections, when the crowd is still present in the Forum, the mother of a young senator arrives and asks Peter to resurrect her son who is being taken to his grave in a typically Roman funeral procession. Peter then challenges Simon to resurrect the boy and asks the Roman audience to believe that he is a *magus* if he is unable to do so. Simon

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'Mose und die Scharlatane'.

[68] *PGM* IV.909-10; note also Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 6.14, 21, 65; *Testamentum Salomonis* 18.21; *PGM* XIII.248.

[69] I follow the line numbering in the text of De Leo, *Ricerche*, pp. 151-221. For the date, cf. Fowden, 'The Last Days', p. 154ff.

[70] Bammel, *Judaica*, p. 82ff.

[71] Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic*, p. 15; Hopfner, 'Mittel- und neugriechische', p. 227.

[72] Thomas, 'Revivifying Resurrection', p. 76.

accepts the challenge and 'went to the dead man's head, and stooped down three times and stood up three times and showed the people that (the dead man) had raised his head and was moving, opening his eyes and bowing towards Simon'. Impressed by this feat the Roman populace wants to burn Peter (§ 2), but the apostle points to the only partial success of Simon and ironically asks the boy to get up if he is alive and to remove the wrappings from his chin and call for his mother. These words are enough for the prefect to push Simon away with his own hands. Peter resurrects the boy by a mere touch,[73] and Simon withdraws in shame (28).

Resurrection is attested for ancient magicians as well as Christians. Our first example is the sophist Favorinus (*ca.* AD 85-155), who lived during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. His embittered opponent Polemon tells us that

> 'he was a charlatan in the magic arts. He induced people to believe that he could confer life and death, and because of this enticed men and women to gather round him in crowds. He made men believe that he could compel women to pursue men the way men pursue women, using a hidden voice to make himself credible. He was a master of evil doing, and made a practice of collecting lethal poisons which he secretly offered for sale'.[74]

Clearly, Favorinus was accused of poisoning, performing love magic and of being able to kill people, as Simon did, and to revive them. Unfortunately, we do not hear anything about how he did these things, but for Polemon it was apparently not unusual that a magician claimed to have mastered the art of reviving people.

Resurrection also features shortly in the enumeration of the powers of a Hyperborean magician in Lucian's *Lovers of Lies* (13), whose feats comprise 'sending Cupids after people, conjuring up demons, calling mouldy corpses to life, making Hecate herself appear in plain sight, and pulling down the moon'. This man is clearly a master magician, since the others only resurrect recently deceased persons, not those mouldering in their graves. In fact, already in the *Gospel of John* (11.39) the sister of Lazarus doubts the possibility of resurrecting her brother, 'for he has been dead four days'.[75] Resurrection must have been a theme of interest in Lucian's time, since in his *Alexander or the False Prophet* he also relates that Alexander's Oracle had sent out 'missionaries' to spread the fame of the Oracle by including in its memorable feats that 'it had

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[73] For the Christian origin of the 'mere touch', see Lalleman, 'Healing'.

[74] Polemo, *De physiognomia*, pp. 160-164, ed. Förster, transl. Gleason, *Making Men*, p. 7. For Polemo's work, see Holford-Strevens, 'On the Sources'.

[75] This resurrection is also quoted in a fifth/sixth-century Coptic healing amulet as proof of Christ's healing powers, cf. *PGM* II.227.

resurrected some who had already died' (24).[76] In fact, in his *Peregrinus*, Lucian observes regarding the Christians that 'the poor creatures have convinced themselves that they will be completely immortal and live for all time' (13). Here Lucian is almost certainly referring to the resurrection.[77]

We are better informed about Apollonius of Tyana. In his biography (4.45), Philostratus relates that a girl had died just in the hour of her marriage, a typically melodramatic touch. When she was carried to her grave, the bridegroom followed the bier and 'the whole of Rome was mourning with him, for the maiden belonged to a family of consular rank'. Philostratus has transferred here to Rome the typical mourning scenes for prominent members of Greek society, which are so well attested for the period in inscriptions and the ancient novel.[78] Apollonius stops the bier and 'merely touching her and saying something secretly (whispering?) over her, woke up the maiden from her apparent death; and the girl spoke out loud, and returned to her father's house'. We see here a resurrection very similar to that of Peter, but Apollonius cannot do it by a mere touch. He has to use some kind of magic formula.[79]

Resurrection also occurs in the magical papyri. In the so-called *Eighth Book of Moses*, which became incorporated in a fourth-century papyrus,[80] we find the following instruction for a magician who wants to resurrect a dead body: 'I conjure you, spirit coming in air, enter, inspire, empower, resurrect by the power of the eternal god, this body; and let it walk about in this place, for I am he who acts with the power of Thayth, the holy god. Say the Name' (*PGM* XIII.279-82).

The most interesting parallel, however, comes from Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (2.27-30), a scene which is a mixture of resurrection and necromancy. Once again we are faced with a funeral procession, once again a member of a leading family, but this time a young man. His maternal uncle accuses his wife of having poisoned him and has employed the already mentioned Egyptian prophet Zatchlas (§ 1), who 'has contracted with me for a great price to bring my nephew's spirit back from the dead for a brief time and reanimate his body as it was before his death'. The prophet 'placed a certain little herb on the corpse's mouth and another on its chest. Then he turned to the east and silently

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[76] For this fascinating treatise, see most recently Victor, *Lukian von Samosata*.
[77] I follow V. Schmidt, 'Lukian'.
[78] Van Bremen, *The Limits*, pp. 156-163, where this example has to be added; note also the funerals in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 8.6, 9.30, which may well depend on Apuleius's Greek model, which was probably written around AD 170 in southern Asia Minor, cf. Bremmer, 'The Novel and the Acts', pp. 168-171.
[79] For the scene, see also Koskenniemi, *Apollonius*, pp. 193-198; Bowersock, *Fiction*, p. 109ff. For Apollonius and resurrection, note also the often overlooked mention in Historia Augusta, *Vita Aureliani* 24.3.8.
[80] For the development, see Smith, *Studies*, pp. 217-226.

invoked the rising power of the majectic Sun' (2.28). As is often argued, the herb on the mouth perhaps evokes the well-known Egyptian ritual of the opening of the mouth,[81] but the herb is typical of Greco-Roman magic,[82] as is the silent prayer. His ritual preparations have effect and the young man duly reveals his wife to be the murderer. However, the young man stresses that he returns only *ad momentariae vitae officia* (2.29). Apparently, magic can bring about only a temporary resurrection not lasting life. A clever magician could probably effect such resurrections by conjuring tricks and ventriloquism.[83] In fact, there is often only a fine dividing line between ancient magicians and modern-day illusionists.

Considering that pagan resurrections become visible only in the second century, Christian influence seems most probable. It is noteworthy that in the Christian Middle Ages resurrection had virtually disappeared from the magicians' handbooks: it was now only the Antichrist who would perform such an impressive miracle.[84]

After his earlier failure Simon tries to make up by letting the lame walk, the blind see, and dead people move, if only for a short time (!). When Peter follows him and every time exposes his feats for the trickery they are, he finally promises that he will fly up to his Father (31). The next day Simon indeed 'was carried up into the air, and everyone saw him all over Rome, passing over its temples and its hills'. It is only after a prayer by Peter to Christ that he falls down and breaks his leg; after an unsuccessful operation he dies shortly after (32).

It is time to draw some conclusions. Firstly, our survey has demonstrated that the *AAA* are an important, if wrongly neglected, source for ancient magic. It is indeed striking how many details the authors know to relate, just like their pagan contemporaries Lucian and Apuleius. In modern times magic is normally connected with secrecy, but, as we noted, this was different in Antiquity where magicians preferred publicity. The names of Lucian and Apuleius also show that the *AAA* typically belong to the later second and the beginning of the third centuries, when magic apparently was of the greatest interest to the pub-

[81] Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision*.

[82] Lucan 6.681-4; Pliny, *Natural History* 25.5.14; Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 25.529-31, 539-542; Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, vol. 2, § 352.

[83] For ancient ventriloquism, see most recently Katz and Volk, '"Mere bellies"?'; Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, p. 238ff. For a modern parallel, see L. E. Schmidt, 'From Demon Possession to Magic Show'.

[84] Lucken, *Antichrist*, pp. 63-65; Caciola, 'Wraiths', pp. 41-44; Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, pp. 61-64.

lic, from high to low.[85] During the Christian empire, magic was marginalised and driven underground,[86] although, of course, it never disappeared.[87]

Secondly, this great pagan interest shows that the Christians were confronted with the problem of how to differentiate themselves with their miracles from their pagan competitors. That is why our sources stress that the apostles perform their miracles without any hocus pocus and often in modest company. That is also why in the *AA* magicians are shown up in a bad light and proved to be ineffective (*AA* 4), and why accusations of magic are immediately refuted (*AAlatin* 18; *Martyrium prius* 3-4). On the other hand, even the pagan saint Apollonius of Tyana still has to whisper some words to be effective, just as the Egyptian prophet has to use herbs and a silent, i.e. magical, prayer to the Sun. Moreover, Christian miracles are performed for the improvement of life and soul. That is why Peter enters into a confrontation over the resurrection but does not attempt to impress the Romans by demonstrating that he can also fly. To do so would have been to lower himself to the performance of a trick and thus to equate himself to a magician. Between resurrecting and flying there is an important qualitative difference.

Thirdly, it is typical of the *AAA* that the confrontation takes place mainly on a narrative level, but virtually never on the level of intellectual argument. The case for the Christian miracles is argued only once with an appeal to the fulfilment by prophecy (*APt* 23-4), whereas this is a stock argument in the Christian apologists.[88]

Finally, in the short period between the birth of Christianity and the arrival of Constantine and the Christian Empire magic and miracle were strong competitors for attention. After their rise to power the Christians could eliminate the 'competition'. That is why later Christian literature does not demonstrate the same interest in magic as the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*.[89]

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[85] For magic in Apuleius, see most recently Fauth, 'Magie und Mysterium'.

[86] It is interesting to note that also Manichaeism strongly opposed magic, see Mirecki, 'Manichaean Allusions'.

[87] For example, Maguire, *Byzantine Magic*.

[88] Thee, *Julius Africanus, passim*; Remus, *Pagan-Christian Conflict*, pp. 52-72; Kelhoffer, *Miracle and Mission*.

[89] For information and comments on the various versions I would like to thank Ton Hilhorst and Sarah Johnston. Michael Maas thoughtfully corrected my English.

SUPERNATURAL ASSISTANCE IN THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI

THE FIGURE OF THE PARHEDROS

Anna Scibilia

Ignota tantum pietate merentur, an tacitis valuere minis?
(Lucan VI, 495-96)
For Giulia Sfameni Gasparro

The Greek magical papyri are important not only for increasing our knowledge of Graeco-Roman civilisation, but also because they provide interesting points of departure for studying the religious climate of the Hellenistic period.[1] It was Karl Preisendanz, who made the large collection of magical spells, formulas and hymns available to scholars.[2] In this way he also gave them the chance of intensifying the search for interrelationships between those magical texts and contemporary religious currents, such as Judaism, Christianity, Neoplatonic philosophy, pagan mysteries, and the Gnosis.[3]

The term 'Greek magical papyri' refers to a corpus of documents with a well defined autonomy and a specific subject. Although the aims of these documents vary, their character is relatively uniform.[4] They establish a relationship between magician and divinity, a preferential link that both

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[1] Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, pp. xli-liii, stresses the value of the Greek magical papyri and considers them as exemplifying a new religion; see also Festugière, *L'idéal*, pp. 281-328; Nilsson, 'Die Religion'; Casadio, 'Sincretismo', p. 125.

[2] I use the authoritative edition of Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae*, whose numbers are quoted as *PGM*; all translations are from Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, who on pp. xxvii-xxviii lists the more recent papyri that are not in Preisendanz; see also Daniel and Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*. For a comprehensive analysis and bibliography, see the studies by Brashear: 'The Greek Magical Papyri', 'Out of the Closet', and 'Botokudenphilologie'. For the chronological evaluation of these documents, see Festugière, *L'idéal*, pp. 281-282, note 2.

[3] About the interrelationships, see Nock, *Essays*, vol. 1, pp. 176-189.

[4] Here I refer to the uniformity of the formal aspects. Although diverse from the point of view of period, composition, length, and thematics, the documents nevertheless share a similar structure: operation, ritual, and a spell or a specific formula, cf. Festugière, *L'idéal*, p. 283.

gives and takes,[5] and they show a similarity with forms of applied magic that are typical of other contexts of the ancient world: medical recipes, spells for picking plants,[6] *devotiones*,[7] *defixiones*,[8] and the superstitions and enticements of magical gems. This literature illuminatingly shows the mechanisms of magical practices in the ancient world and illustrates a threefold relationship – between magician, customer and divinity – that aims at obtaining any sort of benefit.[9] Yet in the papyri these mechanisms of the magical *actio*, although identical on a formal level, sometimes betray an intent that is not exclusively inner-wordly but also has otherwordly aims.[10] In other words, is it possible to speak of a soteriology in Greek magical papyri and, if so, how do we qualify this soteriology?[11] In order to resolve this question, we will study a few texts from this rich literature not only to verify the formalities of the magical *actio* and its corresponding formulas, but also to clarify its aims.

The magos between coercion and otherworldliness

The magician acts on several levels,[12] gives advice to the customer for curative purposes or guarantees beforehand the favour of a god or goddess.

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[5] Nock, *Essays*, vol. 1, p. 190.
[6] *PGM* IV. 286-295, 2967-3006.
[7] Cf. Gager, *Curse Tablets*, p. 30; Graf, *Magic*, p. 128.
[8] Cf. *PGM* IV.3030ff.; *PGM* VII.396ff.
[9] It should be pointed out that this threefold relationship can be simplified, since customer and magician are sometimes the same person.
[10] I follow a formulation by Bianchi (Bianchi / Vermaseren, *La Soteriologia*, p. 4).
[11] See Vermaseren, 'La sotériologie', p. 18: 'Peut-on parler de sotériologie dans ces papyrus?' Cf. Nock, *Essays*, vol. 1, p. 190: 'There is an element of *ignota pietas* in magic'.
[12] Some of the longest texts of the corpus of the Greek magical papyri can also be considered handbooks of magic. Some of these take the form of repertories: recipes, letters, series of *formulae* with variations. Others hand down a summa of magical traditions in the form of different codes: protection, divination and vision. See, for example, *PGM* LXX, where the text contains the *incantamentum* of Hecate Ereschigal, a long recipe with five formulas and prescriptions that combines the ideas of protective and aggressive magic. Another example is contained in *PGM* XII.96-107, where a protective amulet can be found in 100-104. Futhermore, there are rites of self-promotion that deserve special mention. These are the rites, containing a truly utilitarian perspective that aims at improving several aspects of everyday life, such as the acquisition of power over others, of wealth, or knowledge. For these last, see *PGM* III.494-611, IV.2289 (in which the term *sôtêr* [2279] appears in the address of Isis-Moon), XII.397-400 (a general claim for victory [*nikêtikon*], analysed by Festugière, *L'idéal*, p. 231). For anthropological aspects linked with the concept of self-promotion, see Faraone, 'Agonistic Context'.

These are extraordinary and complicated procedures that imply the use of all kinds of *materia magica*. He often uses long series of words or associations of vowels that are apparently incomprehensible.[13] The first author stressing this curious phenomenon is Euripides who in his *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (lines 1337-38) calls these words *barbarika melê*, 'barbarian words'. These peculiar words, if we want to consider them as words, draw their strength from the power of analogy or from the simple fact that they are pronounced in a series.[14] In magical texts, the word, like the name of the divinity, is the true active instrument to obtain certain effects.[15] In fact, knowledge of the divine name sets off a dynamics of appropriating power that is guaranteed by the knowledge of the identity of the superior entities invoked.[16] The need to use a language that is 'other' in comparison to daily use, is required in magical practices that have supernatural interlocutors. From this language the hymnical genre appears the most adequate *modus in rebus* to the magician, although these papyri pose a true problem regarding the definition of the magical hymns.[17] Yet it is perhaps in the structure and nature of the hymns, sometimes defined as *logoi* in the text, that the dialectical relationship between magic and religion, or between coercion and prayer, most often surfaces.

The operator regularly identifies himself with the divinity. He tries to take possession of the god's true name with the purpose of approaching a superior power that will guarantee his ability to act in an inner-worldly context,[18] by means of knowledge originating from a *communio* with the

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[13] See McCown, 'The Ephesia Grammata', p. 129: 'as to the origin and meaning of the mysterious formula, ancients and moderns have made their guesses, all alike unconvincing'. About *voces mysticae* and other forms of unintelligible writing, see Gager, *Curse Tablets*, pp. 6ff.

[14] On the *voces magicae*, see Brashear, 'The Greek Magical Papyri', pp. 3429-3438; Versnel, 'The Poetics of the Magical Charm'.

[15] On the power of the word, see Frankfurter, 'The Magic of Writing'.

[16] Cf. *PGM* III.500: during a prayer to establish a relationship with Helios, the magician invokes the god and says in conclusion: 'I know your signs, [symbols and] forms, who you are each hour and what your name is'.

[17] On the magical hymns, see Poccetti, 'Forma e tradizioni'. Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae*, vol. 2, contains a selection of 'hymns', but in his 'Vorrede' he argues for a strict metrical order in his selection. Yet such an approach on purely technical grounds leaves many problems unresolved, since according to his criterion even metrical spells are part of the hymns. However, since they are part of the practice, they cannot be considered as strictly poetical forms. In addition, a certain number of papyri that are not in verse should be considered as prose hymns according to their literary character. On the dialectic relationship between prayer and spells, see also Kippenberg, 'Magic', p. 156.

[18] About this topic, see Vermaseren, 'La sotériologie', p. 18: 'Le magicien à pre-

divinity.[19] In some texts the hymn is set in the ambiance of a ritual that shows how magic, profoundly receptive, is hence susceptible to external influences. The magical *actio* regularly uses those elements that *official religion* rejects as dangerous. But it is the magician's way of performing a rite vertically that puts him out of the ordinary, in opposition to the common religious rituals, and that isolates him from his fellow citizens.[20]

In the hymns, especially in the Greek-Coptic versions, the demonological formulae are enriched by contributions from the pantheons of different religions. This should not be taken as a sign of syncretism, but the combination of divinities is yet another demonstration of magic's *natural receptiveness*. Although the typology of the magical hymn is substantially different from that of the *real* religious hymn, they share two elements at the level of the *pars epica*, namely invocation and claim. The magical operator does not try to effect a dynamics of gift-exchange, nor does he want to evoke his own merits. He often identifies himself with the supernatural entity and this operation underlines his own pretention of appropriating the power of the character in question.

In general, the sphere of magic is qualified by power, the power to equally attract, manipulate and use for its own ends spells and recipes – in short, substances that would remain inactive if deprived of supernatural activation. The magician wishes to achieve knowledge and in order to obtain it, he often has to persuade divinities to assist him in reaching his own ends. The fact that in the *corpus* of papyri magic operates through 'coercion' can be considered as a unifying element. The presence of 'coercive' elements needs no other justification than the real needs of the operator.[21]

In analysing these texts, we should therefore distinguish between complex hymns and hymns of simple coercion, activated in the context of a precise magical *actio* and often animated by destructive aims. Complex hymns share the formal characteristics of the 'simple' ones, but on the level

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mière vue appartiendrait à la classe de ceux qui espèrent d'obtenir une faveur en général très matérielle pour soi-même ou pour son client, une faveur qui n'a rien à faire avec les conceptions de rédemption'.

[19] Vermaseren, 'La sotériologie', p. 20.

[20] See Graf, *Magic*, p. 213.

[21] On the problem of 'coercion', see Festugière, *L'idéal*, pp. 284-285: 'Quel que soit le but visé, il importe d'établir d'abord qu'une action magique, laquelle comprend toujours à la fois une invocation et une série de pratiques, 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, ni même pour lui demander quelque bienfait. A vrai dire, ce n'est pas une prière, une demande, mais une sommation. On force la divinité à agir, on la contraint par son nom'; Graf, *Magic*, pp. 222-229.

of content they participate in the search for the divine and hence they can be considered as testifying to one of the chief aspects of the culture, spirituality and religiosity of the Hellenistic period, viz. the aspiration to establish a contact with the transcendent world of the supernatural beings: Apuleius's *communio loquendi cum deis* or Iamblichus's *methousia tôn theôn*.[22]

The divine parhedros: acquisition and functionality

A certain number of magical hymns seem to express the relationship between the magical operator and the divinity in different terms. In such documents, the magical operator does not resort to *epanankoi logoi*, 'spells of coercion',[23] but shows reverence for the divine, which is perhaps animated by what Nock has defined as mystical piety.[24] As Vermaseren observes:

> Ainsi en faisant usage des forces magiques, comme les néoplatoniciens tardif depuis Jamblique, le magicien devient dans sa propre manière un suppliant qui exprime dans sa propre langue ce qu'il voudrait réellement obtenir; extérieurement ses phrases sont des commandements augustes, mais en réalité ils sont des prières, des cris du cœur qui expriment son désir de devenir l'égal de la divinité.[25]

The god is defined as ruler: 'Hail, absolute ruler, hail, hail'.[26] In order to suggest the idea of a hierarchy, the *magos* often calls the god 'Lord' and qualifies himself as 'servant': '*Lords*, gods, reveal to me concerning the NN matter tonight, in the coming hours. Emphatically I beg, I supplicate, I your *servant* and enthroned by you'.[27] Some passages from the long papyrus Mimaut of the Louvre seem to allude to the same theme: the *magos* being ordered to enjoy the food *stoma pros stoma*, '[coming] face to face', as companion to the god, in a place chosen by the god.[28]

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[22] Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius*, pp. 252-257: *Sin vero more vulgari eum isti proprie magum existimant, qui communione loquendi cum deis immortalibus ad omnia quae velit incredibili quadam vi cantaminum polleat, oppido miror cur accusare non timuerint quem posse tantum fatentur*; Iamblichus, *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum* 7.5; cf. Graf, *Magic*, pp. 214, 228f.
[23] For example, *PGM* IV.2520-67, 2708-84.
[24] Nock, *Essays*, vol. 1, p. 192.
[25] Vermaseren, 'La sotériologie', p. 19.
[26] Cf. *PGM* III.443.
[27] *PGM* VII.742-747, transl. by Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 139. Here there is a close reference to the rite of the *thronismos*. In order to establish an intimate relationship with the divinity, the magician defines himself as *mystês* (*PGM* I.126).
[28] *PGM* I.40.

We should perhaps underline the wish of the magician to become *like* the divinity, to accede to a higher level that puts him into contact with the supernatural entity of which he wants to assume the formal characteristics. In the magical papyri a whole series of rituals results in the transformation of the condition of an individual who is already a magician or who has already passed the previous ritual 'examination' by his promotion to a superior level.[29] Through the execution of these rites the magician participates in the divine sphere. They belong to two fundamental but differing types:

a) the initiatory ritual that allows magicians to procure a *parhedros*, a divine assistant;
b) the initiatory ritual of *systasis*, a ritual of presenting the *magos* to the divinity.

Both rituals make the *magos* participate in the divine sphere. From a methodological point of view it is interesting to investigate the relations between the will of the *magos* to become *égal à la divinité*,[30] his aims and the instruments with which he tries to achieve his purpose.

The parhedroi: rites and forms

Let us first look at the *parhedros* himself. Before starting a more complex investigation and historical evaluation, it seems opportune to present a preliminary definition. A careful analysis allows us to identify ten passages about the *parhedroi* in the *corpus* of magical papyri: *PGM* I.1-42, 42-195; IV.1331-89, 1716-1870, 1928-2005, 2006-2125, 2145-2240; VII.862-928; XIa.1-40; XII.14-95. The adjective *parhedros* commonly means 'he who is/sits nearby or near', and in the magical papyri this meaning remains substantially unchanged, despite the numerous contexts. Indeed, *parhedros* always refers to the figure of a supernatural assistant who collaborates with the magician. Yet, he appears in many different forms and his attributes greatly vary, depending on the contexts.[31]

For a useful analysis, it is therefore necessary to consider the various forms of the *parhedros* in relation to the specific contexts in which this figure develops a well defined function and to consider the corresponding

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[29] Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, pp. 40-44. The promotion to a superior level could also be understood as social promotion inside a community of non-initiates.

[30] Cf. Vermaseren, 'La sotériologie', p. 18: 'En s'identifiant avec la divinité il monte à travers les sphères jusq'au niveaux cosmiques le plus haut de l'Aion unique du Soleil'.

[31] Ciraolo, 'Supernatural Assistants', p. 292: 'the variations between similar paredros texts seem to be different versions of the same tale, rather than completely different stories'.

attributes. As a starting point it may be useful to apply the taxonomy of Leda Ciraolo, who distinguishes four general categories: the divine, the celestial, the spiritual and the material.[32]

The parhedros in a human shape

In two texts the *parhedros* is considered as a divine being in human form. First, there is the term *angelos*, 'holy angel, guardian'.[33] Secondly, in *PGM* XIa the supernatural entity is called 'Mistress of the House', a direct translation of the Egyptian name Nephthys. She acquires a human form and aims at accomplishing the claims of the magical operator who, according to the text, must say: 'I have need [of you] for domestic service'. After having assumed the appearance of an elderly woman, the supernatural entity asks to be restored to her divine beauty. This underlines the transitory character of her materialisation, which is not a permanent change. The status of *parhedreia* and, therefore, the terrestrial shape of the goddess will remain active as long as the magician follows the prescription that he must wear two amulets, an ass's tooth and the old lady's tooth jointly and forever. Evidently, the subordination of the *parhedros* to the magician is not without certain conditions and marks the discrepancy, in whatever way, between the human and the superior level.

The parhedros assimilated to a deity

Sometimes the entity seems to be identified directly with a deity of which he assumes the name: 'Eros as assistant', 'a ritual of Eros'. The text specifies that, during this ritual with a divinatory purpose, Eros will be introduced in the form of an evil spirit, *kakodaimôn*, and it adds that this latter figure will send the requested information, 'if you use him in a proper and holy manner'.[34] In the text of *PGM* IV (1841ff.), for instance, the *magos* addresses his invocation both to Eros and to a statuette of the god.[35]

The parhedros as physical object

The *parhedros* can also be identified with an (unlikely) object: 'Divine assistance from three Homeric verses', a thin iron lamella[36] with a protec-

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[32] *Ibidem*, Table I.
[33] *PGM* IV.1939.
[34] *PGM* XII.15-17.
[35] For suggestions on how to make the statuette, see *PGM* XII.14-95.
[36] *PGM* IV.2145-2240.

tive character, inscribed with Homeric verses. Such a procedure is relatively common in the magical papyri.[37] In the course of the text, during the recitation of the ritual, we typically find a reference to the chthonian world: 'I conjure you by the gods of the underworld'. In fact, this text is so powerful that through it one can invoke 'all supernatural powers'. In other passages, this entity, considered as a physical object, is invoked with: 'Come! Submit to this service and be my assistant'.[38] To activate its hidden potential the magician has to perform a number of operations, namely reciting the magical spell, preparing and attending to the ritual meal, and making the sacrificial offering.

The parhedros as daimon

The *parhedros* can also be defined as *daimôn*.[39] It is interesting to remark that Socrates used to define his famous *daimonion* as the 'voice of the god', as a kind of private oracle;[40] in fact, one of the peculiarities of the *parhedros* was the ability to send divinatory dreams, to produce a trance and to favour possessions.

The association of the *parhedros* with the Agathos Daimon is, perhaps, even more marked.[41] Apuleius considers the highest degree of priesthood as stemming from the joint favour of three different divinities, Isis, Osiris and the Agathos Daimon: 'Rejoice and be happy instead, because the deities continually deem you worthy. Exult, rather, in the fact that you will experience three times what is scarcely permitted to others even once, and from that number you should rightly consider yourself to be forever blessed'.[42] Admittedly, the term '*parhedros*' in the magical documents is not always used in a simple manner, for in every text different *nomina* are used to express its specific nature. In general, the *parhedroi* are identified especially with the *daimones* of the dead. Yet it is opportune to stress that, as appears

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[37] For other examples of this common use, see *PGM* IV.467-474, 821-824, 830-834; VII.1-148.
[38] *PGM* XII.95.
[39] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 215-216.
[40] Xenophon, *Apology*, in: Luck, *Arcana Mundi*, vol. 2, p.12; *ibidem*, p. 186: 'to call it daimonion would, indeed, arouse the suspicion that Socrates was worshipping a secret, nameless deity. If this deity or daemon or spirit worked for him, it gave him special powers that were inaccessible to others – hence the accusation of atheism and the implication of witchcraft'.
[41] It appears in *PGM* I.26; IV.1609, 1712; XII.244.
[42] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.29 (transl. Hanson); cf. Reitzenstein, *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, p. 321.

from the texts, it is not the normal spirit of the dead,[43] but a being of a different and changeable status.[44]

The magical operator often seems to be ignorant of the forms in which the *daimôn* will be revealed to him,[45] but what he desires is simply an assistant of the god, answering to the proposed claims. He therefore invokes: 'I call upon you, holy, very powerful, very strong [...] autochthons, assistants of the great god, the powerful chief daimons [...]'.[46] In the course of the spell, the entity is invoked as powerful and glorious, and characterised by two other terms: holy and autochthon. This entity is specifically defined as 'assistant of the great god' and therefore subordinated to a powerful deity, with whom he has to accomplish the tasks assigned to him. The text proceeds with another adjective, *archidaimones*, 'chief daimons', individualising perhaps a hierarchy among the entities and characterising it, finally, by a series of *nomina*, that refer to the chthonian world.

The exception of the Berlin Papyrus: elements of ignota pietas?

After having considered the connotations of the *parhedros* in some exemplary documents from the corpus of the Greek magical papyri, we can concentrate our search on a specific magical text that we have already used several times. In the course of this text the difference between two qualities and levels of communication of the ritual becomes apparent.[47] In addition to the horizontal level of communication from man to man, there exists another level that we can consider as vertical: from man to god.[48] The magical text that we are going to investigate is *PGM* I.42-195, extant in the long Berlin Papyrus 5025 of the late fourth century. It reveals the power of the word and the communion with supernatural interlocutors effected by that power. It also considers the nature of the divine assistant, describes the variety of his functions and furnishes important clues to establish the nature of the relationship between the divine entity and the magical operator who is qualified as: 'blessed initiate of the sacred magic' (line 127). The document clearly demonstrates the spasmodic desire of the magical operator to acquire a kind of omnipotence that allows him to act on all cosmic levels.[49]

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[43] For example, in *PGM* IV.1367 the adjective that qualifies the *parhedroi* is *tartarophrourous*, 'guarding Tartaros'.
[44] *PGM* I.1-42; IV.1331-89.
[45] Gasparro, 'Daimon and Tyche', p. 71.
[46] *PGM* IV.1345-1355.
[47] About the value of verbal and non-verbal communication, see Key, *The Relationship*.
[48] See the clever analysis of Graf, *Magic*, pp. 214f.
[49] The spell, which is spoken to Helios, provides a kind of dyadic *systasis*: the

Yet the passage also enables us to study a complex and problematic aspect of this text, namely its soteriological dimension.[50] However surprising this may seem, it is in fact possible to speak of a proper soteriology in this text, since a power beyond life seems to be attributed to the divine assistant. This is exceptional, because in the majority of the magical papyri the benefits towards which the operator directs his attention are usually of a material order.

During the ritual of the *systasis* it is possible to observe the dynamic nature of the magical performance of the operators, which distinguishes them from adherents to non-theurgical mysteries. Despite an analogous demand for an exclusive and personal relationship with the deity and a participation in his nature, a demand for an *isotheos physis*,[51] the magical operators try to command and constrain the divine being in order to achieve this *communio salutaris*. The deity to which the magician addresses the invocation for obtaining the *parhedros*, is Helios, the solar deity who, in this and many other documents, assumes a cosmic character by being identified with Aion, 'Eternity'.[52] The text distinguishes two phases: first there is a preparatory rite, which is then followed by the actual execution of the ritual. These phases contain certain elements typical of religious practice: purification, the obligation of preliminary abstentions, and sacrifice.

Let us now look at the *incipit* of the papyrus: 'a [daimon comes] as an assistant' (1). The text continues by clarifying the function of that daimon 'who will reveal everything to you clearly and will be your [companion and] will eat and sleep with you' (2-3). In these words there is a remarkable repetition of the element *syn-* in order to stress the moments and levels of sharing. Then follows the prescription of the recipe, given in a winged form,[53] in which the daimon is invoked as 'Agathos Daimon' as well as 'holy Orion' (4) and qualified as good and holy. The incorporeal nature of this entity seems to be confirmed by the document which acknowledges that he is 'a god; he is an aerial spirit' (98).[54] In turn, the magical operator is

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blessed initiate will perform the ritual towards the solar god Helios and at the same time towards the lunar goddess Selene in order to maintain contact with the supernatural world, day and night.

[50] Vermaseren, 'La sotériologie', p. 20: 'Le fait que les auteurs des textes magiques aient ressenti le même sentiment d'angoisse à l'idée de ne pas être sauvés résulte clairement de leur affirmation répetée qu'ils sont unis avec leur dieu'.

[51] *PGM* IV.220, which corresponds with *PGM* I.78.

[52] For the complicated history of this god, see Festugière, *La Révelation*, pp. 297-299.

[53] For the *technopaignion*, see Lenz, 'Carmina figurata'. For other examples, such as a recipe in the shape of a grape, see Maltomini and Daniel, 'Una gemma magica'.

[54] On the immaterial perception of these daimons, see Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*

called 'friend of aerial spirits',[55] stressing a relationship with a personal touch.[56] The nature of this relationship becomes perhaps even clearer in the following verses, where the term is used not for the entity but for the magical operator after his death in order to stress the implications of his change in status. Subsequently, a progressive amplification of the aerial character of the supernatural entity becomes evident: he is now called 'the only lord of the air' (129-130).

The acquisition of a supernatural or divine assistant is a preferential objective of the magician. Through the activity of this supernatural or divine being, the *magos* can obtain a conspicuous number of *beneficia*, above all of a material order. The *magos* even apostrophises his future *parhedros*: 'I shall have you as a friendly assistant, a beneficent god who serves me whenever I say "Quickly, by your power now appear on earth to me, yea verily, god!"' (89-91).

It is the presence of the demoniac being, or *parhedros*, which guarantees the magician the positive result of what he desires. The *parhedros* sets in being what the *magos*, if deprived of his collaboration, cannot realise by himself: '[...] for without him nothing happens' (130). The formula quoted presents itself in a letter sent by a character named Pnouthis, defined as a *hierogrammateus*, to somebody called Keryx (45-47). This Keryx is, perhaps, a priest, whose piety has already been underlined and to whom, in the following verses, the prescriptions are directed for the preliminary attainment of purity (54-95). These prescriptions are the *conditio sine qua non* for the realisation of the epiphany of the entity:

> 'As one who knows, I have prescribed for you [this spell for acquiring an assistant] to prevent your failing as you carry out [this rite]... After detaching all the prescriptions [bequeathed to us in] countless books' (42-45).

Accordingly, Richard Gordon rightly observes that Pnouthis's *parhedros* represents a practical 'theorisation' of how magic might work.[57] But we can add something more. The verses seem to introduce two important elements. The first one concerns the correctness in the execution of the procedure. The descent of the *parhedros* is meant to protect against any possible error during the administration of the ritual procedure. The second element concerns the legitimacy of the procedure. Its *dignitas* is attested by the fact

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Aegyptiorum 1.20, in: Merlan, 'Plotinus and Magic'.

[55] See also *PGM* I.55 and 180-181.

[56] Compare Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus* 56-60: 'blessed are you who has a god as a friend and not a spirit of an inferior class' (in: Luck, *Arcana Mundi*, vol. 1, p. 22).

[57] Gordon, 'Reporting the Marvellous', p. 75.

that Pnouthis, in drawing up his formulas, stands in a long and time-honoured tradition. Still, with an air of self-confidence, he wants to present his spell as both synthetic and progressive:

> 'I have shown you this spell for acquiring an assistant [as one that is serviceable] to you [...] For the spell of Pnouthis [has the power] to persuade the gods and all [the goddesses]. And [I shall write] you from it about [acquiring] an assistant' (49-53).

When we consider 'the traditional rite [for acquiring an assistant]' (54-55) in its entirety, there appear two other elements, which can be looked upon as traditional. The first one is a note about the need for a preliminary condition of purity. The second prescription concerns the ritual abstention from impure food; subsequently, this abstention is specified as a prohibition to eat pork and fish (105-106). To complete the operations, the magician must reach an elevated space, a *limen*, as if by crossing this threshold he can more easily establish a direct contact with the celestial spheres:[58] 'on whatever [night] you want to, go [up] onto a lofty roof ... [and say] the first spell of encounter as the sun's orb is disappearing'. The text continues: 'with a [wholly] black Isis band on [your eyes], and in your right hand grasp a falcon's head [...] And as you recite the spell there will be this sign for you: a falcon [will fly down]' (56-65).

Hence the rite outlined in the text also points to a third meaningful element, namely the sacrifice of an animal, which takes the form of a mimetic evocation of the celestial falcon. This sacrifice occurs in the second part of the text and provides the operator with a magical stone that he will wear, perhaps, to protect himself after having treated it in the proper way. Somewhat further on, the *systasis* becomes more complicated and the operator must continue the procedure in the evening facing the light of the moon:

> '[A blazing star] will descend and come to a stop in the middle of the housetop, and when the star has dissolved before your eyes, you will behold the angel whom you have summoned and who has been sent [to you] and you will quickly learn about the decision of the gods' (74-77).

The passage concerns the first appearance of the celestial entity defined as *angelos*, who qualifies himself as the one who has responded to the invocation and also as the medium through which the operator will know the decisions of the gods.

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[58] On this fixed literary scheme, see Couliano, *Expériences*, pp. 91ff.

After the description of the first arrival of the assistant, the text immediately adds the prescription for the future behaviour of the magician:

> 'But do not be afraid: approach the god: [approach] the god and, taking his right hand, kiss him and say these word to the angel for he will quickly respond to you about whatever you want' (78-79).

It is remarkable that in these two verses the supernatural assistant 'becomes true' in a divine presence, 'the god', whom the magician approaches with familiarity. At this point, the assistant shows his subordination to the will of the magician who, however, recognises his superior nature, as the text states: 'But do not be afraid' (76).

The document continues by quoting the ritual relating to the oath that will bind the *parhedros* to the magician:

> 'but you adjure him with this [oath] that he meet you and remain inseparable and that he not [keep silent or] disobey in any way. But when he has with certainty accepted this oath of yours, take the god by the hand and leap down, [and] after bringing him [into] the narrow room where you reside, [sit him] down[...]' (80-83).

The ritual is now coming to its end and the *magos* has acquired an assistant, since he has shared food and drink with his *parhedros*. These meaningful elements are propaedeutic to the assimilation to the divine, as also appears from other magical texts.[59] Yet the permanency of this state of *parhedreia* results from the oath, which assumes the characteristics of a real pact.[60] The text focusses therefore on the quality of the collaboration that is established between the operator and the supernatural entity by listing all his spheres of influence:

> '[...] It is acknowledged that he is a god; he is an aerial spirit which you have seen. If you give him a command, straightway he performs the task: he sends dreams, he brings women, men without the use of magical material' (96-99).

The document also enables us to register some spheres of influence pertinent to the activity of the divine assistant which he can share with the

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[59] Cf. *PGM* II.59: [...] 'if you feel a blow, chew up the cumin and drink it down with some unmixed wine'; note also *PGM* XIII.434-440; Jacobson, 'Papyri Graecae Magicae'.

[60] On the idea of the *foedus*, see Vernant, *Mythe*, pp. 69ff. Incidentally, note that the ritual also includes a practice of releasing the divine being (95).

operator. The *parhedros* provides benefits and divinatory dreams, produces erotic spells attracting men and women, causes deaths, stops demons and fierce beasts, and, finally, raises storms and causes destructions. The power of the *parhedros* has therefore positive, negative and ambivalent characteristics, which radically affect the life of the operator whom he serves:

> 'And he will tell you about the illness of a man, whether he will live or die, even on what day at what hour of night. And he will also give [you both] wild herbs and the power to cure, and you will be [worshipped] as a god since you have a god as a friend' (188-191).

The *parhedros* can kill and destroy, but, contextually, also furnish medicines for recovery and, therefore, salvation. One notes the utilitarian character of the actions, of which the main directions have been listed. The sphere of action of the *parhedros*, articulated as it is, constitutes a summa of the magical operator's desiderata. The main theme that underlies the various procedures can be reduced to the desire of the magical operator to obtain power and therefore to dominate others through a preferential knowledge of the deity, and this is also the intent of many other texts in which the *parhedros* appears.[61]

At this point, after having proceeded to a detailed description of a different way in which the *magos* can obtain benefits, the text significantly concludes:

> 'he will serve you suitably for whatever you have in mind, O [blessed] initiate (*mysta*) of the sacred magic (*hieras mageias*), and will accomplish it for you, this most powerful assistant [...] Share this mystery (*mystêrion*) with no one [else], but conceal it, by Helios, since you have been deemed worthy by the lord [god]' (125-133).

In these concluding lines the operator is defined as a *mystês*, who manages the *hieras mageias*. The magician is therefore conscious of being the principal actor in a procedure that is both magical and sacred. Such a practice must be kept hidden because of the exceptional powers that it assures. To these operations are added a conjuring spell and directions for the figure that is to be engraved on an amulet:[62] Helios. Then follows a final formula to be recited to that important goddess of magic: Selene.

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[61] See *PDM* LXI.66; *PGM* III.699-700, and the role of the *parhedros* in the rite quoted by *PGM* IV.2441-2621.

[62] For the description of the amulet presenting a lion-headed Horus, see Bonner, *Studies*, p. 120.

Yet the element of *summa novitas* comes in a brief explanation. When all the material benefits that the *parhedros*, subject to the magician, can produce and therefore share with him, are listed, the invocation begins: 'Hither to me King[63] [...] firmly established Aion. Be inseparable from me from this day forth through all the time of my life' (164-167). Until this point the deity has been requested to develop a permanent assistance that will last the whole life span of the *magos*.

Subsequently, the document contains an important affirmation that endows this supernatural assistance with an eschatological perspective that in these magical texts is unique:

> 'When you are dead, he will wrap [up] your body as befits a god, but he will take your spirit and carry it into the air with him. For no aerial spirit which is joined with a mighty assistant will go into Hades, for to him all things are subject' (173-189).[64]

In the *incipit*, the explicit reference to the procedure of the 'osirification' or mummification, a practice typical for the Egyptian context, must be noted; yet, the following verses establish a difference in comparison to the analogy quoted above. The dead person, furnished with a powerful *parhedros* of whom he does not share the substance, but to which he is united, will not go into Hades, to which man was originally directed. Instead, after having passed the process of 'osirification',[65] he acquires an otherworldly, celestial and aerial perspective on the afterlife, to which the individual, who has in many ways participated in the divine and who has been considered worthy of the god, is conducted by an 'emanation' of the magical operator. This 'emanation', true to the alliance established between magician and *parhedros*, has first supplied him with an abundance of material benefits in the course of his terrestrial life, but now permits him to achieve an *ulterior* benefit. Such is the effect of the *apothanatismos*,[66] the directions how one can become immortal and pass through the heavens. The magician thus acquires a *special* destiny with a different perspective, as the spell tells him: 'you will be [worshipped] as a god since you have a god as a friend' (190-191).

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[63] About the presence of the word 'King', see Graf, *Magic*, p. 115.

[64] It is interesting to compare this statement with Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.6, in: Annaratone, *L'Asino d'Oro*, p. 343.

[65] On this theme, see Sourvinou-Inwood, 'To die and to enter'; Verdier, 'Le concept'.

[66] It may be interesting to compare this topic with *PGM* IV.718-723, where the rebirth of the *mystês* liberates him from destiny.

However, the *magos* acquires this ulterior destiny only by applying a spell that forces the divinity to act.[67] It is not an autonomous decision of the divinity, but, on the contrary, a surrender to the *epanankoi logoi*, 'spells of coercion', of the person who has united his *nous*, 'mind', to the divine spirit. This ritual, then, can be considered as the most interesting example of a symbolic ritual of death and rebirth. The magical power that the *magos* acquires does not, in the end, effect his definitive transformation, since he continues to need his *parhedros*, without whom he would be no more than a common mortal.

Conclusion

Finally, from the perspective of 'cultural change', we should remember that the *parhedros* is a newcomer in magic, attested for the first time in the second century. Earlier generations of magicians could perform the tasks of their customers without his help. Apparently, his emergence has to be interpreted as a sign of the increasing need for divine assistance that becomes apparent in late Antiquity, not only in the case of magicians but also in that of philosophers, as the examples of Plotinus, and certainly the later Neoplatonists amply demonstrate.[68] This need went hand in hand with a different need, viz. for a deeper and more direct relationship with the divine world. Although in the imperial period magic turned into a kind of knowledge that enabled access to the highest god, it was also at this very point that the magician acquired, in accordance with this power, a *parhedros* that followed him.[69] However, after the Christianisation of the Empire the Christian saints gradually became the favourite assistants and go-between figures in this field.[70] The pagan *parhedros* had now met a divine opponent with a superior force who would eventually take his place.

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[67] It is a *logos theagôgos*, cf. *PGM* IV.976 which corresponds to *PGM* I.106.
[68] Merlan, 'Plotinus and Magic'; for an opposing view, see Armstrong, 'Was Plotinus a Magician?'
[69] See Graf, *Magic*, p. 117.
[70] Smith, *Jesus the Magician*. The *parhedros* did, however, survive into the early modern period; see the edition of the *Almandal* on pp. 217-226 in the present volume.

AUGUSTINE AND MAGIC

Fritz Graf

In about 158 AD, a young, handsome and highly talented philosopher and orator had to stand trial in the law-court of the gouvernor of the province Africa Proconsularis. He was accused of having used magic on several counts, not the least in order to attract a very wealthy widow, his present wife. He must have defended himself successfully: we not only possess a written version of his defense speech, but we know that he afterwards had an outstanding career as a teacher of rhetoric and philosophy and as a member of the elite of Roman Carthage. It was, of course, Apuleius of Madaura, today best known as the author of the novel *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass* – a work that sits uneasily in the intellectual biography of a man who during his entire life-time insisted on being *philosophus Platonicus*, a Platonic philosopher, and was taken very seriously as such by fellow philosophers in the Latin West for many centuries, until the brain-drain caused by the mounting insecurity of Byzantium brought the Greek texts of Plato and Plotinus – and the language skills to read them – to Florence and Venice.[1]

One of those who took him seriously was his fellow African, Augustine, the bishop of Hippo Regius who had started out as a student and professor of rhetoric in the same Carthage where Apuleius had taught nearly two centuries earlier. His birth-place, Thagaste, was part of the same Numidia where Apuleius had been born, 25 kilometres more north, in Madaura. Among the official letters of the bishop is one, written in 391, that documents the annoying persistence of paganism in Madaura.[2] And since 'as an African, he is known to us Africans', as he once phrased it, Augustine often

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[1] On the trial of Apuleius and his *Apology*, see Hunink, *Apuleius*; the commentary, focusing on the literary and rhetorical side, does not supersede Abt, *Die Apologie*. Recent scholarship focused mainly on the rhetorical side of the *Apology*; for the accusation of magic, see Fick, 'La magie'; Graf, *Magic*, pp. 61-88 and 257-262. Some sociological aspects are well teased out by Fantham, 'Aemilia Pudentilla'; Fick, 'Mariage d'argent'; Gaide, 'Apulée de Madaure', tries to be provocative, but definitely overstates his case.

[2] Augustine, *Epistula* 17 (*CSEL* 34:1, p. 43), 232 (*CSEL* 57, p. 513); see Eckmann, 'Pagan Religion'.

talks about Apuleius.[3] It is Augustine who gave *Asinus Aureus* as title of the novel, about twenty years after the archetype of our manuscripts attests to the title *Metamorphoses*. In a passage where he seems not quite certain whether Apuleius had not, in the end, really been turned into an ass (again demonstrating the well-known inability of ancient intellectuals to differentiate between life and fiction), the bishop thus unwittingly initiated a seemingly unending philological debate about the correct title.[4] He extensively used his *De deo Socratis* as his main source for pagan, Platonic demonology (*De civitate Dei* 8.14ff.); he read his defense speech against the accusation of magic (*De civitate Dei* 8.19), and he was not always sure whether Apuleius had not, after all, practised magic. Yet he was much less certain of this than his contemporaries, whom he cites several times and who knew of miracles performed by Apuleius the magician, as they knew about those of Apollonius of Tyana, another philosopher turned into a sorcerer; later accounts add Julian the theurgist and make them into a formidable triad, with Julian heading and Apuleius tailing the grading of their respective magical abilities (*Epistula* 137.4.18-20).

But whatever his opinion on Apuleius the magician, Augustine believed in the existence of magic as firmly as almost any of his contemporaries, Christian or pagan, intellectual or sausage-vendour.[5] In contemporary Antioch, the rhetor Libanius, Augustine's senior by a generation and as famous in the Greek East for his gift of speech as the bishop was in the Latin West, was accused by his rivals of using magic against them, and he himself was convinced that he had once fallen prey to their magical attack.[6] Augustine himself had once in his youth used the services of one Albicerius, a prominent and successful magician in Carthage, in order to retrieve a spoon he had lost (*Contra Academicos* 1.6.17). He tells how another, less respectable sorcerer offered him his services when Augustine, as a young rhetor, was about to enter a recitation contest in the theatre. Augustine only declined because it involved what he terms 'a gruesome sacrifice', *foedum sacrificium* (*Confessiones* 4.2.3). He is rather reticent about the exact details, but we can supply them from parallels: what the sorcerer promised must have been one of those binding spells to which ancient women and men had recourse when vexed by rivalry – it involved

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[3] Augustine, *Epistula* 137.18: *ut de illo potissimum loquamur, qui nobis Afris Afer est notior.*

[4] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.18. The facts, and a clever way of dealing with them, in Winkler, *Auctor & Actor*, pp. 292-321.

[5] Three centuries earlier, already the Elder Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 28.16, stated that 'nobody is not full of fear to be attacked by a dire spell'.

[6] Libanius, *Autobiography* (*Oratio* 1), pp. 243-250; *Apologia de veneficiis* (*Oratio* 36). See Bonner,'Witchcraft'.

not only writing a spell on a lead tablet, but a complex rite of consecration and burial underground, in a grave, a well, or any other place where it would be close to the powers of the depths and well hidden at the same time.[7] Many among the preserved lead tablets with binding spells from imperial times have to do with horse races – fans of the opposing circus faction ritually bind a charioteer and his team so that they will suffer accidents or at least be terribly slow.[8] Some of the most spectacular texts come from the hippodrome in Carthage where about sixty spells (out of more than 150 Carthaginian examples) have been found that constitute, among other things, an unparalleled treasure trove for Roman horse names.[9] Typically, such a text addresses the demoniac ghost of an untimely dead, νεκυδαίμων ἄωρε, and asks him to

> bind the horses of the green faction, Dareios, Agilos, Pardos, Pugio, Dardanos, Inachos, Pretiosus, Victor, Armenios: I bind their running, feet, victory, soul, speed. Hit them, take away their strength, their limbs so that tomorrow in the horse race they will be unable to run or to walk or to win or to leave the starter gate

and so forth, and then the same wish for the horses of the Blue and for Primus and Dionysius, the charioteers of the Green and the Blue.[10]

While this is, in its way, traditional magic of the sort attested already in Athens in the fifth century BC, Albicerius's profession was different. His speciality was divination: he was consulted, whenever someone felt he had no other way to gain knowledge – of something lost or stolen, or of some outcome of the future. In Republican Rome, sorcery and divination were kept separate, as they were in Greece, but during the imperial epoch private divination became a part of *magicae artes*, the magical sciences – our main source, the Graeco-Egyptian collections of magical recipes from the third to the fifth century AD, contain both types of ritual action in a rather colourful juxtaposition. Augustine himself calls both Albicerius and the anonymous provider of binding spells a *haruspex*, as do some imperial laws that outlaw them:[11] those ancient free-lancing Etruscan specialists in divination, who

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[7] See Graf, *Magic*, pp. 118-174 and 271-290. A prime example is the erotic spell *Papyri graecae magicae* (*PGM*) IV 296-467 and its several attested uses, see Martinez, *A Greek Love Charm*.

[8] See Escurac, 'Magie et cirque'.

[9] Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, p. 287, gives an introduction; see further *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 9.837-842; Jordan, 'New Defixiones'; *idem*, 'Note from Carthage'.

[10] Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, p. 238.

[11] Krüger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis. Codex Iustinianus* 9.18.3 (Constantine, a. 319), 5

wandered from city to city in central Italy and whom already the older Cato kept away from his farmstead as useless parasites, were the template for all those free-lancing specialists of private rituals in late Antiquity; I rather doubt that they still were Etruscans.[12] Albicerius seems a prime example of his profession: talented, highly self-conscious and very charismatic, despite his low social background and his rudimentary schooling, he gained access to the wealthy Carthaginian elite, to intellectuals and rich landowners, and impressed them with his skills. Besides being a practitioner of ritual divination, as described in the magical papyri, he was also a specialist in astrology – the two often seem to go together in the imperial epoch.[13]

Augustine, although he got back his spoon, was not much impressed – at least after his conversion. In his dialogue *Contra Academicos*, written soon after his conversion, he introduced Albicerius as the wrong representative of wisdom, *sapientia*, in the sense of 'knowledge of things human and divine'.[14] It is one of his pupils who extolls the wisdom of Albicerius and narrates his astonishing feats. Augustine reacts with three objections: Albicerius made mistakes, thus he cannot be wise; knowledge of human affairs, *scientia rerum humanarum*, does not manifest itself in divination, but in morals, and Albicerius is far from virtuous. As to his superhuman knowledge, Augustine does not deny it, but claims that demons are its source: the astrologer Albicerius has no true knowledge of what God is, but confines his knowledge to the celestial bodies, the visible gods only.

In this passage, Augustine does not only publicly correct an error of judgement that he had made when he had sought the diviner's help many years earlier. By rejecting the claim to knowledge, he tentatively measures the difference between paganism and Christianity: being Christian means to lead a virtuous life (Augustine is heir to the ascetic tradition), and it means to abandon the worship of demons and visible gods in favour of the One and Invisible God who, being their creator, stays high above these phenomena.

In the writings to come after this, not the least in *De Doctrina Christiana* and in the *City of God* as well as in his sermons and letters, he will be

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(*Constantius ad populum*, a. 357), 7 (Constantius, a. 358). For the reactions of the imperial law-givers to magic, see Castello, 'Cenni sulla repressione'; Trombley, *Hellenic Religion*, vol. 1, pp. 59-72; Liebs, 'Strafprozesse'. For their reaction to divination, see Desanti, *Sileat omnibus perpetuo*, and esp. Fögen, *Die Enteignung*.

[12] But see Briquel, *Chrétiens et haruspices*.

[13] Already the Elder Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 30, in his history of magic makes astrology one of its three constitutent parts; for more, see Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*; Gordon, 'Quaedam Veritatis Umbrae'.

[14] I thank K. Schlapbach in Zürich for having given me access to the manuscript of her as yet unpublished commentary on *Contra Academicos*.

much more outspoken than in his first and very philosophically-minded dialogues. Magic with its miracles is seen by pagans and many Christians alike as a rival of the true miracles of Christ, the apostles and the saints. Augustine firmly refutes this: to make use of magic will become one of the things that clearly distinguish a pagan from a Christian – Christians do not practise magic or seek the help of a practitioner. In this, he joins forces – as he should as a bishop – with the imperial legislation against magic that was brought forward in a steady output during the fourth century.[15] His concept of what magic is, however, deserves some further consideration.

Magic means miracles, as we all know; our television spots are very clear about this. The inhabitants of the Roman empire would have easily agreed. A magician was someone who could perform miracles – fly, resuscitate the dead, heal the lame, multiply food. The actual practitioners were somewhat reluctant to do this; the Aegyptian papyri, however, contain recipes for breaking out of a locked room, riding a crocodile, or creating a magnificent dining room with servants and plenty of delicious food.[16] Fiction writers were less inhibited and confronted pagan and Christian magicians, as already the Old Testament had Moses and Aron confront the magicians of the Pharaoh. Most memorable is the contest between Simon Peter and Simon Magus: they miraculously kill and resuscitate corpses, and Simon flies through the air, until Peter causes him to crash in a brutal way.[17] These early Christian stories, however, contain the seeds of later trouble: pagan critics like Celsus were quick to point out that Christ's miracles did not differ much from what itinerant magicians used to perform on the market-places.[18] And when even Christians close to Augustine were not immune to the comparison between Christ and Apuleius or Apollonius of Tyana, it comes as no surprise that Faustus the Manichaean denounced Christ as a magician because of his miraculous birth.[19]

The comparison is most explicit in a letter addressed to Augustine by the imperial commissioner Marcellinus, who had come to Carthage late in the fateful year 410. Marcellinus asked for arguments against the pagans

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[15] See note 11 above.

[16] An intriguing list of possibilities in *PGM* I.98-128; another one with party entertainments VII.167-186, see also XIb.1-5; riding on a crocodile XIII.284; invisibility XIII.268; release from bonds XII.160-178. XIII.288 (more serious in *Passio Perpetuae* 16.2); to open a locked door XIII.327.

[17] See Bremmer, *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter*, as well as his contribution to this volume.

[18] Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.86. See Smith, *Jesus the Magician*.

[19] Augustine, *Epistulae* 136-138; Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* 29.1 (*CSEL* 25). See also *Sermo* 43.4, 71.3; *Consensus Evangeliorum* 1.9, 1.11; *In Iohannis evangelium tractatio* 35.8.

who compared Christ's miracles to those of Apuleius, Apollonius and other professionals of magic (*Epistula* 136). Augustine reacted somewhat annoyed: such a comparison was simply ridiculous – but still better than comparing Christ to Jupiter, since Apollonius was at least morally impeccable.[20] He then switched to Apuleius, his fellow African, and became rather venomous: Apuleius certainly was no sorcerer, otherwise he would have used his power to acquire wealth and influence, but instead he preferred to litigate with the people of Oea who did not want to erect a statue of him, and was happy with staying a professor and priest of the imperial cult. He did so not because he was of an ascetic disposition, as the litigation with the people of Oea shows, but because he was unable to do better (*Epistula* 137.19).[21]

The refutation sounds somewhat feeble. It would have been less easy to argue away the miracles of Apollonius of Tyana that are so important in the fictional biography of Philostratus. Furthermore, Augustine is less convinced of Apuleius's innocence when, in the *City of God*, he talks about the trial in Sabratha (*De civitate Dei* 8.19). Augustine could certainly have done better, if he had cared: perhaps the bishop was more annoyed about the questioner's inability to cope with the question, than with the question itself. After all, Augustine had another answer that was much more compelling than what he wrote to Marcellinus; Marcellinus could have guessed.

He alludes to it in an aside of this letter, when he discusses the myths of Jupiter, main divinity of the pagan state: the pagan gods are demons, 'with whose assistance also the magical arts deceive the human mind'.[22] He explores this much more fully in the *City of God*, written also as a response to some of the same questions that Marcellinus had asked.[23] Book VIII concentrates on Plato and Platonism as the one pagan philosophy that comes closest to Christianity and thus allows him to override the Pauline distrust of philosophers. When talking about Platonic demonology, he extensively cites and criticises Apuleius's *De deo Socratis*. Although Augustine, like Apuleius, never questions the existence of demons, he questions their excellence: one should not adore them, not the least because they are responsible for magic, and thus for miracles: 'All the miracles of the magicians, which he [Apuleius] correctly condemns, happen through the teachings and the

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[20] Augustine, *Epistula* 137.18: *quis autem vel risu dignum non putet, quod Apollonium et Apuleium ceterosque magicarum artium peritissimos conferre Christo vel etiam praeferre conantur?*

[21] The Carthaginians, however, dedicated a statue to him without having to be solicited – he seems to have solicited only the second one (Vallette, *Florida* 16.25-44, esp. 38, 41).

[22] Augustine, *Epistula* 137.18: *Per quos et magicae artes humanas mentes decipiunt.*

[23] Cocchini, 'Agostino'.

work of demons'.[24] This does not eliminate miracles as such: there are 'miracles that are performed either by the angels or by any other way according to the will of God, so that they ... encourage religious practice'. Miracles exist, their function is to lead towards Christian faith, to confirm its power and convince the wavering – and a miracle is anyway much less spectacular than the initial and primordial act of creation by God (*De civitate Dei* 10.12).

In this perspective, the miracles of the magicians and those performed by Jesus, the apostles and the Christian saints (or, for that matter, Moses and other Old Testament prophets) are coextensive and therefore comparable. What renders them incomparably different is, on the one hand, their relationship to a superhuman agent (miracles, after all, need superhuman intervention in order to happen), and, on the other hand, the attitude of the human performer that derives from this. The main biblical example is the contest between Moses and the Pharaoh's magicians; Augustine uses it several times.[25] 'They [the Pharaoh's magicians] acted', he says in *The City of God*, 'with sorcery and incantations, to which the wicked angels, that is the demons, are dedicated; but Moses acted in the name of God who created sky and earth, with a power that equaled his justice, and with the help of the angels he overcame them easily'.[26] To rely on the name of God makes any ritual superfluous; the angels serve the just man who uses the powerful name. This still is remarkably close to how a pagan believed magic would work, for also a magician would know the powerful name of the supreme divinity – often enough in the papyri, it is IAO, the Hebrew Iahwe – and would make the demons serve him out of fear of this name.[27] Given this closeness, what counts, in the last instance, is the mental frame: Moses is just, which means he acts according to the laws given by God, whereas the magicians, by opposition, are acting outside the limits drawn by divine law.

