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Preface

The papers in this book were originally delivered at a colloquium that took place at Dumbarton Oaks February 27–28, 1993. I am grateful to the scholars who agreed to speak at the colloquium and who submitted their texts for publication here. I would also like to thank the members of the audience who engaged in lively and interesting discussion. In particular, I am grateful to Stanley Tambiah, who contributed the perspectives of a social anthropologist in a most illuminating way and helped us to avoid the pitfalls of Byzantine parochialism. Finally, thanks are due to Hedy Schiller, who helped both to organize the meeting and to prepare the manuscript for publication, and to the staff of the Dumbarton Oaks Publications Office, who saw the book through the press.

Henry Maguire

Introduction

HENRY MAGUIRE

In recent years considerable attention has been given to magic in the societies of ancient Greece and Rome, late antiquity, and the medieval West. Much less attention, however, has been given to the phenomenon of magic in eastern Christendom during the medieval period. The papers in this volume, written by specialists in a wide range of disciplines, explore the parameters and significance of magic in Byzantine society from the fourth century to the empire's fall. The authors address a wide variety of questions, some of which are common to all historical research into magic and some of which are peculiar to the Byzantine context.

The first question to which this book seeks an answer is the relative importance of magic in medieval Byzantium. Anyone who has looked at Byzantine texts, both highbrow and lowbrow, will have been struck by the periodic mention of magical or semi-magical practices. There is, for example, the story in the *Chronography* of Michael Psellos, discussed here by John Duffy (Chapter 5), which describes how Empress Zoe had made for herself a private image of Christ that forecast the future by changing color. Or there is the tale in the Life of Irene of Chrysobalanton, referred to by Alexander Kazhdan (Chapter 4), about the lead idols of a nun and her suitor with which love magic had been worked; these effigies were miraculously retrieved from a magician in Cappadocia through the agency of St. Anastasia and St. Basil and given to Irene as she was at prayer in the chapel of her convent in Constantinople. Are such stories to be dismissed merely as quaint footnotes to the history of Byzantium, or do they represent something more important and more fundamental, which historians need to understand in order to understand Byzantine civilization as a whole?

A second question, which crops up very often in the study of Byzantine culture, is the question of continuity, of survival and revival. To what extent

was magic an aspect of the classical world that survived unchanged in Byzantium, a part of its antique legacy? The problem is whether the medieval Byzantines innovated in the area of the occult as they undoubtedly did in the other arts. There is also the question of the afterlife of Byzantine magic. How far did Byzantium transmit magic, along with its other learning, to areas under its cultural influence, such as the Slavic lands?

Related to these questions is the problem of the eastern provinces, especially Egypt, which in late antiquity had been the homeland of so much magical lore and paraphernalia. What effect did the loss of the eastern provinces in the seventh century have on the later practice of magic in Byzantium? Was the importance of magic in the Byzantine Empire thereby reduced, or was it changed?

If magic did survive from late antiquity into the medieval period, there is the question of where and in what forms it survived. Magic needed both providers and consumers; accusations of magic needed both accusers and accused. The historian seeks to know what is revealed about the social context of magic by the Byzantine law codes, learned literature, the more popular saints' lives, and material culture itself. What was the character of medieval legislation against magic as opposed to that of the late Roman period? Did the medieval intellectuals of Byzantium consider magic to be merely an exercise in antiquarianism or a living phenomenon? What light is shed by surviving objects, as opposed to texts, on the continuation or decline of magical practices and beliefs? Does the evidence of material culture fit in with the evidence from the texts?

Finally, there is the most fundamental question, that of the Byzantine *definitions* of magic. How was sorcery defined by the church and by the secular authorities? How did a Byzantine distinguish between supernatural phenomena that were holy and those that were demonic, between the miracle and the magic trick, between the nocturnal visitations of saints and of demons, between the pagan amulets and the portable relics from Christian shrines? In the realm of the visual arts, there was the question of which uses of art could be defined as orthodox and which were unacceptable. In what circumstances could the use of Christian images be termed "magical"?

Although the authors of this book address a broad range of questions, and their conclusions are varied, certain themes emerge clearly from all of the contributions and can usefully be summarized here. Concerning the most fundamental problem, that of definition, one clear conclusion is the need to

make a distinction between what *we* might wish to call magic—an external definition—and what the *Byzantines,* at any place or time in their history, might call magic—an internal definition. From an external viewpoint magic and miracles may look similar, as might pagan amulets and Christian tokens, but from an internal viewpoint they were very different. The modern anthropologist who attempts an external definition of magic that will hold good for all societies will have to be consistent, but, as Alexander Kazhdan shows, we should not expect consistency of the Byzantines when they made their internal definitions. The distinctions between good and bad miracles were for them areas of ambiguity and conflict, which might have important social implications. This meant that the psychological benefits of the Byzantines' belief in miracles were mixed. With the hope for holy miracles came the dread of sorcery.

Second, there can be no doubt, in the light of the evidence presented here, that the Byzantines themselves felt that magic was a significant factor in their society. The rich textual material discussed by Richard Greenfield (Chapter 7) demonstrates that magic was still flourishing, at least in the minds of contemporaries, during the last phase of the Byzantine Empire. Magic, then, was a part of the Palaeologan Renaissance, but was it an unchanging legacy from late antiquity? The answer to this question, as in other aspects of Byzantine culture, is mixed. Matthew Dickie (Chapter 1) describes how the early church fathers, by keeping distinct the powers of human and of supernatural agencies, were able to combine a continued belief in the evil eye with orthodox Christianity. In theory, it was the devil who caused the harm and not jealous humans, although some maintained that the devil might still use the envious for his evil purposes. The belief in the powers of envy and the evil eye certainly survived through the Byzantine period and beyond. On the other hand, while there was a measure of continuity, it can also be said that in many important respects the Byzantines succeeded in changing the status of magic in their society.

The changed position of magic can be seen in both material culture and written documents. In the discussion of material culture, it is useful to make a distinction between artifacts that were marked with non-Christian devices, such as ring-signs and the names of pagan deities, and those marked with Christian signs or images, such as crosses and portraits of the saints. In the case of the first class of objects, those with non-Christian devices, the issues were more clear-cut. In the case of objects of the second class, those with Christian devices, the issues were more ambiguous and complex. As James

Russell shows from archaeological evidence (Chapter 2), and John Duffy from literary sources, amulets of various kinds marked with essentially non-Christian signs were relatively widespread in the early Byzantine period. Though many churchmen certainly disapproved of these objects, the authorities were unable to prevent their use. St. John Chrysostom, for example, inveighed against those who used charms and amulets and who made chains around their heads and feet with coins of Alexander of Macedon. But two centuries later people were still wearing tunics decorated with repeated medallions depicting Alexander as a potent rider (Chapter 3, Fig. 14). Furthermore, as Russell relates, one house at Anemurium yielded a pierced coin of Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus that had been worn, presumably as a charm, by an inhabitant of that city as late as the seventh century. But the situation seems to have changed after iconoclasm. With some exceptions, such as the Chnoubis/Medusa amulets that were considered to help during pregnancy and in childbirth, the non-Christian amulets tended to disappear from the material culture of the later centuries of Byzantium, to be replaced by portable crosses and jewelry displaying Christian images or containing relics. The early Byzantine site at Anemurium harbored a silver lamella (a thin sheet of metal) inscribed with a magical charm (Chapter 2, Fig. 10), but we have little archaeological evidence of this kind from the medieval period of Byzantium. The evidence of archaeology is confirmed by the written texts. John Duffy shows how the attitude of Alexander of Tralles, a doctor of the sixth century, contrasted with that of the eleventh- and twelfth-century intellectuals Psellos and Michael Italikos. Alexander of Tralles was prepared to prescribe amulets for his wealthier patients who objected to the indignities of physical cures. We may infer that in his day such amulets were employed quite openly, and not only by the poor, an inference that is supported by the archaeological record from Anemurium. Six centuries later, however, Michael Italikos gave only a hint that such a cure might be ventured.

We can conclude, then, that the types of device that the church fathers of the fourth century had found most offensive, the amulets with "satanic" characters such as ring-signs, were purged from the overt material culture in the later medieval period, to be replaced by more acceptable objects, such as crosses, relics, and intercessory icons of the saints. At early Byzantine Anemurium the number of excavated pendant crosses was smaller than that of the non-Christian apotropaic objects. But after iconoclasm, many of the functions that had previously been performed by profane amulets were performed by objects

of explicitly Christian character. This change was encouraged by the church authorities themselves. As Matthew Dickie shows, in the fourth century John Chrysostom recommends that infants be protected from envy by the sign of the cross rather than by magical signs, while at the end of the Byzantine period Joseph Bryennios, in a passage cited by Richard Greenfield, recommends the wearing of the cross or the Virgin's image instead of profane amulets.

The church, therefore, was successful in marginalizing the non-Christian magical remedies, but it could not eliminate them altogether; the apparatus of magic responded to opposition by becoming more occult. People in the medieval centuries of Byzantium were less likely to wear amulets of metal or stone inscribed with heathen signs and symbols, but, as Richard Greenfield points out, in the Palaeologan period we still hear of amulets written on pieces of paper or parchment. They are mentioned, for example, in the proceedings of trials before the patriarchal court. It may be surmised that these scraps were a safer medium for the inscribing of forbidden texts and signs, since they could be more easily manufactured and destroyed than amulets in more durable materials. Naturally, none of the perishable paper amulets has survived, though we do possess a number of magic books from the late Byzantine and post-Byzantine period, which are also discussed by Greenfield.

The question of the magical use of Christian images is much more complicated and is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3, "Magic and the Christian Image." In the early period many ecclesiastical authorities had strong reservations about the private, unofficial use of Christian signs and images, and about their roles in practices and belief systems that were not regulated by the church. Similar reservations are revealed by the passage from John Chrysostom, cited by Marie Theres Fögen, concerning the "drunken and foolish" old women who falsely make Christian incantations, misusing the name of God (Chapter 6). Suspicions about the misuse of Christian images by private individuals certainly added fuel to the arguments made by the opponents of Christian icons. In this case, also, the church after iconoclasm was able to exert a much stronger control. In the later centuries of Byzantium, both the theory and the conditions of use of Christian images were much more closely regulated, with results that were visible in the forms of the images themselves. Christian icons became less ambiguous and thus less suspect. Nevertheless, we still encounter instances of the magical use of Christian images and symbols in the post-iconoclastic period, one of the most interesting being letter 33 of Michael Italikos, which is referred to by John Duffy. This letter was written to accompany

the gift of a gold coin, which Michael Italikos claims was that of Constantine I. As described by Italikos, the piece was mounted to be worn as a pectoral and bore on one side the imprint of Constantine, "the most imperial, the most pious, and the best of emperors," together with Helena, and on the other side an image of Christ in "Roman" guise. The design of the piece also incorporated a cross, and its surrounding inscription was in Latin characters. Italikos further described the coin as "an imperial nomisma invested with an ineffable power," which was effective against "all evils" but particularly against disease. Although we may doubt whether the coin seen by the medieval writer really showed Constantine and Helena, it was clearly ancient, and it is clear that Italikos actively believed in its supernatural powers. He said explicitly that the powers came not simply from the cross but from the coin itself. The letter of Michael Italikos, therefore, brings us once again to that unstable border where Christian content shaded into magic, even while it shows us the continuity that underlies change. Constantine has replaced Alexander, but the medium of transmission of power, the coin, remains the same.

Turning from material culture to texts, we find that important changes occurred in the treatment of magic by Byzantine legislators, as is revealed in the paper by Marie Theres Fögen. She shows how the attacks on magic by secular authorities became less harsh and less crude than they had been in the imperial legislation of the fourth century; by the twelfth century the problem of illicit contacts with the supernatural was the province of religious discipline. Byzantine canon law, as exemplified by the Council in Trullo of 691/92 and Balsamon's twelfth-century commentary, provided greater precision in defining the practitioners of magic than had the late antique imperial legislation, while the scale of punishments became less draconian. To use her term, magic, while not permitted, was in a way "domesticated" in the medieval centuries of Byzantium. In part this change came about because magic had been brought into a single unified system of relationships between human beings and the supernatural. In this system there was ultimate divine justice, whatever the demons might be allowed to get away with in the interim. Any attempts to control demons through magic could bring only short-term advantages; in the end they would fail. So magic found a place in later Byzantine culture, but it was a defined place. In the late antique period there was more open-ended competition between the different supernatural forces that vied for people's attention, and hence more conflict.

The last paper in this volume (Chapter 8) deals with the little-explored

topic of the reach of Byzantine magic into Slavic culture. Just as Byzantium gave orthodox Christianity to the Slavs, so too it gave much that was unorthodox, including expertise in magic. As Robert Mathiesen shows, the contribution of Byzantium to the written corpus of magical or semi-magical texts translated into Church Slavonic was large and varied. In addition, Byzantium influenced the material culture of Slavic magic, as it did the art of orthodox churches. The most spectacular example of this influence is the gold Medusa amulet from Černigov with its inscriptions in both Greek and Slavonic. In its early centuries Byzantium had borrowed much of its magical lore from the Near East, especially from Egypt; in its later centuries it transmitted a part of this legacy to the Slavs.

The authors of this volume are in a sense pioneers who have entered the relatively uncharted territory of magic in the Byzantine middle ages. Now that they have provided signposts, indicating the scope of magic, its forms, and its functioning in Byzantine society, other areas of research have come into view. The most intriguing of these unexplored areas is comparative studies: how did magic in Byzantium differ from magic in western Europe during the same period, and why? Why were there virtually no witches in the East, but only "foolish old women"? How does magic in the Islamic world relate to early Byzantine practices? What were the connections between the magical learning of the Italian Renaissance and the Byzantine tradition? Such questions must await further investigation by the practitioners of magical scholarship.

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1

The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye

MATTHEW W. DICKIE

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how difficult even the most highly educated and sophisticated Christians of the late fourth and early fifth centuries found it to rid themselves of the idea that envy lends a malign power to men's eyes. The idea at issue is that the eyes of envious men are able, unaided, to inflict injury at a distance. This is the belief called the "evil eye" by speakers of English and other modern European languages, though that significantly is not the way in which most men in pagan and Christian antiquity would have referred to it. The difficulty that such fathers of the church as Basil, Jerome, and John Chrysostom had with freeing themselves from the idea is some indication of how deep-seated it must have been in the general population.

I shall also try to show that these church fathers, who do attack belief in the evil eye, address only one aspect of a much larger constellation of beliefs. They leave unquestioned the assumption that there are envious supernatural forces out there eager to destroy prosperity, virtue, and beauty. Their failure to deal with this larger issue is a further indication of just how much a part of men's mental make-up must have been the conviction that life was beset by unseen envious forces. We see evidence of that fear in the many amulets that survive from this period. It is important to bear in mind that the fear reflected in these objects is not directed specifically at the evil eye as the fathers of the church construe it but at a much wider spectrum of dangers. In the case of Basil and John Chrysostom, and perhaps to a lesser extent Jerome, there is a further factor that has affected their thinking about the evil eye: the influence of pagan philosophy has made them concentrate their attention on a severely restricted conception of the evil eye to the exclusion of other related beliefs.

The fathers of the church have no reservations about condemning all forms of magic-working, in which category they certainly included the casting

of the evil eye.[1] Although they are unanimous and consistent in their condemnation of magic-working, they waver on the question of whether there is anything to it.[2] They condemn magicians as frauds and charlatans, but sometimes speak of them as though they posed a real threat. They have no doubt that magic is the devil's work, but they are not at all certain whether the demonic forces magicians enlist to aid them do in fact afford any real help or only create the illusion of change.[3]

The attitude of the fathers of the church to magic reflects in part the hostility of the Roman civil authorities to magic as a socially disruptive force, in part the skepticism found in educated pagan circles about the possibility of a man's being able to set aside the laws of nature, and in part the feeling that endowing men with more than human abilities is contrary to Christian doctrine.[4] Scripture has a surprisingly small part to play in shaping Christian attitudes toward magic.[5] How little support the church fathers can find in it for their condemnation of magic is apparent in Jerome's palpable delight in his commentary on Galatians at Paul's mentioning sorcery (φαρμακεία) immedi-

[1] For magic in the New Testament: David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW,* II.23.2 (Berlin-New York, 1980), 1507–57; for the views of the ante-Nicene fathers on magic: Francis C. R. Thee, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic* (Tübingen, 1984), 316–448; for Origen, Chrysostom, and Augustine: N. Brox, "Magie und Aberglauben an den Anfängen des Christentums," *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 83 (1974), 157–80.

[2] Ramsay MacMullen's assertion (*Enemies of the Roman Order* [Cambridge, Mass., 1964], 323–24 note 25) that "if the Church thundered against magic beliefs, that was because they were wicked, not untrue," is too extreme and unnuanced and takes no account of the very different positions different fathers adopted.

[3] On the tendency to deny that humans can perform sorcery and to blame everything on the demonic, see Peter Brown, "Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity," in *Witchcraft, Confessions and Accusations,* ed. Mary Douglas (London, 1970), 32.

[4] On Roman legislation against magic appealed to by Augustine in support of his thesis that magic is pernicious and not only condemned by Christians, see *De civitate dei,* 8.19; in general on Roman legislation on magic, see MacMullen, *Enemies,* 124–27; on the judicial prosecution in the 4th century A.D. of those who had resort to magic, see A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century,* ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford, 1963), 100–14; John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London, 1989), 217–26.

[5] Magic condemned: Deuteronomy 18:11–12; Galatians 5:20; *Didache,* 2.2; Aristeides, *Apologia,* 8.2, 13.8; Justin, *Apologia,* 1.14.2; Pseudo-Phocylides, 149; *Oracula Sibyllina,* 283–85.

ately after idolatry amongst the deeds of the flesh (Gal. 5:18): he remarks that we are not to imagine that magical spells and the maleficent arts are not forbidden in the New Testament; they are forbidden amongst the deeds of the flesh. The explanation he gives for their being put in this category is that because of the magical arts unfortunate people often fall in love and become the objects of love.[6] The church fathers may have found condemnations of magic hard to come by. They are even less well-placed when it comes to adducing scriptural authority for their contention that magicians and sorcerers are impostors and charlatans. They are firmly convinced that men cannot alter the course of nature but cannot find chapter and verse to support that view.

The attitude of the fathers of the church to the evil eye is a profoundly ambiguous one: they are not prepared to accept that the eyes of envious men can on their own inflict harm, but they are willing to concede either that the virtuous and the fortunate do have something to fear from envious forces or that a supernatural force may use the eyes of the envious to cause harm. This is their considered position when their mind is fully focused on the issue and its implications. When their mind is on something else, they speak of the eyes of the envious doing harm. In essence they continue to believe in the evil eye, but qualify the expression of their belief to make it philosophically and theologically respectable.

The position that they take on the evil eye owes a good deal more to presuppositions about the nature of man and his capabilities that the church fathers share with educated pagans than it does to the authority of the scriptures. What a church father found incredible about the evil eye was exactly what an educated pagan would have found incredible. What the fathers leave unquestioned is exactly what a pagan would have left unquestioned. They share very much the same blind spots. Not only do pagan presuppositions shape the attitude of the fathers of the church to the evil eye, but pagan philosophical discussion has deeply affected the way in which such fathers as Basil and John Chrysostom conceive of it. The limited view that they take of the issue is a holdover from learned pagan discussion. The terms of debate that Basil and John Chrysostom felt bound by here had been laid

[6] *Commentarius in epistulam ad Galatas,* PL 26, col. 443: "et ne forsitan veneficia, et maleficae artes non viderentur in Novo prohibitae Testamento, ipsae quoque inter carnis opera nominantur. quia saepe magicis artibus, et amare miseris evenit et amari."

down long before by pagan philosophers. This has meant that one belief has been singled out from a larger complex of beliefs of which it was part and discussed in isolation from them. The evil eye, as I shall try to show, is a somewhat artificial construct. Ancient criticism of it is interesting as much for what is said about it as for what is not said about the larger body of beliefs to which it belongs.

We must step back for a moment to look more closely at what it is that we are talking about when we speak of the evil eye in classical antiquity and the late Roman world. Michael Herzfeld has with some reason proposed that the term "evil eye" should not be used in cross-cultural comparisons, on the ground that the term is frequently employed to refer to beliefs that have little in common with each other, although he does think that it has a proper application.[7] There are problems with the notion of the evil eye, even within a culture. In the case of classical antiquity and of the late Roman world, the term *evil eye* as such is hardly used at all and then only under the influence of certain scriptural passages of uncertain import.[8] The terms most often used are, by Greek speakers, φθόνος and βασκανία, and, by speakers of Latin, *invidia* and *fascinatio* or *fascinus*. What men feared under these headings was not a single object with a secure and fixed identity but a complex of objects with shifting identities, and identities that coalesce. Very often what they feared will have been inchoate and will have lacked any real identity.[9] The more or less constant factor in this constellation of fears was fear of envy: men were afraid lest their good fortune would draw envy on their heads. They might fear it would come from their fellow men, demons, the gods, fortune, the fates, and a malign supernatural power they called simply φθόνος or *invidia*. Their fear will very often have had no clear focus to it and will have been no more than an undifferentiated sense of apprehension. The explanations they gave for the misfortunes that befell them will have been equally fluid, and they will sometimes have put down the catastrophe to a combination of forces, for example, envious demons

[7] "The Horns of the Mediterraneanist Dilemma," *American Ethnologist* 11 (1984), 448–50; "Closure as Cure: Tropes in the Exploration of Bodily and Social Disorder," *Current Anthropology* 27 (1986), 108 note 3.

[8] It is found in Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio funebris in Meletium,* PG 46, col. 856 and in John Chrysostom, *Commentarius in epistulam 1 ad Corinthios,* PG 61, col. 106.

[9] I do not, for instance, share Peter Brown's confidence (*Witchcraft,* 32) that the identity of the force apostrophized as *Invide* on Christian amulets was always and unfailingly thought to be the devil.

working through envious human beings; or again they will have assigned no more secure an identity to the cause of their misfortune than that φθόνος or *invidia* had struck them down.

To substantiate these contentions adequately would take too much space. Two passages, one from Plato's *Phaedo* (95b5–6) and the other from Libanius' correspondence (*Ep.* 1403.1–2), will have to suffice to illustrate respectively the undifferentiated nature of fear of βασκανία and the identification of βασκανία with fortune. When Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo* tells Cebes not to speak too boldly, after Cebes has expressed his confidence that Socrates will have no difficulty in dealing with the next topic to be discussed, lest some βασκανία upset the discussion they are about to have,[10] there does not seem to be any good reason to assign a precise source to the threat. It seems unlikely that it is supposed to emanate from any of those present in Socrates' death cell. Nor again is there any warrant for supposing that it is meant to come from the gods, despite the fact that Socrates immediately proceeds to say that the matter will be the gods' concern (95b7). Furthermore, we have absolutely no reason to suppose that there is in what Socrates says any implied reference to the harmful gaze of some being. Libanius, on the other hand, declares he knew that when three young men were praised a βασκανία would cast its gaze on them, but goes on to say that φθονερὸς δαίμων could not abide what was said about them.[11] βασκανία in this case does have a baneful gaze, but it is not the βασκανία of any human being that is at issue; if anything, it is that of envious fortune.

In pagan antiquity what is singled out for rejection is only one small facet of the constellation of beliefs that arise out of the deep-seated conviction that good fortune will attract the hostility of envious supernatural forces. Men found it impossible to accept only that other human beings could, without physical contact, do harm from afar, not that other non-human beings and forces might out of envy do damage, either by casting hate-filled eyes or by some other means. This is not to say there would not have been those who would not have rejected the whole complex of ideas out of hand—in theory, this is what a Stoic or Epicurean would have done—only that while a man

[10] μὴ μέγα λέγε, μή τις ἡμῖν βασκανία περιτρέψῃ τὸν λόγον τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι.

[11] ᾔδειν ὅτι Βασκανία τις ὄψεται τοὺς σοὺς υἱεῖς, ἣ πέφυκεν ὁρᾶν ἐκείνη τοὺς ἐπαινομένους. . . . οὐκ ἤνεγκεν οὖν φθονερὸς δαίμων τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον.

might have difficulty accepting that the intervention of another human being could alter nature's course, he would have had a good deal less difficulty with the idea that the intervention of an envious force or being, if it were other than human, was capable of interrupting the normal pattern of events.

Some educated men in pagan antiquity, at least from the first century of our era, and probably from a much earlier date, evidently found the idea that the eyes of envious men could cast a harmful spell something of an embarrassment. Grattius, a poet writing under Augustus, speaks in his *Cynegetica* of fear of the malign eye as a false fear belonging to an earlier age.[12] Persius, the Roman satirist of the time of Nero, characterizes the grandmother and aunt who take an infant boy from his cradle to daub saliva on his forehead and lips, so as to negate the effect of eyes that burn, as fearful of the divine.[13] In speaking of eyes that burn, Persius is referring to the scorching and withering effect that the evil eye was imagined to possess. We should not assume too readily that Grattius and Persius have only the eyes of human beings in mind, but we may fairly infer that, in speaking respectively of false fear (*falsus metus*) and fear of the divine (*metuens divum*), they are referring to the state of mind that in Greek would be labeled δεισιδαιμονία,[14] that is, the preternatural fear of the divine and demonic. In categorizing the fear in these terms and attributing it to an earlier era and to women, they distance themselves from it. Plutarch, in his account of a conversation after a banquet at which the subject of the envious eye (βάσκανος ὀφθαλμός) and those men able to harm with it is brought up, says most of those present completely belittled and ridiculed the idea (*Quaestiones convivales,* 680c).[15] Finally, in Heliodorus' novel the *Aethiopica,* when an Egyptian priest suggests that his host's daughter has drawn an envious eye on herself, the host, a priest of Delphian Apollo, smiles at the irony

[12] "quid, priscas artes inventaque simplicis aevi, / si referam? non illa metus solacia falsi / tam longam traxere fidem (400–402); ac sic offectus oculique venena maligni / vicit tutela pax impetrata deorum" (406–7).

[13] "ecce avia aut metuens divum matertera cunis / exemit puerum frontemque atque uda labella / infami digito et lustralibus salivis / expiat, urentis oculos inhibere perita" (2.31–34).

[14] Phrases of the form *metuens divum,* as the commentators on Persius point out, normally refer to a proper respect for the gods (Ovid, *Fasti,* 6.259–60, *Metamorphoses,* 1.323; Livy, 22.3.4) and not to superstitious fear. It is unlikely, however, that Persius has simple piety in mind and not the superstitious fear characteristic of women.

[15] οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παντάπασιν ἐξεφλαύριζον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ κατεγέλων.

of his guest's subscribing to a belief to which the masses gave their allegiance (3.7.2).[16]

It would be foolish to make too much of these expressions of disdain and draw the conclusion that the educated classes in the Roman Empire were either contemptuous of belief in the evil eye and viewed fear of it as a pathological condition or were embarrassed about admitting to their own belief. They do nonetheless constitute evidence that the belief encountered some resistance.[17] We should also be cautious about placing too much weight on the lonely position that Plutarch implies he occupied in believing in the evil eye: he gives us to believe that, at least at the beginning of the dinner party's conversation on the evil eye, only he and his host, Mestrius Florus, were prepared to defend the belief. We may suspect that the isolation of Mestrius and Plutarch does not necessarily reflect any reality, but is a device intended to highlight the intellectual *tour de force* that Plutarch performs in explaining how it is possible for the envious to cause damage at a distance.

No doubt there were many reasons for an educated man to want to distance himself from giving open adherence to the belief, but one prominent factor influencing his conduct may well have been concern lest he seemed to belong to the number of those who were filled with credulous and awe-struck amazement in the face of the miraculous and wonderful. There is, not surprisingly, a tendency to assign the evil eye to the realm of the miraculous and the wonderful because it represents a departure from the normal course of nature and precisely because there seemed to be no way to explain how one man, without being in direct physical contact with another, could harm him. Thus Apollonius Rhodius in his *Argonautica,* after describing Medea's bewitching the bronze giant Talos with the evil eye, apostrophizes Zeus in shaken wonder that it should be possible for death to come on someone without his being struck or falling sick and that a man should be able to harm someone from afar (4.1673–75).[18] Stories about the evil eye seem to have been one of the staples

[16] γελάσας οὖν εἰρωνικὸν, καὶ σὺ γὰρ, εἶπεν, ὡς ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος εἶναί τινα βασκανίαν ἐπίστευσας.

[17] MacMullen, *Enemies,* 121, again goes too far in maintaining of the 2nd and 3rd centuries that "As time went on, all doubters disappeared. A universal darkness prevailed." He restates the same view, dismissing Brown's reservations (*Witchcraft,* 22) in *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven-London, 1981), 71–74.

[18] Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ μέγα δή μοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θάμβος ἄηται / εἰ δὴ μὴ νούσοισι τυπῇσί τε μοῦνον ὄλεθρος / ἀντιάει, καὶ δή τις ἀπόπροθεν ἄμμε χαλέπτει.

of the branch of literature that from the Hellenistic Age on catered to the public's taste for wonders, paradoxography.[19] This taste for the miraculous was to some extent made disreputable by the assaults of two philosophical schools, the Epicureans and the Stoics. The Stoics, about whom we are better informed here, had no time for wonders and simply denied the possibility of their existence.[20] Much of the impetus for their attack is attributable to their eagerness to counter the disconcerting effect that awe-struck fear might have on a man's mental equilibrium. It will be no coincidence then that the philosophical standpoint of Persius and of those at Plutarch's dinner party who attack belief in the evil eye is a Stoic one.[21]

From an intellectual point of view, the difficulty educated pagans had with the evil eye, when they put their minds to the issue, was that it was hard to see how the eyes could harm without apparent physical contact. There were three responses to this difficulty: (1) probably the most common, to ignore it; (2) to see in it an insuperable obstacle to the belief's being true; and (3) to argue that there was in fact physical contact between the eyes and what they rested on. Thus Plutarch's explanation of the evil eye is that there is a physical emanation from the eyes of the envious person which enters the eyes of the envied party to cause bodily and psychic upset (*Quaest. conviv.,* 680f–681a, 681e–f). Plutarch here is deeply indebted to the presocratic philosopher Democritus, who had used his theory of atomic particles to account for the capacity the eyes of the envious had to harm (DK 68 A 77 = Plutarch, *Quaest. conviv.,* 682f–683a). What is notable about all of the the theories devised in

[19] Pliny the Elder attributes to two Hellenistic paradoxographers, Isigonus and Nymphodorus, stories about people who had the power to fascinate (*Historia naturalis,* 7.16). On the literary form, see A. Giannini, "Studi sulla paradossografia greca I," *RendIstLomb* 97 (1963), 246–66; idem, "Studi sulla paradossografia greca II," *Acme* 17 (1964), 99–140.

[20] *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta,* ed. J. von Arnim, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1905–24), III, 642; cf. ibid., I, 239 (Zeno); Epictetus, 1.29.3. Strabo (1.3.21) treats Democritus as the precursor of those philosophers (i.e., the Stoics) who try to inculcate a resistance to astonishment (ἀθαυμαστία). On Democritus and the Stoics, see R. Gauthier and J. Jolif, *L'Éthique à Nicomaque,* 2nd ed. (Louvain-Paris, 1970), on Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics,* 1125a2. Lucian couples Democritus with Epicurus and Metrodorus as men resolute in their determination not to be awed by miracles (*Alexander,* 17).

[21] H. Dörrie, *Der Königskult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriften-Funde,* AbhGött, phil.-hist.Kl., 3rd ser. 60 (Göttingen, 1964), 110, identifies the scoffers' position as Stoic.

pagan antiquity—and they are all really variations on Plutarch's adaptation of Democritus—to make sense of the ability of the envious to inflict harm through their eyes is that they assume the harm must be done through some form of physical contact.[22]

That Plutarch's theory should have found its way into two collections of physical and medical conundrums, one ascribed to Aristotle ([Arist.], *Probl. ined.* 3.52 [Bussemaker IV.333] and the other to Alexander of Aphrodisias ([Alex. Aphrod.] *Probl.* 2.53 [J. L. Ideler, *Physici et medici Graeci minores* I.67–68]), is a fair indication that there was an audience for it and that Plutarch somewhat misrepresents his position in suggesting it was a lonely and embattled one. Many educated men will have been only too happy to embrace an explanation that conferred respectability on a belief to which they might otherwise have been embarrassed to admit. Many others apparently felt no embarrassment at all about the belief. Pliny the Elder, despite the robust skepticism he displays about certain aspects of magic, is one such:[23] there is no hint that he withholds his intellectual assent from what he has to say about *fascinatio.*[24] Aelian, a product of the Second Sophistic who was born in Praeneste but writes in Greek, is another: he happily recounts the measures that animals and birds take to protect themselves against the eyes of the envious.[25]

In sum, in pagan antiquity one small facet of a much larger complex of beliefs, whose core was the feeling that good fortune was vulnerable to the assaults of envious supernatural forces, was singled out for rejection or explanation. It is important to bear this in mind when we turn to what those fathers of the church who do address the issue of βασκανία or *fascinatio* have to say about it. Those church fathers who show no sign of having read any of the philosophical discussions of the topic, although they take a somewhat larger view of βασκανία, cannot accept that one human being can harm another through βασκανία, but do not question the existence of an envious supernatural force. The church fathers whose thinking does betray the influence of pagan

[22] Heliodorus, *Aethiopica,* 3.7.2–8.2; [Aristotle], *Problemata inedita,* 3.52 (Bussemaker IV.333); [Alexander of Aphrodisias], *Problemata,* 2.53 (J. L. Ideler, *Physici et medici graeci minores,* I.67–68).

[23] On Pliny's disbelief in magic, see Mary Beagon, *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder* (Oxford, 1992), 92–123, an assessment that does not quite bring out Pliny's blind spots.

[24] *Historia naturalis,* 7.16–18; 13.40; 19.50; 28.22, 35, 101; 37.145, 164.

[25] *De natura animalium,* 1.35; 11.18.

philosophical discussion show in the very limited view they take of βασκανία and in their criticism of belief in it their indebtedness, naturally unacknowledged, to pagan thinking on the subject. What they attack is the belief that men in their envy are able through their eyes alone to hurt other human beings; the basis of their criticism is that a mere part of the body could not do this on its own.

The Fathers of the Church

Nowhere is the limiting influence of pagan discussion more evident than in Basil's discussion of the evil eye in his homily on envy. After arguing that the envious do themselves much more harm than they do those at whom they direct their envy, he turns to an apparent counter-example to his thesis, namely, the belief held by some that envious men through the sole agency of their eyes can inflict harm on others.[26] He goes on to give a fuller version of this belief: "Bodies in good condition, even those that are at the very apogee of physical form and youth, waste away when exposed to fascination and lose all of their substance, inasmuch as a deadly efflux emanates from envious eyes to ruin and kill."[27] Having spelled out what the belief is, Basil dismisses it as a vulgar story introduced by old women into the women's quarters.[28] Then, changing his tack somewhat, he makes what is in effect a concession: when demons who have a hatred of what is fair come across men with propensities akin to their own, they employ these propensities to further their own purposes, which means that they press the eyes of the envious into service to secure their own ends.[29] Basil concludes this part of the homily by asking us whether we are not afraid of making ourselves a servant of a deadly demon and the enemy of God who is good and free of all envy.

[26] *De invidia,* PG 31, col. 380: τοὺς δὲ φθονερούς τινες οἴονται καὶ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν μόνων τὴν βλάβην ἐπιβάλλειν.

[27] ὥστε τὰ εὐεκτικὰ σώματα, καὶ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ὥραν ὑπεranθήσαντα, τήκεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν καταβασκαινόμενα, καὶ ὅλον ἀθρόως συναναιρεῖσθαι τὸν ὄγκον, οἷον ῥεύματός τινος ὀλεθρίου ἐκ τῶν φθονερῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπορρέοντος, καὶ λυμαινομένου καὶ διαφθείροντος.

[28] ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτον μὲν τὸν λόγον ἀποπέμπομαι, ὡς δημώδη καὶ τῇ γυναικωνίτιδι παρεισαχθέντα ὑπὸ γραιδίων.

[29] ἐκεῖνο δέ φημι, ὅτι οἱ μισόκαλοι δαίμονες, ἐπειδὰν οἰκείας ἑαυτοῖς εὕρωσι προαιρέσεις, παντοίως αὐταῖς πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἀποκέχρηνται βούλημα· ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν βασκάνων εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν χρῆσθαι τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος.

The belief that Basil rejects as vulgar and an old wives' tale, at least in the form that he presents it, is no such thing, but a learned interpretation of βασκανία that he gets from Plutarch, probably directly. Basil read Plutarch; the homily *De invidia* owes a debt to Plutarch's *De invidia et odio.*[30] Since the theory of βασκανία that he rejects is basically the same as Plutarch's, and the description of the effect of βασκανία on bodies in their prime comes from Plutarch's explanation of why good-looking young men in their prime may fascinate themselves if they see their image reflected in water, the chances are that he has taken it directly from that author.[31]

Why Basil should dismiss Plutarch's explanation of βασκανία as an old wives' tale is something of a puzzle. In calling it an old wives' tale, he of course wishes to suggest that it is a superstitious belief of the sort that only credulous old women would believe.[32] It seems unlikely, however, that it had

[30] Basil's debt particularly to Plutarch's *De tranquillitate vitae* has been demonstrated by M. Pohlenz, "Philosophische Nachklänge in altchristlichen Predigten," *ZWTh* 48 (1905), 72–95. See also R. Hirzel, *Plutarch* (Leipzig, 1912), 84–85; K. Ziegler, *RE* 21 (1951), col. 311; D. Russell, *Plutarch* (London, 1973), 144–45. Case for debt to Plutarch's *De invid. et od.* in Basil's *De invidia:* envious will never admit to envy: *De invid.,* PG 31, col. 373 = *Mor.,* 537e; misfortune of the envied puts a stop to envy: *De invid.,* PG 31, col. 373 = *Mor.,* 538b–c; doing good to the envious does not stop their envy but exacerbates it: *De invid.,* PG 31, cols. 376–77 = *Mor.,* 538c–d.

[31] Cf. *Quaest. conviv.* 682e: σφαλερὸν γὰρ ἡ ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐεξία κατὰ τὸν Ἱπποκράτην, καὶ τὰ σώματα προελθόντα μέχρι τῆς ἄκρας ἀκμῆς οὐχ ἕστηκεν.

[32] For old wives' tales as an expression of contempt: Plato, *Gorgias,* 527a, *Respublica,* 350e, *Theaetetus,* 176b; Herodas, 1.74; 1 Timothy 4:6; Lucian, *Philopseudes,* 9; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii,* 5.14; Porphyry, *De Abstinentia,* 4.16; Julian, *Oratio* 5, 161b; Cicero, *De natura deorum,* 3.12; Tibullus, 1.3.85; Horace, *Sermones,* 2.6.76–77; Apuleius, *Apologia,* 25, *Metamorphoses,* 4.27; see also Headlam on Herod. 1.74; nonsensical talk characteristic of old women: John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum,* PG 57, col. 30, *In epistulam ad Romanos,* PG 60, col. 414, *In epistulam 2 ad Thessalonicenses,* PG 62, col. 470; on the superstitiousness of women in general: Bion fr. 30 Kindstrand = Plutarch, *De superstitione,* 168d; Polybius, 12.24.5; Strabo, 7.3.4; on the superstitiousness of old women: Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivere secundum Epicurum,* 1105b; Cleomedes, *De motu circulari corporum caelestium,* 208 Ziegler; Basil, *Homilia in hexameron,* 6.11, PG 29, col. 145; Gregory of Nyssa, *In Eunomium,* PG 45, col. 296; John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum,* PG 57, col. 353; Cicero, *De domo sua,* 105, *ND,* 1.55, 2.5, 70, 3.92, 96, *De divinatione,* 1.7, 2.19, 125, 141, *Orationes tusculanae,* 1.48, 92; Servius, *in Aeneidem,* 8.187; Minucius Felix, *Octavius,* 13.5; Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones,* 1.17.3, 5.2.7; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanorum,* 17.4; on women and old women in particular being expert in warding off or taking off the evil eye: Theocri-

become part of the fabric of popular culture. A possible but only partial solution to the problem may lie in the conventions governing the way in which Christians refer to the views of pagan philosophers. The Cappadocian fathers and John Chrysostom are in the habit of speaking in an extremely dismissive fashion of pagan philosophers when the views of these philosophers are in conflict with what they take to be Christian doctrine.[33] We find Gregory of Nazianzus speaking of a certain theory as even more outlandish and old womanlike than the atoms of the Epicureans.[34] It is hard at the same time not to believe that the contempt expressed by the Cappadocian fathers is something of a pose designed to reassure their hearers and readers that, despite their education in the pagan classics, they had no truck with the ideas of pagans.[35]

Despite his dismissal of Plutarch's theory, Basil has more in common with Plutarch than perhaps he would want to admit: he too believes that the eyes of the envious may cause hurt, but instead of having recourse to atomic theory to

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tus, 6.39–40, 7.126–27; Heliod., *Aethiop.*, 4.5.3; Persius, 2.31–34; Ps. Acro, *in Horatii Epodem,* 8.18; Augustine, *Confessiones,* 1.7.11; old women as magic-workers: Plutarch, *De superstit.,* 166a; Lucian, *Philopseudes,* 9, *Dialogi meretricum,* 4.1, 3, 5; John Chrysostom, *Ad illuminandos catecheses,* PG 49, col. 240, *In epistulam 2 ad Corinthios,* PG 61, col. 106, *In epistulam ad Colossenses,* PG 62, cols. 358–59; Athanasius, *Fragmentum de amuletis,* PG 2, col. 1320; Tibullus, 1.8.17–18; Horace, *Sermones,* 1.8; Propertius, 2.4.15; Ovid, *Amores,* 1.8; Petronius, *Satyricon,* 131.

[33] Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Contra Iulianum imperatorem,* 2, PG 35, col. 717, *Adversus Eunomianos,* 10, PG 36, col. 24, *Carmina moralia,* 10 (*de virtute*), PG 37, col. 695; John Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochenum,* PG 49, col. 175, *In Acta Apostolorum,* PG 60, col. 47.

[34] Gregory of Nazianzus, *De theologia,* 10, PG 36, col. 36: ὃ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων ἀτόμων ἀτοπώτερόν τε καὶ γραωδέστερον.

[35] For an echo in Basil (*Ep.* 11) of a letter of Epicurus (fr. 138 Usener) suggestive of a certain sympathy and understanding for that philosopher: P. Von der Mühl, "Basilius und der letzte Brief Epikurs," *MusHelv* 12 (1955), 47–49; W. Schmid, *RAC* 5 (1962), s.v. Epikur, col. 783; on Basil's attitude toward Greek literature and his use of Greek philosophy to bolster his arguments: N. G. Wilson, *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature* (London, 1975), 9–13; on the view that Basil's attacks on Greek philosophy and science in the *Hexameron* do not reflect Basil's own position but the official voice of the church: E. Amand de Mendieta, "The Official Attitude of Basil of Caesarea as a Christian Bishop towards Greek Philosophy and Science," in *The Orthodox Churches and the West,* D. Baker, ed., *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976), 25–49; the cleanness of this division questioned: M. Naldini, *Basilio di Cesarea, Sulla Genesi* (Milan, 1990), xxiv–xxv.

explain how that could be, he appeals to the notion of envious demons using envious human beings as the instruments of their will. Basil does not spell out his reasons for rejecting the idea that the envious can harm through their eyes alone, but from the emphasis that he places on its being done through the eyes alone we may surmise that neither he nor his audience could imagine harm being done without direct physical contact. The same pattern of reasoning, as we have seen, lies behind pagan rejection of βασκανία.

From our vantage point it seems obvious that the same objection should apply to the theory that demons may, through the eyes of the envious, effect harm. For Basil, on the other hand, bringing the demonic or the divine into the explanation puts the explanation on a plane that excuses the further exercise of the critical faculty. Basil's rationality, like that of most men, extends as far as it can be made to coincide with deeply held beliefs, fears, and interests, but no further. His reservations about the envious having the power to inflict harm through their eyes turn out to be very limited.[36] He is not prepared to deny that the eyes of the envious may be dangerous, if demons use them, let alone that there may be envious demonic and diabolical forces out there intent on destroying what is fair and good.

When John Chrysostom attacks the notion of the evil eye as incoherent, what he too attacks under that heading is Plutarch's conception of the evil eye. His attack comes in his commentary on a passage in Paul's Letter to the Galatians that is something of a touchstone of the sensitivity of those who comment on it to the implications of belief in the evil eye for Christian doctrine. The problem with the passage and another in the Gospel of Matthew is that they might be taken to show that Paul and Jesus respectively subscribed to belief in the evil eye. The passage in Matthew (20:15)—the parable in which the lord of the vineyard asks those who complain to him that those who have only worked from the eleventh hour have received as much as they who have worked all day, whether their eye is not evil because he is good[37]—is less of an embarrassment than that in Galatians. It is not particularly plausible to suppose that in it Jesus has the evil eye in mind. Nonetheless, the possibility that Jesus might be thought to lend his authority to the notion makes Chrysostom take pains to

[36] Similarly Charles Stewart, *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture* (Princeton, 1991), 290 note 16. See also Richard P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988), 112.

[37] ἢ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου πονηρός ἐστιν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀγαθός εἰμι;

ensure that his readers understand the passage correctly. Paul's words in Galatians (3:1) in calling the Galatians foolish and asking who has put an envious spell on them are less easily discounted.[38]

In Chrysostom's view, Galatians 3:1 is a rebuke aimed at the Galatians, couched not in the harshest way possible, but made less severe by the suggestion, in ἐβάσκανεν, that the Galatians' conduct has been sufficiently meritorious to have drawn envy on their heads; what has happened is that the Galatians have suffered the assault of a demon fiercely hostile to their success.[39] Chrysostom now proceeds to give a justification for his interpretation of ἐβάσκανεν as a reference to a demonic assault and not to fascination by the human eye:[40] he argues that when we hear of φθόνος in this passage and in the Gospels of ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός meaning "envy," then we are not to suppose that the cast of the eye harms those seeing it, for the eye could not be bad, being only a bodily part.[41] There then follows an extremely tortured explanation of how Christ came to use ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός of envy, the gist of which is that, as the eye is a passive receptor through which the vision of what is seen flows into the soul, there can be nothing bad about the way in which it sees, the badness being confined to the reception of what is seen by souls endowed with a badness that gives rise to envy.[42] By this Chrysostom may mean that while the eyes of the envious are not bad in the sense that they can do harm, they are bad in

[38] ὦ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν;

[39] John Chrysostom, *In epistulam ad Galatas commentarius,* PG 61, col. 648: οὐκ ἄμοιρον ἐγκωμίων τὴν ἐπίπληξιν θείς. τοῦτο γὰρ δεικνύντος ἐστίν, ὅτι φθόνου ἄξια ἔπραττον πρότερον, καὶ δαίμονος ἐπήρεια τὸ γιγνόμενον ἦν, σφοδρὸν κατὰ τῆς εὐημερίας αὐτῶν πνεύσαντος.