A discussion in an earlier collection of problems, *De diversis quaestionibus* 79,[28] is more complex. Again, Augustine explores the difference be-

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[24] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 8.19: *at omnia miracula magorum, quos recte sentit esse damnandos, doctrinis fiunt et operibus daemonum, quos viderit cur censeat honorandos, eos asserens perferendis ad deos precibus nostris.*

[25] Besides the passage discussed in the text, see also *Viginti unius Sententiarum Liber, sent.* 5. The other Old Testament example is Samuel's necromancy, see *De diversis quaestionibus* 2.2; *De cura pro mortuis* 15; *De octo dulcitiis quaestiones* 6.

[26] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 10.8: *illi enim faciebant veneficiis et incantationibus magicis, quibus sint mali angeli (hoc est daemones) dediti; Moyses autem tanto potentius quanto iustius nomine Dei, qui fecit caelum et terram, servientibus angelis eos facile superavit.*

[27] See my 'Prayer'.

[28] See Markus, 'Augustine', pp. 378-381.

tween Moses and the Pharaoh's magicians in order to understand what distinguishes the miracles of a saint from those of a magician. In doing so, Augustine uses the dichotomy between public and private as a hermeneutical tool. He states as a general anthropological maxim that any human being looks in part after his own private interests, but has at the same time to accept public, that is universal rules and laws; the superhuman powers that watch over the soul – angels and demons – react to these two sides of our attachment in different ways. The public side is the more important one: the more a person subordinates himself under universal laws, the more pure and pious he is, since universal law is the wisdom of God; thus he gains the favour of the good angels. The more, on the other hand, an individual follows his private impulses and desires, the more open he is for the insinuations of evil demons who wish to be adored and venerated by humans and who thus exploit these private desires. Both magicians and saints perform miracles with the help of their superhuman allies, and in both cases, these powers react with submission to the use of a more powerful name – the name of God whose use God has conceded to the saints and the exorcists, or the names of lesser but still powerful gods with which the magicians terrify the demons.[29] The difference between the miracles of magicians and the saints, then, is not one of action or of cosmology, it is one of magnitude: the miracles of a magician are smaller. 'They exhibit some visible things that because of the feebleness of the flesh seem large to humans who are unable to contemplate eternal things'.[30] In addition, Augustine also sees a difference in their respective intentions (*diverso fine*) and in their legitimation (*diverso iure*): while magicians abuse the divine names for their own private goals and do so after a private contract with a demon, like soldiers who maraude in the name of their emperor, saints act on behalf of God and with his command, *per publicam iustitiam*.[31]

This is why Augustine has to insist on the moral turpitude of magic and its universal condemnation since old, long before the Christian emperors promulgated their laws. Already Vergil, he argues, has Anna comment on Dido's unwillingness to use *magicas artes* (*Aeneis* 4.493). Servius, Augustine's learned (but pagan) contemporary, agrees with this interpretation: 'Although the Romans, he says, accepted many foreign rites, they consistently condemned magic; it was regarded as opprobrious'.[32] And, Augustine

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[29] Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus* 79.2: (*magi*) *per sublimiorum nomina inferiores terrent.*

[30] *Ibidem*, 79.2: *propter infirmitatem carnis magna videntur hominibus non valentibus aeterna contueri, quae per se ipsum praestat dilectoribus suis verus Deus, mirantibus exhibeant.*

[31] *Ibidem*, 79.4.

[32] Servius, *Ad Vergilii Aeneidem* 4.494: (*magicas invitam*) ... *quia cum multa sacra*

adds, already the Twelve Tables provide heavy sanctions against certain types of magical ritual (he learned this from Pliny)[33] – and finally, did not Apuleius stand trial in Sabratha because he was accused of being a magician and pleaded his innocence (*De civitate Dei* 8.19)? No magician is just and innocent.

But magic does not only result in miracles – it has a more mundane goal as well. Augustine's main argument in favour of Apuleius's plea that he is not a magician was his lack of wealth and power – he was nothing but a famous professor with a petty representational office. A real magician would have used his powers to acquire influence and wealth. The argument reappears elsewhere and with a different twist: although Zoroaster invented magic, he could not make proper use of it, otherwise he would not have been overthrown by king Ninos of Assyria (*De civitate Dei* 21.14). This again takes up a traditional and pagan definition of magic, as none other than Apuleius shows in his defense speech: why, he asks his accusers, would they want to attack a magician, if they believe him to be one? Such a person, according to the *vulgaris opinio*, the widespread definition, would be far too powerful and dangerous to be attacked in this way.[34] Again, Augustine's conception of magic stems from the pagan tradition, and is part of a common culture that was not confined by religious borderlines. There seems to be only one difference between pagans and Christians: Christians did not perform magical rites. (Manichaeans, on the other hand, did – even erotic magic, as Augustine informs us in a colossal piece of slander.[35])

The most comprehensive and most systematic account of magic, however, comes from the second book of *De doctrina Christiana* (2.20.30-24.37), written between 396 and 398.[36] In order to better understand which parts of the pagan tradition the new Christian teaching could jettison and which it should retain, Augustine groups those teachings into two groups, those instituted by humans and those that were established either by the divinity or in the distant past. Among the first group, he again differentiates between superstitious and non-superstitious teachings – it is here that magic is located. He defines the superstitious as that which had been instituted by humans in order to make and adore idols, to worship nature or one of its part, or 'to consult and make agreements with demons on the base of

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Romani susciperent, semper magica damnarunt: probrosa enim ars habita est, ideo excusat.

[33] Plinius, *Historia Naturalis* 28.1f. See Ernout, 'La magie'.

[34] Apuleius, *Apologia sive de magia* 25.

[35] Augustine, *De continentia* 12.27.

[36] See the commentary of Simonetti, *Sant'Agostino*; Markus, 'Signs, Communication and Communities'.

conventional and established signs'.[37] The catalogue which he then gives includes magical practices, the books of augurs and haruspices, ritual healings, incantations and amulets, astrology, divination with the help of demons, and the innumerable small daily acts of superstition – the reactions to bodily twitches or to strange coincidences as when a boy passes between two friends walking together which forebodes the breaking up of their friendship.

Magic, in this list, goes together with divination and with the pagan cult of idolatry. This is a common Christian classification; the haruspex Albicerius too was lumped together with the sorcerers. This continues, as we saw, the reality of the pagan magical books; the Christian encyclopedia of Isidore of Seville consolidates it for centuries to come. His entry *De magia* combines divination – *haruspicia, augurationes, oracula, necromantia*, astrology – with sorcery: the *magi* 'disturb the elements, derange human minds, and kill without poison through the sheer violence of their incantations', but they also heal by ritual means; some passages in Isidore are directly lifted out of Augustine's chapters.[38] The reason for the connection is obvious: all these rituals rely on the cooperation with the demons – as Isidore once again has it, giving it a historical background: 'In all of this, the art of the demons originated from the adverse community between humans and the evil angels'.[39] This alludes to the well-known story of the fallen angels, as reported in Genesis and elaborated in the Jewish *Book of Enoch*: when the fallen angels united with their human brides, they brought them technology and magic, from cosmetics to sorcery, herbal medicine, exorcism and astrology.[40] The *Book of Enoch*, a hellenistic, tendentially anti-pagan text that underwent heavy expansions in the early imperial epoch, was read by Christians as early as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Origen (who calls the fallen angels the 'servants of the sorcerers'),[41] and Augustine knows the story well.[42] It gave biblical credentials to the Christian hostility towards magic, astrology, divination and cosmetics, with different writers emphasi-

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[37] Thus the introduction to 2.20.30.

[38] Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 8.9; see esp. Kieckhefer, *Magic*, pp. 1-18.

[39] Isidorus, *Etymologiae* (*ibidem*).

[40] *1 Enoch* 8.1 (Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henoch-Buch*; Syncellus, *Chronika* 12 C (*Corpus Scriptorum Historicorum Byzantinorum*, p. 21). On the introduction of magic and technology, see my 'Mythical Production', p. 321f.

[41] Most important is the Ethiopian text, see Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book*, but note also the critical comments on this edition by Tigchelaar, *Prophets*, pp. 144-145. A good introduction into Enoch is VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*; *idem*, *Enoch. A Man for All Generations*.

[42] See esp. Augustine, *De Trinitate* 3.8.13: even the fallen angels have their magical skills from God.

sing different technologies, according to their polemical goals. Somewhat later, it even provided Jordanes, the sixth-century historian of the Goths, with a foundation myth of the Huns: the abominable Huns, the deadly enemies of the Goths, were sired by the fallen angels with witches ('hellish women', *magae mulieres*) in the swamps of Southern Russia.[43]

Augustine's classification had good reasons. It is a commonplace theory in late Antiquity that humans have to collaborate with demons in order to make divination work. Augustine presents it in his *De divinatione daemonum*, written when the destruction of the Alexandrian Sarapeum in 391 and the almost instantaneous arrival of this news in Carthage was still remembered. Since demons as creatures of air are much faster than humans, this speedy transmission could be easily explained. Divination, however, is not only about fast messages; it is a religious technique to tap the superior wisdom of the divine in order to attain knowledge, not necessarily about the future only. Porphyry had collected oracles as proofs of the philosophical wisdom inherent in the divine, and Augustine is well acquainted with this work.[44] To pagans, the way oracles worked was obvious: Apollo was the mouthpiece of Zeus, the Sibyl the mouthpiece of Apollo, and Zeus's plans ruled the universe. In later Antiquity, this mechanism of relayed transmission was taken over into the rites in the magical papyri. The same ritual means which helped the magician to make use of a demoniac assistant (a *parhedros*)[45] for binding spells or miracle-working helped to make contact with divine knowledge to the extent that typically any sharp distinction between magic and divination broke down: instead of Apollo or the Sibyl, the demons functioned as transmittors. This is not confined to the magical papyri. Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons in the second century AD, accused the gnostic Marcus (whom he calls a *goès*, a 'sorcerer') of making women prophesy with the help of his demonic assistant.[46] Neoplatonists transformed this into a more sophisticated theory. There was a debate going on between Porphyry and Iamblichus on the subject: Porphyry was convinced that in divination true knowledge was somehow mediated between god and man, but he was not certain who the mediator was – was he a god, a demon, or an angel?[47] Iamblichus replied that true divination was unmediated revelation,

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[43] Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 121-122 (eds. Giunta and Grillone); cf. Maenchen-Helfen, 'The legend', pp. 244-251.
[44] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 19.23; see Hadot, 'Citations', pp. 205-244.
[45] See also the contribution of Anna Scibilia in this volume.
[46] Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1.13.3; see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 221-222; Foerster, *Die Gnosis*, I, pp. 263f.
[47] Porphyry, *Epistula ad Anebo* 2.3 (ed. Sodano).

since prophecy was consubstantial with the One[48] – a rather freakish view that never became mainstream Neoplatonism.

In a Christian world, where Zeus no longer plays a role, the mechanism is different, but still it uses the demons as transmittors, as Augustine carefully explains. As creatures of air, they penetrate humans, learn their thoughts and transmit them to other humans; and as incredibly long lived creatures, they have learned to read many signs of nature that are unintelligible to us short lived and dense creatures, and they reveal all of this to the diviner (*De divinatione daemonum* 5.9). Augustine knew his Porphyry – and corrected him from his Christian point of view.

As to idolatry, the explanation is even easier and needs no far-fetched learning, but only a sound knowledge of the Bible. In *I Cor.* 10.20, Paul had declared that whatever the pagans sacrificed to their idols, they sacrificed it to the demons (*daimonia*), not to God – 'but I do not wish you to associate with the demons: you cannot drink from the chalice of the Lord and from the chalice of the demons'. None of the Olympians, presumably, realised that this text, neatly tucked away in a letter on Paul's troubled relationship with the Christians in Corinth, proved to be a time-bomb for them. It deftly outlawed the cult of the pagan gods – although it would take nearly four centuries, until Theodosius II drew the formal consequence in his edicts from the 380s and 390s, culminating in the formula of 391: 'Whoever venerates man-made cultic objects and in his simplicity discloses his fear of them ... shall be punished by confiscation of the property in which he practices such superstitions'.[49] Any cult of a pagan god, any idolatry, thus is demon-worship. And, since both Zeus and Apollo are now demons as well, even the old and hallowed oracles were believed to function through demoniac mediation.

Yet another turn of the caleidoscope brings up a slightly different combination. In the recently found sermon on the Kalends, delivered presumably on January 1, 403, in Carthage, Augustine attacks not only the concrete pagan festival and idolatry in general, but also two classes of pagans which are much more religiously sophisticated than the rest:[50]

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[48] Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 3.1 (ed. Des Places); cf. Athanassiadi, 'Dreams', pp. 115-130.

[49] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.12 (ed. Mommsen).

[50] Dolbeau, 'Nouveaux sermons', pp. 69-141, no. 26. – § 36, l.843: *alii suae virtuti se commiserunt, nullum adiutorem quaesiverunt arbitrantes animas suas per philosophiam posse purgari, quasi nullo egentes mediatore* ... § 37 l.866: *sunt autem alii qui, cum vidissent vel credidissent esse deum cui reconciliandi sunt et de viribus suis non praesumerent, purgari sacris voluerunt, sed etiam ipsi vana curiositate tumidi et doctrinis daemoniorum se ceteris praeferentes per ipsam superbiam dederunt locum diabolo.*

> One group relies on its own virtue, does not ask for a helper and thinks that they could purify their souls alone through philosophy, without the need for a mediator ... There are others who see or assume that there is a god with which they have to be reconciled and that their own strength would not suffice: they wish to purify themselves through rituals, but they became arrogant through their own vain inquisitiveness (*vana curiositate*) and elevated themselves above all others because of their knowledge of the demons, and thus their arrogance offered the devil an opportunity.

Among the first group is Pythagoras – which means that to this group belong those pagan philosophers who claimed to descend from the Samian philosopher: the Pythagoreans and Neopythagoreans as well as Plato and many of his followers, including Plotinus and Plotinus's most prominent pupil Porphyry; Porphyry and his own pupil Iamblichus wrote books on Pythagoras.

Augustine confesses to his sympathy for those learned pagans and refrains from any attack:[51] 'About those who never adored statues nor got entangled in Chaldaean and magical rites one should not talk rashly: we might just overlook that the Saviour (without whom nobody can be saved) has been revealed to them in some way'. He concentrates his dislike on the second group – those arrogant pagans who believe that the soul has to be purified in order to reach god but who rely on demons to do so, and who at the same time become entangled in Chaldaean and magical rites.

This belief and these rites belong together, and Augustine slowly hands out all the information necessary to get a picture of his opponents. This picture, though, is somewhat misty. The pagans rely on ritual in order to purify themselves, both on the ritual in the temples (that is public civic rites) or the Chaldaean and magical ritual (that is private and often secret rites). This makes them associate themselves with astrologers, soothsayers, augurs, and diviners.[52] These rites have to do with demons and arrogant angels (*angeli superbi*) as mediators between the human and the divine.[53] The aim of the practitioners is to come into contact with the eternal and unchanging being, the Platonic One – but being arrogant, they become a prey

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[51] *Ibidem*, § 36 l.862: *sed de illis, qui nulla idola coluerunt neque aliquibus chaldaicis aut magicis sacri se obstrinxerunt, temere aliquid dicendum non est, ne forte nos lateat, quod eis aliquo modo salvator ille revelatus sit, sine quo salvari nemo potest.*

[52] *Ibidem*, § 41 l. 978: *(diabolus) ducit per nescio quae sacra sacrilega, promittens purgationem in templis, et per magicas consecrationes et detestanda secreta trahit ad mathematicos, ad sortilegos, ad augures, ad haruspices.*

[53] *Ibidem*, § 46 l.1111: *superbi angeli se malunt coli quam deum*; § 62 l.1503 *per superbiam et vanam curiositatem incideret in aërias potestates.*

of the devil, 'to whom all sacrilegious rites and the fallacious and unholy schemes of astrologers, soothsayers, diviners and Chaldaeans belong'.[54]

Augustine is not talking about divination only (here, we are on by now familiar ground), he also talks about means of purification for the soul which were provided either by rituals in temples or by secret rites which he calls magical and Chaldaean and whose performers sinned through *curiositas*. With this, he circumscribes what he will call, in the *City of God*, 'the sinful inquisitiveness' (*curiositas* again) 'which they call magic or, with a more despicable term sorcery (*goetia*) or with a more honorific name theurgy'[55] – lumping together things which the pagan practitioners tried to keep well apart. The chapters which, in book X of the *City of God*, he devotes to theurgy are again heavily indebted to Porphyry. In his *De Regressu Animae* ('On the Return of the Soul'), Porphyry had talked about 'purification of the soul through theurgy' – the soul being only the *anima spiritualis*, the lower, more materialistic kind of soul as opposed to the higher *anima intellectualis* (in Greek the lower ψυχή as opposed to the higher νοῦς). The psyche 'was made apt through certain theurgical consecrations, which they call *teletai* (initiations), to be received by spirits and angels and to see the gods'.[56] This comes close to the text in the new sermon: in both places, it is purification which is necessary for the attempted proximity to God, and this leads to magical and Chaldaean rites, since the pagans, tempted by their vain inquisitiveness, obeyed the doctrines of demons.[57] Thus, we deal with the theory of theurgy – in a sermon against the pagans, it should not surprise us that Augustine is using the more polemical term 'magic' instead of, as he says, the 'more honorific name of theurgy'.[58]

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[54] *Ibidem*, § 58 l. 1420: *volentes enim inhaerere illi rei quae semper est, quae semper eiusmodi est, incommutabilis manet, quam utcumque acuto ingenio adtingere potuerunt ... inciderunt in illum falsum mediatorem ... ad quem pertinent omnia sacra sacrilega et machinamenta fallacissimae iniquitatis mathematicorum, sortilegorum, haruspicum, chaldaeorum.*

[55] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 10.9: *incantationibus et carminibus nefariae curiositatis arte compositis quam vel magian vel detestabiliore nomine goetian vel honorabiliore theurgian vocant.*

[56] *Ibidem*: *nam et Porphyrius quandam quasi purgationem animae per theurgian ... promittit. ... hanc enim* [sc. *animam spiritualem*] *dicit per quasdam consecrationes theurgicas, quas teletas vocant, idoneam fieri et aptam susceptioni spirituum et angelorum* = Porphyry, *Frgs.* 288 and 290 in: Smith, *Porphyrii Philosophi Fragmenta*. The term *teletai* appears in *Oracula Chaldaica* 135.3 (ed. Des Places).

[57] Theurgic purification as prerequisite for the ascent of the soul: Proclus, *In Platonem Rem Publicam commentarii*, 1.152.7ff. (ed. Kroll).

[58] For an introduction into the key concepts of theurgy and its rituals, see Johnston, 'Rising to the Occasion'.

Theurgy adds another facet to magic: it is motivated not by greed or lust for power, but by 'inquisitiveness', *curiositas*; and its performers act with pride, not with humility. *Curiositas* is, in the table of Augustine's values, a major sin; as 'desire of the eyes' (*concupiscentia oculorum*) corresponds to the desires of the flesh,[59] so *curiositas* can easily turn into the unlawful desire for magic that uses magical means to satisfy itself – and even a Christian is not immune against it: there are Christians, the bishop says, who pray to God for divine signs only for the sake of experiencing them. By the fifth century, there were already Christian miracle workers with more interest in showmanship than in theology.[60]

With this exception, Augustine constructs magic in its different aspects – sorcery, divination, and theurgy in quest of divine contacts – as the opposite of Christianity, and, of course, in doing so he also constructs his vision of Christianity. Magic is veneration of demons, those creatures of the air that fill the space between earth and sky and are a constant threat to any Christian, but especially in the hour of death, when the soul has to pass through their realm and needs the help of the angels to do so. And since they derive from the fallen angels of Genesis, they are in strict opposition to God. In his quest for direct contact with the divine, the magician or the theurgist relies on the wrong mediators: the only mediator between man and God is Christ. To perform magic means to act unjustly, against the laws of God – as the fallen angels acted unjustly; it means to behave with arrogance (*superbia*) and to indulge in inquisitiveness (*curiositas*), where humility and self-abasement would be in place.

This construction is in full accordance with the imperial laws. Constantine came out against both *magicae artes* and divination: while he saw sorcery as a threat to a person's integrity and wished the existing laws energetically enforced against it, he judiciously tried only to curb, not to abolish divination: *haruspices* were banned from selling their art at the doors of other people's houses and even from entering any private home, but they were allowed to perform in their own houses.[61] In 357, the more radical Constantius lumped divination and magic together and tried to erase both: 'Nobody shall consult a diviner or an astrologer, nobody a soothsayer. The base profession of augurs and seers shall fall silent. Chaldaeans and magicians and all the rest, whom the people because of their many wrongdoings

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[59] Augustine, *Confessiones* 10.35.55: *concupiscentia carnis*. On *curiositas*, important also in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, see Labhardt, 'Curiositas'; Joly, 'Curiositas'; Torchia, 'Curiositas'; Callari, 'Curiositas'; Hijmans, 'Curiositas'.

[60] Augustine, *Confessiones* 10.35.55: *hinc etiam in ipsa religione deus temptatur, cum signa et prodigia flagitantur non ad aliquem salutem, sed ad solam experientiam desiderata.*

[61] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.16.1-2 (a. 319), 9.18.4 (a. 321).

calls malefactors, shall not perform any of their acts. The inquisitiveness of divination shall for all and for ever be silent. Whoever disobeys these orders, shall succumb to the sword of the executioner'.[62] After the reaction of Julian and the more cautious course of his successors, Honorius and Theodosius put a final stop to divination and magic and threw all pagan cults in as well. As late as 409, Honorius and Theodosius decreed the deportation of all astrologers from everywhere in the empire, 'should they not be prepared to burn the books of their errors under the eyes of the bishops, to put trust in the cult of the Catholic Church, and never again to return to their former error'.[63] Imperial legislation and episcopal enforcement coincided. Paganism had lost out.

In his more theoretical way, Augustine concurs. The *De doctrina Christiana* presents his theoretical advice on how to separate idolatry, divination and magic from the world of the true Christians.[64] Magic, divination, and idolatry all rely on communication between humans and demons: humans talk to them in their prayers and spells, demons answer with oracles and revelations. Again, it is Apuleius whom Augustine here follows: in his *Apology*, Apuleius defined magic as 'communication of speech with the immortal gods'.[65] Speech, Augustine goes on, is a system of entirely arbitrary signs that have been agreed upon by the interlocutors. Thus, we have an easy way to cut communication with the demons: we cancel all former agreements and thus make our language incomprehensible to the demons, and, likewise, make their language unintelligible to us.

This is not only an ingenious solution, based upon the first semiotic theory of language.[66] It is the statement of a radical change of system: the universe of the Christians is unintelligible to the demons of the pagans – and to the pagans as well. This explains the insistence of Augustine that magic and divination, like idolatry, are constitutive of pagans only. The

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[62] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.16.4 (357, 25.1): *nemo haruspicem consulat aut mathematicum, nemo hariolum. augurum et vatum prava confessio conticescat. Chaldaei* [i.e. theurgists] *ac magi et ceteri quos maleficos ab facinorum multitudinem vulgus appellat, nec ad hanc partem aliquid moliantur. sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas. etenim supplicium capitis feret gladio ultoris prostratus quicumque iussi obsequium denegaverit.* For the interpretation of Chaldaei as theurgists (and its connection with Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 10.9.1, 16.2), see Clerc, 'Theurgica'.

[63] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.16.12 (409.1.2): *Mathematicos, nisi parati sint codicibus erroris proprii sub oculis episcoporum incendio concrematis catholicae religionis cultui fidem tradere numquam ad errorem praeteritum redituri, ... pelli decernimus.*

[64] Markus, 'Augustine on Magic'.

[65] Apuleius, *Apologia* 25: *communio loquendi cum dis immortalibus.*

[66] On Augustine's place in the history of semiotics, see esp. Todorov, *Theories*, chapt. 1; Cosenza, 'Grice'.

result of this will reverberate through the history of Christianity: from now on, a Christian who practices magic is no longer a Christian. Already at the Synod of Ephesus in 449, the bishops accused one of their colleagues not only of magical divination, but of adherence to the heresy of Nestorianism as well.[67] This set the tone for many centuries to come.

[67] Peterson, *Frühkirche*, pp. 333-345 ('Die geheimen Praktiken eines syrischen Bischofs').

MAGIC AND BYZANTINE LAW IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Bernard H. Stolte

Magic was both widely spread and officially condemned in Byzantium. One of the instruments to counter its influence was to make its practice a criminal offence, the penalty for which could even be death at the stake. It is the purpose of this contribution to look at the way magic was dealt with by legal means in seventh-century Byzantium. To choose especially the so-called dark age of Byzantium requires a few words in justification.

The seventh century in Byzantium is generally held to have been a period of cultural transformation. This is not the place to argue in detail why this should be so; suffice it to say that scholarly opinion is more or less unanimous on the fact of change, though less so on its extent and form. For a discussion I may refer to John Haldon's book on the subject and the reviews it has attracted.[1] It is perhaps worth mentioning that we should not be misled by the word 'dark': the seventh century was far from a 'dark' age. This remnant of an older historiographic tradition should not be taken to mean that sources are lacking. In fact they are abundant enough, and it is the nature of these sources, different from those relating to the sixth century, that is indicative of cultural change.

In writing about magic and Byzantine law,[2] I should wish to make it clear from the start that I am unable to give a precise definition of magic. I use it in a rather loose way to indicate any studies and especially practices which refer to the 'supernatural', but are not part of established Christian religion. By the same token my use of the word 'magician' should be taken inclusive of all branches of non-Christian 'supernatural' practitioners. In defense of this unsatisfactory definition I may advance that Byzantine law has never operated on a precise definition, either. I will return to this below.

The sources of Byzantine law[3] offer rich material to the historian who wishes to study the phenomenon of magic. If one wishes to concentrate on the seventh century, it is inevitable that we should start a century earlier,

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[1] Haldon, *Byzantium*.

[2] See, e.g., Troianos, 'Zauberei'; *idem*, Μαγεία; Fögen, 'Balsamon on Magic'. For the Byzantine context of magic, see the papers in Maguire, *Byzantine Magic*.

[3] For a general account of the sources see Van der Wal and Lokin, *Historiae*; Troianos, Οι πήγες.

from the emperor Justinian I (527-565). His codification, consisting of *Code* and *Digest* (plus *Institutes*), dating to the early 530s, brings ancient, Roman law, formulated in Latin, to its conclusion, and at the same time forms the starting-point of Byzantine law, henceforth to be phrased in Greek. For a while the most visible symptom of this Byzantine law was to be the emperor's new legislation, the so-called *Novellae post Codicem constitutiones*, or Νεαραὶ μετὰ τὸν Κώδικα διατάξεις, *Novellae* or *Novels* for short. Technically they are, as their official name indicates, amendments to the codification. Their language and subject-matter show them to be the product of the Byzantine, medieval world. If one wishes to trace patterns of change from the second half of the sixth century onwards, these *Novels* provide some guidance, of course, but one has to bear in mind that they presuppose the Justinianic codification as their essential background. It is, furthermore, worth remembering that after the sixth century the pace of imperial legislation slows down to an almost imperceptible trickle.

In addition to secular, imperial law, there is canon law. It is not that the emperor is absent: on the contrary, one of the characteristic aspects of Byzantine canon law is the place of the emperor *within* the Church, and it should not come as a surprise that legislation pertaining to religious and ecclesiastical affairs may be issued by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Canon law of non-imperial origin could stem from various sources, the most important of which are the councils of the Church. The history of the Christian church up to the end of the sixth century had seen five general or oecumenical councils, the first four of which had issued formal decisions, or canons. A number of local councils, though in principle of course of local interest only, had been awarded a status comparable to that of the oecumenical councils. As a result, collections of the canons of these oecumenical and 'upgraded' local councils were compiled for easy reference. In the sixth century they were being extended with extracts from authoritative fathers of the Church, at first only the so-called canonical letters of Basil of Caesarea, but soon also other writings, and these extracts were indicated as canons, too.

A further innovation of the second half of the sixth century was the organisation of this material into systematic collections, i.e., according to subject-matter, just as this had been done by Justinian for civil law. Integration of civil and canon law was to some extent effected by the compilation of so-called *nomocanones*, a genre also originating *circa* 600. For our subject the so-called *Nomocanon of the Fourteen Titles*, dating to the beginning of the seventh century and representative of civil and canon law about 600, sums up the relevant legislation in title IX, chapter 25.[4] The list

[4] There is no satisfactory edition; the best is by Pitra, *Historia et Monumenta*, vol. 2,

of canons and imperial legislation is, in fact, quite impressive; even if we were to suppose that it is just a retrospective survey without actual validity, a view to which I do not subscribe, we must remember that, as far as the civil law is concerned, it goes back to what is itself already a selection, namely the *Code* and *Digest*.

The material collected in *Nomocanon* IX, 25 conveys an impression of the different names under which 'magicians' were known. It has to be remembered that the series of constitutions quoted from *Code* 9, 18 dates to the fourth century. They demonstrate how the activity of magicians gradually came to be restricted and suppressed, but the various penalties do not constitute a well-structured and thought-out system. Apparently, their incorporation into Justinian's *Code* did not occasion major revision. Several constitutions are concerned with legal procedure. If we imagine ourselves in the position of a sixth-century judge, it cannot have been difficult, with the help of the established techniques of interpretation, to have someone condemned to the stake.

To sum up: looking at the state of Byzantine law *anno domini* 600, we see well-established collections of civil and canon law. It is almost as if the building of the law had been completed: for a considerable time no new wings, no new storeys were to be added. This, of course, does not mean that Byzantine law came to a standstill or at least a temporary halt; it is just that if we must have change, it is change by other means than by formal legislation. The first legislative text of importance with a wider scope did not appear until 741, when the iconoclast emperors Leo III and Constantine V promulgated the *Ecloga*.[5] The focus of this paper will be on the intervening one and a half centuries.

We have abundant evidence of magic in Byzantium in the sixth and seventh centuries. In a much-quoted paper of 1967, H. J. Magoulias has listed anecdotes from the lives of Byzantine saints of the relevant period 'as sources of data for the history of magic in the sixth and seventh centuries', and adds after a colon: 'sorcery, relics and icons'.[6] His introduction is a *captatio benevolentiae* directed at those who might object against the inclusion of relics and icons in the same category as sorcery. This approach is attractive from a legal point of view, because it does not distinguish *a priori* between 'black' and 'white' magic; it simply infers from the fact that a saint is involved, that the practice concerned apparently was legitimised. The

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pp. 433-640, especially at pp. 552-557.

[5] Burgmann, *Ecloga*. The relevant part is title 17 (Ποινάλιος τῶν ἐγκληματικῶν κεφαλαίων), chapt. 42-44 (pp. 240-241), related to, but not identical with, Justinianic provisions.

[6] Magoulias, 'The Lives', pp. 228-269.

social context of the anecdote determines, *ex post facto*, that we are not dealing with magic, but with miracles.

This rather crude approach to the phenomenon of magic enables me to set out the way in which magic was seen by the law, civil as well as canon. Magic was not, of course, first discovered by the law around the year 600. On the contrary, as is demonstrated by the constitutions in the *Code* quoted above, it was in the fourth century that magic frequently was the subject of legislation. I may refer to a book by Marie Theres Fögen: *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager.*[7] She describes the process by which, in the Roman empire, the 'Wissensmonopol' was being taken over by the state and eventually by the Christian state. The state had a vested interest in controlling the activity of magicians and one of the instruments to do so was legislation and its enforcement. The history of imperial legislation tells the story of how the magician was being 'expropriated', i.e., dispossessed from his monopoly of knowledge; in the new order of knowledge 'the old interpreters of the divine were no longer wanted'.[8] The saint, however, remained as his 'legalised' successor.

Now the fact that the Justinianic legislation of the sixth century contains pertinent legislation points to a continuous existence of magical practices. Insofar as we are in need of confirmation, we have abundant evidence in papyri, saints' lives and patristic writings of the same period. The story of Simon Magus who wanted to buy magical knowledge from St Peter (*Acts* 8,9-24) remained popular in later times.[9]

As has been said above, legislation stops towards the end of the sixth century on all fronts; indeed, the Church had last issued canons at Chalcedon in 451. The silence of formal legal sources gives rise to the question whether, if at all, magic was still being fought by legal means, and if so, how?[10] One of the problems of Byzantine legal history is the quasi-total lack of documentary sources for the early centuries. True, there are papyri relating to legal practice, but their number diminishes after 600; moreover, they stem predominantly from Egypt, which is lost to the Byzantines precisely in the seventh century. Furthermore, insofar as we have legal papyri, they are not related to magic, though there are quite a number of

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[7] Fögen, *Die Enteignung.*

[8] *Ibidem*, p. 19.

[9] See the contribution by Jan Bremmer in this volume. For a Byzantine illustration see, e.g., the Khludov marginal Psalter (ms. Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 129D, second half of the ninth century), fol. 51v, where 'the figure of the sorcerer Simon Magus is trampled by St Peter' (quoted in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* [1991], s.v. Magicians).

[10] The four *Novels* by Heraclius, the only constitutions of the seventh century to reach our time, have a different subject.

'magical papyri' containing spells, curses etc.[11] At first sight, therefore, we seem to be particularly ill-served. And so we are, but there is a certain amount of evidence available in patristic writings and hagiography. (I am not particular about the distinction.)

From a legal point of view it is quite logical to call on patristics. Not only did the writings of the fathers carry some authority in Byzantium, but force of law was even formally attributed to some of them. These selected writings were divided into numbered passages, which then counted as canons. As has already been said above, the process began in the sixth century, when St Basil started to appear in canon law, and was formalised in 691 at the Council in Trullo, when a list of 'authorised' fathers was compiled in its second canon.[12] The list of 691 was never formally closed, or rather, subsequent manuscript tradition shows that certain other fathers were admitted to the ranks, but no new authoritative list was promulgated. The principle, however, had been established that this was a category of writings which one could turn to for guidance and which one could actually quote in a court of law. Against this background we should see the genre of *Erotapokriseis, Questions and Answers*.[13] Certain problems were formulated and submitted to authoritative bishops or monks, and their answers circulated as standard solutions. There is a connection between these collections and patristic florilegia;[14] they remained popular in Byzantium until the end. One of the fathers whose opinion carried a great deal of weight was Anastasius of Sinai. Though too 'young' to make it to the list of the Council in Trullo, his *Erotapokriseis* gained extensive circulation and are a vivid testimony to the concerns of seventh-century society. I leave the problems of authorship and attribution of this corpus of writings on one side. More important is the fact that the majority of these *Erotapokriseis* may be dated to the seventh century; as long as we do not have detailed evidence to the contrary, we may follow the Byzantine habit of attaching Anastasius's authority to these writings.[15] Two questions and answers are especially relevant to our theme.[16]

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[11] See Preisendanz, *PGM*; Betz, *The Greek Magical papyri*.

[12] A certain uneasiness about the acceptance of patrictic writings as 'canons' is evident from the first prologue of the *Nomocanon of the Fourteen Titles* Τὰ μὲν σώματα; see Pitra, *Historia et Monumenta*, vol. 2, p. 446.

[13] Dörries and Dörries, 'Erotapokriseis'.

[14] Richard, 'Florilèges grecs'.

[15] Haldon, 'The Works', with literature.

[16] A new edition is in preparation by Joseph Munitiz for CCSG. In the meantime we have to rely on Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 89. In fairness it has to be pointed out that the authorship of questions 34 and 62 is doubtful: see Richard, 'Florilèges', pp. 500-502, as well as Dörries and Dörries, 'Erotapokriseis', pp. 361-364. For

Question 34 (PG 89,575) is as straightforward as is Anastasius's answer: what is the force of a magician's curse,[17] given that God has forbidden him to curse someone? The answer is, of course, none, as he is a fraud. Although entirely sufficient, the answer does not stop there. For the curse may seem to work, and has to be explained within the framework of Christian doctrine. It is the hand of God intervening, not on behalf of the impious, but for the sake of the believers. The evidence adduced stems from the Old Testament. If the curse seems to work, it is not from the power of the magician, but of God who has chosen the magician as his instrument in order to correct his people.

Question 62 (PG 89, 648-652) presents a similar problem, but does not deal with a magician, but with a holy man. The distinction between the two is entirely as expected: the magician is a fraud, the holy man is not. The magician's curse does not work on the strength of his own powers, and not only is the holy man's punishment effective because of his special status, but it cannot be undone except through the intervention of the same holy man. Anastasius adduces *Matthew* 18,18, otherwise known as the key-stone of the indissolubility of marriage in the Roman church. The question really concerns the problem whether one holy man would be able to undo the punishment inflicted by another, whose anger had been aroused.

The two questions together prove the presence of 'magicians', both of legitimate and illegetimate status. People turned to men such as Anastasius for guidance. This gives rise to the question why they did not invoke the help of the law. In my view the answer is twofold. On the one hand, there was no sharp distinction between the spiritual guidance of the fathers and the law: the former could be transformed into a source of canon law once his saintliness had been sufficiently established. It reminds one of the dictum of English law that one only has to die to be quoted as an authority in a court of law. In the seventh century St Basil was already a source of law, St Anastasius of Sinai was on his way to becoming one. On the other hand, how was one to know that the magician was not a holy man and vice versa? If one attributed supernatural powers to persons still alive, it was very difficult to be wise before the event, so to speak. No court of law would willingly take on cases like this, though occasionally we find reports of actual court cases on the subject of magic.

One such report stems from a source related to the *erotapokriseis* just mentioned. Almost a century ago F. Nau published a series of anecdotes 'useful for the soul', which may be attributed to the same Anastasius of

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background, see also Dagron, 'Le saint'.

[17] The term used by Anastasius is μάντις.

Sinai.[18] One of those is particularly relevant to my theme, as it tells the story of a magician and how the law eventually dealt with him.[19]

> Triachides is a village on the island of Cyprus, about sixteen miles from the metropolis Constantia [present-day Salamis]. In this village there was a priest, ten years before the capture of the same island of Cyprus [i.e., AD 639]. This priest had been deceived by the devil and had gone to learn the destructive art of sorcerers to perfection, to the result that he became so 'contemptuous of the holy', that he was actually eating and drinking from the undefiled patens and chalices, together with prostitutes and fellow-sorcerers. When he had been behaving in that impious way for some time, the ecclesiastical court could no longer put up with him, but notified the governor of the province and handed him over for punishment. This happened, when Arcadius of blessed memory was archbishop of the island. The whole population crowded together for the investigation, punishment, indeed utter destruction of the wretched and impious magician-priest, while the governor presided and his entire staff stood around, in the order of their dignity. The prudent assessor of the governor, who was also a skilled secretary, interrogated the abominable priest and said: 'Tell me, you abominable character, full of ungodliness, impiety, without fear and respect for the law, you may perhaps disregard this court (βῆμα) as transitory, but have you not thought of the frightening and awesome court-to-come? How, tell me, have you dared to approach that other altar (βῆμα) of the undefiled body and blood of Christ, the mystic and bloodless sacrifice? With what heart did you take part of the formidable body and blood? With what Jewish lips did you salute it? With what unclean hands did you approach it? With what eyes did you gaze at those awesome mysteries? How did you not tremble that fire would come from heaven and destroy you? How did you not fear that the earth would open its mouth and swallow you, because you, a servant of the devil, one who sacrificed to him, who venerated him, as a pig with rumbling bowels offered the undefiled mysteries to the people to share them?'
>
> After the learned assessor of the governor had thus interrogated the abominable priest, the wretched man answered and swore in the hearing of the entire

[18] Nau, 'Le texte grec' (1903); *idem*, 'Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase'. See most recently Flusin, 'Démons et Sarrasins', with a survey of editions and literature. The desirability of a new edition of the *récits* has been pointed out by Canart, 'Une nouvelle anthologie'.

[19] Nau, 'Le texte grec' (1903), no. 49, pp. 69-70 [=CPG 7758: B 7]; it is also mentioned in Magoulias, 'Lives', p. 239 (with partial translation), though with the wrong references to Nau and without its legal implications. A new edition of the part of the *récits* which contains this story is forthcoming: see Flusin, 'Démons et Sarrasins', p. 381, n. 1. What follows is my own translation.

> audience: 'By God, who punishes me at this very hour through your hands, and is going to punish me in time to come through his own hands, I do not lie: from the time that I became a sorcerer, it was not I who officiated, but whenever I entered the sanctuary, an angel of God would descend and bind me to the pillar with my arms behind my back, and he would personally officiate and distribute the communion, and when he had completed the entire service, he would untie me so that I could leave'.
>
> When the crowd heard this, it praised God and said: 'Great is the God of the Christians, great the faith of the Christians: let us not condemn the priests; for angels hallow and communicate to us the mysteries of Christ'. This was the cry of the people, and the priest who had broken the law and had been condemned by his own mouth, was burned at the stake in the presence of all.

The story is interesting from a legal point of view for two reasons. First, it tells us something about the legal proceedings in a case like this in the provinces of the Byzantine empire, and second, it informs us about the relation between canon and civil law. As to the latter aspect, our interpretation is dependent on how we understand ἡ ὑεία οὐκ ἐβάσταξε δίκη.[20] In my view this is a reference to the limits of canon legal proceedings in a case like this. It would seem that initially the priest had been summoned to appear before an ecclesiastical tribunal, probably on charges of misconduct as a priest.[21] If found guilty, the standard canonical sanctions of deposition and excommunication[22] would have been imposed. In the case in hand the

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[20] Nau, 'Le texte grec' (1903), p. 69, 11. I have collated this passage from the *récits* in Vat. gr. 2592, where it occurs at fol. 178vb-179va as no. ζ' (see Canart, 'Une nouvelle anthologie', esp. pp. 125-127). The only important variant I have found is precisely here, where instead of δίκη it reads: ψῆφος, which is no reason for me to interpret differently: 'the sentence (of an ecclesiastical court)', i.e., the court itself.

[21] Improper use of a church building seems to have been a persistent problem, which was to be addressed fifty years later, at the end of the seventh century, by the Council in Trullo (see below). Canon 74 prohibits having a meal in a church (cf. Laodicea canon 28 and Carthago canon 42). Canon 76 forbids to have taverns within holy precincts; canon 88 to bring a beast of burden into a church (except when really necessary for travelling purposes!). Canon 97 deals with 'dwelling heedlessly in a church'. Its text speaks of 'those who cohabit with their wives or otherwise heedlessly profane sacred places and conduct themselves contemptuously whilst dwelling in them' (transl. Featherstone, 'The Canons', pp. 178-179). Surely cohabiting with women other than their wives would have been considered to fall, *a fortiori*, within the scope of the canon.

[22] The older canonical legislation sometimes restricts itself to defining various ecclesiastical offences without stating the appropriate sanction. Sanctions must have followed nonetheless, but the older sources do not show a fixed system: see various passages in the canonical letters of Basil, e.g., canon 70.

charge may have been more specifically fornication, which carried the penalty of deposition under canon 1 of the Council of Neocaesarea. Deposition apparently was not enough, or at least did not put an end to the priest's activities. For additional punishment the cooperation of the secular authorities was indispensable, and I suggest we take the following clause ἀλλὰ δηλοσιεύσασα [for δημο-; the Vatican ms. has διμοσιεύσασα] τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς ἐπαρχίας εἰς κόλασιν παρέδωκεν[23] literally: the ecclesiastical authorities, having reached the limits of their jurisdiction, handed over the priest for punishment outside the ecclesiastical sphere, the execution of which lay beyond their province. A secular court, which in a case like this was of course the governor's court, had to establish guilt and pronounce a proper sentence. The gravity of the case is demonstrated by the governor taking the chair in person and the additional presence of his entire *consilium*.

We see canon and civil courts acting independently. The proper order of proceedings was being respected. The priest would first receive a hearing by an ecclesiastical tribunal; it is possible that he had refused to appear in a secular court on the grounds of a *privilegium fori*. Once condemned for misconduct as a priest, he would be unfrocked; as a layman, he might be tried again, not for the same offence – he might in that case have invoked the protection of the rule of *ne bis in idem* – but for setting up as a magician, which carried the death penalty. We may perhaps take the fact that the *privilegium fori* was not invoked in this case as an indication that formal canonical proceedings had already taken place, to the result that the priest had in fact been deposed.[24]

At the end of the seventh century the ecclesiastical legislator saw reason once more to turn to the subject of magic. In 691 the Council in Trullo,[25] also known as the *Quinisextum* or Πενθέκτη because it was considered to have issued the canons that the fifth and sixth oecumenical councils had failed to promulgate, issued a series of 102 canons, which through the problems they are meant to address shed a fascinating light on seventh-century life of priests, monks and laymen.[26] Among the abuses mentioned is

[23] Nau, 'Le texte grec' (1903), p. 69, 11-12.

[24] Cf. the excellent survey of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction by Pieler, 'Gerichtsbarkeit', pp. 475-488, where also the competence is discussed of both courts in cases where priests were involved; see also the cautious review of the existence of a *privilegium fori*. In 629 Heraclius had confirmed an earlier Justinianic law that priests or monks who had been found guilty and deserved a more severe penalty should be deposed and subjected to the penalties provided by 'our laws': Her. Nov. IV (Konidaris, 'Die Novellen', p. 92, l. 98-101; cf. Justinian, *Novel* 123.21.1).

[25] See, e.g., Laurent, 'L'œuvre canonique', and the work mentioned below (note 27).

[26] Laurent, 'L'œuvre canonique', p. 19.

also magic, on which the council decreed in its sixty-first canon as follows:[27]

> Those who have recourse to diviners, or to so-called 'centurions', or to any such persons, in order to learn from them whatever it is they want to discover, shall be subject to the canonical penalty of six years, in accordance to the decrees made by the Fathers not long ago in such matters. The same penalty ought to be inflicted on those who keep bears in tow and other such animals in order to deceive and cause mischief to the more simple-minded, haranguing the throng with fortune and fate and genealogy and other such words used in the trumpery of imposture, as well as the so-called cloud-chasers, sorcerers, purveyors of amulets, and diviners. If they persist in these things and do not renounce and flee these deadly pagan practices, we decree that they should be cast out altogether from the Church, as the sacred canons declare. For 'what fellowship is there between light and darkness? asks the Apostle, or what agreement has the temple of God with idols? Or what does a believer share with an unbeliever? What agreement does Christ have with Beliar?'

The canon deals with those who consult magicians, as well as with those who practise magic. Although the various types of 'magicians' mentioned here are difficult to identify precisely, they give an idea of the wide scope of magical practices. The limits of the Church's sanctions are obvious: The κανὼν τῆς ἐξαετίας, the rule of excommunication for six years[28] is mentioned, which seems to refer to the guideline laid down by St Basil in canon 83. Next there is an unspecified reference to older canon legislation (τὰ πρώην ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων περὶ αὐτῶν ὁρισθέντα);[29] although it does not mention the 'fathers' by name, the bishops of Ancyra (canon 24) and Laodicea (canon 36) are meant. It is further obvious that the passages from St Basil's letters which are known as canons 7, 65, 72 and 83 are in the bishops' minds, as is probably Gregory of Nyssa's canon 3. The canons are mentioned again at p. 142, 2, where the sanction of definitive expulsion from the Church is a direct quotation from Laodicea canon 36. Thus the Church reaffirmed its view of the incompatibility of magic and orthodoxy.

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[27] The translation has been taken from Nedungatt and Featherstone, *The Council*, pp. 140-142, who have based themselves on the text of Joannou, *Les canons*, and provided their own English translation (which I have adapted on one minor point). See their 'Presentation' at pp. 10-12, where they point out the unsatisfactoriness of Joannou's Greek text and Latin translation. For another English translation, see Fögen, 'Balsamon on Magic', p. 100.

[28] Nedungatt-Featherstone, *The Council*, pp. 141, 6-7.

[29] *Ibidem*.

The execution of physical punishment was of course left to secular authorities.

From all this it becomes clear that the activity of magicians *e tutti quanti* was very much a reality in the seventh century. The Church was the first to feel this as a threat to society. As we have seen, it would deal with it both through pastoral care and advice and through the formal channels of the ecclesiastical courts. When called upon to legislate, it did not hesitate to reaffirm its ban on unauthorised dealings with the 'supernatural' in canon 61 of the Council in Trullo. The secular powers, or perhaps we should say, the emperor, was equally adverse to the phenomenon. They never saw reason to change their views; the provisions of the Justinianic legislation remained in force. When the ecclesiastical and secular arms felt themselves compelled to act, they did not hesitate to do so. How strong Church and state felt about it may be inferred from the fact that already St Basil mentions murder and magic in the same breath in canons 7, 65 and 72. Formal secular legislation put them on a level as well. A starting-point was perhaps provided by a *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis* of 81 BC, which also in 533 provided the rubric for Justinian's *Digest* 48,8. When the magician was put in the same category as a poisoner, the road was open for identification of magic and murder: indeed, the word φαρμακός means 'poisoner', 'magician' and 'sorcerer';[30] a semasiological investigation of the word might be illuminating. About 900 the rubric of *Basilica* 60,39 continues that line of reasoning: it makes the *lex Cornelia* deal with murderers, poisoners, magicians, *mathematici*, and the like.[31] It is in that sense the logical outcome of a general feeling first to be perceived in the policy of the early empire: magic was as big a threat to public order as apostasy and murder.[32] How to deal with it effectively was another matter. Byzantine law was just one of the correctives Byzantine society had in store.

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[30] H. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, [9]1940), s.v.

[31] Νόμος Κορνέλιος περὶ φονευτῶν καὶ φαρμακῶν καὶ μαθηματικῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.

[32] Cf. also Novel 65 of Leo VI the Wise, with the remarks of Troianos, 'The Canons', p. 195.

MAGIC IN ENGLISH THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MIRACLE COLLECTIONS

Valerie I. J. Flint

This contribution focuses on miracle collections as a source for medieval magic for three reasons. The first is the very closeness of magic and miracles, for both seek to procure results which transcend nature, and to do this through the medium of a human practitioner. It is true that some persons still regard the very term 'magic' as inherently condemnatory, and so incapable of being subsumed within that right exercise of supernatural power they attribute to the Christian miracle-worker. It is true also, and interestingly, that this contrast was alive and well in the very period with which we are here concerned. In the *Liber Memorandorum* of the monks of Pontigny for example, a collection made in memory of archbishop Edmund Rich of Canterbury (1234-1240) after his canonisation in 1246, we are provided both with evidence of the similarities, yet differences, to be found between magic and miracles, and a spirited defence against critics of the place of miracles in the complex. Magicians and demons are not the sole sources of supernatural activity on earth, say the compilers of the *Liber*. On the contrary, miracles were performed by St. Edmund in distinction from the art of magic, for the strengthening of faith in the power of God and His saints, the support of Christian worship, the defiance of infidelity and the demonstration of the abiding energy of a well-lived life.[1] These superficial similarities yet far deeper differences between miracles and magic could, at certain periods and in certain places, be deliberately emphasised therefore by the

[1] *Et non sine causa divina providentia sic providit, ut in sanctis suis post mortem signorum gratia plus abundet, ut demonstretur expresse quod eorum memoria in benedictione est, per quos Dominus talia operatur, et perfidis detrahendi materia subtrahatur, qui videntes signa fieri per homines in corpore constitutos, dicebant hoc de artibus magici provenire, vel eis ad hoc faciendum daemones subservere (...) Et tamen qui hoc dicebant signum ab eo petebant, non ut crederent, sed ut detrahendo culparent. Habemus autem in nostro sancto pontifice signa sive miracula, per quae fides roboretur, et infidelitas expugneretur. Habemus in eo, quod pluris est, purgatissimas animi virtutes, nobis quidem exemplares, ei autem aeternales, per quas caritas aedificetur, et cultus christiani nominis amplietur. Nisi enim virtutum merita praecessissent, non fuissent utique tam gloriosa miracula subsequuta.* See Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, vol. 3, p. 1872.

advocates of miracles as an effective counter to forbidden magic – as I hope we shall see.

A second reason for choosing miracle collections as a source lies in the need felt by their compilers, and especially by the compilers of those put together for canonisation processes, to convey a sense of authenticity and reliability. One is struck, for instance, by the pains taken in certain canonisation dossiers to describe the customs of the country from which they come; this the better to inform the papal consistory of the singular and beneficial nature of the interventions of the would-be saint. This need to provide information of compelling accuracy makes such collections historical records of the first importance in other respects too, and too little exploited; yet it renders them particularly helpful in matters of magic. Amongst the interventions into English customs we can find, there are, I think, echoes of the distinctly *un*beneficial offices of certain contemporary magicians. A third, and final, reason for turning to such sources lies in the evidence they give of the activities of the Christian counter-magus.

When I wrote my book *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* I argued, in its final section, that Christian counter-magi figures were consciously produced within the Christian church in early medieval Europe because there were enormous numbers of people there who depended upon non-Christian magicians. They had had them for a long time, they still needed them, and they were prepared to look up to and support them. If the Christian church were to have any lasting impact upon such persons, therefore – and especially if it were to have any hope of winning them over to Christianity – then it must stop just condemning them and their magicians wholesale, and attend instead to the needs these magicians fulfilled; this with a view to offering a viable alternative. The church must also attend, incidentally, to buildings with a sense of magic in them as a place of recourse and theatre. Thus, some of the less fiery and more practical of the early European Christian evangelists tried to provide such alternatives. And amongst the ones they pressed forward was the bishop, in his palace and his cathedral, with its shrines; and they turned above all (though this figure was perhaps a little less common than it should have been) to the bishop-saint. One may ask oneself whether such solutions were proposed in the later Middle Ages too, perhaps in the face of a similar threat. To attempt to find the beginnings of an answer, and because thirteenth-century England was so prolific in the production of bishop-saints, I have thus extended my enquiry into that century and that country, and have directed it especially upon the dossiers produced then for the canonisation of bishops. The chief collections chosen for this paper are (in order of the amount of relevant information each contains) first and foremost, the great dossier put together for the canonisation of Thomas Cantilupe of Hereford (bishop 1275-1282), canon-

ised 1320, which has survived *in toto*, then that compiled for Richard Wych of Chichester (bishop 1245-1253), canonised 1262, and thirdly the small collection put together for the altar *tabula* of archbishop William Fitzherbert of York (1143-1147, 1154), canonised 1284 – a forced saint if ever there was one, and one therefore all the more needful of convincing and attractive miracles. The collection of miracles prepared for the canonisation of archbishop Edmund Rich has unfortunately been lost, but there are elements in the *Liber Memorandorum* mentioned above, and also in his surviving *Vitae* which may perhaps be allowed to supplement the evidence we may draw from the more complete accounts.[2] I shall call, then, upon these too. The canonisation collections, it should be made clear, are unlikely to provide us with evidence of learned magic, for the learned were not the audience they sought chiefly to address. They are filled, however, with a sense of the need for, and the contents of, the simpler 'magical' expedients.

When Thomas Cantilupe died at Orvieto in 1282, it seemed that plans were already in place for his canonisation. His bones were promptly brought back and laid in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral, and a relentless campaign was waged from that moment until its success.[3] The dossier of *Vita* and *Miracula* we have was drawn up in 1307 for the campaign. It is a truly splendid deposit, filled with supernatural activity in the form of miracles (taking up some hundred pages in the presently fallibly printed version in the *Acta Sanctorum*),[4] and I shall draw upon it heavily. It was put together, moreover, as a result of exhaustive enquiries into *lay* anxieties and desires. And there is even more to the point than this. Though relatively poor and undistinguished in itself, the see of Hereford was placed within range of some discernible competing magi, both within England and among the turbulent (and emotionally and religiously highly susceptible) inhabitants of Wales; all this at a time when king Edward I was particularly intent upon annexing the latter people as subjects of the English crown. This state of affairs gave Hereford a peculiar prominence, both in the Welsh wars (for the ability of a magus to predict or to procure victory was an ancient proof of the magus's power) and, when the English had won, in the negotiations for the firm establishment of sovereignty and control. The Welsh valued their mediators of the supernatural (of whom Merlin was perhaps only the most prominent) and the help they gave to their native kings to a very high

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[2] For a full discussion of such sources see Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, pp. 1-4, 7-105.

[3] On this campaign see Daly, 'The Process of Canonisation', and for a wider perspective Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 173-188.

[4] *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, pp. 541-705. A copy of the original dossier still survives in Ms. Vatican City, Cod. lat. 4015.

degree.[5] This dimension to the process for the canonisation of the bishop of Hereford, and the revelations of his supernatural powers, might have been in fact one of the most important of them all.

Bishop Richard Wych of Chichester was canonised in part in that spirit of criticism which surrounded the government of king Henry III of England. His dossier, like that of Cantilupe, has been published by the Bollandists.[6] William Fitzherbert was canonised on account of the desperately felt need for a saint by the archiepiscopal see of York. The *tabula* containing his miracles probably stood by his shrine, behind the high altar in the cathedral,[7] and may therefore be allowed to introduce us also to one of the theatres wherein the Christian counter-magus and his supporters sought to oppose the magician. As a preface to the examination of such materials, however, we must first look a little more closely at the evidence we have for the existence of those thirteenth-century English non-Christian magi against whom the bishop-saints were battling.

Certainly, such figures were plying their trade in thirteenth-century England. In the early part of the century, for instance, Ralph of Coggeshall tells of the enchantment of a youth by an elderly female sorceress,[8] and many English synodal statutes of the period contain formulae for the excommunication of soothsayers.[9] For all this, a mandate issued to his archdeacon in 1311 by the bishop of London, Ralph Baldock, assumed that magicians were still to be found everywhere in his diocese. Such magicians were being asked, he says, to find lost objects, to interpret past and indeed future events, to conjure, chant, divine and indulge in every species of magical art. They held secret meetings and called up demons by means of tallow cakes, and little spinning pegs, and nail-parings, and mirrors, and stones, and rings.[10] The problem was urgent, and something had to be done

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[5] On the hopes the Welsh vested in their own magi and prophets during this period see Davies, *Conquest*, especially pp. 79, 106, 379.

[6] *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis I*, pp. 276-316.

[7] The contents of the *tabula* are printed by Raine, *The Historians*, vol. 2, pp. 531-543.

[8] Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 105-106.

[9] Powicke and Cheney, *Councils*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 632, note 2.

[10] *Intelleximus siquidem quod tum pro rerum recuperatione deperditarum, tum pro futuris ac etiam preteritis occultis plenius investigandis, quidam per artis magie et incantationum notitie confictionem, quidam per nimis credulitatis simplicitatem et inanem voluptatem coniurationibus et divinationibus inserviunt, occultas faciunt conventiculas, circulos quasi pro demonum invocatione preparant et eos invocant per panes et cultellos volubiles, et alias diversimode coniurant, alii spiritus se invocare confingunt in unguibus, speculis, lapidibus, et anulis, vel similibus materiis, quos vana dare responsa et signa facere pretendunt.* See Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 1349.

immediately; in the first instance by getting hold of the names of the malefactors and reporting them to him.

Even closer to the time of the enthusiasm for the cause of Cantilupe we have evidence from the West country itself. In the *Summulae* of the synod held at Exeter in 1287 by bishop Peter Quinel of Exeter, we read that this bishop finds it necessary (under the rubric of the First Commandment) to condemn:

> Wonder-working or conjuring, of the kind we see done in matters of theft, by means of swords, or reflections in basins, or names written down and buried in the ground, or put into Holy Water or such things, or by recourse to auguries, that is, divination, or soothsaying as soothsayers do, or actually consulting soothsayers on such matters, or by making offerings to demons, as wretched men do to procure women with whom they are infatuated.[11]

This is the standard stuff of conjuring by reflections, or deciding by lottery or augury, or making offerings, particularly in matters close to the heart.[12] Magicians may have performed their rituals with the help of codices containing works on magic of a kind we can now trace to late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century England (codices analogous perhaps to Mss. Oxford, Bodleian Library Selden Supra 76 of the late thirteenth century, and Corpus Christi College 221 and Digby 228 of the fourteenth), or such works as the *Liber Sacer* and its congenors.[13]

In the annals both of London and of St. Paul's there is especially clear record, moreover, of the conviction, and punishment, of a soothsayer in the diocese of London; an event which took place three years after Bishop Ralph Baldock had issued his mandate. In a rare case of summoning before a Court Christian, one Juliana of Lambeth was called in to be tried upon the charge of being a soothsayer. She was examined and convicted, then sentenced to walk in procession to St. Paul's, wearing a black philosopher's robe, with long sleeves, and holding up a wax image, for it was in such clothes and by such means that she had performed her magic. The wearing of clothes of this kind, and the manipulation of waxen images as a form of image magic, were clearly thought major indicators of unacceptable mag-

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[11] *Scilicet faciendo prestigia, id est recurrendo ad coniurationes sicut solet fieri pro furto, in gladio, in pelvi, in nominibus scriptis et inclusis in luto et inpositis in aqua benedicta et similia, vel recurrendo ad auguria, id est divinationes, vel si sortilegium feceret sicut faciunt sortiarii, vel sortiarias pro talibus consulerit, vel demonibus sacrificaverit, sicut faciunt quidam miseri pro mulieribus quas amant fatue.* See Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 1062.

[12] See also Braakman, 'Fortune telling'.

[13] Discussed by Klaassen, 'English Manuscripts', pp. 5-8, 11-14, 19-22.

ical exercise, for both are found elsewhere as signs of ignominy, especially if they are worn, or manipulated by, the clergy, (the black robe with long sleeves has long been, of course, the pantomime image of the magician's uniform, and it is rather exciting to find that it has basis in fact).[14] After the procession into the cathedral, Juliana had to climb up onto a specially prepared scaffold within the church, and her books were burnt, together with some of her hair – perhaps to neutralise the believed-in potency of a bodily relic, even of a witch.[15]

Finally, there is the figure of the magician-Jew. One may suspect that he is one of the most crucial, though least-known, of all.[16] The legend of little St. Hugh, who was held to have been murdered in 1255 by the Jews of Lincoln in part as a mockery of the crucifixion, and (in one version of the story) specifically so that his blood and entrails might be used in magic, attests to a belief in the figure of the magician-Jew and in its prevalence and power.[17] The competition, then, was there for the Christian bishop-magus to counter; but even in this, somewhat alarmist, evidence we can see that something has happened to it. Firstly, with the significant exception of the Jewish magi, the more powerful and threatening aspects of the magicians' practices have been displaced. We hear nothing about necromancy, blood sacrifice or, here, of blood in general in association with them. The activities proscribed, though surely irritating, seem to be relatively harmless ones, harnessed perhaps for quite trivial enterprises. Secondly, though men are perforce included under the general category of soothsayer, this role seems now to be occupied primarily by women. In addition to Ralph of Coggeshall, cited above, the Statutes of Coventry and Lichfield (1224-1237) say quite plainly that it is women who mainly engage in such activities,[18] and the sorceress Juliana is a woman. Now why has this happened – and how has it happened?

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[14] Gerald of Wales condemns the manipulation of waxen images as *ars magica* in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, ch. xlix, and suggests that certain of the Welsh clergy were inclined to use them to curse their enemies at Mass. See Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma*, in: *id.*, *Opera*, vol. 2, ed. Brewer, p. 137. In the 1225-1230 English *Constitutions for a Certain Bishop* clergy are expressly forbidden to wear long-sleeved robes. Cf. Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 188.

[15] Stubbs, *Chronicles*, vol. 1, pp. 236, 275-276.

[16] The 1240 Statutes of Worcester suggest that the sorcerers themselves are inclined to go to Jews for advice. See Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 303.

[17] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 5, pp. 516-519. On this and other such accusations against Jews see Trachtenberg, *The Devil*, pp. 140-145.

[18] *Et circa nullam personam omittatur quin precipue queratur de falso testimonio, circa mulieres maxime de veneficiis et sortilegiis.* See Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 222.

At the very beginning of this contribution attention was drawn to the similarities between the effects sought by miracles to those sought by magic. Obviously, there will be further likenesses to be found between the two for the very fact that the clientèle of both magicians and miracle-workers consulted their chosen practitioners with the same needs in mind; the relief of anxiety or illness, advice on life-affecting matters such as love-affairs and law suits, the discovery of thieves and stolen property and for the winning of athletic contests or wars. These resemblances, well known as they are, are not now in themselves, perhaps, particularly interesting; but the reverse is true of technique and theatre. How close were Christian episcopal miracle-workers allowed to draw to the gestures or tools or scenes of action of their opponents? How many echoes of this are to be found in the accounts of their activities? And were there, on the other hand, any hopes and expectations they could *not*, as Christian practitioners, entertain, or was there forbidden ground upon which they could not venture, such as raising from the dead or blood-magic, or the ill-wishing of an opponent? We may turn to these questions now before trying to see quite how it was that the more trivial of our recorded forbidden magical enterprises fell to the lot of women.

I cannot pretend to have counted every single miracle in Cantilupe's dossier (though this could certainly be done by relentless diligence), but I have, however, distilled its distinctive emphases. The dossier attempts to demonstrate that Cantilupe's supernatural powers were particularly strong in three main areas (set out in the order of their priority); in the resurrection of dead bodies (especially the resurrection of persons killed by accident or miscarriage of justice), in the overthrowing of unjust elements within the secular law, and in the supernatural power of blood (especially in the identification and defeat of judicial injustice once again). St. Thomas Cantilupe, then, was allowed to intervene in great matters. It is not quite clear how odd the last emphasis is. Indeed, the examination of canonisation dossiers for such information, especially for comparative information, is still in its infancy in general as well as with me. But in all of these manifestations, and especially in the accounts of the marvellous behaviour and in materials related to them, Cantilupe's dossier seems to give us an entry into a far older magical world, and it is supported by the other two. They too, then, may give us an idea about what was happening to Christian offices over time, in the course of the Christian establishment's efforts to absorb the old magicians.

We may take these categories of supernatural intervention in order. Some of the accounts in Cantilupe's dossier of resurrections from the dead are charming to read, as well as instructive about medieval rural life. One case is worth recounting here, namely that of the resurrection of the five

year old child Joan, whose brother pushed her into a pool in the garden of an ale-house.[19] Joan's parents, together with a whole crowd of others, had repaired to the said ale-house after Nones – that is, late of a summer afternoon. Joan fell into the water and disappeared, whereupon the little boy, rather understandably, ran away. She did not resurface, and her body was later discovered at the bottom of the pool by a group of young singers, who had been sent out there to perform for the drinkers in return for their own drinks ('as is the custom', says the dossier). The singers did nothing immediately (for reasons we shall come to) deciding to cope later. After a little while, however, the women came out looking for the children, found the little girl and pulled the body from the water. Every effort was made to rescuscitate Joan; her girdle was cut, her mouth forced and held open, but with no success.

At last, her mother carried her back to the house and laid her in a bed by the fire. Joan lay dead there for two days, during which time all, both men and women, prayed to Thomas Cantilupe (the men taking off their stockings so as to make contact with the earth, as the women were doing; an interesting embellishment to the story). The length of Joan's body was then measured in thread, as they all prayed, and the thread was made ready to be put into a candle to burn at Thomas Cantilupe's tomb. Measuring of this kind is, incidentally, a constant feature of the miracles of resurrection and of healing in the dossier (I have counted thirty-three examples in this dossier alone). So also is the bending of a penny over the corpse or sick person, and the making of a sign of the cross over it – hence, perhaps, the many bent pennies found by archaeologists now. We may easily imagine the solemnities which must have accompanied such actions and gestures; theatrical ones of precisely the kind invoked in popular accounts of magic and seeming, perhaps, to ape them. It is of particular interest that the measurings in thread seem always to have been performed or encouraged by women (at least, I have found no exceptions so far). Suddenly, after the prayers and the measurings, Joan sat up and spoke; and (a singularly convincing part of the story) her first action was to tell upon her brother.

When she grew stronger, Joan's father put her on his horse and took her to Thomas's tomb at Hereford, at which he presented a waxen image of his daughter and, when that became old, presented another. This so that there would be a constant witness there to the *virtus* (...) *et potentia Dei* and, through God, that of bishop Cantilupe. Waxen images of thanks are frequently to be found in the dossier. On one occasion a gallows made of wax, complete with rope and noose, is offered to St. Thomas's tomb in thanksgiving for the resurrection of a man unjustly hanged. Image magic seems,

[19] *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, pp. 611-613.

indeed, to have stood upon the permeable border of that which was thought respectable in Christian magic, and the images placed at lighted shrines, with their rays, were perhaps important supports to its defenders.[20] The rescuscitated man had also carried a penny bent to Thomas to the gallows with him.[21] Wax images, measurings and bent pennies feature among the miracles of St. Richard too, the measurings again the work of women. In one instance a dead boy's father promises to present a wax image at the tomb of St. Richard and bends a penny over his son, who returns to life.[22] In two others, a young noblewoman measures a dying boy and calls upon St. Richard and the Virgin and Child to save him, and a woman encourages the mother of a second boy to measure him.[23] Both revive, and in the first case the cure is completed, and the measuring complemented, by the administration of the Host.

Miracles of this kind can seem a random and repetitive collection at first sight and they are, of course, full of *topoi*. When one looks a little more closely at them, however, it is possible to discern some additionally informatively common features within the general preoccupations I have specified. A remarkable number of the stories involve children and especially children who have drowned. Drowning may have been a particularly common cause of accidents to children, and it was also perhaps a little easier to make a mistake in such cases about whether the person was actually dead. On the other hand, the concern of this Christian bishop-magus for the protection of children who die as a result of accidents is extremely striking, and within this category, female children, like Joan, are very well represented indeed. One may wonder, then, whether such accounts might, like the laying of Cantilupe's bones first of all in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral, have been directed especially to appeal to women. Women were often held accountable for such accidents, and sometimes, or so it seems, quite unjustly so.[24] Might such accounts have been constructed in part, then, to counter a prevailing attitude about the accountability of women, and the expendibility of children, and of female children in particular? The suggestion that it was women who undertook the measuring with threads recalls the fact, too, that 'women at their weaving' were early suspected of witchcraft.

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[20] Klaassen, 'English Manuscripts', pp. 5-6.
[21] *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, p. 634.
[22] *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis I*, p. 308.
[23] *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis I*, pp. 308, 312.
[24] Penitentials can be illuminating here. See, for instance, a curious passage in Burchard's *Corrector*, in which the woman is held responsible for the injury to any child laid on a hearth and subsequently burnt by spilt boiling water placed by a fire, no matter that someone else knocked it over. (Burchard of Worms, *Corrector*, cxlix, *Patrologia Latina* 140, 1012).

Was this a means of rescuing them and at least some of their techniques? Cantilupe's dossier is in fact rather a feminist document as a whole – unexpectedly so for the standard feminist, perhaps, who may not immediately associate feminism with the canonisation of bishops at Rome. The living Thomas Cantilupe is depicted, for instance, as as exceptionally severe on sexual suggestion by men at the expense of women as he is energetic on women's behalf as mothers when he is dead.[25] Richard of Chichester may count as something of a feminist too. He intervenes to save two young women from unwelcome marriages decreed by their father, and punishes a noble clerk rather than a nun for the seduction of the latter; this despite the intervention of powerfully connected persons.[26] The *tabula* version of the miracles of William Fitzherbert of York is overwhelmingly concerned with women (in this case, with their cures).

These apparent byways are vital to our understanding of the precise role the bishop-magus was expected to play at a given time, with our enquiry into the bishop-magus's chief competitors for this role in late thirteenth-century England and with my suspicion that this bishop was now well on the way to replacing the non-Christian magus. Women seem to have been his most widespread competitors for the control of supernatural power in this century. The women sorcerers, and those who had recourse to them, needed to be outdone or appeased in some way. For the bishop-saint to attend to their particular needs, and even to their favourite tools, would seem to be an excellent way of doing so.

The second striking feature of the miracles is, as I have already indicated, their especial interest in the deficiencies of secular justice and, where necessary, in its confounding. There are many notable occasions in Cantilupe's dossier in which the laws to which the saint can appeal are seen to override the machinery of the contemporary secular law, and, in so doing, to protect the victim far better than does the state. Power over lawsuits is, like power over the spirits of the dead, a power anciently vested in, and sought from, magicians,[27] and the dead Cantilupe seems to be no exception. There is a good example of this in the case of the drowned Joan, cited above. We have seen that the young singers who first discovered her body did nothing about it immediately, preferring to cope later. This, explains the dossier, was because of the demands of the secular law. By rights, they should have published the discovery instantly, whereupon they would all have been held, pending a proper enquiry and the arrival of the king's

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[25] See his blistering rebuke to Baron Grigonet, *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, p. 553.
[26] *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis I*, pp. 293, 295.
[27] It takes us back to the late sixth- and early seventh-century *Sortes Sangallenses* for instance. Cf. Flint, *The Rise*, pp. 220-221.

justices. No one wanted this to happen, especially as the justices could take up to three months to come. Thus, they left the body in the water, intending to dispose of it after nightfall in a nearby river and so shed all responsibility for it;[28] but the whole death was undone in the end by bishop Thomas, so all was well. There are seven other stories of this type in Cantilupe's dossier.[29] All of them convey the strong impression that supernatural intervention is necessary both to correct the shortcomings of the secular law, and to ensure that true justice (incorporating the accidental, as it must) is served; and that the bishop-magus makes an excellent conduit for such corrections. William Fitzherbert similarly intervenes to prevent the death of an innocent decreed by the ordeal of hot iron. William heals the apparently festering wound and, interestingly, the keeper of William's shrine intervenes physically to prevent the enraged knights who had decreed the penalty from carrying out their judgement nonetheless.[30]

Perhaps most important of all in the uncovering of contemporary magic and in its replacement, is the interest shown in Cantilupe's dossier in the power of blood. This too involves the bishop-magus in the correction of the shortcomings of the law, if by a somewhat arcane route. The *Vita* section of Cantilupe's dossier refers to an incident which is well attested independently of the process of canonisation. The story is this. Bishop Thomas, when alive, quarrelled mightily with earl Gilbert of Gloucester over hunting rights.[31] Eventually the bishop won, but only after tremendous law suits and threats on the part of the earl, and the victory was still precarious and the earl still resentful when Thomas died. Then, says the dossier, when the cortège bringing Thomas's heart and bones back from Ferento reached England, it encountered earl Gilbert on the road. Immediately the bones poured out so much blood that the coffin was stained red.[32] Now, this is a reference to the law of the bier, or *bahre recht*, a form of ordeal whereby the guilt of a suspect (usually a murder suspect) is made evident by the pouring of blood from the victim's remains. It was still in use in seventeenth-century Scotland.[33] Through this event the blood of the dead bishop *confirms* the decrees of the royal law courts, it is true; but in the face of continued judicial conflict and, once more, by quasi-magical means above all other. Cantilupe's

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[28] *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, p. 610.
[29] *Ibidem*, pp. 610-612, 621-622, 626-628, 633-635, 638, 647, 671.
[30] Raine, *The Historians*, vol. 2, pp. 542-543.
[31] *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, pp 563-565; *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, pp. 490-491.
[32] *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, p. 582.
[33] The law of the bier was widely recognised in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For one of the best summaries of its judicial use, see Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, vol. 3, pp. 182-199. For other useful references to its Germanic and Jewish origins, see Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 227-228.

bones, the dossier tells us, also bled on the hostile ground of Canterbury as they passed through the archdiocese,[34] thus proving Cantilupe right (or so Hereford would have us believe) against another judicial enemy; Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury. Again the legal wrong is demonstrated, and to many vindicated, by the supernatural flow of blood.

The law of the bier to which I have referred, and in which Cantilupe's blood was said to have played so strikingly important a part, recalls also the medieval Jewish belief in blood as the bearer of the vital principle, one that remains in the body after death, and cries to heaven for vengeance, seething as long as a murderer lives.[35] That most noxious of the thirteenth-century English legends about Jews and their magical powers, the legend of little St. Hugh, concerns both blood and vulnerable children. An abiding belief in Jewish abilities in matters supernatural, and especially in their need for, and powers over, blood may lie behind these emphases in Cantilupe's dossier too. The Franciscan and Dominican friars were in the forefront of the defence of those Jews of Lincoln who were accused of the murder in 1255,[36] and they played a major role also in the compilation of the dossier and the elaboration of this saint's particular powers. Cantilupe was known, moreover, for his antipathy to Jews and particularly to their engagement with the law.[37] Thus, the dossier perhaps ranges the power of the blood of the canonised bishop-magus against these supposed competitors quite deliberately. Amongst the miracles of St. Richard is a rather different blood-miracle, one in which a cloth, bloodied by the separation of the saint's bones and viscera for burial, heals a prioress of toothache.[38] Miracles of this latter kind also counter that malefic use of blood to be found in forbidden magic.[39]

The power of blood, power over the law, power over death and power exercised on behalf of women; all are notably evident in all of the miracle collections we have examined so far. The workers of these miracles do not conjure with hair or nails or images mirrored in swords or water, it is true; but they conjure still, though with threads, bent pennies, the offering of wax

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[34] *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, p. 581.

[35] Ginzberg, *The Legends*, vol. 6, p. 42, note 228.

[36] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 5, pp. 546, 552.

[37] One story in the dossier shows both that there were important Jews in Hereford, and that Cantilupe deeply objected to their having power over Christians. He withdrew, indeed, from a royal council when it was suggested that a Jew be given a position of authority in it. *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, p. 547.

[38] *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis I*, p. 309.

[39] Such as that recorded in the *Liber de Angelis*, for instance, wherein menstrual blood, or the blood of one who died by hanging or the sword, is held to sow destruction and enmity. Cf. Lidaka, 'The Book of Angels', pp. 66-67.

images at tombs, and on one occasion with a form of cake as well.[40] St. Edmund can, in addition, order storms and clouds about, control fire,[41] and even inflict harm (though of course in the best of causes).[42] On occasion Cantilupe is allowed to chant 'magically', and to affect the behaviour of birds, no less. In one of the miracles attributed by the dossier to the living Cantilupe, his singing of the *Veni creator spiritus* attracts an extraordinarily ill-assorted mass of birds to the chapel window; when he stops, they fly away.[43] The ill-intentioned may associate this behaviour with the curiosities of his singing, but the dossier suggests a more sublime cause; that of a relationship with birds similar to that of the old *haruspices* or diviners. Much more important, however, are the powers over death, blood and the law, the powers of the ancient necromancer and magician. These seem now actually to have been adopted by the new bishop, rendering the old magi obsolete thereby.[44]

We may now see more clearly what has happened to the latter. They have been replaced. The great non-Christian magus is now the Christian one; and he is male, above all, leaving the more trivial of magical activities to women.[45] In the matter of women magi, though, there is still something to be done, especially, perhaps, in the matter of those women who wished to join their ranks or those who still wished to consult them. This may account, as I have hinted, for the great emphasis upon the concerns of women in the collections, and the interest they show in the special efficacy of Christian womens' prayers. Women sorcerers were clearly no longer all-powerful as magicians; but they were there, and they were an offence to the Christian establishment. They or their followers might be won over, then, by the establishment's demonstration of its concern and respect for women. In their sympathy for women's troubles especially, these miracle collections may be aimed at the last remnants of competition for supernatural authority, and at the willing incorporation of these remnants within the Christian

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[40] The lime from St.William's tomb, when baked into a cake, performed cures. See Raine, *The Historians*, vol. 2, pp. 539-540.

[41] Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, vol. 3, pp. 1800-1802.

[42] See his fierce treatment of two women who tried to prevent young men from going on crusade. He blinded one and withered the hand of the other until they repented, according to the Pontigny *Vita*. See Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, vol. 3, pp. 1799-1800.

[43] *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, p. 705.

[44] There were still objections to the idea that a saint could raise the dead. These were brusquely set aside, however, by the proponents of this power. See the *Liber Memorandorum* of Edmund Rich in: Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, vol. 3, p. 1848.

[45] Though he can stoop too to the healing of horses and falcons; *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, p. 675.

dispensation, complete with their adherents and some, at least, of the tools of their trade.

I have argued here that the figure of the bishop-saint in late thirteenth-century England, in so far as we can reconstruct him from these canonisation processes, can tell us a great deal about how the Christian church sought to deal with contemporary magic. It sought greatly to outdo it by absorption, even to the extent of radically revising the bishop's role to this end. There are many possible reasons for the success of the sainted episcopal counter-magus; but the fact that he incorporated the supernatural powers of the non-Christian magus within his own, and with them many of the hopes and expectations vested in this figure, must surely rank highly among them. The bishop-magus has adopted a great many of the ideas and activities of the old magi. He does not now outlaw so much as exercise their capacities, including that power most reviled of all, the power of the ancient necromancer. The thirteenth-century English bishop-magus had still a little competition in the form of women occult operators and of Jewish competitors. He held his place here in part by assimilating their central methods but also, where possible, by making it conceivable for women, in particular, to co-operate with him.

In the matter of that which he cannot be allowed to do, there is in fact very little. He has now taken the position of the old magician for himself far more completely than, in the early Middle Ages, a Christian ever dared. He has also quite stolen the theatre. The great shrines, built and embellished for all those bishop-saints whose canonisation collections succeeded, were scenes of great light and splendour and, of course, replete with images. This was both a speaking and perhaps deliberate contrast to the dark and chill places in which wielders of the old magic were wont to operate, and a reaching towards the neutral ground of image magic. The bishop-saint was allowed, moreover, to look, in his chosen theatre, sometimes very like a magus.[46] Many of the effects of such assimilation were positive. We should not see such a figure simply as a weak colluder with forces too strong to be repelled. The need for a magician was met within a firmly Christian dimension, complete with crucial adaptations of the kind the *Liber Memorandorum* advocated, and it strengthened this dimension in its turn. Thomas Cantilupe's relations with king and government, for example, were beneficent.

[46] Cantilupe, for instance, achieved a victory in the midst of the Welsh war and his means of achieving this victory is carefully described. As night fell, he stood upon the ramparts of a ruined castle, fully vested in his robes. He placed lighted candles on the battlements and acted out the solemn excommunication of the enemy, with chanting, bells and candles. The enemy fled. The image of the fearsome conjuring magus presented here is almost cinematographic. *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, p. 565.

The precise place of penance and of episcopally directed pilgrimage to supernaturally-charged saints' shrines such as Cantilupe's, in the keeping of the peace and in the improvement of the operations of the secular law, needs more investigation than I have been able to give it here; but I have no doubt that both were of extreme importance to good government in this period. Cantilupe served a king and royal relatives who were alive to the ways in which the supernatural could act upon their subjects, and he served him well.

Christian bishops-magi of this type persisted in England well into the later Middle Ages and beyond. Their power was removed in the final event only by force, by the absolute destruction of shrines dedicated to them (the destruction of Becket's shrine at Canterbury is perhaps the most spectacular example of all) and by the imposition of a totally different role upon the post-reformation bishop. These removals, destructions and changes left a sudden vacuum and spawned many different substitutes, some of them deeply vulnerable, such as witches. The emergence of the early modern magus-figures, and the scale of the persecution launched againt them can, in my view, only properly be understood against the background of the too-rapid death of the far more carefully attuned medieval Christian bishop-magus, and the desperation of the people, and especially the women, he once served. But that is another, and much larger, story.

THE EVER-CHANGING NATURE OF THE BEAST

CULTURAL CHANGE, LYCANTHROPY AND THE QUESTION OF SUBSTANTIAL TRANSFORMATION (FROM PETRONIUS TO DEL RIO)

Jan R. Veenstra

Cor eius ab humano commutetur et cor ferae detur ei
et septem tempora mutentur super eum (*Dan.* 4,13)

O levem nimium manum / Nec potentia gramina,
Membra quae valeant licet, / Corda vertere non valent!
(Boethius, *Consolatio* 4.3)

Cultural change and magical metamorphoses

Werewolves have been part of the European imagination for more than two millennia.[1] The unsettling metamorphosis from man into beast with its clear echoes of prehistoric animal magic and shamanistic beliefs from the religious life of ancient communities of hunters, became a literary topic in post-classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages, not as a subject of anthropological inquiry, but rather as a parameter of cultural change and even cultural unease. Classical authors tended to look upon lycanthropy as a punishment for sacrificial violence, or as a relapse into some primordial aggression. Christian authors from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries found themselves challenged by the question of substantial transformation, and the werewolf-lore from that period bears witness to the intellectual and cultural struggles between Christian beliefs and pagan traditions. It was a period of great intellectual vitality, in which the werewolf, for a while, lost some of its ferociousness. The demonologists of the later Middle Ages and early modern period, however, tended to regard lycanthropy as a dangerous element of the more encompassing threat of heresy and witchcraft. Consequently, they made it a topic of philosophical and judicial inquiry. These

[1] For general discussions of the material on werewolf-lore, the reader may be referred to Douglas, *The Beast Within*, Otten, *Lycanthropy Reader*, and Summers, *The Werewolf*. See also Woodward, *The Werewolf Delusion*, and Copper, *The Werewolf*, on werewolves in popular culture.

varying interpretations display not so much historical interest, as a certain apprehension regarding cultural and intellectual developments and changes. It is the purpose of this contribution to survey some of the werewolf literature in the light of the cultural anxieties and intellectual concerns they embody, in three major transitional eras: late Antiquity, the period around 1200, and the late medieval and early modern period.

In the classical and medieval sources the religious roots and ritual functions of lycanthropy are frequently hinted at but nearly always framed if not reorganised and reinterpreted in a new cultural setting, in which not religious beliefs, but the nature of the transformation itself becomes the object of reflection. Consideration of the causes and conditions of man-wolf metamorphoses has prompted scholars to distinguish between 'real' and 'illusory' transformations as a means of classifying werewolf-lore.[2] The former category is meant to encompass all werewolf-stories closest to pagan indigenous European traditions, whereas the latter denotes all reports that regard man-wolf transformations as myths or – in a Christian context – demonic illusions. The distinction is useful mainly in reminding students of werewolf-lore that the tradition of this metamorphosis has undergone a noticeable change throughout late Antiquity and the medieval period. The processes of urbanisation, rationalisation and Christianisation have exhausted ancient cultic beliefs and have refocused attention on the question of the transformation itself. Although deprived of their proper cultural setting, the man-wolf metamorphoses survived in the language of mytho-

[2] Ménard, 'Les histoires', pp. 213 ff., makes a distinction between (a) 'les faux loups-garous' and (b) 'les véritables loups-garous'. Fake-werewolves come about through a unique and involuntary metamorphosis, caused by the intervention of an exterior agent (magician, deity): they retain some essential human characteristics (reason, speech). Real werewolves undergo a voluntary and periodical metamorphosis brought about by nature or magic and supported by tradition. A similar distinction is made by Harf-Lancner, 'La métamorphose illusoire', pp. 208 f., who speaks of real and illusory metamorphoses. The latter are regarded as diabolic illusions and can be found in apologetic literature produced by clerics. The former is an element of lay culture and can be found in profane literature. Cf. also Bynum, 'Metamorphosis', pp. 1001 f. Bacou, 'De quelques loups-garous', pp. 30 ff., attempts a classification for both classical and medieval sources and makes a distinction between the exterior and internal causes of a transformation. As exterior cause she mentions a superior instance, a deity, punishing a man, guilty of some transgression by turning him into a wolf. Internal causes are the individual's relations with the community (hunters) which, for the purpose of integration, make the werewolf the object of an initiation ritual. Distinctions such as these are useful, but not decisive. What the history of werewolf-lore shows is not a transformation of lycanthropes (from real to fake – why would a werewolf changed through magic be less real than a werewolf transformed by the full moon?), but a rationalisation of the metamorphosis-concept.

graphers, philosophers, poets, social critics, doctors, clerics, or inquisitors. Hence, werewolves are virtually always seen through the eyes of these authors, and there can be as many metamorphoses as there are perspectives. As a result, 'real' werewolves do not exist. Artists envision substantial changes that philosophers deem impossible and that clerics attribute to demonic illusions, but all these metamorphoses are cultural reinterpretations of motifs handed down from a distant past or a different culture.

The causes of man-wolf transformations are various and can be grouped into a number of categories that we shall encounter in the course of this contribution. Diachronically these categories seem to display a gradual process of rationalisation, which we hope to trace in the analysis of the sources. Reflections on the nature of the metamorphosis also allow us to glimpse the cultural and intellectual transformations involved, in which the lycanthropes are depicted sometimes as images, sometimes as tangible manifestations of moral deprivation or demonic danger. In the following paragraphs we shall distinguish five categories of causes.

(1) In some of the classical and medieval sources, especially the literary ones, the metamorphosis is brought about by magic, performed by a magician. A fine instance is Vergil's eighth *Eclogue* in which a woman tries to enchant her lover by means of magical herbs from Pontus, which she received from a sorceror named Moeris. Such herbs also enabled the sorcerer to change himself into a wolf. He would then hide in the forests near the Black Sea, raise the souls of the dead from their graves, and use his powers to move corn from one field to the next.[3] Magic, however, easily sustained in poetic fictions, would lose its potency at the hands of philosophers. Boethius would turn the metamorphosis into a metaphor. In his *Consolatio*, he explains how moral decline debases human nature, so that 'you cannot think of anyone as human whom you see transformed by wickedness. You could say that someone who robs with violence and burns with greed is like a wolf'. In the verse that follows, Boethius tells the story of Circe who turned Odysseus's men into animals (such as a boar, a lion, or a tiger):[4]

> Another becomes a wolf, / Can't weep, can only howl.

Yet Circe can only change the bodies, not the minds of her victims.

> Her herbs were powerless; / They changed the body's limbs
> But could not change the heart; / Safe in a secret fastness

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[3] Virgil, *Eclogue* 8.97-99: *his (herbis) ego saepe lupum fieri et se condere silvis / Moerim, saepe animas imis excire sepulcris / atque satas alio vidi traducere messis.* The motifs of the land of the dead and the moving of crops resemble similar motifs in the story of the Baltic werewolf Thiess, see *infra*.

[4] Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy* 4.3, pp. 125-126.

The strength of man lies hid.

Even in the poetic metaphor the poet exercises philosophical restraint.

(2) Another cause of the metamorphosis lies in the forces of destiny that instil a duplicity of nature in the lycanthropes. They transform because the Fates, or nature, or even the moon bring it about periodically. We shall encounter a telling example of this in Petronius, but for the moment we might briefly look at a medieval handbook of penance from the eleventh century, namely the *Corrector* of Burchard of Worms.[5] Burchard scolds those who believe that the Fates (*Parcae*) exist and can cause a person to change into a werewolf. He regards this as 'vulgar folly' and prescribes a penance of ten days on water and bread. In the early Middle Ages, folk-belief, it would seem, was pernicious only to the extent it was deemed irrational.

(3) By far the most frequently mentioned cause of metamorphosis is that of the avenging and punishing deity. Zeus turned men into wolves for having made human sacrifices (Pausanias); God, through the person of a saint, did the same as a punishment for those who opposed the new faith (Gerald of Wales). The werewolf emerges here at a cultural turning point and appears to capture the moment when civilisation turns away with a sense of guilt and remorse or even despair and hostility from a past that cannot be made to concur with the present, but that nevertheless rears its head with a final howl. A famous biblical instance, which one encounters frequently in medieval literature, though it is not a metamorphosis proper, and certainly not a case of lycanthropy, is the madness of Nebuchadnezzar who was bereft of his senses as a punishment for personal pride (*Dan.* 4). The story was occasionally used by demonologists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to demonstrate that lycanthropy was an illusion resulting from mental weakness,[6] but, more importantly, for medieval readers the king's condition also implied the end of a rule,[7] and hence a change of culture.

(4) Occasionally lycanthropy is explained from psychic disorders.[8] There are physicians from late Antiquity like Paulus Aegineta, who treat

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[5] Burchard of Worms, *Corrector*, no. 151, in: McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, p. 338. Ménard, 'Les histoires', p. 218.

[6] See, e.g., Kramer, *Malleus* II.1.8, p. 123. There were demonologists (like Bodin) who believed Nebuchadnezzar had actually turned into a beast (perhaps on the basis of the 'change of heart' – cf. Boethius, *Consolatio* 4.3!). See the refutation by Scot, *Discoverie* 5.6, ed. Nicholson, p. 81. See also Doob, *Nebuchadnezzar's Children*.

[7] Daniel, the prophet of Judaeo-Christian eschatology, used the image of the *cor ferae* (*Dan.* 4,13) to denote the punishment for the type of pride that would, in the end, overturn the Babylonian hegemony. Mental derangement in the head of state was in the Middle Ages a major threat to the stability of the realm. Cf. the crisis in France around 1400 with the mental illness of Charles VI ('Charles the Mad').

[8] Otten, *Lycanthropy Reader*, pp. 21-47, 195-219; see esp. Surawicz and Banta,

lycanthropy as a form of melancholy, and similar explanations can be found later in Avicenna, and, naturally, in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). A well-known modern example is Freud's classical case of the wolf-man, which was reinterpreted by Carlo Ginzburg as an expression of cultural anxieties. Freud's Russian patient, Ginzburg surmised, was in fact a lycanthrope, a man born with the caul and hence culturally predestined to be a shape-shifting shaman, at least according to the pattern of folk belief engrained on the mind of the Russian patient by his *njanja*, his nanny. This old cultural setting did not agree with the new enlightened culture of western Europe and this cultural friction made the werewolf change into a neurotic rather than into a wolf. Freud's mistake had been his failure to appreciate the elements of folk-belief in his patient's narratives, which led him to reduce the problem to sexual trauma.[9]

(5) A form of mental alienation also played a part in the explanations forwarded by Christian demonologists from Augustine to Del Rio. They looked upon lycanthropy as a demonic illusion. Examining the question of substantial transformation, they diligently analysed the extent to which demons could affect nature and the ways in which demons could interfere with human perceptions. This ultimately led to a redefinition of the very concept of magic, which in the Middle Ages and the early modern era was lifted from folk-ritual to natural philosophy by virtue of speculative thought. For the man-wolf metamorphosis this implied that the myth was not discarded as a fiction but that lycanthropy, as a demon-wrought phenomenon, was believed to abide by laws of nature yet to be examined. Man-beast metamorphoses were only one symptom of the machinations of the much dreaded 'secret society of witches' that was believed to aim at overturning religion and society. Unrelenting demon-beliefs dominated the world-view of an era now regarded as an important cultural turning point. Those who believed that man-wolf metamorphoses were caused by magic or madness, by deities or demons, or simply by nature itself, never went so far as to admit that the werewolf originated in the conventions of earlier rituals and later fictions. Some form of objective existence was attributed to werewolves, especially to the illusory ones of the demonologists that were believed to obfuscate sense and reason. Hence these werewolves retained their compelling and threatening nature. In a wider context such a confusion of nature and convention was criticised by Karl Popper for producing a magical world view which, common to tribal societies, echoes what he

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'Lycanthropy Revisited', where the reader can find case studies of modern lycanthropes (reprinted in Otten, *Lycanthropy Reader*, from the *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal* 20/7, 1975, pp. 537-542).

[9] Ginzburg, 'Freud'; Veenstra, 'Thematising Social Energy', pp. 231-232. Cf. Ménard, 'Les histoires', p. 228 ('la sexualité ne joue aucun rôle dans ce type de littérature').

called a 'despair of rationality' in more complex civilisations.[10] Something close to a 'despair of rationality' we shall encounter in the demonological discussions of lycanthropy of the early modern era.

The history of lycanthropy can be read as an index of cultural change and intellectual development; the literature recording this mythology, is always marked by a 'change of heart' and by the ensuing tension between old loyalties and new obligations, former beliefs and current doubts, past prospects and present despair, or earlier superstitions and current convictions. Werewolf-lore occupied a distinct albeit modest place in the minds and beliefs of the authors with whom we shall be dealing, and their representations of the werewolf clearly betray their ideas on history, society, and the human condition (on the animal part of the *animal rationale*). Of the classical period it is especially Petronius who appeals to the modern reader: his werewolf tale has a touch of the Gothic, and it will serve as our point of departure for an analysis of late antique lycanthropy.

Petronius: the wolf in the moonlight.

Petronius, a dandy at the court of Nero, a man, according to Tacitus, given to idleness and extravagance,[11] wrote a work known as *Satyricon*, as loose in structure as the morals of the decadent nightlife and dinner-parties at Trimalchio's house which it depicts. One of the amusements amid the abundance of food and drink, discussions of poetry, drunken brawls, acrobats and the fire-alarm that will in the end drive the guests away, is the story of a werewolf told by Niceros, a former slave. One evening, in the absence of his master, Niceros desired to visit his mistress Melissa, but somewhat apprehensive about making this evening walk in the full moon on his own, he asked a guest from his house, a soldier named Orcus, to accompany him. After a while, taking a rest among the tombstones along the road, Niceros, much to his amazement, saw the soldier take off his clothes and put them on a pile, around which he urinated. The soldier then changed into a wolf, and ran howling into the forest. Niceros was surprised to discover that the bundle of clothes had turned into stone. Overcome by fear, he made his way to the house of Melissa where he learned that a wolf had entered the house and killed some of the sheep. A servant had chased the wolf away by stabbing the beast in its neck. At daybreak Niceros returned home. On the spot where the petrified clothes had lain only a few hours earlier, there was now a pool of blood, and at home he learned that the soldier was in bed

[10] Popper, *Open Society*, vol. 1, pp. 12 ff., 57 ff. Popper pointed at the tradition in the West that looked at sociohistorical mutability from the perspective of a metaphysics of stability or permanence. I apply his argument of the confusion of nature and convention especially to the unquestioned demon-beliefs of the demonologists.
[11] Petronius, *Satyricon*, introduction, p. ix.

while a doctor tended a fierce neckwound. Niceros swore he had stayed clear of the werewolf (*versipellis*) ever since. The guests were astonished and Trimalchio contributed to the general atmosphere with another horror story about witches stealing the dead body of a young slave-boy; but when the sentiment of pleasant fright was exhausted, the party soon moved on to other amusements.[12]

The transformation from man into beast is not ill-suited to the decadent years of Nero's reign. The werewolf tale not only betrays the period's taste for the macabre, it also gives us a reinterpretation of obsolete beliefs and archaic myths. Lycanthropy, once a cultic or religious phenomenon in a tribal community, changed in the classical and post-classical era into a topic for moralising literature (e.g. Ovid). Petronius stands apart from this, for moral lessons do not concern him. The lycanthrope in his narrative is fated to undergo his transformation at full moon[13] – the victim perhaps of a fickle decree of nature or Destiny. The werewolf is also a clear literary fiction and shows us the kind of psychological reactions it is meant to provoke. The past lives on in an entertaining but nevertheless disturbing way, for this fear is both fictional and real. The world of Trimalchio and the other characters of the *Satyricon* is not based on social stability or moral determination; it is a highly mutable world of moral decay and danger. Its author, Petronius, the Arbiter of Elegance at Nero's court, incurred the envy of a rival who played on the "emperor's lust for cruelty" and compelled a slave to inform against him. Most of Petronius's household were imprisoned and Petronius himself retired, slicing his veins and slowly bleeding to death, leaving a will in which he included an account of the emperor's sex-life.[14] Niceros's tale gives us horror, laughter, dissolution, and a justified despair of the future.

The story also raises the question as to what its possible sources may have been. Lycanthropy appears to be a marginal topic in Graeco-Roman culture, largely centred on an ancient Arcadian ritual which is referred to in passing by a number of authors, from Plato to Augustine. The most important of these, from a historical point of view, are Pausanias and Pliny,

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[12] Petronius, *Satyricon* 61-62, pp. 132-139 (Niceros's story); *Satyricon* 63, pp. 138-141 (Trimalchio's story). McMahon (*Paralysin Cave*, p. 195) argues that the werewolf story attests to 'culturally shared anxieties about the unstable nature of the everyday world' and gives the petrified clothes as an example. I agree with him on the story expressing anxieties, but the petrification of the clothes is instrumental to the myth. The clothes serve as a boundary-marker and are the wolf's only guarantee for returning to his former self. The petrification can even prevent theft. See the discussions of Pliny and Marie de France below. Cf. Buxton, 'Wolves', pp. 69-70, and Ménard, 'Les histoires', p. 229.

[13] For another instance of the influence of the moon, see Propertius 4.5.13.

[14] Petronius, *Satyricon*, introduction, p. x (the reference is to Tacitus, *Annales* 16.18). Russell, 'Social Biology', p. 144.

since they provide us with clues regarding ritual practices and religious beliefs and may shed some light on the story of Petronius.

Pausanias and the wolf-tale of Arcadia

Pausanias, the Baedecker of his day (second century AD), wrote an extensive travel-guide for the whole of Greece in which he collected a vast amount of ethnographic and antiquarian material. One of his reports concerns Arcadia, an isolated region on the Peloponnese, hemmed in by mountains, where local mythology bears traces of werewolf-lore, both in its etymologies ('lykos', wolf, appears frequently) and in its beliefs. Pausanias's descriptions are critical, for being confronted with arcane rituals involving human sacrifice and lycanthropy, he finds it hard to bring them in line with his more modern religious beliefs.[15]

Pausanias reports how Lykaon, the son of Pelasgos, the first king of Arcadia, founded the city Lykosura on Mount Lykaion ('the oldest city in the world'),[16] where he also instituted the Lykaia festival. He worshipped Zeus whom he gave the surname Lykaios, and sacrificed a baby on the altar of the deity. This angered Zeus Lykaios and, according to the legend, Lykaon was turned into a wolf as a punishment. Pausanias makes Lykaon the contemporary of Cecrops, the king of Athens, who was the first to worship Zeus as the supreme god who forbade human sacrifice, and thus Pausanias can blame Lykaon for being unwise in matters of religion. He is convinced of the truth of the metamorphosis-story, for he argues that in former days righteous and pious men dined with the gods and were deified for their merits, while sinners were openly punished. But now sin had increased to such an extent that people no longer turn into gods, and likewise sinners will receive their punishments in the afterlife. The awareness of moral decline renders the miraculous devoid of significance and present-day lycanthropy-stories are discarded by Pausanias as lies. He mentions the belief that 'ever since the time of Lykaon a man has changed into a wolf at the sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios, but the change is not for life; if, when he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, after nine years he becomes a man again, but if he tastes human flesh he remains a beast forever'.[17] In the eyes of Pausanias this belief is a superstitious concoction and he declines to investigate whether wolf-rituals during the secret sacrifices to Zeus Lykaios are still in practice: 'I was reluctant to pry into the details of the sacrifice; let them be as they are and were from the beginning'.[18]

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[15] Pausanias 8.2.1-7; see esp. Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 98-108, and Buxton, 'Wolves'.

[16] Pausanias 8.38.1.

[17] Pausanias 8.2.6 (*Description of Greece*, vol. 3, p. 353).

[18] Pausanias 8.38.7 (*Description of Greece*, vol. 4, p. 95). Pausanias's words have

Arcadian werewolf-lore is referred to by a number of other classical authors. Perhaps the oldest and most condemnatory remarks can be found in a section in Plato's *Republic*, where the change from partyleadership to dictatorship is discussed. Plato uses the Arcadian myth as a metaphor: those who in celebration of Zeus Lykaios taste the entrails of a human sacrificial victim turn into wolves, and in much the same way do violent leaders, who do not shrink from spilling the blood of their fellow countrymen, turn into tyrants and dictators.[19] From the text it is evident that civilised society abhors human sacrifice and that the story of the physical metamorphosis for Plato is a myth and at best a convenient metaphor.

Some of the material we encountered in Pausanias also surfaces elsewhere, for instance in the *Bibliotheke* attributed to Apollodorus, an extensive collection of mythographic material, presumably from the second century AD.[20] Again we come across Lykaon, son of Pelasgos, but it is not he who makes a human sacrifice, but his eldest son (one of fifty) called Melaeneus. These fifty sons excel in pride and impiety and when Zeus visits them in human guise they slaughter a boy and serve him as a dish to the guest. Zeus is enraged and kills forty-nine sons with his thunderbolts; only the youngest escapes. This mythographic collection clearly agrees with other sources on human sacrifice and cannibalism, but it does not mention the transformation into a wolf. Instead it introduces another element, be it hesitantly: Zeus's rage over the monstrosities of Lykaon's sons may have occasioned the great flood in the age of Deukalion.

This motif was taken up by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* where we can read how Jupiter, in a council of the gods, contemplates the destruction of the human race by means of a flood on account of the sins of Lykaon.[21] Jupiter appeared to the Arcadian king in human guise, but Lykaon refused to do him homage and believing he was not a god even planned to kill him. On top of that, a hostage was killed, cooked and roasted and served to the guest, but Jupiter's rage destroyed the house and turned Lykaon into a wolf. The crime was so atrocious that Jupiter was quite resolved to eradicate the human race. For Pausanias, Plato, Apollodorus, and Ovid it is evident that human sacrifice and cannibalism are crimes and that the story of Lykaon belongs to a remote past, separated from the present by means of a watershed. Somehow society changed its views on lycanthropy and human sacri-

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been interpreted as suggesting that in the second century AD human sacrifice was still in use, but this has not been corroborated by archeology. See Buxton, 'Wolves', pp. 68-69. Cf. also Burkert, *Greek Religion*, pp. 279-280, on a mystery cult in Arcadia.

[19] Plato, *Republic* 565d. Human sacrifice as part of the Lykaia celebrations is also suggested by the Platonic *Minos* 315c.

[20] Apollodorus, *Library* 3.8.1.

[21] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.163-243.

fice, and beliefs from the past are now, in the light of reason, discarded as myths. In a sense, the story of Lykaon marks a cultural transition towards a more civilised and urbanised community.[22]

Pliny: lycanthropy as a rite of passage

Pliny follows this line of thought and scolds the Greeks for their credulity regarding the fable of the werewolf.[23] Basing himself on Varro, he makes mention of the story of an earlier author, Euanthes,[24] who reported how a young man, a member of a particular family (*ex gente Anthi*), underwent a ritual test whereby he undressed himself, hung his clothes on an oaktree, swam across an Arcadian lake, and came out on the other side in the shape of a wolf. He would remain in that condition for nine years after which he would turn into a human again when swimming back through the same lake and retrieving the clothes he had left behind, under the condition that he would not eat human flesh during his time among the wolves. It has been pointed out that there are no references in this account to the feast of the Lykaia and its sacrifices, which may be explained by the rise of urban culture in Arcadia which changed the cult and made it more civilised. The hypothesis might be put forward that a traditionally minded group or family preserved a major element of the ancient cult, namely the man-wolf transformation.[25] Pliny mentions human sacrifice in relation to another story which derives from Skopas, who wrote on Olympian champions. An athlete named Demaenetus of Parrhasia had eaten from a human offering made to Zeus Lykaios by the Arcadians, and had turned into a wolf. Ten years later he changed back to his old guise and became a victorious boxing champion once again.[26]

There are some striking parallels between Pliny's (or Varro's) account of the young man hanging his clothes on an oak tree and swimming across an Arcadian lake, and Petronius's soldier putting his clothes on the ground and urinating around them. In all likelihood this points to an ancient initiation rite, followed by a nine-year-period of wolf-life. Originally this may

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[22] Buxton, 'Wolves', p. 73: 'Lykaon is a bringer of culture as well as a criminal, and the whole narrative in Pausanias is from another point of view the story of the origins of civilisation in Arcadia'.

[23] Pliny, *Natural History* 8.82: *mirum est, quo procedat Graeca credulitas!*

[24] Pliny, *Natural History* 8.81. Pliny was not the only one to quote Varro on this topic; cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.17.

[25] Burkert, *Homo necans*, p. 102.

[26] Pliny, *Natural History* 8.82. Cf. Pausanias 6.8.2, who speaks of the boxer Damarchus, an Arcadian of Parrhasia who changed into a wolf at the sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios, and turned into a man again after nine years. Pausanias expresses his disbelief of this metamorphosis.

have been a period of military training,[27] but for Petronius this echo from the past also reveals a cultural barrier. For a moment the garment of civilisation is removed and the skin of a different, more savage life is put on in answer to a call from a brutal past, that still has to be morally vanquished. Moral indignation and rational scorn are dominant in Plato, Ovid, Pliny, Apollodorus and Pausanias, but not in Petronius, where much of madness and more of sin are the soul of the plot.

From magic to madness

Werewolves rarely wag their tails in other quarters of the classical world. There is the earlier mentioned story of the sorcerer Moeris (in Vergil's eighth *Eclogue*) who changed himself into a wolf by means of magical herbs. In his *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius parodies this magical shapeshifting when he describes the comic fate of the magician Lucius who turned himself into an ass by using the wrong ointment; much to his regret, for he had expected a nobler animal. Apuleius himself had to face trial for his detailed descriptions of the ointments, which incurred a charge for sorcery.[28] Lycanthropy or other animal transformations no longer thrived on religious beliefs; they became the food of poets and parodists – and of doctors. Marcellus of Side regarded lycanthropy as a form of melancholy and prescribed bloodletting. The Alexandrian physician Paulus Aegineta (seventh century AD) knew of people suffering from melancholic lycanthropia who roamed around cemeteries and howled until dawn. These patients had feeble vision, very dry eyes and tongues, ulcerated legs, and they should be treated with baths, bloodlettings, strict diets, and opium to keep them sedated and to prevent their nightly wanderings (which took place, by the way, in February during the Roman feast of the Lupercalia).[29] Thus the werewolf lost its fangs: he changed from an initiate or a magician into a madman.

The animal appearance was no longer a medium for communicating with the gods. The identification of man and beast as initiation had lost its purpose. Not only did Greek religion change from partly theriomorphic to wholly anthropomorphic, but also the rise of philosophy had a profound

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[27] Burkert, *Homo necans*, p. 105. Arcadian warriors wore wolf- or bearskins (Pausanias 4.11.3). Bremmer, 'Romulus', p. 43, speaks of youths who live away from society during an initiation period, or who would perform heroic feats to prove their manhood. Cf. also Buxton, 'Wolves', pp. 63, 70-71.

[28] Apuleius, *Apologia* (editions by Vallette, Helm, and Hunink). See Flint *et al.*, *Witchcraft*, vol. 2: *Ancient Greece and Rome*, pp. 138 ff., and esp. Graf, *Magic*, pp. 65-88; cf. also Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius*; Fick, 'La magie'; Gaide, 'Apulée'.

[29] Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 103-104; Otten, *Lycanthropy Reader*, pp. 13, 41; Buxton, 'Wolves', p. 68. See also the medical sources quoted by Del Rio, *Disquisitiones* II.18, p. 188a.

impact on theology and the concept of God,[30] and this cast a completely new light on man-beast transformations. Lycanthropy, which may have been a ritual of initiation, was reinterpreted as divine punishment for cannibalistic sins, or became simply a metaphor for political violence. This change of religion was no doubt tied up with a change of culture whereby ancient hunting societies changed into agricultural and later urban communities. There are literary traces of this change, for instance in Homer who reports how Odysseus was initiated in the boar-hunt by his maternal grandfather Autolykos ("the very wolf"), an event which scarred Odysseus for life. It was this scar on his leg which much later served as a mark of identification for his old nurse when he returned from his journeys.[31] Even more telling is the story of Romulus and Remus, the legendary founders of Rome who were suckled by a she-wolf. The emperor Augustus wished to resuscitate this myth in the context of the festival of the Lupercalia (so named after the cave Lupercus where the she-wolf first rescued the twin), but cynical Romans did not take the myth too seriously and suggested the twin was raised by a *lupa* (whore, she-wolf).[32] Thus urban society makes ancient rituals redundant and the fate of the werewolf in the late classical period ends with literary amusement and madness, the unsettling impact of which can be read from Petronius.

Augustine: old wolves and new questions

But the path of the wolf does not end here. The breakdown of Roman culture coincides with the rise of Christianity, and where the former had conveniently put the wolf to sleep, the latter woke him up again. Christianity looked on pagan rituals and beliefs with some distrust and deemed it unwise to simply label them as ineffective myths or fables. Pagan religion had distinct dangers since it might involve the worship of demons, and demons, so

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[30] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, pp. 64-66 (on problems relating to the evolution from a theriomorphic to an anthropomorphic religion), and pp. 305 ff. (on the rise of a philosophical religion). Cf. also Burkert, *Anthropologie*, pp. 30-31 (some remarks on the urban revolution).

[31] Homer, *Odyssey* 19.392-466. Odysseus's grandfather may have been named Autolykos for his skill 'in theft and in oaths'. On the relation between the wolf-image and trickery, see Buxton, 'Wolves', p. 64.

[32] Livy 1.4.6-7, 1.5.1; cf. Bremmer, 'Romulus'. Scepticism about she-wolves suckling twins may have incited people to introduce a prostitute into the myth (Acca Larentia, the only *lupa*/prostitute available in Roman mythology). She was portrayed as the wife of the shepherd Faustulus, who raised Romulus and Remus (p. 32). A minor Greek mythographer used the Romulus and Remus story for another twin-myth: Lykastos and Parrhasios were nurtured by a she-wolf and became local chiefs in Arcadia (p. 31). On the Lupercalia, see the lemma by Baudy in *Der neue Pauly*, vol. 7.

the stories of the Gospels made clear, could plague people's bodies and souls. This caused an important shift in the understanding and appreciation of lycanthropy in western culture.

The single most important witness regarding the wolf-rituals in the transition from pagan to Christian culture is Augustine, who, in drawing a comparison between the City of God and the city of the world, sums up the excesses of idolatry concomitant with the latter.[33] His main source on lycanthropy is Varro and the small chapter in his *De civitate Dei* which he dedicates to this topic gives us the stories we already encountered in Pliny. Augustine mentions Circe who turned Odysseus's companions into swine, and the wolf-transformations of the Arcadians, in which a werewolf swam across a lake, lived as a wolf among wolves for nine years and then returned again to his former human shape. He also mentions Varro's account of the Olympian boxer, Demaenetus, who tasted from the human sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios, and was turned into a wolf for a period of over nine years. Finally Augustine quotes Varro saying that from these mystery cults the Roman Luperci were derived. Arcadians believed such transformations could be achieved only through divine power, and this is exactly what triggers the interest of Augustine: *quid credendum sit de transformationibus*.[34] Such transformations are the work of demons, and the greater the power of demons, the stronger we have to cling to Christ.[35] Augustine is not inclined to believe that transformation-stories are pure fictions. He has heard stories about Italian landladies using magical arts to turn travellers into pack-animals, and he believes Apuleius's *Golden Ass* is quite a case in point.[36]

Now demons cannot create new substances, but they can change the outward appearance of creatures. It was generally believed that demons lived in the atmosphere and could freely manipulate particles of air to assume different shapes and guises, but this is not what Augustine has in mind. He speaks of a person's *phantasticum* – a creative mental image which exists in thoughts and dreams and can be changed and altered in countless ways. The images are not physical objects, but on the basis of the elements of memory they can assume a physical guise. The *phantasticum*, present in one person's mind, can in some inexplicable way (*ineffabili modo*) present itself to others when their physical senses are blocked out. In other words, Augustine believes that demons can fool people by presenting images of non-existing things to their interior senses, while impeding the

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[33] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.17.

[34] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.18.

[35] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.18: *Quanto quippe in haec ima potestatem daemonum maiorem videmus, tanto tenacius mediatori est inhaerendum.*

[36] Medieval authors seem not too keen to criticise Augustine for being credulous or superstitious. Such criticism was, in fact, vented much later by Reginald Scot, *Discoverie* 5.3, ed. Nicholson, pp. 76-77.

exterior senses.[37] Thus a man may believe himself to be a wolf whilst being in a state of torpor, and the image is transferred by demons onto others who will then share the same illusory conviction. In the mean time the actual bodies of the lycanthropes are lying somewhere, alive, but in a trance, deeper than sleep. Demons, in Augustine's eyes, are masters of virtual reality, and illusions of this type are necessary for fortifying idolatry.[38]

Augustine achieved what no author before him would have even attempted: he gave the werewolf a new career in intellectual life. What according to men of letters was an obsolete religious belief, and according to doctors a mental illness, was according to Augustine one of the manifestations of idolatry whereby demons deceive humans by means of simulacra. In taking this position he made a number of philosophical points: (1) regarding the question whether or not substantial transformations really happen (he answered negatively); (2) regarding the power of demons to manipulate the human sensory system (he spoke of a *modus ineffabilis* but medieval thinkers would be more talkative); and (3) regarding the strength of the imagination and its importance for understanding the human mind. For Plato lycanthropy was an image, for Augustine it was a serious philosophical problem, and in the intellectual history of Europe it would henceforth be treated as such.

Metamorphosis and seminal reasons

It would take some time before scholars made lycanthropy into a set topic of demonological discussions. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was mainly in the literary imagination, in works by Marie de France and Gerald of Wales, or in *Guillaume de Palerne*, that werewolves gained prominence. Yet it has been pointed out that literary interest in werewolves may well have been triggered by the general intellectual ferment of the period around 1200.[39] The twelfth-century renaissance is marked by a strong interest in the dynamics and changeability of nature (relying on Augustine, Boethius, and Plato's *Timaeus*), further enhanced, a century later, by the impact of the Aristotle reception which gave rise to a welter of scientific speculation. Interest in the miraculous, in the processes of corruption and generation, in metamorphosis and metempsychosis, and even in the question of substantial

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[37] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.18. Augustine in all likelihood did not know Aristotle's discussion of the interior senses and the imagination (*De anima* 427b17-429a9), though he may have known Plotinus's reference to the power of internal perception (*Ennead* 4.8.8.10). See esp. Rist, *Augustine*, p. 86, and Hölscher, *Reality of the Mind*, pp. 45-57, notably pp. 53 ff.

[38] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.18.

[39] Bynum, 'Metamorphosis', pp. 987-1013. For a general survey of the period, see Wetherbee, 'Philosophy, Cosmology and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance'.

transformation, surfaced in various places. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were read and commented upon in the twelfth century as a scientific and cosmological work, a poetic text-book on physical change.[40] Alchemy experimented with the concept of the transmutation of substances, for which Albert the Great was willing to make allowances. He believed that a substance could be destroyed by heating which would remove its specific form and reduce it to prime matter, after which the material could be newly informed.[41] Yet he limited this option to minerals. Still, free speculations on the nature of change, which drew their inspiration from the *Timaeus* and later from Aristotle, were checked by theological objections that sought to establish God as source and governor of all creation:[42] Augustine's 'seminal reasons' rather than secondary causes provided the frame for explaining change. People may have looked with amazement at the wonders of nature, but *mirabilia* were clearly distinguished from *miracula*.

Aquinas more or less codified standard opinion. Material substances do not receive their forms from angels,[43] the Christian counterpart of the intelligences, who as secondary causes are instrumental in the unfolding and development of nature in a neoplatonic cosmos. In the Christian world view, however, their powers are clearly limited. Matter is informed either through God, or through some agent itself composed of matter and form (whereby like can beget like), and material changes, especially those changes that are wondrous to the eyes of the beholder, are best explained in terms of Augustine's *rationes seminales*. These are formative principles strewn out by God across the whole of creation in the first six days. These will manifest themselves in the differentiation and perfection of nature only with the passage of time. Changes in matter brought about by angels or demons are therefore mainly operations through locomotion, whereby seminal reasons are activated. These result in *mirabilia*, but not in miracles, which can only be brought about by God.[44]

This settled, once again, the question of substantial transformation and metamorphosis, which had captured the interest of scholars in the period

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[40] Bynum, 'Metamorphosis', pp. 990-993. Ovid commentators like Arnulf of Orléans or John of Garland would speak of *mutationes*, but avoid the concept of transmutation of species (*idem*, pp. 1004-1005).

[41] Albertus Magnus, *Book of Minerals* 3.1.9, p. 179. Albert quotes Avicenna's *De congelatione* which says that transmutation can only be accidental and never substantial (on Avicenna's critique, see Holmyard, *Alchemy*, pp. 92-93), but Albert adds: *unless* the substance is reduced to prime matter.

[42] Bernard Silvestris's *Cosmographia* is a telling instance of the former, Peter Lombard's *Sentences* of the latter. Cf. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, vol. 1, pp. 305 ff. (the Chartrain challenge) and pp. 336 ff. (on the Lombard's critique).

[43] Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1a.65.4. Thomas takes his cue from Augustine, *De trinitate* 3.8.

[44] Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1a.110.4. Cf. *De malo* 16.9.

around 1200. Quite tellingly, this era witnessed an upsurge of literary werewolf narratives in which elements of folklore and the belief in metamorphosis somehow titillated the intellect.[45] Yet a more stable conception of nature would in the end prevail and the clerical and scholastic minds would look upon man-wolf transformations as illusions and explain them in terms of demons, locomotion and Aristotelian *phantasmata*. This becomes evident in William of Paris who in his *De universo* dedicated a chapter to the ways in which demons deceive men.[46] He tells the story of a lycanthrope who was convinced that he turned into a wolf, though his body remained in a state of catalepsy (*tanquam mortuum*). Meanwhile the devil would creep into a wolf and would kill men and beasts. Fortunately a preacher came along and explained to the people of that region that this was a fiendish trick. He showed them the place where the poor lycanthrope lay in a trance and liberated the man of his demonic possession. William rounds off his discussion in Augustinian vein with a brief exposition on the workings of the *phantasmata*.

The great intellectual developments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries created an air of optimism, of intellectual courage and audacity, that also became noticeable in the depictions of the werewolf. William of Paris's preacher does not condemn the lycanthrope for sorcery (like his colleagues a few centuries later), but liberates him from the demon and comforts the frightened population by explaining how the devil performs his tricks. The devil, not the lycanthrope poses the threat.

Gerald of Wales: the priest and the friendly wolf

A clear instance of werewolf-lore surfacing at a cultural turning-point (in this case the Christianisation of Ireland) can be found in Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis, twelfth century).[47] He tells the story of a priest encountering a wolf who implores him to administer the Sacraments to his

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[45] See the list in Harf-Lancner, 'La métamorphose', p. 217. Most of the sources listed there date from around 1200. They are: 1. Marie de France's *Bisclavret* (1160-1170); 2. Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica* (1188); 3. The lai of Mélion (between 1190 and 1204); 4. *Guillaume de Palerne* (*c.* 1195); 5. A chapter from *Otia Imperialia* by Gervais of Tilbury (1209-1214); 6. *Arthur and Gorlagon* (fourteenth century); 7. The history of Biclarel (a reworking of *Bisclavret* in *Renart le contrefait*, *c.* 1320).