[40] B. Kötting, *RAC,* s.v. Böser Blick, col. 479, is misleading here in paraphrasing the intent of Chrysostom's position to be that the danger of the evil eye comes not from the eye itself but from moral distortion in the heart of the envious man and in attributing the same view to Jerome on Gal. 3:1.

[41] John Chrysostom, *In ep. ad Gal. comm.,* col. 648: ὅταν δὲ φθόνον ἀκούσῃς ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ ὀφθαλμὸν πονηρὸν τὸ αὐτὸ δηλοῦντα, μὴ τοῦτο νομίσῃς, ὅτι ἡ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν βολὴ τοὺς ὁρῶντας βλάπτειν πέφυκεν· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴη πονηρός, αὐτὸ τὸ μέλος.

[42] Ibid.: ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χριστὸς οὕτω τὸν φθόνον λέγει. ὀφθαλμὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἁπλῶς ὁρᾷν τῆς ἔνδον διεστραμμένης γίνεται γνώμης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ταύτης εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν εἰσρεῖ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἡ θεωρία, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν πλούτῳ μάλιστα ὁ φθόνος τίκτεται, ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὁρᾶται, καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι καὶ αἱ δορυφορίαι· διὰ τοῦτο πονηρὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐ τὸν ὁρῶντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μετὰ βασκανίας ὁρῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν πονηρίας.

the sense that envy distorts the vision and causes it to put an evil construction on what is seen.[43]

Chrysostom's position on Galatians 3:1 is, accordingly, that the verse refers to a demonic assault on the Galatians motivated by envy and not to some human being's having cast an evil eye on them. The argument presented in support of this conclusion is an attack not only on the popular belief that the eyes of the envious can harm but also on those such as Plutarch, who try to provide a reasoned defense of it. There are two indications that this is what he is doing: (1) an element of the proposition that he bids us not believe (i.e., that the eyes of the person hurt have to catch the cast of the eyes of the envious party for harm to be done) is a feature of most ancient explanations of the evil eye, including that of Plutarch,[44] but, in popular belief, is not presumably considered a necessary factor since there not only are humans and animals bewitched but also trees and crops; (2) Chrysostom is emphatic that the eye itself does nothing but acts as the passive instrument through which what is seen flows into the soul; this view of visual perception stands in marked contrast to the theory of vision underlying Plutarch's explanation of the evil eye, in which something flows out of the eyes to impinge on the object perceived.[45]

I am unable to demonstrate that Chrysostom knew the *Quaestiones convivales,* but, like Basil, he knew Plutarch's *De tranquillitate animi,* as M. Pohlenz showed long ago. A strong case can also be made for Chrysostom's having drawn on the *De invidia et odio* in his homily *De invidia.*[46] The points in common here between Chrysostom and Plutarch are not the same as those between Basil and Plutarch, a fair indication that Chrysostom, though he may have read Basil, is not dependent on him in this matter.[47]

[43] Cf. John Chrysostom, *De Christi divinitate,* PG 48, col. 808: οἱ γὰρ τῶν φθονούντων ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν βλέπουσι.

[44] Cf. Ap. Rhod., *Arg.,* 4.1669–70 (dependent on Democritus): ἐχθοδοποῖσιν / ὄμμασι χαλκείοιο Τάλω ἐμέγηρεν ὀπωπάς; [Alex. Aphrod.], *Probl.,* 2.53: ὥσπερ ἰώδης τις καὶ φθοροποιὸς ἀκτὶς ἔξεισιν ἀπὸ τῆς κόρης αὐτῶν· καὶ αὐτὴ εἰσιοῦσα διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τοῦ φθονουμένου τρέψει τὴν ψύχην καὶ τὴν φύσιν.

[45] *Quaest. conviv.,* 681a: πολυκίνητος γὰρ ἡ ὄψις οὖσα μετὰ πνεύματος αὐγὴν ἀφιέντος πυρώδη θαυμαστήν τινα διασπείρει δύναμιν, ὥστε πολλὰ καὶ πάσχειν καὶ ποιεῖν δι' αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

[46] Pohlenz, "Nachklänge," 91–94.

[47] The case for Chrysostom's indebtedness in the *De invid.* (PG 63, cols. 677–82) to Plutarch's *De invid. et od.* rests on the presence in both of the following topics: animals do not envy each other and, though they may go to war with each other, the hatred is provoked by a cause: John Chrys., *De invid.,* PG 63, col. 677 = Plut., *De*

It turns out then that Basil and Chrysostom take very much the same line in interpreting the evil eye and are both concerned to reject not only popular belief but also the rationalization of the belief devised by Plutarch. It is not surprising that there should be a measure of agreement on this point between Chrysostom and his older contemporary, Basil. That Chrysostom should resort to detailed philosophical argument to support his rejection, and Basil should not, reflects the differing requirements of a popular address and a learned commentary. Finally, both Chrysostom and Basil present a unified voice in seeing βασκανία as a form of envious demonic assault.

Jerome's commentary on Galatians was probably written along with commentaries on three other Pauline epistles in A.D. 387/88. It was composed in a hasty fashion and draws on the work of earlier commentators.[48] Jerome takes a somewhat different approach to Galatians 3:1 from Chrysostom: he argues that Paul uses the language of the people in this matter, but not because Paul supposes there is such a thing as *fascinus* in its vulgar acceptance.[49] He goes on to adduce two passages from the Septuagint in which the terms βασκανία and βάσκανος are used,[50] and to conclude that they teach us that a man may be tortured in his envy by another's good luck or that a man who is in possession of some good may be harmed by another's fascinating him, that is, envying him. Of this latter belief, Jerome says that *fascinus* is supposed particularly to harm infants, the young, and those whose step is not yet firm.[51] As an example of the belief he cites a verse from Vergil's Third Eclogue, ascribing it not to Vergil by name but to a certain pagan: "nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos" (103). Whether the belief is true or not, he will leave to God to see, he says. Jerome makes himself seem more open-minded on this issue than in fact

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invid. et od., 537b–c; misfortunes of envied put an end to envy: John Chrys., *De invid.,* PG 63, col. 677 = Plut., *De invid. et od.,* 538b; the reason for enmities disappears: John Chrys., *De invid.,* PG 63, col. 678 = Plut., *De invid. et od.,* 538c.

[48] See J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome* (London, 1975), 145.

[49] Jerome, *Comm. in Gal.,* PL 26, cols. 372–73: "quod autem sequitur: Qui vos fascinavit, digne Paulo (qui etsi imperitus est sermone, non tamen scientia) debemus exponere, non quo scierit esse fascinum, qui vulgo putatur nocere; sed usus sermone sit trivii, et ut in ceteris, ita et in hoc quoque loco, verbum quotidianae sermocinationis assumpserit."

[50] Sirach 18:18.2; Sapientia Salomonis 4:12.

[51] Jerome, ibid.: "dicitur fascinus proprie infantibus nocere, et aetati parvulae, et his qui necdum firmo vestigio figant gradum."

he turns out to be, since the possibility he goes on to raise is that demons may serve this sin and may turn away from their good works whomsoever they know to have made a beginning or some progress in the work of God.[52] Jerome seems to have in mind a position identical to that of Basil, namely, that demons will use the eyes of the envious to further their own purposes.[53] He appears to employ it to explain what has happened to the Galatians. He now offers a fuller interpretation of the passage that is based on the assumption that Paul is exploiting the vulgar notion of *fascinus:* just as those of tender years are said to be harmed by *fascinus,* so too have the Galatians, who have recently been born in the faith of Christ and have been nourished on milk, been harmed as it were by someone fascinating them, with the result that they had become nauseated in the faith and had vomited forth the food of the Holy Spirit.[54]

What emerges from all of this is Jerome's concern that Paul not be thought to subscribe to belief in *fascinatio* in what Jerome imagines is its popular acceptance, and at the same time his willingness to entertain the possibility that demons may use envious men to further their own purposes, presumably acting through their envious gaze. *Fascinus* in its popular acceptance for Jerome apparently means a person's being able to harm someone else, though the means by which this is done are not specified.

The interpretation or interpretations of Galatians 3:1 given by Jerome are almost certainly not wholly of his own devising. However, they are not to be found in either Marius Victorinus or Ambrosiaster, both of whose commentaries he uses, though without acknowledgment. We know that he also used the Greek commentary of Eusebius of Emesa, extant only in fragments, none of which have any bearing on Galatians 3:1. It is nonetheless possible that Eusebius is one of his sources here.

Jerome does not say why he is not prepared to countenance the idea that Paul could have used *fascinus* in its ordinary acceptance, and there is no hint in his commentary of what he found objectionable in the idea. The sources on

[52] Ibid.: "hoc utrum verum, necne sit, Deus viderit: quia potest fieri, ut et daemones huic peccato serviant; et quoscunque in Dei opere vel coepisse, vel profecisse cognoverint, eos a bonis operibus avertant."

[53] Cf. Dörrie, *Königskult,* 110 note 4.

[54] Jerome, ibid.: "nunc illud in causa est, quod ex opinione vulgi sumptum putamus exemplum, ut quomodo tenera aetas noceri dicitur fascino: sic etiam Galatae in Christo fide nuper nati, et nutriti lacte, et non solido cibo, velut quodam fascinante sint nociti: et stomacho fidei nauseante Spiritus sancti cibum evomuerint."

which he drew may have explained their position more fully. Jerome's commentary does nonetheless provide an indication that Chrysostom had predecessors in rejecting the possibility of reading Galatians 3:1 literally and in interpreting instances of fascination as demonic rather than human assaults.

The tradition of interpretation that we find in Chrysostom and Jerome was by no means universal. The two early Latin commentaries on Galatians, that of Marius Victorinus and that of the writer given the name Ambrosiaster by Erasmus, both explain what ἐβάσκανεν means, but have nothing to say either about whether Paul subscribes to the belief that men can fascinate or whether there is anything to the belief.[55] Victorinus, in fact, writes in such a way as to suggest that he accepts the belief.[56] Augustine in his commentary quotes the verse but has nothing to say about it (*Expositio in Galatas,* PL 35, col. 2116).

If expressions of disbelief in the evil eye were only to be found in Basil, Chrysostom, and Jerome, we might be inclined to suppose that the evil eye was a matter of limited and local concern and that it was an issue only in the minds of those who had read Plutarch or had in some way been influenced by him. There is, however, evidence of a more widespread concern with fascination in Christian circles in both the East and West.

Two generations or more before Basil, the North African father Tertullian, a convert to Christianity from paganism, had already in effect rejected what he called *fascinus* in its pagan understanding. The language he employs suggests the position he adopts was already one that had some standing among Christians. In the *De virginibus velandis,* a tract denouncing the action of a group of young Carthaginian women who had decided to remain unmarried and who had been persuaded to stand in church with their heads uncovered and their faces unveiled,[57] he maintains that among the benefits a virgin acquires from veiling herself from the eyes of others is that she protects herself against scandalous talk, suspicion, whispering, emulation, and envy itself.[58] Mention of envy leads Tertullian to go on to say that there is also something feared among

[55] Marius Victorinus: *In epistulam Pauli ad Galatas liber I,* PL 8, cols. 1166–67; Ambrosiaster: PL 17, col. 372.

[56] Victorinus, ibid.: "non patiuntur fascinum, nisi qui in bono aliquo pollent, et patiuntur a malignis et invidis."

[57] On the circumstances that gave rise to this tract, see Peter Brown, *The Body and Society* (New York, 1988), 80.

[58] Tertullian, *De virginibus velandis,* 15, PL 2, col. 959: "confugit ad velamen capitis, quasi ad galeam, quasi ad clypeum, qui bonum suum protegat adversus ictus

pagans, to which they give the name of *fascinus;* it is the unhappy outcome of too great praise and glory.[59] This, Tertullian says, Christians sometimes interpret by the devil and sometimes by God; in the one case as a hatred of what is good and in the other as a judgment on arrogance that raises up the humble and lays low those who have got above themselves.[60] A pious virgin, he concludes, will therefore fear, under the heading of *fascinus,* the envious temper of the Adversary and the censorious eye of God.[61] That is to say, a virgin will veil herself so that her beauty may not incur the envious eye of the devil and so that the pride she takes in her beauty may not draw God's wrath on her head.

How many Christians interpreted *fascinus* in quite this way we cannot say, and we may suspect that Tertullian is recommending rather than reporting a widely accepted interpretation of the notion. That said, it does nonetheless sound as though he is appealing to a recognized position. He does not explain in any detail what the nature of the *fascinus* feared by pagans was.[62] His insistence that it is to be understood as God's punishment of pride or the envy of the devil would seem to indicate that he is taking issue with an understanding of the term that attributed special powers to human beings. On the other hand, his definition of *fascinus* as the unhappy outcome of too great praise and glory does suggest not only that he is thinking of men casting the evil eye but also of their fascinating by praising.[63] He has, accordingly, in mind a conception of

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tentationum, adversus iacula scandalorum, adversus suspiciones, et susurros, et aemulationem, ipsum quoque livorem."

[59] Ibid.: "nam est aliquid etiam apud ethnicos metuendum, quod fascinum vocant, infeliciorem laudis et gloriae enormioris eventum."

[60] Ibid.: "hoc nos interdum diabolo interpretamur: ipsius est enim, boni odium, interdum Deo deputamus: illius est enim superbiae iudicium, extollentis humiles, et deprimentis elatos."

[61] Ibid.: "timebit itaque virgo sanctior, vel in nomine fascini, hinc adversarium, inde Deum: illius lividum ingenium, huius censorium lumen."

[62] Thee, *Julius Africanus,* 403 note 3, thinks that Tertullian's position is ambiguous and that he refers to the evil eye "in a sort of ad hominem argument, as a pagan idea which at least served to reinforce his ideas about virgins wearing veils." Robin Lane Fox's (*Pagans and Christians* [Harmondsworth, 1986], 370) paraphrase of the intent of the passage is also somewhat misleading: "Tertullian drew attention to the continuing risks of the pagans' 'evil eye' as a counter to the virgins' self-congratulation."

[63] There is an instance of *fascinare* used meaning "to fascinate by praising" in Tertullian's account of Marcion's attack on Luke's version of the nativity of Jesus: "ta-

fascinus rather wider than that with which Basil, John Chrysostom, and Jerome were to take issue. Furthermore, his interpretation of it differs somewhat from theirs. What he does have in common with them is that he would deny that there is anything to *fascinus* as it was understood by pagans. He would also agree with them in imputing at least some instances of *fascinus* to the devil. There is then already in Tertullian the germ of the doctrine on fascination by the evil eye that we find in later authors.

Tertullian gives us some impression of what a preacher not influenced by pagan philosophical discussion of the topic might say to his flock about fascination by the evil eye and in what sort of context the issue would arise. Some further light on these points is shed by a homily attributed to Eusebius of Alexandria on the observance of the Sabbath (*Sermo VII: De Neomeniis et Sabbatis et de non observandis avium vocibus,* PG 86.1, cols. 354–57).[64] The sermon is an attack on those Christians who give as their reason for performing some act of charity that it is the Sabbath or the first day of a new month or a birthday, or again who say that Easter is coming and that they are watching the birds. Such conduct, Eusebius declares, is characteristic of Jews, not Christians. He goes on to criticize a number of other practices that take place on these occasions: not giving fire to a neighbor after sunset, paying attention to the cries of birds, and treating men's utterances as prophetic.[65] He summarizes the intent of this section of his argument by declaring that Christians ought not to spend their time on such days paying close attention to the cries of birds, to what day and hour it is, and to being on their guard against men (παρατηρεῖν ἀνθρώπους).

What Eusebius now goes on to attack are men who, instead of blaming the devil for what has gone wrong, when Satan destroys some fine work they have made, assert that so-and-so as he went past fascinated it.[66] This leads Eusebius to exclaim at the way in which men ascribe βασκανία to their fellow men when the devil has from the beginning been envious and is at war with

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ceat et anus illa" (sc. Anna, Luke 2:36–38), "ne fascinet puerum" (*De carne Christi,* PL 2, col. 800).

[64] I am deeply indebted to Dirk Krausmüller for pointing out the homily to me. I fear that, but for him, I would never have come across it.

[65] ἄλλοι φυλάσσονται φωνὰς ὀρνέων, καὶ κληδονισμοὺς ἀνθρώπων.

[66] ὁ δεῖνα ἄνθρωπος παράγων ἐβάσκανεν. For the evil eye being cast by one passing by, cf. the exorcism from early 19th-century Crete quoted in Curt Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im Neuen* (Bonn, 1864), 60–61: καὶ περάσασ' οἱ ἄγγελοι κ' ἱ ἀρχάγγελοι καὶ φθαρμίσασί την.

mankind. Eusebius proceeds to explain how the devil contrives to get men to blame their ills on the βασκανία of their fellows: if he should see a man doing good work in his field, he conceives envy of him and strives to break him; but since he is invisible, he contrives to have the responsibility ascribed to others who are without guilt; again when he sees a fine ox exerting itself pulling a cart and people admiring it and praising it, he causes it to collapse; its master does not blame the devil but a man who is without guilt. A further exclamation at the power of the devil follows: how the devil is always able, whenever he wants to do ill, to get one of those persons whom men are on their guard against (ὃν μέλλουσιν παραφυλάττεσθαι) to be present; thus a man going on a journey away from home, from which he will return without having accomplished his goal, will say that he met so-and-so as he left and that was the reason for his failure. Eusebius ends the homily with the observation that we have a phylactery against the βασκανία of the devil in the form of the cross.

The connecting thread that ties Eusebius' denunciation of Judaizing practices to his criticism of those men who blame their misfortunes on the βασκανία of their fellows rather than the devil is that these men are guilty of being on their watch against their fellows. It is possible that a similar underlying connection in thought is to be discerned in John Chrysostom: in two homilies he lumps together with the observance of the cries of birds and the utterances of men the use of incantations and amulets, to which in one case he adds engaging in magic-working (*In epistulam 1 ad Corinthios,* PG 61, col. 38; *In epistulam 1 ad Timotheum,* PG 62, col. 552). To Chrysostom's way of thinking these practices were clearly all of a piece. It is worth mentioning that he also attacks paying attention to the cries of birds and the utterances of men (κληδονισμοὶ καὶ οἰωνισμοί) on the same ground as does Eusebius, namely, that the Christians who do this are guilty of Judaizing (*Comm. in ep. ad Gal.,* PG 61, col. 623). Whatever the connecting thread may be that ties these practices together for Chrysostom, we can at least be confident that attention to the cries of birds and to men's utterances was in the eyes of Chrysostom very closely connected with engaging in such magical practices as wearing amulets and uttering incantations.

Eusebius, accordingly, provides us with another context in which a congregation might be urged to put aside the belief that their fellow men could fascinate them, either by their looks or by their praise: denunciation of such Judaizing practices as attending to birds' cries and to the utterances of men as though they were fraught with significance. For Eusebius the same mistaken

view of the world is to be seen in finding significance in the calls of birds as is apparent in thinking that men can harm by their looks or praise. Eusebius does not say why he thinks this is a wrong-headed point of view. He evidently imagines it sufficient for the purpose of a sermon to denounce it as a piece of trickery on the part of the devil. Like Tertullian, Eusebius takes a larger view of what men mean by βασκανία than do Basil and John Chrysostom: he deals with both acts of fascination done through the eyes and fascinating by praising. He certainly still continues to believe in a form of fascination in attributing the misfortunes that men blame on their fellows to the envy of the devil. He adds, however, a twist to that thesis, not found elsewhere: the devil deliberately tricks men into thinking that the ills they suffer are to be attributed to the envious gaze of a passerby or someone's admiring praise.

Conclusions

We would go rather further than the evidence warrants were we to suggest that all of the prominent men in the upper reaches of the hierarchy of the church in both East and West were agreed that human beings did not have the capacity to fascinate others, whether by casting their envious eyes on them or by praising them. So far as we can see, this was not an issue that troubled everyone equally. The commentaries on Galatians 3:1 that make no mention of the issue are an indication that not everybody was sensitive to the problem. On the other hand, the testimony of Tertullian and Eusebius is proof that it was not only very highly educated Christians, such as Basil and John Chrysostom, who found the idea that one man could harm another with his envious gaze incredible. It looks rather as if there was, in the hierarchy of the church from at least the end of the third century A.D., a widely shared hostility to belief in βασκανία and *fascinatio,* to which Basil and John Chrysostom subscribe, though their conception of βασκανία has been influenced by Plutarch and what they take issue with is his explanation of it.

All of the fathers of the church who do attack belief in the evil eye take it for granted that Christians do have reason to fear a supernatural force, envious of good fortune, prosperity, beauty, and virtue. They naturally identify that force with the devil. Two of them, Basil and Jerome, go further and maintain or suggest that the devil or his demons use men's envious eyes to accomplish their own envious purposes. Others such as Tertullian, John Chrysostom, and

Eusebius exclude the action of human intermediaries and put down the reverses that the fortunate suffer to the direct action of the devil. Only Eusebius puts forward the view that the devil deliberately contrives to make his envious assaults on the fortunate when there are men around on whose envious gaze or praise the catastrophe can be blamed.

For most ordinary Christians it was probably a matter only of academic interest whether the harm their neighbor's envious eye inflicted on them was his own unaided doing or whether he was the instrument of the devil and his demons. The author of a Christian magical papyrus of the sixth century A.D., intended to protect a house and those dwelling in it from all ill and from fascination by the spirits of the air and the human eye, clearly remained unaffected and is in fact, with that concern for differentiation characteristic of late antique magic, anxious to distinguish between fascination by the spirits of the air and fascination by the human eye, so that he might the better be able to counter them (*PGM* P 9).[67] Nor again does the author of an inscription from I'gâz in Syria that dates to the middle of the fifth century A.D. betray any awareness that he contravenes Christian doctrine when, after calling on the Trinity and God to drive Φθόνος far off, he declares that because Christ's hand relieves pain, he will not fear the plans of the demon who wreaks ill nor the hate-filled and unlawful eye of man (*IGLSyr* 1599.6–7).[68]

Even John Chrysostom when his guard is down speaks as if the eyes of envious men can harm. In his commentary on 1 Corinthians, in a discussion of what apotropaic devices a Christian may use without allowing himself to be entrapped by the devil, he roundly condemns the practice followed by nurses and maidservants of anointing a child's forehead with mud when they take it to the baths to ward off as they say the ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός, βασκανία, and φθόνος (*Comm. in ep. 1 ad Cor.*, PG 61, col. 106).[69] Do they imagine, he asks,

[67] διαφύλαξον τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, ἀπὸ βασκοσύνης πάσης ἀερίνων πνευμάτων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου ὀφθαλ[μοῦ].

[68] τοὕνεκεν οὐ τρομέοιμι κακορρέ⟨κ⟩τοιο ⟨μ⟩ενοινάς / δαίμονος, οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς στυγερὸν καὶ ἀθέσμιον.

[69] βόρβορον αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ λαμβάνουσαι τροφοὶ καὶ θεραπαινίδες, καὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ χρίσασαι, κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου τυποῦσι τοῦ παιδίου· κἂν ἔρηταί τις, τί βούλεται ὁ βόρβορος, τί δὲ ὁ πηλός; ὀφθαλμὸν πονηρὸν ἀποστρέφει, φησὶ, καὶ βασκανίαν καὶ φθόνον. For the practice of anointing the forehead with a mixture of mud and spittle using the middle finger (*digitus infamis*) to apply it and of using the colored threads Chrysostom mentions earlier in the same passage (PG 61, cols. 105–6)

that it has the power to ward off the devil's regiments, and then goes on to ask a further question, apparently addressing his reader, in which he attempts to reduce to the absurd the practice of anointing a child's forehead with mud: if mud is so efficacious even on the forehead, why do we not anoint all of our bodies with mud, since we are full-grown men in the prime of life who have more people who envy us than a child?[70] It is possible to argue that the mention of the devil's regiment shows that in Chrysostom's view bewitchment by an envious eye is always the devil's work. That may well be so, in some sense, but there is a difference between saying that those men who cast an envious look are doing the devil's work and saying that the devil or his demons, in their envious hatred of the good, bestow on the eyes of envious men the capacity to harm. However that may be, we should remember that Chrysostom's attack is not directed at the maidservants and nurses who believe that the envious eyes of those around them may harm their charges but at the measures they take to protect the child. Chrysostom certainly believes that measures are needed and that the child is under threat; he recommends that the infant from its first years be protected by the weapons of the spirit, which it turns out means teaching the child to make the sign of the cross on its forehead and, before it is able to do that with its own hand, to impress the shape of the cross on the child's forehead.[71]

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to cure someone under a spell, cf. Petr., *Sat.*, 131.4: "illa (sc. anicula) de sinu licium protulit varii coloris filis intortum cervicemque vinxit meam. mox turbatum sputo pulverem medio sustulit digito frontemque repugnantis signavit"; on the danger that a body completely exposed to view in a bath risked of being fascinated, see K. M. D. Dunbabin, "*Baiarum Grata Voluptas:* Pleasures and Dangers of the Baths," *PBSR* 57 (1989), 33–46.

[70] ὀλόκληρον τοῦ διαβόλου παράταξιν ἀποστρέφει . . . εἰ γὰρ ὁ βόρβορος τοῦτο ποιεῖ, διὰ τί μὴ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ποιεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ σαυτοῦ μετώπου, ἀνὴρ ὢν καὶ ἐν ἕξει γεγονὼς, καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ παιδίου τοὺς φθονοῦντας ἔχων; διὰ τί μὴ καὶ ὅλον βορβοροῖς τὸ σῶμα; εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τοσαύτην ἔχει ἰσχὺν, τίνος ἕνεκεν οὐχ ὅλον σεαυτὸν βορβόρῳ καταχρίεις; on the danger that those whose bodies are in the peak of physical condition face of falling seriously ill, if they are fascinated, cf. Plut., *Quaest. conviv.*, 692e.

[71] ἀλλ' ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας πνευματικοῖς αὐτὰ περιφράττετε ὅπλοις, καὶ τῇ χειρὶ παιδεύετε σφραγίζειν τὸ μέτωπον· καὶ πρὶν ἢ δυνηθῆναι τῇ χειρὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, αὐτοὶ ἐντυποῦτε αὐτοῖς τὸν σταυρόν. On the value of the cross as apotropaeum: John Chrys., *Ad illum catech.*, PG 49, col. 246, *De adoratione pretiosae crucis,* PG 58, col. 838, *Comm. in ep. ad Eph.*, PG 62, cols. 357–59. See also F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum,* III (Münster, 1932), 81–116.

John Chrysostom says quite explicitly elsewhere that magic-working may cause its victim to waste away. In his commentary on Ephesians, one of the categories of magic-worker whom he credits with having this capacity are the envious; to illustrate his contention that the soul can harm without needing the body's help, he speaks of sorcerers, magicians, the envious, and wizards having the power to cause the body to waste away (*Commentarius in epistulam ad Ephesios,* PG 62, cols. 41–42).[72]

We probably do not do Chrysostom too much of an injustice, if we conclude that when his mind is not directed to the implications of what he is saying, he is quite prepared to speak as if the eyes of the envious presented a real danger. At the same time we should bear in mind that in concentrating our attention on this one narrow aspect of fear of envy, we misrepresent the nature of the unseen threat that a Christian living in late fourth-century Antioch or Constantinople felt surrounded him. The women who daub mud on the foreheads of the children in their charge and then reply, when asked why they do it, that it turns away the ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός, βασκανία, and φθόνος do not necessarily have a specific threat in mind, much less assign a separate identity to these three expressions. In their minds, the identities of these dangers will have overlapped and in some measure fused with each other.

What Christians of this time are afraid of and what they blame their misfortunes on is envy. In this they are no different from their pagan contemporaries and pagan ancestors. Sometimes the danger will have seemed to come from a particular direction, in which case it will be given a specific identity, but mostly it will have had no particular focus. When Gregory of Nyssa speaks, in a consolatory or funeral oration or in his biography of his sister Macrina, of a young woman's having been snatched away by φθόνος, he speaks in exactly the same language that a pagan would have used in an epitaph, when confronted by a similarly premature death.[73] There is no reason to think that φθόνος meant anything very different to him from what it did to a pagan. If, on the other

[72] καθάπερ οἱ γόητες ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μάγοι, οἱ φθονοῦντες, οἱ φαρμακοὶ, μάλιστα τήκουσιν αὐτόν.

[73] ὁ φθόνος ἀφήρπασεν: *Oratio consolatoria in Pulcheriam,* PG 46, col. 865, *Oratio funebris in Flaccum,* PG 46, col. 884. *Vita Macrinae,* PG 46, col. 964; cf. Greg. Naz., *Oratio funebris in Caesarem,* PG 35, col. 764, *Ep.* 30.3, PG 37, col. 68. In pagan epitaphs: *MAMA,* VII.257a; *Griechische Versinschriften,* I: *Grabepigramme* (Berlin, 1955), 856, 971, 1941.

hand, the misfortune affects the church or one of its dignitaries, then the attribution of responsibility becomes more specific: the φθόνος is that of the devil, or it is implied that the devil and φθόνος have worked hand in hand. Thus Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Encomium in xl martyres,* speaks first of the φθόνος that was aroused by the surpassing virtue of the martyrs and then goes on to say that just as the Adversary saw Job's renown as a wrong against himself, so the one born by nature to oppose the good looked with an evil eye on these mighty opponents and was unable to endure such maturity of character in ones so young (PG 46, col. 760).[74]

This tendency to blame the reverses that the church and its servants suffered on the envy of the devil or his demons makes perfectly good sense within a theological system in which the primary defining characteristic of the devil and his demons is their envious resentment of all that is good. That premature death should be blamed on an envious force of an indeterminate nature, and not on the envy of the devil, is from one point of view not surprising since the devil's envy should not in theory be directed at the merely young and beautiful but at those whose virtue throws his own moral failure into relief. On the other hand, there is no obvious place in the Christian scheme of things for an envious force of indeterminate identity. That men should still continue to appeal to it shows how powerful a hold a pagan way of looking at the world had over even theologically sophisticated men.

University of Illinois, Chicago

[74] εἰς τοσοῦτον μεγαλοφυίας ἐπήρθησαν, ὥστε τῷ περιόντι τῆς ἀρετῆς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀναστῆσαι τὸν φθόνον. καθάπερ γὰρ . . . ἐμάθομεν, ὅτι ἀδίκημα ἑαυτοῦ ἐποίει ὁ ἀντίπαλος τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς τὴν τοῦ Ἰὼβ εὐδοκίμησιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξῃτεῖτο πρὸς αἰκισμόν, ὅτι ἐλύπει αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰώβ, ἀληθινὸς καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἄμεμπτος ὤν· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἶδε πονηρῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ὁ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιφυόμενος τοὺς μεγάλους τούτους ἀγωνιστάς, καὶ οὐκ ἤνεγκε πολιὰν ἐν ἡλικίας νεότητι. Cf. Greg. Naz., *Orat. fun. in Mel.,* PG 46, col. 856; Euseb., *Praeparatio evangelica,* 7.10.14–16 GCS, *Historia ecclesiastica,* 8.1.6, 12.2–3, 10.4.14; *Vita Constantini,* 4.41.1–2 GCS.

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2

The Archaeological Context of Magic in the Early Byzantine Period

JAMES RUSSELL

The observant traveler familiar with the byways of southern Turkey will occasionally encounter small trees with their branches festooned with white pieces of cloth. A typical example may be seen near the lip of the Corycian Cave, a site of primeval numen, believed in antiquity to be the home of Typhon (Fig. 1).[1] On the rare occasions that I have seen people actually tying rags to bushes such as these, they were usually elderly women either alone or accompanied by young girls. Since the social constraints of Turkish rural society preclude me from serious discussion with the individuals engaged in the activity, I depend for an explanation of the custom on the remarks of male villagers whose scorn for the practice is barely disguised. There can be little doubt, however, that the custom of tying rags to bushes is very ancient and survives from a time when most people in this region of Turkey were still nomads or at least not yet fully sedentary. The purpose of those who engage in the practice is not in question. They are hoping thereby to secure some desired objective, the cure of an ailment or the ability to conceive a child on the part of a relative. There is much less certainty about the precise magical properties of the tree itself and the rag, or of the site selected for the ritual and the processes by which the desired ends will be achieved. The outsider can only acknowledge the truth of the opinion with which J. P. Roux concludes his discussion of this particular custom: "il faut se résigner, dans le monde des nomades anatoliens, à ne pas expliquer d'une manière satisfaisante des faits qu'ils ont conservés sans bien connaître

[1] Strabo, 14.5.5; Pomponius Mela, 1.13. T. S. MacKay, "The Major Sanctuaries of Pamphylia and Cilicia," *ANRW,* II.18.3 (Berlin, 1990), 2103–10.

leur signification et que, pour satisfaire leur besoin de comprendre, ils justifient comme ils peuvent."[2]

This example of magic in practice in the contemporary setting of rural Turkey serves to illustrate the difficulties that confront the scholar who seeks to comprehend magical beliefs among simple people. Even with the obvious advantage of autopsy and the opportunity to communicate with those familiar with the custom, much still defies explanation. By contrast, students of ancient magic must rely exclusively on the texts of spells and charms and the instructions for effecting them contained in papyri and on what survives of the actual *instrumenta* employed to exercise magic, such as amulets, engraved gemstones, bracelets, and phylacteries. These materials are no substitute for the living practitioners of magic as primary evidence, and their study begs a broad range of questions. Since the magical papyri are predominantly from Egypt, how valid are their contents for the Roman and Byzantine world as a whole? The material apparatus of magic such as amulets, on the other hand, even allowing for the uncertainty of provenance, is clearly drawn from a far broader geographical range, and especially Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine. This suggests a homogeneity of practice and belief in magic, especially evident in the iconography of devices to ward off the evil eye. How may we account, therefore, for such uniformity, in the absence of any known organizing force or common statement of belief such as the Christian church employed in its unsuccessful efforts to maintain unity of doctrine? Another vexing question is whether the excessive reliance of modern scholarship on the written text gives a distorted impression of magical practices which, if contemporary Mediterranean societies are any guide, probably required little if any literacy on the part of those employing them. In short, is there not a risk of missing the mark when we allow the ancient commentators on Byzantine magic, whether sympathetic, as in the case of those who wrote treatises on the subject, or hostile, as in the case of the church fathers, to stand between us and the largely poor and illiterate inhabitants of small towns, villages, and countryside who actually wore the amulets and uttered the spells and perhaps even tied white rags on bushes?

My interest in these matters originated with a group of objects found dur-

[2] J. P. Roux, *Les traditions des nomades de la Turquie méridionale,* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul 24 (Paris, 1970), 208–12.

ing excavations at the small town of Anemurium on the coast of Isauria.[3] Though unfamiliar at the time of their discovery, it soon became clear that these objects were devices intended to protect their owners from the evil eye in the course of their daily lives. It also became apparent that they belonged to a time in the community's life when its creative energies were concentrated on the Christian religion, a fact reflected in both the proliferation of church buildings in the city and its surrounding chora and in the wide range of personal benefactions recorded in their mosaic floors.[4] In this respect Anemurium was doubtless no different from most other communities throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the early Byzantine period. Underlying this devotion to the new faith, however, there clearly remained a deeply engrained attachment to practices inherited from some timeless past involving various forms of magic. Of these none commanded more widespread adherence from the general population than the belief in the bewitching glance of the evil eye, known variously as *phthonos, baskania, baskosyne, baskanos ophthalmos,* or, in Latin, *invidia* or *invidiosus oculus.* This unseen force could maim livestock, blight crops, render women barren, strike down children, or destroy the home, wealth, and health of the unknowing victim of its attention.[5] Examples of its influence and the measures taken to counter it were, and indeed remain, at least in rural society, ubiquitous throughout the eastern Mediterranean in numerous forms. In antiquity, householders inscribed apotropaic formulae to accompany the

[3] For summaries of the history and antiquities of the site on the basis of fieldwork, see J. Russell, "Anemurium—eine römische Kleinstadt in Kleinasien," *Antike Welt* 7.4 (1976), 2–20; and "Anemurium: The Changing Face of a Roman City," *Archaeology* 33.5 (1980), 31–40. Interim reports of field work in progress have appeared regularly since 1966 in *TürkArkDerg,* in "Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey" in *AnatSt,* and in M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor" in *AJA.* All of the objects discussed are housed in the Anamur Museum.

[4] See especially J. Russell, *The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium,* Ergänzungsband zu den *Tituli Asiae Minoris* 13, DenkWien, phil.-hist. Kl. 190 (Vienna, 1987).

[5] The basic study of the evil eye in antiquity remains O. Jahn, *Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten,* Berichte über die Verhandl. der K. sächsischen Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Kl. 7 (Leipzig, 1855), 28–110. For more recent discussions, J. Engemann, "Zur Verbreitung magischer Übelabwehr in der nichtchristlichen und christlichen Spätantike," *JbAChr* 18 (1975), 22–48 and K. M. D. Dunbabin and M. W. Dickie, "Invida rumpantur pectora: The Iconography of Phthonos-Invidia In Graeco-Roman Art," *JbAChr* 26 (1983), 7–37.

cross on their doors,[6] uttered special prayers to avert the danger, sometimes even with ecclesiastical authority,[7] and addressed their friends or named their children Abascantos: "Immune from the Evil Eye."[8] Above all, people wore amulets, rings, and other protective devices inscribed with potent symbols and formulae to avert the bewitching glance of the envious.[9]

As a rule such beliefs were frowned on by the authorities, both secular and religious, as is evident from the writings of the church fathers, which abound with strictures against the superstitious fear of the evil eye and the amulets associated with it.[10] No amount of preaching, however, nor even the occasional imposition of penalties on their use by both civil and religious authorities, seems to have had much effect on the use of amulets by the peasant and the artisan.[11] Just how widespread their use was may be deduced from the archaeological context of the objects under consideration, which provides a more objective record of how ordinary people coped with the evil eye in their daily lives than the prejudiced testimony of most literary texts.

[6] The commonest formulae employed are the trisagion, κύρι βοήθι or some variant, Εἷς θεός μόνος, ΧΜΓ (probably Χριστός, Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ) and ΙΧΘΥΣ; see W. K. Prentice, "Magical Formulae of Lintels of the Christian Period in Syria," *AJA* 10 (1901), 137–50. For formulae actually averting *phthonos* by name, cf. *IGLSyr,* no. 1909 and H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure,* I (Paris, 1922), no. 230.

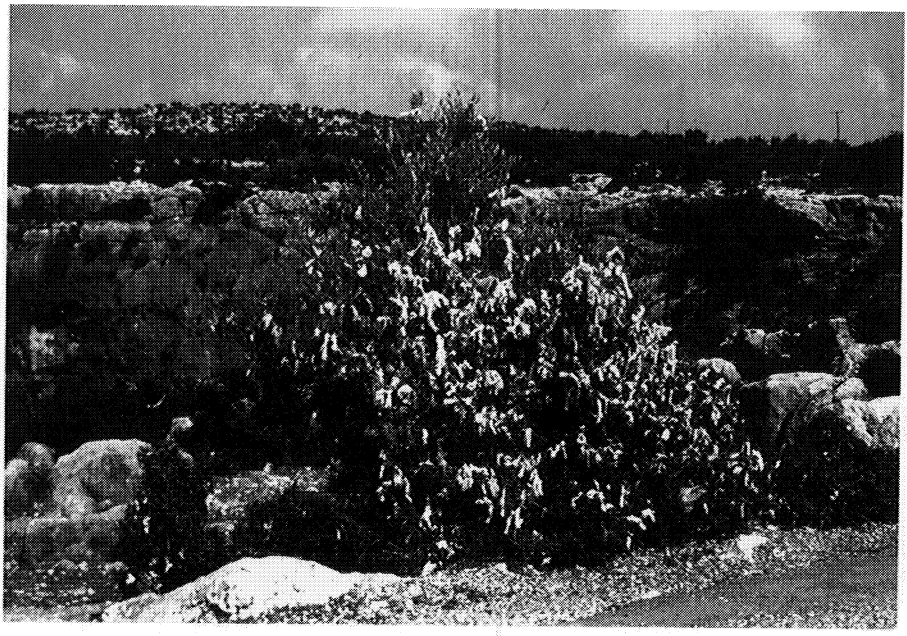
[7] For examples of prayers, see A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia,* I (Liège, 1927), 243.11 (prayer of Gregory Theologos). For a prayer with ecclesiastical authority, see *Mikron Euchologion,* ed. M. Saliveros (Athens, n.d.), quoted in French translation by L. Arnaud, "La baskania ou le mauvais oeil chez les grecs modernes," *EO* 15 (1912), 386–87.

[8] L. Robert, "Hellenica," *RPh* 18 (1944), 41–42; *REG* 64 (1951), 146, no. 55.

[9] On amulets generally, see H. Leclercq, art. "amulettes," *DACL,* I.2 (Paris, 1924), cols. 1784–1860; F. X. Kraus, art. "amulete," *Realenzyklopädie der Christl. Alterthümer,* I (Freiburg, 1880), 49–51. The most comprehensive collection of examples appears in C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), especially 95–99 on the evil eye.

[10] Representative examples include John Chrysostom, hom. 8 on Col. 3:15, PG 62, cols. 357–58; hom. 4 on 1 Cor. 1:25, PG 61, col. 38; Augustine, *Tract.* 7, §6 on John 1:34–51, CChr 36, 70; Basil of Caesarea on Ps. 45 § 29, PG 29, col. 417; and especially hom. *de Invidia,* PG 31, col. 380; Jerome, *Comm. in Matth.* 4.23, CChr 77, 211–12.

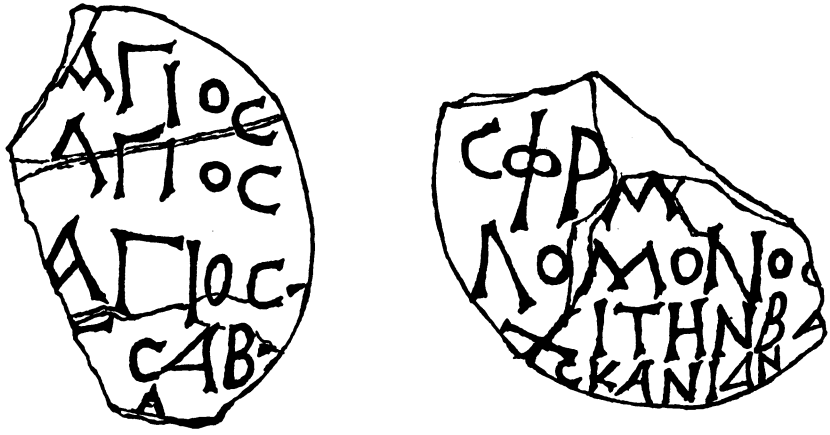
[11] Imposition of penalties by civil authorities: Constantius II (Ammian. Marcell., 19.12.13); Valentinian and Valens (*CTh,* 9.16.7); by religious authorities: Synod of Laodicaea (C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles,* I.2 [Paris, 1907], Con. 36, 1018–19).



1 Tree with cloth ribbons tied to it, the Corycian Cave, Mersin.

2 Anemurium, inscribed glass paste amulet, front face with trisagion.

3 Anemurium, inscribed glass paste amulet, rear face.



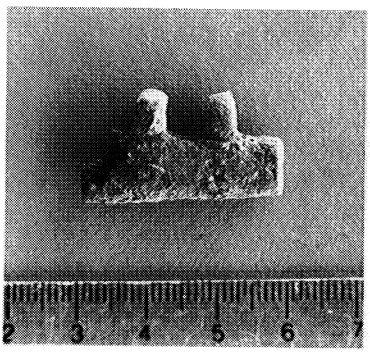
4 Anemurium, inscribed glass paste amulet, drawing of both faces.

5 Anemurium, bronze amulet with evil eye being attacked. (photo: Hector Williams)

6 Anemurium, bronze amulet with figure of holy rider (Solomon). (photo: Hector Williams)

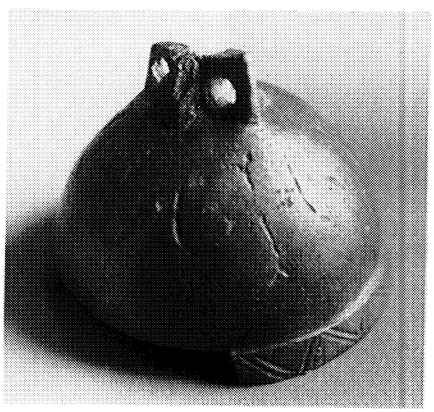
7 Anemurium, terra cotta mould for eulogia of Raphael. (photo: Hector Williams)

8 Anemurium, bronze with eight-pointed star engraved on bezel.
(photo: Hector Williams)

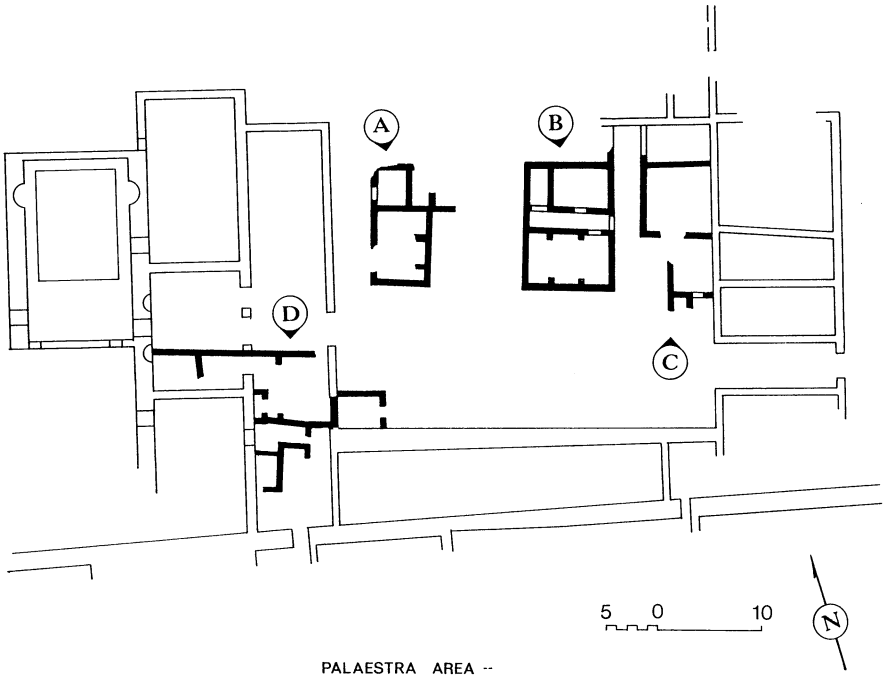


9 Anemurium, bronze tubular container for phylactery.
(photo: Hector Williams)

10 Anemurium, rolled silver phylactery and remains of bronze container.
(photo: Hector Williams)

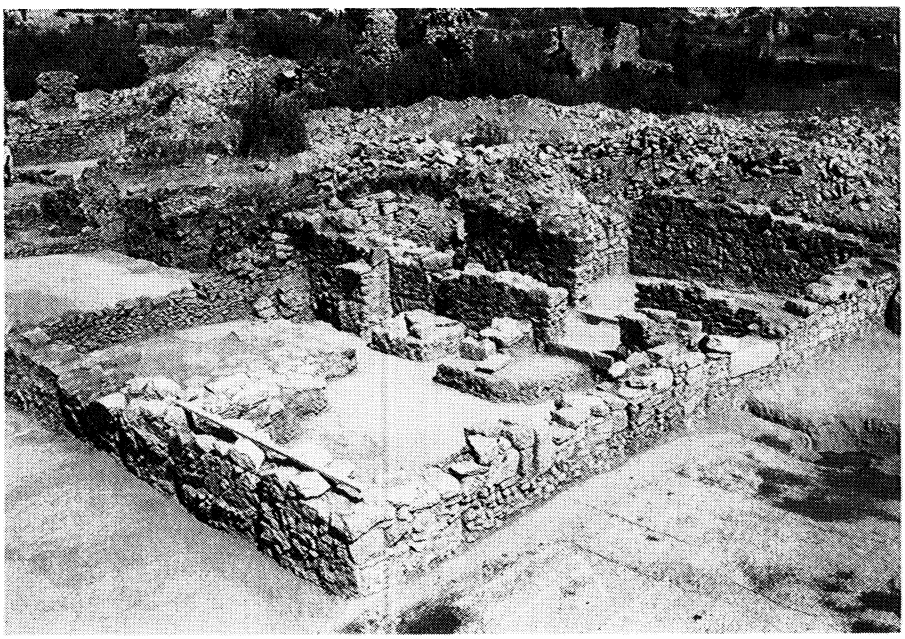


11 Anemurium, small bell (*tintinnabulum*).
(photo: Hector Williams)

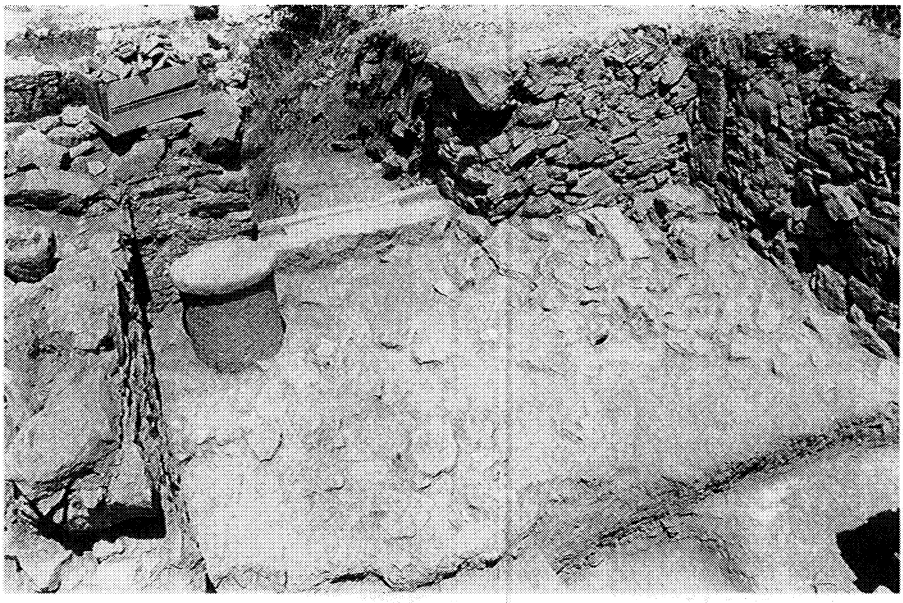


12 Anemurium, plan of baths-palaestra complex (III 2 B) with secondary domestic structures indicated A–D. (drawing by Tom Boyd)

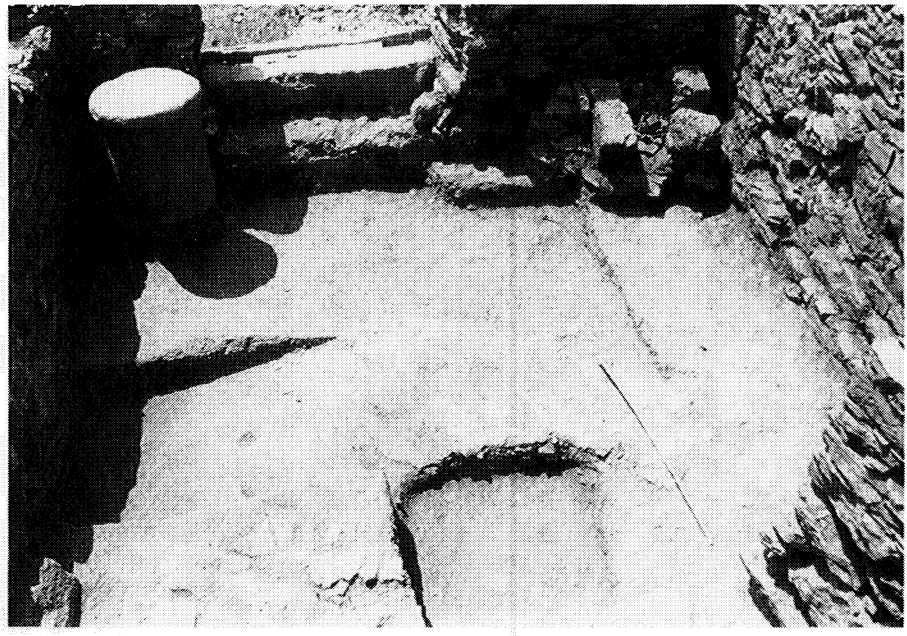
13 Anemurium, general view of secondary domestic structures A–C along north edge of palaestra (E III 2 B) from west. (photo: Hector Williams)



14 Anemurium, late house B overlying north portico of palaestra from southeast. (photo: Hector Williams)



15 Anemurium, late house A overlying north portico of palaestra, central room with destruction debris overlying the floor. (photo: Hector Williams)



16 Anemurium, late house A overlying north portico of palaestra, earth floor of central room after clearing. (photo: Hector Williams)

17 Anemurium, bronze steelyard weight in form of Athena. (photo: Hector Williams)

Though a brief account of most of the pieces found at Anemurium appeared over ten years ago, it is worth reviewing them again as a group in order to appreciate their random diversity, for it is this, together with the reasonably secure context that we can assign for the majority of them, that gives the collection its significance.[12] The first is a glass paste oval amulet inscribed on both faces (Figs. 2–4). On one side appears the trisagion, a standard formula for Jews and Christians to avert evil spirits.[13] The reverse bore a text, apparently without parallel, proclaiming the efficacy of Solomon's Seal: σφραγ[ὶς Σο]λομῶνος [ἔ]χι τὴν βασκανίαν (The Seal of Solomon restrains the Evil Eye). In this context Solomon was the great magician of the universe who wielded control over all evil spirits. According to the *Testamentum Solomonis,* a farrago of magical writings, probably of Jewish origin and datable in its present form no later than the third century A.D., Solomon's most effective weapon in his battles over the demons was a ring with a magic seal received from God through the archangel Michael.[14] This has the power to confine all the demons of earth both male and female. The seal of Solomon thus plays a crucial role in the exorcism of demons.[15] The Anemurium disk presumably was intended to provide its owner with the same magical power as the original Solomon's seal.

Closely related to the inscribed amulet were two oval disks of thin copper sheeting decorated in repoussé, which were found together. Identical in size

[12] J. Russell, "The Evil Eye in Early Byzantine Society," *XVI Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten,* II.3, *JÖBG* 32.3 (1982), 540–46.

[13] Inv. no. AN 72/115; the text reads ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC [K]C CAB [AO]Θ. On the use of the trisagion (Isaiah 6:3) and other formulae to avert evil, see W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions, American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900,* III (New York, 1908), 9, 19–25.

[14] C. C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig, 1922). This is the only critical edition, but the text is also published in PG 122, cols. 1315–58.

[15] The literature on Solomon's role in Judaeo-Christian magic is vast, but for amulets identified as Solomon's seal see in particular P. Perdrizet, "Sphragis Solomonos," *REG* 16 (1903), 42–61; idem, *Negotium Perambulans in Tenebris,* Publications de la faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 6 (Strasbourg, 1922), 32–35; Bonner, *Magical Amulets,* 208–13; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period,* II (New York, 1953), 227–32; B. Bagatti, "Altre medaglie di Salamone cavaliere e loro origine," *RACr* 47 (1971), 331–42; idem, "I Giudeo-Cristiani e l'anello di Salamone," *Recherches de science religieuse* 60 (1972), 151–60; A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), nos. 369 ff; G. Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium," *DOP* 38 (1984), 65–86.

and shape, they were perhaps once joined together.[16] On one appears a poorly executed version of a scene that is more readily intelligible from other examples (Fig. 5). This depicts an eye being pierced by two oblique spears on the left and by a triangular bladed knife from above. Underneath an assortment of creatures, including two serpents, a scorpion, and an ibis in the center flanked by a lion and leopard rampant, are ravaging the eye from below. Above appears the legend κύρι βοήθι. On the second disk is shown a nimbate cavalier in military garb, bearing a lance in his right hand and charging to the right (Fig. 6). With this he transfixes a poorly formed demon, apparently female, lying prostrate beneath his horse. Below the demon an equally ill-formed lion rushes to the right.

The motifs on both plaques are well attested, both individually and in combination, throughout the eastern Mediterranean, not only on oval or round plaques such as these, but also on rings, incised gemstones, and bracelets.[17] The significance of their iconography is well established from the legends drawn for the most part from a limited range of quasi-scriptural formulae that frequently appear on other examples.[18]

[16] They are listed as AN 71/277 and AN 71/278 respectively in the excavation inventory.

[17] Examples of both motifs on amulets of varying materials and shapes are collected in Bonner, *Magical Amulets,* 302–7, especially nos. 298–303, in which both motifs are combined on the same amulet; for discussion see pp. 96–99 (evil eye), 208–12 (Solomon). For examples not covered by Bonner, see M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 53, no. 60; H. Menzel, "Ein Christliches Amulett mit Reiterdarstellung," *JbZMusMainz* 2 (1955), 253–61; Bagatti, "Altre medaglie," 331–42; for examples in gems, see Delatte and Derchain, *Intailles magiques,* 261–64 (nos. 369–77); for bracelets, see M. Piccirillo, "Un braccialetto cristiano della regione di Betlem," *Liber Annuus* 29 (1979), 244–52; E. D. and H. P. Maguire and M. J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (Urbana-Champaign, 1989), 212–17, nos. 133–36; also 25–28 for discussion of holy rider.

[18] The most instructive example is a copper amulet from Smyrna. Not only is the exact character of each scene clearly defined, but the legend on each face provides a vivid commentary. Around the image of the horseman the text reads, in part, Φεῦγε μεμισιμένι, Σολομῶν σε διόκι ("Flee, thou loathsome demoness: Solomon pursues thee"). This is complemented on the reverse by the legend σφραγὶς Σολομῶνος ἀποδίοξον πᾶν κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ φοροῦντο(ς) ("Seal of Solomon, drive away all evil from him who wears it"). Associated with this is a well-executed version of the discomfiture of the evil eye, identified by the legend ΦΘΟΝΟΣ immediately above it: G. Schlumberger, "Amulettes byzantins anciens," *REG* 5 (1892), 74–75; also P. Perdrizet, "Sphragis," 47–48.

From these it is clear that the horseman is Solomon, the magician warrior, who pierces the female demon that represents whatever ills might beset the wearer. The reverse scene depicts a generic evil eye representing the malignant glance of the φθονεροί (the envious) whether in the form of malicious humans or demons. The evil power embodied in the eye is cancelled by the magical effect of the suffering it undergoes from the various hostile forces depicted attacking it in the amulet.[19]

A further object of unmistakable apotropaic character is a rounded terracotta mold decorated with a Latin cross and an inscription around the border (Fig. 7). When reversed, as it would appear in a cast, this reads εὐλογία τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥαφαήλ (Blessing of St. Raphael).[20] Eulogia stamps depicting a saint and his symbols along with a legend identifying him are commonly associated with pilgrim sanctuaries. Once generally believed to be mere tokens acquired by pilgrims as souvenirs, they were more probably employed by their owners as instruments of magic with power to effect cures.[21] In the case of Raphael and the other archangels, however, such stamps were apotropaic, reflecting their efficacy as agents of exorcism, a power well attested in papyrus texts and on amulets.[22] We may thus assume an amuletic function for whatever disks were produced from this particular mold, whether of metal or terracotta.

Although amulets constitute the most conspicuous means by which individuals sought to ward off the unseen evil around them, there were other de-

[19] This is clearly indicated in the *Testamentum Solomonis* (McCown, *Testamentum,* 58*).

[20] Excavation inv. no. AN 76/110.

[21] On the medicinal efficacy of saints' eulogia tokens, see Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic," 67–74. These, usually depicting the figure and symbols of the saint, were acquired by pilgrims at regional shrines such as those of St. Menas in Egypt or St. Phokas in Cherson.

[22] For Raphael and the role of angels generally in early Christian magic, see J. Kubinska, *Faras,* IV: *Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes* (Warsaw, 1974), 152–54, 170–73, nos. 122–24; C. Detlef G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche* (Wiesbaden, 1959), 52–53. Of particular interest for the apotropaic significance of Raphael is an amulet from Cyzicus depicting the usual repertoire of motifs, the prostrate demoness, the bounding lion, the eye, the trisagion, and the holy rider. The scene includes an angel identified as Araaf, a variant form of Raphael, whose name is also invoked on the reverse together with three other angels; Perdrizet, "Sphragis," 46–47. For other amulets with Araaf and variants, see Schlumberger, "Amulettes," 75–78 and Bagatti, "Altri medaglie," 335–36.

vices with magical properties that could prove effective. Rings equipped with a bezel engraved with a cryptic formula or mystical symbol could protect the wearer from harm. Both types have been found at Anemurium, a silver ring with its bezel incised with unintelligible letters and another of bronze, having its bezel engraved with an eight-pointed star, a device similar to the more common pentalpha widely employed in amulets of the early Byzantine period (Fig. 8).[23] Even more explicit in its apotropaic function was the phylactery, a thin sheet or lamella of silver inscribed with a magical text frequently unintelligible and often accompanied by cryptic signs and symbols. These were tightly rolled and fitted into a cylindrical tube provided with two pierced lugs for a chain which was worn round the owner's neck. Anemurium has produced two examples of this kind of object, one a bronze tube lacking its scroll (Fig. 9), the other an unrolled lamella along with a fragment of its bronze tube (Fig. 10).[24]

Small bells, known as *tintinnabula,* have appeared in some numbers at Anemurium. The cruder examples were probably employed to keep track of animals while grazing, but there is ample evidence from literature for the use of bells as apotropaic devices when placed above cradles to protect infants, at doorways to secure the entrance to the home, and also to accompany the dead to the grave. The fine quality, as well as the domestic context of the findspot,

[23] Inv. nos. AN 76/69 (inscribed silver ring) and AN 71/280 (bronze ring with incised eight-pointed star). For the pentalpha as the device engraved on the seal ring that God presented to Solomon enabling him to "lock up all the demons," see McCown, *Testamentum,* 10*, 100*. In the actual practice of medicine, the pentalpha symbol, sometimes specifically identified as *hygieia,* appears to have served a medical function: Perdrizet, *Negotium,* 35–37; Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 76 note 67.

[24] Inv. nos. AN 76/107 (bronze suspension tube) and AN 70/15 (silver scroll and fragment of bronze casing). The scroll has been unrolled, but the markings on it are unintelligible and will require the attentions of an expert. Gold and silver lamellae of similar character are occasionally sold through the antiquities trade. Recent published examples of this sort include D. R. Jordan, "A Silver Phylactery at Istanbul," *ZPE* 28 (1978), 84–86; R. Kotansky, "A Silver Phylactery for Pain," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983), 169–78; R. Kotansky and C. A. Faraone, "An Inscribed Gold Phylactery in Stamford, Connecticut," *ZPE* 75 (1988), 257–66. Presumably most phylacteries appearing on the market were found in graves. Examples with well-documented provenance are very rare. Two recent finds are significant, one found in a metalworker's shop in a Dacian city site (Kotansky and Faraone, op. cit., 257 note 2) and the other, a gold lamella tightly rolled in a hexagonal tube of silver, found in an early 5th-century context at the late Roman villa of San Giovanni di Ruoti in the Lucanian Appenines. I am indebted for this information to Professor C. J. Simpson, who will publish the piece.

suggests that some of the bells from Anemurium belong to the latter category (Fig. 11).[25]

Taken individually there is nothing remarkable about this collection of apotropaic objects from Anemurium. Close parallels for most pieces could be cited at the time of their discovery in the 1970s, and the intervening years have produced further examples of each genre. In this respect amulets and other apotropaic apparatus are no different from the many other types of *instrumenta domestica* that have flooded the antiquities market in recent years, the result presumably of the illicit use of metal detectors on archaeological sites throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Certain German coin dealers in particular now routinely include considerable quantities of such items in their auction catalogues. In one recent catalogue, for example, the early Byzantine material, running to several hundred lots, includes a variety of glass vessels, lead seals, bronze censers with suspension chains and hooks, bells, decorated handles from vessels, ladles, spoons, belt buckles and fibulae, incised crosses, numerous keys, a complete polycandelon with suspension apparatus, bronze lamps, steelyard weighing equipment, lead weights, bread stamps, and a wide selection of rings, earrings, and other jewelry.[26] Also included is a lot of two bronze amulets, one with the typical motif of Solomon on horseback and the other part of an inscribed disk. Most of these items will end up in private collections, thereby taking them permanently out of the reach of scholars. Thus the only record of these two amulets is likely to remain the small and inadequate illustrations in the catalogue.[27]

Despite the dubious circumstances of their acquisition, the proliferation

[25] Bells from Anemurium include inv. nos. AN 71/128 (illustrated here as Fig. 11), 73/298, 76/109, and 76/302. In general on bells as protection against the evil eye, see E. Espérandieu, art. "tintinnabulum," C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines,* V (Paris, 1919), 341–44, especially no. 23; of special interest is a golden bell found at Rome bearing the inscription τοῖς ὄμμασιν ὑποτέταγμαι ("I am set against eyes"); Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions,* 20. For bells of the same period found in context at El Jish (Gischala) in Galilee, see N. Makhouly, "Rock-cut Tombs at El Jish," *QDAP* 8 (1939), 45–50, pls. 21–22; and at Amman, L. Harding, "A Roman Family Vault on Jebel Jofeh, Amman," *QDAP* 14 (1950), 81ff, with interesting comments on contemporary use of bells by fellaheen children to frighten off evil spirits. For opposition to their use for apotropaic purposes, see John Chrysostom, hom. 12.7 on 1 Cor. 4:7, PG 61, col. 105.

[26] G. Hirsch, *Münzen und Medaillen Antiken: Auktion* 175, München, 23–26 Sept. 1992.

[27] Hirsch, *Auktion* 175, cat. no. 2129, pl. 74.

of new material of this sort certainly promises to refine our knowledge of the epigraphy and iconography of amulets, rings, and similar objects and, at least in the case of those items that find their way into public collections, to widen the data base for studying the technology of the crafts involved in their manufacture. Unfortunately, because of the complete lack of any record of their provenance, this new material is largely useless in providing any regional, social, and cultural context for the individuals who actually owned them. To provide this we depend on material whose findspot is known and which preferably has been recovered in the controlled conditions of a careful archaeological excavation. Regrettably such material is rare. Until relatively recently, archaeologists working in the eastern Mediterranean did not pay much attention to objects such as amulets, rings, and bracelets unless they were of gold or silver. Yet amuletic and related objects, along with many other categories of *instrumenta domestica,* have been found at some of the major excavations of the first half of this century, such as Antioch, the Athenian Agora, Corinth, Gerasa, Pergamum, and Beth-Shean. The total recorded, however, is small, and they remain either unpublished (as in the case of Antioch, Athens, and Gerasa) or, if published at all (as in the case of Corinth), they are listed with few details of archaeological context.[28] Major excavations still in progress or recently concluded, such as Ephesus, Sardis, the Pamphylian cities of Side and Perge, Ashkelon, Stobi, and Salamis on Cyprus—all large city sites with substantial populations in late antiquity—have produced considerable quantities of Byzantine small finds. Yet only one amuletic piece has been published from all of these sites combined.[29]

The only sites from an earlier generation that have yielded an appreciable accumulation of apotropaic material in situ are tombs in Palestine and Jordan. Two rock-cut tombs at El Jish, for example, excavated in 1937, contained a large assemblage of grave goods, including fourteen bells, ninety-one bronze rings, some with bezels engraved with apotropaic texts or symbols, an intri-

[28] This situation is discussed in greater detail by J. Russell, "Byzantine *Instrumenta Domestica* from Anemurium: The Significance of Context," in *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Period,* ed. R. L. Hohlfelder (New York, 1982), 133–64. For amulets at Corinth, see G. R. Davidson, *Corinth,* XII: *The Minor Objects* (Princeton, 1952), 260, nos. 2100–4.

[29] From Salamis, an intaglio gem depicting the figure of a monster with anguiform legs and the head of a cock, bearing a shield with the magical letters IAΩ: M. J. Chavane, *Salamine de Chypre,* VI: *Les petits objets* (Paris, 1975), 152–54, no. 439.

guing bronze chain with five rings and a bronze hand attached, and five amulets, all depicting well-attested scenes, including the familiar motives of the nimbate holy rider and the discomfiture of the evil eye by the usual assailants.[30] The juxtaposition of these pieces with a whole range of common objects certainly suggests that the apotropaic material was nothing out of the ordinary, and as much a part of everyday life as the cooking pot, terracotta juglets, clay lamps, glass unguentaria, spoons, belt buckles, kohl sticks, tweezers, beads, bracelets, dagger, and key also found in the tombs. A similar mélange of material occurs also in a late Roman family vault at Amman where a phylactery tube, bronze bells, and two gold plaques in the shape of an eye appear side by side with household gear comparable to that from the funerary material from El Jish.[31]

The presence of such a variety of objects in graves may fairly be presumed to represent the kind of possessions that people found useful in their daily activities here on earth, but they have little to tell us about the social and domestic setting in which they passed their lives. Only the homes of the living can supply that sort of information. This is what makes the amuletic material from Anemurium significant, for this undistinguished small Isaurian town is the only excavated site of the early Byzantine period to have produced such a variety of apotropaic objects in contexts that enable us to visualize the physical setting of the people who owned them.

Most of the objects of an amuletic nature were found in well-defined contexts in secondary buildings occupying the area of a spacious palaestra that once belonged to the largest baths of the city (Fig. 12). This complex dates from the mid-third century but had functioned for less than a century before falling out of use. The colonnade that surrounded the open area on three sides was dismantled soon after, and by the late fourth century its mosaic floor was covered by a shallow film of earth. For a time the entire area seems to have been left open, perhaps serving as a kind of market area with temporary stalls erected as need dictated. Eventually more permanent buildings, though of

[30] The tombs were originally dated by Makhouly ("Rock-cut Tombs," 46) to the 4th-5th century, but their contents, especially glass, are consistent with a 6th-century date: L. Y. Rahmani, "On Some Byzantine Brass Rings in the State Collections," *'Atiqot* 17 (1985), 168 note 4.

[31] Harding, "Roman Family Vault," 81ff. Also from a known archaeological context, dated by the excavators no later than 325, is a bronze amulet with the familiar combination of holy rider and the much suffering evil eye found at Beth-Shean: Bonner, *Magical Amulets,* 303, no. 303.

coarse construction, began to encroach on the open piazza and adjacent buildings to the west. The date when this process began is uncertain, but by the late sixth century a considerable portion of the palaestra, especially along its northern and western margins, was given over to domestic buildings, which formed a small community extending northward beyond the boundaries of the palaestra. The buildings along the west end of this complex seem to have covered most of the space once occupied by the original suite of three halls that stood in front of the bath building as well as the intervening courtyard that separated them from the palaestra proper to the east. The precise distribution of this complex into individual units remains unclear, perhaps because the principal living quarters were at the second floor level. Nevertheless, it is possible that the secondary structures occupying the southern part of the forehall and adjacent limestone paved court of the former palaestra (Fig. 12, D) constituted a single establishment. Large amounts of pottery were found, as well as a heterogeneous array of household objects. These included the two oval bronze plaques, the silver phylactery, and the inscribed glass paste amulet, each of which was found lying on the floor along with pottery and coins dating from the late sixth and first half of the seventh centuries.

Much easier to distinguish was a sequence of three houses standing more or less in line from west to east overlying the mosaic of the long dismantled north portico of the palaestra (Fig. 13). The middle house (Fig. 12, B) has the most readily identifiable plan of the three. Measuring 12.40 m in length from north to south by 9.30 m in breadth, it is entered from the east through a doorway leading into a corridor from which two smaller rooms open to the right and a large one to the left (Fig. 14). This latter was evidently the kitchen with a well-preserved chimney and enclosed hearth covered by a cooking slab constructed against the north wall.[32] Sealed beneath the destruction debris of this room was found the usual quantity of broken pottery and glass, as well as an interesting range of artifacts of daily life, including even the fire-lighter, with a small flint flake by its side ready for insertion, left lying at the edge of the fireplace. The material recovered from this room did not include any amuletic objects, but the well-preserved condition of its interior gives a readily intelligible impression of the domestic setting that produced such items in the other houses.

Although less well preserved than the central house in this northern range of buildings, its neighbor to the west (Fig. 12, A) provided excellent stratigra-

[32] J. Russell, *TürkArkDerg* 20.1 (1973), 204–5, figs. 1, 7, 10, 11.

phy for the nature of its destruction and a fine illustration of the circumstances in which household objects were found lying on the floor still in situ from the time of the building's abandonment.[33] In this case the walls were standing in places to a height of over one meter, but the entire building was concealed by a deep accumulation of almost sterile surface fill. The removal of this brought to light numerous stones from the collapse of the upper courses of the room's wall as well as hundreds of broken tiles from the fallen roof (Fig. 15). With the removal of this debris, the room's latest floor level came to light under a thin film of dirt that must have drifted in through the door and other openings in the interval between the departure of the last occupants and the roof's collapse (Fig. 16). The clearing of the floor produced a total of thirty-two inventoried objects, including a small fragment of belt buckle, five lamp fragments, one bronze bracelet, one lead seal, a bronze object pierced by three holes, perhaps a metalworker's hammer head, a circular drilled stone that was probably a spindle whorl, a fragment of a worked bone disk, and a fish vertebra, an object that appears frequently in similar domestic contexts elsewhere at Anemurium, which suggests that they served some function, perhaps as gaming pieces. For our purpose, however, the most significant find was the terracotta mold with the invocation to Raphael. Coins formed the most numerous group of objects, a total of twenty identifiable being recorded. With one exception, these covered a period ranging from 589 to 656. The latest date is especially significant, for it provides a clear *terminus post quem* for the abandonment of the house, a date in fact that corresponds closely to the picture we have from the entire coin series for the site as a whole. This shows a very heavy concentration of coins for the reigns of Heraclius and the first two-thirds of Constans II's reign, diminishing to a mere trickle in the later third.[34] The remaining coin found on the floor, a second-century bronze issue of either Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus from the Anemurium mint, caused initial concern, until it became apparent from the hole pierced through it that at the time of its loss it was no longer in use as a medium of commerce but as some form

[33] In the account of this house I have relied heavily on the detailed record of the excavation maintained by the excavator, Professor John Humphrey, now of the University of Calgary. I wish to record my appreciation of his work.

[34] It is assumed that the abandonment of Anemurium was precipitated by Arab raiding of the coast of Asia Minor during the 650s after the capture of Cyprus, a mere forty miles distant, in 649/50.

of pendant.[35] It is easy to imagine the special appeal that a coin bearing the city's name on it could have for its owner who might well have regarded it as a lucky charm. Other coins pierced in a similar manner have appeared on the site, but none from a context as clearly defined.[36] One might note John Chrysostom's condemnation of Christians who draped chains composed of bronze coins of Alexander the Great around their heads and feet as a form of charm, suggesting that the practice was widespread.[37]

One final illustration of an object of undoubted apotropaic significance discovered at Anemurium in a well-defined context is a bronze steelyard counterpoise weight molded in the shape of a bust of Athena (Fig. 17). It was found outside the easternmost of the northern range of late houses in the palaestra (Fig. 12, C), at a level about 20 cm above the third-century mosaic pavement of the palaestra's east wing. At this level a beaten earth surface formed the ground level of the area in the early Byzantine period. Although the details of the stratigraphy were not as well defined as those in other parts of the complex, coins and pottery found in the vicinity at the same level point once again to a date in the late sixth and first half of the seventh century.[38] There are a number of parallels for counterpoise weights in the shape of a bust of Athena with an arresting apotropaic Medusa head, including a handsome example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, but only the one excavated in controlled conditions from the Byzantine shipwreck at Yassi Ada, dated around 625, provides a reliable parallel.[39] The same may be said also for the cultural

[35] Inv. no. AN 76/12.

[36] One other city coin of Anemurium, a bronze issue of Valerian Sr. (AN 82/10), was pierced, presumably for suspension. Other perforated coins include bronze issues of Carus (AN 78/10), Licinius I (AN 76/318), a Roma Urbs issue with she-wolf and twins scene on the reverse, dated 330–335 (AN 76/44), and a follis of Justinian I dated 541–542 (AN 79/25).

[37] *Ad illuminandos catechesis* II, 5, PG 49, col. 240. Perforated coins are frequently found in tombs, e.g., at Beth-Yerath all coins found in the early Byzantine tombs were pierced, while not a single perforated coin was found elsewhere in the excavation. P. Delougaz and R. C. Haines, *A Byzantine Church at Khirbet al-Karak,* University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 85 (Chicago, 1960), 50.

[38] C. W. J. Eliot, "A Bronze Counterpoise of Athena," *Hesperia* 45 (1976), 163–70.

[39] G. F. Bass and F. H. van Doorninck, Jr., *Yassi Ada,* I: *A Seventh Century Byzantine Shipwreck* (College Station, Tex., 1982), 212–17. For the classical Gorgon head in late antiquity as opposed to the more stylized version associated with Chnoubis, see Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 77, 79, especially notes 70 and 91.

context of the objects, information irrecoverable in the case of examples of unknown provenance, but for those from Anemurium and Yassi Ada providing the possibility to restore a social ambience for their use.

The picture that emerges at Anemurium is of a small community living in reduced circumstances in the shadow of the long-disused remains of the Roman city's largest public baths. The aqueduct system had ceased to function, probably damaged beyond repair by an earthquake that seems to have afflicted the city around 580. The inhabitants had thus to resort to a well dug next to Building D in the palaestra (Fig. 12). Their homes, though coarse, were of solid enough construction and their economy still varied enough to employ a wide range of trades, to judge from the tools found beneath their collapsed walls. Farmers and fishermen are predictable, but there is also evidence in the form of their tools for a tailor, a leatherworker, and a jeweler.[40] Heavier industry seems to have been conducted in the vaulted halls of the great baths, which were now stripped of their furnishings to accommodate a lime kiln, pottery kilns, and a grain mill. Commerce, too, seems to have been reasonably vigorous, to judge from the numbers of weights and fragments of steelyard apparatus found. With their beaten earth floors and poorly mortared walls except at corners, their homes offered little comfort, though the number of hasps, hinges, lockplates, and small keys suitable for wooden chests indicate some need for security, probably to store cloth and other valuable commodities. Houses were lit for the most part by clay lamps produced on the site, but bronze lamps were employed also, as well as conical glass lamps intended for insertion in polycandela, a form of lighting usually associated with churches.[41] Kitchen utensils were predominantly ceramic, but handles and other attachments of bronze indicate the use of vessels of greater luxury. Loom weights, spindle whorls, and hooks demonstrate how women occupied their time, while bone dice and gaming counters suggest how men wasted theirs. That women were concerned with their appearance is evident from the substantial numbers of copper and bone hairpins, kohl sticks, cosmetic ligulae, and spatulas recorded.

[40] A good example of jewelry, probably manufactured locally, was found in a grave in one of the city's four churches: J. Russell, "Excavations at Anemurium, 1982," *Classical Views* 27 (1983), 179, pls. 13–14.

[41] Evidence for a local lamp industry takes the form of molds for terracotta lamps found close to a pottery kiln in the large baths and a hoard of over seven hundred lamps found concealed in the hypocaust system of another of the city's baths. The latter includes some of the same type as the mold. H. Williams and P. Taylor, "A Byzantine Lamp Hoard from Anamur (Cilicia)," *AnatSt* 25 (1975), 77–84.

Private adornment of some quality is reflected in various objects of jewelry, silver earrings, and various bronze finger rings in addition to those with magical connotation already described. Christian devotion was expressed through pendant crosses in gold, silver, and bronze, though they number considerably less than the objects known or suspected to have apotropaic powers.[42]

What strikes us forcibly from what we can piece together of life in the cluster of houses occupying the old palaestra at Anemurium is that magic for their humble residents was no abstract belief or perversion of true religion practiced in secret, as the sermons of the church fathers would have us believe, but was as common a function of daily existence as any other activity represented among the small finds. Given the circumstances of their discovery, in which they appear at random along with other *disjecta membra* of people's lives, there is surely nothing inherently special or remarkable about the various *instrumenta magica* found at Anemurium. The measures taken to cope with the unseen menace of demons constituted a domestic necessity as familiar as cooking, working, playing games, or bringing up children. The worship of Christ and his cross was certainly an essential part of their lives, but it is hard to escape the impression that the control of the unseen force of the evil eye by the time-honored instruments of their ancestors was of more immediate concern to them. It is an attitude that survives in remote corners of the Greek countryside even today, where people might still proclaim with the poet:

> We are neither Christians nor pagans,
> With crosses and pagan symbols
> We are trying to build the new life
> Whose name is not yet known.[43]

University of British Columbia

[42] A representative selection of these objects is illustrated in Russell, *"Instrumenta Domestica,"* 155–62.

[43] Δεν είμαστε ούτε Χριστιανοί
κι ειδωλολάτρες ούτε
από σταυρούς κι από είδωλα
να πλάσσουμε ζητάμε τη νέα ζωή
που ξεν' άγνωρον ακόμα τ' όνομά της.

Kostes Palamas

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3

Magic and the Christian Image

HENRY MAGUIRE

Introduction

For the purposes of this article, "magic" is defined as relations with the supernatural that were outside the regular channels of the church. By this definition, the boundaries of what constituted magic in Byzantium were not fixed, but varied over space and time. When the church sought to define more closely which practices were orthodox and which were not, the definition of magic tightened. This was especially true with respect to the church's attitudes toward the use of Christian imagery.

There is a story in the life of St. Andrew the Fool concerning magic and the Christian image. A certain woman was being neglected by her husband. She called in a magician to help her, who incanted some demonic spells over the oil of a lamp which he lit before the icons in her house. Her problem was immediately resolved, but she started to have some disturbing dreams. In one of them, she saw that all her icons had been smeared from bottom to top with human excrement. In her dream, she was told the reason for their foul appearance: because of her occult activities, the grace of God had departed from the icons, leaving them only as empty matter—that is, color and wood—where now was found the stench and turpitude of demons.[1] For the Byzantine writer, the point of this story was that the icons in and of themselves were essentially inert; what counted was the manner of their use. According to the rituals employed, magical or orthodox, they could become the sites of powers that were either demonic or holy, with appropriate results.

My paper attempts to explore this medieval distinction between the magical and the Christian use of images. In the early Byzantine period there

[1] *Vita S. Andreae Sali,* 130–33, PG 111, cols. 776C-781A.

was considerable overlap between what some churchmen saw as magic and contemporary Christian practice, that is, between what they would forbid and what other Christians might allow. The magical use of Christian images constituted a problem which was only resolved after iconoclasm, when the relationship between Christian icons and divine power was defined in such a way as to exclude, or largely exclude, practices that had previously been condemned by many authorities of the church. In the following pages I shall explore the resolution of the problem in several media, but especially in figured draw-loom silks, in their imitations in tapestry weave, and in silk embroideries, since in these textiles the issues stand out with special clarity.

Byzantine Silks and Silk-derived Textiles with Christian Images

Significant changes came about in the iconography of textiles with respect to Christian images between the early Byzantine period and late Byzantine times. The production of silks bearing Christian iconography in the fourth to seventh centuries is known from literary sources, from surviving examples, and from representations in works of art.[2] Although the surviving figured silks from the early period are not now very numerous, they were once sufficiently common to draw the ire of a late fourth-century bishop, Asterius of Amaseia, who in a famous passage specifically attacked wealthy lay people who wore episodes from the Gospels woven into their garments; he cited, especially, scenes showing Christ's miracles.[3] Another early Christian author, Theodoret, who wrote in the fifth century, mentioned textiles decorated with figures of men in prayer, as well as with profane subjects, such as hunters and trees.[4] Among the surviving pieces, an important recent discovery is a fragment, now in the Abegg-

[2] For a recent survey, see Marielle Martiniani-Reber, "Textiles," in *Byzance,* exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1992), 148–51. On tapestry weaves with Christian imagery produced in imitation of silks, see Anna Gonosová, "Textiles," in Florence D. Friedman, ed., *Beyond the Pharaohs,* exh. cat., Rhode Island School of Design (Providence, 1989), 72.

[3] *Homilia* I, PG 40, cols. 165–68; translation in Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453* (Toronto, 1986), 50–51.

[4] *De providentia oratio* IV, PG 83, cols. 617D-620A.

Stiftung, decorated with repeated sequences of scenes from the life of the Virgin (Figs. 1A and 1B).[5] These included (from left to right) the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, the selection of Joseph as her betrothed, the Annunciation at the well, the crib of Jesus with the ox (now missing) and the ass, and the Child's first bath (including a river personification). The silk was discovered in the same grave as the famous Dionysos hanging, also in the Abegg-Stiftung, and it has been dated to the late fourth or the early fifth century.[6] Other relatively well-preserved early silks with Christian scenes include a fragment in Sens, showing the story of Joseph being sent out by his father Jacob to join his envious brothers with their flocks (Fig. 2),[7] and the famous silks in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican displaying images of the Annunciation and the Nativity,[8] for which a date in the late sixth or early seventh century has recently been suggested by Anna Gonosová (Figs. 3A and 3B).[9] Best known of all is the depiction of the three Magi on the hem of Theodora's robe in the mid-sixth-century mosaic in San Vitale at Ravenna (Fig. 4). There are also several silks depicting individual Christian figures, such as a fragment in the Philadelphia Museum, which portrays a holy warrior clad in tunic and cloak and killing a dragon with a cross-headed spear (Fig. 5).[10]

Besides the draw-loom silks, there are many surviving tapestry weaves

[5] Lieselotte Kötzsche, "Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung: Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie der Szenenfolge," in *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten,* Riggisberger Berichte 1 (Riggisberg, 1993), 183–94.

[6] Ibid., 183, 194.

[7] *Byzance,* no. 101, p. 152.

[8] W. F. Volbach, *Catalogo del Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,* III.1: *I Tessuti* (Rome, 1942), nos. T104 and T105, pp. 39–40, pls. 29–31.

[9] "On the Alexandrian Origin of the Vatican Annunciation and Nativity Silks," *Sixteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* (Baltimore, 1990), 9–10. Other early silks with biblical scenes have been preserved at Chelles (*Byzance,* no. 102, p. 153) and Baume-les-Messieurs (ibid., p. 192, fig. 1).

[10] *Beyond the Pharaohs,* no. 131, p. 218. For other textiles showing the same composition, see Marielle Martiniani-Reber, *Lyon, Musée historique des tissus, soieries sassanides, coptes et byzantines Ve-XIe siècles* (Paris, 1986), no. 75, pp. 91–93; O. Wulff and W. F. Volbach, *Spätantike und koptische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Grabfunden* (Berlin, 1926), no. 9283, p. 150, pl. 134; A. F. Kendrick, *Victoria and Albert Museum: Catalogue of Textiles from Burying-Grounds in Egypt,* III (London, 1922), no. 819, p. 81, pl. 25; R. Forrer, *Römische und byzantinische Seiden-Textilien aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis* (Strasbourg, 1891), pl. 3, 2.

that imitated them in less expensive materials. There is, for example, a sizable group of tapestry weaves from tunics illustrating the story of Joseph and the envy of his brothers.[11] Figure 6 illustrates a roundel at Trier that copies silks of the same type as the textiles with the Annunciation and the Nativity in the Vatican (Fig. 3).[12] One can compare the bright red ground, and also the heart-shaped forms of the plant ornament in the frame. Several pieces, such as the tapestry-woven sleeve band in Vienna illustrated in Figure 7, show episodes of the Joseph story in a modified bilateral symmetry that echoes the stricter symmetry typical of draw-loom silks, but not of tapestry weaves, where sequences were not mechanically repeated.[13]

It should be noted that these early textiles with Christian figures seem to have been intended for lay rather than for ecclesiastical use, often as clothing. It is plain from the homily of Asterius of Amaseia that the garments with Christian subjects that he criticized were being worn by the laity, and in the mosaics of Ravenna it is Empress Theodora, a lay person, who is shown with a scene from the infancy of Christ worked into her robe. Some of the tapestry weaves figured with the life of Joseph were attached to the tunics of children.[14] The fact that the silk with scenes from the life of Mary was found attached to the great Dionysos hanging certainly suggests, while it does not prove, a secular context for both pieces.

The iconoclastic dispute of the eighth and ninth centuries caused a break in the production of textiles with Christian images within the Byzantine Empire. It is known from the acts of the Council of 754 that the iconoclasts banned Christian images even from private dwellings.[15] They seized and defaced textiles bearing Christian figures, as we learn both from the acts of the council and from the summary in the Synaxarion of Constantinople of the presumably

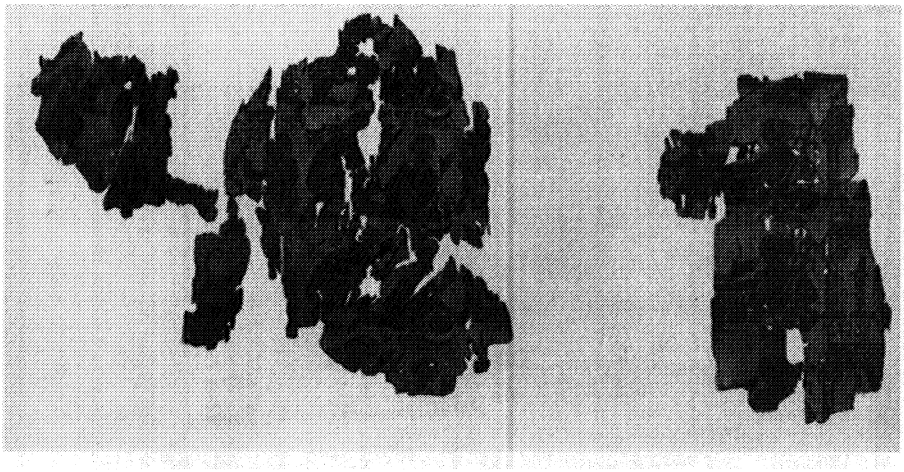
[11] L. H. Abdel-Malek, *Joseph Tapestries and Related Coptic Textiles,* Ph.D. diss. (Boston University, 1980).

[12] Claudia Nauerth, *Koptische Textilkunst im spätantiken Ägypten* (Trier, 1978), 24–31. On the relationship of the tapestry-weave roundels with Joseph scenes to silks, see the observations of Anna Gonosová in *Beyond the Pharaohs,* 160.

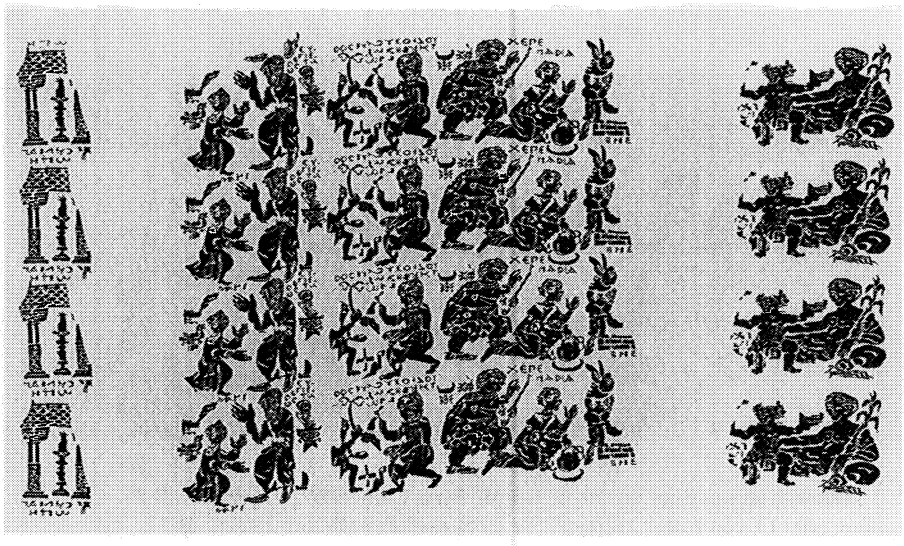
[13] *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil,* exh. cat., Villa Hügel (Essen, 1963), no. 361, p. 341; G. Egger, *Koptische Textilien* (Vienna, 1967), 20, pl. 44.