[46] William of Paris, *De universo* 2.3.13, pp. 1043b-1044a. See also Harf-Lancner, 'La métamorphose', pp. 214-215.

[47] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica* 2.19, pp. 101-107. See also *The First Version of the Topography*, transl. O'Meara, pp. 53-56. A later version added a prophecy made by the werewolf and an exposition on Augustine's *De civitate Dei* 18.17-18; see *Topography*, transl. Forester, pp. 79-84. Harf-Lancner, 'La métamorphose', p. 128; Bynum, 'Metamorphosis', pp. 1011-1012; Milin, *Les chiens*, p. 70.

dying wife, a she-wolf. Through a curse by St. Natalis (Natal of Kilmanagh) they were exiled from the community and destined to live as wolves for seven years, at the end of which two others were to take their place.[48] The seven-year period seems to be on a par with the nine-year period[49] described by Pausanias and Pliny, but Gerald's story has another important element in common with the Greek and Roman authors. The transformation itself is not conceived of as part of a ritual but rather as a punishment or curse from a higher divine authority (in Gerald's story represented by St. Natalis, in the classical stories represented by a Zeus who abhors human sacrifice). Clearly this is meant to reject or condemn an older 'pre-civilised' cultural setting.[50]

The wolf tears the wolf-skin from his wife, from head to navel, so that the priest sees an old woman, to whom he administers the Host, after which the wolf rolls back the skin. The priest performs his task hesitantly, more out of fear than out of compassion, but the friendly and civilised behaviour of the wolf, who puts the priest at ease by reassuring him that he need not be afraid, makes it clear to the reader that paganism is not a menacing threat. Pagan beliefs are represented as a hide that can be stripped off to reveal the true person reborn in the true faith.

Gerald's story has an intriguing and unresolved end: a local synod is convened in Meath to discuss what the priest has done, namely administering the Sacrament to a werewolf. The synod fails to reach an agreement and, at the instigation of Gerald, the priest is sent to Rome, but, sadly, the outcome remains unknown. The issue is not fully elaborated but one can surmise what the reasons were for calling the synod. The main question was: should the werewolf be regarded as a man or a beast? From Augustine it was known that real transformations were impossible, and that, hence, metamorphoses were fiendish illusions. Could it be, therefore, that the werewolf couple were under a demonic spell? For the priest this was not an issue. The werewolves he encountered are depicted as fully human and open to the true faith. The wolf-skins are a curse, but their souls are free and

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[48] Boivin, 'Le prêtre', p. 55, and Milin, *Les chiens*, pp. 73-74, suggest that the werewolf motif was somehow mixed with the motif of the scape-goat: like the priest sending the goat into the desert, St. Natalis exiled the wolf-couple to cleanse the community. St. Natalis may certainly have been interested in 'cleansing', but the wolves' living apart from the community has clear parallels with the initiation period in the classical examples mentioned earlier, and has little to do with the motif of the scape-goat.

[49] The change from nine to seven may suggest that Gerald's narrative makes an implicit link with the story of Nebuchadnezzar: *et septem tempora mutentur super eum* (*Dan.* 4,13).

[50] A parallel story in Old Norse (*c.* 1250) relates how the Irish howled like wolves at St. Patrick preaching the Gospel. God punished some of them by turning them into wolves and condemning them to live in the woods for seven years. Ménard, 'Les histoires', p. 215.

certainly not in league with Satan. The priest was an optimist, and, despite some initial reservations, saw no harm in his charitable actions, but the other clergy did and examined the matter.

In a later version of the narrative Gerald follows suit and adds a lengthy exposé on Augustine's chapter on lycanthropy and transformation. Gerald himself believes in miraculous transformations done through magic, and gives the example of men changed into fat pigs and sold in the markets, but he adds that such beliefs should not be taken at face value: crossing water would break the spell, or otherwise the animals would resume their human form again anyway after three days. In toning down his own belief in metamorphosis, he allows himself to be guided by Augustine, explaining transmutation in terms of demonic tricks and illusions. The ambiguity that Gerald expresses (he compares the Incarnation to a man-wolf transformation) has been attributed to a struggle between a clerical and a popular conception of metamorphosis.[51] For Gerald, in the end, clerical views prevail.

Gerald's werewolf is quite different from the frightening guilt-ridden creatures of late and post-classical Antiquity and, likewise, far removed from the demonic beasts that would hound the minds of the demonologists. The humane werewolf surfaces a number of times in the vernacular literary traditions of Northern Europe. In the next section we will give a brief survey.

Werewolves in medieval literature

Werewolves in courtly literature are usually depicted as victims of magic or malice. Although their transformation into a wolf is, on the whole, a natural process, they nevertheless become the involuntary victims of their wolfish state through the deceit of a woman. In line with clerical beliefs, the lycanthropes retain their humanity and their reason[52] which enables their return to human society and gives them the possibility of having their revenge. Courtly werewolf-tales constitute a modest but coherent group and include *Bisclavret*, *Biclarel*, *Mélion*, and *Arthur et Gorlagon*.

Bisclavret, one of the *Lais* of Marie de France (twelfth century), is about the Breton knight Bisclavret, who for three days a week turns into a werewolf.[53] He confides in his wife and tells her his secret, including the place where he keeps his clothes. This is crucial information because his clothes are his only guarantee for turning into a human again (also in the stories of Petronius, Varro, and Pliny the positioning of the clothes was important). But his wife betrays him, and has a suitor remove the clothes so

[51] Boivin, 'Le prêtre', pp. 63-64; Harf-Lancner, 'La métamorphose', p. 218.
[52] Harf-Lancner, 'La métamorphose', pp. 223-224.
[53] Marie de France, *Lais*, pp. 68-72. See also Bambeck, 'Das Werwolfmotiv in *Bisclavret*; Milin, *Les chiens*, pp. 76-79.

that poor Bisclavret is doomed to remain an animal. Bisclavret, however, is clever and in the end takes revenge on his wife. *Bisclavret* served as a model for two other werewolf accounts: *Biclarel* and *Mélion*.[54] *Biclarel* is very similar to the lai of Marie de France, with the conspicuous difference that the wolf in *Biclarel* ferociously attacks and wounds the deceitful wife. In the anonymous *Mélion*, a knight of that name from the court of king Arthur has a magical ring with which he can 'emmorphose' and 'demorphose' himself. Unfortunately for him, his wife, entrusted with the ring, changes Mélion into a wolf and immediately makes for Ireland. The wolf has to win the favour of king Arthur to wreak vengance.

The theme of woman's inconstancy also features prominently in *Arthur et Gorlagon*, a Latin romance from the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[55] King Gorlagon explains to king Arthur how his wife fell in love with a pagan prince and changed him, Gorlagon, into a wolf by means of a magical branch from a fairy tree. This tree was the king's double, since they shared the same stature and were 'born' on the same day. In transforming her husband, the queen should have said: *sis lupus et habeas sensum lupi*, but she made a mistake and said: *sis lupus et sensum hominis habeas* – a mistake that conveniently parallels the theological and philosophical convictions that man's heart and mind cannot be altered. By retaining his intelligence, Gorlagon is able to have revenge on his faithless wife. Traditional magical and ritual elements from werewolf-lore are clearly present in these narratives, especially in *Mélion* and *Gorlagon* where the lycanthrope's life among the wolves is elaborated upon. Yet the dominant feature by far is the courtly setting of love and revenge which more or less determines the logic of the narrative and is chiefly responsible for organising the folkloristic motifs.

Literary romance likewise takes the fore in the werewolf-story in *Guillaume de Palerne* (earliest known French version 1194-1197) in which a Spanish prince called Alphonse is turned into a wolf by a wicked stepmother who uses a magical ointment. Even as a wolf, Alphonse is a romantic and sympathetic hero who rescues Guillaume, the son of the king of Sicily, and his mistress Melior. Elements of werewolf-lore surface in the story (Alphonse swims across the Strait of Messina, he rescues the lovers by hiding them in bear-skins; and his transformation into human shape is accomplished through a magical ring, a spell, an appropriate bath and the return of his clothes), but these are entirely subsidiary to the main plot.[56]

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[54] Milin, *Les chiens*, pp. pp. 79-85; Ménard, 'Les histoires', pp. 221-222.

[55] See Kittredge, *Arthur and Gorlagon*; Ménard, 'Les histoires', pp. 216-217; Milin, *Les chiens*, pp. 60f., 85-88.

[56] *Guillaume de Palerne*, ed. Micha. Ménard, 'Les histoires', pp. 214-215. For an edition of the version in Middle English, see: *William of Palerne*, ed. Bunt.

A more forbidding image of the wolf, closer to indigenous traditions and untainted by the apprehensions of court and clergy can be found in the medieval Scandinavian sagas, especially the Icelandic *Völsungasaga*, committed to writing in the thirteenth century, but probably relying on older material. According to this saga, Sigi, founder of the Völsung family, killed a slave out of jealousy for being a more successful hunter, which caused him to be outlawed, to become a *varg í véum* ('a wolf in the sanctuary'),[57] but, like the biblical Cain, he founded his dynasty elsewhere, and became a successful warrior and looter.[58] Later descendents, Sigmund and his nine brothers (also Völsungs), were threatenend by king Siggeir who had Sigmund's brother killed by a she-wolf. Through a trick, Sigmund managed to rip out the tongue of the animal, and thus killed it. The animal turned out to be a lycanthrope, the mother of Siggeir, who through witchcraft had turned herself into a wolf. Sigmund and another Völsung, Sinfjötli, go through a warrior initiation rite when they put on wolf-skins which they cannot take off for ten days. They more or less become wolves and howl appropriately. In this guise Sinfjötli outdoes Sigmund in bravery by killing eleven men on his own. After this warrior-initiation they burn the wolf-skins. The image of the wolf in these stories represents a threatening and numinous power, and the wolf-skin ritual is no doubt a warrior initiation.

These motifs also appear in other sagas. In Snorri Sturlusun's *Ynglinga Saga* there is talk of the *berserkgangr*, fierce warriors who assume a bear-skin to achieve a condition of ecstatic fury in combat.[59] Also Odin himself assumes an animal shape, whilst his body is temporarily abandoned in a cataleptic state. A similar phenomenon is mentioned in *Hrólfs Saga* where warriors fight in the guise of a bear whilst their bodies remain in a state of trance.[60] The idea of a trance we already encountered in Augustine, who may have been aware that lycanthropy involved an ecstatic ritual, although he would not have read this in any of the classical sources discussed above.

From a comparison of the courtly romances from France and the Scandinavian sagas it is evident that European werewolf beliefs have cultic roots, even though the two types of literature bear witness to a clear distinction in cultural setting. The romances reveal the influence of clerical thought and courtly conventions, whereas the sagas seem to stand in closer proximity to the religious life of the hunting and warrior cultures of northern Europe. The lycanthrope in these types of literature is, on the whole, not a malevolent figure; quite the contrary, he is heroic, warriorlike, perhaps frightening and awesome, but also on occasion humane and benevolent.

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[57] *Völsungasaga* 1, in: *Isländische Vorzeitsagas*, vol. 1, p. 38.

[58] Sigi resembles Lykaon in being both a criminal and a founder of a dynasty.

[59] Davidson, 'Shape-Changing', p. 132 (*Ynglinga Saga* 6).

[60] Davidson, 'Shape-Changing', p. 139, makes a connection with shamanistic lore.

This is certainly at odds with the image of the wolf imported from more southern climes with the Christianisation of Europe. In biblical terms the wolf could be an image of the devil[61] and through Augustine the Middle Ages learned about the bad reputation of the Arcadian werewolves that already bore the stigma of condemnation in classical times. In a general sense all the vestiges of indigenous European paganism, including magic, witchcraft, animal transformations and the nightflights that so obsessed later demonologists, were, for the Church, elements of idolatry contrary to the true faith, and hence superstitions that had to be countered; in effect they were condemned as illusory. One of the most influential documents to make this point was the *Canon episcopi* (presumably ninth or tenth century) which was later incorporated in Gratian's *Corpus juris canonici*.[62] It is made absolutely clear that nightly transvections and animal transformations (performed by the worshippers of Diana, the goddess of the hunt) do not happen in the body, but through devilish illusions in the spirit only. This was more or less Augustine's point and it was even confirmed by some indigenous traditions that spoke of ecstatic trances. The only weapon of condemnation that the *Canon* offered was excommunication, but this would change towards the end of the Middle Ages.

Werewolves on trial

Literature was not the only source where werewolf-lore surfaced. With the rise of the witchcraze at the very end of the Middle Ages also werewolves were hounded from their lair. In the sixteenth century a number of famous as well as gruesome werewolf-trials was conducted in Poligny, Angers, St.-Claude, Bordeaux, Dôle and other places, but the most famous lycanthropy trial took place a century later in Livonia.

In the year 1692, in a village called Jürgensberg in Livonia, a trial was conducted against an old man of eighty, named Thiess.[63] He was accused of being a lycanthrope and because the judges were unsuccessful in persuading the old man into making a statement that he had concluded a pact with the devil, they sentenced him to ten whiplashes. The unsettling thing about Thiess's case was that he openly confessed to being a werewolf but vigorously insisted that he was an enemy of the devil. Thrice a year – on the night of St. Lucy, St. John, and Pentecost – the "hounds of God" would go out across the sea[64] to engage in battle with the devil and the witches who

[61] Cf. *John* 10:12; *Mat.* 7:15-16 (where false prophets are compared to ravening wolves).
[62] Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 74-77, also gives the text of the *Canon* in translation. Cf. Tschacher, 'Der Flug'.
[63] Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*, pp. 153-154.
[64] That Livonian werewolves swim through a great pool of water to turn into wolves

were out to jeopardise the fertility of the crops which would cause a famine and ruin the community. The victory of the wolves would secure the harvest for that year. Thiess stressed that werewolves engaged in night-battles for the greater good of the community and would be appropriately rewarded in Paradise.

Thiess's case is untypical both regarding the statements he made in answer to the indictments, as well as with regard to the trial itself and the final sentence. Werewolf-trials had always occurred in relation to the witchcraft trials, and so far lycanthropes had confessed to making a pact with the devil and had identified their main activities as killing cattle and murdering children. In the absence of the werewolf-stereotype and because the old man refused to confess to having made a pact with the devil, the inquisitors apparently declined to follow the gruesome procedures of their earlier French and German colleagues (although in that same year, 1692, the witch-craze would have a renewed outburst in Salem, Mass.) and Thiess got away with a relatively mild sentence.

Werewolves as benefactors for the community and as opponents of witches and other destructive forces were a relatively uncommon motif in the werewolf-cases of western Europe, but Ginzburg has drawn attention to the similarities between the transformation of Thiess and the night-battles conducted by the Benandanti in a state of ecstasy.[65] The Benandanti came from a different area, namely from Friuli, in the Alps. Persecuted as witches, they constituted an elect group within the communities of this region, usually identified on the basis of a distinct mark, namely of having been born with the caul (which in the Baltic region is also the mark of a werewolf). This elect group was destined to fight for good harvests and fertility and to that end would go into lethargic or cataleptic trances whereby the spirit would leave the body and would cross a river or (as in the case of Thiess) the sea, either in the shape of an animal (a mouse, a butterfly, or in the Livonian instance: a wolf) or on the back of an animal (a cat, a hare, etc.) to enter the abode of the dead and the realm of spirits to fight evil powers, such as demons, or witches, who pose a threat to the common welfare. These formal similarities between the Benandanti from Friuli and the werewolves from Livonia justify the supposition of at least comparable fertility cults, although ideas on interrelatedness and a possibly common origin remain speculative. The great merit of Ginzburg's discovery and analysis lies mainly in his providing a coherent explanatory and interpretative model which may shed new light on werewolf-stories and confessions but may also help explain the tenacity with which demonologists and inquisi-

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on reaching the other side, was also known to Bodin (*Démonomanie des sorciers*, 1580) and repeated by Scot in his *Discoverie* 5.1, ed. Nicholson, p. 72. Also Weyer is familiar with Livonian werewolves, *De praestigiis* 3.10, p. 193.

[65] Ginzburg, *Night Battles*.

tors, next to witchcraft, dealt with the (relatively speaking) more marginal phenomenon of lycanthropy. The case of the Livonian werewolf shows that lycanthropy is part of a pagan ecstatic folk-belief and it demonstrates that the transformation from man to beast has religious significance.[66]

The German and French werewolf-trials are less informative largely because of the application of torture to extract confessions and because on the whole lycanthropes were treated as witches who made a pact with the devil and attended the sabbath. Yet some shreds of information are worth mentioning. The wolf transformations were sometimes achieved through magical means: some werewolves used an ointment or salve (a method described by Apuleius) like Pierre Bourgot (a Poligny werewolf, 1521), Georges Gandillon (one of the St. Claude werewolves, 1598), and Jean Grenier (Les Landes, 1603); others used a magical belt, like Peter Stubb (1589). An important motif in the story of Petronius, namely the wound that gave the werewolf away, also surfaces in one of the trials. A Poligny werewolf, Michel Verdung, attacked a traveller but was wounded by him; when the man followed the trail of the werewolf, he found Verdung wounded in a hut. A close parallel to the Livonian case can be found in the case of Pierre Gandillon, one of the St. Claude werewolves; in confessing to being a lycanthrope, Pierre Gandillon explained that the devil clothed him in a wolf-skin, while he lay in bed in a cataleptic state and attended a wolfish Sabbath.[67] Lycanthropy as a purely spiritual phenomenon, an illusion, or to put it clinically, as a mental derangement, was not borne out by many trials, but one does on occasion encounter marginal figures like beggars and recluses, and people who were mentally retarded. The fourteen-year old Jean Grenier, considered an idiot by his father, was accused of eating children, but the Parlement of Bordeaux brought in two physicians who

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[66] Cf. Russell, 'Social Biology', p. 175: 'In northern Europe (...) the werewolf long remained an acceptable expression of old totemic beliefs'.

[67] See Boguet, *Examen of Witches*, pp. 136-155 (St. Claude werewolves; next to the Gandillon family, Boguet mentions Jacques Bocquet, Clauda Jamprost, Clauda Jamguillaume, Thievenne Paget and Clauda Gaillard); Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, p. 537 (Poligny werewolves, 1521: Michel Verdung and Pierre Bourgot), p. 538 (St. Claude werewolves, 1598: Perrenette Gandillon, Antoinette Gandillon, Pierre Gandillon, Georges Gandillon), pp. 489-490 (Peter Stubb [Stump], 1589). The cases of Verdung, Bourgot (Burgot) and Garnier were dealt with by Jean Bodin in his *Démonomanie des sorciers* II.6 (see Oates, 'Démonologues', pp. 80-84). A transcript of the trial of Peter Stubb is in Otten, *Lycanthropy Reader*, pp. 69-76. Boguet, *Examen of Witches*, p. 140, also mentions the case of Verdung but spells the name Udon. For a long time, pictures of him and two other lycanthropes had hung in the church of the Jacobins at Poligny. Boguet, *idem*, pp. 140-141, reports another case of sympathetic wounding whereby a huntsman in the highlands of Auvergne cuts off the paw of a wolf only to discover that evening that the thing had turned into a woman's hand belonging to the wife of his host; she was consequently burned.

diagnosed the boy's derangement as 'lycanthropy induced by evil spirits that create a delusion of the eyes'. The court took into account that he was the victim of neglect and imprisoned him for life, in a local monastery. Jacques Roulet (Angers, 1598) was a feeble-minded beggar suspected of murdering a child, and was hence sentenced to death, but an appeal to the Parlement of Paris changed this sentence into two years imprisonment in the insane asylum of St.-Germain-des-Près, 'with instruction in religion'.[68]

Lycanthropy trials yield interesting information regarding the nature of the metamorphosis. We might have a look at a practical classification of lycanthropy based on information from the Baltic region, the world of Thiess, a world replete with werewolves. Rhanaeus, following Olaus Magnus, distinguished three classes of werewolves: (1) those who through hallucinations harm cattle; (2) those who in their sleep imagine they injure cattle, while in fact the devil incites real wolves to cause the damage; and (3) those who in their sleep imagine the same, while the devil changes himself into a wolf to perform mischief.[69] Note that substantial transformation does not appear in the list. Properly speaking it is only to the first class of lycanthropes that one can arguably attribute liability, and even then one has to take into account several attenuating circumstances (madness, retardedness, etc.). In the other two instances culpability lies with the devil, not with the slumbering lycanthropes. This, in fact, is precisely what Johann Weyer, one of the first opponents of the witchcraze, argued in his *De praestigiis daemonum* (1563).[70] And oddly enough his premises that the devil is agent and cause of all *maleficium*, and that witches (and werewolves) are the victims of devilish illusions are shared by all demonologists writing in justification of the persecutions that swept across Europe. But demonologists emphasised the culpability of witches by attributing to them a demonic pact (which in practice torture could verify).

A special case in point is judge Henry Boguet, Chief Justice of the district of Saint Claude, who on the basis of his own practical experience concluded that werewolves, although deluded, were still the physical agents of the crimes attributed to them, and hence guilty.[71] In his careful question-

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[68] Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 233-235 (Jean Grenier, 1603), pp. 212-213 (Gilles Garnier, Dôle, 1573), p. 324 (Jacques Roulet, the lycanthrope of Angers, 1598). The case of Grenier was documented by Pierre de Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons* (Paris, 1612), IV.2. See Oates, 'Démonologues', pp. 91-97; Milin, *Les chiens*, pp. 129-133; and Otten, *Lycanthropy Reader*, pp. 62-68. In relation to the accusations of lycanthropes not only killing but also partly devouring victims, it should be pointed out that around 1600 France was plague- and famine-ridden and that cases of cannibalism may have occurred now and again.

[69] Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, p. 326.

[70] Clark, 'Witchcraft and Kingship', p. 170: in Weyer's reasoning, 'the witch became totally redundant in the effecting of *maleficium*'.

[71] Boguet, in many ways a scholar and skilled in subtle arguments, employs what

ing of Pierre Gandillon, Clauda Jamguillaume, Clauda Jamprost and others, he weighs the evidence, checks whether the various confessions are in agreement, and pays close attention to physical and material clues, with a special interest in the salve or ointment, with which, he believes, witches dull their senses[72] and create demonic illusions. Boguet's careful methodology gives the impression that he is not simply a religious zealot; like Thiess's interrogators, he may have encountered vestiges of pagan religion, but his condemnation of these is more severe. Behind the witchcraze (as is the case with all persecutions of heresy) is the thirst to repress and extirpate forms of belief alien to Christianity; in the midst of the witchcraze debate (for which demonologists wrote their voluminous works) is the question of the powers of demons, the question of substantial transformations, and the question of demonic illusion and the manipulation of the imagination.

Judges on the whole (Boguet is an exception) seem to have departed from the premise that metamorphoses and other forms of *maleficium* are real, but this was blatantly at odds with the earlier mentioned *Canon episcopi* which clearly stated that metamorphoses and transvections (the nightflights) are illusions. Demonologists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries always struggled with this *Canon*, and unable to contradict it, they tried to neutralise it. Where the *Canon* said that the belief in the reality of metamorphoses and transvections is heretical, demonologists generally agreed on the illusory nature of these phenomena but in practice seemed to be saying that *dis*belief in their 'reality' is heretical. Their contradiction of the *Canon* mainly consisted in denouncing as heretical any doubt that *maleficia* are both harmless and inconsequential. In the early modern period, that saw both the rise of philosophical scepticism and of the witchcraze, demonologists were unable to replace the incertitudes of scepticism by new certainties, but countered them by other incertitudes and apprehensions about the stability of divinely instituted reality (for demons could manipulate nature) and about the reliability of sense and cognition (for demons could manipu-

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Clark has aptly phrased a 'tortuous dialectic'. Boguet, *Examen of Witches*, p. 146: 'My own opinion is that Satan sometimes leaves the witch asleep behind a bush, and himself goes and performs that which the witch has in mind to do, giving himself the appearance of a wolf; but that he so confuses the witch's imagination that he believes he has really been a wolf and has run about and killed men and beasts. (..) Notwithstanding, I maintain that for the most part it is the witch himself who runs about slaying: not that he is metamorphosed into a wolf, but that it appears to him that he is so'. See Monter, *Witchcraft*, pp. 145-151; also in Otten, *Lycanthropy Reader*, pp. 161-167. Boguet pronounced 28 death-sentences, which is nothing compared to, e.g., Rémy who caused the death of thousands. Cf. Milin, *Les chiens*, pp. 120, 128-133.

[72] These ointments may have been hallucinogenic drugs. See Sidky, *Witchcraft*, pp. 246-249.

late human perception). On the whole these uncertainties echoed a despair of providence and a despair of rationality.

Wolves according to Institoris

The most significant document to contradict the *Canon episcopi* appeared in 1484. It was the bull *Summis desiderantibus affectibus* by pope Innocent VIII, which was directly aimed against the *malefici*, those who practise magic, who associate with incubi and succubi, and cause disease and impotence, and destroy fertility in man, beast and crops. The bull gave *carte blanche* to inquisitors to investigate and punish, and ended with the threat that anyone opposing its decrees would incur the anger of God, Church and Apostles.[73] Where the *Canon* had attempted to evacuate pagan belief and ritual and declare it illusory and insignificant, the bull regarded its remnants as a major threat far from insignificant or illusory. It gave support to the work of the Dominican inquisitors Kramer (Institoris) and Sprenger, who, in spite of initial disbelief from both the clergy and the laity, acquired papal support to persue their inquisitorial work. The bull was prefixed to every edition of their ideological and practical textbook for witchhunters, the *Malleus maleficarum*.[74]

Ritual magic had been an enduring concern for ecclesiastical authorities, since it touched on moral and pastoral issues, but with the introduction into the West of textbooks on learned magic and occult science, it also became a topic of profound intellectual concern. Learned expositions on the powers of demons and the hidden virtues of nature were meant to explain the existence of magical *mirabilia*, and these arguments were gratefully used and developed in the battles against heresy which culminated in that one great fight against the 'secret society of witches', the secrecy of which conveniently allowed it to encompass virtually all aspects of magic and pagan folklore found in Europe. Hence, also lycanthropy became a dish for the learned palate and the philosophical questions formerly posed by Augustine acquired a new relevance. This becomes apparent in the *Malleus* by Institoris, one of the foundational demonological texts.

Formally the *Malleus* is a summa, and its aim is to neutralise the *Canon episcopi*. In the section on lycanthropy and the transformation from man into beast the question whether witches can perform such a change is dealt

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[73] Kramer, *Malleus*, pp. xliii-xlv. Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 263-266. Robbins includes a list of previous papal bulls condemning ritual magic. For the distinction between ritual magic and witchcraft, see Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, pp. 164-205.

[74] Kramer, *Malleus*. I have used the translation of Montague Summers for its general availability. A new, annotated German translation was published recently: Kramer, *Der Hexenhammer*, transl. Behringer *et al.* It has been pointed out that Kramer (Institoris) is the sole author of the *Malleus*. See Segl, 'Institoris', pp. 116-117.

with in scholastic fashion, first with six objections (derived from Aquinas's commentary on the *Sentences*) stating that this is impossible, then with an authority contradicting these objections (in the present case Augustine's *De civitate Dei* 18, which we already encountered), followed by an elaborate *responsio*, and concluded by a list of solutions and replies to the objections.[75] The position which Institoris defends is contained in the *responsio*. Following Augustine, he believes that demons can influence man's senses since it is generally taken for granted that both angels and demons can exercise an influence on material and physical reality through locomotion. This is a creaturely endowment that fallen angels have not altogether forfeited; yet their power is restricted to the physical world for man's rational soul they cannot touch. But of the physical interior senses, it is especially the imagination, the retainer of man's residual sense-impressions, that was believed to be a prey to demonic interference that could distort these impressions into delusions or metamorphoses. This is more or less in accord with what the *Canon episcopi* said, but it is clearly Institoris's aim to go beyond the *Canon*. He argues that the power of locomotion enables demons to actually move persons from one place to another, thus giving the nightly transvections a degree of reality which the *Canon* contradicts. Also demonic control over the body has for him far-reaching consequences for human psychology: 'Therefore the devil can, by moving the inner perceptions and humours, effect changes in the actions and faculties, physical, mental, and emotional, working by means of any physical organ soever'.[76] Institoris adds that this can only happen when God allows it, but with an eye to inquisitorial practices, one may fear that according to Institoris God had a very liberal policy.

With reference to Aquinas, Institoris argues that there are two ways in which animal transformations might take place: (1) one is when images from the imagination inform and condition the internal and external senses so that a person is convinced he witnesses a metamorphosis which can be confirmed by sight and touch; (2) the second is when the internal organs of perception are somehow changed, and sweet turns to bitter, or a man sees his wife in a hideous shape, but this does not differ significantly from the former. An important point is that the possibilities of transformation in reality and in the surrounding air are ruled out. In the series of objections and replies this is further specified. The argument that metamorphoses cannot be perceived since (e.g.) werewolves are non-existent objects of perception because it is impossible for two formative principles[77] to exist in one and the same body, is confirmed in its premises but rejected in its conclusion, as is the argument that the devil cannot change the cognitive facul-

[75] Kramer, *Malleus* I.10, pp. 61-65. Cf. Oates, 'Démonologues', pp. 74 f.
[76] Kramer, *Malleus* I.10, p. 63. Cf. Veenstra, 'Stretching the Imagination'.
[77] I.e. substantial forms, in the scholastic-aristotelian sense.

ty. It is argued that the devil is incapable of creating new substances or of transforming existing substances, and should he be able to operate on nature (which would then mainly consist in the manipulation of the hidden *semina*) it would still be within the bounds of nature's laws (as in the case of spontaneous generation).[78] But the metamorphosis of man into beast is clearly beyond the laws of nature and is hence based on deceptive illusions, arising from sensible images conserved in the imagination. But even here the devil cannot introduce his own substance into the human faculties of perception and imagination, nor can he substantially change these faculties. All he can do is, through locomotion, produce a *bricolage* of elements, of bits and pieces, that are already there. What Institoris offers is a consistent naturalistic conception and at one point he even adds: 'man does not sin in these fancies suggested by the devil (...) unless of his own will he consents to sin'.[79] If the devil is the agent of all *maleficium*, why persecute witches?

Institoris applies this line of thought specifically to the case of man- and child-eating wolves, which may have natural causes when wolves are driven by famine or their own ferociousness, but Institoris is more interested in wolves acting on the instigation of the devil. He believes the wolves are real wolves, and not demons in the guise of animals. He mentions the story of a bishop of Vienna who ordered the chanting of the minor Litanies before Ascension, because wolves entered the city and publicly devoured men, probably for sins they committed since he sees the wolves (and the devils driving them) as instruments of divine vengeance.[80] But there is also another context in which demon-possessed wolves feature: Institoris mentions a story from William of Paris[81] about a man who believed that he turned into a wolf and went about devouring children. In actual fact there was a real wolf (possessed by a demon) attacking infants while the poor deluded man lay in a cave deprived of his senses. His sin, if any, will have been a sin of consent rather than of practice. Boguet was clearly more severe, but then again he was more pressed to find acceptable legal grounds for persecution and conviction.

One may wonder whether Institoris is aware that his arguments regarding lycanthropy do little to incriminate witches. However, he repeats some of his points in the second part of the *Malleus*.[82] He attacks preachers who

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[78] Kramer adduces the well-known example of Pharaoh's magicians turning their rods into serpents (*Ex.* 7:10-13). See also Kramer, *Malleus* II.1.8, p. 123.
[79] Kramer, *Malleus* I.10, p. 63.
[80] Kramer, *Malleus* I.10, p. 65, mentions the biblical examples of the prophet Elisha who was mocked by a gang of boys, 42 of whom were torn up by two she-bears (*II Kings* 2:24), and of the prophet who was slain by a lion (*I Kings* 13:24).
[81] William of Paris, *De universo* 2.3.13. See Kramer, *Hexenhammer*, transl. Behringer, p. 285.
[82] Kramer, *Malleus* II.1.8, pp. 122-124.

claim in their sermons that such prestidigitatory transmutations are impossible and blames them for misunderstanding the *Canon* (which seems very unlikely). He elaborately paraphrases what Augustine has to say on animal metamorphosis,[83] for there he finds the full spectrum of options the devil has in deceiving the human senses. He takes the example of landladies changing guests into beasts of burden to explain that demons (1) deceive the guests into believing they have turned into animals (by means of glamour); (2) carry the burdens themselves (so that the work done by the pack-animals in the illusion, is also done in actual fact); and (3) can make third parties (bystanders) share in the illusion. Demonic influence on human experience seems to have no bounds, and especially the human psyche is studied more closely. He elaborately deals with the question whether it is possible for a devil to be active in the human body next to the soul, since according to Aristotelian doctrine no two forms can exist in the same material substance. The soul, Institoris explains, resides in the heart as a life-giving principle, like a spider in its web: its operations are to inform and vivify matter, and hence differ fundamentally from the operations of a demon entering the head. A demon will enter into the back part of the head where the *memoria* is, and move mental images from thence to the middle part, where the cells of the imaginative power are. From there they are pushed forward to the front part where reason resides so that the phantasms inwardly perceived are actually believed to be there.

Witches have no immediate purpose in these naturalistic explanations, and Institoris's incrimination of witches mainly relies on exemplary cases. He narrates the story of a woodcutter, who beat up three cats that attacked him; they turned out to be three witches and were covered with bruises from the woodcutter's flogging. The case resembles that of the sympathetic wounds of the werewolves, and though Institoris emphasises it is a case of glamour, it is not an illusion of the inner perceptions only, since the witches actually went to the woodcutter to harm him.[84] From his own experience Institoris tells the story of a priest, the son of a Bohemian from Dachov, who was possessed by a devil, because a witch he rebuked had cursed him. Institoris pretends that witchcraft is a commonplace ("no one doubts that witches can injure men through devils"),[85] but when discussing the various ways in which demons can injure humans, he adds that this can be accomplished with *and* without witches.[86]

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[83] In Augustine's *De civitate Dei* 18.17.

[84] Kramer, *Malleus* II.1.9, p. 127.

[85] Kramer, *Malleus* II.1.10, pp. 131-132, esp. p. 132.

[86] Kramer, *Malleus* II.1.10, p. 129. Demons can (1) injure the body; (2) injure the body and the inner faculties; (3) injure the inner perceptions; (4) deprive someone of his reason; and (5) change someone into the appearance of a beast.

The evil intentions of witches and lycanthropes are not convincingly documented and resemble more a collection of fairy tales than a body of evidence. In comparison this becomes even more clear when one turns to a later *malleus*, namely Guazzo's *Compendium maleficarum* (1608), in which a small collection of man-beast metamorphoses is narrated, all centering around the evil intentions of the shape-shifter and the sympathetic wounds that give the culprit away.[87] Like Institoris (and with reference to Augustine's *De civitate Dei* 18.17), Guazzo regards all metamorphoses as deceptive illusions. He mentions the case (cf. William of Paris) of the sleeping lycanthrope (Guazzo calls him a witch) and the devil who in his stead assumes the shape of a wolf; but he also believes that witches themselves can have aerial bodies in the guise of beasts, through the use of ointments and spells. In this way they can leave the footprints of a wolf upon the ground and be directly wounded (although in case the witch is not present in the wolf-shape, the devil will nevertheless inflict on the witch the wound which the wolf received; in which case it does not really matter whether the witch is present of not). Guazzo derives examples (through Del Rio) from Bartolomeo Spina and Rémy about witches who turn themselves into cats with the explicit purpose of harming or killing people, or a shepherd called Petronio (1581) who turns into a wolf with the express purpose of killing his neighbour's sheep.[88]

The incrimination of witches or werewolves in these cases requires elaborate staging on the part of demons. A more economic though also more extreme position is taken by Jean Bodin in his *De la Démonomanie des sorciers* (1580), where he argues that substantial transformations can, in fact, take place, since we are dealing here with actions of spirits that are beyond the bounds of nature, and such 'metaphysical' operations cannot be understood. His extreme views were supported by few and rejected by many, and of this latter category especially Jean de Nynauld and Reginald Scot deserve mention. Jean de Nynauld in his *De la lycanthropie, transformation, et extase des sorciers* (1615) argues that Bodin's position would make all knowledge and the proper discrimination of truth and falsehood impossible, and Scot in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) adds it would be easier to turn Bodin's reason into the reason of an ass, than his body into the shape of a sheep.[89]

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[87] Guazzo, *Compendium*, ch. 13, pp. 50-53.

[88] Another example is the story of the Russian chieftain and the Bulgarian werewolf. The Russian has the lycanthrope chained and conducted into the next room, where the Bulgarian changes into a wolf. Still bound in the chains he was torn to pieces by two dogs. The unfortunate lycanthrope, Guazzo suggests, was not an illusion. Guazzo, *Compendium*, p. 50.

[89] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 212-213. Clark, 'Scientific Status', pp. 179-180, 188. Scot, *Discoverie* 5.2, ed. Nicholson, p. 74. Harf-Lancner, 'La métamor-

Del Rio: werewolves and the definition of magic

The consistent assertion among demonologists that the 'existence' of werewolves is to be attributed to the imaginative faculty would do enough to disculpate witches, but common sense in the age of the witchcraze did not concur with common practice. Nor did common sense gain much ground in the intellectual field where the wolf in the imagination was felt to be in demand of an explanatory context and to be part of an encompassing theory of magic. Hence the question of substantial transformations and, in its wake, the werewolves became a stock issue in scholarly demonologies.

One of the most encyclopedic demonologies of the early modern period provides a good example of this. Martin Del Rio's *Disquisitiones Magicae*[90] deals with all matters concerning witchcraft by departing from a general definition of magic. Magic is the art or faculty whereby unusual wonders (*mira*) can be produced by means of the natural powers of creation, of which the reason cannot be grasped by common understanding.[91] From the point of view of its efficient cause, magic can then be further subdivided into: (1) natural magic, (2) artificial magic, and (3) demonic magic. Demonic magic is treated extensively by Del Rio in book II of his work, but it also surfaces in his discussion of natural magic (*physica*) when he speaks of two traditions of magical knowledge, one based on the idolatrous doctrines which the fallen angels taught to their offspring, the giants, and which were transmitted to the Egyptians, Persians and Chaldeans through the accursed Ham; the other consisting in the sciences which God gave to Adam and which Adam passed on to his posterity. The former is a forbidden, demonic magic (based on a demonic pact),[92] the latter a legitimate, natural magic, propagating knowledge of the course and influence of the stars and the heavens, and of the sympathies and antipathies between the elements of

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phose', p. 216. Oates, 'Démonologues', pp. 84-88.

[90] Martin Antoine Del Rio (1551-1608) was born in Antwerp, and became a Jesuit in 1580. He published his magnum opus *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* in 1599. The six parts are: 1. *De magia*; 2. *De magia daemoniacae*; 3. *De maleficio, et de vana observatione*; 4. *De divinatione*; 5. *De officio iudicum contra maleficos, sive de processu iudiciario in crimine magiae*; 6. *De officio confessarii*. The book was highly influential. Guazzo's *Compendium* seems to be an abbreviated version of it. Cf. also Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, pp. 178-185.

[91] Del Rio, *Disquisitiones* I.2, p. 3: *ut sit ars seu facultas, vi creata, et non supernaturali, quaedam mira et insolita efficiens; quorum ratio sensum et communem hominum captum superat.* Cf., e.g., Giordano Bruno's definition of magic in his *De Magia* (Bruno, *On Magic*, pp. 105ff.). Bruno gives nine different meanings of the term 'magic' including medicine and natural philosophy.

[92] Del Rio, *Disquisitiones* I.2, pp. 3-4. Del Rio defines forbidden magic as *facultas seu ars, qua, vi pacti cum daemonibus initi, mira quaedam, et communem hominum captum superantia, efficiuntur.*

creation, which enables magi (or demons) to perform marvellous feats. Artificial magic is subdivided into two kinds: *magia mathematica* which encompasses geometry, arithmetic and astronomy, and their applications;[93] and *magia praestigiatoria*, which comprises all conceivable tricks, make-believe and sleight of hand (*ludi, ludica* and *ludibria*). Magic thus spans a whole gamut of arts and sciences that all share the same purpose, namely the production of *mira*, things that inspire a sense of wonder and amazement, and that hence seek to extend the habitual limits of perception and understanding.

Magic, eloquently promoted by Renaissance scholars such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino, rose in conjunction with scientific developments and was also understood in terms of the prevalent arts and sciences.[94] Hence it also dealt with the questions that natural philosophy was facing. Del Rio addresses the issue of the limits of nature and argues that magic can never go beyond the natural order or the laws of the universe,[95] thereby distinguishing magical *mira*, which are natural, from *miracula*, which are supernatural. The achievements of magic cannot be supernatural, but they can be preternatural (meaning natural in a wider than familiar sense) and can therefore extend one's perception of nature. The prime agents in examining the limits of nature are for Del Rio, not scientists doing empirical research, but good and evil angels.[96]

Applying the concept of magical *mira* to lycanthropy,[97] Del Rio does not excel in bold statements. The only limits of perception he extends are the geographical ones, for he notes that the belief in shapeshifting has also

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[93] Del Rio mentions the example of how ships were set ablaze at the siege of Syracuse by means of mirrors (*Disquisitiones* I.4, pp. 31 ff.; an abbreviated version is in Guazzo, *Compendium* I.2, p. 4).

[94] Wightman has pointed out that magic was neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition of scientific achievement. Wightman, *Science*, p. 143. Cf. also Copenhaver, 'Astrology and Magic', esp. pp. 296-300. Yet a precursor of the scientific revolution like Francis Bacon sought to restore the concept of natural magic in terms of his metaphysics.

[95] Del Rio, *Disquisitiones* II.10, pp. 130 ff.: *Naturae ordinem mutare nequit, nisi auctor naturae, nec leges universi refigere; nisi qui fixit.*

[96] Del Rio, *Disquisitiones* I.4.3, p. 49: *Altera est, ordo prodigiosus, qui ordo reipsa non excedit terminos naturalis ordinis, sed tantum dicitur excedere ratione modi, quem vel omnes homines, vel plerique ignorant: et ideo solemus eum quoque vocare supernaturalem, large accepto vocabulo, clarius autem ac significantius vocatur ordo praeternaturalis: ad quem referuntur multae mirificae operationes factae per bonos, vel malos angelos motu locali, vel subita naturalium agentium applicatione.* Cf. also Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 170-171, and *idem*, p. 177, on the breakdown of the distinction between *mira* and *miracula*.

[97] Del Rio deals with werewolves in the context of demonic magic (*Disquisitiones* II.18, pp. 186-190: *An corpora ex una in aliam speciem Magi queant transformare*).

penetrated the New World.[98] For the rest he repeats the conventional positions. Metamorphoses are illusions as Augustine and the *Canon episcopi* make clear. The human soul cannot inform the body of an animal because the soul is defined as the active principle of the organic body, whereby all substantial transformation is excluded.[99] Naturally there are people who believe that these transformations are real, but one should not confuse the concept of transformation with its concommitant effects. The usual damage inflicted by lycanthropes on cattle or people can be brought about by demons in the shape of wolves, by humans in the guise of a wolf, or by humans who, through an excess of black bile and a disturbance of the humours, suffer from melancholy or *insania lupina*. Only in the first two instances, when third parties give corroboration of having seen wolves, can one speak of magic, for demons can assume an aerial body in the shape of a wolf while the lycanthrope is asleep, or they can dress a person in wolf's hide or compose an aerial body resembling a wolf that is fully geared to the body of a lycanthrope. Of this latter instance Del Rio provides a few examples, notably the case of Petrus Stumfius,[100] and an interesting narrative, situated in a Flemish village, about the hostess of an ale-house changing into a toad and obstructing a farmer whom she blames for not having paid his bill. The toad is severely wounded with a sword, but vanishes, and the landlady shortly afterwards dies from similar wounds.[101] In an age of liberal torture, sympathetic wounds were usually regarded as an appropriate argument with which to incriminate witches.

Although Del Rio is far from innovative in the question of lycanthropy, he does provide a place for it in an overall theory of magic. Magic encompasses all arts and sciences that explore the bounds of nature, produce remarkable feats and instil a sense of wonder. Next to magi and alchemists (to whom Del Rio dedicates a lengthy section), demons are still the most prominent protagonists and operators in these explorations. But demons also pose problems. The fundamental problem that demonological reasoning causes is that the distinction between illusion and reality is blurred. A theory of magic wherein demons can freely manipulate reality and the per-

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[98] Del Rio, *Disquisitiones* II.18, p. 187: *Quinetiam in novem orbem haec opinio se penetravit. Nam Nicaraguani credebant striges posse se in cattos, simias, porcos immutare; et Quahatemallani opinabantur famosam illam maleficam Augustinam, in bovis forma grassatam.*

[99] Del Rio, *Disquisitiones* II.18, p. 187: *ideo anima definitur actus organici corporis. Unde fit, ut nec ferina anima humanum corpus, nec humana ferinum queat informare, ut dixi. Non poterit itaque anima hominis in ferinum corpus migrare illud informatura.*

[100] Del Rio, *Disquisitiones* II.18, p. 190. Peter Stubb, see Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 489-490.

[101] Del Rio, *Disquisitiones* II.18, p. 189. The story was copied by Guazzo, *Compendium*, pp. 52-53.

ception of reality (be it through exterior or interior senses), may create the belief that all is an illusion. A radical scepticism might be the result, whereby one distrusts one's senses and even Providence itself. It is no coincidence that Descartes's demon hypothesis (the possibility that an evil spirit might turn external reality into an illusion) arose in the age of the demonologists.[102] Since supernatural operations were beyond their reach, demons were given a free hand in nature; but they ended up provoking doubts regarding both physics and metaphysics.

When demons were made redundant and were banned from the theories of natural philosophy, werewolves remained where the demonologists had put them: in the imagination, and ever since the age of the witch-hunts metamorphoses had to be re-enacted in fictions or virtual realities by people themselves. Rarely did a werewolf emerge outside popular culture (Freud's wolf-man is an exception), and the question of substantial transformation lost its significance in the rise of modern science, though genetic engineering may revive it in some sense or other, along with its attendant cultural anxieties.[103]

[102] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 174-175.

[103] This essay was written as part of a research project on angelology and demonology funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). The author wishes to thank Alasdair MacDonald, Arjo Vanderjagt and Jan Bremmer for their corrections and suggestions.

ASTRAL MAGIC AND INTELLECTUAL CHANGES (TWELFTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURIES)

'ASTROLOGICAL IMAGES' AND THE CONCEPT OF 'ADDRESSATIVE' MAGIC

Nicolas Weill-Parot

It is well known that in the twelfth century major intellectual changes took place in Western Europe, when, through the numerous translations of Greek and Arabic philosophical and scientific texts, medieval scholars acquired a new vision of the world. The 'occult sciences' were entirely renewed in a complex and fascinating way, since Arabic texts introduced astrology and astral magic.[1] It was in this context that astrological talismans reached the Western world and created the possibility of using astral powers through human artifice.[2] Their presence in texts greatly contributed to the emergence, in the middle of the thirteenth century, of the notion of the 'astrological image'. This notion, in its own way, is an extraordinary mirror of the intellectual changes that were at work during the last centuries of the Middle Ages. For the purpose of illustrating this theory, I would like, in this contribution, to focus on the problem related to the birth of this notion of *imago astronomica* in connection with texts on images, and to grasp some of these conceptual changes through the classification of images.

The astrological image and the concept of addressative magic

I have tried elsewhere to demonstrate that originally the term 'astrological image' did not refer to a magical practice (a concrete talisman found in magical recipes), but to a concept created by the author of the *Speculum*

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[1] Pingree, 'The Diffusion', *passim*.

[2] A 'talisman' can be defined as an artificial item. Its power comes (at least partially) from human intervention which has given it an artificial shape; an amulet, on the other hand, can be defined as part of a natural item with an inherent natural power. For a more or less similar definition, see: Copenhaver, 'Scholastic Philosophy'. For previous studies on astrological talismans: Delmas, 'Médailles astrologiques'; Shatzmiller, 'In Search of the Book'; Schwartz, 'La magie astrale'; Burnett, 'Talismanic Magic'.

astronomiae, a book written towards the middle of the thirteenth century and dealing with the science of the stars, in the wake of the translations from Arabic into Latin of astrological and magical works of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.[3] The author of the *Speculum astronomiae* – I shall call him the Magister Speculi (he is sometimes identified with Albert the Great) – tries to assert that it is possible for a Christian to licitly use a talisman (or image). The astrological image is therefore defined as an 'image' which does not derive its power from demons, but solely (*solummodo*) from the stars.[4]

The Magister Speculi believes that there is at least one talismanic text which fulfils this exclusive condition: the *De imaginibus* ascribed to Thebit (Thâbit ibn Qurra).[5] The images described in this work represent the purpose of the magical operation: for instance, when the image is supposed to remove scorpions, it is made in the shape of a scorpion; when it is intended to act upon a man, it represents a man; and when the magician wants to incite two persons to love, he makes the images of two human beings clasped in an embrace. The astrological feature does not reside in the shape of these images – since they are terrestrial items – but in the conditions under which they are made, i.e. under the appropriate constellations. In the Magister Speculi's view, the images of Thebit can be called 'astrological', not because of their astrological shape, but because of the exclusive source from which they derive their power: the astral entities. Assuredly, the notion of 'astrological images' could be applied later to another kind of images, namely the astrological seals described in the *De mineralibus* by Albert the Great, which, in a certain way, might be doubly qualified as 'astrological': firstly, from the exclusive source of their power (the constellations themselves), since they are to be made under the appropriate astrological conditions, and, secondly, from their astrological shapes (they are the seals of the

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[3] Weill-Parot, *Les images astrologiques*, where most of the subjects discussed in this paper are developed, in particular in chapter 1 (on the *Speculum astronomiae*); chapter 4 (on Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great); chapter 3 (on al-Kindî and William of Auvergne); chapter 5 (on Roger Bacon); chapters 10-13 (on early Renaissance authors: e.g. Antonio da Montolmo, Giorgio Anselmi, Marsilio Ficino, Jerome Torrella).

[4] *Speculum astronomiae*, cap. 11, p. 246. See Appendix (text 1; the quotations in this essay are based on the English translation by Burnett, Lippincott, *et al.*). Following the example of Michela Pereira who in her *L'oro dei Filosofi* called the author of the pseudo-Lullian *Testamentum* 'Magister Testamenti', I decided to use the name 'Magister Speculi' for the author of the *Speculum astronomiae*. For new views on the authorship of this work, see Roy, 'Richard de Fournival'; Lucentini, 'L'ermetismo magico' and Paravicini-Bagliani, *Le* Speculum Astronomiae.

[5] *Speculum astronomiae*, p. 248. The text ascribed to Thâbit ibn Qurra has been edited by Carmody.

constellations).[6] The important feature, from the Magister Speculi's point of view, is implied in the term *solummodo*: the images have to be purely astrological, i.e. they have to derive their power only from the stars. *Solummodo* is the decisive element in this new notion of 'astrological image'.

For the basic concept that enables us to understand the problem of theories of magic in general, and of astral magic in particular, I have actually tried to coin a neologism and am proposing in French the word *destinativité* with its adjective *destinatif*, since 'the addressee' means in French 'le destinataire'.[7] I am suggesting in English the word 'addressativity' and the adjective 'addressative' (hoping it will not be disagreeable to English-speaking people).[8] A magical 'addressative' act can be defined as an act by means of which the magician addresses a sign to a separate intelligence (a demon, an angel or some other spirit or intelligence) in order to obtain its help to perform the magical operation.[9] This separate intelligence is the *addressee* of the magical ritual or sign; and it is the agent or the partial agent of the magical effect. Such an approach seems to me clearer than Brian Copenhaver's 'noetic magic' or D. P. Walker's 'demonic magic'.[10] The concept of 'addressative' magic emphasises the relationship itself between the magician and the spirit invoked, instead of the origin of the power of the magical object or the nature of the addressee (which depends on the position taken by the magician, the philosopher or the theologian). From a theological point of view, any 'addressativity' occurring outside the divine order and framework of the Church was condemned as demoniac: the Christian Church had a monopoly on 'addressativity'. The magician could claim that he was calling in good angels for help, but from a theological point of view, the addressees of his magical operations were always demons. He could also claim that by his magical means he was compelling the demons to act; from a theological point of view, he did not since he was actually believed to be abused by the demons which pretended to obey him in order to lead him into sin. In this theological context, therefore, there was no scope, neither for theurgy, nor for a magical coercive power over demons.

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[6] Albertus Magnus, *De mineralibus*, Liber II, tractatus III.

[7] My neologism should not be confused with the noun *destinatif* used by some grammarians to refer to a special case denoting a destination.

[8] I was looking for a new word based on 'addressee'; I thank Jean-Pascal Pouzet for suggesting 'addressative' and 'addressativity' and Maaike van der Lugt for the interesting and helpful discussions we had about other terms.

[9] It should be underlined that the *addressee* in question is not the person upon whom the magical operation is expected to act, but the superior agent of the operation to whom the magical act is *addressed*.

[10] Copenhaver, 'Scholastic Philosophy', p. 532; Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, p. 75ff.

The classification of the Magister Speculi

Next to the 'astrological' or licit 'images', the Magister Speculi singles out two reprehensible kinds of images (or talismans): the 'abominable' and the 'detestable' ones.[11]

The first kind of image, called 'abominable', is defined as requiring suffumigations and invocations. The paradigmatic examples are taken from Hermetic texts and include: (1) images involving an explicit worship such as 'the Images of Toz the Greek and Germath the Babylonian, which have stations for the worship of Venus'; and (2) images requiring exorcism by pronouncing names of spirits such as 'the Images of Balenuz and Hermes, which are exorcised by using the fifty-four names of the angels, who are said to be subservient to the images of the Moon in its orbit'. The making of these images implies also suffumigations.

The Magister Speculi gives little information as to the criterion according to which these images are to be called 'abominable'. Firstly, he identifies those spirits to which the images of Balenuz and Hermes are addressed as evil spirits, since these *nomina angelorum* are held to be *potius nomina daemonum*; therefore, the theurgical way of justification is discarded. Secondly, he gives a major theological explanation: through suffumigations and other rituals, the demons 'are certainly not compelled to act, but when God permits it on account of our own sins, they show themselves as if they were compelled to act, in order to deceive men'. Consequently, this way of making images corresponds to *idolatria pessima* (the worst kind of idolatry) inducing man to 'show that sort of honour to the creature which is due solely to the Creator'.

The second kind of condemned image is called 'somewhat less unsuitable', but 'nevertheless detestable'. These images are defined as requiring the inscription of 'characters which are to be exorcised by certain names'. Hence, there are two distinctive features: the inscription of characters and the oral exorcism by means of certain names. The paradigmatic examples derive from Solomonic texts: the four rings of Solomon, the nine *candariae* and three figures of the spirits, as well as the *Almandal* and the *Liber institutionis* of Raziel (which deals with the angels of planets).[12] The Magister Speculi condemns the texts on 'detestable' images, because 'it is suspected that something lies under the names of the unknown language, that might be against the honour of the catholic faith'. The only addressees

[11] See Appendix, text 1.

[12] On the term *candariae*, see Jan Veenstra's contribution on the *Almandal* (p. 206, note 36) in this volume.

who are called forth in the description of the 'detestable' images are the angels of planets. The demons are not explicitly mentioned.

It should be pointed out that David Pingree rightly and clearly identified the 'destestable' images as those of Solomonic texts and the 'abominable' ones as those of 'Hermetic' texts (as appears from the bibliographical references given by the Magister Speculi following the definitions of these categories).[13]

Demons?

It might be suggested that the major difference established by the Magister Speculi between these two kinds of magic is a demonological one: 'abominable' magic would then be demoniac, 'detestable' magic would not. In the 'abominable' type of magic the presence of demons is obvious, although it might be argued that the Magister Speculi shows some hesitation when he says: *forte sunt potius nomina daemonum* ('*perhaps* [these names of "angels"] are instead the names of demons'). This argument, however, will not hold since the Magister Speculi explicitly calls this magic performed with 'abominable' images 'idolatry'. What is idolatry? It consists in an act of worship addressed to a creature, instead of to the Creator. Since the time of Augustine, all Christian authors knew that this act implied demoniac involvement, since demons were hiding behind the idols.

Another argument might be that the Magister Speculi believes that, unlike the 'abominable' images, the 'detestable' images do not require a demoniac intervention. However, this statement does not appear true either, since he defines these *two* kinds of images (the 'abominable' ones *and* the 'detestable' ones) as *nichromanticae* images, that is images which precisely imply an intervention of demons.[14]

Are not Solomonic sources as evil as Hermetic sources?

The second problem lies in the fact that the magical sources on which the Magister Speculi bases his classification are somewhat surprising. The 'Solomonic' sources do not really fit in with his classification, for Solo-

[13] Pingree, 'Learned Magic', p. 43.

[14] As Jean-Patrice Boudet has kindly pointed out to me, in manuscript Paris, BnF, lat. 7440, fol. 2va, 4va, 6va the text of the *Speculum astronomiae* contains the terms *nichromantici*, *nichromantice*, *nichromanticas* instead of *necromantici*, *necromantice*, *necromanticas*, as they can be found in Zambelli's edition. The term *nigromancia* or *nichromancia*, i.e. a magical practice implying the help of demons, should not be systematically confused with *necromancia*, i.e. divination by invocation of the spirits of the dead. Cf. Boudet, 'La genèse', p. 38.

monic magic contains as many explicit invocations as Hermetic magic, and sometimes even more. Its rituals seem more complex, even nigromantic, for reading through them, one notices such distinctive features as circles, candles, swords etc., which are similar to what one can find in the western nigromantic tradition. Therefore, how can the Magister Speculi's greater indulgence regarding these Solomonic images be explained?

This seems all the more surprising since the importance attached to astrology represents one of the differences between Hermetic and Solomonic images. The Hermetic texts on images belong to Arabic astral magic; and the Magister Speculi is well aware of this, since he notes that the magician 'in order to render [his art, WP] credible to some extent, observes the twenty-eight mansions of the Moon and the hours of day and night along with certain names [given] to these days, hours, and mansions themselves', which is a clear reference to the Hermetic *Liber Lune*.[15] This does not mean, of course, that the Solomonic magic of images is deprived of astrological elements – the Magister Speculi himself mentions the 'signs and planets and their angels' found in the *Raziel*[16] –, but Hermetic magic is definitely more astrological than Solomonic magic. It should be remembered, finally, that the only text of which the images are defined by the Magister Speculi as purely astrological is the *De imaginibus* ascribed to Thâbit ibn Qurra, which belongs to almost the same Arabic (and Sabean) tradition as Hermetic astro-talismanic texts.

One may add that the 'detestable' book *De quattuor annulis*, extant in the Florence manuscript BNC II III 214, and supposedly written by four of Solomon's disciples (Fortunatus, Eleazar, Macar(i)us and Toz Grecus), depicts a very complex ritual which particularly prescribes suffumigations – a distinctive feature of the so-called 'abominable' type of magic.[17]

On the other hand, in the book that the Magister Speculi identifies with the section on *characteres* from the *Liber solis* (incip.: *Lustravi plures imaginum scientias...*), there are neither suffumigations, nor invocations. The only reprehensible aspect is the inscription of *characteres*, which would logically have led the Magister Speculi to include this text in the category of 'detestable' works. Instead, he calls this book 'abominable',[18] and, indeed, it belongs to the Hermetic astro-talismanic tradition – the *karacteres* are those of the planets.

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[15] *Speculum astronomiae*, p. 241. For the *Liber Lune*, see Ms. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II III 214, fols. 9v-15r.

[16] For other examples of the use of astrology in Solomonic texts, see the contribution on the *Almandal* by Jan R. Veenstra in this volume (e.g. pp. 198 ff.).

[17] Ms. Florence, BNC II III 214, fols. 26v-29v.

[18] *Ibidem*, fols. 8v-9v.

The relationship with spirits and the origin of texts (a hypothesis based on David Pingree's analysis)

The question is therefore not yet settled. Why does the Magister Speculi consider the Solomonic texts on images as 'somewhat less unsuitable' than the Hermetic texts? David Pingree has suggested that the major difference between Hermetic and Solomonic magic is to be found in the relationship which the magician intends to establish with the spirits he invokes. In Solomonic magic, the spirits would be compelled to act, since they would be constrained by the magician in the name and the power of God, whereas in Hermetic magic, the spirits – astral spirits – would be implored and praised by the magician.[19]

This distinction is bound up with the different origins of the two magical traditions. The implications of David Pingree's statement can be best understood by means of some extrapolations. The Hermetic texts, translated from Arabic and dealing with images, belong to Arabic astral magic and perhaps originate (to some extent) from the Sabeans of Harrân, who were pagans.[20] The Harranian magicians are known for reverendly begging the astral spirits to fulfil their personal wishes. From a Christian theological point of view this would be an obvious case of idolatry, and since every spirit outside the Christian divine order was considered as evil, these astral spirits would naturally become evil spirits in the Christian context, that is to say demons (*potius demones* as the Magister Speculi writes). As a result, those who explicitly worshipped them would be labelled 'abominable' idolaters. On the other hand, since Solomonic magic was previously an essentially Judeo-Christian tradition, the spirits were identified as angels or demons. If they were supposed to be angels, then perhaps, in a heterodox way, the 'Solomonic-Christian magician' could pretend to constrain them through the power of God; and if they were supposed to be evil spirits or demons, then this 'Solomonic-Christian magician' could likewise only pretend to summon and compel them to act with the help of God, since worship in this case would have been quite unthinkable. Therefore, paradoxically, Solomonic magic, which originally could be based on evil spirits, would appear to be less 'unsuitable' than Hermetic magic based on astral

[19] Pingree, 'Learned Magic', p. 43.

[20] Concerning this community of pagans living in the Islamic lands until the tenth century and perhaps even later, see in particular Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*; Corbin, *Temple et contemplation*; Tardieu, 'Sâbiens coraniques'; *idem*, *Les paysages reliques*. Hjärpe, *Les Sabéens*, and Green, *The City*, esp. pp. 159-160, and chapt. 7, criticise the thesis that there actually was a planetary cult among the Sabeans of Harrân. On the specific question of the relationship between Arabic astral magic and Harrânian magic, see Pingree, 'Some of the Sources', *passim*.

gods. Whatever kind of spirit the 'Solomonic-Christian magician' could pretend to invoke, from the orthodox point of view, all these spirits had to be considered as evil, since the official Church had a monopoly on addressativity. Hence, Hermetic magic would lead directly to idolatry, whereas Solomonic magic would do the same, but in an indirect way, since the magician would be abused by the demons.[21]

It has not been determined whether the magical texts listed in the *Speculum astronomiae* provide similar data. Undoubtedly, in the 'abominable' *Liber praestigiorum*, for instance, there is a prayer to specific astral spirits;[22] while in the 'detestable' *Almandal*, as it was copied in the Florence manuscript, the 'corporeal and uncorporeal demons' (*demones corporei et incorporei*) are supposed to obey the magician.[23] Hence one can argue that Pingree's criterion perhaps matches reality as far as the actual magical texts belonging to the Solomonic and Hermetic traditions are concerned (but, surely, a full analysis of these magical texts would be necessary). Yet the Magister Speculi himself does not really bring up this distinction (for instance, concerning the 'abominable' images, he writes that the demons 'show themselves as [if they were] compelled to act, in order to deceive men').

Explicit or implicit addressativity: another explanation

It is therefore necessary to come back to what the Magister Speculi says (even if there is not a perfect correspondence with the actual talismanic texts). In my opinion, the Magister Speculi identifies two series of practices. On the one hand, the 'abominable' practices are obviously of the addressative type. They include: invocation, which is the paradigmatic addressative act; exorcism by demonic names; and suffumigation, which is a ritual practice. In connection with this, it should be remembered that the example given is a religious and idolatrous act, namely the 'stations for the worship of Venus'. The 'abominable' practices are explicitly addressative acts, which testify clearly to idolatry.

On the other hand, the 'detestable' practices are not explicitly addressative: some 'characters' are inscribed, and they have 'to be exorcised by certain names'. The meaning of both characters and names is not evident. They

[21] I thank Jean-Patrice Boudet for the helpful discussion we had on this problem.
[22] See the excerpts given by Burnett, 'Talismanic Magic'.
[23] Ms. Florence, BNC II III 214, fols. 77r-78v. Nevertheless, in the book which is called *Liber solis* by the Magister Speculi (*ibidem*, fols. 8v-9v), there is no indication of the real meaning of the inscription of the *karacteres* of the planets (i.e. compelling spirits to act or imploring them to fulfil a wish).

are not explicitly identified with those of spirits, or, at least, the invocation is not clearly established. The hidden aspect of these practices appears in the previously mentioned sentence: this way of making images is forbidden because 'it is suspected that something lies under the names of the unknown language, that might be against the honour of the catholic faith'. The verb *latere* denotes the implicit way in which this kind of magic is suspected to disrupt the catholic order; it is the kind of offence which is undoubtedly understood by the Magister Speculi as being also an addressative act, be it an undefined and implicit one (since, as was already mentioned, this kind of practice is also called 'nigromantic').

As I have shown elsewhere, the second occurrence of the expression *imago astronomica* is to be found in two works of Thomas Aquinas: the twelfth *Quodlibet*, dated 1270-1272, and the *Secunda secundae* of the *Summa theologiae*, a section dated 1271-1272. I have shown that this finding can give us a *terminus ad quem* for the *Speculum astronomiae*, since the reference clearly states: *imagines quas astronomicas vocant* ('images which *they call* astro<logi>cal'). In this section of the *Summa theologiae*, Thomas makes a distinction between an explicit pact and an implicit pact concluded with demons: 'astrological images [he says] are different from nigromantic images in that the nigromantic images involve explicit invocations and *praestigia*; hence these images relate to explicit pacts concluded with demons, while the other images involve tacit pacts by means of signs consisting in figures or characters'.[24]

Assuredly, the Magister Speculi does not hold the same strong theological views as Thomas Aquinas. He does not refer to any 'pact' concluded with demons; but since the criterion of addressativity/non-addressativity is the key concept for his distinction between 'astrological' and 'nigromantic' images, it can be inferred that the explicit or implicit nature of the addressative relationship, established also by the magical acts, leads to the distinction between 'abominable' and 'detestable' images.[25]

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[24] See Appendix, text 2. Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, IIa IIae, q. 96, art. 2., ad 2 (ed. Leonina): *Unde etiam imagines quas 'astronomicas' vocant, ex operatione daemonum habent effectum* ...; *Quodlibet* XII, q. 8, art. 2, in: *Opera omnia*, vol. 25/2, p. 409: *et imagines astronomice, in quibus etsi non adsit aliqua expressa invocatio daemonum, tamen est ibi quidam tacitus consensus*. Concerning the special section found in the *Contra Gentiles*, III, cap. 105, last paragraph, see note 3.

[25] In his contribution on the *Almandal*, Jan Veenstra (p. 205) suggests that 'the main reason why Albert deals with magical texts in his *Speculum* is not primarily a matter of theological indignation but rather one of scientific irritation over' the abuse of astrology; therefore the Magister Speculi is presumed to criticise the magical texts because of their 'bad astrology' – in this connection, his point of view would be quite different from that of William of Paris. In my opinion, Veenstra is right in

This criterion based on the explicit/implicit nature of the relationship can even explain why the Magister Speculi does not specify, in the case of 'detestable' magic, that demons are involved; whichever type of angels the magicians pretend to call on, demons are always the ultimate agents of nigromantic operations, even if their invocations are implicit.[26]

Astral power: the logical consequence of nonaddressative magic

However, whether explicit or implicit, addressativity is the key concept for medieval theories of magic. It provides the intellectual framework into which talismanic magic can be fitted. The alternative is etiology or semiology: if a magical act is viewed as a sign addressed to an intelligence, then it is condemned as demoniac; if it is viewed as a cause in a naturalistic process, then it can be considered as licit. It is here that astral causality comes in: in a world governed by astral influence, the only way to conceive a naturalistic causality consists in inserting it in an etiological chain that originates from the stars. As I have pointed out elsewhere, this is exactly what happens in Albert the Great's *De mineralibus*.[27]

Accordingly, there are two good reasons to call the licit (or nonaddressative) image an 'astrological image'. The first one is obvious, since the concept was first introduced by the *Speculum astronomiae*, a work entirely devoted to the exploration of the different parts of the science of the stars. The second reason lies in the fact that the natural principle likely to explain such a phenomenon (a powerful image) in a scientific way could only be an astral principle in the new conception of nature based on a *series causarum* (this new conception, as it appeared in the twelfth century, is described in the works of Tullio Gregory).[28]

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pointing out the fact that the scientific (and therefore astrological) aspect is one of the components of the Magister Speculi's approach of the question of the *imagines*, but the normative (and theological) addressative/nonaddressative criterion represents the other component. Since William of Paris (or Auvergne) looked at magic performed with images from an exclusively theological perspective, the idea of 'astrological image' was unthinkable; on the contrary, the exclusively philosophical view taken by al-Kindî in the *De radiis* could not result in such a notion either. This notion could only result from an exact balance between a philosophical-scientific curiosity for magic and the strong requirement of the theological framework; and this balance was precisely established by the Magister Speculi.

[26] The only remaining problem is that, in his definition of 'detestable' images, the Magister Speculi includes (as we have seen) an explicit practice: the 'exorcism by certain names', but, as already mentioned, these names do not appear to be clearly identified.

[27] Weill-Parot, 'Causalité astrale', esp. pp. 220ff.

[28] Gregory, 'La nouvelle idée'.

As we mentioned earlier, the Magister Speculi argues that there is at least one talismanic text of which the images can be qualified as purely 'astrological', that is the *De imaginibus* ascribed to Thebit, i.e. Thâbit ibn Qurra (to which can be added the *Opus imaginum* of pseudo-Ptolemy). Yet these texts actually originate from the same magical and addressative frameworks as those condemned by the Magister Speculi. And the Magister Speculi laboriously tries to justify the evident remnants of addressative acts in the text ascribed to Thebit.[29]

Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great and most of the medieval scholars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries considered the question of *imagines* within the clear framework built on the key concept of addressativity. Therefore, the difference between Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great concerning the problem of the possible existence of a purely 'astrological image' does not affect the relevance of the addressative/nonaddressative criterion itself. Both agree that all linguistic signs (words, characters and other symbolic figures) are addressative acts; but while Aquinas considers all artificial figures as signifying objects addressed to an intelligence – hence as an addressative form – Albert succeeds in putting a specific kind of figure outside the semiotic order by inserting it in a natural and astral process. The magician cooperates with the *cursus naturae* which, under different circumstances, and according to the law of the stars, could produce by itself this kind of powerful figures.

Some heterodox points of view concerning addressativity

The emphasis on addressativity represents the major difference between these medieval theories on magic and those which fit into a neoplatonic or, rather, neoplatonizing framework. In the *De radiis* (ninth century, translated into Latin at the very beginning of the thirteenth century), al-Kindî states, as a philosophical justification for apparent addressative practices, that these practices are actually not of the addressative type, since the agent governing all events is not a particular intellectual agent (a spirit), but the universal and celestial harmony. This argument is exactly the opposite of that used in the scholastic-Christian theological approach which is looking for the implicit addressativity unavoidably hidden behind all magical practices. Al-Kindî argues that, even if the magician thinks he is addressing, through magical acts, a sign linked to a superior intelligence, from the higher philosophical standpoint the efficiency is the result of another process, i.e. the whole universal harmony in which all phenomena occur. In this very inclusive framework, even the most explicitly addressative acts, like prayers,

[29] *Speculum astronomiae*, cap. 16, p. 270.

sacrifices, inscriptions of characters or invocations, are considered as part of a total efficiency in which the addressative aspect itself appears to be meaningless. From this purely philosophical point of view, the question whether it is licit turns out to be entirely irrelevant, since the demons are not really called upon by the apparently explicit addressative acts.[30] Assuredly, such an analysis was unacceptable within the Christian scholastic framework of the middle of the thirteenth century, as is illustrated by the strong attack on al-Kindî's book in the *Errores philosophorum* written by Giles of Rome.[31] Pursuing this approach to its logical conclusion, one might argue that even prayers addressed to God might be considered as deprived of their addressative aspects – a rather improper assertion implying that the main basis of the link between the believer and God would be destroyed!

The Christian medieval author who further developed this inclusive view is Roger Bacon. Yet, when he defends what he calls the 'philosophical images', he does keep in mind, as a good Christian, the concern for the criterion of licitness. Nevertheless, he admits that some 'characters' can have a kind of naturalistic effect, which is unthinkable from the standard scholastic point of view.[32]

What happened to addressativity in the early Renaissance ?

The nonaddressative-licit or addressative-illicit framework underwent a significant change at the very end of the fourteenth century and at the beginning of the *Quattrocento*. The works of some magicians, like Antonio da Montolmo, Giorgio Anselmi or other authors, reflect a kind of subversion of the classification suggested by the Magister Speculi. The notion of 'astrological images' is used as a protective word, as a screen which hides 'addressative' practices. This entirely subverts the meaning previously given to this notion by the Magister Speculi! Therefore the success of the classification of the *Speculum astronomiae* appears to be very ambiguous, since the real meaning has been perverted. Ambiguity is indeed the key word for talismanic magic in the Renaissance (Paola Zambelli refers to 'l'ambigua natura della magia'). In the *De vita coelitus comparanda* written by Marsilio Ficino, this ambiguity is brought to a high level of speculation.[33] Since the present paper does not aim at developing further this im-

[30] Al-Kindi, *De radiis*, ed. D'Alverny and Hudry, pp. 141-149; see also note 3. For quite a different analysis, see: Travaglia, *Magic*.

[31] Al-Kindi, *De radiis*, ed. D'Alverny and Hudry, p. 139; Giles of Rome, *Errores*, ed. Koch, pp. iv, 52-53.

[32] See Appendix, text 3; Rosier, *La parole*, pp. 207-231; see also note 3.

[33] Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, chapters 1 and 2, esp. pp. 45 ff.; Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, chapt. 4; Zanier, *La medicina astrologica*; Zambelli, *L'ambigua*

portant aspect, suffice it to say that magical thought became freer.[34] Of the two major and quite contradictory trends which gave rise to the notion of 'astrological image', the *Quattrocento* emphasised the curiosity for magic, and perverted the normative concern. This was a clear misappropriation of the notion of 'astrological image', which was itself born from a misappropriation of the real meaning of the magical texts, all of them being definitely addressative. Thus, in the early Renaissance, the addressative aspect became more and more ambiguous. In order to exemplify this phenomenon, we will focus on the problem of the classification of *imagines*.

In the following, three texts are reproduced dating from the end of the fourteenth century and from the fifteenth century which show some of the alterations introduced into the Magister Speculi's classification. First, we shall examine two classifications of images denoting great similarities, which were both devised by two learned magicians: Antonio da Montolmo and Giorgio Anselmi.[35] In the *De occultis et manifestis*, Antonio da Montolmo makes the following statement:

> You will note that there are three kinds of image or ring or hanging object for the operation; indeed, the first one is astrological, the second one is magical, the third one is both astrological and magical.[36]

Antonio's position is very ambiguous, since, on the one hand, he gives naturalistic explanations in order to justify the first category of images (which are purely 'astrological'); but on the other hand, in the *Glosa super ymagines duodecim signorum Hermetis*, he adds ritual (or addressative) practices to a text from which they were probably absent and he states that,

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natura; Weill-Parot, 'Pénombre ficinienne'.

[34] See note 3.

[35] Antonio da Montolmo was a physician and an astrologer of the second half of the fourteenth century; he taught at the universities of Bologna (1360, 1387-1392), Padua (1393) and Mantua (1394). His two magical treatises are the *De occultis et manifestis sive Liber intelligentiarum* (Ms. Paris, BnF lat. 7337, 1-9) and the *Glosa super ymagines duodecim signorum Hermetis* (Ms. Paris, BnF lat. 7337, 26a-26b; I also found an anonymous version in Ms. Vatican, Vat. lat. 4085, fol. 103r-v). For biographical data, see: Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. 3, pp. 602-610; see also: De Donato, 'Antonio', pp. 559-560; Caroti, *L'astrologia*, pp. 194-198. Giorgio Anselmi da Parma (before 1386-1449 or after) was a physician and a philosopher. He taught at the University of Parma and became the private physician of the Este family; later he taught at the University of Bologna. His *Opus de magia disciplina* is extant in Ms. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana Plut. 44 cod. 35, 228 fols. For additional biographical data, see: Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. 4, pp. 243-246; Panella, 'Anselmi', pp. 377-378; Burnett, 'The Scapulimancy'.

[36] See Appendix, text 5.

in Padua and in Bologna, he successfully used images implying the help of astral spirits. In this case, these astral spirits are cautiously called 'angels', but he also gives very precise directions for invoking evil intelligences. Moreover, he specifies in the *De occultis et manifestis* that the third above-mentioned process, which combines the astrological and the magical processes, is considered by magicians as being the most potent, since the intelligences are acting under the appropriate constellation;[37] and the astral intelligences interfering in this case are quite explicitly evil intelligences.

In the *Opus de magia disciplina*, Giorgio Anselmi proposes a similar classification:

> There are three ways of making images and of converting them into figures. The first one indeed is natural, and occurs whenever, for the making of the image, only the current configuration of the sky is taken into account. On the contrary, the second way is purely ceremonial and occurs when the craftsman, in order to make <the image>, only takes his material when he wants, as well as the item or image to be impressed, and performs certain ceremonies with prayers, invocations, conjurations and similar practices and, in doing so, devotes his attention only to the place [where he accomplishes these operations]. The third process combines these two [above-mentioned] ways and occurs when the craftsman, while the configuration of the sky is firmly determined and appropriate to a determined matter, impresses a figure looking like each of these items, and adds ceremonies, fumigations, victims [for sacrifices], words and prayers, invokes the present demons and spirits to get their help, and makes them appear and, for this purpose, uses their names, seals (*impressionibus*) and characters, and finally puts them at the appropriate place; and among those who are skilled [in this art] this [third] way is believed to be more efficient.

Thus, just like Antonio da Montolmo, Giorgio Anselmi notes that, in the opinion of magicians, the most efficient images are made in association with astrology and magical practices. The task pursued by Giorgio Anselmi is very different from that accomplished by the Magister Speculi. Working as a compiler, he is gathering every type of magical data he can find; he is planning to explore the three ways of making images. He is well aware of

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[37] Ms. Paris, BnF lat. 7337, p. 7 col. A: *Tertium est opus compositum ex magico et astronomico qui magici maxime reputant principale, quia intelligentie tales maxime agunt ducta dispositione in passis, ut dicebat Apollonius. Tunc si ex predictis communicatur primo remanet qualitas celestis inclinans ad illud quod querit et quia intelligentie tales citius et facilius cum hac qualitate operantur etiam, quando cum aliquo exorcismate constringuntur.*

the normative frame set up by the Magister Speculi, and he himself gives detailed naturalistic-astrological explanations; but, elsewhere, he shows some explicitly addressative seals in a confused mixture or alternation of theurgy, nigromancy or ambiguous astral magic.

Therefore, the classifications of Antonio da Montolmo and Giorgio Anselmi, which are very similar, seem somewhat more logical than the Magister Speculi's distinction between 'abominable' and 'detestable' images; the threefold division is clearly defined through the distinction magical/astrological, but the question of 'astrological' images looks very ambiguous in the views of these magicians of the *Quattrocento*. If their classifications seem clearer than the classification of the Magister Speculi (since there is a more logical definition of the three categories), their meaning is certainly not. These new classifications display a normative concern, but the obvious reference to the Magister Speculi's 'astrological image' is subverted in many respects. The magic conceived by Antonio da Montolmo and Giorgio Anselmi appears to be an ambiguous mixture of theurgical, nigromantical and astral components, since they apply the normative frame derived from the Magister Speculi's classification, using it as a protective shield, but in a quite hypocritical way. Whereas the Magister Speculi's main concern was to separate addressative images from the purely 'astrological' ones, these new intellectual magicians are inclined to mix the mere astrological-natural forces with a complex addressative magic in order to take advantage of their profuse knowledge of magical traditions and perhaps to perform their work with the utmost efficiency. Like the authors of the twelfth century, their curiosity leads them to a wide range of magical interests, but, unlike these predecessors, they are well aware of the normative lesson taught by the Magister Speculi, with which they have to deal.

However, this structurally renewed threefold division also appears in the work Jerome Torrella, a circumspect Valencian physician of the end of the fifteenth century who had studied in Italy and dedicated his *Opus praeclarum de imaginibus astrologicis* (1496) to King Fernando el Católico. Yet the way he uses these categories is obviously different:[38]

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[38] See Appendix, text 6. Jerome Torrella was born in 1456 in Valencia. He studied in Sienna and in Pisa where he became Doctor of Arts and Medicine in 1476. After having served as a physician of queen Joan of Naples (the sister of king Fernando de Aragón), he became one of the physicians of king Fernando and of his family, and perhaps taught at the University of Valencia. His *Opus praeclarum de imaginibus astrologicis* was completed in 1496 and published probably before 1500 at the press of Alfonso de Orta in Valencia. My critical edition of this treatise is about to be published. Concerning Jerome Torrella's treatise, see Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. 4, pp. 574-585; Perrone Compagni, 'Le immagini'; Rotzoll, 'Osservazioni'. See also note 3.

> Therefore, amongst several men, there is a great difference between [on the one hand] nigromancy and the magical arts which are to be damned, and [on the other hand] the science of the stars which includes natural magic. Indeed, nigromancy involves circles, triangles and quadrilaters, its own engravings and images; but, the non-natural magic has its own <figures>; and astrology and natural magic also have theirs.
>
> The nigromantic arts only belong to divinations, which are the sole <practices> from which they are supposed to derive their efficacy. In these arts, it is useless to observe the aspect and influence of the skies. And this is why the nigromancer uses certain characters and figures, not as effects produced by the skies or by another corporeal nature, but only as signs of the pact he has concluded with the demon. He also relies on prayers, supplications, suffumigations, lights and sacrifices.
>
> As far as the magical and non-natural images are concerned, they draw partly upon nigromancy (in the general meaning of this term) and partly upon astrology. Thus, in order to make an image, the magical art which is not natural or not purely astrological observes the twenty-eight mansions of the Moon, each of which consists of thirteen degrees and twelve minutes, and also observes the hours of day and night along with certain names given to these days, to these hours and to the mansions themselves, as Albert [the Great] sets out in the chapter *Particulis electionum dixi supponi imaginum scientiam non quarumcumque sed astronomicarum etc.*, of the book entitled *Speculum scientiarum* [i.e. *Speculum astronomiae*, chapter 11]. According to the doctors of the above-mentioned art, this image is made under a determined configuration of the stars and, while the constellation likely to contribute to the operation planned by the magician is observed; and to this sculpted [or engraved] image, <the magician> adds some inscribed characters which, as signs, are related to an intellectual nature; consequently, the above-mentioned magical art seems to be dependent on both nigromancy (in the general meaning of the term) and astrology, just as the most learned men have defined optics as being related to natural philosophy and geometry. [...]
>
> Concerning the purely astrological figures, they are made under a determined constellation of the orbs, and imply neither the inscription of some character related to an intellectual nature, nor any prostration, nor any name besides the invocation of Christ the Only Son, nor any suffumigation, word, prayer or offering. On the contrary, they eliminate and reject this filth.

Torrella implicitly establishes a connection between the Magister Speculi's classification and Thomas Aquinas's concept of the demoniac 'pact'. In other respects, there is no reason to bother about the reference to the invocation of Christ which is mentioned in the third section devoted to 'astrological figures'. It is not an act of para-religious magic, but only a sign of

Christian allegiance to the Lord which is often used even in the most routine actions. Therefore, the threefold division of images devised by Torrella appears to be very similar to the classifications conceived by Antonio da Montolmo and Giorgio Anselmi, but its meaning is entirely different: Torrella is following very closely the principles which had previously led the Magister Speculi to create the notion of 'astrological image', whereas the Italian magicians are subverting its meaning.

Conclusion

To conclude, it may be appropriate, as far as the 'astrological images' are concerned, to briefly trace back the evolution of the addressative/nonaddressative criterion, which is the basic concept for their definition.

The twelfth century was the time when astral magic reached Western Europe through translations from Arabic texts. Curiosity was the key word; scholars were fascinated by science, and especially the occult sciences (e.g. Adelard of Bath, who translated the *Liber praestigiorum*). Yet, a normative concern did not yet prevail, because, in the first place, translated talismanic texts gave practical information and were, therefore, not focusing on theological-normative issues; their full addressativity was obvious and accepted. In the second place, the Western scholars who were the first to mention the *scientia de ymaginibus* in their classifications of the sciences (in particular, Dominicus Gundissalinus and Daniel of Morley) were clearly indebted to al-Farabî and did not provide a definition of such a 'science'. Thirdly, some tales, such as the story of the magical rings made by Moses for his Ethiopian wife, which is related to Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, or the story of Virgil building the statue of a fly to protect Naples from living flies, which is first found in John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*, came very close to the idea of what would be an 'astrological image' but, on account of their descriptive and literary – i.e. nonscientific – target, they did not lead to the notion itself.[39]

The thirteenth century was the time when the scholastic order prevailed. Scholastic rationality, with its exhaustive framework, called for a strict classification. There was no room for haziness. The approach of Thomas Aquinas to the question of the *imagines* reflects this very precise and rigorous appreciation which is specific of the scholastic spirit: the talisman in its figurative shape unavoidably refers to an intelligence which is able to grasp it as a figure, i.e. a separate intelligence – a demon; in other words, an artificial figure always means addressativity. The Magister Speculi, who calls himself a *zelator fidei et philosophiae* ('a man zelous for

[39] Concerning this subject, see Weill-Parot, 'Contriving'.

faith and philosophy'), fulfils the historical task of matching the curiosity of the twelfth-century renaissance with strict obedience to the norm, which is a distinctive feature of the scholastic thirteenth century. Such is precisely the meaning of the birth of the notion of 'astrological images'.

It was not my purpose to examine the development of medical science in the fourteenth century, in which period the few and significant occurrences of astrological seals testify to the structural autonomy of scholastic medicine, nor how the Plague indirectly contributed to change this structure and to pave the way for Renaissance medicine.

The end of the fourteenth century and the *Quattrocento* were highly paradoxical times. 'Astrological images' enjoyed an unprecedented importance, but their meaning was entirely subverted by some new philosophical and magical speculations. In a renewed philosophical context (Neoplatonism, Hermeticism etc.), the so-called medieval-scholastic frame concerning the *imagines* was thoroughly corrupted, even if it did not disappear completely. Even before Marsilio Ficino's theory of magic, some authors, like Antonio da Montolmo, Giorgio Anselmi and others, allow us to perceive certain features of this important change: a liberation of magical discourse, which seems to become bolder and able to interfere in more dangerous fields with the unprecedented assurance of being within its right as a philosophical discourse. Marsilio Ficino provides a high level philosophical formulation for this ambiguous approach to the renewed notion of 'astrological images'.[40]

[40] I wish to thank Mrs. Marguerite Parot for her linguistic help in preparing this contribution.

APPENDIX
Examples of classifications of the *imagines*

Text 1: Magister Speculi, *Speculum astronomiae*, cap. 11 (ed. Zambelli), pp. 240, 246:
Est enim unus modus abominabilis, qui suffumigationem et invocationem exigit, quales sunt Imagines Toz Graeci et Germath Babylonensis, quae habent stationes ad cultum Veneris, quales sunt Imagines Balenuz et Hermetis, quae exorcizantur per quinquaginta quatuor nomina angelorum, qui subservire dicuntur imaginibus lunae in circulo eius, et forte sunt potius nomina daemonum, et sculpuntur in eis septem nomina recto ordine pro re bona et ordine transverso pro re cuius expectatur repulsio. Suffumigantur etiam pro bona re cum ligno aloes, croco et balsamo, et pro mala re cum galbano, sandalo rubeo et resina, per quae profecto spiritus non coguntur [corr. *conguntur*], *sed quando Dominus permittit peccatis nostris exigentibus ut decipiant homines, exhibent se coactos. Haec est idolatria pessima, quae, ut reddat se aliquatenus fide dignam, observat viginti octo mansiones lunae et horas diei et noctis cum quibusdam nominibus dierum, horarum et mansionum ipsarum. A nobis longe sit iste modus: absit enim ut exhibeamus creaturae honorem debitum creatori.*

Est alius modus aliquantulum minus incommodus, detestabilis tamen, qui fit per inscriptionem characterum per quaedam nomina exorcizandorum, ut sunt quatuor annuli Salomonis et novem candariae et tres figurae spirituum, qui dicuntur principes in quatuor plagis mundi, et Almandal Salomonis, et sigillum ad daemoniacos. Amplius septem nomina ex libro Muhameth et alia quindecim ex eodem et rursum nomina ex Libro Institutionis, qui dicitur Razielis, videlicet terrae, maris, aeris atque ignis, ventorum, et mundi cardinum, signorum quoque et planetarum et angelorum eorum, secundum quod singula in diei et noctis triplicitatibus diversa nomina sortiuntur. Hic modus etiam a nobis longe sit; suspectus enim est, ne saltem sub ignotae linguae nominibus aliquod lateat, quod sit contra fidei catholicae honestatem.

Tertius enim modus est imaginum astronomicarum, qui eliminat istas spurcitias, suffumigationes et invocationes non habet, neque exorcizationes aut characterum inscriptiones admittit, sed virtutem nanciscitur solummodo a figura caelesti.

Text 2: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, IIa IIae, q. 96, art. 2, ad 2:
Sed in hoc distant astronomicae imagines a nigromanticis, quod in nigromanticis fiunt expressae invocationes et praestigia quaedam, unde pertinent ad expressa pacta cum daemonibus inita: sed in aliis imaginibus sunt quaedam tacita pacta per quaedam figurarum seu characterum signa.

Text 3: Roger Bacon, *Opus tertium* (Little, p. 53):
Et hic est origo omnium philosophicarum ymaginum, et carminum, et caracterum. Et ideo hec scientia distinguit inter veritatem hujusmodi, reperiens aliqua secundum philosophie veritatem facta, et alia secundum abusum et errorem artis magice. Et revolvit species artis magices, et separat eas a veritate philosophie.

Text 4: Antonio da Montolmo, *De occultis et manifestis artium*, cap. 4 (Ms. Paris, BnF lat. 7337, p. 5, col. B):
Notabis quod triplex est ymago sive anulus vel breve ad hoc opus quia quoddam est astronomicum, quoddam magicum, quoddam astronomicum et magicum simul.

Text 5: Giorgio Anselmi da Parma, *Opus de magia disciplina* (Ms. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 44, cod. 35, fols. 118v-119r):
Sunt quidem componendarum et figurandarum imaginum modi tres. Unus quidem naturalis, et est quotiens pro imaginis factura, sola caelestis praesens dispositio recipitur. Alius e contrario pure caerimonialis ; cuius est modus cum artifex ad compositionem solam accipit materiam quotiens volet et rem vel figuram imprimendam et caerimonias quasdam cum orationibus et advocationibus et coniurationibus et huius similibus, ad solum locum intendens cum his. Tertius est modus hos duos coniungens. Est vero cum artifex, stante caeli dispositione certa et apta de articulata certa materia, figuram imprimit ad cuiuscunque rei similitudinem et addit caerimonias, fumigia, victimas, verba, orationes, advocat praesentes daemones et spiritus ut adsistant, et proponit eosdem hic cum eorum nominibus impressionibus et charakteribus suis, et tandem loco disponit et creditur apud doctos modus hic fortior.

Text 6: Jerome Torrella, *Opus praeclarum de imaginibus astrologicis* (Valentiae, Alfonso de Orta, ca. 1496-1500), III, c vi *r*-c vii *r* (the orthographical peculiarities have been carefully copied, except for the diphthong *æ*; my critical edition is forthcoming):
Vnde apud nonnullos viros, multum discrimen multaque differentia inuenitur inter nicromantiam et magicas artes damnandissimas, et astronomiam, in qua continetur magica naturalis. Facit enim nicromantia circulos, triangulos atque quadrangulos, sculpturas et imagines suas. Magica autem non naturalis habet suas ; astrologia vero et magica naturalis suas. Nicromanticae artes solis diuinationibus pertinent, a quibus solum efficatiam habere conceduntur. In quibus etiam nihil atendi oportet de caelorum aspectu vel influxu. Et ideo sunt caracteres quidam vel figurae, quibus nullo modo vt effectibus caelorum neque alterius naturae corporalis nicroman-

ticus vtitur, sed solum vt signis eius pacti quod cum daemone inuentor inhiuit. Etiam vtitur orationibus, supplicationibus, suffumigiis, luminibus et sacrificiis. Imagines autem magicae non naturales partem capiunt a nicromantia, generaliter sumpto vocabulo, partem sumunt ab astrologia. Fingit enim imaginem ars magica non naturalis seu non pure astrologica obseruando XXVIII mansiones Lunae, quarum quaelibet tredecim gradus et duodecim minuta continet, obseruando etiam horas diei et noctis cum quibusdam nominibus dierum et horarum et mansionum ipsarum, vt Albertus inquit capitu/lo 'Particulis electionum dixi supponi imaginum scientiam non quarumcumque sed astronomicarum etc.', in libro intitulato Speculum Scientiarum [i.e. Speculum astronomiae, cap. 11]. *Et praefatae artis doctores dicunt dictam imaginem factam esse in certo stellarum situ inspectaque ea constellatione quae ad opus a mago intentum juuare possit, et cum hoc imagini sculptae inscribit caracteres quosdam ad naturam intellectualem vt signa pertinentes; et per consequens ars magica praefata subalternata videtur et necromantiae generaliter sumpto vocabulo, et astrologiae, sicut de perspectiua comparata ad naturalem philosophiam et geometriam apud doctissimos viros diffinitum est* [...].

Astronomicae autem figurae pure sunt in certa orbium constellatione elaboratae absque inscriptione cuiuscumque caracteris ad intellectualem naturam actinentis sine prostratione absque etiam alterius nominis quam Christi [corr. *quam suis Christi*] *vnigeniti inuocatione absque suffumigio voce, prece et pre<t>io; ymo omnes istas spurcitias eliminant et fugant.*

THE HOLY ALMANDAL

ANGELS AND THE INTELLECTUAL AIMS OF MAGIC

Jan R. Veenstra

Introduction: magic and the order of the intelligences

There is a well-known story from Porphyry's life of Plotinus that is not only revealing with regard to Plotinus's attitude towards magic, but that also implicitly reflects on the role of magic in civilisation. Hence it provides us with a few interesting insights into the direction that magic has taken in intellectual circles in the course of history. Porphyry tells of a one-time student of Ammonius, called Olympius, who, being very jealous of Plotinus, resorted to magical means to draw the harmful influence of the stars upon the great master. Unfortunately his conjurations backfired on him and he fell into a bodily spasm, blaming his misfortune on Plotinus, who, he claimed, had the spiritual strength to deflect the pernicious influence and turn it against its sender. On another occasion, an Egyptian priest visiting Rome offered to conjure Plotinus's daimon and make it visible. The ritual took place in the temple of Isis in Rome, the only pure spot in the city. The occasion proved to be suitable for extraordinary revelations, for the spirit that appeared was not a daimon but a god. All those who contributed to the ritual by holding chickens – which probably functioned as a protective measure in case the spirit was malignant, though Porphyry does not explain this in full – , were aghast or jealous and squeezed the animals so hard that they choked.[1] Plotinus became mighty pleased with himself and replied to a pious friend who invited him to attend the religious services of the New Moon and the cultic festivals, that it was not he who should come to them, but they who should come to him. This remark puzzled everyone greatly, but, Porphyry adds, no one had the heart to ask him what he meant. Since

[1] Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, cap. 10 (Plotinus, *Opera*, vol. 1, eds. Henry and Schwyzer, pp. 15-17). Flint *et al.*, *Witchcraft and Magic*, vol. 2, pp. 148-149: 'The chickens must be strangled at once if the spirit that appears turns out to be awesome. Such a sacrifice was probably conceived as an instant peace offering, after which the spirit would leave without harming any of the participants'. Graf (*Magic*, p. 114) argues that the strangling happened accidentally and caused the demon to disappear 'because he cannot bear the presence of death'. Cf. Rist, *Plotinus*, pp. 16-18.

Plotinus believed that the intellect was superior to the daimonic realm, an intellectual in his view need not participate in civic religious rites. Speaking of 'them' and 'they', Plotinus may well have referred to the lesser deities.[2]

Apart from showing that Plotinus does not quite belong to this world – a consideration that had motivated Olympius –, Porphyry's story also outlines some of the main characteristics of magic in the western intellectual tradition: (1) the link with celestial influence and hence astrology; (2) the distinction between good and evil intent on the part of the practitioner; and (3) the religious and sacral nature of the rituals of which the main aim is apparently to get in touch with higher, intelligent, and divine beings. Plotinus's attitude is somewhat aloof and he clearly frowns upon ritual practices involving daimons and lower spirits. This attitude is no doubt the result of his doctrine of the undescended soul which automatically lifts the philosopher to the realm of the *Nous*. This doctrine, however, was not shared by the later Neoplatonists (notably Proclus and Iamblichus) for whom the ascent of the soul (after its descent) required daimonic assistance, and was best aided by theurgic rituals.[3] This may draw our attention to yet another characteristic, namely (4) a purely intellectual view of magic as opposed to Olympius's self-indulgent attitude, which aims at wish-fulfilment and the gratification of less noble emotions rather than insight and knowledge. Although magic as a means of obtaining health and happiness and harming one's enemies would enjoy perennial popularity, magic as theurgy, as a cosmology encompassing the realms of nature and supernature, of stars and intelligences, would provide the intellectual structure that, especially in the later Middle Ages and the early modern era, would become the backbone of all scholarly and humanistic interest in the occult.

Scholarly interest, however, waxed slowly and not without impediments. Theurgy, so obvious a form of religious and intellectual contemplation for later Neoplatonists to improve and aid the soul in its intellectual ascent to the One, was not a practice compatible with Christian beliefs. Intellectual transcendence and the world of Ideas had found their Christian

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[2] Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul*, p. 12. Merlan, 'Plotinus and Magic', p. 346, follows the edition of Bréhier, and believes Plotinus referred to the gods. According to Merlan, Plotinus suggested 'he had some secret power by which he could compel the gods to come to him'. Armstrong (Plotinus, Loeb vol. 1, p. 35) is less eager to turn Plotinus into a conjurer, and more sensibly argues that the reference is to lower, sublunary spirits to whom Plotinus, living on the level of the Intellect, thought himself superior. Daimons had a specific function in Plotinus's philosophy (see his treatise Περὶ τοῦ εἰληχότος ἡμᾶς δαίμονος, *Ennead* III.4) and the suggestion that Plotinus's 'god' is a *parhedros* (Graf, *Magic*, p. 107) is incorrect.

[3] Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul*, pp. 11-13; cf. esp. Armstrong, 'Was Plotinus a Magician?'

counterpart in Christ, mainly through Augustine's reading of Plotinus. The intermediary stages between heaven and earth had been filled with the ranks and files of the angels from the Bible and other Jewish and early Christian sources (as in Pseudo-Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchies*); moreover, the story of Beth-El had drawn people's attention to the fact that there is, ultimately, a stairway to heaven, if only a metaphorical one. Yet the passage from earth to heaven in a pagan classical sense is, in the Christian era, blocked by a number of Christian monotheist impediments. There is the fundamental distinction between the Creator and His creation, which precludes all essential union with the One. Another is original sin and the concomitant corruption of nature, which can greatly obstruct the ascent of the soul. The third, finally, is the Church's monopoly on salvation. Man can retrieve his prelapsarian perfection only through Christ, who, on earth, is represented by the Church. In practice this meant that mystics and scholars interested in the improvement and ascent of the soul needed ecclesiastical approval.

In reality, of course, this never implied that forms of religion, whether heterodox or simply deviant, were paradigmatically excluded from the consciousness of medieval believers. The general idea was that if there is a stairway to heaven, or at least a passage to a numinous beyond, one should venture to climb or explore it without allowing oneself to be put off by institutions or authorities claiming to dominate that access. Magic itself had a strong tradition in the Middle Ages, in part going back to pre-Christian indigenous traditions, which the Church could only keep in check by disallowing some aspects whilst integrating others, in part also by relying on scholarly traditions deriving from the Arab world. These were only gradually disentangled and discovered to contain the theories and practices involved in dealing with the spirit-world. This kind of belief and practice was overtly condemned by the inspired authors of Scripture, but was all the more enticing for medieval monks and scholars for whom this oriental literature opened up new vistas of religious awareness.[4] Various medieval records remain, which denounce and condemn this magical scholarly literature: such are the *Speculum astronomiae* by Albertus Magnus, or William of Paris's *De legibus*. Although condemnations did not prevent the spread of this magical literature, they did, however, for a long time prevent scholars from formulating a theoretical frame able to synthesise magical scholarly lore and known theories about the workings of the universe. Judicial astrology was the only field with a magical fringe that had a fully fledged theory of celestial causation to back it up. Spiritual and demonic

[4] Much of the magical literature from the Arabic world had roots in Persian, Babylonian and even Far-Eastern magic.

magic (as opposed to natural magic)[5] for a long time remained practical disciplines, receiving philosophical attention mainly in the Renaissance under the influence of newly developed interests in Neoplatonism and Kabbalah, culminating in thoroughly elaborated occult philosophies.

The present contribution explores this metamorphosis of magic from practical to theoretical by studying the contents and reception of a medieval magical text called the *Almandal*. It may have roots extending back into Persia and the Far East, but its medieval versions were thoroughly christianised. The *Almandal* is a minor but intriguing magical text because the nature of the rituals it describes and the traces of its reception reveal it to be a telling index of lay interest and clerical apprehensions. The following discussion of its contents will be based on two extant versions in Middle High German known as *Das heilige Almandel*: both were produced independently from each other around the year 1500, but they were based on the same Latin original.[6] The text is ascribed to king Solomon, and contains the ritual prescriptions for invoking and conversing with angels. The text clearly reflects the four characteristics mentioned earlier in relation to Porphyry's narrative, itself a telling parable on the relation between practical magic and philosophical contemplation. With regard to the first characteristic, it may be said that the *Almandal* is an astrological text since it is organised on the basis of the Zodiac and advises its readers about propitious times. The second characteristic also applies, since the *Almandal* strongly emphasises

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[5] Natural magic is more or less synonymous with natural philosophy; it tries to avail itself of the hidden virtues of nature, and according to medieval definitions should not involve itself with rituals or with the invocation of spirits.

[6] The extant Latin sources are: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. II.iii. 214; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 3400; and Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, ms. Plut. 89, sup. 38, fols. 268 [383]-270 [385], dated 1494 (with kind regards to Jean-Patrice Boudet, for drawing my attention to this last manuscript). The *Almandal*-texts in these manuscripts differ substantially, which can be explained from the fact that almandal is a generic term rather than a name. A version, as contained in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 3400, may have been used as a basis for German vernacularisations: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 407 (the Spaun copy); Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 458; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. allemand 160 (see *infra*). The Freiburg and Paris copies are essentially the same translation. The Munich copy is different and was written independently from the others. Vienna, ÖNB, Hs. 3400 itself was probably not the basis for the vernacularisations and it does not contain a diagram. In what follows I use 'almandal' either as a title (*Almandal*) or as a generic term, the spelling of which is closest to the supposed etymology of the word (related to 'mandala', cf. Pingree, 'Learned Magic', p. 48) and in keeping with the spelling of Florence, BNC, ms. II.iii.214, mentioned above. Later medieval sources use the words 'almadel' or 'almandel' or even 'alimandel'. An edition of the German *Almandals* is in preparation.

good intentions, piety, and purity of heart. The third characteristic is especially important for, above all, the *Almandal* outlines a religious ritual which brings the practitioner in touch with the angelic world. Contrary to the cult of the saints, the worship of and communion with angels has no clear tradition in the Middle Ages. Occasionally famous biblical angels, such as Michael, appear among the saints, but the legions that were known to early Christians, Jews, and also, to some extent, medieval scholars, from works such as the *Testament of Solomon*, the *Sefer ha-Razim*, or the *Liber Razielis*, were not the theme of special devotion; furthermore, their abstruse names raised suspicions of devil-worship among moralists and the protectors of the true faith. The spread of magical texts such as the *Almandal* made up for this deficit, for communion with the angels could lead one to God. Since angels, or in scholastic terminology: the *intelligentiae*, were, after all, the Christian substitutes for the Proclian or Iamblichian intelligences or *daimones*, there was also a distinct intellectual benefit to be obtained. This fourth characteristic, the intellectual aim of angelic magic, will be highlighted by means of the context of the *Almandal*, for it gained popularity in an era in which also the impact of Ficino and Pico, of Agrippa and Trithemius became noticeable. Discussion of the *Almandal*'s more self-evident characteristics, its use of astrology, its benevolent magic, and its clearly religious and devotional purposes, is postponed for the moment, while we analyse the contents of the *Almandal*.

The Holy Almandal

The *Holy Almandal* is essentially a practical manual of ritual magic. The two German versions of the text, on which the following discussions and analyses are based, are extant in three manuscripts. One version is contained in a manuscript from Munich, another somewhat different version can be found in manuscripts from Freiburg and Paris.

(1) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Cgm 407, pp. 1-56 (this manuscript has page-numbers, no folio-numbers). Cgm 407 is a commonplace book in Middle High German, written in part by a merchant from Augsburg called Claus Spaun around 1496.[7] Spaun is well-known to palæographers and bibliographers for he liked to compile his own manuscripts, copying out a variety of texts, both literary and didactic. The present manuscript contains for the greater part pharmacological and horticultural texts. Spaun drew an almandal diagram on p. 15 (see figure 2 at the end of this contribution).

[7] See Kully, 'Spaun', cols. 32-35. Karin Schneider, *Handschriften Cgm 351-500*, pp. 180-181, identified Spaun as copyist of the *Almandal*.

(2) Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 458, fol. 221r-236r. This is a convolute manuscript produced partly in the period 1490-1493 and partly in the period 1505-1509, written throughout in one hand, and containing a variety of astronomical, astrological and mantic texts in the vernacular. Some of these are furnished with computational tables, horoscopes, and illustrations.[8] An almandal diagram can be found on fol. 221r (see figure 1).

(3) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. allemand 160, fol. 235v-246r. This is also a convolute manuscript from roughly the same period as the Freiburg copy, written in various hands with a similar motley of astrological and mantic texts, but also with some additional magical material (*Annulum Salamonis*). The book contains two almandal diagrams, on fol. 235v and on fol. 246r (cf. figure 1).

In both the Freiburg and the Paris manuscripts the *Almandals* are virtually identical, which suggests they are copies of the same translation. In the Munich and Freiburg manuscripts the *Holy Almandal* seems to be the odd text out; it is a magical text on angels giving a full description of the ritual conjurations involved, and as such it stands somewhat apart from the astrological material contained in the Freiburg manuscript; in particular, it seems to have even less bearing on the horticultural contents of Spaun's book.

The text is usually referred to as *Almandal*, but the word proper specifically refers to a wax tablet, a small table or altar which is essential for the ritual. Its purpose is to invoke and conjure angels, who, when the ritual is performed properly, will appear to hover over the altar to listen to and answer a plea. The angels reside in the twelve 'heights of heaven' – what the German authors call *Höhe*, one of them (the scribe of the Freiburg manuscript) adding the Latin *altitudo* as an explanation. What is meant, of course, is the twelve signs of the Zodiac, something elaborately explained in the Spaun manuscript.

The almandal should be square with holes in the four corners. With a silver pen the magister (*werckmeister*) should, on a propitious hour (preferably before sunrise on a Sunday), engrave the divine name and some of its variants in the wax along with the sigils of Solomon, a hexangle in the middle, and four pentangles or hexangles in the corners. These star-shaped figures should also have holes. The reason for the holes in the altar is that the ritual requires incense offerings and the censers should be placed under the altar so that the fume can percolate through the openings. The magister is required to make four candlesticks of wax including four candles. The candlesticks have rims on which the almandal rests. Altar, candlesticks and

[8] Kehr, *Kataloge*, vol. I.4, pp. 89-98.

candles must all be made of the same wax and must have the same colour, though colours can vary depending on the time when the ritual takes place. Depending on the Zodiacal sign, the altar can be white, red, yellow, blue, green, or even a mixture of colours, and if the magus adapts his dress to the occasion, it is more than likely that the angels will appear in a similar colour. Once the angel is there, the magus can converse with him, but only after he has placed the incense offering under the altar, for it is through the smell of the incense that the angel will be disposed to speak. The *Almandal* also contains a few guidelines on what to do in case the angel does not appear. This is where the candles can be of use, for then one has to engrave three or five Solomonic sigils in the candles. Before the flame has reached the place where the sigils are, the messenger will surely appear; angels may have problems with being punctual, but apparently they are very sensitive to ultimatums.

The appearance of the angels and the effect that this heavenly visitation has on the magister is described in some detail. The angel of the first altitude will appear in a white garment wearing a white banner with a white cross, with on his head a crown of red flowers; he will have the countenance of a beautiful young boy. Likewise the angel of the second altitude will look like a three-year-old child, appearing in a radiant red garment, wearing a crown of wild roses, with face and hands red like blood, as a sign of the fire of divine love. The angel of the third altitude will have the appearance of an armed knight, dressed in gold armour, his face likewise shining like gold. So the list continues, though after a while the novelty wears off and the descriptions become more succint. We learn that the sixth angel looks like a seraph with multi-coloured wings, the ninth angel has the shape of an eagle, the tenth is a snow-white lamb with a red cross, and, finally, the twelfth has the form of a woman with a palm-leaf in her hand. The angels of the twelve altitudes all have different offices and tasks, such as the processes of birth and coming into being (no. 1), the regulation of profits, of money and of goods (no. 2), of all movements (i.e. locomotion), celestial motion, the flow of water in seas and rivers and all corporeal change (no. 3). They are also entrusted with the enlightening or illumination of the minds of man, teaching them the liberal arts (no. 4), astrology, theology, and for those who prefer a crash course there is always the notory art. Finally they concern themselves with politics (no. 6) and passion (no. 8). The angels of the twelfth altitude are the most exalted, for it is their task to constrain demons and to execute God's judgements on Judgement Day. These descriptive lists are interesting but appear to be rather arbitrary.

More interesting perhaps is the effect all this is supposed to have on the magus. The appearance of the angels will bring clarity of mind and merriment to the magus and the encounter will be ingrained on his memory for

the rest of his life. On his departure the angel will assure the magus that he regards him as a friend and brother,[9] and the magus will be overtaken by a powerful affection for the angel and will love him above any other creature in the world. This is more than a grand emotion or a mystical experience; it has serious consequences for the well-being of the magus, for once he is on speaking terms with the angels, he need no longer fear damnation or dying without Grace. The magic of the almandal is essentially a ritual of redemption and the perfection of human nature.[10]

In combination with the rituals of conjuration it is probably this strong claim that will have caused the *Almandal* to incur the censure of theological and ecclesiastical authorities, for in a way it tries to pave a way to God which is separate from the by then institutionalised route. The religious itinerary of the *Almandal* has some affinity with Kabbalistic beliefs. The text explains that the altitudes, which are named after the signs in which the Sun is at a given moment, each have a name of God impressed in it, a character engraved in their essence. Together these twelve names fully express God's being. Hence when the angels hear the name, they worship the character, which, of course, is not only in the heavens, but also on the almandal and on the lips of the supplicant magus. Spaun knows that the divine names are in the substance of the heavens, but he speaks of the *masse der katharactern*, 'in the mass of the cataracts', which is more interesting and sounds like the noise of many waters;[11] sadly, this reading is erroneous (based on Spaun's scribal error), since the word is 'characters', not 'cataracts'.

The rituals and liturgies for the perfection of the soul have a long history in the Latin West, from Neoplatonic theurgy, the ascent of the soul through the heavenly palaces in Jewish mystical literature, to the *itinerarium mentis in Deum* in Christian mysticism. Though private worship will no doubt have been regarded as a matter of personal choice and commit-

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[9] This friendship between man and angel strongly resembles the relationship between magus and *parhedros* in the magical papyri. See Graf, *Magic*, pp. 107-117, and the contribution by Anna Scibilia in this volume (pp. 80-81). See also Kieckhefer's discussion in *Forbidden Rites*, pp. 14-17.

[10] Freiburg ms. 458 uses the term *volkomen*; Munich ms. 407 speaks of *gerechtfertig*, which has a more immediate bearing on the concept of original sin. Munich ms. 407, p. 21: *Und ist zů mercken mit fleysse, das die selben hoche des himels machet den menschen also gerechtfertig, so das er zů ainigem mal mit ainem menschen redende wirt, das sich der nymmer besorgen darff der ewigen verdampnuse, noch stirbet auch nicht on die gnade des schöpffers, also das es hat ainen wunderlichen wege zů widerpringen den menschen von sünden zů gnaden.*

[11] He may have mistaken the word for *cataracta*. For the noise of many waters see: *Rev.* 1:15, 14:2, 19:6.

ment, redemption was a different matter and depended fully on institutionalised mediation. The mystic may experience the love of God, but he should not sense the fusion of his soul with the divine, even though he secretly believes that all drops of water will eventually return to the great Ocean of Being. The medieval Church's monopoly on mediated redemption is evident in the Eucharist and the doctrine of transubstantiation, the only piece of non-paradigmatic word-magic that the Church would allow, in which the *hoc est corpus meum* can effect substantial change:[12] it is the ritual guarantee for the resurrection. But the Church's monopoly did not last for ever. The changes that occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are well known from the most conspicuous events, such as the emergence of lay piety and personal devotion. Finally, the Reformation rejected the institutional claims of the papacy. It is in this context that the German *Almandals* acquire a personal, practical and perhaps popular application, dissociated from a Latin clerical and academic context, but also dissociated from ecclesiastical claims on the itinerary to heaven. What the *Almandals* have to offer is private communion with the hosts of heaven, consultation and assistence in private affairs, a sense of elation and a taste of redemption. The private nature of the text (especially Spaun's version), which expresses what we may label 'lay piety', becomes clear from a comparison of the two German versions.

Magic pious, private and practical

The two German versions of the *Almandal* (the Munich or Spaun *Almandal* and the Freiburg/Paris *Almandal*) are clearly based on the same text. This is evident form the lists of angel names in both versions, which are almost identical, and from the themes and the statements that the texts formulate; it can be shown, too, from the syntax, for though sentences differ idiomatically, the structure of subjects and predicates is nearly always the same. The Freiburg and Paris *Almandals* have a strong tendency to use Latin phrases occasionally (*altitudo*, *occidens*, *meridies*, etc.) usually followed by a German rendering. It is therefore likely that both versions are independent translations of the same Latin original. Although many magical texts adjure their readers to observe the greatest possible care and precision in copying and applying the material (even a minor error may spoil or abort the procedure, and this type of accuracy is comparable to that which one nowadays associates with the determination of genetic codes), the entire genre is very much subject to variability and mutability. Even two closely related versions, such as the Munich and Freiburg/Paris *Almandals*, demonstrate

[12] Cf. the remarks by Bernd Roling on p. 231 in this volume.

this. The orthographic variants of the angel names apart – they can easily be attributed to misreadings or scribal errors –, the versions differ in significant ways; segments of text were added in Spaun's version that do not appear in the Freiburg and Paris manuscripts.

Spaun has incorporated segments in his text that clearly disrupt the structure and were certainly not there initially. One of his insertions concerns a list of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the main purpose of which is to orient the reader so that he will address the angels in the mansion that the Sun is in at a given moment. The twelve altitudes in the *Almandal* bear names such as Taor, Corona, Hermon, Pantheon, Cym, etc., and these are not readily associated with the more familiar list of Aries, Taurus, Gemini, or, as Spaun renders them in his mother tongue Wider, Stier, Zwiling, Crebs, and so on. He elaborates somewhat on the names of Zodiacal signs, explaining that when the Sun is in Taurus the land is ready to be plowed by bulls and oxen, that when the Sun is in Sagittarius in many places thunderbolts are shot from the heavens like arrows, that when the Sun is in Aquarius snow melts into water, and so on.

Another alteration that Spaun made in the text consists in the occasional demonstrations of devotion. Thus he repeats from time to time that the master should kneel down devoutly, that the almandal, after use, should be kept with reverence in a pure and sinless state, that the supplicants should pray to the angels so that these will pray to God on behalf of the supplicants. At one point Spaun even turns the *Almandal* into a proper Christian text by inserting an adaptation of the Apostles' Creed and a prayer to the Virgin Mary in what looks like a conjuration formula.[13]

Other substantial additions occur towards the end[14] where he gives a brief exposition of the geography of the earth, of the four elements, of the heavens, listing the planets and the celestial spheres (though he unfortunate-

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[13] Munich ms. 407, pp. 17-18: *Ich beschwere, ich aws bete, ich aws haysche durch den hailigen got, durch den waren got, durch den sichtigen got und unsichtigen schöpffer aller creaturen, und durch seinen aingeporen sune, unsern herren Jhesum Cristum den gekreutzgeten von Nazareth süsses und saliges gedachtnusse, empfangen von dem hailigen gaiste, geporen aus Maria der junckfrawen, verratten, gefangen, verspottet, verhalsschleget, verspeyt, gekront, entplösset, gekreutziget, erstorben und begraben, der an dem tritten tag auff erstanden ist von dem tode und auff für zů den himelen, sitzet zů der rechten handt gottes des almechtigen vatters, der kunfftig ist zů richten die lebentigen und die totten und die welt durch das fewr und durch sein hailigoste můtter unser frawen, auch ain kunigin der engel und der menschen, die aller hailigoste Maria, und durch ir götlichait und auch* [18] *durch die gothait und krone seines hauptes des vor gesprochen höchsten lebentigen gottes, und durch dises haylig Almadell unsers maisters Salomon...*

[14] Munich ms. 407, pp. 48-56.

ly omits Jupiter), of the nine choirs of the angels (which is essentially the list of the celestial hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius), of the corresponding nine choirs of the saints, and he concludes his text by copying a scheme in which the more commonly known angels (Raphael, Gabriel, Samael, Michael, Satquiel) are linked to the days of the week, the planets and the Zodiacal signs. These textual fragments were added by Spaun with the express purposes of (1) 'christianising' an occult text that described a magical ritual that many clerics and scholars frowned upon, but which still strongly appealed to a man like Spaun, and (2) enhancing the popular didactic nature of the text. In establishing contact with the higher reaches of heaven he no doubt felt that some rudimentary knowledge of the Zodiac and the celestial hierarchies was necessary, even though he does not seem to have made an effort to clarify the interrelatedness of these fragments of knowledge.

In fact, the Freiburg and Paris *Almandals*, though terser and without the elaborate reference to the Zodiac which Spaun inserted, have a more precise and clearer bearing on astrology. This is largely so because they were incorporated into popular astrological/mantic convolute-manuscripts by scribes or translators who knew their material. Thus the Freiburg/Paris *Almandal* specifies the suitable hours on which the ritual should be performed: for instance, on a Sunday on the *horae solis*.[15] Spaun is content with the remark that it should be before sunrise. The Freiburg/Paris *Almandal* carefully follows the Latin original in indicating the size of the almandal, which is *semipedale*, i.e. half a foot. Spaun simply remarks that it should be *nicht zu gros noch ze klein* (not too big, not too small). The Freiburg/Paris *Almandal* is very precise as to the orientation of the almandal, indicating the cardinal directions and assigning to each a magical name; in the outer rim of the almandal each cardinal direction is further subdivided into three segments, or three altitudes, indicated by means of three divine names, which are no doubt the names embedded in the very substance of the heavenly mansions. The logic of this construction is not adequately reflected in Spaun's drawing; he missed out on a name in one of the cardinal directions (Aquilonis/North) and dislocated two others (in Occidens/West and Meridies/South). It is therefore hard to imagine that his almandal could have been of any use to him.[16] From the Augsburg taxregisters of the first decades of the sixteenth century it appears that his business deteriorated after 1505.[17]

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[15] The *horae solis* on Sunday are the 1st, 8th, 15th, and 22nd hour.

[16] See figures 1 and 2. Spaun was clearly unsure about the magical words or names between the pentangles. Following the East-South-West-North direction in the almandal-diagrams, Freiburg ms. 458 and Paris, ms. allemand 160 have *Henoytheon, Primevivaton, Jatha, Anabona*. Spaun (Munich, Cgm 407) gives: *Onoytheon, Ya Ya, Anabona*, and a blank. *Primevivaton* may have given problems. Cf. Mathers's depiction of Solomon's triangle where the word is spelled *Primeumaton* (Solomon, *Goe-*

The Freiburg/Paris *Almandal* is marked by a fair amount of precision, Spaun's *Almandal* by a layman's curiosity. Yet in both versions of the text astrology does not seem to be the dominant characteristic, even though Spaun made an elaborate – though somewhat unsuccessful – attempt to strengthen the text's relationship with the general astrological notions of his time. Essentially the *Almandal* is about angels and the divine name; thus it is firmly rooted in a tradition of pseudo-Solomonic magical literature. In this tradition we encounter many of the elements characteristic of the two *Almandals* from around 1500.

The tradition of Solomonic magic

The legendary status of Israel's third king as a man endowed by God with knowledge and wisdom contributed in no small measure to the spread in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages of books, especially magical texts, under his name. This fictional attribution could upgrade a text and lend it authority; it would also implicitly function as a structuring device giving the texts and the rituals a specific religious content, since Solomon was deemed a messianic figure and, certainly in the context of Christianity, as a type of Christ. It can be demonstrated from the wealth of Solomonic literature that the essential elements of the *Almandal*, the theurgic and the redemptive ones, can all be found in this tradition.[18]

An important early testimony of Solomonic magic is provided by Flavius Josephus[19] who in praising the wisdom of the king describes him as a naturalist, an author of thousands of books, and as an expert exorcist. 'And God granted him knowledge of the art used against demons for the benefit and healing of men', Josephus writes, explaining that this 'art' consists of incantations for relieving illnesses and exorcist rituals. This form of medicinal Solomonic magic, which Josephus knows from his own experience, is a fairly common practice. He mentions the story of a fellow countryman, a certain Eleazar, who, in the presence of Vespasian, exorcised a possessed man by means of 'a ring which had under its seal one of the roots[20] prescribed by Solomon'. The smell drives out the demon through the

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tia, Lemegeton 1, p. 70). For the occurrence of the name in the main text of the *Almandal*, cf. Freiburg, ms. 458, fol. 229r and Paris, ms. allemand 160, fol. 241r: *Primeuiuathon*. Spaun (Munich, Cgm 407, p. 29) has *Pyremathon*.