[14] Abdel-Malek, *Joseph Tapestries,* 57, 216, discusses a pair of clavi from a child's tunic in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

[15] Mansi, XIII, col. 328; translation in Stephen Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V* (Louvain, 1977), 86.



1a Silk with scenes from the life of the Virgin. Bern, Abegg-Stiftung.
(photo: Abegg-Stiftung)



1b Silk with scenes from the life of the Virgin. Bern, Abegg-Stiftung.
(photo: reconstruction drawing after L. Kötzsche, "Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung: Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie der Szenenfolge," in *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten*, Riggisberger Berichte 1 [Riggisberg, 1993], 183–94, fig. 1)

2 Silk with scenes from the life of Joseph. Sens, Cathedral Treasury, inv. B 36. (photo: after O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* [Berlin, 1921], fig. 27)

3a and 3b Silks with the Annunciation and Nativity. Rome, Vatican, Museo Sacro. (photo: Foto Biblioteca Vaticana)

4 Theodora and her retinue, mosaic. Ravenna, San Vitale.
(photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.)

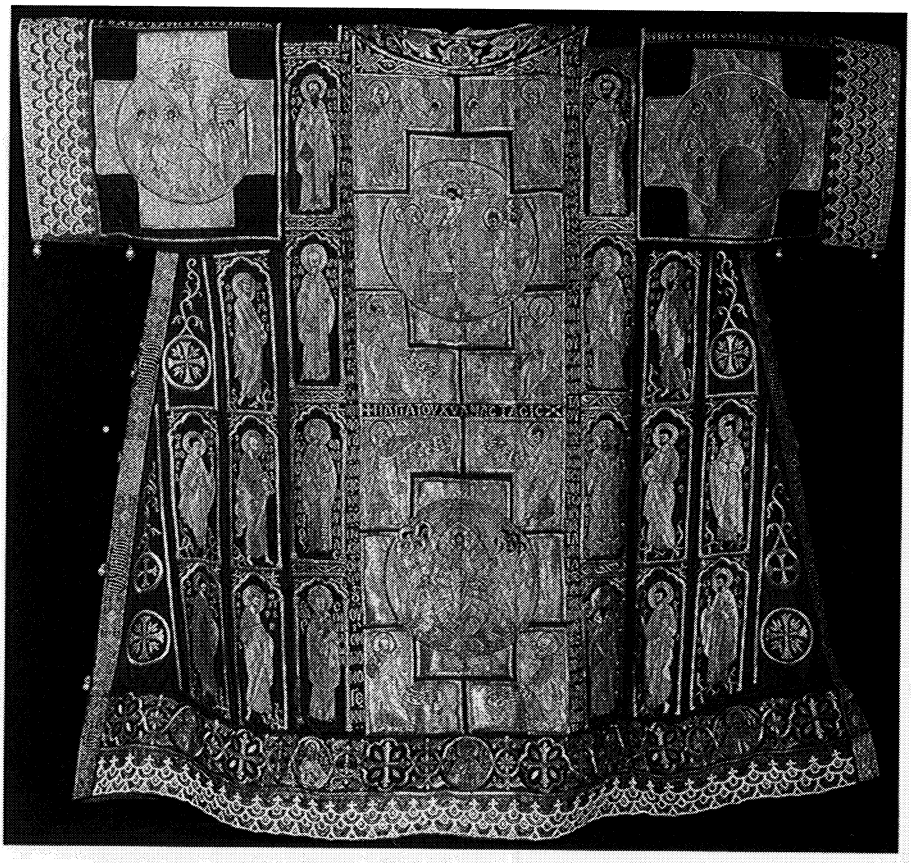
5 Silk with a holy warrior killing a dragon. Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. 33.83.1. (photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art. Given by Howard L. Goodhart)

6 Scenes from the life of Joseph, tapestry weave. Trier, Österreichisches Städtisches Museum Simeonstift, inv. VII.52. (photo: Foto Thomassin Trier)

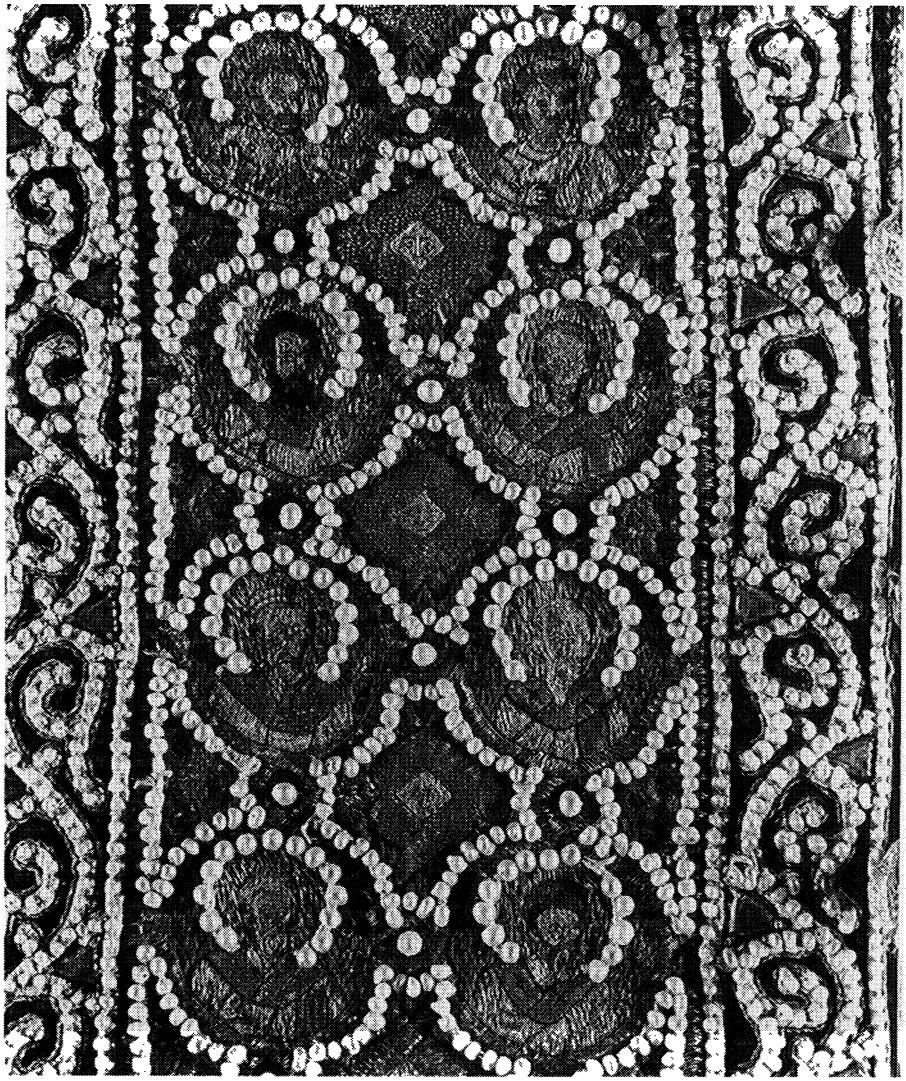
7 Scenes from the life of Joseph, tapestry-woven sleeve band. Vienna, Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, inv. T691. (photo: Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna)

8 Nikephoros Botaneiates with courtiers. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Coislin 79, fol. 2. (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

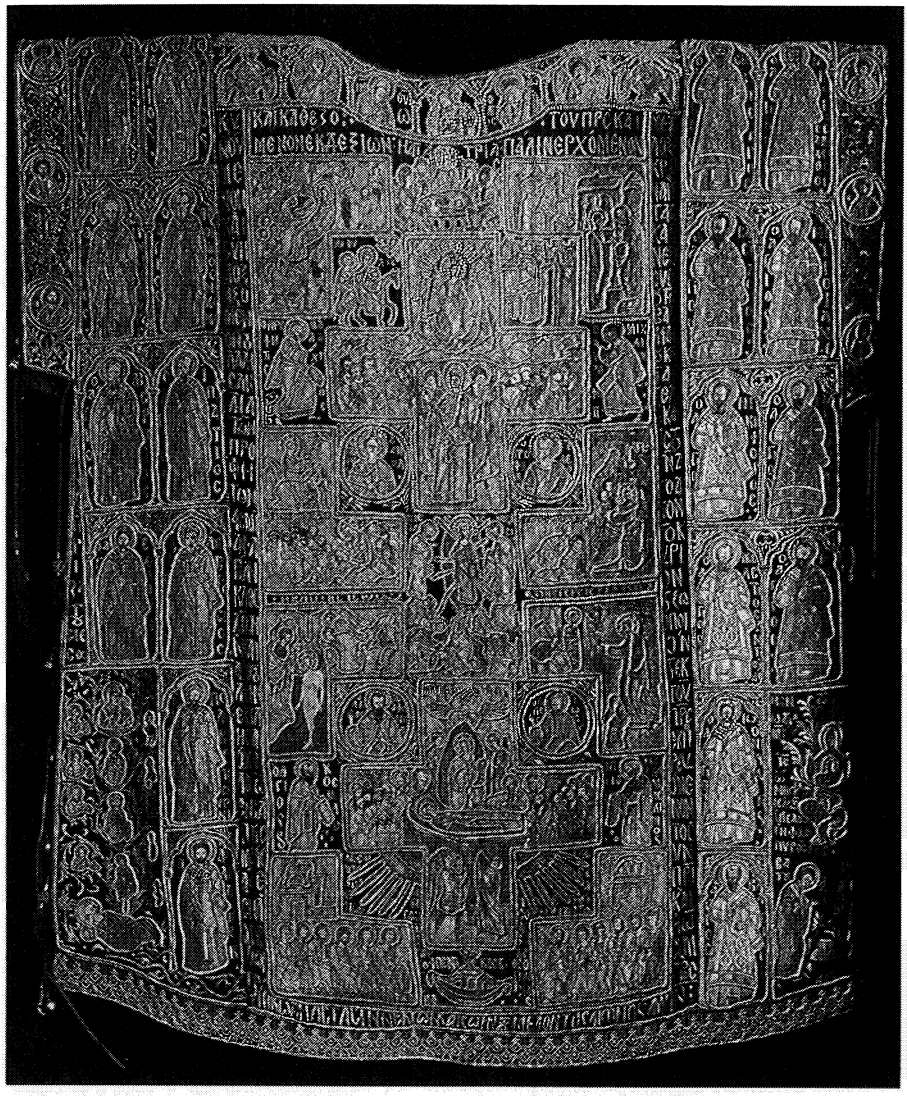
9 Alexios Apokaukos. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. gr. 2144, fol. 11r. (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



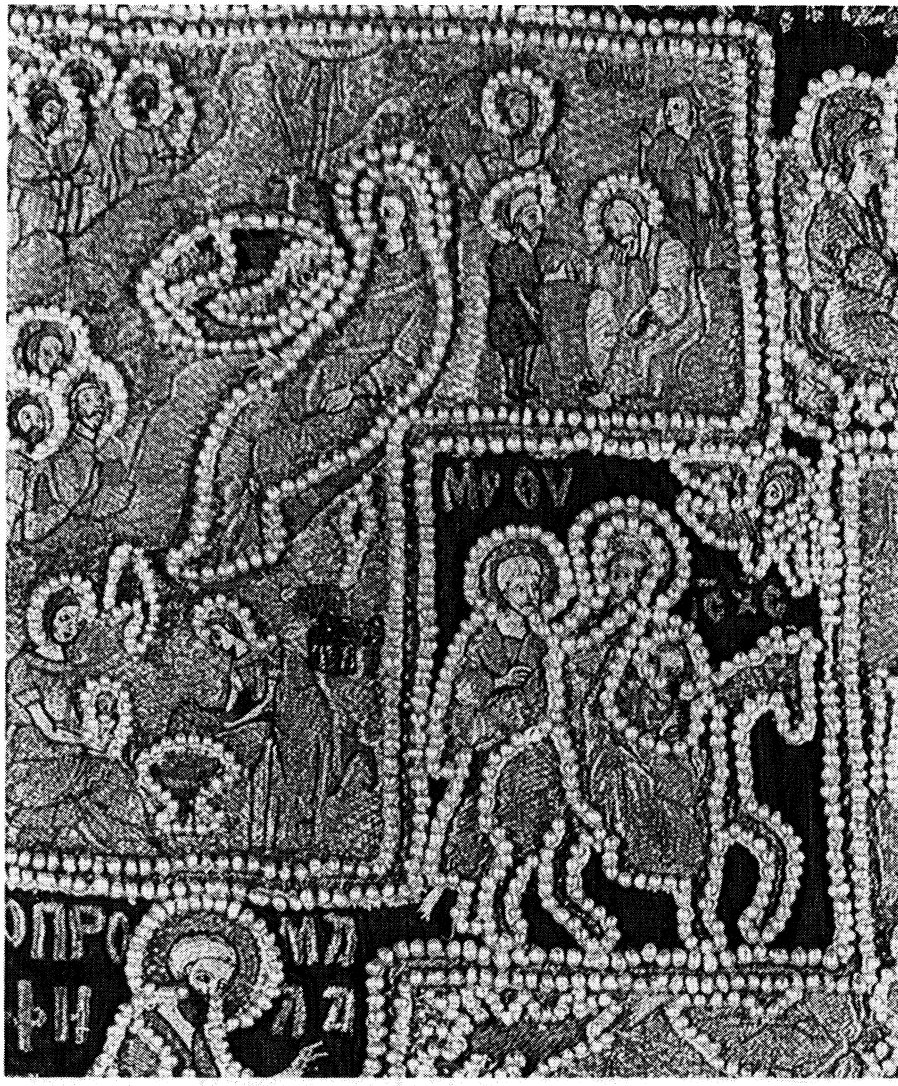
10 "Minor Sakkos" of Photius. Moscow, Kremlin Museums, inv. TK-5.
(photo: after N. A. Mayasova et al., *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery* [Moscow, 1991], 39)



11 Epitrachelion of Photios, detail. Moscow, Kremlin Museums, inv. TK-6. (photo: after A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* [Leningrad, 1985], fig. 299)



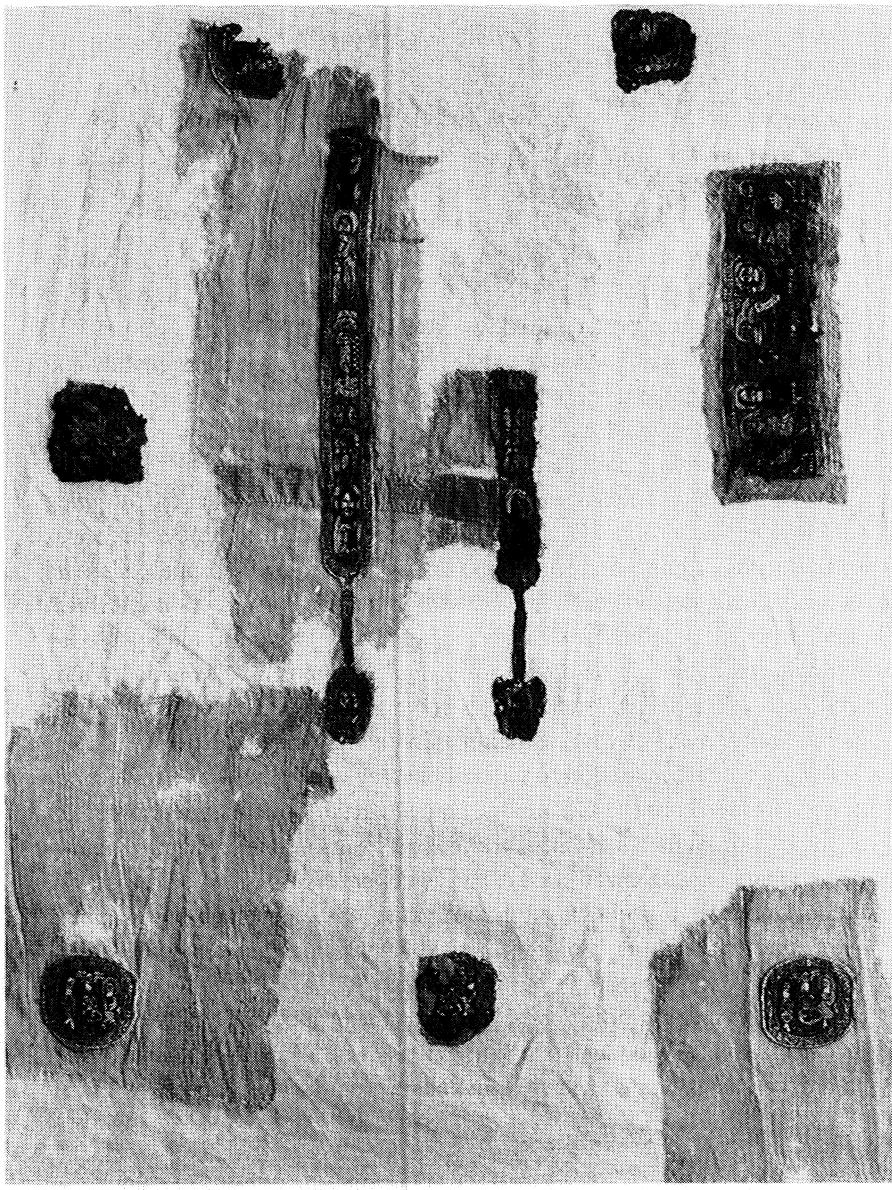
12 "Major Sakkos" of Photios. Moscow, Kremlin Museums, inv. TK-4.
(photo: after N. A. Mayasova et al., *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery* [Moscow, 1991], 51)



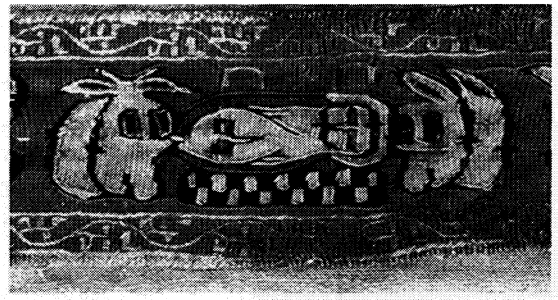
13 "Major Sakkos" of Photios, detail. Nativity. Moscow, Kremlin Museums. (photo: after A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* [Leningrad, 1985], fig. 304)

14 "Alexander of Macedon," tapestry-woven medallion. Washington, D.C., The Textile Museum, inv. 11.18. (photo: courtesy of The Textile Museum)

15 Rider, tapestry-woven medallion. Washington, D.C., The Textile Museum, inv. 11.17. (photo: courtesy of The Textile Museum)



16 Tapestry-woven tunic fragments. Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, inv. 173758. (photo: courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History)



17 Clavus with Nativity, tapestry-woven tunic, detail. Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, inv. 173758. (photo: courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History)

18 Medallion with Baptism of Christ, tapestry-woven tunic, detail. Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, inv. 173758

19 Medallion with Baptism of Christ, tapestry-woven tunic, detail. Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, inv. 173758

20 Holy warrior killing a dragon, silk sleeve band. Lyon, Musée Historique des Tissus, inv. 910.III.1 (29.254). (photo: Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyon)

eighth-century life of Anthousa of Mantineon.[16] Therefore, one should expect the production of draw-loom silks decorated with Christian subjects to have ceased in the Byzantine Empire during the iconoclastic period. But, interestingly, once iconoclasm was finally over, in the ninth century, such textiles do not seem to have returned. Surviving Byzantine draw-loom silks from the middle and late Byzantine periods are decorated only with repeated non-Christian motifs, especially with animals.[17] Moreover, representations from the post-iconoclastic period of Byzantines wearing figured draw-loom silks show that their garments were decorated either with animals or with plant motifs. For example, in the portrait of Nikephoros Botaneiates flanked by courtiers that is preserved in Paris. Coislin 79, a court official stands on the right side of the emperor, resplendent in a white silk robe adorned with repeated medallions containing lions executed in gold and red (Fig. 8);[18] his costume may be compared to a surviving silk from the reliquary of Saint Siviard, at Sens, which has medallions containing gold griffins on a white ground.[19] In a Palaeologan manuscript of Hippocrates there is a portrait of Alexios Apokaukos wearing a draw-loom silk decorated with identical medallions enclosing addorsed lions (Fig. 9).[20] There were, of course, post-iconoclastic Byzantine textiles decorated

[16] Council of 754: Mansi, XIII, cols. 329–32; Gero, *Iconoclasm,* 87. Anthousa of Mantineon: *Synaxarium CP,* 850; Cyril Mango, "St. Anthusa of Mantineon and the Family of Constantine V," *AnalBoll* 100 (1982), 401–9.

[17] The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions donations by two ninth-century popes of textiles decorated with Christian scenes that may have been of Byzantine origin, since the subjects are designated with Greek names ("Cheretismon"; "Ypopanti"): L. Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber Pontificalis,* II (Paris, 1892), 2, 146; see also *Byzance,* 192, 371. However, it is not clear that these were draw-loom silks; see John Osborne, "Textiles and Their Painted Imitations in Early Medieval Rome," *PBSR* 60 (1992), 309–51, who observes: "Most of the elaborate decorations mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* entries should be thought of as embroidered on silk, not woven into the fabric itself" (ibid., 319). On the other hand, the draw-loom "lion strangler" silks, which have been dated to the 9th century, are not necessarily Christian; see, most recently, *Byzance,* 149, 199.

[18] *Byzance,* no. 271, pp. 360–61; C. L. Dumitrescu, "Remarques en marge du Coislin 79: Les trois eunuques et le problème du donateur," *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 32–45.

[19] *Byzance,* no. 287, p. 379.

[20] *Byzance,* no. 361, pp. 455–58. Other portrayals of individuals wearing draw-loom silks include the Sevastokratoritsa Dessislava at Bojana (1259), who wears a silk decorated with repeated medallions containing pairs of addorsed lions (A. Grabar, *L'église de Boïana* [Sofia, 1978], 70, pl. I), and Michael Asanes at the church of the

with Christian subjects, but these were not the clothing of secular individuals, but ecclesiastical vestments and liturgical cloths. Thus they came from an entirely different context. Especially rich examples are preserved in the Kremlin, notably the "Minor Sakkos" of Photios, an embroidery of the fourteenth century with later Russian additions (Fig. 10),[21] the Epitrachelion of Patriarch Photios, a Byzantine embroidery from the early fifteenth century (Fig. 11), and the "Major Sakkos" of Photios, also of the early fifteenth century (Figs. 12 and 13).[22]

Therefore, in the production of silk and silk-derived textiles, a profound change took place between the early and the later Byzantine periods. After iconoclasm, Christian iconography seems to have disappeared from secular clothing. It survived only in a specific context, that of liturgical vestments and cloths. Another change that can be seen after iconoclasm, one that occurs also in other media, is a more precise codification of the Christian iconography. As can be seen in Figure 5, in the early textiles individual holy figures were frequently not accompanied by inscriptions. The general practice of later Byzantine artists to scrupulously name each depicted saint with a legend was not always adhered to by artists before iconoclasm, even in churches. As a result, some scholarly effort has been spent trying to identify the anonymous holy men who appear killing the dragon on early Byzantine sleeve bands: is the warrior in Figure 5 St. Michael, St. George, St. Theodore, or even Christ himself?[23] The same ambiguity attends the mounted horsemen who appear together with wild beasts on some early Byzantine silk-related tapestry weaves. In a few cases the horseman is identified by an inscription, as in a pair of tapestry-woven roundels now in the Textile Museum in Washington and in the Cleveland Museum of Art, where the rider is labeled "Alexander the Macedonian" (Fig. 14).[24] But in many other textiles the rider is left nameless, marked

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Taxiarches at Kastoria, who wears a silk decorated with repeated medallions containing eagles (S. Pelekanidis, *Kastoria,* I [Thessaloniki, 1953], pl. 141a).

[21] N. A. Mayasova et al., *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery* (Moscow, 1991), no. 9, pp. 38–43.

[22] Ibid., nos. 8, 10, pp. 36–37, 44–51. For other late Byzantine ecclesiastical embroideries, see especially Gabriel Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris, 1947).

[23] See Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles,* 81 (Michael); Martiniani-Reber, *Lyon, soieries,* 91 (Christ); *Beyond the Pharaohs,* 218 (George).

[24] Dorothy G. Shepherd, "Alexander—The Victorious Emperor," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 58 (1971), 245–50, figs. 1–2; *Beyond the Pharaohs,* no. 70, p. 162.

only by a halo, as can be seen in the medallion at the Textile Museum illustrated in Figure 15.[25] Such anonymous horsemen could be associated with a number of powerful riders, be it Alexander, Solomon, or even a Christian rider-saint, such as Sisinnios, who in a sixth- or seventh-century wall painting at the monastery of St. Apollo at Bawit was shown on horseback surrounded by demons and wild beasts.[26] The image is, essentially, open. The ambiguity of such potent figures is heightened by the lack of a strong tradition of saints' portraits in the early Byzantine period. After iconoclasm, from the ninth century onward, the Byzantines developed an extensive iconography of portrait types for the more common saints, which was adhered to by artists with some degree of consistency.[27] Thus in post-iconoclastic art it is often possible for modern scholars to identify a saint in a given context, such as St. Luke among the evangelists, St. Basil the Great among the bishops, St. Prokopios among the soldiers, or St. Panteleimon among the doctors, merely by looking at the facial features and hairstyle of the image, even if the inscription is lost. But in the pre-iconoclastic period only relatively few saints, notably the major apostles, had sufficiently established portrait types for such visual identifications to be feasible.

A similar lack of specificity can often be seen in the case of the Gospel scenes that appear on the early Byzantine textiles. Frequently they are so abbreviated as to defy easy recognition. By way of example, Figure 17 illustrates a portrayal, or rather, a cypher of the Nativity that is repeated two times over in the two preserved clavus bands of a tunic now in the Field Museum of Chi-

[25] Nobuko Kajitani, "Coptic Fragments" (in Japanese), *Textile Art* 13 (1981), 53, fig. 69.

[26] On the rider Solomon, see G. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium," *DOP* 38 (1984), 65–86, esp. 79–81, figs. 19–20, with reference to earlier literature. For St. Sisinnios at Bawit, see J. Cledat, *Le Monastère et la Nécropole de Baouît,* Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 12 (Paris, 1904–6), 80–81, pls. 55–56; Eunice Dauterman Maguire, Henry P. Maguire, and Maggie J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House,* exh. cat., Krannert Art Museum (Urbana, 1989), 26–28, fig. 23.

[27] Alexander Kazhdan and Henry Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art," *DOP* 45 (1991), 1–22, esp. 4–9. On "iconographically anonymous" images in early Christian art, see Gary Vikan, "Early Byzantine Pilgrimage *Devotionalia* as Evidence of the Appearance of Pilgrimage Shrines," *PEREGRINATIO: Pilgerreise und Pilgerziel. Akten des 12. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 1991, JbAChr,* Ergänzungsband (1993) (forthcoming). I am indebted to Gary Vikan for showing me a copy of his paper prior to its publication.

cago (Fig. 16); probably this image originally appeared four times on the one garment.[28] The scene is reduced to its barest elements: the Child lying in his crib, flanked by the heads of the ox and the ass.

The Christian images embroidered into the late Byzantine vestments and liturgical cloths had quite a different character. Even though the scale of the holy figures on the embroideries was in many cases as small as on the earlier textiles, each one was now carefully differentiated: each of the apostles, prophets, and saints appearing in the medallions was given a distinctive portrait type, and each was named by an inscription (Figs. 10–13). In the case of scenes from the life of Christ, each is rendered in perfect and complete detail, according to an established iconography (Fig. 13).

A similar contrast between Christian images of pre-iconoclastic and post-iconoclastic times can be observed in other media. For example, the ten sixth- or seventh-century silver-gilt chalices preserved in the Attarouthi Treasure, from northern Syria, are decorated with figures of saints executed in repoussé.[29] The saints are differentiated from each other by costume according to their status, as bishops, deacons, or soldiers, and to some extent they are also distinguished by facial features. However, the saints are not named by inscriptions, so that it has proved difficult to identify them. By contrast, each of the bust-length saints portrayed on the tenth-century Byzantine silver-gilt and rock-crystal chalices in the Venetian Treasury of San Marco is identified by an inscription.[30] Plainly, in the post-iconoclastic period there was a need to name that had not been so pressing before.

Another major difference that separates the early from the late group of textiles concerns the repetition of images. The early Byzantine silks were executed in the draw-loom technique which, with its mechanical sequences, encouraged the repetition of standardized images in series; thus we find on the surviving fragment of figured silk now in the Abegg-Stiftung a fourfold repeti-

[28] Henry Maguire, "Garments Pleasing to God: the Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period," *DOP* 44 (1990), 215–24, esp. 220, figs. 25–26.

[29] M. Frazer, "Silver Liturgical Objects from Attarouthi in Syria," *Fourteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* (Houston, 1988), 13–14.

[30] H. R. Hahnloser, *Il Tesoro di San Marco,* II: *Il Tesoro e il Museo* (Florence, 1971), nos. 40–43, pp. 58–61, pls. 40–45; *Le trésor de Saint-Marc de Venise,* exh. cat., Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais (Paris, 1984), nos. 10, 11, 16, pp. 129–33, 136–40, 159–67.

tion of the episodes from the life of Mary, one above the other (Fig. 1). Silken sleeve bands of the type from which the fragment in Philadelphia comes (Fig. 5) originally showed the same holy figure four times over, four times killing the dragon. A complete sleeve band of this type is preserved in Lyon (Fig. 20).[31] In draw-loom silks this repetition was a product of the manufacturing process, but it was evidently seen as a desirable end in itself, for it was carried over also into the early Byzantine tapestry weaves, where the manual technique did not make the repeats necessary. Figures 18 and 19 illustrate two medallions of tapestry weave from the same tunic in Chicago that displayed clavi with Christ's Nativity (Figs. 16 and 17). Both roundels show nearly identical images of Christ's baptism. It has also been shown above that a group of early Byzantine tapestry-woven sleeve bands depicted repeated episodes of the Joseph story in a bilateral symmetry that echoed draw-loom silks (Fig. 7). Repetition was also necessarily characteristic of the draw-loom silks of the post-iconoclastic period that featured secular motifs, such as plants and animals. However, the late Byzantine embroidered vestments with Christian subjects very rarely repeated the same religious figure or scene on the same textile. Though the Epitrachelion of Photios might at first sight resemble the pre-iconoclastic draw-loom silks, with their repeated holy figures, we have seen that closer inspection reveals each individual to be precisely differentiated (Fig. 11). The only saint who appears there more than once is the Virgin. Likewise, on the "Minor Sakkos" and "Major Sakkos" of Photios, none of the scenes from the life of Christ is repeated (Figs. 10 and 12). A similar absence of repetition of individual saints and scenes can be found in other media of Byzantine church art during the post-iconoclastic period. In mosaic and fresco programs, for example, the repetition of particular saints and biblical episodes is generally not found, except in special cases, such as patron saints.

In short, the imagery of Byzantine textiles underwent profound changes with respect to Christian images. In the early period the laity used textiles woven with Christian images that were often ambiguous, repeating, and not closely defined. After iconoclasm, Christian subjects ceased to appear on non-ecclesiastical silks, being reserved only for liturgical vestments and cloths. On

[31] Martiniani-Reber, *Lyon, soieries,* no. 75, pp. 91–93. See also Wulff and Volbach, *Spätantike und koptische Stoffe,* no. 9283, p. 150, pl. 134; Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles,* III, no. 819, p. 81, pl. 25.

the latter, the Christian imagery was much more strictly defined and was presented in controlled circumstances, those of church ritual. Furthermore, the ecclesiastical textiles were not executed in the draw-loom technique, with its repetitions, but in embroidery, which allowed differentiation between individual images. To be sure, the domestic costumes of the early Byzantine period and the liturgical vestments of the late period came from very different contexts, but the characteristics that distinguished them, the differing degrees of specificity in the portrait types, the absence or provision of inscriptions, and the employment or avoidance of repetition, can also be seen in other artifacts made before and after iconoclasm. As a reflection of attitudes toward the depiction and identification of holy figures, therefore, the textiles can be seen as emblematic of changes that affected all of the visual arts of Byzantium after iconoclasm.

The Problem of Christianized Magic in the Early Byzantine Period

The disappearance of the non-ecclesiastical draw-loom silks with Christian figures, and of their derivatives in tapestry weave, suggests that they were not compatible with the theory of images as it developed during iconoclasm. In fact, these early textiles incorporated several features that the early church fathers had already condemned as characteristic of magical or deviant practices within the Christian community. Their production was unofficial and unsanctioned by the church, their content was not unambiguously Christian, and their benefits were directed more at the physical well-being of the body than the health of the soul. We will now examine these characteristics of the early textiles further.

As was the case with the formulae and the signs that were inscribed upon magical amulets, the Christian imagery on early Byzantine textiles was difficult for the authorities to control. The production of the early draw-loom silks with Christian subjects was not regulated by church or state; there was no codification of the imagery, as there was to be later, and the textiles could be purchased and used by all who could afford them. For the less wealthy, a larger number of small workshops made copies in tapestry weave. Asterius of Amaseia, in his attack on clothes figured with Christian subjects, highlighted the unofficial origins of the imagery, saying that it was the wearers themselves who chose the scenes to be depicted: "The more religious among rich men and women, having picked out the story of the Gospels, have handed it over to the

weavers."[32] For the church fathers, the introduction of domestic, unsanctioned remedies was one of the major aspects of magic. John Chrysostom complains repeatedly of the "drunken old women" who provide incantations, and who are claimed to be Christian because they utter the name of God, but in truth introduce the devices of demons.[33] Similarly, he attacks those women, nurses and maids, who make a mark with mud on a child's head while bathing it in order to avert the evil eye, fascination, and envy. He says that by this action they compromise the sealing with the cross provided by the priest at the child's baptism.[34]

The marginal character of the Christian imagery on early domestic textiles was accentuated by a second characteristic, its ambiguity and obscurity. We have seen that in some cases, such as the unidentified riders, it is not even certain whether the images on the textiles are Christian or profane. For the church fathers, including John Chrysostom, such ambiguity was an insidious feature of magic. In his attacks on amulets and other apotropaic devices, John Chrysostom repeatedly stresses that only the cross is acceptable as an explicitly Christian protection. Only the sign of the cross can be put on the child's forehead, not some other mark made in mud by its nurses and maids.[35] The child should not be protected by amulets tied to it, nor by bells hung from its hand, nor by scarlet thread, but only by the sign of the cross.[36] The woman who ties on an amulet inscribed with the name of a river is not making a simple incantation, but is falling for a device of Satan; for the Christian's only weapon should be the cross.[37] In John Chrysostom's writing we see that any protective device that was not unambiguously Christian was suspect.

A similar message is found in later Byzantine saints' lives. A story told

[32] *Homilia* I, PG 40, col. 168; translation in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire,* 51. See Thelma K. Thomas, *Textiles from Medieval Egypt, A.D. 300–1300,* Carnegie Museum of Natural History (Pittsburgh, 1990), 20. On the cloth industry, see A. H. M. Jones, "The Cloth Industry under the Roman Empire," *Economic History Review,* 2nd ser. 13.2 (1960), 183–92, esp. 187–90; E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* (Warsaw, 1965), esp. 56; Joëlle Beaucamp, "Organisation domestique et rôles sexuels: Les papyrus byzantins," *DOP* 47 (1993), 185–94, esp. 192–93.

[33] *Ad illuminandos catechesis II,* 5, PG 49, col. 240; *In epistolam ad Colossenses cap. III homilia VIII,* 5, PG 62, col. 358.

[34] *In epistolam I ad Corinthios homilia XII,* 7, PG 61, col. 106.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., col. 105.

[37] *In ep. ad Coloss. cap. III hom. VIII,* 5, PG 62, col. 358.

in the seventh-century collection of Miracles of St. Demetrius by John of Thessaloniki is especially explicit in highlighting the dangers of obscurity and ambiguity. The tale concerns an eparch named Marianos, a man of high birth and great wealth, who administered justice at Thessaloniki with such integrity that he excited the envy of the devil. Having failed to attack his virtue, the devil assailed the eparch's body, rendering him completely paralytic. Hoping to cure Marianos, one of the eparch's close associates approached the sick man with the following words, which he whispered into his ear: "There is a certain man, who said to me that he could make you, Master, healthy, if you wished to tie around your neck and wear the inscribed parchment that he is giving to you." The eparch was immediately suspicious. He asked: "And what is it that he says is written on the parchment?" His servant replied: "When I enquired [about this matter] a little more carefully, on account of my extraordinary care for you, O Master, he did not conceal it from me, but he said that he had written certain letters there, and stars, and half-circles, and certain other formulae with Hebrew letters and names of angels unknown to the many, written outside and inside." "But," added the servant, "what need is there to know the force and the forms of what is written there? For there is but one concern for all of us your servants, namely, that you should gain your health." But the pious eparch was not to be deceived; he responded indignantly as follows: "First . . . from what is it manifest that I will escape the disease, having worn the parchment; but rather, since its writer did not wish to make clear the force of what was written, is it not plain that nothing good has been inscribed upon it? For <whatsoever doth make manifest> according to the apostle, <is light>." The eparch concluded by saying that he did not wish to save his body while losing his soul.[38] Here, then, much is made of the obscurity and ambiguity of the magical formulae, a source of danger for the unwary. If the content is not crystal clear, it is tainted.

A story in the seventh-century Life of St. Symeon Salos by Leontios pro-

[38] Ἔστι τις ἀνὴρ ὃς εἴρηκέ μοι δύνασθαί σε, ὦ δέσποτα, ὑγιῆ καθιστᾶν εἰ θελήσεις τὴν ἐγγεγραμμένην βεμβράνην ἣν δίδωσί σοι ἀφάψαι κατὰ τοῦ σοῦ τραχήλου καὶ φορεῖν. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Μαριανὸς ἀπεκρίνατο· «Καὶ τί ἐστιν ὅ φησιν ἐγγεγράφθαι τῇ βεμβράνῃ;» Εἶπε δὲ ὁ παῖς· «Ἐρωτήσαντός μου μικρόν τι περιεργότερον διὰ τὴν ἄφατόν μου περὶ σέ, ὦ δέσποτα, φροντίδα, οὐδὲ τοῦτό με ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλ' ἔφη τινὰς γραμμὰς ἐκεῖσε διαγράφειν καὶ ἀστερίσκους καὶ ἡμικύκλια καί τινα ἕτερα σχήματα, γράμμασιν ἑβραϊκοῖς καὶ ὀνόμασιν ἀγγέλων ἀγνώστων τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔσωθεν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν περιγεγραμμένα· τί γὰρ χρεία καὶ τοῦ

vides a reverse twist to the tale of Marianos by showing how a holy fool could use the habitual obscurity of magical charms for a Christian purpose, to play a trick on a sorceress. The saint contrived to win the friendship of a sorceress who manufactured and sold amulets. One day he asked her: "Would you like me to make you an amulet so that you will never be touched by the evil eye?" When she replied "yes," the saint went away and engraved on a tablet the following words in Syriac: "May God render you ineffective and may he prevent you from turning men away from him toward you." He gave her the tablet, and she wore it, presumably not understanding what it said. From that day on she was unable to manufacture amulets for anyone.[39]

Besides their unofficial and ambiguous character, there was a third important feature shared by the Christian images on early Byzantine domestic textiles and by the devices that the church fathers saw as being put to magical uses. In both cases, the images, formulae, or objects were thought to have an effect that was direct and binding. At the worst, this effect could be seen as a form of coercion of the demons, at the best a shortcut to God's favors and benefits which did not involve an effort to improve the user's soul. The status of the images on early Byzantine clothing as apotropaic devices directed against demons and the evil eye, or as charms that would directly assure God's favor, is demonstrated not only by the character of the designs themselves, but also

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μαθεῖν τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ σχήματα; εἷς ἡμῖν τοῖς δούλοις σου πᾶσι σκοπός, τὸ σὲ τῆς ὑγιείας τυχεῖν. . .» Εἶπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πιστὸς ὄντως καὶ κατὰ θεὸν ἐνδοξότατος ὕπαρχος, ἀτενὲς ἐνιδών· «Πρῶτον, μέν . . . πόθεν μοι δῆλον ὡς φεύξομαι τὴν νόσον φορέσας τὴν βεμβράνην, μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς οὐ πρόδηλον μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἐν αὐτῇ διαγεγράφθαι, τοῦ γεγραφότος μὴ βουλομένου τὴν τῶν γεγραμμένων δύναμιν φανερῶσαι; 'πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φανερούμενον, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, φῶς ἐστιν.'» Text in Paul Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius,* I (Paris, 1979), 61. This passage is cited by Richard P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988), 277 note 952.

[39] «Θέλεις ποιήσω σοι ἐγὼ φυλακτόν, ἵνα μηδέποτε λάβῃς ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμοῦ;» Λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκείνη· «ναί, Σαλέ» λογισαμένη ὅτι κἂν εἰ σαλός ἐστιν, ἴσως ἐπιτυγχάνει. Ἀπελθὼν οὖν ἔγραψεν εἰς πιττάκιν Συριστί· «καταργήσῃ σε ὁ θεὸς καὶ παύσῃ σε ἀποστρέφουσαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸς σὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.» Ἔδωκεν οὖν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐφόρεσεν αὐτὸ καὶ οὐκέτι ἠδυνήθη ποιῆσαί τινι οὔτε μαντείαν οὔτε φυλακτόν. Text in A. J. Festugière, *Léontios de Néapolis. Vie de Syméon le Fou* (Paris, 1974), 96–97.

by the woven motifs that accompany them, by parallels in other media, and by literary evidence.[40]

It is plain from the physical character and location of the images on early Byzantine clothes that they were not intended for the instruction or edification of the wearers or those around them. Frequently the Christian figures and scenes are placed in hard-to-see or even concealed locations, such as the tops of the shoulders, the knees (Fig. 16), and the hems of garments (Fig. 4). These images, often too abbreviated to be useful for teaching (Fig. 17), and too unspecific to be a form of devotion (Figs. 5 and 20), were not directed at human viewers but rather at forces that were unseen. The designs followed a common tendency of late antique magic to invoke powers from different religious contexts, and sometimes from different religions, to create devices that were powerful in and of themselves. In other words, the devices did not *represent* such and such a specific holy power or event, but they were self-sufficient. In the words of the magical papyri, they were "mighty signs," which functioned directly, in their own right.[41]

A clue to the force of the Christian images is given by accompanying designs, such as the eagle with prey that accompanies each of the repeated dragon-slayers on the silken sleeve bands (Figs. 5 and 20). The eagle translates the action of the human hero into animal imagery; its supposed apotropaic powers are attested to by magical gemstones and by the *Natural History* of Pliny.[42] There is also ample evidence from early Byzantine jewelry that Christian images, when worn on the body, acquired a protective function. Sometimes there will be an inscription with explicit apotropaic intent, such as "The secure safety and averting of all the evils" that accompanies scenes of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi on a gold locket in the British Museum.[43] Sometimes the protective nature of the imagery is proved not by inscriptions

[40] On the amuletic functions of Christian images on early Byzantine textiles, see Maguire, "Garments Pleasing to God," esp. 219–24; T. E. A. Dale, "The Power of the Anointed: The Life of David on Two Coptic Textiles in the Walters Art Gallery," *JWalt* 51 (1993), 23–42, esp. 35–39.

[41] For "mighty signs," see Robert W. Daniel and Franco Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum,* I (Opladen, 1990), no. 23, p. 63.

[42] *Naturalis historia,* 37.124; Campbell Bonner, "Aeolus Figured on Colic Amulets," *HThR* 35 (1942), 87–93, esp. 90–92.

[43] +Η ΒΕΒΑΙΑ CΩΤΗΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟCΤΡΟΦΗ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΚΩΝ: O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian*

but by visual signs; this is the case, for example, with certain Syrian bronze amulets, which, like the silks, show a haloed figure spearing an adversary with a cross-headed spear. But the amulets themselves take the shape of an eye, and thus are clearly intended to ward off the evils of envy.[44]

The force of the Christian imagery on clothing as charms to win God's favor is evident in the complaints of Asterius of Amaseia. Although the bishop does not explicitly call such textiles magical, he clearly felt that their wearers looked upon them as some kind of shortcut to God's favor. He says that the people who wore depictions of Christ's miracles woven into their garments did so because they thought that they were wearing "garments pleasing to God."[45] But, says Asterius, one should not simply sketch the Raising of Lazarus, but rather prepare one's defense well for one's own resurrection; one should not have miracles illustrated on one's clothes, but one should go out and do good works oneself.[46] His advice, to cultivate God in the spirit and not to wear him depicted on the body, echoes the misgivings of St. Augustine concerning the use of the Gospel book as a direct cure for physical ailments. The Latin father, commenting on St. John's Gospel, refers to the custom of curing a headache and fever by placing the Gospel book on one's head. He says, in effect, that it does not please him that the Gospels are used for such a purpose; it only pleases him that the Gospels are being employed in this way in preference to amulets, which would be much worse.[47] In a similar vein, Jerome criticized "superstitious little women" of his own day who, like the Pharisees with their phylacteries, tied onto themselves little Gospel books or pieces of the wood of the cross, or similar objects. Like the Pharisees, he said, these women wore the scriptures on their bodies rather than in their hearts.[48] The church fathers, then, were suspicious of objects, even Christian ones such as Gospel books or weav-

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East in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum (London, 1901), no. 284, pp. 46–47.