[17] Kully, 'Spaun', col. 32.

[18] For a general survey, see also Butler, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 47-99, and Butler, *The Myth*, pp. 35-43.

[19] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 8.44-49 (Loeb, vol. 7).

[20] Cf. *Wisdom* 7:20, where it says that Solomon had knowledge of the 'virtues of roots'.

man's nostrils and Eleazar orders the evil spirit to stay out in the name of Solomon, reciting one of the king's incantations. To prove that his remedy actually works, the exorcist places a cup of water on the floor and orders the spirit to overturn it on his departure, which apparently the demon does, for Josephus is convinced that Solomon's greatness and the special virtues that God bestowed on him have been sufficiently demonstrated on that occasion. A similar proof of a successful exorcism, it will be remembered, was given by Christ who drove a whole flock of demons into a herd of swine.

Solomon's reputation in the first century AD appears to have been such that, in the context of his mission, Jesus felt it required some toning down. The Gospels tell us that Solomon's wealth is no match to the lilies of the field and that his qualities as a judge are surpassed by those of Jesus.[21] Like Solomon, Christ was frequently referred to as the 'son of David', which in connection with divine promises regarding the 'everlasting kingdom'[22] soon persuaded typological interpreters of Scripture that Solomon was a type of Christ and that the promise applied in a literal sense to Solomon could only reach its fulfilment in the work of the Messiah. Next to Solomon's office of judge it was essentially his *magnum opus*, namely the building of the temple, the place wherein, as Scripture explains, the name of God resides,[23] that was seized upon by Christian exegetes as a clear adumbration of the Resurrection and the work of salvation. Christ, of course, also drove out many demons, but exorcist skills were not directly attributed to Solomon by the authors of the New Testament. Their toning down of Solomon's greatness may conceal a tacit resistance to a popular tradition that made the king into a miracle worker who had power over devils and who had built the temple with the aid of angels and demons.

The finest example of this tradition is the well-known *Testament of Solomon*[24] originally written in Greek, evidently relying on Jewish sources or traditions. Especially Christians in the early centuries are believed to have taken an interest in the *Testament* since it contains descriptions of exorcist procedures very akin to the exorcisms of Christ. The fact that the *Testament* contains passages that make specific mention of Christ demonstrates that Christians left their mark on the text. It also shows that magical texts are a malleable genre as opposed to canonical texts, that are less sub-

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[21] Lilies of the field: *Mat.* 6:29; *Luke* 12:27. 'A greater than Solomon is here': *Mat.* 12:42; *Luke* 11:31.

[22] *II Sam.* 7:12 ff.

[23] *I Kings* 8:16 ('That My name might be therein'); *I Kings* 8:29.

[24] Solomon, *The Testament of Solomon* (ed. McCown); *Het Testament van Salomo* (transl. Cozijnsen). For other traces of this tradition, cf. Koran, *Sura* 21:82; 34:11, 12; 38:35-38; and Babylonian Talmud, *Gittim* 68a. See esp. the contribution of Sarah Iles Johnston in the present volume.

ject to variation. Since magical texts were written for practical use, they were subject to change and there may have been as many variants of a text as there were different audiences and groups of users.

The aim of the *Testament of Solomon* is to instruct the readers about the names and powers of demons and to learn the names of the angels that constrain them. Even a cursory reading of Gospel narratives shows us that the world of the first century AD was replete with demons tormenting people and spreading like a disease. Attitudes towards demons will have resembled modern attitudes towards diseases in that one either has to try to get rid of them (by finding the cure or using exorcisms) or make them manageable (by fighting the symptoms or applying conjurations). And it is not surprising, therefore, that demons play a leading part in the book. The *Testament* tells the story of Solomon who, with the aid of a magical ring which he received from the archangel Michael, summons up fifty-nine demons whom he submits to a cross-examination, forcing them to reveal their name, their principal activities and occupations, and the names of the angels who preside over them and have the power to constrain them. In the final chapter of the *Testament* one can read a brief report on Solomon's polygamy and lust for foreign women who lead him into idolatry. Realising how his error has ruined him, Solomon draws up his *Testament* to instruct his people on the dangers and deceit of evil spirits and to teach them the names and the powers of the holy angels,[25] for he fears that idolatry has been able to flourish because people have forgotten the names of the angels who constrain and bind the demons and the idols.[26] The magic of the *Testament of Solomon* seems to be fairly beneficent in that it seeks to reveal the true nature of the evils in the world and wants to provide remedies by constraining demons with the help of angels. Teaching the pious readers angelic names seems to be the main aim of the text.

The importance of angelic names is borne out even more strongly by another Jewish magical text, the *Sefer ha-Razim*, or the *Book of Mysteries*, an eclectic document providing materials from the Hekhaloth literature and the magical papyri, which was dated by its editor to around the fourth century.[27] Like the *Testament* it provides a narrative context for its magical prescriptions. The *Book of Mysteries* was given to Noah by the angel Raziel just before the Deluge, and the wisdom contained therein enabled Noah to construct the ark and survive the flood. He passed the book down to his descendants from father to son until it reached its final recipient: king

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[25] Solomon, *Testament of Solomon* 15:14; 26:8.
[26] *Ibidem* 5:5.
[27] *Sefer ha-Razim* (ed. Margalioth); *Sepher ha-Razim, The Book of Mysteries* (transl. Morgan).

Solomon. The text describes a cosmos of seven firmaments littered with angels of whom the names are diligently noted down and should be recited by the supplicant. The prayers and rituals should be performed in a state of purity, but the purposes which the angels can be made to serve go far beyond what orthodoxy would allow. The angels heal and protect, they can be made to predict the future, to interpret dreams (divination), to interrogate the Sun, the Moon and the stars, to question ghosts or spirits (necromancy), to win the heart of a wealthy woman or to win at horse racing (good luck and love magic), but also to inflict pain on an enemy or even kill him.

Whether the angelic magic from late Antiquity contributed in a demonstrable way to the angelic magic of the Middle Ages is sometimes hard to assess. From the texts discussed above it is evident that its religious contents (aiming at redemption from sin and evil) as well as its beneficent applications (healing and exorcism) set the stage for medieval versions that clearly belong to the same genre. Before returning to the *Almandal*, one medieval instance of this type of angelic magic must be given that clearly rivals the medieval Church's monopoly of redemption. This is the *Liber sacer sive juratus*, or the *Sworn Book* of Honorius of Thebes; as was pointed out by Robert Mathiesen, this may be a Christian production entirely modelled on the hierarchy and liturgy of the Church.[28] There is even a relation between the *Almandal* and (one of the versions of) the *Sworn Book* because they share the same list of angel names for the Zodiac.[29] The introduction to the book claims that under pressure of the persecutions initiated by the Pope and his Cardinals, the Magi, the true guardians of divine wisdom, held a council during which they decided to put their secret doctrine down in writing and swore an oath to keep the secret and safely pass the

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[28] Mathiesen, 'A Thirteenth-Century Ritual'. Cf. also Kieckhefer, 'The Devil's Contemplatives', pp. 253-257, who believes the text ultimately derives from the Merkabah-tradition in Jewish mysticism.

[29] I am referring here to the English version of the *Sworn Book*, British Library, ms. Royal 17 A XLII which at the end, on fol. 80r-v, gives 'The names of the princes of the .xii. altytudes'. To illustrate my point I will juxtapose two brief angel lists of the first altitude of the East and the first altitude of the West from the Spaun *Almandal* (Munich, Cgm 407, pp. 16, 38, abbreviated as M), the Freiburg *Almandal* (ms. 458, fol. 224r, 233r, abbreviated as F), the Paris *Almandal* (ms. all. 160, fol. 237v, 243v, abbreviated as P), and the *Sworn Book* (British Library, ms. Royal 17 A XLII, fol. 80r-v, abbreviated as S). First altitude of the East M: *Armiel, Gabriel, Rarachiel, Libes, Helissan*; F: *Gabriel, Barochiel, Libes, Elyson*; P: *Gabriel, Barochiel, Libes, Eleyson*; S: *Armiel, Gabriel, Barachiel, Libes, Helissan*; First altitude of the West M: *Ay, Abbaym, Yohel, Abanay, Rathan, Corosay*; F: *Ay, Alayry, Boel, Albonoy, Zataz, Corozay*; P: *Ay, Alayry, Boel, Albonoy, Rataz, Corozay*; S: *Ay, Alkin, Roel, Abanay, Rathan, Corosay*. It would appear that Spaun and the scribe of the *Sworn Book* relied on similar lists. (Cf. ms. Sloane 2731, p. 219 in the present volume.)

document on to later generations of initiates. This council is, of course, the immediate obverse of the Council of Nicaea, where the articles of the Christian faith were formulated. Its self-justificatory opposition to ecclesiastical censure and authority strongly determined the outlook of the *Sworn Book*. It has its own Psalter and liturgy resembling the psalms and prayers of the Church; the main aim of its lengthy and burdensome rituals is quite orthodox, namely the attaining of the beatific vision. This places the book in the Neoplatonic theology of Christian orthodoxy, and hence in the company of Bonaventure and Dante (to whom Honorius, alas, is no match).

The religious motives that went into the composition and the reception of the *Almandal* will be evident by now. They vied with the authoritarian claims of institutionalised religion and hence made magic appealing to both monk and layman. But what made intellectuals take a serious interest in angelic magic? In what follows, this contribution will deal with the reception of the *Almandal*, its intellectual claims (touching briefly on astrology), the intellectual scrutiny to which it was subjected, and the curious transformations that both the text and the name (almandal) underwent.

The reception of the Almandal: William of Paris and Albert the Great

When the name almandal first appeared in the Latin West it was in the works of two scholastic authors, William of Paris (Guillaume d'Auvergne) and Albert the Great,[30] who epitomised the standard forms of critique launched against magic in the Middle Ages. The former dealt with theological, the latter with philosophical objections. Both authors did extensive library research and provide their readers with lists and titles of magical texts, and both on occasion expressed the horror they felt when dealing with these materials. Yet the contexts in which they did their work were, generally speaking, quite different: William was primarily concerned with idolatry, Albert with astrology.

William of Paris mentions a small list of Solomonic magical texts comprising the *Rings of Solomon*, the *Nine Candariae*, the *Liber Sacratum*, and what he calls the *Mandel* or *Amandel*, a quadrangular figure which is said to be capable of drawing spirits. William's main objection to this type of magic is formulated in a passage on Solomonic pentangles in which he ex-

[30] William of Paris mentions *Almandal* twice in his *De legibus*, cap. 26 and 27; see William of Paris, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, p. 84b, p. 88b. Albertus Magnus, *Speculum Astronomiae*, cap. 11; see Zambelli, *The Speculum Astronomiae*, pp. 240-241, 244-245. Cf. also Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. 2, pp. 280, 351; Pingree, 'Learned Magic'; Steinschneider, 'Zum Speculum astronomicum', pp. 357-396 (esp. p. 386). Albert's authorship of the *Speculum astronomiae* is contested. Cf. Nicolas Weill-Parot's contribution in this volume, where he speaks of the Magister Speculi.

plains that idolaters actually believe that the angles have *virtutes mirificae*.[31] Attributing divine powers to angles and triangles is nonsense, William explains, for if angles are divine, divinity will grow with the number of angles. Of course, an ever growing number of angles would eventually lead to a circle, which would certainly please magicians, but if angles are divine, then all things on earth are divine too, which would lead to pantheism. What William is actually criticising here is the belief inherent in magic that words, signs and symbols are not conventional but natural, and that their use or application will somehow affect the referent, even in the sense of causing substantial change.

Albertus Magnus approaches magic from a different perspective. The main reason why Albert deals with magical texts in his *Speculum* is not primarily a matter of theological indignation but rather one of scientific irritation over the fact that the magical texts he has seen 'borrow astronomical observations (...) for the purpose of simulation' to gain credibility.[32] For him it is an abuse of knowledge as well as an attack on scholarly or scientific integrity. Although he admits that his 'spirit was never tranquil when dealing with these matters',[33] theological or even demonological

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[31] William of Paris, *De legibus*, cap. 27, p. 88b. William talks about *anguli*, not *angeli*. In Neoplatonism the higher levels of abstraction, where, so to speak, "God does geometry" (cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 8.718b-720c), can be attained through theurgy. Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul*, p. 204: 'Since the soul contains all the mathematicals, the geometric figures that it consecrates, draws, and visualises would schematize the entire process of its separation from, and return to the gods'. Proclus, in his *Commentary on Euclid's Elements* (132-133), elaborates on the relation between acute/obtuse angles in geometrical figures and encosmic/hypercosmic gods (see Proclus, *Commentary*, pp. 106-107). It should be pointed out that Proclus regards these angles and figures as symbols. That angles have virtues is an idea that also surfaces, e.g., in the medieval romance of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, where the pentangle of Solomon on Sir Gawain's shield is described (*Sir Gawain*, ll. 625-630): *Hit is a syngne þat Salamon set sumquyle / In bytoknyng of trawþe, bi tytle þat hit habbeȝ, / For hit is a figure þat haldeȝ fyue poynteȝ, / And vche lyne vmbelappeȝ and loukeȝ in oþer, / And ayquere hit is endeleȝ; and Englych hit callen / Oueral, as I here, þe endeles knot.* The word *poynteȝ* refers to both the angles and the associated virtues or qualities. These, however, are no longer magical but moral. Regarding Gawain's spiritual armour we learn that the knight (1) is faultless in his five senses (*wytteȝ*); (2) is faultless in his five fingers; (3) trusts in the five wounds of Christ; (4) draws his fortitude from the five joys of St. Mary; and (5) has five major virtues: *fraunchyse* (generosity), *felaȝschyp* (love), *clannes* (purity), *cortaysye* (courtesy), and *pité* (compassion). This might suggest that the *Gawain*-poet has taken William of Paris's criticism to heart. See *Sir Gawain*, ll. 640-669, pp. 60-63.

[32] Albertus Magnus, *Speculum astronomiae*, cap. 4, p. 223.

[33] *Ibidem*, cap. 11, p. 243.

reflections do not seem to be part of his discourse.[34] Albert gives the following depiction of the several branches of the science of the stars. In the first place, he distinguishes between astronomy proper and the art of making astrological judgements, which can be further subdivided into an introductory discipline (dealing with all theoretical aspects) and a practical discipline dealing with the exercise of making these judgements. This practical discipline comprises (1) revolutions, which deals with the great celestial motions that influence life on earth, such as conjunctions, (2) nativities, which deal with stellar influence on a person's birth, (3) interrogations, which essentially deal with causal arguments (why and when something can or cannot take place), and (4) elections, which in a very practical way deal with the organisation of one's life in accordance with celestial influence, by choosing propitious hours. It is in the context of astrological elections that he deals with necromantic books on images, illusions and characters, rings and sigils, of which he gives titles and incipits from memory. His main reason for scrutinising this abstruse literature is to prevent ignorance, to provide himself with knowledgeable arguments against any defender of necromancy and to demonstrate that all their arguments are invalid. This frame of mind clearly reflects on the subdivisions he proposes for the science of images: the first category is *abominabilis*, the second *detestabilis*, and the third is more neutrally labelled 'the art of astronomical images' since it tries to produce effects without the use of magic ritual and demonic assistence, so that if not efficacious, at least it is relatively innocent. This, however, is not the case with the former two. The abominable kind relies heavily on suffumigations and invocations and aims at practising both black (harmful) and white (benevolent) magic. The detestable kind relies more on the inscription of characters and sigils, and though it seems to be more beneficent in character, it still involves incantations with names in unknown languages, which Albert fears may conceal something that might vitiate the honour of the Catholic faith.[35] The distinction is not clear-cut since among the detestable works he mentions is the standard group of Solomonic literature: the *De quatuor annulis* (on the four rings of Solomon), the *De novem candariis* (on the nine canthariae[36]), the *De tribus figuris spirituum* (on the three figures of the spirits), the *De sigillis ad daemoniacos* (an exorcist

[34] But see the careful analysis of Nicolas Weill-Parot on pp. 175-176 in the present volume.

[35] Albertus Magnus, *Speculum*, cap. 11, p. 241. Note Pingree, 'Learned Magic', p. 43, and Weill-Parot, p. 173 in the present volume.

[36] *Candariae* has been speculatively translated as 'candles' (Albertus Magnus, *Speculum*, p. 245), but more likely the word should be read as *cantharias*, *-ae*, a precious stone, according to Pliny, which derives its name from Scarab beetles. See Pliny, *Natural History* 37.187.

manual on the sigils for those possessed by demons) and the *De figura Almandal*. This last work, especially, is deeply concerned with suffumigations and invocations.[37]

In short: William criticises a tenet of belief or a philosophical presupposition in the magical books he has read, whereas Albert criticises them for containing bad astrology. Albert's criticism, that the authors used astrology to enhance the prestige of their text, still rings true a few centuries later, in the text composed by Claus Spaun. Despite Albert's critique, it is astrology that gave the *Almandal* some of its prestige and that proved to be an important vehicle in spreading the angelic magic which it contains. The two versions of the *Almandal* in Middle High German clearly bear out that their scribes and translators were fully aware of the importance of astrology, even though one of them was not quite sure where to insert the relevant information.

Celestial influence and angelic names

The present context would be unsuited for a discussion of medieval theories of celestial influence,[38] but there is one text that should briefly be examined here since it not only represents the astrological thought current at the time, but also provides a rationale of magic. This is al-Kindi's *De radiis stellarum*[39] – a work of natural and not of demonic or angelic magic – which would greatly influence medieval philosophers like Roger Bacon. Al-Kindi deals with the reciprocal radiation of stars and elementary bodies which, with great precision, determine the course of nature and allow the possibility of magical operations. In line with Islamic fatalism, the concept of cosmic harmony that al-Kindi uses implies that the stars are the directors of all natural processes in a fairly deterministic way, so that, in consequence, all individual beings in the world bear the imprint of the stars and are an *exemplum* of the universal harmony, reflecting, not unlike Leibniz's monads, the totality of being. The 'possibility' of magic, however contingent it may seem to us, is in fact ordained by the stars (and ultimately by God); yet, ignorant of the Grand Design, we interpret as contingent what we cannot explain adequately. The things in this world resemble the stars in that, like their progenitors, they can also emit radiation and thus influence

[37] It is possible that Albert the Great and William of Paris were familiar with the *Almandals* from Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. II.iii.214, which contains two *Almandals*: (1) fol. 74v-77r: *Liber in figura almandal et eius opere*, and (2) fol. 77r-78v: *Alius liber de almandal quod dicitur tabula vel ara Salomonis*. I am obliged to Nicolas Weill-Parot for supplying me with xeroxes of these texts.

[38] See North, 'Celestial Influence'.

[39] Al-Kindi, *De radiis* (eds. D'Alverny and Hudry). See also Travaglia, *Magic*.

other things in the world. Hence it is that man's mental activities and sentiments can actually produce effects on remote objects. Accomplishing this requires *fides* (doubts are obviously pernicious sentiments in magic) and is done largely through rays emitted from the *spiritus imaginarius*.[40]

There is another important aid in the practice of magic, namely language.[41] Through celestial influence, magical *verba*, *nomina*, *incantamenta* and *carmina* have specific potencies which derive from the planets, from the signs of the Zodiac or from the other constellations in the sphere of the fixed stars. The magus, therefore, in using magical spells and conjurations should pay specific attention to the astrologically propitious moments for performing his ritual. This is, of course, exactly the basic presupposition of the *Almandal*-rituals: they are efficacious only if the divine and angelic names are pronounced on the proper hours and under the correct Zodiacal sign. Al-Kindi recognised the existence of languages invented by man, but also believed that there is a sacred celestial language (which in later centuries in Western Europe would lead to speculations about a prelapsarian Adamitic language). The angel names and divine names no doubt belong to that category.

The great importance of astrology and Aristotelian causality, and in no small measure the theoretical frame for magical practices, such as, for instance, supplied by an author like al-Kindi, had the result that the *Almandal*, on its introduction in the West, acquired not only vehement criticism, but also a certain amount of prestige in the course of the fifteenth and possibly sixteenth century. The exotic names and the communion of angels outlined in the text held for most readers the promise of ancient wisdom and secret knowledge. The condemnations of Albert the Great and William of Paris may have caused a certain amount of fragmentation of the evidence of its transmission; yet, in the following pages a fair amount of material will be provided which will allow us to reconstruct the reception and intellectual attitudes regarding the book. From the discussions and references of William and Albert it is evident that the *Almandal* was known to exist as a separate text, and this is further supported by the manuscript traditions. A few Latin versions are still extant, as well as the German translations mentioned above.[42] In the fourteenth century we find a reference to Solomon's *Almandal* in Anthony of Mount Ulm (Antonio da Montolmo, fl.

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[40] Cf. Thorndike, 'Imagination and Magic'; Hissette, *Enquête*, pp. 116-117, art. 63, and Veenstra, 'Stretching the Imagination', pp. 219-225.

[41] Al-Kindi, *De radiis*, cap. 6: 'De virtute verborum', pp. 233-250.

[42] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 3400, fol. 192r-202r (fifteenth century); and the earlier mentioned Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. II.iii.214 (fifteenth century). For a brief description of the Florence manuscript, see Mazzatinti, *Inventari*, vol. 10, pp. 7-8.

around 1390), a man deeply involved in demonic magic.[43] In the course of the sixteenth or seventeenth century English renderings were also produced, which will be briefly discussed towards the end of this contribution.

Almandal and Almadel: diverse traditions

The name 'almadel', 'almandel', or 'mandal' invites speculation as to its source and meaning. It no doubt came into the West via the channels which introduced new magic of Arabic origin, produced and translated in Spain in the second half of the twelfth century. The word itself may well have a Sanskrit origin, and consists of the Arabic article 'al' with the Sanskrit 'mandala'. David Pingree has pointed out the possible relationship between the Solomonic almandal and Indian astral magic, in which the use of special garments, flowers, suffumigations and prayers played an important part, next to the depiction of astrological talismanic images.[44] Mircea Eliade explained that Indian mandalas served as receptacles for the gods who would descend into the altar.[45] As is clear from the two German *Almandals*, its possible oriental roots are overshadowed by the vocabulary of the Judaeo-Christian magic of the Middle Ages.

This is borne out even more clearly by a *glosa*, a gloss or commentary appended to one of the Latin versions of the *Almandal* (the Vienna manuscript) and supposedly written by 'Saint Jeronimus' (Jerome).[46] It narrates how, one evening, king Solomon is visited by a Seraph from the second altitude, who, responding to the king's desire to know the heavenly secrets, explains that this knowledge can be bestowed only on a person of special virtue. This wisdom is granted to Solomon as a reward for his judgement in the case of the two women who were quarrelling over a baby, and by means of this divine illumination he was able to write the *Almandal* in Hebrew. Later the text was retrieved in Athens by the Arab philosopher Solinus, who made a translation into Arabic and took the book home to teach this 'great secret' to his compatriots. Later again, the philosopher Symmachus, dispatched to Arabia on a secret embassy by Pope John II, found the book and rendered it into Greek. This Greek version finally came into the hands of Jeronimus when he was preaching the Gospel in Greece. He tells how

[43] Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. 3, p. 609.
[44] Pingree, 'Learned Magic', pp. 42, 48; *idem*, 'Indian Planetary Images'.
[45] Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul*, pp. 203-204. Eliade, *Le yoga*, p. 222: 'le mandala est à la fois une image de l'univers et une théophanie (...), le mandala sert également de « réceptacle » aux dieux. Dans l'Inde védique les dieux descendaient dans l'autel'.
[46] The *glosa* can be found in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 3400, fols. 194v-195r. The *glosa* was edited and published by Pack ('Almadel Auctor Pseudonymus', pp. 179-181).

impressed he was by the wisdom of the sages in that country and how these sages had explained to him that he should not marvel at this, for they possessed the sacred *Almandal* of Solomon, through which they had obtained their wisdom. Jeronimus decides to translate the text into Latin, a task for which he is fully equipped after much study, consultation of the sages, and prayers to God. Knowing what the *Almandal* is actually about, one might have the impression that Jerome was not the scholarly type and by no means suited to the task of translating the entire Bible. Yet the idea is obviously that after having rendered the *Almandal*, and having obtained illumination through it, everything else was plain sailing. The story, of course, is a fiction and whoever wrote it should have paid more attention to chronology: Jerome died in 420 AD, while Pope John II was in office more than a century later.

Apparently the word 'almandal' had an exotic ring to it and was felt to be associated with Arabic names such as al-Kindi or Albumasar. In due course an anonymous author appeared who assumed the name Almadel, claimed to be an Arab and wrote a treatise called *De firmitate sex scientiarum* dealing with the six divinatory arts: pyromancy, haruspicy, hydromancy, augury, geomancy, and chiromancy.[47] The author seems to combine 'much pretentiousness with a certain simplicity of mind',[48] for he intends to write lengthy books on divination derived from rare Arabic sources (of which no traces remain), he tries to outline a firm philosophical basis for the divinatory arts (though he does not get beyond a few general remarks on celestial causality and the way in which the lower world is 'stamped' by the upper world), and, finally, he takes delight in enhancing the prestige of his treatise by the use of Arabic terminology (which he does with limited success, since he misinterprets the words). It is unclear when this text was composed, but since Gianfrancesco Pico is the first to notice it, it may well be a fifteenth-century creation.[49]

Both the Solomonic *Almandal* and Almadel's treatise *On the Firmness of Six Sciences* drew the attention of scholars and magi in the Renaissance. Gianfranceso Pico referred to the Almadal Arabs mainly in derisive terms, but he was aware of the Solomonic *Almandal* when he said that Almadal Arabs should not be confused with 'a more superstitious Almadel'.[50] Johan-

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[47] The *De firmitate* was first noted by Thorndike and later edited and published by Pack. See Thorndike, '*Alfodhol* and *Almadel*'; *idem*, 'Alfodhol and Almadel Once More', and Pack, 'Almadel Auctor Pseudonymus'.

[48] Pack, 'Almadel Auctor Pseudonymus', p. 154.

[49] Pack (*ibidem*, p. 174, note to *Prefatio* 10) mentions 1300 as a *terminus post quem* and 1502 (when the younger Pico wrote about the treatise) as a *terminus ante quem*.

[50] Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, *De rerum praenotione*, lib. IV.7, p. 485 (*Nam Geomantia ipsa triplex habetur, pacto expresso, tacito et medio, qui et*

nes Wierus (or Weyer), copied Gianfrancesco and believed that Almadal was the name of an Arab magus; yet there is also a second reference by Wierus to the necromantic 'arts of Almadal, Bulaphia, Artephius, and Paul', which cannot refer to *De firmitate* by Almadal the Arab (Almadal Arabs), and must hence refer to the Solomonic *Almandal*.[51] Wierus probably derived his reference from Trithemius and he may not have seen the Solomonic text. Cornelius Agrippa likewise referred to both Almadel and *Almandal*, but he was evidently more familiar with Almadal Arabs, the author of *De firmitate*, for in his *De occulta philosophia* he refers to him as an author on augury and geomancy.[52] Later in life, having second thoughts about his occult interests, Agrippa refers to Almadel in his *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium* as an author on natural magic, but in the same work he also speaks of the art of *Almandal* as superstitious theurgy.[53] Johannes Trithemius likewise condemns the book, and refers to it as a Solomonic work.[54] One must therefore conclude that the authors of the fifteenth and sixteenth century were aware of both texts and managed to distinguish the two.

In the later tradition of pseudo-Solomonic magical literature, the *Almandal* was incorporated in the Solomonic Corpus known as the *Clavicula Salomonis*. One of these *Keys of Solomon*, also known as the *Lemegeton*, was believed to consist of five parts, namely: (1) the *Goetia*; (2) the *Theurgia-Goetia*; (3) the *Ars Paulina*; (4) the *Ars Almadel Salomonis*; and (5) the *Ars Nova* and *Ars Notoria*.[55] The *Lemegeton* has no clear medieval

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naturam etiam aliqua ex parte sapit, qualis apud Almadalem Arabem reperitur, non Almadelem ipso superstitiosiorem); lib. VI.2, p. 597; lib. VII.2, p. 630; lib. VII.5, p. 644.

[51] Johannes Wierus or Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum* II.3, p. 101 ('Many followed in the footsteps of these men: Almadal, Alchindus, and Hipocus, of the Arab throng'); II.6, p. 116 ('The vaunted arts of this school are the arts of Almadel, Bulaphia, Artephius, and Paul, the art of magical signs, the art of revelation, and similar monstrosities of impiety...').

[52] Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, I.54, p. 192; I.57, p. 201.

[53] Agrippa, *Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences*, cap. 42 ('Of natural magicke'), p. 125, and cap. 46 ('Of theurgy'), p. 134. The demonologist Martin Del Rio also referred to the theurgic *Almandal* by quoting from cap. 46 of the *De vanitate* in his encyclopedic *Disquisitiones magicae* II.2, p. 96.

[54] Johannes Trithemius, *Antipalus maleficiorum* I.3 (*Ad eandem vanissimam superstitionem est liber Almadel Solomoni adscriptus, qui sic incipit "Invenimus illuminationem spiritus sancti"*), quoted in Peuckert, *Pansophie*, p. 49.

[55] See: Solomon, *The Goetia*, pp. 23-26; Solomon, *The Lemegetton* (ed. Wilby), part 4: 'The art and magic of Almadel', pp. 131-137 (uncritical, produced for the benefit of an occult fraternity, but based on a sole manuscript, British Library, Sloane 3648). Pélagius, *L'anacrise*, pp. 118-128 (facsimile reprint of an eighteenth- or nine-

tradition and most of the copies known today, especially the English ones,[56] date from the seventeenth century. Part of the *Goetia* was published by Johannes Wierus as *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* (1563) and by Reginald Scot in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584).[57] The materials contained in the *Lemegeton* are usually drastically reorganised and therefore differ substantially from their medieval counterparts, if such counterparts are still available. It is interesting to see that the version of the *Almandal* that survives in the *Lemegeton* clearly bears the imprint of its medieval predecessors. The magical diagram that has to be engraved on the altar of wax is still more or less the same, yet the system of altitudes has been drastically truncated: instead of twelve altitudes there are now only four. Where the medieval *Almandal* had a clear bearing on the Zodiac, the seventeenth-century English versions are only geared to the four cardinal directions. This also has dramatic consequences for another important feature of the older *Almandal*: connected with the twelve original altitudes were the names of some sixty angels; with the diminution of the number of mansions, dozens of angels are made redundant, with only about twenty remaining. The enormous importance of astrology apart, the medieval *Almandals* are closely related to magical texts that focus on name-magic (such as the *Sefer ha-Razim*), and for some reason the magi of the seventeenth century who composed and perhaps used the *Lemegeton* were not very interested in the names.

Visualising angels and the aims of magic

A compensation for this loss of names may be found in the only novelty that the English *Almandals* offer when compared to their medieval an-

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teenth-century manuscript from the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, ms. 6197, also containing a strongly abbreviated *Almandal*). Cf. also Armadel, *The Grimoire of Armadel*, intr. Keith. Keith points out (p. 10) that Armadel should not be confused with 'Almadel', since the latter is clearly medieval whereas the former is not and probably dates from the seventeenth century. Yet he also remarks that Francis Barrett (*The Magus*, 1801) referred to *Almadel* as *Almutel*, so that, given the fact that the word is obviously prone to various permutations, it is not at all unlikely that people simply adopted it to write new and different books of magic under that title. (Cf. also p. 220, note 133, in the present volume.) A Hebrew version is also known: ספר מפתח שלמה *Sepher Maphteah Shelomo* (ed. H. Gollancz), fol. 29a-35a, 'Conjuration of the powers of the twelve signs of the Zodiac by means of the *Almdl*'.

[56] Especially the Sloane manuscripts from the British Library: Sloane 2731 (which is dated 1686), Sloane 3648, and Sloane 3825. For a transcription of the *Almandal* in Sloane 2731, see appendix, below. Many such manuscripts are still extant both in scholarly libraries and private collections. Butler's discussion of the *Lemegeton* (*Ritual Magic*, pp. 65-80) was based on such a private copy.

[57] See Butler, *Ritual Magic*, p. 65; Scot, *Discoverie* 15.2, ed. Summers, pp. 217-226.

cestors. The medieval texts explain that the angels appear above the almandal, without giving further details, but apparently we may infer that they are apparitions hovering over the altar. The English *Almandals*, however, are more precise in their descriptions: the angels are said to become visible in a 'crystal stone', meaning a show-stone used in scrying. This is clearly an innovation in the text since it is absent from the German *Almandals*. Such a change may indicate a shift in interest from word (or name) to image, especially images seen in show-stones, but this would show disregard for the great interest in word-magic and natural language theories that were dominant in the early modern era. It is more likely that the additional element of scrying resulted from ideas on the visualisation of angels. Probably these ideas derived from optics, or at least from the complementary views of physics and metaphysics on reflection and illumination.

The use of crystal stones in angelic magic has an important instance in England in the figure of the nation's most important magus, Dr. John Dee.[58] Dee was, of course, following the divination-technique of crystal-gazing, which, as is borne out by many documents of the time, was immensely popular. His entire magical career was dedicated to seeking contact and communicating with angels, and to this end he used instruments not unlike the almandal, but much more elaborate. He had an altar built, the size of a large table, with on it, engraved in wax, his *Sigillum Dei*, which served as a support for his show-stone. For many years he used this equipment for communicating with angels, taking note of his spiritual conversations in extensive diaries, some of which are still extant. The remarkable thing about Dee's conversations is that he needed a scryer who could function as a medium for his angelic contacts. His most dubious collaborator was Edward Kelley, a charlatan with a criminal record, who fed on Dee's gullibility and made him believe that the angels had ordered them to share all things, wives included. This 'devil's pact' finally led to the dissolution of their relationship[59] – which goes to show that the application of such an altar for heavenly communications is best done in private and on one's own. Yet John Dee took a deep interest in natural philosophy and optics, largely inspired by Grosseteste and Roger Bacon, who relied heavily on the philosophical theories of (natural) magic developed by al-Kindi.[60] His interest in scrying and angelic magic, therefore, begs the question of whether he consciously and philosophically reflected on the practices to which he was dedicated. A few remarks on the history of scrying will show that it was

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[58] See Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels*; Shumaker, 'John Dee's Conversations with Angels'; Dee, *The Diaries of John Dee*.
[59] Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels*, pp. 21-22.
[60] Clulee, 'Astrology, Magic, and Optics'; Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*.

caught between the extremes of natural and demonic magic, and the question therefore remains, whether John Dee ever tried to reconcile the two.

The art of scrying or catoptromancy has a medieval tradition extending back to the elusive magus Artephius (or Artesius), who recommended the fabrication of instruments that could unite and concentrate celestial rays and who mentioned the 'mirror of Almuchesi' for purposes of divination.[61] A twelfth-century student of catoptromancy explained the intricacies of Artesius's art by regarding the sun as a mirror that reflects the images of all things, so that capturing the sun's rays in shining objects may produce a reflection of present realities and perhaps reveal the secrets of nature.[62] As a precurser of live television this method seems to leave little room for predicting the future; but more elaborate theories on celestial rays and planetary spirits would soon make up for that. In Michael Scot's *Liber Introductorius* various practices of divination from shining objects or substances, including oil and water, are discussed (Michael speaks of hydromancy rather than catoptromancy), usually in relation to necromantic rituals such as outlined in the pseudo-Solomonic *Ars Alphiarei Florieth ydee* (the spirit invoked in this ritual is called Floriget or Florieth).[63] William of Paris, too, was to give a more spiritual twist to this art of prediction by attributing it to the illumination of a superior spiritual light, the shining surfaces and objects being mere props (though not without peril: through demonic interference shining surfaces may damage the eyes).[64] In a sense, Aristotelian and Platonic ideas are vying here to give an adequate explanation for the workings of catoptromancy. But the most dominant theory by far was the one disseminated by al-Kindi's *De radiis stellarum*, on the rays of the stars penetrating the earth and determining all processes of life and movement. It is mainly through this theory that optics, i.e. the mathematical study of rays, came to play such an important role in magic and astrology, for Dee believed that optics could teach one to 'imprint the rays of any star more strongly upon any matter subjected to it',[65] and mirrors or lenses were naturally the most adequate means of reaching that effect. Yet these are practical ramifications of the theory he never seems to have exploited. Instead, regarding his show-stones, he took a far more Platonic stance, for he related them to the Urim and Thumim of the high priests of Israel in

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[61] Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, pp. 18-20. Cf. also Pico della Mirandola, *De rerum praenotione* II.5.

[62] Delatte, *La catoptromancie*, p. 21, refers to a marginal note in Berlin, ms. 956, fol. 21v.

[63] Delatte, *id.*, pp. 25-27; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. 266.

[64] Delatte, *id.*, p. 32; William of Paris, *De universo*, cap. 20, p. 1053 Bc.

[65] Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, pp. 66-67.

which they sought the light of God to resolve doubts and questions.[66] Physical and metaphysical light were still closely related in the mind of Dee, but it is interesting to note that in the angel conversations he was not looking for the acquisition of the standard celestial benefits (as Ficino was), but was rather aiming at acquiring knowledge of the laws of nature.

Though it seems unlikely that Dee ever used or knew the almandal, his angelic magic does not differ significantly from that of the medieval text. It may well be that Dee is at the end of a tradition of angelic magic in the Latin West that was first introduced by texts like the *Holy Almandal*. It is a magic of theurgy and redemption, but also of intellectual achievement. There is more than a millennium between Plotinus and Dee, but their quests for abstract thought and the laws of nature respectively bear great resemblance.[67]

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[66] *Ibidem*, p. 207. On the Urim and Thumim, see the contribution by García Martínez in the present volume.

[67] This essay was written as part of a research project on angelology and demonology funded by The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). Some of the preparatory research was conducted at London, where the author was a Francis Yates Fellow for three months at the Warburg Institute. The author wishes to thank Alasdair MacDonald for corrections and suggestions.

APPENDIX
The Art Almadel of Solomon
London, British Library, ms. Sloane 2731

In this appendix I provide a transcription of one of the abbreviated English *Almandals* from the seventeenth century that are part of the *Lemegeton*. I have chosen the text of Sloane 2731 for largely practical reasons (for example, it is at least fully legible). I have collated it with two other versions of the same text: Sloane 3648 and 3825. Angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ indicate words and phrases omitted in Sloane 2731 but present in the other manuscripts. Square brackets [ ] indicate editorial interventions to facilitate reading. All round brackets are found in the manuscript itself. The collation has no pretension to list all orthographic variants. In respect of orthography, Sloane 2731 and 3648 are very alike, but 3825 is different in various places. Only where words or phrases differ significantly, or were omitted, or where names were spelled differently, have variant readings been documented in the notes. The spelling of Sloane 2731 has been carefully copied (including the use of ampersands). The punctuation, however, is applied by the present editor.

The first page of the manuscript contains a date: January 18, 1686. Marginal notes in the manuscript indicate that, at a later date, the text was carefully compared with another *Lemegeton* (which is almost certainly Sloane 3648). In these notes variant readings of angel names are carefully listed, but in the *Almandal* section, no such notes appear.

The *Almandal* from Sloane 2731 was published by A.W. Greenup[68] but his transcription is no longer easy to obtain. His text contains a few modernisations in the spelling; it was not collated with other *Lemegeton* manuscripts (such as Sloane 3648 and 3825) and thus has a few lacunae. Sloane 2731 had also previously attracted the attention of MacGregor Mathers, but he only published the first part of this *Lemegeton*, the *Goetia*. The present transcription contains the table of contents of the *Lemegeton* (fol. 1r-v) and the text of the *Almandal* (fol. 28r-29r). At the end of this appendix three almandal diagrams are supplied, copied in facsimile from the German and the English *Almandals*.

[68] Greenup, 'The Almadel' (kept as a booklet in the British Library: 8632 g 46).

MS SLOANE 2731

[f.1r] Lemegeton; Clauicula Salomonis[69] or The Little Key of Salomon[70] which containes all the names, orders and offices of all spirits that euer he had any converse with; with thir seals or charactors belonging to each spirit, and the manner of calling them fforth to visible[71] appearence in fiue parts called bookes.

1. The first part is a booke of euel spirits call[ed] Goetia, shewing how he bound up those sperits, and used them in seuerall things whereby he obtained great fame.

2. The second part is a booke of spirits, partly good and partly euell, which is called Theurgiagoetia being all spirits of the ayre.

3. The third part is of spirits gouerning the planetary hours, and what spirits belonges to euery degree of the signs and planets in the signs, called the Pauline art.[72]

4. The fforth part of this book is called the book Almadel of Salomon[73] contain[in]g 20 cheefe spirits which gouerns the 4 altitudes or the 360 degrees of the Zodiack or the world or signes,[74] &c. These 2 last orders of spirits is of Good and is called the true Theurgia, and is to be sought after by Divine seeking, &c.

The 5th part is a booke of orations and prayers that wise Salomon used upon the alter in the temple, which is called Artem Nouem, the which was revealed to Salomon by the holy Angel of God called Michell. And he allso receuid many breefe notes writen by the finger of God, which was deliuered to him by the said Angel with thunder claps; without which not[e]s Salomon had neuer obtained to his great knowledge, for by them in short time he knew all arts and sciences both good and bad. From[75] these notes it[76] is called the Notory Art,[77] &c.[78]

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[69] Salomonis: *Sloane 3648, 3825* Salomonis Rex

[70] Salomon: *Sloane 3648, 3825* Solomon the King

[71] 'visible' added as interlinear correction; *om. Sloane 3825.*

[72] called the Pauline art: *Sloane 3825* and is called Ars Paulina

[73] the book Almadel of Salomon: *Sloane 3648* Almadee of Solomon; *Sloane 3825* Ars Almadel Solomonis

[74] of the Zodiack or the world or signes: *Sloane 3648* of the Zodiack; *Sloane 3825* of the world & signes

[75] From: *Sloane 3825* which from

[76] 'it' added as interlinear correction; *om. Sloane 3825.*

[77] Notory Art: *Sloane 3825* Ars Notoria

[78] The fifth part of the book (the *Ars nova*, or *Ars notoria*) was never completed in Sloane 2731.

In this booke is contained the hole art of Salomon; altough there be many other books that is said to be his, yet none is to be compared with this, for this contains them all, although they be titled with seuerall other names, as the book Helisoe[79] which is the very same as this last is, which is called Artem Nouem and the Notory Art,[80] &c. [f.1v] These bookes was[81] first ffound in the Chaldean and Hebrew tounges at Hirusalem by a Jewish Rabbi and by him put into the Greeke language and from thence into the Latin – as it is said, &c.

[f.28r] Here beginneth the fourth part of this book which is called the Art Almadel of Solomon.[82]

By this art[83] Solomon attains[84] great wisdom from the cheif angels that governs the 4 altitudes of the world, for you must observe that there are[85] four altitudes which represent[86] the 4 corners of the world, East, West, North, & South, the w[hi]ch is[87] divided into 12 parts, that is every part 3[88] & the angels of every ...[89] of these parts[90] hath there particular virtues & powers, as shall be shewed in this following matter &c.

Make this[91] Almadel of pure white wax, but the others must be[92] coloured sutable to the altitudes.[93] It is to be 4 inches square[94] & 6 inches over every way & in every corner a hole & write betwixt every hole with a new pen these words or names of God following; but this is to be done in the day & hour of Sol. Write upon the first part towards the East: Adonaij,[95] Helomi, Pine & upon the second towards the south part[96]: Helion, Heloi,

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[79] Helisoe: *Sloane 3648* Helisol
[80] Notory Art: *Sloane 3825* Ars Notoria
[81] was: *Sloane 3825* were
[82] the Art Almadel of Solomon: *Sloane 3825* Salomons Almadel Art
[83] art: *Sloane 3825* rule
[84] Solomon attains: *Sloane 3825* Salomon obtained
[85] are: *Sloane 3825* be
[86] which represent: *Sloane 3825* representing
[87] is: *Sloane 3825* are
[88] every part 3: *Sloane 3825* every part or altitude into 3
[89] Blank space after 'every'.
[90] parts: *Sloane 3825* altitudes
[91] this: *Sloane 3825* the
[92] the others must be: *om. Sloane 3825*
[93] altitudes: *Sloane 3825* altitude
[94] 4 inches square: *Sloane 3825* four squares
[95] 'Adonaij' added as interlinear correction; *om. Sloane 3648*; *Sloane 3825* Adonai
[96] part: *om. Sloane 3825*

Heli & upon the west part: Jod, Hod, Agla.[97] And the[98] fourth part w[hi]ch is north,[99] writ[100]: Tetragrammaton, Shadai, Jah & betwixt the first & the other parts[101] make the pentacle of Solomon[102] thus ★ & betwixt the first quart[103] write this word Anabona & in the middle of the Almadel make a sexangle figure & in the middle of it a triangle wherein must be written these names of God: Hell,[104] Helion, Adonajj[105] & this last name round about[106] the 6 angles figure as here it is made[107] for an example.[108]

And[109] of the same wax there must be made 4 candles & they must be of the same colour as the Almadel is of. Divide your wax[110] into 3 parts, on[e][111] for to make the Almadel of & the other 2 parts to make the candles of & let there come forth of[112] every one of them a foot made of the same wax to[113] support the Almadel with. This being done, in the next place you are to make a seal of pure gold or silver, but gold is best, whereon[114] must be engraven these three names: Helion, Helluion, Adonaij.

And[115] note the first altitude is called Chora Orientis or the East altitude & to make an[116] experiment in this chora, it is to be done in the day & hour of the sun & the power & office of those angels is to make all things fruitfull & increase both animals & vegetables in creation & generation, advancing the birth of children & making barren women fruitfull & their names are these[117] (viz): Alimiel, Gabriel, Barachiel,[118] Lebes & Helison[119]

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[97] *Agla* is a common magical abbreviation for the Hebrew *Ata gibor leolam Adonai* ('Thou art mighty forever, O Lord'). See Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 139.
[98] the: *Sloane 3825* upon the
[99] north: *Sloane 3825* the north
[100] writ: *Sloane 3825* write these names
[101] parts: *Sloane 3825* quarters
[102] Solomon: *Sloane 3825* Salomon
[103] first quart: *Sloane 3825* first and other quarters
[104] Hell: *Sloane 3825* Hel
[105] Adonajj: *Sloane 3825* Adoni
[106] about: *Sloane 3825* in
[107] here it is made: *Sloane 3825* you may see in this figure, here made it being
[108] See figure 3.
[109] And: *Sloane 2731* &
[110] Divide your wax: *Sloane 3825* you must divide the wax
[111] one: *Sloane 3825* one part
[112] of: *Sloane 3825* from
[113] to: *Sloane 3825* for to
[114] whereon: *Sloane 3825* wherein
[115] And: *Sloane 2731* &; *om. Sloane 3825*
[116] an: *Sloane 3825* any
[117] these: *Sloane 3825* those
[118] Barachiel: *Sloane 3825* Borachiel
[119] Helison: *Sloane 3648, 3825* Hellison

&[120] note you must not pray for any angel[121] but these[122] that belongs to the altitude[123] you have a desire to call forth & when you operate, sett the 4 candles upon 4 candlesticks, but be carefull you do not light them before you begin to operate. Then lay the Almadel between the 4 candles upon a[124] waxen feet that comes from the candles & lay the golden seal upon the Almadel & having the invocation ready written in virgin parchment, light the candle[s] & read the invocation ⟨as is set down at the latter end of this part⟩.[125]

And[126] when he appears, he appe[28v] appeareth in the form of an angel carriying in his hand a fann or flag having the picture of a white cross ✠ upon it. His body being wrapped round[127] w[i]th a fair cloud & his face very fair & bright & a crown of rose flowers upon his head, he ascends[128] first upon the superscription of the Almadel as if it were a mist or fogg. Then must the exorcist have in readinest a vessell of earth of the same colour as[129] the Almadel is of & the other of his furniture, it being in the form of a bason & put thereinto[130] a few hot ashes or coales, but not too much least it should melt the wax of the Almadel & put therein 3 little graines of mastick in powder, so that it may fume[131] & the smell go[132] upwards through the holes of the Almadel[133] when it is under it & as soon as the angel smelleth it, he beginneth to speak with a low voice asking what your desire is & what[134] you have called the princes & governours of this[135] altitude for.[136] Then you must answer him, saying: I desire that all my requests may be granted & what I pray for may be accomplished, for your office maketh it[137] appear & declareth that such is to be fullfilled by you if it please God; adding further the particulars of your request, praying with

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[120] &: *om. Sloane 3825*
[121] angel: *Sloane 3825* angells
[122] these: *Sloane 3825* those
[123] altitude: *Sloane 3825* same altitude
[124] a: *Sloane 3825* the
[125] Phrase in Sloane 3825, but not in 2731 and 3648.
[126] And: *Sloane 2731* &
[127] round: *Sloane 3825* round about
[128] ascends: *Sloane 3825* desends
[129] as: *Sloane 3825* of
[130] thereinto: *Sloane 3825* therein
[131] may fume: *Sloane 3825* fumeth
[132] go: *Sloane 3825* may goe
[133] Almadel: *Sloane 3825* Armadel
[134] what: *Sloane 3825* why
[135] this: *Sloane 3825* his
[136] for: *om. Sloane 3825*
[137] it: *om. Sloane 3825*

humility[138] for what is lawfull & just & that you shall obtain from him, but if he do not appear presently, you must then take the golden seal & make with it 3 or 4 ma[r]ks upon the candles by w[hi]ch means the angel will presently appear as afores[ai]d & when the angel departeth, he will fill the whole place with a sweet & pleasant smell which will be smelt a long time.

And[139] note the golden seal will serve & is used[140] in all[141] the operations off all the 4[142] altitudes. The colour of the Almadel belonging to the first altitude or[143] chora is lilly white, the[144] 2d chora a perfect red rose colour, the third chora is to be a green mixt with a[145] white silver colour, the 4th chora is to be black[146] mixt with a little green or[147] a sad colour.

Of the second chora or altitude.

Note all the other 3 altitudes with their signs & princes ⟨have⟩[148] power over goods & riches & can make any man rich or poor & as the first chora gives increase & maketh fruitfull, so those[149] gives decrease & barrenness & if any have a desire to operate in any of these 3 following[150] choras or altitudes, they must do it *in die solis*[151] in the manner as above is shewed. But do not pray for any thing that is contrary to the nature of there office or that is[152] against God & his laws, but what God giveth according to the custom or[153] course of nature that you may desire & obtain. ⟨And⟩[154] all the furniture ⟨that⟩[155] is to be used, is to be of the same colour the Almadel is of & the princes of this 2d chora is named[156] (viz): Aphiriza,[157] Genon, Geron, Armon, Gereimon[158] & when you operate, kneel before the Almadel with

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138 humility: *Sloane 3825* sincerity (with 'humility' added as interliniar addition)
139 And: *Sloane 2731* &; *om. Sloane 3825*
140 used: *Sloane 3825* to be used
141 all: *om. Sloane 3825*
142 4: *om. Sloane 3825*
143 altitude or: *om. Sloane 3825*
144 the: *Sloane 3825* to the
145 a: *om. Sloane 3825*
146 black: *Sloane 3825* a black
147 or: *Sloane 3825* of
148 Word in Sloane 3825, but not in 2731 and 3648.
149 those: *Sloane 3825* these
150 these 3 following: *Sloane 3825* the other three
151 *in die solis*: *Sloane 3825* on sundays
152 that is: *om. Sloane 3825*
153 custom or: *om. Sloane 3825*
154 Word in Sloane 3825, but not in 2731 and 3648.
155 Word in Sloane 3825, but not in 2731 and 3648.
156 is named: *Sloane 3825* are named as followeth
157 Aphiriza: *Sloane 3825* Alphariza; *Sloane 3648* Aphariza
158 Gereimon: *Sloane 3825* Gereinon

clothes of the same colour in a closet hung with the same colours also, for the holy apparstion[159] will be of the same colours & when he appeareth,[160] put an earthen vessel[161] under the Almadel with fire or hott ashes & 3 grains of mastick to perfume[162] as aforesaid[163] & when the angel smelleth it,[164] he turneth his face towards you asking the exorcist with a low voice why he hath called the princes of this chora or altitude. Then you must answer as before:[165] I desire that my requests may be granted & the contents thereof may be accomplished, for your office maketh appear & declareth that such is to be done by you if it please God & you must not be fearfull, but speak humbly saying: I recommend my self wholely to[166] your office & I pray unto you,[167] princes of this altitude, that I may enjoy & obtain all things according to[168] my wishes & desires & you may further express your mind in all particulars in your prayer & do the like in the other 2[169] choras following.[170]

The angels of the[171] second altitude appeareth in the form of a young child with cloths of sattin & of a red rose colour having a crown of red gillyflowers upon his head. His face looketh[172] upwards to heaven & is of a red colour & is compassed round about with a bright splendor as the beames of the sun & before he departeth, he speaketh unto the exorcist, saying: I am your friend & brother & illuminateth the air round about with his splendor & leaveth a[173] pleasant smell w[hi]ch will last[174] a long time upon there heads.[175]

Of the 3d chora or altitude.

In this chora you must[176] do in all things as you was[177] before directed in the other 2. The angels of this altitude is named[178] (viz): Eliphaniasai,[179]

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[159] apparstion: *Sloane 3825* appirition
[160] appeareth: *Sloane 3825* is appeared
[161] an earthen vessel: *Sloane 3825* the earthen bason
[162] to perfume: *Sloane 3825* in poweder to fume
[163] aforesaid: *Sloane 3825* aboue written
[164] it: *Sloane 3825* the perfume
[165] before: *Sloane 3825* before, saying
[166] to: *Sloane 3825* into
[167] you: *Sloane 3825* your
[168] & obtain all things according to: *om. Sloane 3825*
[169] other 2: *Sloane 3825* 2 other
[170] following: *Sloane 3825* that follow
[171] angels of the: *Sloane 3825* angell of this
[172] looketh: *Sloane 3825* looking
[173] leaveth a: *om. Sloane 3825*
[174] will last: *Sloane 3825* lasteth
[175] upon there heads: *om. Sloane 3825*
[176] must: *Sloane 3825* are to

Gelomiros, Gedobonai, Saranava[180] & Elomina,[181] they appear in the form of little[182] children or little women drest in green & silver colours, very delightfull to behold & a crown of bays[183] besett with ⟨flowers of⟩[184] white & green colours upon there heads & they seem to look a little downwards with there face[185] & they speak as the others do to the exorcist & leaveth[186] a mighty sweet perfume behind them.

[29r] Of the fourth chora or altitude.

In this chora you must do as before[187] in the other & the angels of this chora is[188] called: Barchiel, Gediel, ⟨Gabiel⟩,[189] Deliel & Captiel.[190] They[191] appear in form of little men or boys with cloths of a black colour mixt with a dark green & in their hands[192] they hold a bird w[hi]ch is naked & their heads ⟨are beare, only it is compassed round and besett besett[193] with ivy berries. They are all very beautifull and comely, and are⟩[194] compassed round with a bright shining of divers colours. They leave a sweet smell behind them also, but differs from the others something.

Note there is[195] 12 princes besides[196] those in the 4 altitudes & they distribute there office[s] amongst themselves, every one ruling 30 days every year. Now it will be in vain to call any of the[197] angels unless it be those that governs then,[198] for every chora or altitude hath its limited time according to the 12 signs of the Zodiack & in that sign the sun is in. That[199] or those angels that belong to that sign hath the government, as for example:

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[177] was: *Sloane 3825* are
[178] is named: *Sloane 3825* are named as follows
[179] Eliphaniasai: *Sloane 3825* Eliphamasai
[180] Saranava: *Sloane 3825* Saranana (Greenup has 'Taranava').
[181] Elomina: *Sloane 3825* Elomnia
[182] little: *om. Sloane 3825*
[183] bays: *Sloane 3825* bay leaves
[184] Phrase in Sloane 3825, not in 2731; 3648 deleted 'flowers'.
[185] face: *Sloane 3825* faces
[186] leaveth: *Sloane 3825* leaue
[187] before: *om. Sloane 3825*
[188] is: *Sloane 3825* are
[189] 'Gabiel' only in Sloane 3825.
[190] Greenup misspelled 'Capitiel'.
[191] They: *Sloane 3825* these
[192] hands: *Sloane 3825* hand
[193] The repetition of 'besett' is, of course, otiose.
[194] Line in Sloane 3825, not in 2731 or 3648.
[195] is: *Sloane 3825* are
[196] besides: *Sloane 3825* rulling besides
[197] the: *Sloane 3825* those
[198] governs then: *Sloane 3825* then gouerneth
[199] That: *Sloane 3825* that angell

suppose I would call the 2 first of the[200] 5 that belong to the first chora, then cho[o]se the first Sunday in March after[201] the sun hath[202] entered Aries & then I make an[203] experiment & so do the like if you will the next Sunday after again &[204] if you will call the 2 second that belongs to the first chora, ⟨then you must take⟩[205] that Sunday after the sun enters ♉ in Aprill.[206] But if you will[207] call the last of the 5,[208] then you must take those Sundays that is[209] in May after the Sun is entered ♊ to make your experiment in. Do the like in the other altitudes, for they have all one way of working, but the altitudes have a name formed severally in the substance of the heavens,[210] even a character, for when the angels hear the names of God that is[211] attributed to them, they hear it by virtue[212] of that character. Therefore it is in vain to call any angel or spirit, unless he knows[213] what name[214] of God to call him[215] by. Therefore observe the form of this conjuration or invocation following.[216]

The Invocation

O thou great blessed & glorious Angel of God (N) who rulest and is the cheif governing angel in the first chora or altitude in ⟨the East⟩.[217] I, the servant of the highest, the same, your God, Adonaij, Helomi & Pine, whom you do obey & is the distributer & disposer of all things both in heaven, earth & hell, do invocate, conjure & intreat yee (N) that thou forthwith appear in the virtue & power of the same God Adonaij, Helomi & Pine & I do command thee by him whom you do obey & is set over you as king by

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[200] the: *Sloane 3825* those
[201] after: *Sloane 3825* that is after
[202] hath: *Sloane 3825* is
[203] an: *Sloane 3825* my
[204] &: *Sloane 3825* But
[205] Phrase in Sloane 3825, not in 2731 or 3648.
[206] that Sunday after the sun enters ♉ in Aprill: *Sloane 3825* then you must take the Sundays that are in Aprill after the ☉ is entred ♉
[207] will: *om. Sloane 3825*
[208] 5: *Sloane 3825* 5th
[209] is: *Sloane 3825* are
[210] the heavens: *Sloane 3825* heaven
[211] is: *Sloane 3825* are
[212] virtue: *Sloane 3825* the the vertue
[213] he knows: *Sloane 3825* you know
[214] name: *Sloane 3825* names
[215] him: *Sloane 3825* them
[216] conjuration or invocation following: *Sloane 3825* following conjuration or invocation
[217] Phrase omitted in Sloane 2731, but present in 3648 and 3825.

the divine power of God, that you forthwith descend from thy orders[218] or place of abode to come unto[219] me & shew thy self plainly & visibly here before me in this crystall stone in thy own proper shape & glory, speaking with a voice intelligible & to my understanding. O thou mighty & powerfull[220] Angel (N), who art by the power of God ordained to govern all animals, vegetables & minerals[221] & to cause[222] them & all[223] creatures of God to spring, increase & bring forth according to there kinds & natures. I, the servant of the most high God whom you obey,[224] do[225] intreat & humbly beseech thee to come from your cœlestial mansion[226] & shew unto me all things I shall desire of you, so far as in office you may or can or is[227] capable to perform if God permit to the same. O thou servant of mercy (N), I do humbly intreat[228] & beseech[229] thee in & by those holy & blessed[230] names of your God,[231] Adonaij, Helomi, Pine & I do also[232] constraine you in & by this powerfull[233] name Anabona that you forthwith appear visibly & plainly in your own proper shape & glory in & through this crystall stone, that I may visibly see you[234] & audibly hear you speak unto me &[235] that I may have thy blessed & glorious angelical assistance, familiar friendship, &

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[218] The opening lines of the invocation in Sloane 2731 and 3648 ('O thou great ... from thy orders') are differently organised in Sloane 3825 (although the words are more or less the same): 'O thou great, mighty & blessed angell of God, N, who rueleth as the chiefe & first governing angell in the first chora or altitude, in the East, under the great prince of the East, whome you obey and is sett over you as kinge by the divine power of God, Adonai, Helomi, Pine; who is the distributter & disposer of all things, holly in heaven and earth and hell; I, the servant of that God Adonai, Helomi, Pine, which you obey, doe invocate, conjure & intreat thee, N, that thou forthwith appeareth, & by the virtue & power of the same God, I doe command thee forth from thy order...'

[219] unto: *Sloane 3825* into

[220] powerfull: *Sloane 3825* blessed

[221] all animals, vegetables & minerals: *Sloane 3825* all vegetables and animalls

[222] to cause: *Sloane 3825* causeth

[223] all: *Sloane 3825* all other

[224] the most high God whom you obey: *Sloane 3825* the same your God

[225] do: *Sloane 3825* I doe

[226] from your cœlestial mansion: *om. Sloane 3825*

[227] may or can or is: *Sloane 3825* can or be

[228] intreat: *Sloane 3825* entreat thee

[229] beseech: *Sloane 3825* humbely beseech

[230] those holy & blessed: *Sloane 3825* these 3

[231] God: *Sloane 3825* true God

[232] I doe also: *Sloane 3825* doe

[233] powerfull: *om. Sloane 3825*

[234] you: *Sloane 3825* thee

[235] &: *om. Sloane 3825*

constant society, community[236] & instruction both now & at all other times to inform & rightly instruct me in my ignorance[237] & depraved intellect, judgment & understanding & to assist me both herein & in all other truths else the Almighty Adonaij, the King of Kings, the giver of all good gifts, that[238] his bountifull & fatherly mercy be graciously pleased to bestow upon me. Therefore, o thou blessed Angel (N), be friendly unto me ⟨and doe for me⟩[239] so far as God shall give[240] you power ⟨in office to performe wherunto I inuocate you in powre⟩[241] & presense to appear, that I may sing with his holy angels: O mappa la man Hallelujah Amen.

When he appears,[242] give him or them kind entertainment & then ask what is just & lawfull & that w[hi]ch is proper & sutable to his office & you shall obtain it. So endeth the 4th Book called the Almadel of Solomon the King.[243] Finis.[244]

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[236] community: *Sloane 3825* communication
[237] ignorance: *Sloane 3825* ignorant
[238] that: *Sloane 3825* shall in
[239] Phrase in Sloane 3825, not in 2731 or 3648.
[240] shall give: *Sloane 3825* hath given
[241] Phrase omitted in Sloane 2731, but present in 3648. Sloane 3825 has 'I move you in power' instead of 'I invocate…'
[242] appears: *Sloane 3825* is appeared
[243] the 4th Book called the Almadel of Solomon the King: *Sloane 3825* the Booke Almadel of Solomon.
[244] Finis: *om. Sloane 3825*

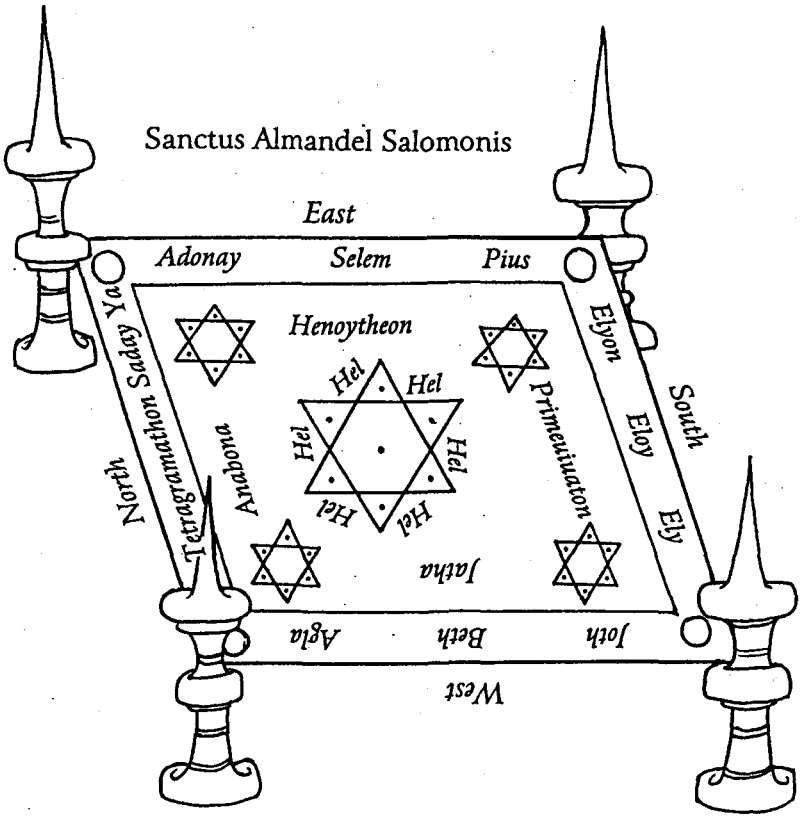

Figure 1. The almandal as it can be found in Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 458, fol. 221r, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. allemand 160, fol. 246r (courtesy of the University Library of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg). Paris, allemand 160 also has another incomplete almandal diagram on fol. 235v in which the inner set of four names (*Primeuiuaton*, *Jatha*, *Anabona*, *Henoytheon*) are mislocated. (The cardinal directions in figure 1 added by J.R.V.)

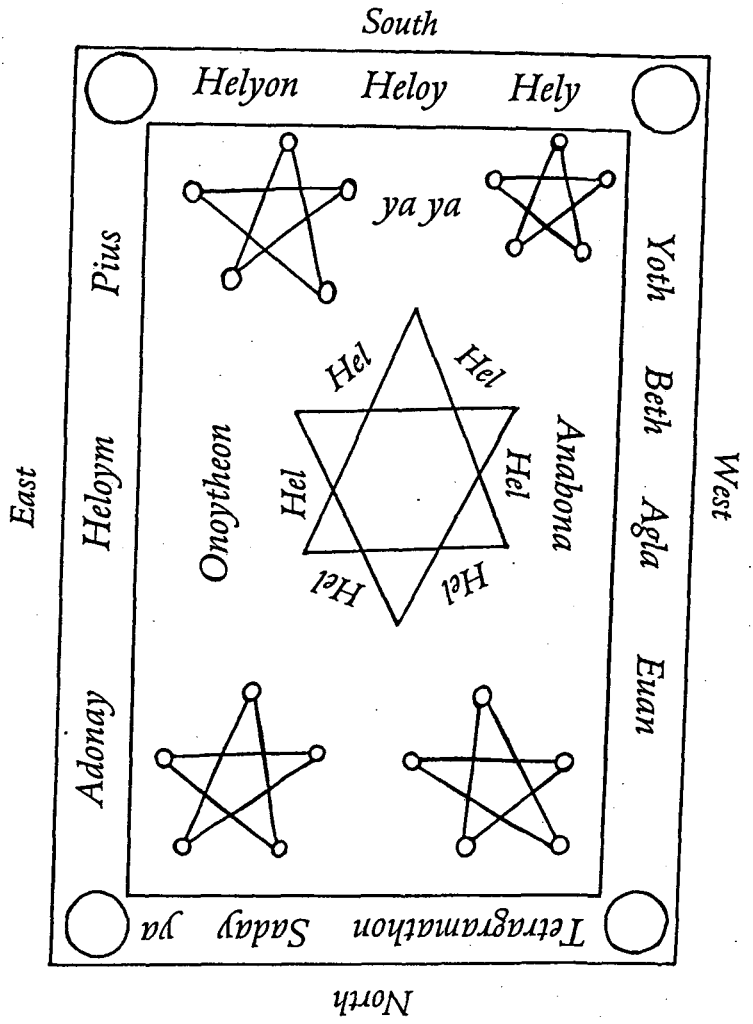

Figure 2. Spaun's almandal copied from München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 407, p. 15 (courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). The word 'Euan' (right hand corner) seems to be a scribal error. (The cardinal directions in figure 2 added by J.R.V.)

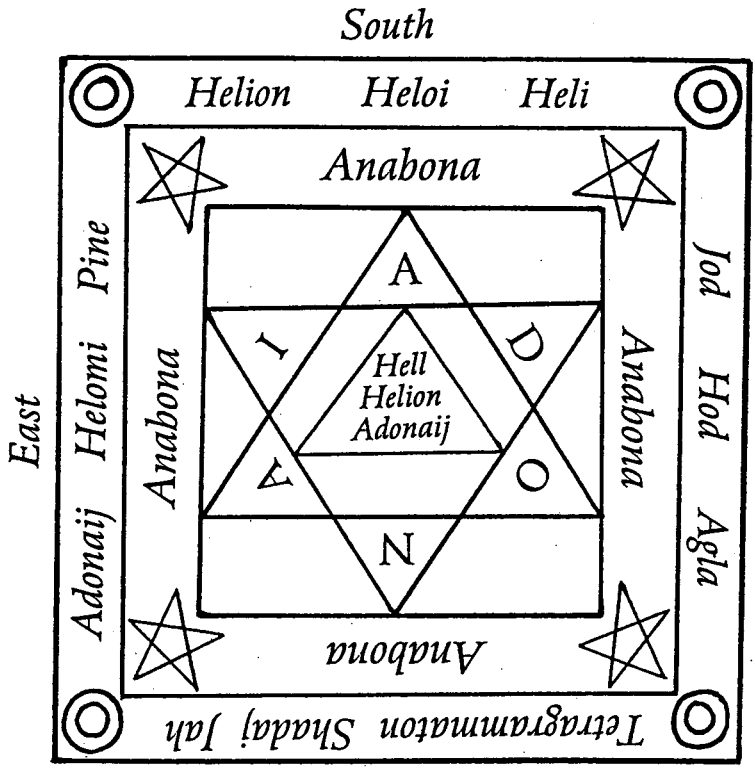

Figure 3. The almandal of British Library, ms. Sloane 2731, fol. 28r, carefully copied from the manuscript (courtesy of the British Library). The indications of the cardinal directions (South and East) are not in Sloane 2731, but in Sloane 3648 (fol. 30v). The diagram can also be found in Sloane 3825, fol. 145v.

THE COMPLETE NATURE OF CHRIST

SOURCES AND STRUCTURES OF A CHRISTOLOGICAL THEURGY IN THE WORKS OF JOHANNES REUCHLIN

Bernd Roling

In his famous work *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), Reginald Scot criticises the magical ideas of a mixed company of believers, who are nevertheless destined to share similar convictions. As England's demonologist points out, words are unable to evoke substantial changes, for substance, being immutably embedded in God as His creature, is beyond man's reach. There are some, however, who seem to entertain different opinions: the kabbalists, on the one hand, who claim to be capable of transforming one substance into another, the papists on the other hand, whose creed is no less determined by the doctrine of transubstantiation whereby the word enables the incarnation of the Word. Both kabbalist and priest claim to engender a substantial change by the words they use, which in the view of the Anglican makes them both guilty of using magic. This belief, Scot asserts, is essentially a fallacy, for no creative relationship connects word and reality, unless God Himself speaks in the act of creation.[1]

Whereas the role of magic in Judaism and Jewish Kabbalah has become increasingly significant to scholars in recent years,[2] hardly any attention has been given to the adoption of magical ideas by Christian kabbalists, while probably only the latter were known to Reginald Scot. This paper investigates to what extent Jewish and oriental magic were deployed in the occultist works of Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), written some sixty years before the *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. Reuchlin can be seen as the second

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[1] Scot, *The Discoverie*, ed. Summers, XII.2, pp. 123-124: *New qualities may be added by humane art, but no new substance can be made or created by man. And seeing that art faileth herin, doubtles neither the illusions or divels, nor the cunning of witches, can bring anie such thing trulie to passe. For by sound of the words nothing commeth, nothing goeth, otherwise than God in nature hath ordeined to be doone by ordinarie speech, or else by his speciall ordinance.* Scot seems to have grasped Bronislaw Malinowski's idea of the magical word as a 'creative metaphor'. See Tambiah, 'The Magical Power of Words', pp. 185-186.

[2] On magic in the Jewish world, see Idel, 'On Judaism', *passim*.

leading protagonist of Christian Kabbalah next to Pico della Mirandola. In the following pages we shall attempt to identify some of the objects of Scot's criticism and find out on what intrinsic logic a rejection of the transformation of substances as well as ideas connecting magical practice and sacramental event were based. As will be shown in the course of the argument, it makes sense to limit oneself to two basic ideas, firstly, the assumption of an anthropomorphic angelic macrocosm, and, secondly, the picture of a 'complete nature'. This will enable one to explore how both acquire a new, system-immanent shape within Christian Kabbalah. With an eye to keeping the argument within bounds, we shall have to omit related concepts such as the astral body and the transformation within the hypostasised aspects of God, called Sefirot.

The angelic macrocosm

Like late antique philosophy, Judaism did not limit its world to the visible, but created a spiritual architecture to bridge the discomforting gap between God and the world. Ever since the vision of Ezechiel (*Ez.* 1) speculations on the structure of heaven and the throne (*merkavah*) of God loomed large in Judaism. The perhaps most renowned yet partly untypical work of the Merkavah tradition, called *Sefer Hekhalot* or *3 Henoch*, offers material untouched by theurgic practice.[3] The main protagonist of this work is Rabbi Ishmael, who gains admission into the World of the Throne, where he meets Metatron, the 'Angel of presence', and speaks with him.[4] At this point Metatron reveals that he is Henoch, who was transferred from the idolatrous world before the Deluge.[5] He reports that it is true that the angels blamed him for his human nature (for he was the son of Jared), yet due to his integrity he was permitted to enter the heavens by the side of the angel Anafiel and on the wings of the Shechinah;[6] in heaven God gives him 72 wings, which comprise all the world, and 365 starry eyes as the signs of angelic existence.[7] Furthermore, all the secrets of the Law and creation are laid open to him.[8] Clad in light, Metatron is henceforth called the lesser

[3] I use the edition of Odeberg, which offers an English translation. See also the new edition of *3 Henoch* prepared by Schäfer, *Synopse*, §§ 1-80; *idem*, *Übersetzung*, vol. 1. On the relationship with Merkavah mysticism, see Grünwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, pp. 191-208.
[4] Odeberg, *3 Henoch*, chapt. 1, pp. 3-4 (Hebrew), pp. 3-5 (English).
[5] *Ibidem*, chapt. 4, pp. 6-8 (Hebrew), pp. 8-13 (English).
[6] *Ibidem*, chapt. 6-7, pp. 11-14 (Hebrew), pp. 19-22 (English).
[7] *Ibidem*, chapt. 9, pp. 14-15 (Hebrew), pp. 25-26 (English).
[8] *Ibidem*, chapt. 11, pp. 16-17 (Hebrew), pp. 30-31 (English). On the transformation of Henoch into an angel, see Schäfer, 'Engel und Menschen', pp. 272-275. Schäfer

YHWH, for 'my name is in him'.[9] Princes, angels of elements, stars and planets subject themselves to him. Having finished the story of his transference, Metatron continues with a detailed angelology, which, based on Merkavah mysticism, consists of heavens with the divisions and subdivisions of the angels that govern them, as well as the duties of those divisions concerning both God and the world.[10] The names of the angels are mostly derived from the domain of the cosmos (*Shemesh'el* or *Laila'el*), or, more rarely, from their own hierarchical ranks.[11] On explaining the celestial universe, Metatron points out to Ishmael the dwelling-place of the just souls that either have not yet been born or have already returned to the throne of glory.[12]

To readers from a later age and a different context this narrative offers material which, due to its assumed age and authority, is considered to be of the highest order, since it not only reveals the transformation from a human into an angelic being – assisted by a guardian angel, Anafiel – but also offers an angelic cosmos, subservient to man, and a connection between the highest angelic life-form and the ineffable Name of God. Not least, it provides a model of an assumed Son of God which is open to any kind of further interpretation. Obviously, it is tempting to assume the existence of several hypostases or even to formulate Judaeo-Christian syncretisms that identify the divine form of Metatron with Christ.[13]

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interprets Henoch's transmutation as an invitation to re-enact the experience of the Merkavah mystics by literary means, whereas Grünwald (*Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, p. 201) even interprets it as a direct answer to the role of Christ. Cf. Idel, 'Enoch is Metatron', pp. 228-236, on the role of Henoch as an *Adam restitutus* who regains the lost state of angelic innocence through a mystical ascent. On the angel Anafiel as a possible mirror of the Creator in close relationship to Metatron, see also Dan, 'Anafiel', *passim*.

[9] Odeberg, *3 Henoch*, chapt. 12, p. 17 (Hebrew), pp. 32-33 (English); chapt. 14, pp. 18-20 (Hebrew), pp. 36-38 (English). The most detailed discussion of the figure of Metatron so far is offered by Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate*, pp. 27-47, esp. pp. 34-35: 'Instead of a hard and fast division between human and angelic existence, Enoch-Metatron points to a more fluid ontological and functional continuum. Of course it may be argued, that the true division within Merkavah mysticism existed between God and all of his creatures, including angels. Even this model must be qualified in light of Metatron, however, who not only blurs the boundaries between human and angelic beings, but [...] between angelic and divine existence'.

[10] Odeberg, *3 Henoch*, with some interpolations, chapt. 17-42, pp. 23-46 (Hebrew), pp. 45-132 (English).

[11] Cf. Grünwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, pp. 204-207.

[12] Odeberg, *3 Henoch*, chapt. 43-44, pp. 46-48 (Hebrew), pp. 132-140 (English).

[13] For a brilliant survey of gnostic and hermetic parallels as well as possible early Christian influences and adaptations, see Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God', pp. 276-288. On later kabbalistic interpretations, see Abrams, 'The Boundaries', pp. 311-316, and

Another text belonging to the field of Merkavah literature is the *Shi'ur Qomah* ('Measurement of the divine'), a work extant in several versions under several names. It explores in a mystically exaggerated manner the concept of the divine macranthropos ('great man'), which was sharply criticised by opponents of an anthropomorphic idea of God (such as Maimonides).[14] The limbs of God are measured in parasangs to the last detail, almost technically, and fitted with their adequate extensions, their own names and angelic force. Thus, regarding the eyes of God it says: 'The black of His right eye is 10,000,500 parasangs. The name of its prince is Rachmiel. The name of the white of His right eye is Pachakarsiah and the name of the white of the left eye is Bazaqtzatqiah'.[15] As in the *Sefer Hekhalot*, magic is not only absent but explicitly repudiated.[16] More eminent is the metaphysical wisdom of salvation of the *Shi'ur Qomah*, which is not something to be simply put into practice, but, being to some extent a basis of the forthcoming world, should be recited as a Mishna.[17] The reader obtains a vision of a *divine* macrocosm, which consists of a number of divine and angelic names and was originally meant as an object of meditation.

Shi'ur Qomah and *Sefer Hekhalot* traditions remained close to Ashkenaz-Judaism, were adapted to its needs and enjoyed a multifarious reception.[18] Quite contrary to its original intentions, the *Shi'ur Qomah*, along

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pp. 316-321 on later Jewish-Christian discussions of the relationship between Metatron and Christ.

[14] Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah*, pp. 216-217 (Appendix 11). See also Grünwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, pp. 213-217; Scholem, 'Shi'ur Koma', pp. 12-30; and also, with special regard to Cohen's edition, Schäfer, 'Shi'ur Qomah', *passim*. On a possible relationship between *Shi'ur Qomah* and early Christian traditions, see Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God', and Mopsik, 'La datation'.

[15] Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah* (*Sefer Haqqomah*), p. 144, vv. 89-91.

[16] Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah* (*Siddur rabbah*), pp. 52-53, vv. 126-142: 'R. Ishmael said: I heard the sweet voice of the Godhead saying, I am the Lord of all souls. All the names stated in this book have no equivalencies, and (regarding) him who knows them but does not use them in magic incantation), I swear [that if he merits reward] he shall surely (thereafter) inherit Paradise (...). On the other hand, should he use (the names magically), his (good reward) shall turn to evil, and I shall give him over to the cruel angel'.

[17] Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah*, p. 152, vv. 125-127: 'R. Ishmael said: I and R. Aqiba are guarantors in this matter, that in this world (he is secure) in a good life, and in the world to come, (he may be secure) in a good name, (but) only if he recites this as a mishna every day'. Cf. Dan, 'The Concept of Knowledge', *passim*.

[18] Cf. Wolfson, 'Metatron'; Dan, *The 'Unique Cherub' Circle*, pp. 109-111, 147-148, 240-251; Hermann, 'Re-written Mystical Texts', pp. 109-114. On the problem of the canalisation and modification of several traditions in the Ashkenaz surroundings, see Ta-Shema, 'Sifriyatam', esp. p. 309. On the presence of Ashkenaz material in Renaissance Italy, cf. Idel, 'Jewish Mystical Thought', pp. 32-34.

with other cosmological designs, became an integral part of what is probably the most significant collection of magical literature in Hebrew, the *Sefer Raziel*, and therefore, eventually, became part of a wider context of magical practices and prescriptions.[19] It was other parts of this collection rather than the *Shi'ur Qomah* that degraded the macranthropos of divine and angelic names to a prelude of magical practice. An important basis for this magical material is *Sefer ha-Razim*, which was edited by Margalioth.[20] Of unsure date,[21] the *Book of Mysteries* justifies its own existence by means of the figure of Noah, who was given a book by the angel Raziel to overcome the imminent danger of the Deluge. It was through his wisdom and knowledge of astrology as well as through the correct naming and ritual adoration of the main angelic choirs that Noah was able to tell good from bad and to apply apt miracles in any situation.[22]

As stated in the book itself, it provided Solomon with the same wisdom by a chain of tradition.[23] On reading the occultist manual, one can observe the transformation of the cosmological and mystical nature of the wisdom of salvation into a genuinely magical one. Analogous to the seven assumed firmaments that reach up to the World of the Throne, which is characterised merely by the form of a doxology, the *Sefer ha-Razim* is divided into seven

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[19] Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah* (*Sefer Raziel*), pp. 77-124. Another cosmological and non magical ingredient is the *Berayta de Ma'aseh Bereshit*, which, referring to creation history, contributes a whole range of angelic names. Cf. Sed, 'Une cosmologie juive'.

[20] Margalioth's paramount editorial achievement notwithstanding, it is helpful to use Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln*, while reading that edition; *ibidem*, pp. 16-17, for criticism of Margalioth's editorial practice. There is a translation of the *Sefer ha-Razim* by Morgan. See also Grünwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, pp. 225-234; Sed, 'Le Sefer ha-Razim'; Schäfer, 'Jewish Magical Literature', pp. 81-82. On the function of *Sefer ha-Razim* in *Sefer Raziel*, see *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, pp. 44-46.

[21] Early fourth century according to Margalioth (*Sefer ha-Razim*, p. 24); seventh century according to Grünwald (*Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, p. 226).

[22] *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, pp. 65-66; *Sepher ha-Razim*, transl. Morgan, pp. 17-20, esp. p. 18: '(Noah learned) from it rituals (that cause) death and rituals (that preserve) life, to understand the evil and the good, to search out (the right) season and moments (for magical rites) (...) to arouse combat to rule over spirits and over demons, to send them (wherever you wish) so they will go out like slaves'. On the introduction as a whole, see Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, pp. 191-192. On Jewish magical literature, cf. Veltri, *Magie und Halakha*, pp. 262-264.

[23] *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, p. 66; *Sepher ha-Razim*, transl. Morgan, p. 19: 'And the Books of Mysteries were disclosed to him and he became very learned in books of understanding, and (so) he ruled over everything he desired, over all spirits and the demons that wander in the world, and from the wisdom of this book he imprisoned and released, and sent out and brought in, and built and prospered'.

parts, each of which shows a basically identical structure. Beginning with a technical description of the structure of the respective heavens, it subsequently assigns the angels of the firmament to their particular subdivisions. Then it gives the names of the angels, and their functions in relation to the world. The next step shows how the angelic attributes are applied, and what procedures are necessary for magical use. These are followed by an invocation and – depending on the circumstances – a ritual conclusion of the procedure.[24] Each part of the practice becomes intelligible as it is embedded in an angelic cosmos. The fourth firmament is marked by fire and dew, so that the respective divisions are in charge of sun and rain. The procedure is therefore aimed at the mundane influence of this constellation.

Almost the same is true of the invocations arranged according to a deductive scheme, as can be found in different magical contexts.[25] Prior to the invocations, the names of all relevant angels are recited. As may be true for magic in general, the name is the main device of human influence, since pronouncing the name allows admission into the essence of the angel whose services are required.[26] Invocation proper begins with a coercive spell to summon an angel by referring to a divine attribute such as a salubrious feat or a mundane aspect of divine power, which is followed by an order to act. Characteristically, the angel can only be conjured by locating him within the attributes of God.[27] The personal wish of the magician is mostly preceded by another spell of command, and an obligatory spell of release concludes the procedure. In our case the angels of the sun are ordered to make the sun appear at night. The conjuring attribute is the totality of the stars, and more specifically, the illuminating omniscience of God, which in the personified shape of the angel representing the sun is placed at the disposal of the addressee.[28] Since it refers to the tetragrammaton, and makes

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[24] On the structure, see *Sepher ha-Razim*, transl. Morgan, pp. 6-7.

[25] Cf. Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln*, pp. 73, 76. For parallel arrangements on, e.g., amulets, see Swartz, 'Scribal Magic', pp. 178-179.

[26] Fundamental and still useful in this respect is Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, pp. 117-128; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 78-103. Trachtenberg's work focuses primarily on the *Sefer Raziel*. On the magical name, cf. Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln*, pp. 74-78, and recently Kilcher, *Die Sprachtheorie*, pp. 85-90.

[27] Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln*, pp. 79-96.

[28] *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, pp. 98-99, ll. 47-57; Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln*, pp. 215-216; *Sepher ha-Razim*, transl. Morgan, pp. 70-71: 'In the name of the Holy King who walks upon the wings of the wind, by the letters of the complete name that was revealed to Adam in the Garden of Eden, (by) the Ruler of the Planets, and the sun, and the moon, who bow down before Him as slaves before their masters, by the name of the wondrous God, I adjure you, that you will make known to me this great miracle that I desire, and that I may see the sun in his power in the terrestrial circle (traversed by) his chariot, and let no hidden thing be too diffi-

deliberate use of Hellenistic material (a noteworthy fact with an eye to later adaptations), the invocation contains elements that were to become common with later authors.

Even before the Christian Kabbalah was formally established, the compilation assembled under the title of *Sefer Raziel* was partly translated into Latin, with different names, different sizes as well as divergent supplements and parentheses. There were French and English versions, mixed with several additions from the *Clavicula Salomonis* literature, well known in occultist circles. Direct translations of the parts already included in the *Sefer ha-Razim* also existed.[29] Reuchlin knew the *Liber Razielis*, although he was sceptical towards it.[30] Paolo Ricci († 1541), Maximilian's physician in ordinary, a convert, and colleague of Reuchlin, knew it through his Maecenas.[31] It was Guillaume Postel (who cannot be dealt with here) who, finally, departing from christological premises, connected the tradition of Raziel directly to the polyglot tradition of the Henoch complex.[32] It was already in several works of Reuchlin's idol Pico that the idea of a *transformatio naturae* was linked to the figures of Henoch and Metatron, if perhaps mediated by Abraham Abulafia.[33] It would seem that Reuchlin had at hand the *Sefer Hekhalot* in a translation by Flavius Mithradates, whose text was taken from

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cult for me. Let me see him perfectly today, and let me ask him what I wish, and let him speak with me as a man speaks with his friend and tell me the secret of the depths, and make known to me hidden things, and let no evil thing happen to me'. One more invocation and the spell of release follows. On the invocation, cf. Schäfer, 'Jewish Magical Literature', p. 81. On Greek parallels, cf. Lesses, 'Speaking with Angels', pp. 49-51; on the Greek vocabulary, see Sznol, 'Sefer ha Razim', pp. 277-282. It can easily be imagined what a Renaissance neoplatonist might find in this text.

[29] On the Latin *Liber Razielis*, see *Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, pp. 54-55 (concise), and Secret, 'Sur quelques traductions', *passim*, but esp. pp. 240-241 on the Latin translation of the parts from the *Sefer ha-Razim*.

[30] Thus, after an extended catalogue of kabbalistic authorities, he writes in the first book of *De arte cabalistica*: *Nolo addere librum Salomoni sub nomine Razielis inscriptum, quia est fictio magica*. Cf. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, p. 94. Goodman's bilingual edition is based on a facsimile of the Latin edition (Hanau, 1517).

[31] A translation was dedicated to the spiritual director of Paolo Ricci, Frederigo Gomez de Lisboa, by Bernadinus Moronus, another protagonist of the early Christian Kabbalah. Cf. Secret, 'Un cabbaliste chrétien oublié'.

[32] See Secret, 'Le Raziel et le livre d'Enoch', pp. 119-136.

[33] Cf. Pico, *De hominis dignitate / Von der Würde des Menschen*, pp. 6-8; Pico, *Commentary*, pp. 554, 147 and 181. On the influence of Abulafia, cf. Wirszubski, *Pico's Encounter*, pp. 231-234. On Pico's use of Metatron, see esp. Copenhaver, 'L'occulto in Pico', pp. 231-232.

the *Sodei Razzaya* of Eleazar of Worms.[34] Lodovico Lazzarelli, who was far less well-known, associates a person's transfiguration through a magical token with a whole catalogue of occultist topics. Furthermore, he cites the *Tabula semphorae Rasiel*, a book called *Spectaculum Liber Enoch Hermetis*, as well as an *Almadel et pentagonus*.[35] The *Shi'ur Qomah* had already been used one century earlier, in an entirely different context, by the convert and apologist Abner of Burgos, who became famous under the name Alfonso de Valladolid, and whose aim it was to find an equivalent of the incarnation in Jewish literature.[36]

The complete nature

Let us now turn to the concept of the *natura completa* and the idea of one's personal angel as the object of magic. This concept of the complete nature was coined by two Plotinian texts mediated by Arabic sources. One of them, Iamblichus's *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum*, can be seen as a basis for a theurgical approach to one's personal daimon. The other, the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*, which is based on an excerpt from the *Enneads*, in original fashion establishes the idea of a mystical self-interpretation on a higher level.[37] Both texts existed in Latin versions when the Christian Kabbalah reached its peak.[38] According to Iamblichus, a daimon is attributed to every person, and can be made the object of theurgical operations.[39] Where-

[34] On these manuscripts, see Hermann, 'The Reception', pp. 38-39; Wirszubski, *Pico's Encounter*, p. 16; Lelli, 'Pico', pp. 206-208 and 210-211.

[35] Cf. Garin, *et al.*, *Testi umanistici*, pp. 38-39 (*Epistola Enoch*), pp. 68-69 (*Crater Ermetis*); Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 171-173. See also Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, pp. 5-6 (Poimandres 24-25). On *Almadel*, see the contribution by Jan R. Veenstra in this volume.

[36] Alfonso de Valladolid, *Mostrador*, vol. 1, pp. 21-22 (17r), pp. 158-159 (85r); Alfonso de Valladolid, *Teshuvot la Meharef*, pp. 36-37 (51a). See also Scholem, 'Considérations', pp. 28-29, 43.

[37] I have used Iamblique, *Les mystères*, transl. Des Places (VIII.6, IX.10, pp. 199-210) and *Theologie des Aristoteles*, ed. Dieterici.

[38] Marsilio Ficino provided an abridged translation of *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum* (Venice, 1497, 1503). The relevant sections are found in Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum*, fols. 71-76. The *Uthuludija Aristatalis* was published in Rome in 1519, entirely paraphrased, entitled *Sapientissimi Aristotelis Stagiritae Theologia sive mistica philosophia secundum Aegyptios noviter reperta et in Latinum castigatissime redacta*. Immediately after its publication, it was used in proving Aristotle's indebtedness to Plato. See Mahoney, 'Pier Nicola Castellani', pp. 387-390. On the neoplatonic context of this work, see D'Ancona Costa, 'Il Tema'. In its reception and interpretation, see Vajda, 'Les notes d'Avicenne', pp. 346-406; Avicenna, *Epistola*, XLII-XLIV, pp. 140-144.

[39] On the concept of theurgy in late Antiquity in general, cf. Lewy, *Chaldaean*

as the lower soul remains subject to stellar influence and, hence, to fate, the intelligible soul, being connected with the divine world, can free itself from the determinant power of the stars.[40] The personal daimon as an individual principle can be ritually conjured up in order to function as a catalyst in this connection. He is free from the disposition of the ascendent and, as a manifestation of a universal power geared to an individual person, he fills the intelligible soul and enables it to prepare its own apotheosis.[41] Thus the private daimon might be characterised as a person's pre-existent ideal, as the driving force on the way to divinity. Hence, in Iamblichus's view, the personal daimon does not refer to a certain part of a person, nor does a person possess more than one daimon.[42] He is a product of the divine will and devotes himself to the theurgist only on divine command.[43] The *Theology of Aristotle* speculates on how the contemplative subject leaves the bounds of his body, a notion that would become a prototype in later Arabic and Hebrew philosophy. In the highly articulate Arabic version of the *Theology*, the thinker, turning to his soul, *enters* – like a hypostasis – his essence (*dat*) within which he is elevated to the illuminated divine sphere, perceiving himself as one of its constituent parts. He knows and experiences himself as known, as an object of knowledge. This condition lasts only a short time, and the contemplation of his soul as an object of light ends with the contemplator being incarnated anew.[44]

Both conceptions are amalgamised in the *Picatrix*, the *Ghayat al-Hakim*.[45] Magic in this way becomes a method of perfecting oneself, i.e. a practice of philosophers, and hence receives a place in the making of the universe and the hierarchy of substances. Beyond its particular applications, magic in this form means a technique of individual dematerialisation, constantly referring to the divine.[46] This makes the *Ghayat al-Hakim* (as perhaps no other work from the end of Antiquity to the beginning of the

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Oracles, pp. 177-226. For a survey of more recent literature on the concept of theurgy in Iamblichus and others, see Shaw, 'Theurgy', pp. 2-13.

[40] Iamblique, *Les mystères*, VIII.6-8, pp. 199-202.

[41] *Ibidem*, IX.1-6, pp. 202-207.

[42] *Ibidem*, IX.7-8, pp. 207-208.

[43] *Ibidem*, IX.9-10, pp. 208-210.

[44] *Theologie des Aristoteles*, ed. Dieterici, pp. 8-9 (Arabic and German); see also pp. 44, 45. Cf. the identical commentary of Avicenna (Vajda, 'Les notes', pp. 360-361 and 378-379). It is based on *Ennead* IV.8.1-2: cf. Plotinus, *Schriften*, vol. 1a, pp. 128-129. The Arabic adaptation has been greatly extended in terms of imagery and mystical significance; hence cf. Plotinus, *Opera*, vol. 2, *Enneades* IV-V, pp. 224-225.

[45] Pseudo Al-Magriti, *Das Ziel des Weisen* (Arabic). Cf. *'Picatrix'*, transl. Ritter (German); *Picatrix*, ed. Pingree (Latin).

[46] On this point, cf. Perrone Compagni, 'Picatrix latinus', p. 247.

Renaissance) develop a philosophical theory of magic, using a medley of neoplatonic, Aristotelian and gnostic-hermetic ideas, as employed especially by the Brethren of Purity in their theory of emanation.[47] The assumption of a 'complete nature', too, should be looked at against the background of this theoretical legitimation, since it has a bearing on our later discussions.[48] From an absolute *hyle*, God, the first Form, issues forth absolute intellect, soul, the heavenly world and the material world in a chain of emanations, with the soul being located amongst the spheres of God, intellect, heaven, and the elementary world.[49] The 'intellect of the universe' which actualises any material potentiality in the universe, contrasts with the soul of the universe, which represents the beginning of all corporeal substance and is led to knowledge by virtue of the intellect, in a neoplatonic manner. To this are added the terms of 'universal intellect' (*sensus generalis*), being the absolute form of man abstracted from matter, 'universal soul' (*spiritus generalis*), as a single term for the individual, as well as man by and for himself, as an object of knowledge.[50]

The *Picatrix* introduces an imaginary Empedocles, who argues that, during the ontological succession of creation, changes in substance are evoked, firstly, by the divine will, secondly, by the intellect, thirdly, by the soul, fourthly, by the stellar world, and lastly by the elements. Potentially, the will appears in the form of God, actually, however, in the intellect. Likewise, the intellect is potentially in the will, actually in the soul, while the heavenly world appears potentially in the soul and is realised in the world of the elements.[51] Reality and potentiality, form and matter consequently are terms relative to the respective higher and lower. The 'Aim of the Wise' (*ghayat al-hakim*) is for the individual soul to merge into the intellect of the universe, meaning the actual will of God, through knowledge, and through the actualisation of the absolute human (of the *sensus generalis*). The

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[47] On this point, cf. *'Picatrix'* (German), pp. XXIII-XXIX; Perrone Compagni, 'Picatrix latinus', pp. 249-250; Pingree, 'Some of the Sources', pp. 1-5.

[48] With respect to a possible theory of magic, Helmut Ritter, however, already stated in his introduction to the German *Picatrix* 'daß wir eine solche Theorie aus den disiecta membra von Andeutungen, Zitaten und oft nur halb verstandenen – und nur halb verständlichen Auszügen aus allen möglichen Schriften, zum großen Teil Pseudoepigraphen, erst zusammen suchen müssen' (pp. XXXIII-XXXIV).

[49] *Picatrix*, Book 4, chapter 1: Pseudo Al-Magriti, pp. 286-287; *'Picatrix'* (German), pp. 297-298; *Picatrix* (Latin), pp. 174-175.

[50] *Picatrix*, Book 4, chapter 1: Pseudo Al-Magriti, pp. 291-291; *'Picatrix'* (German), pp. 302-304; *Picatrix* (Latin), pp. 177-178, on this point cf. Perrone Compagni, 'Picatrix latinus', pp. 252-255.

[51] *Picatrix*, Book 3, chapter 12: Pseudo Al-Magriti, p. 285; *'Picatrix'* (German), p. 296; this section is missing in the Latin version.

singular term is to dissolve in the general. By means of a remarkable piece of gnostic imagery, the author depicts the relationship between the personal will and its actual goal, the absolute will, by comparing the former to a shadow that is absorbed by the sun at noon.[52] Man as a whole is intelligible and immutable in his universal essence. Intellect and soul remain transpersonally existent. True, the sum of all particular individuals will cease to exist accidentally, but like the corruptible elements of nature, it remains total, within this substance of continued reality, despite all observable change.[53] Hence, nature (*tabi'a*) can be generally defined as 'the principle of all essential change', like that of essential continuity, whereas a philosopher, among other interpretations, might see *nature* as a form of the heavens geared to the human soul.[54] Man, being the summit of all the powers of creation, must allow himself to be transformed by ever higher authorities to the level of the absolute intellect facing the world-soul. Magic is an instrument for perfecting knowledge and actualising emanation, employing the sympathetic signs of talismans, albeit without a proper legitimation. It resorts to *pneumata*, spirits, angels, and planetary spirits (*ruhaniyun*) that, as a *fluidum*, convey superior forms.[55]

The finest and most exemplary result is the ritual whereby one's own eschatology can be ecstatically contemplated in advance.[56] Composed from diverse and only partly imaginary sources (such as *Kitab al-Istmahis*), the *Picatrix* refers to alleged works by authorities such as Socrates, Aristotle and Hermes, presenting the 'complete nature' (*tabi'a at-tamm*) as the philosopher's power that is conjured in its *pneuma*. The *pneuma* of Nature that is linked to a star, is bound by a talismanic image and invoked by an explicit name, in congruence with Jewish magic. Once the complete nature has appeared, it is, according to Socrates, who thus alludes to the 'Universal Man', the philosopher's sun, root and twig as well as the key to all wisdom.

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[52] *Picatrix*, Book 4, chapter 1: Pseudo Al-Magriti, p. 295; *'Picatrix'* (German), pp. 308-309; this section is missing from the Latin version.

[53] *Picatrix*, Book 1, chapter 6: Pseudo Al-Magriti, p. 46-50; *'Picatrix'* (German), pp. 46-50; this section is missing from the Latin version. On anthropology in the *Picatrix*, see: Clam, 'Philosophisches zu *Picatrix*', pp. 500-509.

[54] *Picatrix*, Book 3, chapter 12: Pseudo Al-Magriti, pp. 284-285; *'Picatrix'* (German), pp. 293-296; *Picatrix* (Latin), pp. 171-172. In the translation by Ritter and Plessner, the universal definition of nature consists of a contextual conjecture based on Avicenna, whereas the Latin version (in analogy to the Arab original) offers: *Primum principium naturale omnium animalium et vegetabilium.*

[55] For a survey of the changing manifestations of this idea in Judaism and Islam, including the *Picatrix*, see Pines, 'On the Term *Ruhaniyyut*', pp. 511-523, and Idel, *Hasidism*, pp. 156-160, 341-342.

[56] Perrone Compagni, 'Picatrix latinus', p. 272; on the *natura completa* as a whole, see pp. 269-276.

As soon as the microcosm has been integrated into the *natura completa* (thus resuming the 'Aim of the Wise', according to Socrates), the soul puts itself 'in the Sun's stead' and attracts the rays of wisdom.[57] Here, Iamblichus's driving force, the daimon, can be recognised, which in the shape of the superior self and the intelligible essence of the individual, allows the theurgist to approach his timeless grounds. In this context, it would seem that a person's *natura completa* is his own ideality, accomplished through a spiritual mediator and through stellar influence. It is the embodiment of the universal in the concrete and hence the personified knowledge of one's own immortality within the macrocosm.

The idea of an individual angelic power in the cosmos which can be ritually addressed and which enables participation in the universal, occurs less frequently in Jewish medieval magic. *Sefer ha-Tamar*, the *Book of the palm-tree* by Abu Aflah from Syracuse, is one of the few later treatises containing theoretical comments on magic. Originally written in Arabic, this work today exists only in a Hebrew translation, edited by Gerschom Scholem.[58] Along with the Hebrew *Picatrix*, with adaptations of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and the material later included in the *Book of Raziel*, it belonged to a canon of occultist literature in Italy. This is proved by the didactic *Opera* of Yohanan Alemanno, who worked towards a canon of writings pertinent to the various branches of science and learning.[59] As he says, Abu

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[57] *Picatrix*, Book 3, chapter 6: Pseudo Al-Magriti, pp. 187-194; *'Picatrix'* (German), pp. 198-206; *Picatrix* (Latin), pp. 108-112. Apart from a brief reference (*natura completa est Sol sapientis et eius radix luminum*), Socrates's evocations of the sun-image are missing from the Latin text.

[58] *Sefer ha-Tamar*, ed. Scholem, and in German translation: *Das Buch von der Palme*. On further alchemical writings by Abu Aflah, see Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 98-118. For a helpful survey of the contents of *Sefer ha-Tamar*, see Pines, 'Le Sefer ha-Tamar', pp. 335-344. On Abu Aflah, see also Scholem, *Alchemie und Kabbalah*, pp. 16-17.

[59] Idel, 'The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations', pp. 191-195, esp. pp. 192-193 on the diverse Hebrew manuscripts of the *Picatrix*. Cf. also Idel, 'Hermeticism and Judaism', pp. 66-70. Alemanno testifies to the significance of magical and Hekhaloth literature in the Jewish-Italian Renaissance and to the influence of learned Jews on the Christian environment. On the importance of magical studies in generating a 'perfect man' and for a catalogue of useful works, see Idel, 'The Study Program', pp. 310-312. On the importance of Hekhaloth literature as part of the 'Oral Torah', see Yohanan Alemanno himself, *Hay ha-'olamim*, p. 72 (Hebrew), pp. 108-109 (Italian). Cf. Hermann, 'The Reception', pp. 36-37 (on Alemanno's knowledge and his own manuscript of *Sefer Raziel*), and pp. 41-72 (on his rendering of *3 Henoch*). On the *Claviculae*, see the survey (with some mistakes) by Kiesewetter, *Faust*, pp. 324-342; also Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, vol. 2, pp. 279-283, but esp. Butler, *Ritual magic*, pp. 47-80. On the Hebrew *Key of Solomon*, cf. Rohrbacher-Sticker, 'Mafteah Shelomo', pp. 263-270, *passim*, and Hermann Gollancz's

Aflah describes in his work the 'Pneumatic Science' that leads to God and his angels and reveals what 'the gods' (or, as with Scholem, the *pneumata*) keep secret.[60] Far beyond imagination or merely practical or theoretical virtues, magic follows a 'fifth path' that 'frees the inner from its shell'. By means of symbols, Abu Aflah explains that it is 'the last link in the chain', 'a deep pail' or vessel, i.e. the effective recipient of the superior emanations.[61]

God knows two preserving forces: 'the Useful' beneath the last sphere, and the 'natural' (*tiv'i*) or 'proper', superior to this sphere.[62] To this division is linked a cosmology of 'sparks', hierarchically unfolding downwards to the last spark that is directly applicable to man.[63] Tempting as it may be to see in these sparks the separate intelligences that, philosophically, find their ends in the agent intellect, the language of Abu Aflah in the course of the text is closely linked to the *Theology of Aristotle*. The collective last spark 'illumines the face of the one who loves it' and communicates to him God's will, the highest truth of magic, which the recipient is meant to keep secret.[64] The revelation of the divine will present in the final spark, is passed on to the magician by heralds (*maggidim*) linked to stars.[65] As in the case with conjurable angels or demons, their appearance depends on sublunary processes and pharmaceutical mixtures serving as a medium between Maggid and man.[66] In the practical part of the *Sefer ha-Tamar*, a birdlike oracular figure binds the magical emanation of the Maggid.[67] Truth is defined by how much the practitioner is able to perceive, and it depends on the individual's intelligence to what extent the Maggid can make himself visible by means of a 'mixture'. Although the last spark, being intelligible and *natural*, is looked at by the whole sublunar world, the relationship of mediator and conjurer is purely personal, adapted to the latter's intelligence. The image prevalent in the *Ghayat al-Hakim* of a transpersonal humankind magically becoming the contemplator's own nature finds its equivalent in Abu Aflah.[68] This idea is elaborated in Solomon's cryptical aphorisms that are appended to the work as a theoretical extension. A specific element is

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study and edition (Gollancz, *Clavicula Salomonis*, 1903, and *Sepher Maphteah*).

[60] *Sefer ha-Tamar*, p. 186 (Hebrew), p. 9 (German); pp. 188-189 (Hebrew), pp. 12-13 (German).

[61] *Ibidem*, pp. 190-191 (Hebrew), pp. 16-17 (German).

[62] *Ibidem*, p. 193 (Hebrew), p. 19 (German).

[63] *Ibidem*, pp. 193-194 (Hebrew), p. 20-21 (German).

[64] *Ibidem*, pp. 193-194 (Hebrew), pp. 20-21 (German).

[65] *Ibidem*, p. 195 (Hebrew), p. 22 (German).

[66] *Ibidem*, pp. 195-196 (Hebrew), pp. 23-24 (German).

[67] *Ibidem*, pp. 198-199 (Hebrew), pp. 27-29 (German).

[68] Cf. the remarks on the *Picatrix* by Pines, 'Le Sefer ha-Tamar', pp. 352-358.

attributed to each object as an essence or principle, which accounts for the overall goals and is in turn rooted in a principle. The better the principle is received by the object, the purer the identity of both.[69] The whole idea is derived from an imaginary *Book of Perfection* that might point at the *natura completa*. There is an aphorism dealing with such perfection as can be gained through the right 'mixture' and the enlightenment caused by it.[70] Another saying (provided I interpret it correctly) suggests that the intelligible entity is not discernible as such, despite its being adapted to the Maggid individually.[71]

Christianising adaptations

Richard Kieckhefer and Roland Mathiesen made a promising attempt at finding Jewish material in medieval Latin texts of magic. Especially remarkable is Honorius's *Liber iuratus* which, in a central part, contains a ritual evocation of a *visio beatifica*.[72] It is preceded by 28 days of preparation during which the sacraments are received repeatedly and the soul is cleansed. It is accompanied by Latin prayers containing fictitious Hebrew phrases, and in the finale, which is introduced by lengthy invocations of divine names in Hebrew, one hundred more pre-eminently Hebrew words are written in a field of ashes, in a closed room. In the last conjuration an-

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[69] *Sefer ha-Tamar*, Aphorism 5: p. 207 (Hebrew), p. 40 (German).

[70] *Ibidem*, Aphorism 10: p. 208 (Hebrew), p. 42 (German), translation Scholem: 'Die Herzen neigen sich dem Wollen zu, und das Wollen der Mischung, und die Mischung dem göttlichen Willen. Und der göttliche Wille bedeutet Verkündigung, und die Verkündigiung bedeutet Erleuchtung, und die Erleuchtung bedeutet Vollkommenheit, und die Vollkommenheit bedeutet Verborgenes und dies ist im Buch des Willens auseinandergesetzt'.

[71] *Ibidem*, Aphorism 17: p. 210 (Hebrew), p. 45 (German), translation Scholem: 'Die Funken folgen der Ausbreitung des (Lichtes) nicht, denn die Ausbreitung ist für sie Mangelhaftigkeit, wohl aber folgt die Ausbreitung ihnen, und würden sie nicht fliehen, würde (jene) nicht existieren. Und wie schwer wäre der Versuch, wäre nicht sein Nutzen, und wie groß die Mühe, wäre nicht das Entzücken. Die Wände erlöschen, die Rüstungen streifen ab, und die Häuser werden eingerissen, und die Furcht vor ihnen breitet sich aus. Wäre sie nicht, so wäre sie schon verloren, und wäre sie nicht unverloren, so existierten ihre Träger nicht. Und es ist nichts Erstaunliches am Wunder, und da es nicht gewußt wird, wird es nicht bewiesen, und da es bewahrt und verschlossen war, holten es die Propheten hervor und hatten Erfolg. Und es ist im Buch der Prophetie auseinandergesetzt'. Considering the oracle-like use of language, of course, no interpretation could claim to be definite.

[72] Mathiesen, 'A Thirteenth-Century Ritual', pp. 143-147. On the history and transmission of this work, see: Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, vol. 2, pp. 283-289; cf. also Waite, *The Book of Black Magic*, pp. 95-101; and Butler, *Ritual magic*, pp. 89-100.

gelic names are, as we have already seen, equipped with attributes: 'Hospek who madest the dry rod florish in Josephs Hand'. After yet another spell ending in *consummatum est*, which is followed by a direct hint at the incarnation of Christ, the conjurer – with reference to St. Stephen – succeeds in contemplating in his sleep the heavenly palace and the divine majesty as well as the angelic choirs.[73] It could be that this is an adaptation of Jewish Merkavah mysticism presented here in a deliberately Christian appearance.[74] What is unusual is the Metatron-like self-transference, which can be ritually obtained. This seems to point in the direction of Henoch-traditions, since the angelic and divine names in Hebrew also occur in Latin texts and, through its association with the transfiguration of Christ, it anticipates later ideas.

Abraham of Worms's *Book of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage* holds an exceptional position as regards the reception of traditions outlined so far. Not fully researched, it raises more questions than it answers.[75] It is still unclear how this inherently mystical text, which is only preserved in later manuscripts, corresponds to ideas of Christian and Jewish magic; moreover, it is also unclear in which language it was originally composed, since different versions survive in French, German, and Hebrew. Suggestions on when it was written vary from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, depending on the author's identity.[76] Was he a Jew who

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[73] Mathiesen, 'A Thirteenth-Century Ritual', pp. 150-155, see also Honorius, *The Sworn Book*, chapt. 13, pp. 60-68, and the final formula on p. 67: 'Only God, Stoexhor; Ablay, Scyystalgaona; Fullarite; Resphiomoma; Remiare; Baceda; Canona; Onlepot; who said on the Cross, it is finished'.

[74] Kieckhefer, 'The Devil's Contemplatives', pp. 253-257 and pp. 261-263.

[75] As one of the key texts of the Golden Dawn the French version was translated into English by MacGregor Mathers (*The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*). There is a German version of unclear origin, dated Cologne, 1725, though obviously issued later: *Die egyptischen großen Offenbarungen in sich begreifend die aufgefundenen Geheimnisbücher Mosis; oder des Juden Abraham von Worms Buch der wahren Praktik in der uralten göttlichen Magie*. It differs from Mathers's version in structure and, partly, in contents. It is pre-eminently on this edition that Jörg von Ins's 'vergleichende Textausgabe' (Abraham von Worms, *Das Buch der wahren Praktik*) is based. In addition to plagiarism from Mathers and a modern French translation, it contains a typoscript from the inheritance of Carl Gustav Jung as well as a late eighteenth-century manuscript from the Leopold-Sophien-Library in Überlingen. The French manuscript (in the Bibliothèque nationale) and the Hebrew version of the Bodleian Library were not read by Von Ins. On these manuscripts, see Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 272-273, 277; on pp. 271-288, Patai presents the most reasonable analysis, although mostly focused on alchemical themes.

[76] In a first approach, Scholem identifies the author as a Jew (*Alchemie und Kabbalah*, p. 29). In a later publication (Scholem, 'Zelem', pp. 248-273, note 23, p. 309) he looks upon the author as someone writing under the influence of Pico della

lived amongst Christians? Or was he a Christian or a convert acquainted with Christian Kabbalah, who wished to be seen as a Jewish author in order to present his ideas as unbiased by religious dogma? As we shall see, one cannot deny there are parallels with Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* in certain passages. Yet it would appear sensible to see Abraham of Worms more as a precursor of Reuchlin's conception of Christian magic, for he lacks a proper philosophical synthesis (which might have served as a legitimation for the magical ritual), quite contrary to the cosmological architecture characteristic of the sixteenth century. Also, there is no reference to any authority, although this genre is usually littered with quotations. However, it undeniably resembles the works mentioned earlier, which are combined into a new ritualistic context. It cannot be definitely refuted that Abraham knew Reuchlin, yet it would appear debatable whether a transcultural foundation of the relevant sources – together with the influence of practical needs – enforced and thus anticipated a synthesis. Finally, it should not be overlooked that Jewish-Christian amalgamations contributed to occultist literature long before Christian Kabbalah, just as speculations on central themes of Judaism – such as the unpronouncable name of the tetragrammaton – had their place in Latin literature long before the Renaissance.[77]

Mirandola, and leaves the question of his religion unresolved. Although he intended to write another treatise on these manuscripts, in fact he did not. Jörg von Ins tries to prove that Abraham was a Jew acquainted with magic in the environment of the Ethopian Falasha (cf. Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, pp. 41-46). Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 273-280, 285-288, dates Abraham about 1400, reading the autobiography as an authentic mirror of history and trying – perhaps rightly – to prove, by stilistic analysis of the French text and the magical squares, that the author was a native Hebrew speaker. Kilcher, *Die Sprachtheorie*, pp. 184-185, suggests a non-Jewish author of the sixteenth century on behalf of parallel phrases from Agrippa of Nettesheim regarding definitions of magic and Kabbalah. I dare not judge for myself without having looked at the manuscripts; however, there is reason to see in the author a sixteenth- or even seventeenth-century convert acquainted with Hebrew and Latin literature who endeavours to develop a new form of ritual magic from the knowledge of both traditions. Still, why is there no trace of its reception in any sixteenth-century work on the subject; why did this text remain undiscovered by John Dee whose library contained almost every work of angelic magic?

[77] For an example of Jewish rituals in Christian occultist literature, see Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, pp. 115-116, especially the 'Semiforas', p. 344 (no. 42), a miscarriage of a permutated tetragrammaton, or the 'Speculum Lilit', pp. 242-243 (no. 23). On the spread of Hebrew in magical texts in farther regions, see Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, pp. 271-274. On the use of names taken from *Sefer Raziel*, see also Swanton, 'A Fifteenth-Century Cabalistic Memorandum', pp. 259-261. Arnaldus of Villanova provided information on Christian-Jewish controversies in his *Allocutio super Tetragrammaton*, which anticipated Reuchlin's basic ideas without there being any proof that Reuchlin actually knew the work. Another source on these con-

The work by Abraham is introduced by a fictional autobiography that leads the author along the courts of late medieval Europe.[78] At the end of this long journey, he meets Abramelin who adresses him in 'Chaldaean', and appears to the seeker after he has invoked the sacred Name.[79] Abramelin is the only one who introduces him into the secrets of true magic. Abraham defines the concept: Christians as well as pagans and Jews nearly always use wrong techniques based on constellations, stones, herbs or the ointment used by witches.[80] Practices such as these spring from diabolic influence, and confuse God and Belial, the latter of whom should be avoided on any account since he invented sorcery.[81] True magic, founded in God as the one true artist who creates substance from nought, is entirely different,[82] since it works through the angel, who is personally attributed to man from all eternity by virtue of the order of creation, and who is the only power to give man governance over subaltern spirits.[83] According to Abraham, this form of angelic magic (in which we can easily recognise the *natura completa* or the Maggid of the *Sefer ha-Tamar*) is justified by the Holy Kabbalah and is allowed to be used only by the first-begotten.[84] Magic and Kabbalah (a term propagated by the author without any further specification) are closely related.[85] Both are God's noblest creatures, the Kabbalah

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troversies is the *Dialogi contra Judaeos* by the convert Petrus Alfonsi. Cf. Carreras Artau, 'La *Allocutio*'; Colomer, 'La interpretación', *passim*; and McGinn, 'Reflections on Kabbalah', pp. 12-16.

[78] Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, pp. 273-280.

[79] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, I.4, pp. 11-12; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, I.4, pp. 15-16; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, I.4, pp. 75-77.

[80] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, I.5, pp. 15-19; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, I.5, pp. 18-14; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, pp. 81-85.

[81] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, II.10, p. 7; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, II.10, pp. 103-104.

[82] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, I.4, pp. 13-14; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, I.4, p. 78.

[83] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, I.7, pp. 24-26; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, I.7, pp. 43-44; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, I.7, p. 95.

[84] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, I.9, p. 36; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, pp. 100-101.

[85] Mathers knew the *Cabala denudata* well and asserted (*Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, II.20, pp. 145-147) that Abraham, in commenting on a square used for reviving the dead, apparently knew of the zoharic Kabbalah and its threefold soul. According to Abraham, a corpse can be revived within seven years after a person's death. While the soul already dwells in the place of bliss or judgement, the lingering *spiritus* can be evoked in a *Signum* and used for oracles, as a life-giving power. The existence of a medium between body and soul was a trite idea even before the Renaissance and as such certainly not typical of the Kabbalah. The citations from the Zohar made by Von Ins (cf., e.g., p. 18) are, if at all significant, merely topical.

representing the 'divine mystery', and magic the 'divine wisdom or *Magia*'. The latter, often besmeared with the 'excrement of false practice' is the younger and should be clad in 'fear of God and justice'.[86] Fervent prayer and faith in God can compensate one's lack of knowledge of the Kabbalah.[87] Magic is characterised – as with Iamblichus – as entirely independent of temporal determinants, and, if Pesach and Easter prove suitable due to their spiritual quality, then also magic can be undertaken at any time, independent of stellar influence.[88]

The main topic of the ritual manual is conjuring the private angel, which is achieved in the following way. It starts with a lengthy phase of spiritual cleansing, much like the one described in the *Liber iuratus*, lasting 6 to 18 months, depending on the version. The ritual includes persistent prayer, which was also experienced by Abraham as a hermit,[89] and with the use of a child and sets of numerical squares the angel is invoked.[90] Then follows the only prayer printed word for word (generally free prayer is recommended) which leads up to an unction with sacred oil, enabling the mystagogue to dispense divine grace and wisdom and to engage in angelic conversation.[91] The practitioner applies the oil to the pillars of the altar, writing on its edges: "In whatever place it may be wherein Commemoration of My Name shall be made, I will come onto you and I will bless you".[92] The combination of ointment, tetragrammaton and angelic appearance is interesting.[93] It is then that the angel is said to appear, first to the child, then

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[86] Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, III.1, pp. 182-183; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, II.1, pp. 116-117.

[87] Only in *Abramelin* (Mathers, I.9, p. 37).

[88] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, II.4, p. 57, II.5, p. 60; cf. Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, III.4, pp. 199-200.

[89] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, I.7, pp. 24-25; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, I.7, pp. 93-94.

[90] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, I.12, pp. 45-46, II.13, p. 81; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, I.12, p. 107, II.13, p. 146.

[91] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, II.12, pp. 79-80; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, III.12, p. 241: 'Heilige mich durch dieß Oel deiner Heiligmachung, womit du alle meine Gesellen geheiligt hast und reinige mich darmit und alles was mir zugehört, damit ich recht geheiligt und gereinigt, würdig seye der Gemeinschaft deiner heiligen Engeln, deiner göttlichen Weißheit und der Gewalt, die du allein deinen Gesalben über die guten und bösen Geister gegeben hast. Amen'. Cf. Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, II.12, pp. 143-144.

[92] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, II.12, p. 80; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, III.12, p. 242: 'An was Orth die Gedächtnyß meines Namens würd gegründet sein, daselbst will ich kommen zu dir und dich benedeyen'. Cf. Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, II.12, p. 144.