[44] Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor, 1950), no. 319, p. 306, pl. 16, with discussion on pp. 218–19; Maguire et al., *Art and Holy Powers,* no. 136, p. 217.

[45] ἱμάτια κεχαρισμένα τῷ Θεῷ, PG 40, col. 168B.

[46] Ibid., col. 168B–C.

[47] *Tractatus in Joannis Evangelium VII,* 12, PL 35, col. 1443. The passage is discussed by Norbert Brox, "Magie und Aberglaube an den Anfängen des Christentums," *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 83 (1974), 157–80, esp. 176.

[48] *In Matthaeum* 23, 5–7, PL 26, col. 175; CChr 77, 212.

ings of Gospel scenes, that were used for direct physical benefits rather than as sources of instruction and spiritual edification.

Iconoclasm and Its Aftermath

The problem of the improper use of Christian images became the more acute as a result of the iconoclastic crisis. Among the accusations made by the iconoclasts was the charge that the proponents of images showed reverence for icons and for inanimate substances in and of themselves, rather than for Christ and his saints who had empowered them. The defenders of images had to respond by insisting more unambiguously that the icons did indeed work their benefits by intercession. A late eighth- or early ninth-century sermon attributed to the iconodule writer Constantine of Tios illustrates the debate. Referring to the iconoclast emperor Constantine V, the homilist complains: "Not only did he (the emperor) extend his wickedness against the holy icons, but also . . . he set at naught the hagiasmata that flowed on account of God's providence towards men, and he called those who made use of them worshippers of water, thus taking the glory away from the intercessions of the saints, even renouncing the help and intercession of Mary, the all-holy Mother of God."[49] The response was to point to the role played by the saints in miracles apparently achieved through the agency of inanimate objects. For example, at the seventh ecumenical council, of 787, a passage from the sixth- or seventh-century *Miracula* of Saints Cosmas and Damian was quoted. It told of a certain woman with the colic, who was cured by scraping plaster from the images of the saints which were on the wall of her bedroom, and drinking the resulting powder with water. As a consequence, we are told, "she immediately became healthy, her pains having ceased by the *intervention* of the saints."[50]

[49] ὅστις οὐ μόνον ταῖς ἁγίαις εἰκόσι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κακίαν ἐξέτεινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . τὰ κατὰ πρόνοιαν θεοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις βλύζοντα ἁγιάσματα ἐξουθενῶν καὶ ὑδρολάτρας τοὺς χρωμένους ἀποκαλῶν, τάς τε τῶν ἁγίων πρεσβείας ἀκηρύκτους ποιῶν, τήν τε τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας βοήθειαν καὶ πρεσβείαν ἀποκηρύττων. Ed. François Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine: Légendes byzantines* (Brussels, 1965), 96; cited by Gero, *Iconoclasm,* 159 note 43.

[50] καὶ παρευθὺ ὑγιὴς γέγονεν, τῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῇ ἀλγηδόνων παυσαμένων τῇ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπιφοιτήσει. Ed. Ludwig Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1907), 137f; Mansi, XIII, col. 68; translation in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire,*

The reasons for the changes in the decoration of textiles in the later Byzantine period, therefore, went beyond technology and fashion; they reflected a new consensus about the way in which Christian imagery worked, a consensus that had been arrived at during the crisis over iconoclasm. After iconoclasm, Christian images were more universally seen as intermediaries between the suppliant and the invisible power. No longer was it possible for the icons to have power in and of themselves, or at least not in theory, but only through the intercession of the archetype.[51] Whereas the concept of intercession had previously coexisted with the more coercive functions of Christian images,[52] after iconoclasm the icons themselves were held to be no more than wood and paint, in the words of the Life of St. Andrew the Fool.[53]

Several stories in the later saints' lives reinforced the dogma that images did not work directly and on their own, but that any resulting benefits were bestowed only through the intercession of the archetype with God. For example, there is a tale told in the ninth-century life of Stephen Sabaites of a certain Leontios who suffered from demonic assaults. This man was released only after he *stopped* looking at icons for a certain period.[54] Such a cure could only work if the real source of the power was outside of the icon itself.

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139. The story is discussed by E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8 (1954), 83–150, esp. 107 note 89, and 147–48.

[51] Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (Cambridge, 1990), 19, speaks of the "distinction between religious acts as primarily intercessionary in character, and magical acts as being coercive rituals ambitiously attempting to manipulate the divine" as one that was forged by Protestant theologians. However, the distinction was no less important in the Byzantine debate concerning orthodox religion and magic.

[52] On the magical functions of images in the pre-iconoclastic period, see, in general, Kitzinger, "Cult of Images," 100–109; on prayers spoken before images, see ibid., 96–98, 108. Of particular interest is the 6th- or 7th-century story of the portable image of Cosmas and Damian which began to operate on behalf of its owner *before* he was aware of the icon's presence: L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1907), 132–34; discussed by Kitzinger, ibid., 107 note 89, and 148.

[53] *Vita S. Andreae Sali,* 133, PG 111, col. 781A. For a recent discussion of later iconodule theory, especially that of Nikephoros, who saw the icon as a work of art only, and no longer as an image having an essential relationship with the archetype, see C. Barber, "From Transformation to Desire: Art and Worship after Byzantine Iconoclasm," *ArtB* 75 (1993), 7–16.

[54] *ActaSS,* Iul. III, col. 552B.

The post-iconoclastic concept of the operation of icons gave a greater measure of official control over the cult of the images, because the church managed the sacraments that were tied to intercession. In addition, the church was now able to regulate the iconography and use of Christian art more closely than before.[55] The later Byzantine conception of the functioning of Christian images and the increased control of the church over religious art had important consequences for the images themselves. Formerly, because images were often thought to work directly, it was effective to repeat them (Figs. 1, 7, and 18–20). The greater the number of devices, the greater their effect on unseen forces. The repeated Christian images worked in the same way as the reiterated devices in magical papyri, such as configurations of letters, ring-signs, or crosses.[56] But now, after iconoclasm, it was ineffective to have multiple identical copies of the same image because an individual viewer could only reach the archetype through one icon at a time. For this reason, the draw-loom technique, which necessitated the repetition of identical designs, no longer was a suitable medium for Christian images in later Byzantine art. As we have seen, the imagery of repeating draw-loom silks was limited to secular motifs. In textiles, Christian subject matter appeared only on church embroideries, such as the epitrachelion of Photios, where each depicted saint could be made distinct from his neighbors and be invoked separately in the order of the liturgy.

A second consequence of the new concept of images was that the icons had to be sufficiently detailed and complete, that is, legible, for the archetype to be recognized, for it was not the icon but the archetype that possessed the power. Recognition was an important part of the experiencing of icons, as the stories of dreams and visions in the saints' lives reveal.[57] Therefore, post-iconoclastic artists, to a much greater extent than their predecessors, developed

[55] For an example of the regulation of iconography, see the letter of Theodore the Studite to Theodoulos the stylite criticizing him for incorrect representations of angels: PG 99, col. 957; translation in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire,* 175. For a discussion of the supervision of miraculous icons by the church, see Nicolas Oikonomides, "The Holy Icon as Asset," *DOP* 45 (1991), 35–44, esp. 43.

[56] On repeating letters see Franz Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Berlin, 1925). For repeating ring-signs and crosses, see Daniel and Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum,* I, nos. 27, 35, pp. 74–75, 102–3.

[57] See the texts collected by A. Kazhdan and H. Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art," *DOP* 45 (1991), 1–22, esp. 4–9.

portrait types for the saints and adhered to them more strictly. Identifying inscriptions, also, became much more the rule after iconoclasm. In the post-iconoclastic period the effectiveness of icons was dependent on their accuracy and specificity. Thus the Dream Book of Ahmet, probably a work of the tenth century, says: "If a king dreams that he ordered icons of the saints made, . . . and if the copies of the icons succeed in their accuracy, his affairs will also succeed: if not, the opposite. Likewise, if the dreamer is a commoner, each of his actions will turn out in accordance with the success of the copies."[58]

Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be said that Christian images on early Byzantine domestic textiles were decentralized in their production and not standardized in their iconography. Many images were ambiguous; there were few portrait types and often no identifying inscriptions. Frequently there was repetition of identical images on the same textile, both in draw-loom silks and in tapestry weaves. These early images were operating in a different way from those in post-iconoclastic art. To a large extent they were not icons serving as avenues for an appeal to a saint or to the deity, but rather they were direct and powerful signs in their own right. The use of Christian images on domestic textiles shared several features with practices that the church condemned as deviant or magical, and thus these images were problematic. In this regard it should be noted that Asterius, unlike his contemporary Epiphanius, did not object to seeing Christian subjects portrayed in churches. In fact, he composed a moving *ekphrasis* on a painting of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia.[59] The problem for the bishop was not Christian imagery itself, but the context of its use.

After iconoclasm, the church was able to discipline Christian images in

[58] Ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι διετάξατο γενέσθαι εἰκόνας ἁγίων, εἰ μέν ἐστι βασιλεύς . . . καὶ ἐὰν ἐπιτύχῃ ἀκριβῶς ὁ τῶν εἰκόνων τύπος, ἐπιτεύξεται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀναλόγως ἀποβήσεται αὐτῷ. Ὁμοίως καὶ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἔργῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποβήσεται κατὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν αὐτοῦ. *Oneirocriticon,* 150; ed. F. Drexl (Leipzig, 1925), 106–7.

[59] Ed. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine,* 4–8; translation in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire,* 37–39.

such a way that they effectively responded to the theory of intercession, that is, each image should relate directly to an individual holy figure, to whom prayers could be addressed. There was no room for ambiguity. The iconography was standardized, with individual portrait types for each of the commoner saints, and all saints identified clearly by inscriptions. There was no room, either, for repetition of the type that had been seen earlier. For the individual worshiper, repeated individual images were at best useless, at worst suspect, for only if the images were devices that worked *directly* did it make sense to repeat them.[60]

The change that came about with respect to textiles and Christian images after iconoclasm may be illustrated by a story told in the tenth-century *Miracula* of the shrine of Pege (the Source). In the early tenth century, Zoe Karbonopsina, the concubine of Leo VI, wished to have a child. She did not wear a draw-loom silk woven with multiple images of the birth of Christ, but instead she appealed to an individual icon in a public place, namely, the image of the Virgin that was set to the right of Christ in the shrine of the Source. There she measured the icon's dimensions on a piece of silk, and wore the cloth as a girdle; we are told that as a result of the intervention of the saint, the outcome was happy.[61] A later fourteenth-century reworking of the text of the Miracles by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos specified that the image was a mosaic set above the hagiasma of the shrine, and that Zoe let the silk hang from the mosaic before she wore it as a girdle.[62]

We may conclude that Byzantine silks illustrate how the church after iconoclasm was successful in redefining and recontextualizing Christian imagery, so that it no longer was able to play a role in unofficial practices and belief systems that the church could not reconcile with the theology of the icon, and had previously associated with "magic." This redefinition can also be seen in the wider context of Byzantine art; repetition of identical images within a single program was avoided, and the saints were given inscriptions and more pre-

[60] In this respect, a distinction should be made between visual images and verbal prayers; while repeated identical *images* were useless to the individual worshiper, the repetition of *verbal* appeals could still be compatible with the idea of intercession. Hence there could be repetition in the liturgy but not in art.

[61] "De sacris aedibus deque miraculis Deiparae ad fontem," 26; *ActaSS,* Nov. III, col. 885E.

[62] *ActaSS,* Nov. III, col. 861. I am grateful to Alice-Mary Talbot for bringing the texts of the *Miracles* to my attention.

cise portrait types by which they could be identified. In other words, Christian images lost the status of powerful signs, becoming instead the representations of powerful individuals.

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4

Holy and Unholy Miracle Workers

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

Once upon a time there lived on the island of Crete a saintly man, Cyril, bishop of Gortyna. The persecutors of Christians arrested him, put him on a cart driven by oxen, and sent him to be executed. All of a sudden, in the middle of the way, the oxen stopped, and there was no means to make them continue; the executioners had no choice but to murder the saint at this spot, divinely chosen, where later the center of Cyril's veneration was established.[1]

So far, so good. In another saint's vita we read a similar story: a man ordered the felling of an enormous tree that he wanted brought to his mansion; a magnificent train of seventy teams of oxen was formed to drag this gigantic tree, but all of a sudden, in the middle of the way, the oxen stopped, and there was no means to make them continue. But unlike the miracle with Cyril of Gortyna, it was not divine force that stopped the oxen. It was the evil, devilish, insidious spirit that hampered the movement of the train, and the intervention of the saint, Eustratios of Agauros by name, overcame the evil power and destroyed the devilish spell.[2]

In these particular cases we are assisted by the hagiographers who make it crystal clear that these two analogous events were a far cry from being identical: the devil was able to perform miracles that, on their surface, were indistin-

I am extremely grateful to Henry Maguire for his friendly criticism and attempts to make my style clearer and my English closer to the norms of grammar.

[1] *BHG* 467; vita ed. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *S. Cirillo vescovo di Gortina e martire,* ST 175 (1953), 201–29.

[2] *BHG* 645; ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας, IV (repr. Brussels, 1963), 381.10–24.

guishable from those worked by or with the help of divine force. How could an ordinary Byzantine have distinguished good and beneficial miracles from the pseudo-miracles launched by the devil and his companions in order to cheat and confuse the faithful? Did he possess—do we Byzantinists possess—a litmus test to separate the sheep from the goats, the holy miracles from the unholy tricks?

A miracle is a change or alteration of the "natural" order of the material world due to the intervention of a power from outside.[3] The agent of the holy miracle could be God himself, whose major function was to warn and to chastise sinners by sending disasters (earthquake, famine, locusts, enemies, and so on); the Virgin and angels who interceded before God on behalf of suffering mankind; holy objects, especially the icons and the cross; and the host of saintly men and women who stood in close and personal relations with the population of the empire and for whom miracle working was the indicator of sanctity. The vita of Mary the Younger is especially demonstrative in this respect since the hagiographer states that many people refused to acknowledge her sanctity just because Mary, though a pious woman, had not justified her holiness by performing miracles.[4]

It would be a very important (and a very difficult) task to collect from manifold Byzantine sources complete information about miracles and to categorize them. To the best of my knowledge, this work has not yet been planned. What I am suggesting now is a very schematic and, by necessity, incomplete and preliminary classification.

The following types of miracle were particularly popular with Byzantine saints.

1. *Healings.* Saints cured the sick by touch, by exorcism, by application of material objects (parts of the saint's garment, olive oil from the lamp burning above the saint's tomb, myron), by incubation, by the correction of bad behavior, and sometimes by illogical means, such as a stroke of a sledgehammer on the ailing member of the human body.[5]

The major achievement in healing was victory over death, which could

[3] A. Dierkens, "Quelques mots de conclusion," in *Apparitions et miracles* (Brussels, 1991), 185.

[4] *BHG* 1164; ed. *Acta SS* Novembris IV: 692E.

[5] *BHG* 173; ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra* (1909; repr. Leipzig, 1975), 37f.

take the form of resurrecting a dead person, or the passive preservation of a saintly body after the funeral; the peak in such miraculous activity was the dead John of Polybotos' annual participation in the commemoration of his feast day.[6]

2. *Overcoming space and time.* Some saints and some holy objects obtained an ability to move with extreme speed. More frequent, however, was the capacity to penetrate across time, to the past (revealing hidden circumstances, such as theft) and especially to the future: the saint was usually able to foresee occurrences of a private life (including the day of his own death) and to prophesy political affairs and misadventures. The gift of vision (or sending a vision) belongs to this category of miracle, the highest of visions being the visit to paradise and to hell.

3. *Providing food.* The most typical miracle of providing food was the multiplication of food by creating an inexhaustible store of grain or olive oil; another means of overcoming a shortage of provisions was inciting a generous donation of food at the moment when the community was on the brink of starvation.

4. *Struggle against natural disasters.* Since the Byzantines envisaged numerous natural disasters, this category of miracle was especially variegated. A very substantial phenomenon was salvation on the sea. It had a double aspect: some saints were able to calm storms, thus saving ships from destruction, while some saints were miraculously saved from tempests or from the cruelty of persecutors who threw them (or holy objects) into the sea; dolphins appear as saviors of several holy men.

Another type of miracle is the crossing of a river—it could be a torrential stream or a wide waterway. Many categories of "salvage" miracles were connected with agricultural labors: the termination of a drought or the protection of a threshing floor from an imminent rain; the extermination of insects, especially locusts; the increase of a harvest or of a fish catch; making barren soil or dried plants bear fruit. To this category belong also the saving of a building from an earthquake or fire.

5. *Taming wild beasts.* Saints had a close connection with nature and therefore were capable of being on good terms with all kinds of animals: from lions, hyenas, and bulls to small rodents that were dangerous to crops and gar-

[6] *Synaxarium CP,* 279f, with a parallel text, cols. 277.48–280.51.

dens. Saints knew how to communicate with animals, how to castigate them for misdeeds, and how to make them serve people.

6. *Endurance.* The idea of sanctity is closely connected with denial of mundane interests and sensuality. Miraculously, the saint is able to endure a harsh diet, long vigils, hard chores; his needs are minimal, his garment rough, his bed coarse; he lives in a cave or stays on an elevated platform, on top of a pillar—in rain and snow, in freezing cold or scorching heat. The saint is ready to suffer for the sake of the Christian faith; a special subgenre of hagiographical literature, *martyria* or *passiones,* praises those saints who were victims of persecutions but miraculously overcame their ordeals. They withstood their tortures, survived molten lead and red-hot iron, and emerged from the sea; even their cut-off members became reattached to their maimed bodies.

It is not yet possible to establish a hierarchy of miracles, even though some kinds of miracle were more highly esteemed than others: thus healings were performed by each and every saint, whereas only the major saints were able to overcome time and space and to defeat the cataclysms of nature. The hagiographer of George of Amastris distinguishes various levels of miracle working:

> To chase away demons, cure ailments and perform other multifarious wonders (of which both historical and poetical works tell constantly) is not a surprising achievement of saints who preserve the spotless likeness [to the original, i.e., God] and have got, for their sympathy toward the Christians [lit. "people of the same race"], the energy to work miracles—but to tame the elements and command the force of winds and curb the billows of the sea putting on them a rigid bridle and insurmountable limit—this is actually a deed of divine nature, that "has spread out the heavens like a tent" [Ps. 103:2].[7]

The ability to work miracles was not, however, limited to holy men and women. The faithful had constantly to expect the attacks of demonic forces able, by God's dispensation and to the detriment of mankind, to break the natural order of things and perform unholy miracles. An episode related by Anna Komnene demonstrates how deeply this fear of evil miracles penetrated the minds of highly educated Byzantine intellectuals. Emperor Alexios I and Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos decided that Basil, the leader of the Bogomils, must be burnt. A huge fire was lit in the Hippodrome, and a great multitude of

[7] *BHG* 668; ed. V. G. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 3 (Petrograd, 1915), 55.12–56.3.

people gathered to observe the execution; Basil, however, despised the punishment and boasted that angels would come to his rescue. The royal historian says: "Now, there was much talk going on, as everyone repeated the marvellous prophecies he had made, and the public executioners were afraid lest somehow the demons that protected Basil might perform some extraordinary miracle (with the permission of God)—the scoundrel might be seen in some public place, where many people met, coming unscathed from the midst of this tremendous fire." With some relief, Anna adds that when the executioners thrust Basil into the flames, nothing extraordinary happened: "There was no odour and nothing unusual in the smoke except one thin smoky line in the centre of the flame."[8]

A mortal was able to sell his soul to the devil and to acquire witchcraft. The Byzantines created a series of Faust-like legends which reach their peak in the story about Heliodoros, the anti-hero in the vita of Leo of Catania.[9] Heliodoros, like his predecessors, struck a contract with the devil and became a magician: he arranges the victory of a chariot at the horse races; he sends an illusionary vision to women compelling them to take off their clothes; he transforms stones into gold and causes confusion in the market; he makes a design of a ship in the sand and sails on this ship from Catania to Constantinople, and, even more remarkably, he enters a bathhouse in Catania and, overcoming time and space, reemerges in a bathhouse in the capital. Despite all the superficial similarity between Heliodoros' activity and saintly miracle working, the difference is substantial: the main feature of holy miracles is their beneficial character, their usefulness. The saint rescues, feeds, and comforts people, creates good, and teaches how the Christian must comport himself or herself.

The difference between the holy and unholy miracle becomes evident in

[8] *Anne Comnène, Alexiade,* ed. B. Leib, III (Paris, 1945), 227f; Eng. trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1969), 502–4.

[9] *BHG* 981. Two versions are published: V. Latyšev, *Neizdannye grečeskie agiografičeskie teksty* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 12–28, and A. Acconia Longo, "La vita di s. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro," *RSBN* 26 (1989), 3–98. The most recent study (with bibliography) is M.-F. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: L'exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes," *ByzSl* 53 (1992), 62–67, and the response by A. Acconia Longo, "A proposito di un articolo recente sull'agiographia iconoclasta," *RSBN* 29 (1992–93), 10–17. See also her "La vita di s. Leone di Catania," *Sicilia e Italia suburbicaria* (Soveria Manelli, 1991), 215–26.

the stories about contests between the saint and the magician. The contests—a frequent element of hagiographical literature—are usually limited to theoretical discussion the purpose of which is to prove the advantage of the Christian creed over pagan, Jewish or Muslim systems of belief; it can be terminated by the execution of Christian martyrs whose death, followed by miracles, is a moral and religious victory, or it can be accomplished by a miraculous locking up of the mouth of the saint's opponent—the saint just makes him mute and unable to continue his slander of the Christian faith. The legend of Pope Silvester, known in Greek versions, makes the parties compete in the power of magic. The Jewish magician Zambres performed a stupefying act: he murmured some words into the ear of a bull that fell dead, so that the companions of Zambres became triumphant—but too soon. Silvester announces that Zambres slaughtered the bull with the help of Satanic force, but he, Silvester, assisted by God, who lives and gives life, will resurrect the animal. And so he did.[10]

Beneficial magic competed with evil witchcraft on a specific terrain, that of sexual drive. Theodoret, in the *Historia religiosa* (chap. 8, 13.8–19), relates a story about a harlot who attracted a married man using bewitching charms. The saintly man Aphraates intervened; he prayed, says Theodoret, and his prayer "obscured (or "impaired") the energy of the sorcery." Besides the prayer, Aphraates employed a typically magical means: he gave the wife of the bewitched libertine a vial with olive oil and advised her to anoint the unfaithful man with the [holy] oil.

The hagiographer of Irene of Chrysobalanton describes a similar episode.[11] A girl entered Irene's convent leaving behind her betrothed; the man (certainly incited by the devil) headed to a magician who managed to bewitch the young nun: attacked by a frantic lust for her former fiancé, she lost control and, leaping and moaning, kept calling him by name, which naturally caused a scandal in the nunnery. Irene and the nuns prayed, but with no avail, until the Mother of God, St. Basil, and St. Anastasia came to help. The saints threw "from the air" a parcel described quite "naturalistically"—it is said to have weighed about three pounds and contained, among other magic devices, the

[10] The contest of Silvester and Zambres is included, among others, in a vita of Constantine the Great: H. G. Opitz, "Die *Vita Constantini* des codex Angelicus 22," *Byzantion* 9 (1934), 549–51.

[11] *BHG* 952; ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, *The Life of St. Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton* (Uppsala, 1986), 52–65, text and Eng. translation.

lead figurines of the two lovers. As in Theodoret's story, the victim of the sex drive was anointed with oil, but it was not enough: the nuns burned the evil figurines on glowing charcoal, magically liberating the sufferer from the unholy passion.

Unholy magic causes death, confusion, sexual misbehavior; holy miracles are creative, healing, and reviving. But was it always so?

There is a little-known "vita and martyrdom" of two of St. Paul's disciples, Jason and Sosipatros, the central episode of which represents a contest between a pagan magician and the Christian martyrs.[12] Unlike the legend about Pope Silvester, in Jason and Sosipatros' vita it is the pagan sorcerer who works a humane and creative miracle, plowing and sowing a field that within an hour produced a crop; from this grain the sorcerer immediately baked some bread. By contrast, the Christian miracle was cruel and destructive: the saints burned a palace with its inhabitants and murdered the magician. Certainly, in this case the destruction and death could be justified since the victims were heathen; to them, probably, the words of Ezekiel (33:11), so frequently repeated by the Byzantines, did not refer: "I have no desire for the death of the wicked. I would rather that a wicked man should mend his ways and live." Be that as it may, the pagan magician was here a provider of food, and the disciples of St. Paul arsonists and killers.

Chronologically considered, saintly miracles can be divided into three categories: miracles before achieving sanctity, ones during the period of earthly sanctity, and posthumous miracles. The first category encompasses predictions of future holiness, including the appearance of supernatural phenomena and pronouncements by respectable persons of the previous generation; an unusual but pious comportment on the part of "the saintly baby" (e.g., refusing to take the mother's breast on fast days); and an unusual aptitude for learning or a complete incapacity to master elements of knowledge that is to be overcome by divine intervention. A specific form of the "pre-sanctity" miracle is the "automatic" or "mechanical" conversion: a pagan mime engaged in a satirical presentation of Christian ritual or an observant Jew copying Christian pious gestures experiences on the spot a miraculous transformation and becomes a martyr in the name of Christ or an energetic proselytizer.

The miracles performed during the period of "adult sanctity" differ with

[12] *BHG* 776; published in Doukakes, *Megas Synaxariastes,* April (Athens, 1892), 438–56.

regard to the will of the agent. In some cases the holy man or woman continues to be a "saintly baby" to the extent that he or she is unaware of his or her extraordinary power and extraordinary destiny: a licentious flutist, an ordinary prostitute, or a modest craftsman can work healings or accomplish wondrous deeds without construing the nature of their performances; on the other hand, some saints, especially the so-called thaumaturges, act in full consciousness of their force, proud of their gift and ready to serve those who are in need of assistance. The alleged contradiction between these two wings of the totality of holy persons (the "hidden" and the "declared" sanctity) is smoothed by the existence of an intermediary group: the saints who tried to escape their growing fame and who even pretended to be simpletons (the fools for Christ's sake) whose behavior trespassed the norms of civilized society.

The posthumous miracles are often healings performed at the tomb of the saint or in his or her church. But the most powerful saints (George, Nicholas, Demetrios, Andrew, Theodore) were much more than handy healers—they defended cities, rescued captives, found stranded cattle, punished injustice, in short, fulfilled important social functions beyond their proper purlieus.

The miracle in Byzantium had no well-defined boundaries, first of all because the frontier between the natural and the supernatural was obscured in the minds of the population of the empire. Had an earthquake natural causes such as the movement of underground waters, or was it a product of a purposeless tossing of an enormous dragon deep under the surface of the earth, or was it a sign of divine wrath? The Byzantines suggested all these answers. Some scientific minds denied the miraculous nature of miracles and, particularly, explained wondrous medical cures by natural effects corresponding to the teaching of Galen.[13] Second, the miracles would take place in a real, even in a down-to-earth setting, as when a saint would be overrun by a cart and remain unhurt, or they would acquire an epic character, of which the killing of a huge dragon is a modest example. The vita of Makarios of Rome begins with a sober description of the travel of three monks across Syria; it continues in an India populated with fairy-tale men and beasts, and terminates at the border of Para-

[13] G. Dagron, "L'ombre d'un doute: L'hagiographie en question, VIe–XIe siècles," *DOP* 46 (1992), 59–68. On various theories of earthquake, see A. Kazhdan, "Social'nye i političeskie vzgljady Fotija," *Ežegodnik muzeja istorii religii i ateizma,* 2 (1958), 136; and A. Kazhdan and S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge-Paris, 1984), 77.

dise.[14] The landscape transits from the real world to the vernacular geographic fantasy to the sublime region of the religious universe—within the framework of a single text.

Finally, there was no palpable boundary between evil magic and the beneficial miracle, and the human gaze, even that of a clever observer, wandered in despair from one outlandish fact to another, wondering how to interpret what could be seen around it.

Niketas Choniates was one of the most educated and most critical of Byzantine historians.[15] He dealt primarily with the common and natural occurrences of human life: wars, political intrigues, love affairs, envy, and hatred. He noticed that some events defied a natural explanation, but were foul and ridiculously nonsensical and could not be perceived as miracles. The first of the sorcerers Niketas describes is Skleros Seth, an astrologer who was eventually blinded by order of Manuel I. According to Choniates (p. 148), Seth managed to incite an insane lust in a virgin by sending her a "Persian apple" (a peach) so that she allowed him to deflower her. Another sorcerer was Michael Sikidites who knew how to darken the sight of spectators by a magic spell, that is, he used mass hypnosis, but in Choniates' words he conjured up demons to assault his victims.[16] Once he made a boatman in a small vessel carrying a cargo of bowls and dishes jump up from his bench and smash the pottery to smithereens. Later on the poor man related that he had suddenly seen a serpent stretched over the bowls and eager to devour him. After the pottery had been smashed, the serpent disappeared. Another time, Sikidites, while bathing in a bathhouse, made his companions see some black men who jumped out of the hot water tap and chased them out of the room, kicking them on the buttocks (p. 148f).

Even though Choniates' stories are taken not from hagiographical sources but from Constantinopolitan rumors, they contain the paraphernalia typical of the ambiance of hagiographical demons: lust and rape, the bathhouse, the ser-

[14] *BHG* 1004–5; ed. A. Vasiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* (Moscow, 1893), 135–65.

[15] Niketas Choniates, *Historia,* ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin-New York, 1975); Eng. trans. H. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium* (Detroit, 1984).

[16] On Seth see W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* (Vienna, 1976), 109f. It is possible that Sikidites is the same person as Michael Glykas, historian and exegete: H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 654.

pent. The empty talk of Choniates' contemporaries acquired the shape of tales about the standard demonic actions, in which the serpents and dragons were incarnations of evil forces, the aim of magic was to subdue the will of a pious woman and to lead her, "like a mare," to the desert, and the bathhouse—the backbone of ancient popular culture—was haunted by demons.

Choniates does not know whether he should believe the stories about evil magicians. He had probably met the man called Basilakios who led a strange life and was extremely popular due to his predictions. The people streamed toward him, and some women attended and interpreted his silence, vague utterances, and wild gestures. Choniates seems to be critical toward Basilakios' fortune-telling. "His predictions," said Choniates, "were never accurate; his wording was erroneous, contradictory, and enigmatic." His laughable behavior (he scrutinized the breasts of women and examined their ankles) could attract only rustics and boors. But did Choniates really consider Basilakios to be always erroneous? He does not confess it, but we shall see that his own narration contradicts his general statement.

Emperor Isaac II invited Basilakios to tell him the future. When the man appeared before the *basileus,* he showed no respect for the palace and its inhabitants. He ran around the room making frenzied gestures and suddenly struck the emperor's image set up on the wall, gouged the eyes on the portrait, and after that snatched the emperor's headgear (p. 448f). This action seems enigmatic and silly, but if we remember that soon after meeting Basilakios Isaac II was blinded and lost his crown (Choniates wrote about the event and described it in his *Chronike diegesis*), the behavior of the fortune-teller ceases to be nonsensical—it was a prediction of the emperor's destiny.

Ambivalence was a typical feature of the Byzantine (probably, wider—of the medieval) world view. The attitude of the Byzantines toward the miracle was ambivalent in a double sense: on the one hand, there was no foolproof method to use to distinguish between a holy and an unholy miracle; on the other hand, even the intellectuals, who looked on magic and fortune-telling with disgust, could not liberate themselves from an obscure feeling that these despised magicians were able to transmogrify reality and to read the future.

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5

Reactions of Two Byzantine Intellectuals to the Theory and Practice of Magic: Michael Psellos and Michael Italikos

JOHN DUFFY

This paper will address the issue of Byzantine intellectual attitudes to magic in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and will focus mainly on two figures, Michael Psellos and Michael Italikos, with an eye to the two aspects of theory and practice. If Psellos receives a somewhat larger share of attention herein, it is not only because he was a lion; he also contributed to the survival of, and commented on, an important body of material that is central to the topic under review. For Byzantine literati of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the world of Hellenic magic and mysticism was part of their cultural heritage, and they felt obliged to take account of its existence in one way or another. Acknowledgment did vary, ranging, for example, from the nodding acquaintance of an Anna Comnena to the intimate familiarity of a Michael Psellos.

The extraordinary thing about Psellos is that, singlehandedly, he was responsible for bringing back, almost from the dead, an entire group of occult authors and books whose existence had long been as good as forgotten. Between the time of Photios in the ninth and the arrival of Psellos in the eleventh century, one would be hard put to find in extant Byzantine sources any references to Hermes Trismegistus and the *Hermetica,* to Julius Africanus and the *Kestoi,* to Proclus' *De arte hieratica,* or to the *Chaldaean Oracles,* that is, the authors and works that were the classics in the field of mysticism and magic. When Psellos in his major historical work, the *Chronographia,* says that he was unable to find in or outside of Greece, despite a thorough search, any trace

of wisdom (*sophia*) or teachers of it,[1] we may take him to be including works of the kind we are discussing here, because for him "mystic books," as he calls them, have their place at a very high level on the path to wisdom. And we are not dealing with mere name-dropping on his part. A glance at the introductions to any of the four works mentioned will reveal that Psellos was one of its few readers in the Greek-speaking middle ages or is even an important source for the text itself.

Let us look more closely at the *Chaldaean Oracles* and Psellos' association with them.[2] They are a set of hexameter verses, composed probably in the second century A.D., but purporting to transmit a much older revelation about the universe and the hierarchies of powers that control it. The real author is not known, but there is a tradition that connects them with a father and son, both going by the name of Julian. Within the subject matter of the *Oracles* themselves there are, from our perspective, two general tendencies which we may label the philosophical or theological, on the one hand, and the theurgical or magical, on the other. The first of these, the philosophical or theological, reveals a system of powers who rule the cosmos and are interrelated in a hierarchy that shows a marked preference for triadic arrangement. At the top of the hierarchy is a trinity consisting of (1) the Supreme Deity, (2) a Demiurge Intellect, and (3) a female divinity identified as Hecate. There follows a long series of beings who, as they descend in order of importance, come ever closer to the world of matter. At the higher end of the series is a triad of powers called *iynges, synocheis,* and *teletarchs,* each of which has a distinct role to play in governing the universe. At the lower end are various angels and demons, including good demons that assist the soul in its attempts to ascend to the Supreme Deity and bad demons which are responsible for evils such as sickness and disease.

The other side of the Chaldaean coin is the world of theurgy and magic, part of which is reflected in the surviving fragments, but it is most fully reported by people such as the Neoplatonist Proclus, who was an active prac-

[1] Italian edition: S. Impellizzeri, U. Criscuolo, and S. Ronchey, *Michele Psello, Imperatori di Bizanzio,* 2 vols. (Rome, 1984); French: *Michel Psellos, Chronographie,* ed. E. Renauld, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926–28). The present reference is to Book VI, chap. 37.

[2] Edition and translation by E. des Places (Paris, 1971). A recent and eminently clear exposition of the system can be found in the work of R. Majercik, *The Chaldaean Oracles* (Leiden, 1989), 1–46.

titioner of the hieratic art, and Psellos, who made it his business to find out everything he could about the subject. One of the chief aims of theurgy as an art, and of the rites performed in connection with it, is the purification and elevation of the soul toward union with the Supreme Deity. Since this process begins at the lower mundane level, theurgy is deeply involved in both attracting good demons and placating or repelling bad demons. It is not surprising, then, that Hecate, who already had these associations in much earlier times, is given a central magical as well as a leading theological role in the system. Also brought into the magical setting from the cosmological side and given a transformed identity are the *iynges.* In cosmology they function as thoughts or ideas emanating from the mind of the Supreme Deity, but in theurgy they are physical objects employed in magic.[3]

One kind of *iynx* (also called a *strophalos*) is a magic wheel used by a theurgist for ritual purposes. Psellos himself explains that the *strophalos* known as the Hecatic was a golden ball with characters written all over it; it had a sapphire in the middle, was swung by means of a strap made from a bull's hide, and was used during invocations.[4]

In another type of ritual, again according to information supplied by Psellos,[5] the theurgist used statues of specific deities in order to establish contact with them. The process of making contact involved, among other things, special stones, herbs, animals, and sometimes aromatic substances (*aromata*), which were placed inside the effigy. Stones and herbs were also used in other rituals to scare away bad demons or to purify the soul. Iamblichus tells us that in the art of theurgy certain materials—specific stones, plants, animals, and aromatic substances (*aromata*)—were regarded as especially suitable for attracting the presence of divinities.[6]

Psellos, both through scattered *obiter dicta* and through the medium of a number of specific expositions, has left a fairly full record of his own dealings

[3] Majercik, *Oracles,* 9–10. Alexander Kazhdan points out to me, correctly, that the term *iynges* is already used in one of the letters of John Mauropous (ed. A. Karpozilos [Thessaloniki, 1990], I, 23), a teacher of Psellos. Interesting too is the possibility, supported with arguments by Karpozilos, that the letter in question was addressed to Psellos.

[4] *Philosophica minora II,* ed. D. J. O'Meara (Leipzig, 1989), p. 133, 17ff.

[5] Letter 187, ed. K. N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliotheke,* 7 vols. (Athens, 1872–94), V, 474.

[6] *De mysteriis,* ed. G. Parthey (Berlin, 1857), 5, 23 (p. 233).

with and attitudes toward the Chaldaean material. Without a doubt he was, of all Byzantines after the seventh century, the most familiar with this "bible" of the Neoplatonists, even if his knowledge appears to derive largely from the (now lost) commentary on the *Oracles* by Proclus. He has also left us an exegesis of some twenty pages,[7] as well as several short summaries of the main doctrinal features,[8] including one inserted in a theological treatise explicating a passage from Gregory of Nazianzus.[9]

When we come to consider his outlook on the *Oracles,* it must be admitted that, depending on the context, he expresses two kinds of reaction which appear to be contradictory. One is the expected, typical repudiation of pagan nonsense which, in the normal course of events, need be seen as little more than a device to forestall charges of impiety; in unusual circumstances the same response could be turned into a weapon to use against somebody else. This is precisely what Psellos himself does in the course of a church-sponsored attack on Patriarch Michael Cerularios; in the document he drew up for the purpose,[10] he refers to the Chaldaean system as a concoction of myths about oracles and various kinds of spirits and gods. In other words, it is an attack not just on the magical elements but on the theological content as well. That attitude, as suggested above, could be anticipated.

Less expected, and all the more noteworthy, therefore, is evidence from several quarters of a genuine interest in and an openness on his part to the content of the collection. In one instance he speaks of the "theology and philosophy" of the system.[11] In another he reveals what we must take as one of the reasons for his positive disposition, namely, that the *Oracles* were embraced by a number of the philosophers whom he most respects. He comments that the majority of the doctrines were accepted by Plato and Aristotle; furthermore, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Proclus subscribed to all of them, taking them without argument to be divine revelations.[12] Not only were the ancients open to them, but he himself finds some of their ideas parallel to and in agreement with Christian doctrines.[13] Further on in the same piece of exegesis,

[7] *Phil. min. II,* 126–46.
[8] Ibid., 146–48, 148–51.
[9] *Theologica I,* ed. P. Gautier (Leipzig, 1989), op. 23, 33ff; cf. op. 23A.
[10] *Scripta minora,* ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, 2 vols. (Milan, 1936–41), I, 232–28.
[11] *Phil. min. II,* p. 151, 14.
[12] Ibid., p. 148, 17–19.
[13] Ibid., p. 129, 15.

he concludes his comments on one of the passages with the observation "it is correct and full of Christian teaching."[14] We can cap this in a sense by combining evidence from two autobiographical statements in two different works. In a long section of the *Chronographia,*[15] Psellos provides a detailed account of his intellectual and philosophical progress on a road that led him up, through several distinct and well-marked stages, to the "first" philosophy. His journey began with the study of logic and of certain commentators who then showed him the way to Aristotle and Plato. At the next level he concentrated on the major Neoplatonists: Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Proclus. This was followed by the mathematical quadrivium, "which," to use his own words, "occupy a position midway between the science of corporeal nature . . . and the essences themselves, the objects of pure thought."

That should have brought him to the very summit, but quite out of the blue another stage is mentioned, introduced by the following words: "I had heard it said by the more adept philosophers that there is a wisdom which is beyond all demonstration, apprehensible only by the intellect of a wise man, when prudently inspired. Even here my resolution did not falter. I read some of the occult books and grasped their meaning, as far as my human abilities allowed, of course, for I myself could never claim that I had an accurate understanding of these things nor would I believe anyone else who said he had."

He does not identify further what these occult or mystic books are that contain a wisdom very close to the summit. There can be little doubt, however, that they included (perhaps above all else) the *Chaldaean Oracles.* The supporting evidence comes from a letter to Patriarch John Xiphilinos in which Psellos offers a fighting apologia for his interest in ancient philosophical systems. One of the passages in the letter describes in detail the ascent of the mind to the summit, here symbolized by Mount Sinai, which culminates in final illumination. "These ideas," he informs Xiphilinos, "I have taken from the *Chaldaean Oracles* and have subordinated to our Christian scriptures."[16]

So far we have been considering, in the case of Psellos, his book knowledge of the magico-mystical Chaldaean material. We should also try to get an idea of his reactions to the more practical side of things, specifically his feelings about direct dealings in magic. Not that we are going to find the man

[14] Ibid., p. 142, 26–27.
[15] Book VI, chaps. 36–43.
[16] Sathas, V, 449.

himself involved in anything of the sort. It is true that he is not quite as averse to mystical thought as scholars have traditionally insisted, but he uses numerous opportunities to make it clear that his expertise in various suspect or forbidden subjects never involves belief. A good example is provided by the *Chronographia* in another of those self-centered digressions, this time when he speaks of his knowledge of astrology and horoscopes.[17] While openly confessing his expertise in a pursuit that he acknowledges to be forbidden by the leaders of the church, he insists that he has never put it to improper use. It is his stated and, we might add, his hopeful view that nobody with any sense would fault a man who knew the theories but gave them no credence.

In another text, a short philosophical treatise for his students, he has occasion to mention in passing the manufacture of apotropaic figurines by Chaldaeans for the purpose of warding off diseases.[18] Here he takes the notable precaution of refusing to divulge the method by which the various substances are to be mixed and the figurines made. He openly voices his concern that, lacking his discretion, they might pick up the method, put it to use, and then, in the event of trouble, he would be held responsible. He was obviously conscious of the canonical regulation that brands both the learning and the teaching of forbidden subjects as equally culpable.[19] The same concern about the danger of misleading students and others crops up in a number of the writings of Psellos.

Finally, in the same context though on a somewhat different level, we will consider a curious case recorded in the *Chronographia* which must have entertained and intrigued many a reader.[20] In the course of describing the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos, Psellos makes several digressions to concentrate on aspects of Empress Zoe's character and activities, especially in her later years. In one of these extended asides, after remarking that in general he did not find much to praise in her, he concedes one very admirable trait, her piety and devotion to God. As a prime example he then proceeds to describe a remarkable icon (commonly referred to as the "Antiphonetes"). This was an icon of Jesus which Zoe made (i.e., presumably, commissioned), embellished with brilliant material, and rendered so lifelike that it responded to requests by

[17] II, 77–78.
[18] *Phil. min. I,* op. 3, 148–54.
[19] Rhalles-Potles, I, 191.
[20] Book VI, chaps. 65–67.

means of its colors and revealed future events by changes in complexion. Psellos vividly recounts how he often saw the old empress, in moments of distress, alternately clasping the icon, talking to it as a living person, and addressing it in terms of endearment, or lying on the ground in a fit of tears and tearing at her breasts. If she saw the face turn pale, she went away in dismay, but if it took on a high color and was all lit up, she immediately reported this to the emperor and forecast to him what was going to happen.

Immediately following this description comes a paragraph of comment that catches our attention but does not seem, in all its elements, to be directly relevant to the icon episode:

> From my reading of Hellenic literature I know that perfumes (*aromata*) give off a vapor which drives away evil spirits and which at the same time restores to the materials affected by it the presence of more benign spirits. In the same way in other cases stones and herbs and mystic rites induce apparitions of divinities. I neither accepted that theory when I first read it, nor did I at a later time believe in the practice; no, I totally rejected it. And that woman, in her worship of God, did not act in any Hellenic or magical way. Rather she was displaying the longing of her soul and offering up to God the things we regard as most precious and solemn.

It is not at once obvious why, in the context of the icon, Psellos launches into a bizarre excursion on perfumes, stones, and herbs and their theurgical associations. However, there may be a way to fit it in and establish a train of thought, if we can tie it to the section just before the description of Zoe's remarkable piety.[21] Here we find the empress full of another kind of enthusiasm. She had no time at all, Psellos tells us, for the normal things that women do, such as spinning and weaving, but devoted her attention entirely to one pursuit: to making perfumes of all kinds. Her own apartment was converted into a workshop where braziers blazed winter and summer. Here servants helped Zoe and her sister measure out the herbs, boil the mixture, and catch the stream of perfume as it flowed off. Psellos' artful prose makes it all sound like an alchemist's laboratory.[22]

It is true that in this account he does not directly tie the manufacture of

[21] Chap. 64.

[22] In fact, he uses the phrase τὰς τῶν ἀρωμάτων φύσεις μεταβάλλειν ("to transmute the natures of the aromatics"), and he speaks of the flow of perfume as "the golden stream" (τὸ χρυσοῦν ῥεῦμα).

the perfumes to the worship of the icon. However, some ninety chapters later into the reign of Constantine, he comes back to devote several pages to the empress, repeating, with added detail, a few of his earlier observations, including the fact that she despised any sort of ornament on her person.[23] "She wore," he notes, "neither cloth of gold, nor diadems, nor lovely things about her neck," and a little further on: "She had no interest in the things that appeal to women—looms, distaffs, wool, or weaving. One matter above all claimed her attention and on this she expended all her enthusiasm—the offering of sacrifice to God. I am referring, not so much to the offering of praise or of thanksgiving or of penitence, but to the offering of perfumes (*aromata*) and of all those products which come into our land from India and Egypt."

Now, if Zoe had not the slightest interest in any type of bodily embellishment, it is not likely that perfumes were being produced for that purpose, but it would be reasonable to connect their manufacture with her special brand of devotion. To tie the two would also make good sense of Psellos' otherwise sudden and surprising reference to the special use of perfumes in pagan worship, immediately after his story of the "Antiphonetes."

But even if we do not insist on the full concatenation of these three passages, and leave aside the laboratory episode, the others by themselves would support the following scenario: Zoe had a very special Jesus icon of her own which she consulted and used to predict future events; second, if we connect the phrase that Psellos uses at the end of the icon passage ("she offered up to God the things we regard as most precious and solemn") with the later statement about perfumes and products from India and Egypt, we may, with some right, conclude that she used perfumes and other *aromata* in the worship of the icon.

As we have seen, Psellos puts all of this down to the fervent piety of the empress, and who would we be to question her sincerity? Be that as it may, the response of Psellos is interesting; in fact, his defensive tone supports a feeling that Zoe was at least engaging in borderline activity. One could well imagine that, in other circumstances or in dealing with another individual, Psellos could easily turn the picture around and argue that an icon was being used for oracular and theurgical purposes, that physical substances were being employed to manipulate spirits and divinities, in other words, precisely the kind of activity associated with Chaldaeans. But we must leave the question there.

[23] Book VI, chap. 159.

Michael Italikos in the following century, a contemporary of Anna Comnena, was, like Psellos, a man of multiple interests who made a name for himself as both a teacher and a literary stylist. Before he became metropolitan of Philippopolis around the year 1145, he taught rhetoric, philosophy, medicine, and bible studies in the capital. His name is included on a thirteenth-century list of authors recommended as models of style for students of rhetoric,[24] and A. Kazhdan has characterized him as "a paradigm of the Byzantine intellectual."[25] Like Psellos, Italikos pushes his intellectual curiosity to the limits and defends himself by appealing to the same concept of *philomatheia*[26] (i.e., love of learning), a positive idea, as opposed to a somehow objectionable curiosity (called *polymatheia* in Italikos,[27] and *periergasia* or *polypragmosyne* in Psellos[28]). The limits in this instance too are represented by the world of mysticism and magic and, in particular, the Chaldaean variety. There are frequent hints of Italikos' interest in that subject matter, because the language of his letters and speeches is fairly peppered with terms borrowed from the vocabulary of magical practices. They range from the most general words like "charm" and "spellbind" to the very specific technical terms such as *iynges, strophalos,* and *theourgos.*[29] That the acquaintance is not just casual or superficial is proved by much more substantial evidence in two of the extant letters, which we shall now examine.

Letter 28, addressed to a correspondent whose name is not preserved, is in effect a short exposition on the Chaldaean system, laying out in some detail the main divisions of powers and the interrelationships between them. The general Neoplatonic slant and one specific reference to the "commentator" of

[24] Cod. Jerus. Taph. gr. 106, fol. 7r, where Ἰταλός is clearly a mistake for Ἰταλικός.

[25] In the article on Italikos, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), II, 1368.

[26] Τὸ φιλομαθές, Italikos, letter 31, in P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos: Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1972); φιλομάθεια, Psellos, *Phil. min. I,* op. 32, 100–101.

[27] Letter 30, p. 198, 6; cf. Psellos, *Phil. min. I,* op. 7, 117–22, where the term, though inclining to the positive, provokes a certain amount of unease.

[28] *Phil. min. I,* op. 32, 100; Sathas, V, p. 56, 18.

[29] Again, Alexander Kazhdan has kindly drawn my attention to another letter of Italikos (no. 33) where, in the course of discussing a Constantinian coin endowed with apotropaic powers, he refers directly to the Chaldaeans and their connection with magic.

the *Oracles* make it nearly certain that Italikos' source is the commentary of Proclus, as it had been also for Psellos. The two expositions are in fact quite close, but P. Gautier is probably right when he argues, on the basis of differences in details, for the independent use of Proclus by Italikos.[30]

There is also a noticeable difference in attitude. Italikos consistently denigrates the subject matter and ideas as drivel and mythical nonsense, and the general negative tone is reinforced by his frequent reference to the Chaldaeans as *barbaroi,* suggesting that they are on a level below the *Hellenes,* the pagan Greeks. It is worth noting that in another document, a monody on Pantechnes, we find Italikos making a distinction within the works of Proclus, namely, between his commentaries on Plato, for which admiration is expressed, and his exegesis of the *Oracles,* which are dismissed as absurdities.[31]

In a second letter (no. 31, addressed to an otherwise unknown Tziknoglos), we come upon Italikos as he is faced with a real problem: the well-read intellectual and adept in Chaldaean lore has to confront, as a medical expert, the case of an incurably ill woman who wants to use the services of a *magos.*[32] Reconstructing the events from the letter, the following approximate story line emerges. The sister of Tziknoglos has developed some type of malignant ulcer which conventional medicine cannot cure; she and her brother hear about a *magos* who promises to help, but they decide to consult Italikos first; he knows a lot about magic and even has a large collection of spells and incantations, including some for the relief of swellings and tumors; however, he flatly refuses to become involved himself in any of these practices, which are outlawed by the church, and tries to dissuade the pair from going to the *magos.*

This is what has taken place before the present letter. Italikos is now writing to Tziknoglos to find out whether the sister has submitted herself to the care of the *magos,* and if so, whether the process has produced any results. In the meantime, Italikos has found an ancient remedy which he will not write down, but will deliver to Tziknoglos orally when they next meet.

Several details call for comment. The opening of the letter would support a general observation that, just as in the case of recourse to healing saints, sick

[30] This was also the view of L. G. Westerink, "Proclus, Procopius, Psellos" (*Mnemosyne* 10 [1942], 275–80), who, however, stresses more the likelihood of Procopius being an intermediary and common source.

[31] Gautier, p. 113, 17–20.

[32] For ease of reference, the full text of the letter is printed as an appendix.

people were likely to look for the help of magic only after the failure of more standard medical care.[33] Throughout the letter there is a great deal of protest against the practice of magic, and the writer is anxious to go on record not just about the innocence of his actions but also concerning the purity of his beliefs. In this regard we are reminded of a case recorded by Balsamon in which certain individuals, found guilty of involvement in sorcery for purposes of healing, were punished according to the degree to which they believed in the forbidden procedures.[34] Psellos, too, of course is very concerned to be explicit on this point.[35]

In the heart of the letter, Italikos makes much ado about his unrivaled knowledge of both highbrow and lowbrow magical lore. He even boasts about his collection of charms and spells, and professes that he could have, himself, offered a Chaldaean remedy, much as Psellos claimed to have the method for making apotropaic objects. But, again like Psellos, he allowed his *philomatheia* to lead him only so far and never over the limit into belief or action.

As a last—and tentative—observation on the document, I would like to air a small suspicion about the closing paragraph and the offer made by Italikos. Considering the general tone of the letter and the writer's fondness for figurative language, the most obvious and innocent interpretation is that he has come across an ancient remedy that will bring some relief to the patient; the prescription is quite long, and it is not convenient to put it in writing; he will communicate it in person.

On the other hand, the ambiguity of the wording would allow for a more subversive reading. The noun ἀπομείλιξις (25) is rare,[36] but the verb form of the word is very commonly used by authors such as Porphyry for "appeasing" or "propitiating" gods and demons; hence ἀπομείλιξις could be understood as "charm." The expression οἱ ἀρχαῖοι σοφοί (26) sounds more positive than οἱ Ἕλληνες but amounts to more or less the same thing; and the term πολύστιχος can refer to writing in prose or verse.

[33] The observation, by a coincidence, is supported as well by the case cited in the next paragraph (PG 138, col. 801c).

[34] Balsamon, *In Epist. S. Basilii canonicam III,* PG 138, cols. 801–6 (= Rhalles-Potles, IV, 251–52). It is worth noting that the investigation took place in the period 1134–43, during the patriarchate of Leo Stypes.

[35] As he is, for example, on several occasions in the encomium on his mother: Sathas, V, 3–61.

[36] There is an instance in Psellos, *Scripta minora,* ed. Kurtz-Drexl, I, 317, 19.

Is Italikos hinting that he will provide for the patient an appropriate charm? Impossible to decide, but perhaps not out of the question. It would not have to imply belief, on his part, in the efficacy of the method, just a willingness to accommodate the hopes of others. In this connection it might be useful to cite a remark of Psellos from a context we have already discussed, namely, his expertise in astrology and interest in horoscopes. In the course of that autobiographical digression in the *Chronographia,* he makes the following statement: "The truth is, my role as a teacher and the great differences in the interests of those who consult me have led me to study every science, and I can prevent none from questioning and pressing me on this subject," meaning the subject of horoscopes.[37] It would not be outlandish to conclude from these words that Psellos might have been willing on occasion to accommodate the needs of others in this matter, possibly by interpreting or even by casting a horoscope.

It is now appropriate to sum up and draw a few conclusions. Both Psellos and Italikos, as intellectuals, set no limits to their reading and study, and even sound proud to announce their intimate familiarity with the literature of forbidden arts. As a justification they appeal to the concept of *philomatheia,* which is understood as a positive zeal for learning, as opposed to an idle or unhealthy curiosity. Both are acutely aware of the dangers of even the suspicion of being involved in outlawed practices, such as magic. It is not surprising, then, that they should repeatedly proclaim their innocence.

In the matter of the *Chaldaean Oracles* we can detect some real differences in their reactions. Italikos keeps the system very much at arm's length; he piles on the traditional derogatory epithets and attempts to dissociate the material from Hellenic learning. Not that the reaction is a great surprise, but the contrast with Psellos is marked. The difference is rooted in their approach to philosophy. Italikos did study and teach the subject, but compared to Psellos he was not a serious philosopher and lacked the philosophical instinct. Psellos, for one thing, had a probing mind and was an engaged thinker. He also respected the thinkers of the past and professed a special admiration for Proclus. That is one reason why he maintained a relaxed and open mind in dealing with Chaldaean material. As something of a creative thinker, he was also willing to explore the possibility of finding in it some theological ideas that might be in harmony with Christian thinking.

[37] II, 77.

For a final remark, and a comparison between two very distinct periods, it is worth drawing attention to the attitude of Alexander of Tralles, the well-known practicing physician of the sixth century, who saw fit to condone the use of amulets and charms for therapeutic purposes.[38] Noteworthy first of all is the fact that, from his standpoint, such means were not to be restricted to use in hopeless cases and might be employed for the simple reason that certain conventional methods of treatment happened to be repugnant to some patients.[39] In a few instances he does voice a kind of apology, saying that individuals oblige him to apply magical remedies;[40] however, he is quick to point out that the best kind of doctor should always be ready to use any means in the interests of the sick.[41] On one occasion he even comments that it would be immoral (*asebes*) to neglect anything that could contribute to healing.[42] It should also be stressed that, in sharp contrast to later times, there is never any hint in his work of religious reservations or fear of authority. If there is any sign of hesitation, it is more along professional lines or out of consideration for the secrecy appropriate to magical operations. Thus, after describing in detail the manufacture of a charm-ring, complete with prayer and magical sign, he makes a plea that the information not be divulged to any but those who are virtuous and know how to keep a secret.[43]

In later centuries the conditions are obviously very different. Neither Psellos nor Italikos could dare to be so open, even if they wished to be.

University of Maryland, College Park

[38] *Alexander von Tralles,* ed. Th. Puschmann, II (Vienna, 1879).
[39] Ibid., 375.
[40] Ibid., 375, 579.
[41] Ibid., 475.
[42] Ibid., 319.
[43] Ibid., 377.

Appendix

Letter 31 of Michael Italikos

Τῷ Τζικνόγλῳ

Πυνθάνομαί σου, φίλτατε ἀδελφέ, περὶ τῆς θαυμασιωτάτης σου ἀδελφῆς ὅπως ἔχει καὶ εἰ ὁ τὰ περίεργα ὑπισχνούμενος ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος διεπράξατό τι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὤνησε, καὶ εἰ ἐφεύρατό τινα λύσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀκαταγώνιστον νόσον· ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ θηρίον ἀγριώτατον ἄντικρυς ἐκείνην ἀποκαλῶ· ἤ, ἐὰν οὐδέπω τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπήρξατο τέχνης, ὡς εἴθε μηδὲ ἀπάρξαιτο· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα νόμοι χριστιανῶν ἐξελαύνουσιν.

Ἐγὼ γάρ, φιλτάτη ψυχή, καί μοι μηδὲν ἀπιστήσειας, πολλὰ τοιαῦτα οἶδα καὶ ὅσα οὐκ ἄν τις τῶν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν φορὰν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίσταιτο, βίβλους περὶ τούτων ἀναλεξάμενος παμπόλλας Χαλδαϊκάς τε καὶ Αἰγυπτιακὰς καὶ ὁπόσα Πρόκλῳ τε τῷ φιλοσόφῳ περὶ τῆς ἱερατικῆς διεσπούδασται τέχνης, ἣν καὶ μαγικὴν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ ὅσα τοῖν δυοῖν Ἰουλιανοῖν συγγεγράφαται καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ Τυανεῖ καὶ πολυμαθεστάτῳ Ἀφρικανῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τι ταῖς τριοδίτισι γραυσὶ πεφλυάρηται καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ τὸν ἰδιώτην εἴλεῖται ὅμιλον· καὶ μέχρι τούτων ἐξέτεινα τὸ φιλομαθὲς τῆς ψυχῆς. Οὐδὲν δὲ διεπραξάμην, ἴστω Θεός, ἄρρητον· οὐδὲ μὴν ἄλλον ἀρρητουργοῦντα ἰδεῖν ὑπέμεινα, καίτοι καὶ ἐπῳδάς τε καὶ καταδέσμους καὶ συνθήματα πάμπολλα συνειλοχὼς πολυσύμφορα, ἐπαγγελίας ἀρρήτους ἔχοντα καὶ θεραπείας ἐξῳδηκότων σπλάγχνων καὶ ὄγκων ἀπολωφήσεις. Οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτων οὔτε διεπραξάμην οὔτε ἐπίστευσα πώποτε.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ θαυμασιωτάτῃ σοι ἀδελφῇ, ἴσθι ὡς ἀπεχρησάμην ἄν τινι τῶν τερατολογουμένων τοῖς τῶν Χαλδαίων λήροις, εἰ μὴ ἐγίνωσκον καταρατοτάτους ὄντας ἐξῆς ἅπαντας ὅσοι τοῖς τοιούτοις προσέχουσι καὶ ὡς μενεῖ τούτους τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου δικαιωτοῦ. Διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων βοήθειαν παραιτησάμενος, ἀπομείλιξίν τινα τοῦ θηρίου ἐφεῦρον παρά τινος τῶν ἀρχαίων παραδεδομένην σοφῶν, ἣν αὐτοπροσώπως σοι ἀφηγήσομαι, ἐπειδάν σε θεάσωμαι· γράψαι γὰρ οὐκ εὐπετὲς διὰ τὸ τῆς παραγγελίας

πολύστιχον. Εἰ δ' ἔφθασέ τι ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος ποιῆσαι οἷον ἐπήγγελτο, ἐγὼ μέν, ὡς οἶσθα, ὅταν περὶ τούτου μοι τὸν λόγον ἀνεκοινώσασθε, καὶ ἀπετριψάμην εὐθὺς καὶ ὡς οὐδέν τις ὠφέλεια προσέσται τῷ πράγματι προειρήκειν. Διὰ δὲ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ὑπεχάλασά τι μικρόν, μὴ αὐτίκα καὶ ὀλολύξειε· βουλοίμην δ' ἂν μαθεῖν εἴ τι χρηστὸν κἂν ἀπὸ τῆς περιεργίας ἀπήντηκεν.

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6

Balsamon on Magic: From Roman Secular Law to Byzantine Canon Law

MARIE THERES FÖGEN

Magic and related techniques of interpreting the world and handling the heavens became objects of a particular and broad interest in secular as well as canon law at about the same time, the fourth century A.D. In order to provide a short survey of what happened to this law—and what this law made happen—during the Byzantine era,[1] I would like to discuss a single text: Theodore Balsamon's twelfth-century commentary on canon 61 of the Council in Trullo in the year 691/92.[2] Paraphrasing this commentary, I shall focus on three points: (1) the description of the culprits, (2) the topic of religion and magic, and (3) the question of conscience and guilt. What Balsamon tells us in these three respects I shall compare with the views of the fourth century.[3]

Let us first read the text on which Balsamon wrote his commentary, canon 61 of the Council in Trullo.[4] It runs:[5]

[1] A short history of laws and canons concerning magic was provided by S. N. Troianos, "Zauberei und Giftmischerei in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit," *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz,* ed. G. Prinzing and D. Simon (Munich, 1990), 37–51.

[2] Rhalles-Potles, II, 444–47.

[3] For the 4th century I restrict myself to very few references; for further evidence, literature, and interpretations, see M. Th. Fögen, *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager: Studien zum kaiserlichen Wissensmonopol in der Spätantike* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993).

[4] For an interpretation of this text and the other canons of Trullo concerning pagan rites and magic, cf. I. Rochow, "Zu 'heidnischen' Bräuchen bei der Bevölkerung des Byzantinischen Reiches im 7. Jahrhundert, vor allem auf Grund der Bestimmungen des Trullanum," *Klio* 60 (1978), 483–97, and F. R. Trombley, "The Council in Trullo (691–692): A Study of the Canons Relating to Paganism, Heresy, and the Invasions," *Comitatus* 9 (1978), 1–18.

[5] Rhalles-Potles, II, 442f; P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline générale antique,* I.1 (Rome, 1962), 196ff:

> Those who expose themselves to soothsaying or to the so-called *hekatontarchoi* or similar people, to hear what they wish to be disclosed, are to be subjected to six years of penance according to the rules of the early fathers. To the same penance one must submit those who drag a bear or similar animal after themselves for the enjoyment and the damage of simple-minded people and who tell the future, fate, horoscope, and whatever else may be the multitude of words of this erroneous trumpery. The same is true for the interpreters of the clouds, sorcerers, furnishers of amulets, and soothsayers. We decree that those who continue doing so, who neither show repentance nor avoid these destructive and pagan customs, shall be totally expelled from the church according to the holy canons. "For what communion has light with darkness? . . ."[6]

I. The Description of the Culprits

After a short summary of the canon, Balsamon begins to explain the names, features, and methods of those mentioned and of some other magicians.[7] Within the simple term μάντις, he distinguishes between the παλαμοσκόποι, that is, the palmists, and the λεκανομάντεις, or dish-diviners who try to see God and hear his voice by observing liquids in dishes. According to Balsamon, both types—like all other diviners who predict the future by interpreting

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Οἱ μάντεσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδιδόντες ἢ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἑκατοντάρχοις ἤ τισι τοιούτοις, ὡς ἂν παρ' ἐκείνων μάθοιεν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐκκαλύπτεσθαι βούλοιντο, κατὰ τὰ πρώην ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων περὶ αὐτῶν ὁρισθέντα, ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιπτέτωσαν τῆς ἐξαετίας. Τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπιτιμίῳ καθυποβάλλεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τοὺς τὰς ἄρκτους ἐπισυρομένους ἢ τοιαῦτα ζῷα, πρὸς παίγνιον καὶ βλάβην τῶν ἁπλουστέρων, καὶ τύχην καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ γενεαλογίαν καὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ῥημάτων ὄχλον κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πλάνης λήρους φωνοῦντας, τούς τε λεγομένους νεφοδιώκτας καὶ γητευτὰς καὶ φυλακτηρίους καὶ μάντεις. Ἐπιμένοντας δὲ τούτοις, καὶ μὴ μετατιθεμένους καὶ ἀποφεύγοντας τὰ ὀλέθρια ταῦτα καὶ ἑλληνικὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, παντάπασιν ἀπορρίπτεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁρίζομεν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ κανόνες διαγορεύουσι· Τίς γὰρ κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἢ τίς συγκατάθεσις ναῷ θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων, ἢ τίς μερὶς πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου, τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίαρ';

[6] 2 Cor. 6:14–16.

[7] All of them are described in Ph. Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, I.2 (Athens 1948), 123ff; in the following text I restrict myself mainly to refering to Balsamon's understanding of the different kinds of magicians.

omens—offer sacrifices to their father, Satan, by whom they were instructed and to whom they entrust themselves.

The next group of magicians, the ἑκατόνταρχοι, Balsamon explains, are "what we call the *primmikerioi.*" This is a genuine translation, because the ἑκατόνταρχος, or *centurio* in Latin, meant the same as the *primmikerios* in the Byzantine era,[8] a military, civil, or court official of high rank. ἑκατόνταρχοι in this sense are well known, for example, from the Old and New Testaments,[9] from a large number of administrative documents,[10] and from historical literature.[11] At which time and for what reasons the ἑκατόνταρχος became a sort of magician is not clear.[12] I have been unable to find any source for this meaning before the Council in Trullo. It is also far from clear in what kind of magic a ἑκατόνταρχος specialized. Later sources, for example, Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century, describe him as the leader of all demons.[13] Balsamon presents a different understanding. According to him, the ἑκατόνταρχοι "in ancient times were old men, wiser, of course, and surpassing in deliberation ordinary people. Deceiving by such dirty machinations simple-minded people, they were worshiped like pseudo-gods."[14]

[8] For the various functions and kinds of *primmikerioi,* see N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), and J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos: Traité des offices* (Paris, 1976).

[9] E.g., Deut. 1:13; Matt. 8:5ff (Luke 7: 1ff). In the theological commentaries, the *centurio* of Capharnaum is, of course, a highly esteemed person. (Ps.-) Chrysostomos (Εἰς τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον, PG 61, cols. 769–72) explains that he was called *hekatontarchos* because he was ἄρχων καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν παθῶν, τοσαύτην ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις πάθεσιν ἡμῖν καρτερίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος (col. 772).

[10] F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens in den griechischen Papyrusurkunden der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit* (Göttingen, 1915; repr. Hildesheim-New York, 1975), s.v.

[11] Cf. the rich references in Cassius Dio, U. Ph. Boissevain, ed., *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt,* V (Berlin, 1931).

[12] Cf. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (repr. Graz, 1954), IV, s.v. ἑκατοντάρχης, quoting Ducange: "Divinatores nescio qui, de quibus agit Canon 61 Synodi Trullanae."

[13] Reflecting thus the wordly hierarchy in the world of the demons, *Menologion:* Vita S. Abercii, chap. 14, PG 115, col. 1229C; similarly the Vita of Andreas Salos, PG 111, col. 841B. In his *Epitome canonum* (PG 114, 289A), Symeon refers again to the *hekatonarchoi,* quoting canon 61 Trullo, without any further explanation.

[14] ἦσαν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἄνθρωποι γηραλέοι, φρονιμώτεροι δῆθεν, καὶ κατὰ συμβουλὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπερφέροντες, οἵτινες διὰ τοιούτων μυσαρῶν ἐργασιῶν

Less enigmatic are the activities of those mentioned next, who drag a bear after themselves. They are not just showmen but tint their animals with some kind of dye, cut off pieces of their coat, and sell them as amulets against illness and the evil eye. Also mentioned are the so-called ἀθίγγανοι, originally a heretical sect.[15] According to Balsamon, they are people who carry with them and embrace serpents without being hurt. They prophesy good and bad luck and "talk a lot of nonsense which is not worth being written down."

The interpreters of the clouds, Balsamon knows, foretell wars and other dangers according to the shape of the clouds, and especially at sunset they go into ecstasies and pretend to see the truth. Common figures are also the γητευταί, who dare to invoke the names of the martyrs or even the holy Virgin. And the most popular sort of people who make use of demoniac forces are those who produce, sell, and wear amulets. "It would become a long story," Balsamon says, "if I would report all cases I know in which people of this sort were condemned by the synod." He restricts himself to a few examples: a priest was convicted of carrying with him a cloth of a newborn baby as an amulet against his enemies; another priest was accused because he gave the host to some people and watched who had difficulties in swallowing it, in order to convict that person as a thief. In a third case, another priest had a Gospel book tied to a piece of wood and which was turned around in a circle; he was accused of trying to divine certain things with the help of the Psalms of David. Well known to Balsamon, furthermore, are many monks consulting women who tell—"as if they had the spirit of Pythia"—the future by barley corns. These women are mostly found camping near churches and icons.

So far the picture Balsamon draws is of the more or less popular forms of magic and the like. It is a rather lively picture, giving good information on

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τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους πλανῶντες, ὡς ψευδόθεοι ἐσεβάζοντο. Cf. also Blastares, *Syntagma* M 1 (Rhalles-Potles, VI, 356): Ἑκατόνταρχοι δέ, οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφώτερόν τι νοοῦντες, καὶ ταύτῃ δοκοῦντες ἐπίπροσθεν τῶν πολλῶν εἶναι. ("*Hekatonarchoi* are those who are somehow wiser in these things and therefore seem to be above most people").

[15] For the history of the Athinganoi, see the thorough study by I. Rochow, "Die Häresie der Athinganer im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert und die Frage ihres Fortlebens," *Studien zum 8. und 9. Jahrhundert in Byzanz,* ed. H. Köpstein and F. Winkelmann (Berlin, 1983), 163–78. For the later identification of the Athinganoi and the gypsies, see ibid. 172ff, and I. Rochow and K.-P. Matschke, "Neues zu den Zigeunern im byzantinischen Reich um die Wende vom 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert," *JÖB* 41 (1991), 241–54.

what all these sorcerers, diviners, and magicians are doing. The incriminated actors are identifiable characters, some of them perhaps just figures and names of bygone times, others probably recognizable subjects in the reality of the twelfth century.

The progress achieved by Balsamon's specific description reveals itself when we compare the legal texts of the fourth century on the same topic. In a series of laws (*CTh* 9.16.4–6, a. 356/57), Emperor Constantius II condemned nearly all the interpreters and prophets that the ancient Roman world had known, without making any differentiation between religious, scholarly, and popular forms of divination. Traditional *haruspices,* learned astrologers, simple charlatans, *augures, arioli,* dream interpreters, and everybody "practicing anything similar to any of the foregoing"[16] become members of one and the same large group of criminals. Instead of explaining what these criminals are doing, Constantius prefers to write in blood-curdling prose,[17] characterizing them, for example, as "outlaws of nature" (*peregrini naturae, CTh* 9.16.5) and "enemies of the human race" (*humani generis inimici, CTh* 9.16.6) who have to be extinguished. His laws show a sudden deep and hostile suspicion of all people who establish contact with extraterrestrial forces, a distrust that seems all the more a form of panic since any concrete information on their mischievous deeds is lacking. For example, the *haruspex* whom Constantius' father, Constantine the Great, formally, that is, by an imperial decree (*CTh* 16.10.1), had ordered to interpret the lightning that had struck the imperial palace—this prominent and formerly indispensable figure is one generation later converted into a dubious soothsayer among others whose clients bear the risk of the death penalty. This kind of radical redefinition is done without a word of reasoning, illustration, or justification, but purely by authority and punishment.

The legal attack on magicians and diviners in the fourth century thus looks as clumsy as it is aggressive. This is not the place to examine the roots of this attack, and only a few observations must suffice here. (1) It is not canon

[16] *CTh* 9.16.6: "aut certe aliquid horum simile exercens."

[17] Cf. *CTh* 9.16.5: "Many persons who dare by means of magic arts to disturb the elements of nature do not hesitate to ruin the lives of innocent people. They even dare to torment them by summoning the spirits of the dead, so that everyone may destroy his enemies by wicked arts. A deadly curse shall annihilate such persons since they are foreign to nature (*peregrini naturae*)."

but secular law, that is, *political* power, that is first in time to condemn all methods of divination.[18] That these methods were primarily a political problem, not just a problem for the new Christian religion, can be seen in the chronology of the relevant legislation: the first attempt dates back to the very heathen emperor Diocletian, who outlawed astrology[19] and especially the Manichees because of their *maleficia evidentissima,* their most obvious sorcery and magic.[20] (2) The political authority was totally satisfied with the laws of the fourth century sweeping away, without any differentiation or specification, all kinds of competitive and complex interpretations of reality and the future. After the fourth century, indeed, magic and the like never again became the topic of new secular legislation,[21] apart from one single emendation by Leo VI.[22] (3) One might say, therefore, that the territory of handling the supernatural, once and by force occupied by secular legislation, was left for further cultivation to the experts in the supernatural, the theologians and canonists. They took over the business of shaping and of putting in concrete terms the variety

[18] The synod of Ankyra, a. 314, presents the first canon (24) concerning certain forms of divination, while being far from covering all kinds of it. Only in the last decades of the 4th century, in canon 36 of the synod of Laodicea (ca. a. 380), is the equivalence of magicians, astrologers, and other diviners, already expressed in *CTh* 9.16.4–6, formulated also in canon law. Basil, on the other hand, does not even isolate diviners and the like from murderers, poison brewers, and other very traditional criminals; cf. canons 7, 8 (Rhalles-Potles, IV, 114. 5–15), 65, 72, and 83 (= canon 24 Ankyra), see below, p. 109.

[19] *CTh* 9.18.2, a. 294.

[20] *Collatio Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum,* 15.3; chap. 5: "Et quia omnia, quae pandit prudentia tua (i.e., the proconsul Africae) in relatione, religionis illorum genera maleficiorum statuis evidentissimorum exquisita et adinventa commenta" (ed. E. Huschke, E. Seckel, and B. Kübler, *Iurisprudentia Anteiustiniana,* II (repr. of the 6th ed., Leipzig, 1988), 325–94.

[21] All Byzantine law books, of course, include norms concerning magic and sorcery (cf. Ecloga, 17.42–44; Eisagoge/Epanagoge, 40.16, 23, 24, 83, 84; Procheiron, 39.13, 20, 21, 77, 78; Basilica, 60.39.23–30). But these norms transmit the 4th-century constitutions with only slight modifications; see Troianos, "Zauberei."

[22] Novel 65, correcting the law of Constantine the Great (*CTh* 9.16.3), confirmed by Justinian (C.9.18.4): Leo now prohibits the forms of "white magic" for the sake of health and a good harvest, which had formerly been approved expressis verbis. For the corresponding interpolation of the old constitution in the Basilica (60.39.25) see M. Th. Fögen, "Legislation und Kodifikation des Kaisers Leon VI," *Subseciva Groningana: Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law,* III (1989), 23ff (27f).

of people already, though in a disorderly manner, persecuted by imperial laws. The means to do so was through careful and detailed description. Canon 61 of Trullo, listing popular diviners by name, is the first attempt in this respect. Balsamon's commentary on this canon, explaining accurately their behavior and techniques, improves this attempt significantly.

II. The Topic of Magic and Religion

Balsamon completes his description of sorcerers who dare to invoke the martyrs and the holy Virgin by giving a quotation from John Chrysostom.[23] In the late fourth century Chrysostom warned of contact with amulets, charms, and witches and harshly accused semi-Christianized people:[24]

> You not only supply yourself with amulets but even with incantations, and you let into your house drunken and foolish old hags! Are you not ashamed and do you not blush to become—after such a [Christian] philosophy[25]—excited by these things? You will commit the worst form of fraud if you, though advised not to do such things, defend yourself by saying: "This woman who is singing charms is a Christian and does not do anything else but invoke God's name." Exactly for this reason I hate her all the more and turn away from her, because she blasphemously[26] misuses God's name by claiming to be Christian and acting like a heathen. For the demons also invoked the name of God and were nevertheless demons.

With this quotation Balsamon goes to the very heart of an everlasting problem: how to distinguish between a heathen charm and a Christian hymn, between pagan and Christian rites, between heathen magic and Christian miracle, between holy litanies and demoniac murmuring, between the crucifix and

[23] Balsamon quotes Chrysostom: λέγων εἰς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ταῦτα ῥητῶς, a pseudo-title for the *Ad illuminandos catecheses* 1, 2 (PG 49, cols. 223–40, *CPG* no. 4331) deriving from the fact that these catecheses are normally transmitted in the context of the twenty-one homilies "ad populum Antiochenum de statuis." For the manuscript tradition, see A. Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome, Huit catéchèses baptismales,* SC 50 (Paris, 1957; 2nd ed., 1970), 24–26.

[24] There are several variants between the text quoted by Balsamon as printed in Rhalles-Potles, II, 445 and Chrysostom's text in PG 49, col. 240. I follow Balsamon's text in Rhalles-Potles, correcting a few obvious mistakes.

[25] Balsamon/Rhalles-Potles: φιλανθροπίαν; Chrysostom/PG: φιλοσοφίαν.

[26] πρὸς ὕβριν: Chrysostom/PG; om. Balsamon/Rhalles-Potles.

similar amulets. The background of these everyday difficulties is far from being trivial. In early Christianity, people had first to learn to make a distinction between Jesus himself and any ordinary or, even worse, extraordinary magician like Apollonios of Tyana or Apuleius of Madaura.[27] Christian experts (Origen, Eusebios, Lactantius) and their pagan adversaries (Celsus, Philostratos, Hierokles) had already reached the utmost intellectual profundity in discussing who was a magician, who a demon, who a θεῖος ἀνήρ, who a god. To distinguish the indistinguishable was the enormous challenge of the first Christian centuries. The fundamental problem, of course, continued to recur in a less stark form. That means that, from a certain time onward, it was no longer difficult to recognize Christ as different from other pretenders to divine qualities. The task was now to single out, from a mass of ordinary worshipers, their prayers, invocations, rites, and behaviors—even in cases of obvious similarity—those that were Christian and those that were not, those that were practiced for the sake of mankind and others that were dangerous.

Constantine the Great shows how difficult it must have been to recognize that most efforts to influence the supernatural are reprehensible and pagan. He decreed that the knowledge of magic arts has to be punished by the severest laws. But "on the other hand, no implication of crime is to be attached to remedies that are sought for human bodies or to the rites that are innocently employed in rural districts to provide against the fear of rainstorms on the mature grape harvests or to prevent their being battered by hailstorms."[28] Constantine obviously did not care if these rites were carried out by pagan or Christian formulas, invocations, and charms.[29] Neither was he able to understand that, according to Christian authors, the only remedy legitimately to be sought for human bodies was the help of the one and only God.[30] He abstained from deciding by law that similarly innocent rites and identical practices were to be considered illegitimate or legitimate only on the basis of the correct reference to the right god. His law was no help for those who thought it necessary to establish just one Christian rite and to sort out all others. And though many

[27] See M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (London, 1978).

[28] *CTh* 9.16.3, a. 321–324 [317–319], May 23rd, 318 Seeck.

[29] He expressis verbis permitted the rites of the haruspices, the inspection of the viscera, so long as it was performed in public (*CTh* 9.16.1, 2).

[30] E.g., Tatian, Πρὸς Ἕλληνας, 18.1, PG 6, col. 845A; Athanasios of Alexandria, Περὶ (περι)άπτων, PG 26, col. 1320.

emperors after Constantine condemned diviners and their colleagues, none of them was preoccupied by the question of how to differentiate, for example, a talented pagan magician from a Christian miracle worker or pagan rituals from Christian devotional acts.

Since these questions were not resolved by the law of the fourth century, Christian literature labored to make these difficult distinctions. Returning to the text under discussion—John Chrysostom quoted by Balsamon—one can observe two strategies for handling this problem. First, the person pretending to be Christian and invoking the names of the martyrs is a "drunken, crazy old woman." This label, as such, is apt to degrade and incriminate the person in question. Since very early times, the superstitious old hag (not by coincidence a female) stands as a symbol for irrationality and lack of credibility.[31] This old denunciation, to be found in pagan as well as in early Christian literature,[32] is easily extended to the defamation of all (including male) foolish and simple-minded people.

Balsamon makes such an extension in his commentary on canon 83 of Basil,[33] saying that only witless, humble, plain people[34] entrust themselves in case of sickness to magic and other pagan cures. More intelligent persons, of course, are sure to be cured by the invocation of the "names of God the father, Jesus, the Virgin, and the saints" as well as "through the power of the holy and vitalizing cross." One recognizes in this argument once again the notorious problem of why the method of looking for hidden poison that might have caused the sickness is definitively pagan, while the invocation of God and the martyrs is perfectly Christian—as long as it is not a "drunken old hag" who invokes these names. The puzzle, one can observe, is solved not by arguments for more or less rationality or more or less actual success of one or the other method, but by a social discrimination: Christians, who initially described

[31] The extension of the symbol of the drunken old woman to characterize any kind (not only magic and sorcery) of nonsense, error, or unwelcome knowledge (like pagan philosophy, the belief in the power of rhetoric, Jewish rites, etc.) seems to be a speciality of John Chrysostom; cf. PG 55, col. 665.71; 57, col. 88.16; 57, col. 353.38; 60, col. 234.18; 61, col. 380.39; 61, col. 434.42.

[32] I am very grateful to M. W. Dickie who generously let me read the first draft of a paper on the (drunken) old woman with abundant references; see also note 32 of his article in this volume.

[33] Rhalles-Potles, IV, 250–52.

[34] τινὲς τῶν ἁπλουστέρων καὶ ἀσυνετωτέρων.

themselves as ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς,[35] use exactly these categories to label and identify pagans. Anyone who still is not convinced that only the holy cross is able to cure sickness must belong to the ἁπλούστεροι. And, conversely, only the simpleminded tend to leave the Christian path to salvation. The way out of the dilemma of how to distinguish pagan and Christian rites was indicated already by Chrysostom and his contemporaries with the symbol of the old, irrational woman; Balsamon follows this road, stressing that paganism has become a question of social and intellectual status.

The second strategy by which Balsamon deals with the problem of pagan rites under the pretext or on behalf of God is much easier. Confronted with the question of how to recognize that a person claiming to be Christian is nevertheless a pagan sorcerer, he just avoids getting involved anew in the basic dilemma. The simple technique is the quotation of an old authority, the only one in this commentary. Chrysostom stands for tradition, and tradition avoids the necessity of arguing from the beginning. Balsamon can rely on a firm social conviction that the case in question must be pagan magic just because it was identified as such already by an early church father. The times when one was not so sure about this are a thousand years ago. In short, Balsamon profits in this paragraph mainly from tradition and authority, which relieves him from fundamental discussions and allows him to continue along well-tried paths.

III. Conscience and Guilt

The last paragraph of Balsamon's commentary on Trullo 61 deals with the adequate punishment of the magicians and their clients. The latter usually are condemned to six years of penance; priests have to be deposed. A distinction must be made between those who show repentance and those who do not. The former may receive even less than six years of excommunication according to the discretion of the bishop. Balsamon thus presents a scale of punishment graduated according to the guilt and conscience of the culprits.[36]

When we look back to the fourth century we do not find any differentia-

[35] Irenaios, *Adversus haereses*, pr. 3.

[36] Balsamon presents a similar reasoning in his commentary on Basil's canon 83, Rhalles-Potles, IV, 251, rejecting the opinion that according to Basil's canon 65 and 72 every client of pagan sorcerers has to be treated as a murderer; see also Balsamon's commentary on Basil's canon 72, Rhalles-Potles, IV, 232–33, where he insists that one

tion of punishment in the secular laws on magic and divination. Constantius II threatens all diviners and their clients with the death penalty in its various cruel forms,[37] no matter what result they actually caused or what they had in mind to perform. Also sentenced to death in a law of the year 370[38] are the teachers and students of astrology, no matter whether they just studied books in private or acted in public. And, in 392,[39] those who curiously discover secret things by inspecting the viscera of sacrificial animals are compared with people who commit high treason.[40] The first secular law to establish degrees of punishment in the field of soothsaying belongs to the fifth century. Honorius and Theodosius, in the year 409 (*CTh* 9.16.12), decree that astrologers can avoid deportation if they are willing "to burn the books of their error under the eyes of the bishops." It is no coincidence that public renunciation occurs for the first time in this law together with the first mention of the competence of the bishops.

The laws of the fourth century, on the contrary, seem to be in perfect harmony with the opinion of the contemporary Basil. According to his canon 8,[41] female sorcerers who caused the death of someone by love poisons must be treated like murderers even if they did so unwillingly, because sorcery and magic arts are forbidden as such. Treated as murderers are also those who make known the arts of sorcery and drugs (canon 65[42]) as well as the clients of diviners and the like (canon 72[43]).

That means that both Basil and Constantius make use of the old categories of penal law: the new crimes they invented—divination, astrology, and magic—are seen as ordinary murder. On the other hand, they spoil the traditional principles of penal law according to which one needs at least a dead or nearly dead victim in order to speak of murder.

The obvious incapacity to categorize magicians and diviners in a juridi-

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has "to make a distinction" between [real] sorcerers who invoke the demons and [rather harmless] old women who betray simpleminded people by their spells.

[37] *CTh* 9.16.4–6.

[38] Valentinian and Valens, *CTh* 9.16.8.

[39] *CTh* 16.10.12.1.

[40] "Even if they did not inquire anything against or in favor of the emperors." This law confirms what had been the legal practice for a long time: to treat sorcery and soothsaying, at least as soon as politics are touched on, as high treason.

[41] Rhalles-Potles, IV, 112–14 (114.5–15).

[42] Ibid., 221.

[43] Ibid., 232.

cally proper way, and the inability to recognize them as somehow different from primitive killers, did not last long. Already Gregory of Nyssa, Basil's brother, makes the argument that marked the break: those Christians, he says in canon 3,[44] who make use of magic and demoniac sorcery have to be examined if they did so deliberately or under stress and fear. Furthermore, one has to ask if they rejected the right faith to reunite themselves with the demons—in this case they have to be treated as apostates—or if they were led astray by their faint-heartedness (μικροψυχία)—in this case they will receive the same philanthropic cure granted formerly to the so-called *lapsi* who denied the Christian faith under torture.

Gregory already grasped what secular legislation had not understood and never paid attention to in the future: that dubious contacts with demons and other extraterrestrial forces are less, or not at all, related to traditional crimes like murder or high treason, but are just forms of heresy and apostasy. Since this decisive point, magic, sorcery, and divination belonged, to the same extent as all deviation in faith, to the discourse of theology and the practice of canon law.

Canon 61 of Trullo continued the idea by making a distinction between those who show repentance and those who do not. And Balsamon, of course, knows how to use the categories of mortal, serious, and pardonable sin with the greatest of ease.

Summarizing the results of comparing early secular law on magic and divination with the subsequent canonical treatment of the same topic up to the time of Balsamon, one might stress three trends. (1) Whereas the character and works of the culprits remain vague and undifferentiated in the fourth century, they later receive a more and more detailed description. (2) Whereas fourth-century legislation was not concerned with a neat distinction of pagan and Christian practices and rites, this separation was later provided by a social and mental discrimination of the pagan forms. (3) Whereas for the emperors of the fourth century (and still for Basil), magicians, diviners, and their clients were nothing other than murderers, canon law categorized and treated them according to their conscience and guilt in respect not to murder but to heresy and apostasy. In short, the achievement in all three aspects was a more concrete

[44] Ibid., 306–7.

description which allowed the recognition of the wrongdoers and wrongbelievers and their disciplining according to the degree of deviance and guilt.

IV. The Perceptions of Reality in the Fourth and the Fourteenth Centuries

That this achievement, due to canon law and its elaboration, was not a mere process of increasing sophistication, but a progress able to change the perception of reality, I would like to illustrate by comparing briefly two reports of this reality: Ammianus Marcellinus describing as a contemporary witness the treatment of magicians and diviners in the second half of the fourth century, and some late fourteenth-century documents of the patriarchal court concerning sorcerers and magicians.

1. Ammianus[45] observed and described a flood of repressions and persecutions of all sorts of diviners under the emperors Constantius II, Valentinian, and Valens.[46] Most trials against magicians, prophets, interpreters of the future, and the like ended with the death sentence. "Some were punished without breathing-space or delay, while inquiry was being made whether they deserved punishment; everywhere the scene was like a slaughtering of cattle" (29.1.40). Accused of prohibited magic and divination and, more often implicitly, of high treason, were all sorts of people: a humble old woman murmuring verses to cure the fever (29.2.26), a young man spelling the vowels in a certain manner thinking it a helpful remedy for stomach trouble (29.2.28). Educated men preventively burned all books of their libraries so as not to be sentenced for the knowledge of magic arts (29.1.41; 29.2.4). Some people even denied having slept because telling and interpreting dreams had become extremely dangerous (15.3.6). Slandered and persecuted was also a group of scholars, including the famous philosopher Maximus, who had consulted the oracle (29.1.42). The only guarantee of survival was apparently to be ignorant, dreamless, and illiterate. And even in this case one was not safe from denunciation, because imperial agents "in panting haste and teeming with deadly fury" (19.12.7) were all too ready to chase suspicious persons, to slander honest men, and to spread

[45] I quote from the Loeb edition with the translation by J. C. Rolfe, 3 vols. (1972–86). The extensive literature on Ammianus' reports of these trials is discussed in Fögen, *Die Enteignung,* chap. IV.5.

[46] *Roman History,* 19.12.1–17; 26 passim; 28.1; 29.1–2.

any kind of lies. If they did not find any suitable victim, they even dared to smuggle "old-wives' incantations or unbecoming love-potions" into private houses "for the ruin of innocent people" (29.2.3).

Ammianus is horrified by this "theatre of torture and death" (19.12.8), and he tells us why: not because he thinks that the emperors are not permitted to protect themselves from magical attacks by the severest laws and punishment (19.12.17), but because these emperors are unable and unwilling to differentiate between true and false, right and wrong, high and low. They acted, he says, "sine differentia veri vel falsi," "without distinguishing truth from falsehood" (31.14.6). Consequently "a new and unbridled madness was mingling the highest with the lowest" (28.1.15). Ammianus, in short, blames the emperors for having lost all standards and all criteria of distinguishing the evil and the good, the harmless and the dangerous, scientists and charlatans, philosophers and swindlers, "noble and obscure" (19.12.7).

The disaster pictured by Ammianus reflects perfectly the consequences of the fourth-century legislation. As we saw in the beginning, this legislation refrained from describing and classifying the new type of criminals. The laws supplied neither the features to recognize the "real" offenders, nor the juridical tools to handle them in a professional way. The creation of a diffuse, indeterminate criminal character produced a chaotic, disoriented situation.