[93] Pouring out oil was part of the nuptials ever since the Talmudic period and especially typical of the state room called 'Hofa'. Streams of oil were an attribute of

to the virtuous practitioner who, led by the angel, in a state of ineffable happiness commands over good and evil spirits.[94] It is the angel who serves as a source of wisdom in the arcane procedures that follow and that were attached to the work by Abraham only for verification. The angel provides his human counterpart with the magical squares necessary for the ensuing rituals. More angels can be evoked without spoken spells, only by the power of the conjuring heart that is cleansed in the angel.[95] Fallen angels are then formed according to a person's character which is known only to the private angel, and they appear in a shape assumed at the private angel's behest, and bearable to the human being.[96] If neccessary, the angel defines more names for conjuration.[97]

Kabbalistic contributions

It may be worthwhile to concentrate for a moment on some of the ideas of the sephardic Kabbalists, whose works formed part of Reuchlin's later literary canon. Through an etymological interpretation Metatron was turned into *Matrona*, a 'medium' between the divine and creaturely domains. He might be identified with the Sefirah Jesod or the Shechinah and was transformed into an authority of redemption, interpreted either eschatologically or cosmologically, and exceeding angelic nature by far. Similar to the *Dator formarum*, he was in control of the emanations of sefirotic forces leading

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the Messiah as well as of the transfigurated just. Cf. Büchler, 'Das Ausgiessen', *passim*, esp. pp. 15-18. Perhaps related to this is a magical application of oil: poured onto a looking-glass, it could be used for divination, since it would evoke demons which could only be seen by children. Such rituals were popular among Ashkenazim and probably also known to Christians. See: Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 219-222, and Dan, 'Sarei', *passim*. There is one ritual from the *Harba de-Moshe* which is closely related to the *Sefer ha-Razim* and provides a wide range of conjuring spells. Following a list of magical names, it says (translation Schäfer): '(...) Schreib auf deine linke Handfläche und bring eine neue Leuchte. Verdecke sie und gib etwas Ölivenöl und etwas Naphta in sie. Zieh reine Kleider an und schlaf in einem reinen Haus. Sogleich kommt der Engel und eröffnet und offenbart dir alles, was du wünscht'. Cf. Schäfer, *Übersetzung*, vol. 4, §§ 598-985, § 622, p. 17 (Hebrew in Schäfer, *Synopse*, p. 236).

[94] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, II.13, p. 84; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, III.13, p. 248; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, II.13, pp. 147-148.

[95] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, II.14, p. 88; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, II.14, p. 150.

[96] *Abramelin*, ed. Mathers, II.14, pp. 89-90; Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, III.14, p. 256; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, II.14, p. 152.

[97] This section is missing from MacGregor Mathers's version. Abraham von Worms, *Offenbarungen*, III.14, p. 254; Abraham von Worms, ed. Von Ins, II.14, p. 151.

further into the angelic world.[98] The pair Henoch-Metatron stands for the restauration of the fallen Adam and for man's ability to reverse the consequences of the Fall by rejoining the divine.[99] On a theurgic-magical level, there was a ritual circulating in the Ashkenaz environment that was close to the typology of Metatron in the Hekhalot literature, and that enabled a person to be 'clad in the tetragrammaton' resulting in the acquisition of magical or even theurgic power.[100] Before Reuchlin, genuine kabbalistical speculations saw to it that nature and angelic existence were associated with God. More philosophical authors of the Kabbalah, who were primarily focused on Maimonides, attributed a deliberately ambivalent meaning to 'Elohim', the name of God that can be found in the story of creation in Genesis 1. Basing himself on the semantics of the word, Maimonides understood 'Elohim' as referring not only to God or the separate intelligences, the first intelligible products of creation, but also to the judges and rulers of society.[101] As Moshe Idel has shown, Abraham Abulafia extended the meaning of 'Elohim' to the concept of nature because of the identical numerical value (*gematria*), namely 86, of *ha-tew'a* (the nature) and 'Elohim'.[102] In His aspect of 'Elohim', by which He reveals Himself to the world, God is both nature and intrinsic goal of the cosmos at the same time.

This idea was adopted by Joseph Gikatilla (1274-1305), who was perhaps the most important source for the first Christian Kabbalists. In parts of the *Ginat Egoz*, 'Elohim', contrary to the transcendent tetragrammaton, de-

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[98] Cf. Azri'el, *Perush ha-Aggadot*, pp. 10-11, and esp. one of the most important sources of Christian Kabbalah in general, *Sefer Ma'arekhet*, chapt. 4, fol. 72b, chapt. 8, fol. 97b-98a. See also Vajda, *Le commentaire d'Ezra*, pp. 389 and 411; Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfänge*, pp. 148-149, 186-190; Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, vol. 2, pp. 626-632 (study), pp. 643-645 (Zohar Hadash 39d-40a), p. 645 (Zohar II, 159a).

[99] See Joseph de Hamadan, *Fragments*, pp. 17-18, 19-20 (Hebrew), pp. 83-85, 89-91 (French).

[100] Cf. Scholem, *Zur Kabbalah und ihrer Symbolik*, pp. 181-184; and recently Liss, 'Offenbarung', pp. 26-32 and *passim*.

[101] Maimonides, *Führer der Unschlüssigen*, I.2, pp. 30-31, II.6, pp. 53-63.

[102] Idel, 'Deus sive natura', pp. 110-114. Abulafia describes this ambivalence primarily in *Sefer ha-Hescheq* and *Sefer Sitre Torah*, a commentary on *Moreh nebuchim*. Note that the idea of the mystical union of transformed man with the tetragrammaton and its letters played a significant role in the writings of Abraham Abulafia. See Abulafia, 'Sefer ha-Ôth' (ed. Jellinek), p. 82. David Meltzer and Bruria Finkel offer a somewhat free translation of the *Sefer ha-Ôth* in: Abulafia, *The Path of the Names*, p. 69. In his mystical program, the 'Letter of the seven Ways', Abulafia considered the study of Hekhaloth-literature and the *Book of Raziel* essential for joining the world of separate intelligences and finally the world of the tetragrammaton. Cf. Abulafia, *L'épitre*, pp. 89-90. On the importance of Abulafia in Renaissance Italy, see Idel, 'The ecstatic Kabbalah', pp. 336-340.

notes God's immanence by the power of the essences.[103] Free from magical connotations, 'Elohim' hovers between angel, God and nature, and embodies man's completion (in *gematria*) as *'adam ha-schalom.*[104] These ideas are summarised in the anonymous *Eshkol ha-kofer*, a work from the circle of Gikatilla. According to *Ecclesiastes* 1,7 ('All streams run to the Sea, yet the Sea never overflows, back to the place from which the streams run they return to run again'), everything returns to God, from whom it came forth, for 'Elohim' comprises nature. At the same time, the Sea is the *Shi'ur Qomah* that can be identified with nature.[105] In the author's mind, the anthropomorphic macrocosm, the world of intelligences and nature are one.[106]

Angelic macrocosm and complete nature in De verbo mirifico. *A magical synthesis.*

In 1494, Johann Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* was issued, a didactic dialogue in three books of which the basic question is presented in the title:[107] which word is truly *mirificum* and what kind of magic does this word depend on? Three interlocutors try to answer this question: Sidonius, a philosophically experienced traveller from Phoenicia, Baruchias, a learned Jew, and Capnion, a citizen from Pforzheim, in whom Reuchlin presents himself for the first time as a literary figure. It becomes clear to all of them that only Christ can be this *verbum*, and only Christian magic can wield it. For a proper understanding of *De verbo mirifico* and the concept of 'Christian magic', some scholarly readjustments were made, firstly by Joseph Blau, more seriously by François Secret and Charles Zika,[108] who unanimously

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[103] Idel, 'Deus sive natura', pp. 114-119.

[104] Cf. Blickstein, *Between Philosophy and Mysticism*, pp. 60-61, and the quotations in Appendix II, pp. 178-179; on this idea in Gikatilla, see also: Gottlieb, *Mehkarim*, pp. 114-117, 282-284.

[105] Idel, 'Deus sive natura', pp. 117-118: MS Vatican 219, fol 10a, translated by Idel: 'Tous les fleuves vont vers la mer parce que la vitalité de toutes les créatures procède de Lui et retourne à Lui. Le secret de Elohim désigne la Nature dans le récit de la Création, et dans le livre de l'Ecclésiaste il est démontré dans le verset: 'La mer n'est pas remplie', car son existence dépend de l'autre, à savoir du nom de Dieu, béni soit-il [...] le secret de la mer est Chiour Qoma, quiconque comprend le secret du verset: 'Tous les fleuves vont vers la mer', comprendra pourquoi le nom Elohim inclut la nature'.

[106] Idel reaches the same conclusion in 'Deus sive natura', p. 118.

[107] Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico* (Basel, 1498), newly issued by Johannes Pistorius as part of his *Ars cabalistica* (Basel, 1587). I quote from a new edition of Reuchlin's text, edited by Ehlers, Mundt, Schäfer *et al.*

[108] On *De verbo mirifico* in general, see Blau, *The Christian Interpretation*, pp. 41-49; Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens*, pp. 44-52. From a linguistic point of view, see

acknowledged Pico's influence on the construction of a *philosophia perennis* – and quite justly so, since Pico was an example for Reuchlin regarding the integration of Jewish sources. It is in the larger context of Renaissance occultism, too, that Reuchlin found his place.[109] But how does Reuchlin's work relate to the magical tradition itself and how should his Christian magic be read against the background of Christian and Jewish-Arabic occultist literature? How did Reuchlin handle this material in a specifically Christian way and what enabled him to reach an innovative synthesis?

I have so far presented a historical and structural sketch of the elements of such a synthesis and will now focus upon the way these were employed in *De verbo mirifico*. To begin with, one should not place too much emphasis on the fact that Reuchlin claimed to distance himself from medieval occultist literature, in particular the actual texts of ritual magic, which had a very bad reputation in clerical circles.[110] In a significant essay Vittoria Perrone Compagni has underscored how much already Marsilio Ficino, in drawing up his magical program, derived from the *Picatrix*, adding diverse strains of Platonism from Proclus and other authors. She also identified direct adaptations from the *Picatrix* in *De verbo mirifico*, even though Reuchlin would have denied the existence of such adaptations,[111] which

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Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis*, pp. 179-188', and *idem*, 'Christian Kabbalah', pp. 102-108. An essential work on the occult is Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo mirifico*', pp. 134-138. Apart from providing very useful synopses, Zika demonstrates the Christian character of Reuchlin's concept and its affinity with Pico's and Ficino's enthusiasm for magic. Furthermore, he puts forward suggestions regarding Reuchlin's position in the contemporary polemics on magic. Zika's thesis, originally written in the sixties, was published only recently: Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 23-62.

[109] Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 144-146; Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, pp. 36-37. A survey of the research on this problem is provided by Zambelli, *L'ambigua natura*, pp. 251-327 (esp. pp. 259-260 on Reuchlin).

[110] Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, p. 124: *Ignorant etenim, quod Aegyptii duplici charactere utuntur, uno in prophanis, altero in sacris, quod denique Chaldaeorum linguam et Hebraeorum, quam operi magico necessariam attestantur, simili characteris imagine scribimus. Nihil igitur horum et Roberthus et Bacon et Abanus et Picatrix et concilium magistrorum, vel maxime ob linguarum ignorantiam ad amussim, ut opportet, tenere atque docere, minus etiam librariorum manus, ab exemplis dupla scribentium, non aberrare, minus discipuli discere, minus operarii potuerunt operari.* The authors are not criticised for their magical inclinations but for their lack of linguistic skills and their dependence on the Latin idiom. However, the condemnation of Pico's theses for the justification of magic may have obliged Reuchlin to exclude certain authorities from the start. On the controversies accompanying Pico's apology of magic, see Euler, *Pia philosophia*, pp. 140-148, and Farmer, *Syncretism*, pp. 115-132.

[111] Perrone Compagni, 'La magia ceremoniale', pp. 313-318. To be precise, Reuch-

shows there is ample reason to reconsider Reuchlin's relationship to classical magic, and to find new parallels.

In Books I and II, Reuchlin develops an epistemology oriented on Cusanus[112] which reaches its conclusion in Book III. On the one hand, there is the *ratio opinabilis* which is able to arrive at abstracted forms, but which is nevertheless conditioned by a corruptible and mutable world. The knowledge it attains hence depends on opinions, is constantly wavering and remains in a state of contingency. On the other hand there is the *mens* which is rooted in the supra-lunar world as the source of *scientia aeterna*. It is from *fides*, the truth of divine revelation, that the *mens* obtains its wisdom, contemplating the radiant qualities of the divine spirits 'as in a mirror of eternity'. As the truth of reason is rooted in the *mens*, so the *mens* is rooted in God, increasingly understanding itself as having been established by Him, as an exteriorised manifestation of the divine.[113] The goal of man in this disposition is to join his mind with the divine, to become *humanus deus et divinus homo*.[114] Magic, defined in terms of this basic assumption, can only be called genuine from an absolute perspective when it aims at joining the human mind to the divine – a thought similarly expressed in the *Picatrix*.[115]

Like his predecessors, Reuchlin defines magical practice as the pronouncing of words which by their reference achieve performative power: generally speaking, the magical word contained in God has power *within* mundane nature, and at the same time power *over* nature, including the power to change nature as a whole.[116] Reuchlin adds one more item to the canon of disciplines concerned with the miraculous. Next to astrology, physics and magic, he posits a fourth discipline, namely *soliloquia* through

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lin says in *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, p. 406: *Quanquam crux apud antiquissimos, ut in quodam Arabum collegio contineri scribitur, vetus magorum character sit, quia tamen absque Ihsuh nomine, nullas eius virtutes efficaces legimus.* The *quodam Arabum collegium* can undoubtedly be identified as the *Picatrix*; cf. Perrone Compagni, 'La magia ceremoniale', p. 318. *De occulta philosophia* by Agrippa of Nettesheim, in which the paragraph on the *natura completa* (with reference to Iamblichus) finds a clear parallel, once again proves the attraction of this concept from the *Picatrix*. See Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, III.21-22, pp. 462-466. On a comparable mixture, see Barrett, *The Magus*, vol. 2, pp. 52-53.

[112] Cf. Meier-Oeser, *Die Präsenz*, pp. 62-68.

[113] Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 82-85, esp. p. 84.

[114] *Ibidem*, p. 94-97. Beierwaltes, 'Reuchlin und Pico', pp. 314-320, rightly stresses the influence of Pico on the development of the idea of *deificatio*. On this point, see also Leinkauf, 'Reuchlin', pp. 122-124.

[115] Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 146-147.

[116] Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 96-99, 132-133. Cf. Pico, *De hominis dignitate / Von der Würde des Menschen*, pp. 51-57.

which miraculous effects can be evoked if the proper word is pronounced individually.[117] This idea is related to the conception of transforming nature. As examples of this idea of transformation Reuchlin first employs physical processes, such as the *vis nutritiva* that transforms food, by means of its inherent warmth, into parts of the sensual organs, accompanied by the higher principle of sensuality. In the same way a process of transformation concerning man can be explained: man's driving-force rests upon a *consortium divinitatis cum mente humana* and the transformation is triggered, not by a subaltern nature, but by a principle that establishes individuality proper, that precedes outward nature and that can be found in nature only as a depiction.[118] It is a *tractus innarrabilis* or *foedus* that moves man towards God. Angels and 'good demons' function as *causae secundae* to lead man to his origin, his nature and divinity, and these angels are motivated by divine love to overcome the distance between the Creator and his creation.[119]

Here, themes from the *Picatrix* along with the idea of the *natura completa* are specified through the category of the word (or *verbum*). The *transitus in Deum* is achieved, as Reuchlin explains in a first approach, through the pronunciation of the correct words. God, as *logos*, is represented by *spiritus*, breath; the *verbum*, in its semantic ambiguity, is *spiratio*, whereas man is the *spirans*. The *verbum* implies both the concept as well as its vehicle, *mens*. God is received in the *mens* and born through the word. Thereby Reuchlin has added a christological element to the idea of the transformation into a superior nature and has embedded it indirectly into the trinitarian process.[120] According to Reuchlin, man's deification should be

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[117] Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 142-143. See also Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, p. 40.

[118] Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 156-159, pp. 156 and 158: *Consortium divinitatis cum mente humana facit, quod deus homine utitur pro instrumento, haud secus atque Peripatetici de activitate sensitivae et vegetalis naturae docent. Nam ubicunque est vegetativum in sensitivo, ibi vegetativum erit loco instrumenti et sensitivum sicut principalis motor, qui, cum agere coepit, non ad inferius se ipso movet, sed per media utrisque convenientia, quoad eius fieri potest, ad sui par et consentaneum et ad id, quo cum versari queat. Potestatis enim in animalibus alumna et nutrix medio calore, qui tamen sit occultae cuiusdam et digestivae proprietatis internuncius, crudum cibum digerit et versat. Nam quo calor est, hoc non magis transformat [...] Et sicut calor naturalis in digestione alimentorum quasi umbra est locum tenens occultae propietatis, ita in effectibus ex secreta dispositione rerum ortis, qua individuum alterum differt ab altero, non ipsa natura, ut vulgo putant, sed obscurius aliquid, quod naturam precedit, in causa est, cuius instar et typum in communi sermone ipsum naturae vocabulum gerit.*

[119] *Ibidem*, pp. 158-161.

[120] *Ibidem*, pp. 160-161. That Reuchlin's concept of a trinitarian transformation was an original invention is also emphasised by Leinkauf, 'Reuchlin', pp. 116-120.

seen against the background of the incarnation of the Word in human nature. We have identified the aim of the accomplished magical operation as turning individual human nature into divine nature, embedded in itself as its final cause; this happens against the background of the timeless incarnation of Christ in the human mind, through the absolute *verbum* that makes itself known to man.

Reuchlin gives a further classification of the magical word: God – the source of miracles inherent in the *verbum* – transfers the power of the word to the angels, makes them literally act in His name, and even 'dwells in them'.[121] Of course, the truest and most apt of all names of God is the tetragrammaton, *excellentissimum supersubstantialis deitatis nomen*, which embraces the *natura universitatis*, and the invocation of which at the same time implies 'begetting'.[122] In it, all potency implicitly dwells, and its correct pronunciation provides the key to all miraculous transformations.[123]

In Book III, the *nomen ineffabile*, a christological interpretation of the magical word, man's deification and the angelic cosmos are brought together in a fairly predictable synthesis. One could draw a comparison with the human mind, whereby the absolute Logos, in the sense of the spoken *verbum*, corresponds to reason, which, in its claims to truth, is justified only by its indivisible unity with the *mens*.[124] Analogously, the sensually embodied mind (as the human mind is the divine mind pronounced) only becomes genuine by joining the absolute mind, the divine, escaping from the sublunar world into illumination. Hence, with the individual and the universal intertwined, man turning into God and God turning into man meet in Christ. While the task of the truly miraculous *verbum*, with respect to all individuals, is a general one, the substance of man, the *natura humana*, is deified as a whole. The individual angel (a name deduced from the absolute Word) on the other hand receives a single body appointed to him, which is only a contingent perfection of a bodily nature.[125] The true secret of magic on a theological level consists in unifying exemplarily as well as generally both human and divine nature in Christ. Man's complete nature is the divine hypostasis of Christ to which the human hypostasis is joined in the *regressus*. Christ's divine hypostasis is man's absolute nature per se, i.e. the nature of the Universal Man; yet this divine hypostasis which man hopes to attain by means of magic, is also to be understood as the absolute nature of each individual led to perfection. The effect of any magical name is con-

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[121] Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 184-185, 202-203.
[122] *Ibidem*, pp. 234-237.
[123] *Ibidem*, pp. 244-245.
[124] *Ibidem*, pp. 294-295, 300-301.
[125] *Ibidem*, pp. 306-309.

stituted by its participation in the Logos, and an angel operates through a *virtus operativa* derived from that word. Just as angelic names are permutations of the Name of God, so angels are participants of the Word and, as such, vehicles of magical power in the human and sublunary nature.[126]

Finally, Reuchlin qualifies the transformation of man by means of one of his most renowned ideas: by integrating the letter Shin into the tetragrammaton, he changes the ineffable Name of God to the word YeHoSchUH, the effable name of Jesus and the magical pentagrammaton (יהוה becomes יהשוה).[127] Accordingly, God's literal self-expression in Christ is presented in the magical token itself, that is in the concrete shape of His Name that henceforth is no longer closed and hidden, but now includes the world. But why was it of all letters the Shin that had to be added? Reuchlin answers with a philological speculation: Shin was the consonant of oil and the anointed (*Shemen*, *Mashiach*), and 'Christ' originally means the one who is anointed in God.[128] He describes in almost mystical terms how oil, as in a lamp, connects wick and fire, thus giving a clear manifestation of the pronunciation of the Name and the person of Christ who comprises both natures.[129] To each individual, being anointed with the oil of Jesus Christ signifies, firstly, the permeation of the mind by *liquor divinitatis*, secondly, the adoption of the splendor of all sciences, and lastly the deification of human nature.[130] YeHoSchUH means tracing back the cosmos in the act of magic and understanding as well as the final embodiment of universal and personal deification. Perhaps the combination of ointment, superior nature, tetragrammaton and individual self-translation remind us of the commanding ritual of Abraham of Worms, in so far as it exceeds Jewish oil-magical practices. However, it is easy to find parallels of the correlation of absolute knowledge, oil-rituals and the application of the tetragrammaton, but these need not be definitive clues as to possible influences.

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[126] *Ibidem*, pp. 340-341.

[127] On the Jewish tradition of this symbol, cf. Oegema, 'Davidsschild', pp. 20-28. On the Renaissance tradition: Secret, 'Pentagramme', pp. 116-120. On a possible Jewish precursor of Reuchlin's idea of the Shin as a sign of Christ, cf. Wolfson, 'The Tree That is All', pp. 74-77, 213.

[128] Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 354-357. Cf. Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 56-57, and note 93 above.

[129] Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico / Das wundertätige Wort*, pp. 374-376.

[130] *Ibidem*, pp. 384-385, p. 384: *Utrunque enim apud Hebraeos ab S incipit 'sem', id est 'nomen', et 'semen', id est oleum, quo totum Ihsuh nomen enunciabile fit, et stacten preciosissimam in nos usque guttatim derivat, et mentem nostram, si debito modo aptetur, ita ungendo penetrat et leniendo mollit, et gratissimo divinitatis liquore adeo complet, ut eius unctione liquidior aquis limpidissimis omnium scientiarum splendores in se recipiat, sicut aqua nitida aut tersum aliquod oleo litum corpus ullos queat radios.*

By combining several approaches to magic, Reuchlin, in line with the spirit of the Renaissance, succeeded in leading magic back into the bosom of Christendom. The idea of man's transformation into an angelic being by the grace of God (as in the figure of Metatron in the *Sefer Hekhaloth* against the background of the tetragrammaton) meets with the conception of a macranthropos, i.e. a God-man described in physical terms, whose body has its extension and periphery in a cosmological system dominated by angels. This is underlined by those parts of *Sefer Raziel* which make the divine body of the universe an object of the magical ritual. The divine body as cosmos and the divine form by which it is constituted have their equivalent in the idea of *natura* which – by offering a wide range of meanings – is not only related to the magical speculations of the *Picatrix* and its surroundings, but also to the terminology of Christian theology. Speaking with Iamblichus, one might say that Christ has become a private daimon. To Reuchlin, he is man's *natura completa*. Traditional magic is preserved in the form of a new, yet true magic, by being joined to the macrocosmically intelligible angelic body that received its superior nature from Christ.

Paolo Ricci and the angelic man

In the period between Reuchlin's first main work and his *De arte cabalistica*, there flourished another author, who became important in the Christian Kabbalah: Paolo Ricci.[131] His *Isagoge in eruditionem Cabbalistarum*, written in two different versions, is a key work in the history of Christian Kabbalah, since it develops an intellectual framework very similar to Reuchlin's and provides a place for Christian magic.[132] The complete archetype of a human individual, being a prototype both of the arrangement of the spheres and of sublunary man, consists of ten limbs identical to the angelic choirs. Its last potentially angelic limb or part consists of human souls and is called the *animasticum* or the choir of *ishim*.[133] Sublunar man is

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[131] On Paulus Ritius († 1541), see Blau, *The Christian Interpretation*, pp. 65-75; Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens*, pp. 87-97; Secret, 'Aristote et les Kabbalistes', pp. 283-288; and recently Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis*, pp. 160-168, 175-179, 272-286, and *idem*, 'Christian Kabbalah', pp. 88-94; Roling, 'Prinzip', *passim*.

[132] Ritius, *In Cabbalistarum seu allegorizantium eruditionem Isagoge* (Pavia, 1510, and again Augsburg, 1515). Different versions are in: Ritius, *De coelesti agricultura*, book IV, as *Introductoria Theoremata Cabalae* (Augsburg, 1541), and in Pistorius's *Ars Cabalistica* (Basel, 1587). Unless otherwise indicated, I quote from the Augsburg edition of 1515 (*Isagoge*).

[133] Ritius, *Isagoge*, Conclusio 36, fol 7a: *Archetypi hominis artus sunt decem angelorum chori, novem quos quidem haebrai appellant haios hacodes, offanim,*

both image and constituent part of the intelligible complex. The archetype of real man enables sublunar man to bridge the gap between human corporeality and God. In this process of acclimatisation, spirits are approached by invoking their names. The angelic spirit is more accessible to man than the divine spirit and can therefore help to unite the extremes of God and man as intermediary. It makes, in Ricci's words, the 'fire' bearable to man in that it gradually heats up his still slow *mens*, in which the actual conjunction will take place.[134] However, the basic direction of a rational being is anticipated by the *mens salvatrix*, which, too, can be obtained with the *spiritus angelicus* and which mirrors the formative principle of Christ.[135] Ricci, too, mentions a *hypostasis individua* of the absolute *mens* which grants the individual eternal existence. Man is transformed and clad in the *indumentum*, the mystical garment of transfiguration and angelic embodiment, as he is unified with Christ by this hypostasis.[136] According to Ricci, the name of Christ is the truly sacred name by which everything was created.[137]

Unlike Reuchlin, Ricci explicitly mentions his sources, although he leaves out the *Sefer Raziel*. His angelic man comes from Rabbi Ishmael's *Liber templorum* and the *Liber de magnitudine staturae*, i.e. the *Sefer Hekhalot* and the *Shi'ur Qomah*.[138] The macrocosmos as the angelic body of

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erelim, hasmalim, seraphim, malachim, elohim, bene elohim, cherubim. hos vero sacra Theologorum schola seraphim, cherubim, thronos, dominationes, virtutes, potestates, principatus, archangelos, angelos vocant. Decimus vero quem cabalistae una cum sanctorum, philosophantiumque pluribus animasticum (foemineum scilicet) ordinem proferunt: haebraica appellatione iscim: id est viri nuncupari solet. On the Hebrew terms, see Maimonides, *Sefer ha-Madah, Hilchot Jesodei*, 2.7 and 4.6 (pp. 58-61 and 78-79).

[134] Ritius, *Isagoge*, Conclusio 22, fol. 6a, and Appendix 22, fol. 17b-18a.

[135] *Ibidem*, Appendix 22, fol. 18b.

[136] Ritius, *De coelesti agricultura, Introductoria Theoremata Cabalae*, ed. Pistorius, Appendix 16, fol. 130-131: *Hoc unum praeterea omni quidem attentione dignum, hic minime praetereundum duxi, quod tota humane mentis in individua Hypostasi perpetuitas, provenit ex eius adhaerentia et nexu cum insufflato spiraculo seu formato homine, quod Cabalei indumenti vel tunicae mysterium vocant.* It is impossible here to discuss the kabbalistic sources of this section in detail.

[137] Ritius, *De coelesti agricultura, Introductoria Theoremata Cabalae*, ed. Pistorius, Appendix 50, fol. 137.

[138] Ritius, *Isagoge*, Appendix 21, fol. 17b: *Eiusmodi autem distincta separatorum nomina, munia, et loca ex rabi simonis, et magni pontificis rabi ismael templorum tractatus ac eiusdem rabi Ismael de magnitudine staturae ex libello pomorum, ex libro luminum rabi simonis, ex hoc portarum lucis compendio, ex libro candoris rabi nehuniae, ex orationem eiusdem, ex omnibus libelli formationis commentariis colligi solet. At exactiori serie non solum angelorum sed demonum distinctio in rabi simonis templorum volumine legitur.* The other sources Ricci quotes are less efficient regarding the theory of angels: the *Sefer Jesirah* (which was extensively

Christ, i.e. Christ himself, grants man, even in the sublunary realm, power over the domains allotted to the angels. For angels play an important role even in the last sphere, due to the stars that were assigned to them.[139]

A new attempt: De arte cabalistica

Whereas the ideas of union with Christ in an angelic world and of man's transfiguration into a God-based angelic being are significant in Ricci's work, magic is not. Reuchlin himself reduces its influence even further in his second *opus magnum*, the 1517 dialogue *De arte cabalistica*, the result of his commitment to Jewish writings for many years.[140] He even avoids the word 'magic'.[141] The final causality of all things created and founded in Christ no longer relies on man's magical connection to the sphere of the

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commented upon by Isaac the Blind, Azriel of Gerona, Ramban and others), the *Sefer Bahir*, Joseph Gikatilla's *Scha'are 'orah* which he partly translated, a *Liber luminum*, and a *Libellus pomorum*, both unknown to me. Probably the *volumen templorum rabi Simonis* can be identified as an excerpt from the Zohar, which in some of its parts deals with angels and demonology and offers chapters from Hekhalot-literature (I.38a-45b, II.244b-268b). Cf. Scholem, *Die jüdische Mystik*, pp. 176 and 418, and Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, vol. 2, pp. 587-595 (study), pp. 597-614 (an extensive example, a translation of Zohar I.41a-45b). Considering the divergence of incipits of *3 Henoch*-literature in the manuscript tradition, and considering how instable the 'macroforms' in the Hekhalot-literature generally were, one can scarcely say which text Ricci had actually read. The *Sefer Hekhalot* was frequently copied in manuscripts along with *Shi'ur Qomah*-texts, *Sefer Jesirah*, or Zohar-literature; the name 'Rabbi Ishmael' is found in almost all incipits of the *Sefer Hekhalot*-Corpus. Cf. Schäfer, 'Handschriften', pp. 221-233. Without identification this section was quoted again by Johannes Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum*, p. 81.

[139] Ritius, *Isagoge*, Appendix 64, fol. 24b-25a.

[140] On *De arte cabalistica* in general, see Blau, *The Christian Interpretation*, pp. 49-64; Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens*, pp. 52-70. On the adaptation of the philosophical concepts of Azriel of Gerona and Abraham Abulafia, see Grözinger, 'Reuchlin und die Kabbalah', *passim*. On the role of the Shechinah, see Javary, *Recherches*, pp. 225-226, 254-256, 296-297; and on the famous controversy about this work among contemporaries, see Peterse, *Jacobus Hoogstraaten*, pp. 119-130. Rather general statements are made by Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word*, pp. 71-78. Good synopses are provided by Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 63-125. The standard edition of the work is *De arte cabalistica* (Hagenau, 1517); a facsimile as well as a more accurate French translation are provided by Secret in: Reuchlin, *La Kabbale*. Johannes Pistorius inserted Reuchlin's work into his *Ars cabalistica* (Basel, 1587). I quote from the Hagenau edition, of which a facsimile appears in the Goodman translation, conveniently supplied with page numbers: Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*.

[141] On this judgement, see also Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 166-170.

agent intellect and the messianic soul that promises him illumination and perpetual reality. Reuchlin develops a *philosophia perennis* starting with a fictional Pythagoras and arbitrarily chosen excerpts from kabbalistic literature, that are meant to legitimise these ideas.[142] It can be shown that the basic propositions of *De verbo mirifico* remain the same in spite of the fact that they are dissociated from their magical context and are reduced to their theosophical content.

The human *mens* reaches its perfection and absolute *telos* in a *deificatio* in accordance to its nature. Leaving all worldly matter behind, it proceeds from form to form to reach the absolute *formans* that to the world is identical with God. The being that is thus formed and that, conceived of as *anima mundi*, receives the absolute form, is, in Reuchlin's world of ideas, equal to the Shechinah, which, though somewhat loosely depicted, is constituted by the superior Sefirah Jesod.[143] By gradually turning to his superior self and climbing the ladder of understanding, taking one step after another, man achieves the *deificatio* in the final leap into illumination which is characteristic of the transcendent archetypal human being, Adam kadmon. The elevation of man into this absolute enlightenend being which unites God and man, corresponds in Reuchlin's symbol system with the sixth Sefirah, Tiphereth. It expresses the medium between God and the world more strongly than the Sefirah Jesod (which merely shapes the world), and hence represents Christ in terms of the Christian Kabbalah.[144] Immediately man is transfigured and merged into God; he is identified with God in one of Christ's two natures. As a delivered being, he has the principle of his material part in common with Christ's material nature and hence with the angels who are likewise constituent parts of the absolute body. With respect to his form, the form of Christ, he is essentially united with God. His creaturely otherness springs from the fact that he is material, which in relation to the absolute form is on a par with Christ's human nature and the sum total of all the angels.[145] It is this trick, derived from the theory of Christ's double nature, that kept Reuchlin from sliding into pantheism and that enabled him to maintain a metaphysics of identity based on Cusanus.

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[142] Note the helpful remarks by Busi, 'Die Kabbala', pp. 61-63.

[143] Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 44-45. Cf. Giqatilla, *Scha'are'orah*, vol. 1, pp. 93-94. Quoting from the Koran, Reuchlin (*On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 202-203) says about the inhabitants of paradise: *Et paulo superius (sc. in doctrina Mahometh): Incolis quidem (ait) quicquid desiderari potest aderit, qui etiam perfecti erunt omnes in statura quidem Adae, in forma vero Iesu Christi, nunquam incrementum aut detrimentum aliquod patientes.*

[144] Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, p. 46-47.

[145] *Ibidem*, pp. 70-71.

In another sketch Reuchlin describes how the 'worlds' are intertwined. As the *mens humana* forms the soul, so the higher levels of existence are arranged according to the relation between matter and form, touching each other in the apex of their realisation. In its potentiality, the messianic soul comprises the sum total of all human and angelic intelligences; it meets with divine reality and connects divine transcendence with immanency.[146] To the same extent the active intellect, the last of the separate intelligences (identified by Reuchlin with Metatron by using a kabbalistic analogy), unites the sublunary *mentes*, who, in this mediator, meet with the realising magnitude of the messianic soul.[147] Reuchlin's approach can scarcely be called magic in this context, yet the miraculous power of the kabbalists no longer relies on the invocation of spirits but on angelic names that are imparted to them when they unite with the messianic soul in the angelic world.[148] Magic is at best a by-product of mystical experience, yet it is the *meditatio* that, preceding illumination, paves the way for transfiguration and unification with the divine once life has been morally cleansed.[149]

The third book of *De arte cabalistica* adds kabbalistic material to the idea of moral elevation. After deriving a Shem ha-mephorasch of the 72 angelic names from the biblical verses of *Exodus* 14,19ff., Reuchlin makes a statement concerning the metaphysical significance of the names. Once the adept is in command of a traditional and fixed canon of terms, it is their pure spiritual intonation which allows him to avoid sensual enticements and which fuels his understanding, until finally the unification of his *mens* with the angelic world is imparted to him.[150] The names of the angels are products of the will of God. They are substantially based on the tetragrammaton, and through this connection they illumine and enhance man's spiritual return to God. Naturally, as one might expect, this relation is essentially ontological. With the insertion of divine names such as 'El' or 'Yah', angelic names become pronouncable, and God himself (being nature) is the basis of angelic individuation. As was said of the perfect human being, God relates to angels as unity relates to duality, with the oneness of God ex-

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[146] Cf. Idel, *Messianic Mystics*, pp. 110-115; and, e.g., Moïse de Leon, *Le siècle*, pp. 220-224.

[147] Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 116-121. On this paragraph which I interpret somewhat differently and with less respect to systematical conditions, cf. Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, p. 83, and Grözinger, 'Reuchlin und die Kabbalah', pp. 183-184. Cf. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 118-119.

[148] Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 122-125.

[149] Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 230-231.

[150] See also Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 106-110, 163-164. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 264-269.

pressed once more in the totality of the 72 angelic names.[151] Thus, the angelic macrocosm as a whole can be seen as a corporeal manifestation of God. When read against the background of Reuchlin's earlier mentioned theses, this external aspect of God can be understood as the messianic soul, i.e. the human nature of Christ, the participation in which implies the fulfilment of the *mens humana*.

Reuchlin discusses the symbolic significance of each letter of the alphabet to outline anew the cosmological structure which offers the argument for man's revalorisation. For instance, Yod, marked by the numerical value 10, not only implies the last angelic choir (*ishim*), but also, as it did for Ricci, the illuminated *mentes*, those who are capable of detaching themselves from the secular world and who, as *nous* or *shekel ha-po'el*, can actually be part of the angelic world. Opposed to these is Thau, the final letter of the alphabet, which stands for man's human perspective and encompasses the corporeal world.[152] From this context, Reuchlin's work ends with a discussion of angelic influence on the sublunary world and with the question of magical actions. As is confirmed by the Aristotelian system, the intelligences have planets assigned to them through which the angels hold sway over sublunary things.[153] Hence, within certain limits set by God, single intelligences can rightfully be said to exert influence, also where the application of talismans and amulets is concerned, as the practice of the kabbalists shows.

All these figures and *signa*, however, are void in themselves, for the power of the kabbalist relies, like that of the saint, on *fides*, and hence on God Himself.[154] Looking at Reuchlin's theory of perception and the correlation of *mens* and *fides* already presented in *De verbo mirifico*, one notices that it is the conjunction with God and the participation in the angelic world that make up the true basis of an action or operation that still deserves to be

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[151] Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, p. 272.

[152] See Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 114-115; Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 318, 322.

[153] Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, p. 342.

[154] Cf. Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, pp. 120-121; and recently Busi, 'Die Kabbala', pp. 63-64. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, pp. 348 and 350: *Sed (ut asserentibus illis vera loquar) omnia ea fidei potius tribuunt, quanquam etiam orationibus nonullam esse insitam potestatem opinantur. Dicunt enim atque credunt oratio fidei salvabit infirmum neque aliter idonei Cabalistae sentiunt, qui pariter affirmant operationes miraculosas ex solo deo et ab hominis fide pendere. Mendaces igitur et stultos esse illos, pronunciant, qui soli figurae, soli scripturae, solis lineamentis, solis vocibus aere fracto natis, tantam miraculorum vim et potestatem concedant, ut testat Rabi Moyses egyptius in libri perplexorum primi capite LXXII.* It may be doubted whether this was Maimonides's real opinion.

called magical. In keeping with these ideas, Reuchlin rounds off his discussion of kabbalistic theurgy by pointing at its true *signum*, the name of Jesus as the pronounced tetragrammaton.[155]

With a period of twenty years intervening, Reuchlin offered two interdependent philosophical designs to his contemporaries, which, even though they have numerous structural similarities and share many of the same ideas, nevertheless show significant differences. *De verbo mirifico* was meant to develop a new and specifically Christian concept of magic based on elements from the Latin and Hebrew traditions. The postulate of magical practice was essential to his work, and the vindication of magic legitimised an eccentric interpretation of Christian dogma. Magic, however, would lose its attraction to Reuchlin two decades later, even though his love of Renaissance philosophy remained. Magic was banned from his new work and the framework originally intended for its vindication was now filled with the findings of his kabbalistic studies.

A magical come-back: later texts on Christian magic

This development did not keep occultist readers from using essential elements of Reuchlin's synthesis for their own, less ambitious, sometimes even simple, purposes. The following readings show that Reuchlin's magic was interpreted, certainly through Agrippa's mediation, as a magical practice rather than as a philosophical construction. The *Arbatel*, transmitted notably in the *Opera omnia* of Agrippa of Nettesheim, explicitly promises Christian magic to its user.[156] Written in aphorisms, it offers, next to single characters,

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[155] See also Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, p. 122. Cf. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah / De arte cabalistica*, p. 350, but see my statements on *De verbo mirifico*.

[156] *Arbatel de Magia seu pneumatica veterum tum magorum populi Dei, tum magorum gentium, pro illustratione gloriae et Philanthropias Dei*, in: Agrippa, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1. An English translation can be found in Agrippa, *His Fourth Book*, pp. 177-217. There is a German translation in the collection of J. Scheible entitled *Arbatel oder Einleitung in die Magie*, in Agrippa, *Magische Werke*, vol. 5. On the *Arbatel*, which was first printed in Basel in 1575, see: Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, vol. 6, pp. 457-458; Butler, *Ritual magic*, pp. 205-206 and 222-223; Waite, *The Book of Black Magic*, pp. 37-49 (more detailed, though speculative); Peuckert, *Pansophie*, pp. 333-338, 479. On its importance in the history of 'theosophy', see Faivre, *Theosophy*, pp. 12 and 35. A manuscript more extensive than the printed version (MS Sloane 3851, fol. 5-50) is mentioned by Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, pp. 212 and 297. Peuckert, *Pansophie*, p. 338, dates the *Arbatel*, probably with good reason, to 1550, although there is reason to believe there were several redactions. The *Theosophia pneumatica*, which seems to have been printed first by Andreas Luppius (1686) as *Clavicula Salomonis seu Theosophia pneumatica*, partly

primarily theoretical explanations, which give the text the shape of an isagoge. The practice of true magic – the most valuable form of which is *scientia prophetica* – is bound up exclusively with the true *verbum*, and it is only on this *verbum*, that means Christ, that the changing power of the magical process is based.[157] A perfect magician is aware of being formed by God and sees himself as an individual bearer of divine wisdom.[158] The knowledge of the visible and invisible aspects of creation has its origin in the revealed Word.[159] The *Arbatel* echoes the principal ideas of Reuchlin: the tetragrammaton (the author speaks of Jehovah or *numerus quaternarius* as the *fundamentum sapientiae*) pronounces itself in the Son, and is thereby able to provide adequate names for all stars and angels who, by this *ordinatio* or act of the divine will, are made suitable for magical purposes.[160] The power of the Word enables man to enter into contact with the angelic beings, using the separate intelligence as a magical tool.[161]

As in the work of Reuchlin, it is the *mens coniuncta* that is capable of performing miracles, with the help of *fides*, which is superior to all magical practices, sigils and characters.[162] With reference to the figure of Henoch, the author of the *Arbatel* even envisages an angelic transformation which correlates with such a conjunction.[163] On a practical level, this secret of magic equals the ability of the *natura angelica* to perform miracles.[164] This kind of *animus regeneratus* can judge all matters of knowledge by itself.[165]

A similar conception of Christian magic is suggested by the *Schem-*

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relies on it. See Peuckert, *Pansophie*, pp. 480-481; Waite, *The Book of Black Magic*, pp. 50-51; Kiesewetter, *Faust*, pp. 337-340. This text was newly printed by Adelung, *Geschichte*, vol. 6, pp. 360-404.

[157] *Arbatel de Magia*, p. 706 (within the scale of forms of magic), p. 707 (Introduction and Aphorism II of the first Heptad), p. 730 (Aphorism XXXVIII of the sixth Heptad, systematics of magic).

[158] *Ibidem*, p. 735 (Aphorism XLIII of the seventh Heptad).

[159] *Ibidem*, p. 731 (Aphorism XXXIX of the seventh Heptad).

[160] *Ibidem*, p. 710 (Aphorism XI of the second Heptad), p. 711 (Aphorism XIII of the second Heptad), p. 709 (Aphorism VIII of the second Heptad).

[161] *Ibidem*, p. 739 (Aphorism XLIX of the seventh Heptad, a system of *Scientia magica*, the definition of *Theosophia*), pp. 735-736 (Aphorism XLIIII of the seventh Heptad).

[162] *Ibidem*, p. 725 (Aphorism XXVII of the third Heptad), p. 728 (Aphorism XXXV of the fifth Heptad).

[163] *Ibidem*, p. 721 (Aphorism XXIIII of the third Heptad, the *maxima secreta* of magic): *Sextum, nosse Deum et Christum, eiusque spiritum Sanctum. Haec est perfectio Microcosmi. Septimum, regenerari, ut sit Henochii rex inferioris mundi.* See also *Theosophia pneumatica*, ed. Adelung, vol. 6, p. 362.

[164] *Arbatel de Magia*, p. 722 (Aphorism XXIIII of the third Heptad, the *mediocra secreta* of magic). See also *Theosophia pneumatica*, ed. Adelung, p. 363.

[165] *Arbatel de Magia*, p. 708 (Aphorism VI of the first Heptad).

hamphoras Salomonis Regis, an occultist manual, probably written in the sixteenth century, that repeatedly refers to Agrippa.[166] Another explicit source is the *Sefer Raziel*, from which the well-known sun-ritual was used in a Christian adaptation.[167] Next to extensive use and abuse of the material from *De arte cabalistica* (motivated by the reception of Agrippa), also structural thoughts from Reuchlin were copied in the *Shem ha-mephorash*. Within one absolute soul God sets in motion all individual souls, and these are able, through their faith, to join in the movement of the intelligences and the other spirits.[168] Also for the author of the *Shem ha-mephorash* the intelligible conjunction, the act of joining with God in the person of Christ, represents the terminus of all magical action.[169] The angelic magic that propagates this aim and dominates the text, points back to the *verbum mirificum*. The principal idea of the *Shem ha-mephorash*, finds expression in a vast number of 'latent' names of God that mostly represent well-known material and are divided into heptads. A hint at the *nomen ineffabile* of the tetragrammaton is followed by the statement that the name of Jesus was the *pentagrammaton effabile* during the time of grace, and was written JESU with four, or IHS, with three letters. The angels, presiding over the spheres,

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[166] This text, too, was first printed by Andreas Luppius (1686), under the title *Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras Salomonis Regis* and reprinted by Adelung, *Geschichte*, vol. 6, pp. 405-456. Works with this title, presenting material akin to the *Sefer Raziel* and related works, seem to have been common in occultist circles already in the early sixteenth century. Cf. Secret, 'Sur quelques traductions', p. 226. On the above text, cf. Peuckert, *Pansophie*, pp. 425, 443-447. I was unable to find in Luppius's edition any links with the Latin *Clavicula*-literature and the incorporated invocations assembled under the title *Schem-ha-mephorasch*; cf. Solomon's *Lesser Key*, pp. 23-66 (arbitrary material), and Adelung, *Geschichte*, vol. 6, pp. 346-359 (who compared Latin and French versions with Luppius's text); Kiesewetter, *Faust*, pp. 340-341 ('Machwerk sehr neuen Ursprungs'); and Butler, *Ritual magic*, pp. 157-159.

[167] On *Raziel* as source, *Semiphoras* (ed. Adelung), p. 452; see p. 425: 'Wer den Sonneneinfluß begehret, der muß nicht allein seine Augen nach der Sonnen wenden, sondern seiner Seelen Macht zu der Sonnen Seelen Macht, welche Gott selbst ist, erheben, welcher er sich zuvor durch Fasten, Reinigen, gute Wercke, muß gleichmäßig machen, oder im Nahmen des Mittlers bitten, neben inbrünstiger Liebe zu Gott und dem Nächsten, zu der Sonnen Seelen kommen, daß er erfüllet werde mit ihrem Glanz und Licht, welches er vom hohen Himmel an sich zeucht, und damit befeuchtet wird, er mit Göttlichen Gaben begabet mit der höchsten Klahrheit, daß er alle seine verwandten Formen, nach Wunsch des Verstandes erlanget, und so er das Licht des höchsten Grades gefaßet, so erlanget seine Seele die Vollkommenheit, und vergleichet sich mit der Sonnen Geist, ergreiffet die übernatürliche Erleuchtung, und wird ihrer Macht theilhafftig'.

[168] *Semiphoras* (ed. Adelung), p. 423.

[169] *Ibidem*, p. 440.

are in turn connected to the name of Jesus, the actual power of God, which, as we have seen quite often, becomes the basis of magic.[170] Knowing God, therefore, automatically implies knowlege of the angels and their virtues, just as knowledge of the names of God and of the name of Jesus can include all angelic names.[171]

This conception is expounded in another chain of the *Shem ha-mephorash*-genre. Adam talks to God in paradise through the name *Iovah*; but, speaking with the angelic world, he must use the name *Yesasaye*.[172] Again, Christ encompasses the whole of the angelic complex and man, merged into Christ, becomes a part of the angelic world. Once more we encounter a well-known concept, be it in a more trivial context. Whoever makes use of the true magical ritual, will be led by Christ to unification with the divine, but it is also through Christ, that he will remain a creature of God, even among the angels. For it is God Himself who pronounced the magical Word.

This concludes our survey of the various forms of magical transformation in which Reuchlin, the Christian kabbalist, has been the most prominent pioneer, for it was mainly due to his efforts that the theological appearance of these forms of magic and their proximity to the language of sacramental transubstantiation raised the suspicions of Reginald Scot. The apparent syncretism of the Renaissance remained as alien to the enlightened demonologist as it had been self-evident to Reuchlin.

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[170] *Ibidem*, p. 422.

[171] *Ibidem*, pp. 426-427.

[172] *Ibidem*, p. 413: 'Das erste Semiphoras, ist des Adam, da Er mit dem Schöpffer im Paradies geredet hatte. Das Andere Semiphoras, da Er mit den Engeln und Geistern geredet hat'. *Ibidem*, pp. 413-414: 'Das erste Semiphoras hat der Adam erkannt, da ihn Gott erschaffen, und ins Paradies gesetzt hatte, und nur 7 Stunden darinnen verbleiben, der Name ist Iovah. Welcher genehmet wird in großer Noth, mit sehnlicher Andacht, vor dem Schöpfer, so findest du Gnade und gewüße Hüllfe. Das ander Semiphoras, da der Adam mit dem Engel redet, welcher ihm diese Schrift gab, Yesasaye, das ist Gott ohne Anfang und Ende (the sythesis of the extremes), diesen nenne wann du mit dem Engel redest, so werden deine Fragen und Willen erfüllet'. Many adaptations may be found on further investigation, also in texts less important than those mentioned here. Cf., e.g., a conjuration of 'water-spirits', taken from the late and obscure *Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses* (Scheible, *Sechstes und Siebtes Buch*, XLVI-XLVII). For angelic names similar to those of the *Sefer Raziel*, cf. Schwab, *Vocabulaire*, p. 153.

APPENDIX: MAGIC *AND* RELIGION

Jan N. Bremmer

Over a long period of time, social anthropologists have now been debating the question whether there is a difference between magic and religion, and if so, how magic should be defined.[1] Given the greatly increased attention to magic among classicists in recent years,[2] it is hardly surprising that this debate has now finally reached the ancient world as well. In an important article, our compatriot Henk Versnel has recently argued that 'rejection of the word "magic" will soon turn out to be unworkable' and that 'it would be utterly unpractical to completely eliminate religion as one of the obvious models of contrast'. He even argues that

> 'the question whether distinctions should be drawn between magic *and* religion or magic and other features *within* religion is (...) of minor importance. What is important is to make a distinction between magic and non-magic, and it will be impossible – and, *if* possible, utterly impractical – to completely eliminate religion as one obvious model of contrast'.[3]

Versnel is a declared follower of the etic approach, that is, the use of concepts developed by us, not by the actors, in order to have a common platform for communication and discussion. This is undoubtedly the most satisfactory position from a scholarly point of view and in this respect I wholeheartedly agree with him.[4] Yet, in order to be workable, the etic definition of a concept should

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[1] For short surveys with bibliography see most recently Graf, *Magic*, pp. 14-18; Braarvig, 'Magic'; Thomassen, 'Is Magic a Subclass'; Schulz, *Magie*, pp. 372-378.

[2] In addition to those already mentioned in note 1, see also the following works: Merkelbach and Toti, *Abrasax* (the last two volumes by Merkelbach alone); Daniel and Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*; Bernand, *Sorciers grecs*; Faraone and Obbink, *Magika Hiera*; Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*; Gager, *Curse Tablets*; Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*; Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*; Brashear, 'The Greek Magical Papyri'; Meyer and Mirecki, *Ancient Magic*; Voutiras, *Dionysophontos Gamoi*; Schäfer and Kippenberg, *Envisioning Magic*; Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*; Moreau and Turpin, *La magie*; Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*.

[3] Versnel, 'Some Reflections', pp. 177, 187 (with extensive bibliography).

[4] For interesting ideas on the problem, see Boudewijnse, 'Fieldwork'.

always be as close as possible to the actors' point of view: if not, it will soon cease to be a useful definition. In this respect questions may arise about Versnel's position that we need religion as an obvious model of contrast to magic. I would like to make five observations which throw doubt on his (but not only his!) position.

First, attention in the debate is always focused on the definition of magic, as if the meaning of religion is generally agreed upon. In fact, religion was not yet conceptualized as a separate sphere of life in the Greco-Roman period and the term 'religion' only received its modern meaning in the immediate post-Reformation era, when the first contours of a separate religious sphere started to become visible.[5]

Secondly, the example of religion suggests that when analysing a concept we must also be sensitive to its semantic development. Here, we may point to the relatively late appearance of the word 'magic' in Western Europe. Linguistically, English *magyk* long existed alongside *magique*, which derived from Old French *art magique*. Modern French *magie* replaces *magique* only in the sixteenth century, German *Magie* is not to be found before the seventeenth century and Danish *magi* appears even only in the eighteenth century.[6] Evidently, in the period stretching from the later Middle Ages to the beginning of the early modern era a need was felt for a new term, although the reasons for this development are still largely obscure.[7] Moreover, magic was not a static concept, as we can already see in Antiquity:[8] the Renaissance invented the idea of a *magia naturalis*, the Romantics considered magic an art which could help 'das Göttliche zu produzieren',[9] and modern witches seem to have even abolished the traditional distinction between religion and magic.[10] To oppose magic to religion, then, is to use two terms and concepts, which did not exist in Antiquity,[11] but are both the product of late- and post-medieval Europe.

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[5] See most recently Bremmer '"Religion"', pp. 11-12; Smith, 'Religion'.

[6] See, respectively, *The Oxford English Dictionary* IX, p. 185; Wagner, *"Sorcier" et "magicien"*; Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* VI.1, s.v. *magia, magicus*; Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* VI, p. 1445; *Ordbog over det Danske sprog* III, p. 771.

[7] Goldammer, *Der göttliche Magier*, p. 15: 'Der Begriff, über den entstehungsgeschichtlich eigentlich wenig bekannt ist'.

[8] See the surveys of the developments by Gordon, 'Imagining Greek and Roman Magic', and Graf, 'Une histoire magique'.

[9] For the semantic development, note Henrichs, 'Scientia magica'; Goldammer, 'Magie' (inadequate); Zambelli, *L'ambigua natura della magia*.

[10] As observed by Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, p. 394.

[11] Fowler, 'Greek Magic', stresses that the Greeks do not define the concept of magic in any clear way, let alone oppose it to religion.

Thirdly, we should take into consideration that the ancients themselves did not oppose magic to religion. This becomes apparent when we look at both pagan and Christian positions. In his *Apology* (26.6), Apuleius first states that *magiam (...) artem esse dis immortalibus acceptam*, but he knows, of course, that this is the favourable interpretation of *magia*. He therefore continues that *more vulgari* a *magus* is somebody who, through a *communio loquendi cum deis immortalibus*, effects everything he wants through 'an incredible power of incantations' (*incredibili quadam vi cantaminum*). One cannot fail to note that Apuleius does not contrast magic with religion, and neither do the early Church fathers. Admittedly, Justin points out that, unlike Christians, Jews and pagans exorcise with drugs, incense and incantations; Irenaeus stresses the absence of incantations and any other 'wicked, curious art' in Christian miracles, and Origen denies that Christians use incantations, names of demons or magical formulas. Yet none of them formulates the debate in terms of an opposition magic-religion.[12]

Fourthly, in these texts the contrast is not between magic and religion *tout court*, but between magic and normative religious practice. Evidently, magic was construed dialectically in terms of what it was not.[13] Does that mean that magic is an unworkable concept? Not necessarily so. When we look at the most frequently noted oppositions between what is normally called magic and religion, such as secret/public, night/day, individual/collective, anti-social/social, *voces magicae*/understandable language, coercive manipulation/supplicative negotiation, negative gods/positive gods and so on,[14] we cannot fail to note that the positive characteristics are approved of by most religions, just as the negative ones are generally disapproved of or negatively valued. Evidently, the structure of most religions is similar enough to share a common number of negative practices and values – dual classification and inversion being very widely spread ordering principles of ancient and, still, modern cosmology.[15] This 'family resemblance', to use the well-known Wittgensteinian term, between religions enables us to continue using magic as a concept with a recognisable referent to reality. However, at the same time we must always remain aware of the fact that cultures rarely agree in detail as to what constitutes magic. That is already clear in Antiquity where magic only becomes

[12] Justin, *1 Apology* 2.6, *Dialogue with Tryphon* 69, 85; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 2.32.5; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.6, 60 and 6.40; Remus, *Pagan-Christian Conflict*, pp. 52-72; Heintz, *Simon "Le Magicien"*.

[13] I vary here an observation by Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, p. 9, on the construction of witchcraft.

[14] Versnel, 'Some Reflections', pp. 178-179.

[15] See the interesting discussion of Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 31-79.

thematized in later Classical Greece, whereas the later Roman Empire seems obsessed with it.[16]

Fifthly and finally, it is usually neglected that the moment of birth of the opposition magic-religion is only recent and can be established fairly exactly. Indeed, James George Frazer himself, the author of the famous *Golden Bough*, who did most to popularise the opposition, tells us in the preface to the second edition of his *opus magnum* (1900), which had been published with the new subtitle *A study in magic and religion*, that he had derived the opposition from Sir Alfred Lyall (1858-1936) and Frank Jevons (1835-1911),[17] the first an able colonial administrator in India and the second an average classicist and historian of religion in Durham. Lyall had opposed native Indian witchcraft to the 'religion of civilization' and Jevons had contrasted the race 'less civilised' with magic to the race 'more civilised' with religion.[18]

Now since the Hippocratic *On the Sacred Disease* the contrast between superstitious and 'authentic' religious practice has become a virtually fixed aspect of discussions of religion until the time of Frazer. However, the terms of this debate did not always remain the same. Whereas in Antiquity the opposite of accepted religious practice could be expressed with the terms *deisidaimonia*, *mageia/magia* or *superstitio*, the latter term became the ruling concept in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, and it remained so until the nineteenth century.[19] Frazer changed this situation in two aspects. He not only subsumed the beliefs and practices which used to be called superstition under the category 'magic', but he also separated this category from religion in time. Whereas earlier generations of scholars had considered superstition a part, albeit a misguided one, of religion, Frazer suggested that magic had actually once preceded 'authentic' religion.[20]

Frazer's temporal distinction between magic and religion was immediately criticised by folklorists and soon abandoned, but his use of the term magic became an instant scholarly success among anthropologists.[21] Due to the more recent technological developments, we can now much easier gauge

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[16] Fögen, *Die Enteignung*; Kippenberg, 'Magic in Roman Civil Discourse'; Neri, *I marginali*, pp. 258-286.

[17] See also Frazer, *The Magic Art* I.1, pp. 224-225.

[18] Lyall, *Asiatic Studies* I, pp. 99-130, who also propagated the view that magic is a primitive stage of science; Jevons, *Introduction*, pp. 36-37.

[19] Harmening, *Superstitio*; *idem*, 'Aberglaube', pp. 210-235; Daxelmüller, 'Vorwort', pp. v-xxxvi at xxv-xxxii; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 472-488.

[20] The same thought seems to have occurred to Tylor, cf. Hanegraaff, 'The Emergence', p. 262; note also Orsucchi, 'La scoperta'.

[21] For the reception of the second edition see Ackerman, *J.G. Frazer*, pp. 164-179; for the success of the term magic among anthropologists, Stocking, *After Tylor*, p. 150.

the nature of Frazer's influence in this respect. As I first showed in my discussion of the term 'ritual',[22] the computerisation of the catalogues of the university libraries enables us to search for certain key terms in the titles of books. It is illustrative of Frazer's new approach that books with both terms 'magic' and 'religion' in their title are not attested before the year 1900,[23] but virtually immediately become a normal feature of social anthropology and the history of religion after Frazer's work,[24] and they have remained thus ever since – witness the title of Keith Thomas's classic *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971). In fact, the very first book which uses the terms in the main title is *Magic and Religion* by Andrew Lang (1844-1912) of, note the year, 1901 – a clear indication of the interest Frazer had evoked with his new categorisation.[25] The opposition, then, is a typical product of the Victorian middle-classes with their strong need for positive self-definition against the colonial subjects abroad and the peasants at home.[26] It has no place in a discussion of magic in Antiquity and the Middle Ages.[27]

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[22] Bremmer, '"Religion"', pp. 22-23.

[23] As my colleague Lourens van den Bosch points out to me, the term 'magic' is also still absent from the indices of the books of Max Müller (1823-1900), the most famous historian of religion of the second half of the nineteenth century.

[24] The first examples are Hubert, *Étude sommaire*; Westermarck, *Religion och magi*; Doutte, *Magie et religion*; Giran, *Magie et religion*; Beth, *Religion und Magie*; Deubner, *Magie und Religion*; Rivers, *Medicine, Magic.*

[25] Lang, *Magic and Religion*, with already a devastating critique of the categorisation (pp. 46-75).

[26] Cf. Kuper, *The Invention*; Kuklick, *The savage within*, pp. 75-118; Kippenberg, *Die Entdeckung*, pp. 120-142.

[27] This is the updated version of the original Appendix to my 'The Birth of the Term Magic'. For information and comments I would like to thank Bob Fowler (who also corrected the English), Sigurd Hjelde, Goffe Jensma, Peter van Minnen and Herman Roodenburg.

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William of Palerne, see also *Guillaume de Palerne*
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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 10, note 61: Versnel, 'Die Poetik' - *read:* Versnel, 'The Poetics'.
Page 16, note 10: Gottliche - *read:* Göttliche.
Page 87, note 1: Hunink, *Apuleius* - *read:* Apuleius, ed. Hunink.
Page 93, note 27: 'Prayer' - *read:* 'Prayer in Magic and Religious Ritual', in: Faraone and Obbink, *Magika Hiera*, pp. 188-213.