2. Let us then take a look at the acts and trials against sorcerers and magicians before the court of the patriarch in the fourteenth century.[47] The main documents were carefully analyzed by Carolina Cupane in 1980;[48] rereading the sources in comparison with those of the fourth century, I have just a few observations to add.

The first impression one gets is that the situation did not significantly change in the course of a millennium. This is certainly true for the wide dissemination of popular magical practices also in the fourteenth century as well as for the unbroken aversion of powerful "officials" against these techniques. Similar to Ammianus' reports also seem to be the methods of tracing and chas-

[47] F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi,* I (hereafter MM I) (repr. Aalen, 1968).

[48] "La magia a Bisanzio nel secolo XIV: Azione e reazione," *JÖB* 29 (1980), 237–62. For a short survey see H. Hunger, "Das Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel als Spiegel byzantinischer Verhältnisse im 14. Jahrhundert," *AnzWien* 115 (1978), 7 (repr. in *Epidosis* [Munich, 1989, Abh. X], 132f).

ing magicians and sorcerers. Whereas in Ammianus a bloodthirsty crowd of state agents swarms out, the patriarch in the fourteenth century formally gave orders[49] to the clergy to search for magicians "in any quarter of Constantinople" and to hand them over to his jurisdiction. Even more, he encouraged every Christian to participate in this raid, and, last but not least, he asked the civil authorities for support.[50] Investigation, inquisition, and denunciation[51] are, as in Ammianus, the main tools to capture hidden sorcerers.

Apart from this notable continuity in dealing with magicians and sorcerers, the situation, of course, has changed fundamentally. The most remarkable novelties compared to early times are the following.

(1) Instead of a secular jurisdiction, which, blind with rage, persecutes whomsoever it can grasp, we see the patriarch with his bureaucracy acting in a well-established procedure. Imperial jurisdiction is hardly involved, and when it is, it acts as a supplemental power.[52] Normally the patriarchal court has entirely autonomous competence to deal with sorcerers and magicians. This seems to be the consequence not only of the insufficient organization of the secular jurisdiction in the fourteenth century, but just as much of the theoretical and scholarly appropriation of the topic by the canonists since, as we have seen above, at least the time of the Council in Trullo.

(2) Accordingly we find as punishment usually the *epitimia,*[53] well-scaled penitential exercises for the expiation of sins, or deposition in the case of priests,[54] or admittance to a monastery.[55] The main articulated goal is θερα-

[49] MM I, 184–87, no. 85.

[50] MM I, 188–90, no. 86.

[51] Strikingly often the persons accused had been denounced either by their clients (cf. the case of the priest Jakobos, MM I, 549.15ff, no. 292) or by their colleagues (cf. the "chain" of denunciations in MM I, no. 292).

[52] In MM I, 180–81, no. 79, one may suppose that the mentioned previous punishment of Tzerentzes was at the hands of the state court; cf. Cupane, "La magia," 240; in MM I, 181–82, no. 80, the same Tzerentzes had been imprisoned, obviously by state officials, because he is released from prison by imperial decree. In MM I, no. 86, the state officials are, as already mentioned, formally asked by the patriarch for support.

[53] MM I, no. 79, 80; MM I, no. 134; probably (part of the text is lost); also MM I, no. 153; MM I, 543.16–18, no. 292.

[54] MM I, no. 292: 546.9ff, 548.5ff, 550.15ff.

[55] MM I, no. 134; cf. also no. 137: the magician Amarantina, already admitted to a nunnery, receives 100 hyperpyra from the emperor[!] for an ἀδελφάτον, to justify and support her stay in the nunnery. MM I, 546.13ff, no. 292: Demetrios Chloros must stay

πεία: curing, not hurting.[56] The harsher secular punishment, that is, banishment, is only mentioned a few times.[57]

(3) While magicians and diviners in the fourth century, according to Ammianus, had regularly been accused of *crimen laesae maiestatis,* in the fourteenth century the only charge against them is deviation from faith. We have seen that this had been the opinion of church fathers as early as Gregory of Nyssa. But while he, as well as the Council in Trullo, put magic and divination close to paganism or at least apostasy,[58] the documents of the fourteenth century are less rigid. The culprits now always remain in a Christian context; they never deny the true faith, never definitely go over to the demons; they just—*as Christians*—do not behave as Christians should do.[59] Consequently the patriarch sometimes takes the opportunity of a case of magic to deliver a veritable sermon telling the Christian community that he is watching the devil who, in the shape of magicians, tries to lead credulous and miserable Christians astray.[60] Magic and related techniques have become an infringement of religious discipline and a danger for the salvation of Christian souls—which no longer has anything to do with high treason, murder, paganism, or serious heresy.[61]

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in the monastery without receiving visitors or teaching children; he also has to hand over all his pagan books.

[56] Tzerentzes is even "asking" for a cure: καὶ ἀποθεραπευθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὰ τοῦ σφάλματος δεηθέντα (MM I, 180.18–19, no. 79).

[57] The documents of a systematical "inquisition" (MM I, no. 85, 86) aim at deportation of magicians at least from the capital. In MM I, 546.22–30, no. 292, some of the defendants are banished.

[58] Gregory in canon 3 speaks of "fraternity with the demons," "rejection of the right faith," and "apostasy"; canon 61 of Trullo mentions "pagan customs."

[59] This aspect is rightly stressed by Cupane, "La magia," 261f, who remarks precisely that there is no contradiction between *superstitio* and *religio* to be found in the acts, and that none of the accused persons had it in mind to revolt against the church.

[60] MM I, 301–6, 302.32–35, no. 134, a document entitled διδασκαλία; the same words are used in MM I, 542.15–19, no. 292. Cf. also the introductions to MM I, no. 85 (and 86), where the patriarch emphasizes his responsibility for the morality and salvation of his Christian flock.

[61] Typical for this regression from heresy to popular sorcery is the history of the Athinganoi who, once a dangerous sect, degenerated into charlatans leading the life of vagabonds; cf. Rochow, "Die Häresie," and Rochow and Matschke, "Neues zu den Zigeunern."

(4) Apart from one single case,[62] the "normal" defendant is just as ordinary as his ordinary techniques. The documents do not describe their victims as revolutionary heroes, learned experts, charismatic and ambitious men. What is shown to us is more or less simpleminded and poor people who betray their even more simpleminded clients. To protect the *haplousteroi* from the unfruitful and at the same time blasphemous machinations of sorcerers and magicians is the current motive of the patriarchal acts. Magic, in the eyes of the official clergy of the fourteenth century, is the business of the middle or rather the lower classes.[63]

In conclusion, one can say that as soon as the canonists took over the problem of magic, sorcery, and divination, this problem became more and more "domesticated." From the fourth to the fourteenth century the initial excitement and chaos, which the secular power first provoked and then did not get under control, gradually gave way to a professional handling which ended in a matter of routine. Canon law and its experts, step by step, by description and distinctions, transformed a homemade political confusion into the normality of religious discipline. For magicians, their clients, and their judges, the world thereby became more calculable, less complex, and easier to understand.

Max Planck-Institut für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte

[62] In the document, MM I, 541–50, no. 292, we indeed find a socially higher ambience: Demetrios Chloros was well educated in the ἑλληνικὴ σοφία, had a huge library at his disposal, had had a good career as *protonotarios,* but was nevertheless sentenced for practicing magic. Siropoulos was a doctor (MM I, 543.20), and the "best doctors" had to be heard by the synod as medical experts to testify that Chloros' library was full of demoniac literature (MM I, 544.23ff).

[63] Cf. Cupane, "La magia," 259–61, stressing this point.

7

A Contribution to the Study of Palaeologan Magic

RICHARD P. H. GREENFIELD

One of the most striking and encouraging things about the study of magic in the Palaeologan period, as compared to some of the earlier phases of Byzantine history, is the fact that there seems to be, relatively speaking, an abundance of riches here. The great advantage of this is that it enables us to gain, in some measure at least, an overview of the great range and variety that clearly existed in the Byzantine magical spectrum. We are not confined to isolated and indistinct pieces of evidence which, although fascinating and revealing in themselves, are often incapable of doing more than providing the basis for scholarly speculation. Such fragments may, of course, be usefully related to each other over time and space, but they lack, in general, anything like a coherent or inclusive framework within which they may be placed and understood. This is not the case with the Palaeologan material which, although far from complete, is nevertheless sufficiently abundant to allow more general patterns to be observed in this particular historical context. It may therefore also be useful in helping us to see, if only by analogy, the earlier, more fragmentary material in a wider setting. The consequent disadvantage of such wealth, however, is that the constraints of space, in a paper such as this, mean that depth must inevitably be sacrificed for breadth and that the result cannot be a complete, thorough, or even detailed survey of all the available material. Nor is there room to venture, except in passing, into the vital and revealing area of the interpretation and analysis of this material; the consideration of what it tells us about late Byzantine people, about their religious beliefs in particular and about their outlook and society in general, must await subsequent study. I am thus intending to do no more here than simply provide an outline of the resources, an

overview of the content; this paper is, in other words, yet another contribution to a subject where contributions seem to be the norm but where studies with the depth and application it deserves have not yet materialized.[1] At least with the Palaeologan evidence we can assemble enough wood and stones to form the basis for a substantial magical meal, but by themselves these ingredients are perhaps rather unappetizing and indigestible; and unfortunately the conjurer, who is required to transform them into a succulent, well-seasoned, and sophisticated feast, is still somewhere on his way to the palace.

First of all, some consideration must be given to terminology and approach. Clearly this is not the place in which to enter in any depth into the sometimes tortuous debates surrounding several of the most important words which are to be used; I want simply to make clear the sense in which I am understanding and using them. The most important of these terms is definitely "magic" itself. In the context of late Byzantine thought (and this is certainly not to imply that the same is necessarily true anywhere else), magic is being taken as a particular form of religious belief and activity which did not conform to the doctrinally defined, dominant orthodox Christianity; it was, essentially, associated with the demons and/or with the notion of automatic control of desired outcome or response.[2] For the doctrinalists, magic was nothing but a delusion induced by evil spiritual powers; it was also necessarily false for, to

[1] Among the more important of such contributions for the Palaeologan period in particular are: C. Bruel, "Superstition et magie dans la mentalité religieuse byzantine sous les Paléologues," Mémoire de la Maîtrise d'Histoire (Toulouse, 1970); F. Cumont, "Demetrios Chloros et la tradition des Coiranides," *BAntFr* (1919), 175–81; C. Cupane, "La magia a Bisanzio nel secolo XIV: Azione e reazione," *JÖB* 29 (1980), 237–62; A. Delatte, *La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés,* Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 48 (Liège-Paris, 1932); A. Delatte and Ch. Josserand, "Contribution à l'étude de la démonologie byzantine," Mélanges Bidez, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 2 (1934), 207–32; R. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988); Th. Hopfner, "Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien," in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith,* Egypt Exploration Society (London, 1932), 218–32; D. Pingree, "The Astrological School of John Abramios," *DOP* 25 (1971), 191–215. In general see also Ph. Koukoules, βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes 11, I.2 (Athens, 1948).

[2] The question of the definition of "magic" and its relation to "religion" is given a very clear and helpful treatment by D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW,*

assume that an individual spirit or person possessed power to act in or by itself, as magic did in its notion of automatic control, was to challenge or deny the unique position of God as the ultimate and sole originator and controller of everything that happened and was done in the world. On the other hand, apparently for the great majority who were uninterested in or incapable of understanding the doctrinalists' approach, magic was an imposed category in the overall unbroken spectrum of Byzantine religious behavior which ran from extremes of supplication to manipulation and coercion. It is clear that most people believed, or at least saw nothing particularly wrong with believing, that spiritual powers, good and bad, and perhaps even human beings, had real power to act independently of divine control. Here magic was simply an alternative way, sometimes perceived as being more effective, sometimes as less effective, of getting things to happen by religious means; the forces used in magic were essentially irrelevant, as were moral valuations of its outcomes.

Within the overall range of late Byzantine magical practice and belief, "sorcery" is singled out and is intended to be distinguished from "witchcraft" in the sense that it operates through learned beliefs and rituals rather than through the innate, occult powers associated with the latter; it is belief and practice that is taught by word of mouth or transmitted by means of books and papers.[3] While ideas of witchcraft may perhaps have been more prevalent at lower levels of the late Byzantine religious spectrum, they seem to have been almost entirely absent from the higher levels except, perhaps, for the all-pervasive belief in the power of the evil eye; on the other hand, sorcery seems to have been the type of magical activity that was normally associated (both in fact and in popular opinion) with literate and educated people, and as such occupies a dominant role in the evidence that has survived from this period.

11.23.2 (Berlin-New York, 1980), 1510-16. Since he is primarily concerned with the Graeco-Roman and early Christian context, Aune's commentary and definition, to which my own working formula is clearly closely related, is particularly relevant for Byzantinists.

[3] A summary of the distinction is provided by M. Marwick, *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 11-13. For a discussion of the evidence for the Palaeologan period, see Greenfield, *Demonology*, 249-51. A similar distinction is pursued by D. de F. Abrahamse, "Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period," *ByzF* 7 (1982), 3-17; but not consistently by C. S. Galatariotou, "Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 9 (1984-85), 62-65.

It should perhaps be pointed out that the English terminology outlined here does not reflect the use of particular Greek words in the Palaeologan sources. There are thus no Greek terms that correspond precisely to the distinction that has been drawn between sorcery and witchcraft, while quite a number of Greek words are employed to indicate the general activity which may be included in my use of the single English word "magic." The commonest of these are μαγεία and γοητεία, which, in most instances, are used simply as synonyms, although it is clear that they could also be distinguished from each other in certain circumstances, basically by reference to the types of demonic powers the activity was believed to involve.[4] Words like μαγεία and γοητεία, however, clearly had pejorative connotations and thus appear to have been used principally by the doctrinalists, while being avoided by people who were themselves involved in the practice of magic. Such practitioners, and probably most ordinary people too, tended simply to use the specific terms and phrases appropriate to particular "magical" activities, such as making an amulet (φυλακτήριον, χαρτί(ον)), performing a conjuration (ὁρκισμός), or carrying out

[4] Among the other words quite commonly found are μαγγανεία, φαρμακεία, and μαντεία, as well as reference to the use of ἐπῳδαί and the practices of the ἐπίκλησις (δαιμόνων) or the ἐπερώτησις (πνευμάτων); the adjective usually used to describe something as "magical" is μαγικός. Clear evidence that the doctrinalists did not distinguish between the terms γοητεία and μαγεία may be found, for example, in the documents of the patriarchal court (see below, note 18); there the two words are often used together as a standard phrase to refer to "magical" practices in general, while they rarely appear independently; compare also, e.g., the passages cited below (note 9) from Joseph Bryennios. Nikephoros Gregoras, in his commentary on the *de Insomniis* of Synesios of Cyrene (for full reference to this work, see below, note 15), refers to a distinction that may apparently be drawn among the terms γοητεία, μαγεία, and φαρμακεία: the first involves the use of material and unclean demons who do evil things; the second employs "middle" demons, both material and immaterial; while the third achieves its effects simply by using various substances that are eaten or drunk (cols. 542–43). Elsewhere in the same work (col. 605), Gregoras follows this distinction when discussing the idea that some demons have an irrational soul and a sort of materiality, maintaining that it is these that are subject to γοητεία. The alternative redaction of the *de Daemonibus* (see below, note 20), 128–29, and the other work attributed to Psellos which is largely dependent on it, *Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus* (see below, note 21), 100–102, contain a rather similar distinction, maintaining that γοητεία concerns material and earthly demons, while μαγεία has instead to do with the knowledge and employment of the whole range of natural sympathies and antipathies that run through the cosmos.

a lekanomancy (λεκανομαντεία); elsewhere, when referring to their practices in general, they would use much vaguer terms such as the plain, neutral phrases, the "art" (ἡ τέχνη) or the "practice" (ἡ πραγματεία).[5] In other words, as one would expect if my understanding of late Byzantine magic as outlined above is correct, "magic" was not a particularly well-defined category in the language of the period in general, and was really only distinguished from other related activities in the speech of the doctrinalists.

From what has been said above, it will also be clear that this paper deals with the subject of Palaeologan magic in the conceptual context of a continuum of religious belief, experience, and practice which is seen as shading from high to low levels. Inevitably here one is venturing into the minefield of great and little traditions, of orthodox and popular religion; basically the terms "standard orthodox" and "alternative" traditions of belief and practice will be used, and they will be understood as being related to a continuum lying between the poles of, on the one hand, learned or doctrinal and, on the other, local or practical religion.[6] It may also be useful to relate these terms to central and peripheral models, and to regard the whole ethos of the paper as an attempt to lay some foundations upon which it may ultimately be possible to develop a better understanding of the general late Byzantine religious *mentalité*.[7]

The Palaeologan period shares many of the initial problems that have to be faced in any medieval context concerning the availability and nature of the source material for the study of magic. The traditions are, in their nature, frag-

[5] The *Magic Treatise* (see below) thus very rarely refers to γοητεία, and then only when speaking of preventing or destroying it rather than actually performing it (e.g., A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia,* I, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 36 [Liège-Paris, 1927], 398, 401); the catalogues this work provides here of magical practices proper to the days of the week and the signs of the zodiac (ibid., 397–99, 401–3) illustrate clearly the characteristic mixture of precision and vagueness in the language used in the textbooks of the practitioners themselves, and the almost complete avoidance of pejorative terms like μαγεία.

[6] On the problems see, e.g., E. Badone, *Religious Orthodoxy and Popular Faith in European Society* (Princeton, 1990); on distinctions within the religious spectrum and ways of describing these (in the perhaps not dissimilar modern Greek context), see C. Stewart, *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture* (Princeton, 1991), 11–12.

[7] On the former see B. Ankarloo and G. Henningsen, *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford, 1990), 3, 8, 10; on the latter in the context

mentary, and, precisely because they did not form a part of the dominant, standard orthodox tradition of Byzantine culture, they lack coherence and consistency. Since magic ran counter to the approved beliefs and practices of Byzantine society, many references to it in the usual surviving literature are made by writers who were concerned only to dismiss, ridicule, refute, or warn against it. In many cases these traditions undoubtedly represent popular, as opposed to learned, beliefs and practices and thus were held by people who, simply because of their illiteracy, were unable to record them for themselves even had they the desire to do so. There is, on the other hand, every reason to suppose that, in this period as in the others of Byzantine history, magic was certainly not confined to lower levels of society (whether defined in intellectual, cultural, or socioeconomic terms); however, it remains a fact that people at the higher levels who took magic seriously or who actually wanted to practice it themselves, people who would have been able to record it if they wished, had compelling reasons for not doing so, since it was generally considered illegal and association with it could bring ruinous, if not actually fatal, consequences. Finally, even when these traditions were recorded in detail, this same fact made the survival of such records unlikely for any period of time both because of the sort of places works of this type had to be kept and because they were liable to be destroyed if discovered. In this area the already hazardous processes of manuscript survival become dramatically worse, so that even when we do have copies of actual sorcery textbooks, as would appear to be the case for this period, there is very little opportunity to get any realistic idea of the extent or depth of tradition these represent, for they are confined to isolated and individual copies, rendering studies of textual transmission and integrity almost impossible.

At the bottom of the scale of material to be considered are the usual passing references to magic that occur in the literature of the Palaeologan period, as of all others. These references appear in general contexts which for the most part have nothing, or very little, to do with the specific subject as it is of concern here, but they are, nevertheless, vital sources of information in a number of ways. Obviously they often set out quite clearly the attitudes toward magic that were regarded as correct by standard orthodoxy. Given the contexts in which they appear, they may also, however, be useful in showing ways in which

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of medieval history, see particularly J. Le Goff, "Les mentalités: Une histoire ambiguë," in J. Le Goff and P. Nora, eds., *Faire de l'histoire,* III (Paris, 1974), 76–94.

the borders between the dominant Christianity and traditions of belief that can have been truly acceptable only at a lower, alternative level were often blurred or practically non-existent, even in the minds of educated people at the time. In other words, they may provide good evidence for precisely the sort of "magical Christianity" or "Christianized magic" that is dealt with in other papers in this volume. Even more important, such passing and frequently hostile references may give some idea, or at least some clues, as to how widespread these notions and practices may actually have been; as to what was believed and practiced at popular or local levels from which no real records survive at all; and as to the actual existence of particular beliefs and practices that are known only from descriptions in the technical, and therefore otherwise abstract, sorcery manuals of the time.

References of the most minor type may be found scattered through the whole range of Palaeologan writing, theological, liturgical, hagiographical, historical, philosophical, scientific, and purely literary; the following represent merely a few particularly clear examples which may also serve to illustrate the usefulness, and the limitations, of such evidence.[8] From literature that is primarily theological in its content, Joseph Bryennios' short work "What Are the Causes of Our Troubles?" may be mentioned since, while reciting a long catalogue of the ills of contemporary society, it refers in passing to many, obviously low-level practices of divination and magic, and comments on the evident frequency with which they were employed at the time.[9] Hagiographical

[8] Quite apart from references in the contemporary literature, there are, of course, a multitude of similar and parallel passages in the literature inherited from the past which was being read and used in this period. Clearly this should also be considered if one is to obtain anything approaching a true reflection of the ideas in circulation at the time. Unfortunately the constraints of the present paper prevent the pursuit of this ideal here.

[9] This short work, "Τίνες αἰτίαι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς λυπηρῶν;" (Κεφάλαιον MZ΄ of his Κεφάλαια ἑπτάκις ἑπτά), is edited with a French translation and commentary by L. Oeconomos, "L'état intellectuel et moral des Byzantins vers le milieu du XIVe siècle d'après une page de Joseph Bryennios," *Mélanges C. Diehl,* I (Paris, 1932), 225–33 (hereafter Bryennios, *Keph.* 47). There are some rather similar, if shorter, passages in his "Περὶ ἐκπιπτόντων τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας" (Κεφάλαιον ΙΑ΄) and "Περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν εἰδωλατρείας" (Κεφάλαιον ΚΕ΄), ed. E. Voulgaris and T. Mandrakases, Ἰωσὴφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου, τὰ εὑρεθέντα, III, (Leipzig, 1768–94), 58–59, 76–77 (hereafter Bryennios, *Keph.* 11, *Keph.* 25). See also on Bryennios here N. B. Tomadakes, Ὁ Ἰωσὴφ Βρυέννιος καὶ ἡ Κρήτη (Athens, 1947), 117–21. The problems of

works, of course, quite often contain important fragmentary evidence: here there is, for instance, John Staurakios' account of the *Miracles of St. Demetrios,* which includes quite a detailed description of a written amulet and an explanation of the theory behind it;[10] again, the *Life of St. Theodora of Arta* by the monk Job describes how the despot of Arta, Michael II Angelos, was supposedly persuaded to fall in love with his mistress Gangrene because of her sorcery and so send his saintly wife Theodora into exile;[11] and one story from the posthumous miracles of Patriarch Athanasios I may also be mentioned, where smoke from burnt pieces of the saint's garments was said to have been inhaled to effect a cure from fever.[12]

Turning to historical works, there is, for example, the reference made by

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using such references as evidence for contemporary magical practice and belief are, however, highlighted here by the fact (apparently previously unnoticed) that some of what Bryennios says is very close indeed to the wording of some passages in Pseudo-Chrysostom, Λόγος περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν καὶ ψευδοδιδασκάλων καὶ ἀθέων αἱρετικῶν, PG 59, cols. 553–68. Compare, too, some of the lists of problems appearing in the unpublished encyclicals of Patriarch Athanasios I, on which see below, note 19.

[10] Λόγος εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ μυροῤῥόα μεγάλου Δημητρίου, ed. I. Iberites, Μακεδονικά 1 (1940), chap. 6, 340–41. On this passage in particular see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 196–98, and on the work in general, I. Dujčev, "À quelle époque vécut l'hagiographe Jean Staurakios," *AnalBoll* 100 (1982), 677–81 and idem, "La miracula S. Demetrii Thessalonicensis di Giovanni Stauracio," *RSBN* 14–16 (1977–79), 239–47.

[11] The life was written by the monk Job Meles or Melias Iasites in the late 13th century. There is a short version, Job Monachos, *Life of Saint Theodora of Arta,* PG 127, cols. 903–8 (edited from A. Mustoxidi, *Hellenomnemon* [1843], 42–59); and a longer version which was published anonymously in Ἀκολουθία τῆς ὁσίας μητρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρας τῆς βασιλίσσης . . . (Ioannina(?), 1772) and reprinted in Ἡ ἁγία Θεοδώρα βασιλίσσα τῆς Ἄρτης, prologue by Spyridon of Arta, notes by O. Peranthe and K. Bandalouka (Athens, 1938), 19–32. There is another edition, which I have been unable to see, in J. A. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches,* II (Paris, 1843), 401–6. On the dating of this work see L. I. Vranousis, Χρονικὰ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς καὶ τουρκοκρατουμένης Ἠπείρου (Ioannina, 1962), 49–54. On the historical context of the incident, see D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros (1204–1267)* (Oxford, 1957), 128–34 and 215; also idem, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479* (Cambridge, 1984), 4–6.

[12] Theoktistos the Stoudite, Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου ΚΠ, ed. A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983), chaps. 31–32, pp. 82–85. Cf. below, note 55, and further on the fine line between the acceptability or unacceptability of practices like this, whether or not they involved members of the clergy; see also below, pp. 148–50 and note 106.

George Pachymeres to the accusations of sorcery leveled by Theodore II Laskaris against such people at the Nicene court as the Mouzalon brothers and Michael Palaeologus and his sister;[13] or again, there are the allegations by Nikephoros Gregoras that Patriarch John Kalekas attempted to inspire the assassination of John Kantakouzenos by magical means.[14] Outside his historical work, Gregoras is even more important here for the way in which he preserves some ancient ideas and provides pieces of contemporary information on both the theory and practice of magic in his commentary on the *de Insomniis* of Synesios of Cyrene.[15] Finally, in Palaeologan literary products themselves, there are, for example, fascinating references to witches and sorceresses and their activities in the verse romances *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* and *Libistros and Rhodamne,*[16] while the idea of the pierced wax figurine used in love magic is referred to in the contemporary translation of Ovid's *Heroides* by Maximos Planoudes.[17]

Now, clearly, if this was the only sort of information surviving from this period, as it unfortunately is for many other phases of Byzantine history, it would be difficult indeed to attempt to draw from it any very far-reaching or well-founded conclusions as to the actual beliefs and the practices of magic,

[13] *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis,* ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1835), I.12; see also Theodore's letter to Nikephoros Blemmydes, ed. N. Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII* (Florence, 1898), letter 48, pp. 64–66, where he discusses his illness.

[14] *Nicephori Gregorae byzantina historia,* ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829–55), XII, 10.5. For the association of Gregoras himself with sorcery by Patriarch Kallistos, see D. B. Gone, Τὸ Συγγραφικὸν Ἔργον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχοῦ Καλλίστου Α΄ (Athens, 1980), 168, 194; cf. 293 and below, p. 151 note 113.

[15] Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸν Συνεσίου περὶ ἐνυπνίων λόγον, PG149, cols. 521–642 (hereafter Gregoras, *de Insomniis*). See, e.g., the distinction between μαγεία, γοητεία, and φαρμακεία, referred to above (note 4), or cols. 615–19 where necromancy (νεκυομαντεία, here equated with ψυχοπομπία and ψυχαγωγία) is explained. On the dating and context of this work, see I. Ševčenko, "Some Autographs of Nikephorus Gregoras," *Mélanges Ostrogorsky,* II, *ZVI* 8.2 (1964), 435–42; and H. V. Beyer, ed., *Nikephoros Gregoras, Antirrhetika,* I, Wiener byzantinische Studien 12 (Vienna, 1976), 25–31.

[16] Τὸ μυθιστόρημα τοῦ Καλλιμάχου καὶ τῆς Χρυσορρόης, ed. E. Kriaras, Βυζαντινὰ Ἱπποτικὰ Μυθιστορήματα (Athens, 1955), 50, 53–54, 80; Τὸ μυθιστόρημα τοῦ Λιβίστρου καὶ τῆς Ῥοδάμνης, ed. J. A. Lambert, *Le roman de Libistros et Rhodamné* (Amsterdam, 1935), 221–22. On these figures see also Greenfield, *Demonology,* 250–51.

[17] A. Palmer, *Ovidi Heroides* (Oxford, 1898), 189.

or the part these played in the *mentalité* of different social groups in the Palaeologan context, let alone that of society as a whole. While such references may give some vague and haphazard indications of the range of ideas that were current concerning these things and even of some details associated with them, by themselves they cannot really support any definite conclusions.

Fortunately, however, there *is* far more to go on here. For instance, there are records of quite a number of trials held before the patriarchal court involving both practitioners of sorcery and their clients, which help to confirm the real existence of beliefs and perhaps even of practices to which reference is made not only in these trials but also in both the minor references illustrated above and, more important, in the detailed, technical works to be discussed below.[18] In short, there seem to be some good reasons for supposing that we are not dealing simply with myth and fantasy here but with the real beliefs and activities of real people.[19]

[18] These records are published by F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana,* 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90) (hereafter MM); on them see also V. Grumel, V. Laurent, and J. Darrouzès, *Les regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople,* 6 vols. (Istanbul-Paris, 1932–79) (hereafter Dar. *Reg.*). They are MM I, 180–81, no. 79 (Dar. *Reg.* V, 140–41, no. 2183); MM I, 184–87, no. 85 (Dar. *Reg.* V, 143–44, no. 2187); MM I, 188–90, no. 86 (Dar. *Reg.* V, 144–45, no. 2188); MM I, 301–6, no. 134 (Dar. *Reg.* V, 260–61, no. 2318); MM I, 317–18, no. 137 (Dar. *Reg.* V, 276, no. 2331); MM I, 342–44, no. 153 (Dar. *Reg.* V, 277–78, no. 2334); MM I, 541–50, no. 292 (Dar. *Reg.* V, 480–86, nos. 2572–75; MM I, 560, no. 305 (Dar. *Reg.* V, 518, no. 2615); MM I, 594–95, no. 331 (Dar. *Reg.* V, 543, no. 2648); MM II, 84–85, no. 377 (Dar. *Reg.* VI, 78, no. 2770). These trials are studied in some detail by Cupane, "La magia"; on them see also Pingree, "Abramios," 192–93. Another trial, of 1315, also refers to the practice of magic: H. Hunger and O. Kresten, eds., *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel,* I, CFHB 19.1 (Vienna, 1981), 176–81, no. 11 (MM I, 14–16, no. 6 [Dar. *Reg.* V, 29, no. 2039]).

[19] Note, too, the evidence provided by the writings of Patriarch Kallistos I from the mid-14th century which relates closely to several of these trials; see Gone, *Kallistos,* 168, 194, 213–14, 218, 229–39, 293, 326. Also to be mentioned in this context are the references to magic, sorcery, divination, and other related practices found in a number of the encyclicals of Patriarch Athanasios I; these draw heavily on earlier canonical condemnations, and it is thus perhaps difficult to use them as evidence for particular practices, but they nevertheless would seem to provide a further indication of the continued popularity of magic in general in the early 14th century. The encyclicals are unpublished but are summarized in Dar. *Reg.* IV, 377 (#3), no. 1595; 519 (#7), no. 1738; 527

While the records of such trials are important in establishing the reality of magic at this time, other evidence provides considerably more detail concerning these matters. To be included here are relatively minor works which, although far from devoted to details of magical practice and belief, are still of considerable relevance. There is, for example, the well-known *de Daemonibus,* once attributed to Michael Psellos but now probably to be seen as belonging to this period, which preserves some interesting ideas about magic as well as the demonology for which it is renowned.[20] The same is true of the other pseudo-Psellian piece, *Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus,*[21] and also of the *Testament of Solomon,* a work inherited from much earlier times but which was certainly quite well-known in circles interested in such matters during the Palaeologan period if the manuscript tradition is anything to go by.[22]

More directly magical in nature are some isolated pieces such as the stories and amulets designed to ward off the female demon Gylou;[23] or surviving pieces of astrological material and detailed horoscopes,[24] in which context the

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(#20), no. 1747; 528–29 (#9), no. 1748; 530, no. 1749; 542 (#18), no. 1762; 553 (#3–5), no. 1777; 556 (#18), no. 1778; 557 (#11–12), no. 1779.

[20] Τιμόθεος ἢ περὶ δαιμόνων, ed. P. Gautier, "Le *de Daemonibus* du Pseudo-Psellos," *REB* 38 (1980), 105–94 (hereafter *de Daemonibus*); see also N. Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoridi, "«Τιμόθεος ἢ περὶ δαιμόνων», ἕνα νέο χειρόγραφο," Βυζαντιακά 8 (1988), 151–56. The substantially similar alternative redaction which survives in two manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries is edited by J. Bidez, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs,* VI (Brussels, 1928), 97–131.

[21] Ed. P. Gautier, "Pseudo-Psellos: Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus," *REB* 46 (1988), 85–107. This work draws much of its material on magic, sorcery, and divination directly from the later, alternative redaction of the *de Daemonibus,* on which see above.

[22] *The Testament of Solomon,* ed. C. C. McCown (Leipzig, 1922). There are 15th-century manuscripts belonging to all McCown's different recensions. There is an English translation of the 16th-century manuscript (P) edited by Migne (PG 122, cols. 1315–58): F. C. Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," *JQR* 11 (1898–99), 1–45. The earliest fragment of the work which has survived comes from the 6th century: K. Preisendanz, "Ein Wiener Papyrusfragment zum Testamentum Salomonis," *Symbolae Raphaeli Taubenschlag Dedicatae,* III (Warsaw-Bratislava, 1957), 161–67.

[23] The earliest surviving versions of these "literary amulets" come from the 15th century, although they were clearly current for centuries before then. See particularly R. P. H. Greenfield, "Saint Sisinnios, the Archangel Michael and the Female Demon Gylou: The Typology of the Greek Literary Stories," Βυζαντινά 15 (1989), 83–142. Also see D. B. Oikonomides, "Ἡ Γελλὼ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ Ῥουμανικὴν λαο-

Hermippos of John Katrones must be mentioned, a short treatise that provides some theoretical treatment of the role of demons in the "science" of astrology.[25] Other works that were clearly in use at this time were the *Book of Wisdom,* a collection of various pieces of magical lore connected with the name of Apollonius of Tyana which probably originated in the fifth or sixth century,[26] and the well-known *Corpus Hermeticum* which seems to have enjoyed something of a vogue in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[27] Again, there are quite a number of scattered collections of spells and a great variety of other loosely connected magical or semi-magical material surviving in manuscripts from this period.[28]

γραφίαν," Λαογραφία 30 (1975–76), 246–78; and H. A. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* (Stuttgart, 1931). The most recent study to touch on the subject, although it shows no awareness of these three works, is that of I. Sorlin, "Striges et Géloudes: Histoire d'une croyance et d'une tradition," *TM* 11 (1991), 411–36.

[24] For references and the publication and English translation of some such material, see Pingree, "Abramios." The many 13–15th-century Greek manuscripts containing astrological material are described, and some passages published, in the *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum,* 12 vols. (Brussels, 1898–1936) (hereafter *CCAG*).

[25] Ἑρμιππος ἢ περὶ ἀστρολογίας, ed. G. Kroll and P. Viereck (Leipzig, 1895). On the attribution of this work to John Katrares (*PLP,* no. 11551) and its dating, see F. Jürss, "Iohannes Katrarios und der Dialog Hermippos oder über die Astrologie," *BZ* 59 (1966), 275–84; see also G. de Andrés, J. Irigoin, and W. Hörandner, "Iohannes Katrarios und seine dramatisch-poetische Produktion," *JÖB* 23 (1974), 201–14.

[26] The Βίβλος σοφίας has survived in fragmentary form, quite often in association with the *Magic Treatise* (on which see below); these fragments are edited by F. N. Nau, *Patrologia Syriaca* (Paris) II, 1362–92, from manuscripts that include, from the 15th century, Parisinus gr. 2419 and Parisinus gr. 2316; by Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 601–3 from Bononiensis 3632 of the 15th century; and by F. Boll, *CCAG,* VII, 174–81, from the similarly dated Berolinensis 173. Further on this work see D. Pingree, "Some Sources of the Ghayat al-hakim," *JWarb* 43 (1980), 9.

[27] Ed. A. D. Nock with a French translation by A. J. Festugière, 4 vols. (Paris, 1954); on its popularity at this time see I, li–liii. Note, too, the evidence provided by both the *de Insomniis* and the *Hermippos;* see Jürss, "Iohannes Katrarios," 281.

[28] Two examples of such manuscripts would be Parisinus gr. 2315, a 15th-century manuscript copied from a late 14th-century original, on which see *CCAG,* VIII.3, 27; Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 546–47; E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire,* 9 vols. (Paris, 1880–1913), II, 1–17; and Parisinus gr. 2316, again of the 15th century, on which see *CCAG,* VIII.3, 32; Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 549–53; Legrand, *Bibliothèque,* II, xviii-xxiii, 17–24 (cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* [Leipzig, 1904], 298–99). For other major examples see the manuscripts cited below (note 33), which contain versions of the *Magic*

Finally, there are the major textbooks of practical magic or sorcery in which almost all the details necessary to a practitioner of these arts are recorded in one place or another: from ingredients, through relevant astronomical, astrological, botanical, and zoological information, explanations and patterns for magic symbols, signs, and codes, texts of spells and incantations, lists of suitable demonic and angelic powers and their properties, to complete and extremely elaborate ritual procedures. Here in particular are to be mentioned the *Kyranides,* basically a textbook of more or less magical medicine and natural lore which includes a considerable amount of material on the creation of amulets, and the broader collections which may be grouped under the loose title of *Solomon's Magic Treatise* (the Ἀποτελεσματικὴ πραγματεία or Ὑγρομαντεία).

The *Kyranides,*[29] which had their origin in the first or second century A.D. while including much earlier material, were clearly being copied relatively frequently during this period,[30] like the roughly contemporary *Testament of Solomon;* they are, however, also mentioned as being in use, both in a letter of Patriarch Athanasios I written in the period 1303–5[31] and in the records of a trial before the patriarchal court in 1370.[32] Such incontrovertible evidence for the use of the *Magic Treatise* is unfortunately not available, but there can be little doubt that it was being used by Byzantine sorcerers at this time. Versions of this work exist (or existed) in at least five fifteenth-century Greek manu-

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Treatise, but much other magical material as well. Several other lesser groups of material from various sources are also edited in Delatte, *Anecdota,* I.

[29] Ed. D. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1980); see also M. Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides* (Amsterdam, 1987), which presents extracts from the text together with an English translation and commentary on them.

[30] On the manuscript tradition see Kaimakis, *Kyraniden,* 5–8. The earliest Greek manuscript is dated to 1272, and there are in addition two from the 14th and four from the 15th century. Although the work is mentioned much earlier, the earliest version of the text is in fact a Latin translation made at Constantinople in 1169, which survives in an edition printed at Leipzig in 1638; see L. Delatte, *Textes latins et vieux français relatifs aux Cyranides,* Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 92 (Paris, 1942).

[31] Athanasios, letter 69, ed. A. M. Maffry Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I,* CFHB 7 (Washington, D.C., 1975), 168, lines 80–81.

[32] MM I, 541–50, no. 292. See further Cupane, "La magia," 251–57; Cumont, "Demetrios Chloros"; and Pingree, "Abramios," 192.

scripts, while its contents in some areas reveal an unbroken, if considerably altered, tradition which stretches back to the late antique Greek magical papyri as well as forward to the modern Greek "solomonaiki."[33] Many of the practices on which the *Magic Treatise* elaborates are also well known from Byzantine sources of various periods in forms that are apparently identical or very similar. Further references seem, moreover, to confirm that works which were at least very closely related were in circulation in and before this period: there is, for instance, Choniates' mention of the βίβλον Σολομώντειον found in the possession of Isaac Aaron in 1172, which was designed to summon the demons in legions and make them hurry to perform whatever task they were given,[34] or there are the references to the foul books of Phoudoulis, the magic books of Syropoulos and Gabrielopoulos and, more particularly, to the notebook of Chloros which was "filled with all manner of impiety including incantations, chants, and names of demons" in the trial referred to above.[35]

[33] In general on this work see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 159–63, where I argue that it may well have developed, prior to the 15th century, as a hydromancy textbook to which other elaborate methods of divination were appended together with collections of relevant astrological and other magical or medical material. The various versions and sections of material are edited by A. Delatte in a number of places: principally in Delatte, *Anecdota,* I; but also see "Le Traité des Plantes Planétaires d'un manuscrit de Leningrad," Mélanges H. Grégoire, I, *AIPHOS* 9 (1949), 145–77; "Un nouveau témoin de la littérature Solomonique, le codex Gennadianus 45 d'Athènes," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques,* 5th ser., 45 (1959), 280–321. The manuscripts are described and some short extracts edited in the various volumes of the *CCAG;* for details see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 159–60; cf. Pingree, "Ghaya," 9. The 15th-century manuscripts are: Bononiensis Univers. 3632; British Museum, Harleianus 5596; Neapolitanus II C 33; Vindobonensis phil. gr. 108; and Taurinensis C VII 15 (destroyed). Most of Parisinus gr. 2419 is of the 15th century, but the portion in which the *Treatise* appears is in a later hand; Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 470.

There is still important work to be done on the connection of these traditions to those of both the Greek magic papyri and the western *Claviculae* and *Grimoires.* The only work on the former relationship to date was done by Hopfner, "Lekano-"; cf. Pingree, "Ghaya," 9–12; there has been no serious study of links with the latter. For the survival of this sort of book into modern times, quite apart from the 18th-century manuscripts edited by Delatte, see, e.g., R. and E. Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece* (Stanford, 1965), 94 (narrative 57), 31 (24), 99 (15), 325.

[34] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia,* ed. I. A. van Dieten, CFHB 11 (Berlin-New York, 1975), 146, lines 45–47. The connection to this particular branch of the Solomonic literature is made, for instance, by K. Preisendanz, "Salomon," *RE,* Suppl. 8 (1956), col. 669, and by McCown, *Testament,* 101–2.

[35] MM I, 543–44, no. 292.

The problems of using this material as certain evidence for Palaeologan magic are, however, illustrated by the fact that one of the fifteenth-century manuscripts (Neapolitanus II C33) was written only ca. 1495. Nevertheless, what does seem clear is that one is working with ancient traditions here which were treated with similar respect to those of more orthodox religious beliefs and practices in the Byzantine world. It thus seems reasonable to take these manuscripts as providing a *general* idea of what was going on at this time, providing too much emphasis is not placed on particular details. The point is made by comparing the fifteenth-century manuscripts with those from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, also published by A. Delatte, where a very close general relationship is apparent. Caution is necessary nevertheless, for one of the problems with earlier studies, such as that by C. Bruel, must be the willingness to assume that evidence found only in these late writings indicates the existence of that specific belief or practice in the Byzantine period.[36]

Although it is a decidedly artificial arrangement and one that is not at all suggested by the sources being used, the late Byzantine beliefs and practices concerning magic are divided up in what follows into three general categories for purposes of examination: those of protection, manipulation, and the attainment of normally hidden knowledge.[37] In each case there is evidence of a wide range of levels of approach, from very sophisticated and complex ideas to simple, almost naive concepts.

The first category, then, involves magical practices and devices designed to render a person, his family, or his possessions safe from harm caused by evil spirits, other men, diseases, or the forces of nature. Perhaps the most obvious and widespread apotropaic practice which may be seen to have involved at least some degree of magical conception was the wearing of amulets or the deliberate location of related objects in specific places. Amulets, whether pri-

[36] Cf. L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme*, Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe de Lettres, Mémoires, 2nd ser., 52.1 (Brussels, 1957), where an 18th-century manuscript is taken as indicating specific beliefs of "Byzantines."

[37] One of the most obvious problems with such a categorization is that in each case there is obviously significant overlap, particularly when the manipulation of spiritual powers is concerned. As will become apparent below, on some occasions it is almost entirely pointless to try to distinguish between rituals or devices designed to secure protection from such powers and those designed to enforce their cooperation, while the same sort of manipulation is necessarily seen to be involved in many of the more elaborate techniques and theories of divination.

marily Christian or of a less orthodox nature, are discussed elsewhere in this volume, so there is no need to elaborate on them here, although it should be pointed out that the evidence for them from the Palaeologan period rests almost entirely on literary rather than physical sources. Thus, while tangible and visible information is lacking, there is perhaps a greater conceptual depth to our understanding of these objects in this period and the way in which they were thought to operate.

It is clear that people at this time believed that a great range of objects could act as amulets and protect them from various ills and misfortunes in a multitude of situations.[38] At the most basic level, something like a particular stone, such as the rattling stone known as the "eagle stone" which was regarded as especially helpful in pregnancy, or a bunch of special roots could be thought to avert particular dangers.[39] More often, however, it would seem that amulets were more complicated and involved the combination of a variety of such basic elements. They would thus include bits of animals, fish, birds, minerals, and plants; these would normally be made into a ring or placed in a small leather bag which would be worn suspended round the neck or concealed elsewhere on the body.[40]

A further degree of complication was added by the inclusion of graphic elements in the amulet, whether inscribed or engraved on a piece of mineral or

[38] Comments on the general use of amulets are made by, for instance, Joseph Bryennios: see especially *Keph.* 25, 77, where the substitution of Christian symbols and acts is recommended, such as the wearing of the image of the Virgin or the cross; cf. *Keph.* 11, 59 and *Keph.* 47, 227. See also statements in the encyclicals of Athanasios I: Dar. *Reg.* IV, 519 (#7), no. 1738; 542 (#18), no. 1762; cf. 553–54 (#4–6), no. 1777; 556 (#18), no. 1778.

[39] Most stones are usually mentioned in the sort of combination amulets referred to below, and instructions usually call for them to be inscribed in some way, but it is clear that many were believed from antiquity to possess apotropaic powers and characteristics on their own. On the "eagle stone," which was also good for other things besides pregnancy, see *Kyranides,* I.1, 170–75; Waegeman, *Amulet,* 15–16; also C. N. Bromehead, "Aetites or the Eagle-stone," *Antiquity* 21 (1947), 16–22. See, in general, the "Orphic" Λιθικά and the other Greek works on stones published (with a French translation) by R. Halleux and J. Schamp, *Les lapidaires grecs* (Paris, 1985); all were copied in the Palaeologan period. For roots in general used as amulets, see again the condemnation by Bryennios, *Keph.* 25, 77.

[40] See most of the amulets described in the *Kyranides;* among good examples are those found at I.7, 97–121 or I.13, 16–26. On the latter see also Waegeman, *Amulet,* 103–9; and C. Bonner, "The Technique of Exorcism," *HThR* 36 (1943), 39–49. Bryennios mentions amulets specifically being worn round the neck, *Keph.* 47, 227 and *Keph.* 25, 77, which also indicates, apparently, that they are fastened elsewhere.

plant that it contained or on an added piece of paper or parchment. At one end of the possible range here were simple pictures, such as those of the birds, animals, or deities to be inscribed on the stones used in the amulets in the first book of the *Kyranides,* indicating either the power believed to be at work in the amulet or being associated with it.[41] Similar pictures would also sometimes provide a more or less crude depiction of the purpose behind the amulet, a kite tearing a snake to pieces in an amulet for indigestion and stomach complaints, for instance, or bound evil spirits in amulets against epilepsy, possession, and fever.[42] Other graphic elements employed in these amulets were relatively simple names, or signs such as the pentalpha of "Solomon's seal" or the Christian cross, but more complicated formulae and designs contrived out of magic symbols were also used. Here one may think of the case before the patriarchal court in which a certain Kappadokes was accused of having constructed a paper amulet containing names and characters with the intention of assisting a monk who wished to become a bishop,[43] or else of the episode from the *Miracles of St. Demetrios* by John Staurakios in which the eparch Marianus is given a parchment amulet to wear inscribed with "names of gods, drawings of circles and semicircles, images of all kinds of designs, and extraordinary pictures of *eidola.*"[44] Among the most complicated amulets of this type for which instructions survive is the "ourania" of Solomon, a device worn on the chest by the sorcerer during the major rituals of the *Magic Treatise.*[45] Eventually, at the end of the range, lie the long, written "amuletic" incantations or stories, most obviously those connected with the demoness Gylou, which, in themselves and without the presence of other physical elements, were clearly thought to be effective when properly empowered and utilized.[46]

[41] See, e.g., *Kyranides,* I.4, 45–46 (the woodpecker and the weever fish), or I.5, 27–31 and I.10 (Aphrodite).

[42] Indigestion: *Kyranides* I.9, 12; epilepsy, possession, fever: Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 486–87 and 489–90.

[43] MM I, 343–44, no. 153; cf. 180, no. 79.

[44] Staurakios, 340–41 and see above, note 10. There is a particularly good, illustrated example of a range of moderately sophisticated amulets of this type in Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 603–7. For a selection of further examples see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 278–79.

[45] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 414–15, 477.

[46] On the Gylou stories see above, note 23. There are a number of versions of this story which are only distantly connected to the mainstream texts: see Greenfield, "Gylou," 117–20, and note especially the two published by A. A. Vasiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina,* I (Moscow, 1893), lxviii (cf. Delatte, *Anecdota,* I 618–19) and 336–

The theory that lay behind these amulets evidently embraced a similarly wide range as the objects themselves. At one extreme, there is apparently a simple belief that certain objects, particularly sharp ones, may act as purely physical deterrents, even to essentially spiritual forces.[47] Other concepts come into play which hold that more or less complicated patterns of natural attraction and repulsion operate throughout the fabric of the physical and spiritual worlds.[48] Others, again, hold that knowledge of names and words of power, whether on the side of good or evil, gives control of lesser spiritual and physical beings.[49] Finally, elements of all such theoretical notions are woven together into extremely complicated systems that involve a knowledge of immensely detailed spiritual and physical hierarchies and their relation to complex astrologically dominated cosmologies.[50]

At the higher levels, rituals of preparation become increasingly important to the supposed efficacy of the amulet, even though these will obviously leave no trace at all in a description, or even the physical remains, of the completed object. The elements of which the amulet is composed will have to be gathered and combined at the right times; they will have to be prepared with the right incantations and ritual actions; and the practitioner will have to be in the correct ritual state. The cases of the sorcerers Kappadokes and Tzerentzes mentioned above both give a glimpse of such preparations, for the former was said

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37, both from 15th-century manuscripts. For other rather similar "amuletic stories" or prayers, see A. A. Barb, "Antaura and the Devil's Grandmother," *JWarb* 29 (1966), 2–4; and note the legendary letter of Jesus to King Abgar which was used in much the same way: Procopius, *Bell. Pers.* 2.12. See also Stewart, *Demons,* 225–32, for very similar modern spells or prayers used against erysipelas, jaundice, and sunstroke.

[47] Thus a quite wide variety of sharp objects is found in amulets against spiritual forces in the *Kyranides,* e.g., I.17. Note also the sharp implements believed to be used by sorcerers during their rituals: see below p. 142 note 83; and further, Greenfield, *Demonology,* 262.

[48] This is the principle, inherited from late antiquity and earlier, that lies behind the *Kyranides* and all related material. See in particular here Gregoras, *de Insomniis,* col. 538, for a clear restatement of the theory; cf. *Graecorum opiniones,* 103; Bidez, *Catalogue,* VI, 129. In general see Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber,* Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde 21 (Leipzig, 1921; repr. Amsterdam, 1974), 211–12, 227–367; Koukoules, βίος, I.2, 259–63.

[49] See Greenfield, *Demonology,* 268–77.

[50] See in particular Greenfield, *Demonology,* 175–76, 219–36, and the many references provided there; lists of names of such beings are given at 336–51.

to have left his amulet lying beneath the stars all night, while the latter was alleged to have written, and then erased and trampled on, "God's holy name."[51] Characteristic detail is provided here by the *Magic Treatise,* which includes rituals for the procurement and preparation of the parchment needed to make such amulets using the skin of a newly born animal or, even better, one that has been killed before it has even set foot on the ground at birth, as well as instructions for the manufacture of the special pen and inks to be employed, the latter often requiring the blood of a ritually slaughtered animal or bird.[52] Clearly the level of sophistication in theory and practice necessarily matched the context in which the amulet was being used and the conceptual approach of the person by whom or for whom it was being made.

While amulets, in all their variety, were clearly the most usual and common magical apotropaic devices, there is, however, evidence of other magical procedures which were believed capable of protecting people from misfortune and particularly harm at the hands of evil spirits. At a simple level, offerings of various kinds, which are presumably related to the popular connection of demons with the ancient deities and ideas of their propitiation through sacrifice, could be thought to render evil spirits affable and docile;[53] the same was true of the "aromata," the incenses and smokes which could drive away as well as attract and satisfy such beings. An illustration of such notions may be found in the testimony of Joseph Bryennios who mentions people burning incense not only to their fig trees and cucumbers, but also to the "stoicheia" of their houses.[54] More particularly, the *Kyranides* refer on a number of occasions to certain smokes being useful in driving evil spirits away; burnt peony root or goose dung may be employed, but more common seems to be the smoke from the burnt bones of various fish.[55] This idea seems certainly to be related to the passages in the book of Tobit in the Septuagint where the demon Asmodaeus

[51] MM I, 343–44, no. 153, and 180, no. 79.

[52] For references and further details, see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 282–83.

[53] On the use of offerings as inducements to spiritual powers in magical rituals, rather than simply as means of rendering them affable and so providing protection from them, see below, pp. 140–41.

[54] Bryennios, *Keph.* 47, 227.

[55] *Kyranides,* I.3, 21 (peony root); III.51, 20–22 (wild goose dung); IV.13, 2–3 (bones of γλάνις, the sheat fish); IV.1, 6–7 (bones of "eagle" fish); IV.55, 4 (beak of garfish). Clearly to be compared here is the report, mentioned above, that a relic of Patriarch Athanasius I was burned to effect a cure for fever.

is said to have been put to flight by the burnt heart and liver of a fish,[56] an idea also present in the *Testament of Solomon.*[57]

In more complicated ways, magic circles of various kinds were believed to protect sorcerers during their conjurations. At times these could be extremely elaborate, such as one described in the *Magic Treatise* which consists of two concentric circles, capable of surrounding two people, drawn inside a square that is aligned with the points of the compass; the circumference of the circle is protected by magic names, words, and signs written around it, while more inscriptions are used to seal the entrance once the sorcerer and his assistant are within.[58] Special clothing, too, might be required for safety during the performance of magical rituals. These robes, which could include inner and outer garments, gloves, and headbands, were basically of white material which had to be either new or at least clean; detailed instructions are provided in the *Magic Treatise* as to the signs and symbols that are to be drawn on the various garments, significantly at points at which they opened or came into contact with the surrounding environment, such as at the neck, on the palms of the hands, or on the soles of the feet.[59] Furthermore ritual purity dependent on food, drink, ablutions, and sexual continence might be thought vital for the protection of those engaged in the conduct of magical practices.[60]

While protection may thus be the object of one broad group of late Byzantine magical beliefs and practices, a second group has to do with manipulation:

[56] Tobit 6:6–7, 8:2–3.

[57] *Testament of Solomon,* 23*-24*.

[58] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 416–18; there is an (unpublished) illustration of the circle in the manuscript (Harleianus 5596, fol. 34v). For other complex designs see ibid., 425–26, 432, 493–95; for more simple ones, ibid., 432 (cf. 592–93), 480, 578, 580, 595. See further here Greenfield, *Demonology,* 286–87. There is no direct Palaeologan evidence for "magic circles" protecting communities and so forth, but note the popular ideas, apparent from later periods and quite probably in effect at this time (particularly if the analogy of the "holy defenses" of major cities like Constantinople and Thessaloniki is followed); see C. Stewart, *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture* (Princeton, 1991), 166–69, cf. 242; also J. du Boulay, "The Greek Vampire, a Study of Cyclical Symbolism in Marriage and Death," *Man* 17 (1982), 219–38.

[59] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 412–13, 416, 425, 508, 590.

[60] See, e.g., Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 411–13. It might also, however, be useful in bringing about the necessary association of the sorcerer with the spiritual powers being employed. For further details and references, see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 287–91.

the manipulation of natural forces, of the physical well-being of people, animals, and crops, of human relationships, and the manipulation of supernatural beings themselves which lay at the heart of a large proportion of these magical processes. Again there is a great range of levels of conceptualization apparent here in both the techniques employed and the theories on which these depended.

It is clear, then, that people believed it was possible to effect cures, as well as prevent the onset of disease and illness, by magical means, although often, as with any medicine, it is hard to tell where prevention ends and cure begins. Magical medicine of one type or another seems to have been popular and relates most often either to notions (already mentioned in the context of amulets) of cosmic sympathy and antipathy or to ideas of possession and the exorcism of evil spiritual powers which are thought to be causing the problem. The *Kyranides* undoubtedly form the main source of evidence here, but there are also very many scattered medico-magical spells in the manuscripts designed to deal with all manner of everyday afflictions, from hair loss through toothache to more serious ailments such as fever, crushed bones, epilepsy, and deafness.[61] Much of this magical medicine is inherently bound up with the concept of such powers as the Decans, ideas of which survive in the *Testament of Solomon* and more vaguely elsewhere;[62] of the thirty-six Decans, three-quarters are thus linked to specific medical conditions, but other individual demons of disease are known from the *Testament,* the *Kyranides,* and the general late Byzantine magical tradition.[63]

Just as the physical well-being of people could be affected in the area of health, it was also believed that magic could provide them with physical wealth, could make them attractive, successful, and wise, and fulfill all the other myriad human desires and aspirations. Joseph Bryennios thus describes incantations being used both for agricultural prosperity of various sorts and to avert the opposite,[64] while clear examples of magic for gaining influence or

[61] See, e.g., Delatte, *Anecdota,* 481–93. Note that the *Graecorum opiniones,* 103, refers to magical figurines being used for health; Bidez, *Catalogue,* VI, 129.

[62] *Testament of Solomon,* 51*-59*; to which compare the first six demons of the West, Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 427, and see further Greenfield, *Demonology,* 227–29.

[63] E.g., Legrand, *Bibliothèque,* II, 17–19; Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 484–85; see further Greenfield, *Demonology,* 237–40; Delatte and Josserand, "Contribution," 229–30.

[64] Bryennios, *Keph.* 47, 228; *Keph.* 25, 76; in the *Magic Treatise* see, e.g., Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 398.19–23, 402.6–7, 424, 507–9; and in the *Testament of Solomon,* 78*, 82*.

favor may be found in the cases from the patriarchal court in which Kappadokes was accused of trying to help a monk become a bishop and where Syropoulos was alleged to have tried to secure pardon for a priest.[65]

By the same token, however, and in the same ways, magic could be used to bring about sickness, disability, or misfortune: people could be driven mad, rendered impotent, made to sicken and even to die; the same thing could be done to their animals, and their crops could be ruined by blight, insects, or storms.[66] Among the commonest notions that relate to such uses of magic were those of "binding," whereby some magical hindrance or block was applied to the victim,[67] or of piercing, wherein a sympathetic reaction was inspired in the victim by sticking pins, needles, or other sharp objects into a model of some sort, or where evil spirits were attached or "fixed" to a victim or to an object in a similar way.[68]

[65] MM I, 343–44, no. 153, and 547, no. 292; and see also Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 398–99, 401–3, 468. Many of the amulets in the *Kyranides* also have such ends in view, e.g., I.1, I.2, I.3, etc.

[66] Of course, success for one person necessarily means failure or harm for another; the two concepts go together. For a particularly clear example of this belief, note the fears of Theodore II Laskaris reported by Pachymeres (above, note 13); and the fears of Constantine Palates concerning his mother-in-law in a case before the patriarchal court: Hunger and Kresten, *Register,* 178.22–24, no. 11. Note, too, the allegations made by Gregoras against John Kalekas (see above, note 14); Gregoras also repeats the belief that demons can be called up by necromancy and made to work harm: *de Insomniis,* PG 149, col. 618. The *de Daemonibus,* 173, reports that sorcerers can make demons cause terrible evils; and the *Graecorum opiniones,* 103, states that magic is able to produce sickness; Bidez, *Catalogue,* VI, 129. See also in this context Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 397, 401–2. Particularly revealing, too, is the prayer for release from magic in Legrand, *Bibliothèque,* II, xviii-xix, which refers to the various places in which harmful magical potions and objects might be hidden and, indirectly, the things they might be thought to cause. For causing hatred by magic, see Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 402, 456, 467, 625.

[67] For binding see, e.g., Bryennios, *Keph.* 47, 228; Delatte, *Anecdota,* 402, 551–52, 581–82, 612; Legrand, *Bibliothèque,* II, xviii. In general see Ph. Koukoules, "Μεσαιωνικοὶ καὶ Νεοελληνικοὶ καταδεσμοί," Λαογραφία 8 (1921–25), 302–46, and 9 (1926–28), 52–108. Note that the *de Daemonibus,* 173, refers to *demons* being bound by sorcerers using such things as saliva, human nails and hair, lead, wax, and thread, and then being employed to do harm. See also *Graecorum opiniones,* 101–3; Bidez, *Catalogue,* VI, 128.

[68] See, for a particularly clear example, Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 461 (there is another version at 501); also 459–60. Note also the *Graecorum opiniones,* 103; Bidez, *Catalogue,*

This sort of technique was frequently associated with "love"—or, better, lust—magic,[69] although there were evidently many other practices that could be employed to the same end. Here a person was forced by magical means to comply with the sexual desires of the practitioner or the client, the penalty for failing to do so being various unpleasant forms of suffering. The victim was usually a woman, although there is evidence of this sort of magic also being used on a man in the case from the patriarchal court of Exotrochina, a wealthy woman who allegedly tried to obtain the hand of a nobleman by magical means.[70] Surviving texts reveal the same levels of complex and elaborate theoretical sophistication in some rituals of this type as was seen with some amulets. For instance, one set of instructions requires a wax figurine to be made before sunrise on the sixth day when the moon is waxing. The names of the victim (in this case a girl) and her mother, together with those of the practitioner (or client) and his mother have to be inscribed on specific parts of the body of the figurine, while the names of the demons Loutzipher, Beelzeboul, and Astaroth are written on paper which is then inserted into a slit cut into the wax. Further rituals involve piercing the heart of the figurine with a needle and then sweating it over coals for three nights while conjuring the demons in question, before it is cut into six separate sections and burnt while further conjurations are repeated nine times over each.[71] Other practices, however, either involved a rather crude simplification of the same type of theory or else operated on quite different and undeveloped principles. For instance, a woman who is touched with a magical parchment using dust taken from her right footprint will submit to the will of the magician, while an apple on which

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VI, 129; and the mention in the translation of Ovid referred to above. For fixing a spirit in a particular place so that it may be controlled for magical purposes, see Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 578; cf. 468, 580. See also Greenfield, *Demonology,* 263–64, 266–68.

[69] The moral ambiguity of such magic is clear here. When regarded from the point of view of sorcerer and client, it was beneficial, or at least useful (if perhaps only from a psychological point of view); from the standpoint of the victim, however, it was most definitely not, amounting to rape, since the woman was being forced into a sexual relationship against her will (always supposing the magic worked).

[70] MM I, 549–50, no. 292.

[71] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 461. See also the other examples cited in note 68 above; and cf. ibid., 399, 401, 456, where love spells and astrological theory are again clearly combined. For a complex love spell apparently without figurines, see ibid., 422–24.

magic signs have been written will have the same effect on the victim if she eats it.[72]

As is clear here, it was also believed that spiritual as well as physical beings could be manipulated by the techniques of sorcery. Such manipulation, for whatever ends, was again thought to be possible through a wide range of methods which depended on a similarly wide range of theoretical justifications; demons, angels, and other minor spiritual powers could be bent to the will of the sorcerer either in isolation or more usually in combination.

The variety of means available to practitioners of this sort of magic thus included the invocation of either general groups or named individual spirits. The *Magic Treatise,* for instance, invokes such beings as "Lady Sympilia" in a katoptromancy or "Princess Todedide and the demons who control lust" in a love spell,[73] while both it and the *Testament of Solomon* contain long lists of individually named demons, categorized in various ways, for precisely this purpose.[74]

The use of inducements in the form of physical rewards such as sacrifices and offerings might also be employed. Nikephoros Gregoras, in his commentary on the *de Insomniis,* thus refers in general to the practice of sacrificing to demons to secure their help,[75] while the *Testament of Solomon* provides instructions for the sacrifice of fifty-one unborn black kids in order to obtain a list of demons.[76] The *Magic Treatise,* too, requires the sacrifice and employment of the blood of a white bird during an elaborate love charm,[77] and it also contains instructions for various feasts which are clearly intended to induce cooperation

[72] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 456–58, 465. See also ibid., 466–67, where several simple (and garbled) love charms are given, including one that uses a loaf of bread inscribed with the magical female Anerada.

[73] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 433 and 593–94 (Sympilia); 459 (Todedide); these are but two among many examples, for the naming of individuals or specific groups in magic rituals and spells is very common. For reference to naming in general, see MM I, 189, no. 86, and 544, no. 292.

[74] So, e.g., *Testament of Solomon,* 51*-59* (36 decans); 78*-82* (named demons); Delatte, *Anecdota,* I 403–4, 434–38 (demons and angels of days and hours); 426–27 (demons of the four quarters). See also Greenfield, *Demonology,* 219–36.

[75] Gregoras, *de Insomniis,* 616.

[76] *Testament of Solomon,* 77*.

[77] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I 459–60.

by the spirits: for instance, in a ritual designed to employ a "stoicheion" called Mortze, the sorcerer has to prepare a table for the spirit and cannot proceed with his conjuration until there is visible evidence of the food having been consumed; elsewhere elaborate feasts are prepared and enjoyed by spiritual powers, although here these are not physical but visionary, being perceived in great detail by a medium during the initial stages of some of the more complex forms of divination.[78]

Closely related here was the association of the sorcerer in various ways with the powers he was intending to use. In the case of evil spirits, this association might be thought to be achieved by acts of desecration, such as the rituals, referred to in two of the trials before the patriarchal court, that involved erasing and trampling on the name of God, or writing the Lord's prayer backwards and upside down.[79] The same end might also be achieved by acts of immorality, particularly of murder or the shedding of human blood, or even by signing a pact with the devil. It should be noted, however, that there is no firm evidence of this latter belief from the Palaeologan period, and most of these practices seem to have existed primarily or only in the minds of those who wished to discredit and refute magical activities.[80] In the case of good spirits, whether these were to be used directly or merely as means of controlling and curbing the evil ones, association was completed by the various rituals of purification already mentioned and by the use of pure (usually sexually pure or virgin) materials and assistants.[81] The location and timing of such operations, too, might be seen to be vital to ensure

[78] Ibid., 578, 433. Note here the recipes for various "incenses," designed to attract the demons in magic rituals, which contain such things as snake or vulture heads and polecat's blood, ibid., 404–6, 417; also the garlands or silk cloths referred to at ibid., 468, 600, apparently for the same purpose of inducement. The *de Daemonibus,* 149–51, provides an explanation, based on earlier speculation, as to how material sacrifices could be attractive and even nutritious to spiritual beings. Further here see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 213–15, 253–55.

[79] MM I, 180, no. 79, and 343–44, no. 153.

[80] In the material in Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, there are various references to the employment of instruments used for murder, e.g., 406; or to the use of human blood or bones, e.g., 405, 417, 457; cf. the *Testament of Solomon,* 77*. Note the rites alleged to be performed by the heretics of the *de Daemonibus,* 139–41, which certainly seem to belong to the stock of inherited labels for religious or social opponents. For further references and discussion, see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 255–57.

[81] See above, note 60; again protection and control are really indistinguishable. Further here see Pingree, "Ghaya," 13.

that the forces most appropriate to the needs of the particular operation were dominant and active, and here, at the more sophisticated levels, a great deal of complex astrological knowledge was required, as well as familiarity with the powers of literally myriad individual good and evil spirits.[82]

As well as such means for inducing or enticing the spiritual powers to do their will, sorcerers were also thought to have more direct, coercive means available to them. On the one hand, as both the *de Daemonibus* and Gregoras' commentary on the *de Insomniis* make clear, it was apparently believed in a rather crude way that physical force could be employed by sorcerers, who might thus make use of spits, swords, or other sharp objects to terrify and so control the evil spirits with which they were dealing.[83] Other objects or materials, which were held to terrify or subjugate these spiritual powers, were evidently used in a rather similar way.[84]

On the other hand, much more elaborated and intellectual notions were also apparently in circulation which depended on intimidating and threatening these beings by means of naming and invoking superior powers in their own

[82] For specific days of the week see, e.g., Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 397–99; for houses of the zodiac, ibid., 401–3; in relation to the lunar month, ibid., 430–31. Note again the long lists of demons and angels preserved there which are ordered either astrologically, chronologically, or geographically. For particular locations, usually the traditional crossroads, scene of a murder, or unfrequented place, see ibid., 416–17, 425, 432, 468, 578, 580, 590, 617. For another association of sorcery and crossroads in this period, see the encyclical of Athanasios I summarized in Dar. *Reg.*, IV, 553 (#3), no. 1777. See also Greenfield, *Demonology,* 257–60.

[83] *De Daemonibus,* 163, line 444 and 177, lines 637–41; Gregoras, *de Insomniis,* col. 618. Compare, too, the almost ubiquitous black-handled knife of the sorcerer in the rituals of the *Magic Treatise* and in later Greek magic, and what was said above about fixing evil spirits in place with knives so that they could be used in magic. On the necessary materiality of the demonic "body" that an aversion to sharp objects implies, and theories concerning it, see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 211–13.

[84] So, for example, the "aromata" used for compulsion rather than inducement, which were mentioned above. Also to be considered here are amuletic devices which are conceived primarily as compelling spirits, like Solomon's seal, *Testament of Solomon,* 15*, 16*; to which may be compared the sorcerer's ring found in Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 416; or, e.g., magical devices for curing possession, ibid., 406, 605. Note also the use of the magical symbols, signs, and names written on the sorcerer's robes, on his equipment, or in his circle which may have much to do with coercion as well as protection. Note here, too, the closely parallel orthodox practices of imposing the sign of cross, a crucifix, or something like the Gospels during exorcism.

hierarchies or in those of other dominant spiritual beings. Among the most powerful were the mysterious names of God himself, of which the commonest in the Palaeologan sources are Sabaoth, Adonai, Tetragrammaton, and variants of Iao and Eloi.[85] Also employed, however, were those of major and lesser angelic beings, named either as types, like the archangels or seraphim, or else as individuals, such as Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Ouriel, although there are also long and complex lists of minor angelic names.[86] Then there were the names of planetary and cosmic spirits, as well as those of heroic and particularly holy men; here Solomon's name is by far the most powerful and frequently invoked, although other patriarchs are also used, as are saints like Sisinnios in particular circumstances, such as in charms against Gylou. Finally, recourse might be had to the names of demonic princes and rulers.[87]

As well as being used in the areas of protection and manipulation, it was evidently an extremely common belief that magic could be employed to discover knowledge that was otherwise inaccessible. Divination was thus practiced in a vast variety of ways ranging, once again, from the crude to the sophisticated in technique and in theory. For the sake of analysis alone, these methods are here divided loosely into two groups: techniques that basically involve observation or experience of phenomena, and techniques that involve deliberate manipulation and intervention on the part of the diviner.[88]

At the simple end of the scale in the first group are methods that involved the direct interpretation of sensations felt in the body as indicating some distant or future action or outcome. Joseph Bryennios thus refers to people observing the natural movements of their legs, hands, and noses, or the fluttering of their eyelids and buzzing in their ears to predict the future, while detailed charts to

[85] Others, such as Emmanuel and Pantokrator, or sequences derived from Agla (see, e.g., Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 425) are also used relatively frequently, as are reminders of divine deeds, drawn equally from both Old and New Testaments.

[86] For types see, e.g., ibid., 419, 424; for lists of individuals, which are provided in parallel to those of demons, 420–21.

[87] See, for more detail and fuller references, Greenfield, *Demonology,* 271–74.

[88] In what follows reference is made only to some of the practices for which there is direct evidence in this period. The range of techniques and methods that existed in reality should be assumed to be far larger, judging from evidence from other periods of Byzantine and post-Byzantine history. See, e.g., Koukoules, βίος, I.2, 156–226.

be used in making such predictions have also survived from this period.[89] Slightly more elaborate, but still basically dependent only on the direct experience of the subject, was oneiromancy; here dreams were interpreted either by reference to a range of simple, common knowledge or else to detailed (and often ancient) written manuals that explained the symbolism and significance of what had been seen. Gregoras' commentary on *de Insomniis* obviously springs to mind here, but there are also multiple copies of all the major surviving Byzantine *oneirokritika* from the Palaeologan period or the later fifteenth century, indicating how popular this practice was. Of particular interest is the book assigned to Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus; unfortunately he cannot be firmly identified as the book's author, even though he is known from other sources to have had an interest in dream interpretation.[90]

Moving along the scale were other types of observation that could interpret human physical features, such as the lines on the hand, the placement of moles on the body, or even the effect of urine on a lentil as a test for virginity,[91] or that studied the markings on the shoulder blades of sheep (omoplatoscopy).[92] Others again, though still not involving deliberate intervention on the part of the diviner, made predictions based on external events such as those mentioned by Joseph Bryennios which include the movement of icons, the meetings and greetings of men, and the behavior of domestic and wild birds, particularly crows.[93]

[89] Bryennios, *Keph.* 47, 227; Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 628–30.

[90] See for details here S. Oberhelman, "Prolegomena to the Byzantine *Oneirokritika,*" *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 487–503; for the latter work see now G. Calofonos, "Manuel II Palaiologos: Interpreter of Dreams?" *ByzF* 16 (1991), 447–55; also Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 511–24. For other material on dream interpretation, see ibid., 525–47. Note ibid., e.g., 468, 507, where techniques for *causing* divinatory dreams are preserved, and a number of amulets in the *Kyranides* which are said to do the same, e.g., I.3, 38 or I.19, 14–16.

[91] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 209–10 (palmistry); 627–28 (meaning of moles); 632 (test for virginity).

[92] See Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 206–9 for a 13th-century copy of short treatises on omoplatoscopy.

[93] Bryennios, *Keph.* 47, 227. In *Keph.* 11, 59, he condemns divination (μαντεῖαι) and "observations" of this sort (παρατηρήσεις) in general. Compare also the references to bears and snakes apparently being used in this way in the encyclicals of Athanasios I, Dar. *Reg.* IV, 542 (#18), no. 1762; 553 (#4), no. 1777; 556 (#18), no. 1778; 557 (#11), no. 1779.

Finally, in this class of techniques comes the extremely elaborate and developed practice of astrology, which was believed to depend on very precise astronomical observation and calculation as well as knowledge of the nature and occult powers of the celestial bodies and/or the spirits (good and bad) associated with them. By the "scientific" interpretation of such data in the light of a variety of astrological theories, it was believed that either accurate and detailed predictions of the future could be made or the most suitable moments for action be determined.[94]

In the second group, a variety of techniques involved the scattering of objects like grains (barley seems to have been a perennial favorite), beans, stones, or bones, and then reading the patterns into which they fell according to a range of different principles.[95] Rather similar was the extraction of prepared lots or other significant objects from some sort of container and interpretation of the sequence in which they appeared or their relation to the person who chose them. A clear example of this type of divination is the ritual of the κληδόνες, which is known from Joseph Bryennios as well as from references both before and after the Palaeologan period.[96] Other methods of divination

[94] For examples see Pingree, "Abramios," passim; on the distinction between the two kinds of astrology, see idem, "Ghaya," 7. Mention has been made on several occasions of the astrological considerations that were crucial to the performance of many of the more elaborate magic rituals; here the art is evidently being used for correct and propitious timing rather than prediction. Note the relatively frequent attacks on astrology which help to show how popular it was; so by Bryennios, *Keph.* 47, 227; but also by Gregoras, e.g., *Byz. Hist.* XVI, 8.5–7 in connection with a western astrologer who appeared at the Byzantine court; and by Symeon of Thessaloniki, Κατὰ αἱρεσέων, vi, PG 155, cols. 43–50. It was perhaps felt to be more dangerous than some other techniques because of the high intellectual level at which it operated in its more sophisticated forms, and it was thus attacked not only by Christian opponents but also by scholars fearful for their reputations and safety if their researches, particularly in astronomy and mathematics, were associated with it.

[95] Bryennios, *Keph.* 47, 227, mentions divination by means of barley. Barley or rye are also mentioned in the encyclicals of Athanasios I: Dar. *Reg.* IV, 530, no. 1749; 553 (#3), no. 1777; 557 (#12), no. 1779. See in particular here the cleromancy in Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 392–96; compare there, too, the various versions of arithromancy, 388–91, 451–55, 557–61, and cf. 104, 107–10; see further idem, "Traité byzantin de géomancie," *Mélanges Cumont* (1936), II, 575–658 (I have unfortunately been unable to see this work); Bruel, *Superstition,* 68–69.

[96] Bryennios, *Keph.* 47, 227; for other references see L. Oeconomos, *La vie religieuse dans l'empire Byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges* (Paris, 1918),

could involve all manner of mechanisms, such as magic words written on various foods or dropped in water which a thief would be unable to eat or drink; or an amulet tied round the neck of a bird which would settle on the guilty person's shoulder.[97]

The most common forms of manipulative divination, however, involved the use of a shining, reflective surface in which the desired information was seen in some way. While some of the surviving methods are relatively crude and unelaborate,[98] it is in these practices, particularly of lekanomancy and katoptromancy, that some of the greatest complexity and sophistication could be found in late Byzantine divination.[99] This is because these practices, at more sophisticated levels of interpretation, were linked to supernatural powers and thus involved the invocation and manipulation of (usually evil) spirits and perhaps the souls of the dead.[100] Some of the most elaborate rituals that survive

226–28; Koukoules, βίος, I.2, 167–72. Some form of the ritual is also mentioned in Pseudo-Psellos, *Graecorum opiniones,* 6, 102–5.

[97] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 608; see also here, e.g., 587, 609–11, 625. The discovery of thieves seems to have been a very popular area in which magic was used. Compare here, too, the higher level use of trial by ordeal, e.g., the incident involving Michael Palaeologus, George Akropolites, *Historia,* ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1903), 95–98.

[98] So, e.g., Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 577, 586–87, 591.

[99] There is also evidence of the same or similar types of divination throughout Byzantine history. The practice is mentioned in some detail in the *Graecorum opiniones,* 105; Bidez, *Catalogue,* VI, 129–30. Many examples of rituals of varying complexity are to be found in Delatte, *Anecdota,* I: for lekanomancy (or hygromancy) see, e.g., 430–32, 480, 493–98, 504, 588–89, 595–96; for katoptromancy, 432–34, 479, 584–85, 593. In general here see Delatte, *Catoptromancie;* and Hopfner, "Lekano-"; also Greenfield, *Demonology,* 294–96.

[100] The assumption behind most of these rituals seems to be that demonic beings of one sort or another are seen in the surface of the water or the mirror, assuming the preparations have been correctly made and the magic incantations correctly said; they will then answer whatever questions the sorcerer has for them and perhaps even do other things as well. I have argued elsewhere (see above, note 33) that the main rite of the *Magic Treatise* itself is probably to be seen as a ritual of this type from which the central hydromancy is now missing; as it stands, it simply involves the summoning of demons to the magic circle and demanding their response or action: Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 417–28. Compare to this the ritual for dealing with the "stoicheion" at ibid., 578, or those at 429–30, 468, which involve trapping a demon or spirit in some sort of vessel and then questioning it directly. The ideas are clearly related but represent different branches of the same tradition. Another branch is also apparent in one or two rituals in which there is some vague hint of necromancy, ibid., 432.22, 589–90, 593.4, 617–18; cf. 403, where hydromancy and necromancy are directly linked. Indeed, some comparative

are thus lekanomancies and katoptromancies, designed to summon, control, and use the evil spirits to reveal the future (or whatever other knowledge is desired) in the shining surface of a specially prepared vessel of water or a mirror; other reflective or bright objects that could also be employed include oiled fingernails, an oiled egg, a crystal held up to the sun, or a candle flame.[101] Usually here the revelation is not given directly to the sorcerer himself but to a child (hence virgin and pure) medium, and usually it takes place within the confines of an elaborate magic circle. Once again the techniques may reach a level that is in some ways, at least, "scientific," involving minute and painstakingly detailed preparation and ritual activity, and considerable knowledge of complex astrological and cosmological theory. Furthermore, these rites would seem to include the deliberate manipulation of sense perception, parts of them, at least, being designed to induce an hypnotic or trance state in the young medium not only through such means as lengthy, meaningless repetition, light shining and flashing in the eyes, and so forth, but by the use at times of "aromata" which actually contain hallucinatory substances such as opium or sweet flag root.[102]

The use of evil spiritual powers has been mentioned specifically in connection with these latter operations, but it was, of course, possible to see such beings as active in all the many techniques of divination that existed; indeed, this was how the dominant orthodox tradition tended to view them and explain their supposed success. The association with such powers was certainly made at times by the practitioners of such arts themselves, not only with respect to lekanomancy and katoptromancy, but also to some other forms such as oneiromancy,[103] and there were some further methods that seem to have been thought to have actually involved direct revelation by demonic powers, such as the ven-

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material might suggest that most of these rituals originated as necromancies, though that element has been almost entirely lost by the late Byzantine period; note here especially Gregoras, *de Insomniis,* 615–19, and *Kyranides,* I.13. See also M. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten, Philologus,* Supplementband 14, II (Leipzig, 1921; repr. Darmstadt, 1960), 70–80.

[101] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 580, 591–92 (fingernails); 581 (egg); 500 (crystal); 576 (candle).

[102] See Greenfield, *Demonology,* 291–92. For opium and sweet flag see Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 405.6 and 22–23. Cf. the reference to the use of a herbal medicine and ointment for seeing demons in the *de Daemonibus,* 161.

[103] See, e.g., *Graecorum opiniones,* 105; Bidez, *Catalogue,* VI, 129–30; Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 397, 417–28, 429–30, 468, 480, 576, 578, 595–96.

triloquism of which the notorious female diviner Amarantina was condemned by the patriarchal court in the middle of the fourteenth century.[104] In general, however, it would appear likely that the many practitioners, certainly of the less sophisticated and elaborate techniques of divination, did not make direct or overt links to the powers of evil and regarded the processes of their divination as being somehow automatic or natural. The same general point applies not just to divination but to all the types and varieties of magic. This was undoubtedly seen by some as being entirely motivated and operated by demonic forces, but others, at least in some areas, never made this connection at all and saw the practices they were conducting either as using neutral, natural forces or as being some form of Christian, and therefore quite legitimate, activity.

This obviously brings up the question of the relationship between the dominant Christian tradition and the sort of beliefs and practices discussed above. It is clear, at least in this period, that for most people involved with these things, whether as clients or practitioners, there was no obvious barrier, no clear divide that distinguished what they were doing in their own minds or in those of their peers from any other religious, and so in this context Christian, activity. Only in the minds of highly trained theologians did such absolute distinctions exist, and even then, there often, if not always, seems to have been some other, ulterior motive at work when people were singled out and punished for alleged acts of sorcery and magic.[105]

Just as almost all the forms of magic noted above could be ascribed to the working of evil spiritual powers, so they could equally well be attributed to that of good powers. In some places there is a very broad and obvious gray area between practices and attitudes that are undeniably orthodox Christian and those that are incontrovertibly unorthodox. As has been seen elsewhere, Christian amulets abounded and enjoyed a comparable range of form and sophistication to those that were not specifically Christian. Relics or other holy objects could fulfill exactly the same functions as the concoctions found in

[104] For the case see MM I, 301–6, no. 134; cf. 317–18, no. 137; it is referred to again in no. 292, p. 542. See also Cupane, "La magia," 246–48, 256–57. Further on Amarantina see Gone, Καλλίστου Α΄, 133, 213–14, 230. Compare here the *de Daemonibus,* 161–63; and on the tradition of ventriloquism see Greenfield, *Demonology,* 128–29, 293.

[105] See below, p. 151. In general on the question of the relation between orthodox and unorthodox belief and practice, one of the most helpful treatments is to be found in A. Ducellier, *Le drame de Byzance* (Paris, 1976), pt. III, 183–272.

non-Christian amulets, and holy inscriptions could replace magical symbols and names.[106] Practices like exorcism,[107] blessing, or even the major sacraments could be viewed and used on the popular level in precisely the same ways as the magical operations designed to manipulate the material conditions of human life, while prayers and rituals dedicated to specific saints who would be used in specific circumstances could be thought to create similarly efficacious alterations in human relations to those of the magical practices described above.[108] Again, virtually the whole range of divinatory techniques could just as easily be seen as operating through the intervention of angelic or other spiritual powers approved by Christianity as it could through evil ones, and there is evidence of a number of methods that utilized specifically Christian objects such as Gospels or Psalters for discovering hidden knowledge.[109] Even more interesting, whether it should surprise us or not, is the fact that the practitioner of the more complicated arts laid out in the *Magic Treatise* actually visualizes himself as working in the name of God through angelic, spiritual powers, which he uses to control and command the evil ones.[110] Moreover, the rituals

[106] For clear examples of "magical" Christian amulets that have precisely the same form as their non-Christian counterparts but use names and invocations acceptable to orthodoxy, see, e.g., Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 465, 616, 622–24. For the recommendation by Bryennios that Christian symbols should be deliberately substituted for amulets, see above, note 38. Note again the reference to the burning of Athanasios' garment, above.

[107] There is no room in the present paper to enter in any detail into the particularly gray area of Christian exorcism. It is clear, however, that popular perception could stray quite easily into seeing evil spirits as being controlled and healings effected by the exorcist and his ritual activities in a purely "automatic" manner; it was evidently only too easy to forget that the *grace* of God was necessarily at work here if the practice was to remain acceptable to orthodoxy. Note especially much material in the later "Byzantine" exorcism published by L. Delatte; and see further here Greenfield, *Demonology,* 140–48.

[108] It is clearly hard to distinguish between the sort of "prayer" mentioned above to St. Sisinnios or Michael against the demon Gylou and something like the "Exorcism of St. Tryphon" found in the Εὐχολόγιον Μέγα, 500–503, used to protect fields and vines from natural or magical ills. For a list of saints to be approached for help with particular medical problems in the Orthodox tradition, see S. S. Harakas, *Health and Medicine in the Eastern Orthodox Tradition* (New York, 1990), 87.

[109] See, e.g., the arithromancy in Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 388–91, 557–61; cf. 104, 107, which utilizes these books.

[110] So, e.g., Delatte, *Anecdota,* I, 403–4, 406–10, 418–25, where there are frequent references to the fact that the powers used to subjugate the demons are angelic,

of purification, which he must undergo in order to render him both safe from the evil spirits and open to the knowledge he will receive, differ very little in some ways from standard practices of Christian asceticism, something that perhaps makes the involvement in magic of the renowned ascetic Gabrielopoulos, condemned in the trial of 1371, more understandable.[111]

It is clear that the relationship between the central Christian orthodoxy and the peripheral semi-Christian (or actually non-Christian) elements of belief and practice in the Palaeologan religious mentality is one that is complex and far-reaching. At the popular level, belief and practice embraced a range that simply did not recognize distinctions between religion and magic and was not only uninterested in separating areas of orthodoxy and unorthodoxy, but was almost entirely incapable of doing so. What is being described here is thus merely one end of a largely continuous spectrum which shades, as it were, quite smoothly from white to black. Any divisions in it are imposed either by subsequent historical misconceptions or by the views of the small minority of trained Christian theologians who believed in and were both capable of and interested in establishing such divisions. It is vital not to let the minority speak in place of the vast majority.

One final area relates to this point, and that is the evidence the sources provide for an understanding of the way in which such beliefs operated at all levels of late Byzantine society—intellectual, political, and economic, as well as religious. Some of these beliefs and practices are, it is true, so lacking in sophistication and theoretical support that they must have been capable of operating only at the very lowest levels. Others, however, are so elaborate, so complex, and demand such a range of knowledge and scholarship that they can have been held and practiced only by people at the very highest levels of society, especially given that education to such a standard was a prerogative of the privileged. The evidence that has been provided above from this period, like that from other eras of Byzantine history that have been examined, for the acceptance and indeed use of such ideas and practices even at the imperial

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and where the names and deeds of God are also utilized. Note especially the stipulation that wax to be used in making a magic figurine must be allowed to stand on the altar for three days while the priest is celebrating the liturgy, ibid., 410. Compare too the rituals at ibid., 493–500, 577.

[111] On Gabrielopoulos see MM I, 543–44 no. 292, and *PLP*, nos. 3431 and 3433.

court, even among leading intellectuals, and even by clergy and monks of high rank, should not, therefore, be surprising. One may think immediately here of men like Theodore II Laskaris or the despot Michael II Angelos at the court; of Nikephoros Gregoras, John Abramios, or perhaps Gabrielopoulos among intellectuals; and of the anonymous would-be bishop who had turned to Kappadokes for help, the *protonotarios* and former *kanstresios* Demetrios Chloros, or even (although only if Gregoras is to be believed) Patriarch John Kalekas among churchmen.[112]

It is true that a further cautionary fact should perhaps also be borne in mind: accusations of this type among leading social and intellectual figures may have as much to do with political infighting as with real involvement in magic. Those surrounding Kalekas, Gregoras, and perhaps at least some of the defendants in the trials before the patriarchal court need further examination in this light.[113] Nevertheless, when emperors accuse courtiers of making them sick by demonic magic and make use of astrology when making important decisions, when leading intellectuals and scholars seriously discuss magical practices and cast horoscopes, when manuscripts of sorcery that require extremely high levels of erudition are copied and employed, and when senior

[112] In this context it may be important to point out that it is hard to accept, without at least some reservations, the claim made by Carolina Cupane, "La magia," 260–61, e.g., that information in the trials at the patriarchal court relates primarily to the magic of the poorer and more ignorant classes. Abramios and Chloros (and probably also Gabrielopoulos) certainly cannot be put in this bracket. Exotrochina, who is specifically said to have been wealthy (as Cupane notes) and evidently moving in noble circles, paid five hyperpyra for the services of the magician she employed; this is the same sum as the lustful father Ioasaph was able to afford, although he also gave a piece of Alexandrian crystal, something which suggests that he too was not poor. Phoudoulis is said to have been accused of his crimes by a member of the nobility, which may suggest he, too, is unlikely to have came from the poorest level of society. Syropoulos was a doctor and so probably not to be counted among the ignorant, and neither, perhaps, was Ioannes Paradisios since he was the son of the "Primikerios ton anagnoston."

[113] Cf. Pingree, "Abramios," 193; R. Guilland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris, 1926), 27. On earlier cases that make this point, see R. Greenfield, "Sorcery and Politics at the Byzantine Court in the Twelfth Century: Interpretations of History," in R. Beaton and C. Roueché, eds., *The Making of Byzantine History* (London, 1993), 73–85; cf. also idem, "Sorcery Accusation as a Political Weapon at the Byzantine Court in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers,* 17 (1991), 26.

churchmen are condemned for using, and actually being, practitioners of magic, it is quite clear that what is being dealt with here is not to be dismissed as "superstition," as the misguided, ignorant, and unrepresentative beliefs of a lowly social group or a few isolated individuals, but is something that was an integral part of general Byzantine culture and thought.

Constraints of space and the wealth of available evidence have not only meant that some detail has had to be sacrificed but also that this paper has had to concern itself almost entirely with documenting and describing; an approach to Palaeologan magic at the analytical level is thus, unfortunately, not possible here and only to be glimpsed by way of conclusion.

What, for instance, does the undeniable evidence here that magical beliefs and practices found favor at the very highest levels of Byzantine society say about the real dominance and cohesion of the standard orthodox tradition? What was it that made alternative traditions more attractive and satisfying to some people than standard orthodox ones? To whom were they appealing, in what circumstances, and for what reasons? And what do we make of the fact that much of this magic was based on a concept of the nature of supernatural beings which was very different from that of the standard orthodox tradition?

Again, to what extent is the magic found at high levels to be compared and related to the magic of lower levels? What may be discovered about the interaction between the different levels of belief in the Palaeologan situation, as well as about the absorption of popular notions into more sophisticated areas and the percolation of standard, orthodox ideas down into less developed conceptions? What caused these movements? What patterns are there in the transformations and shifts of emphasis that take place?

What, too, may be determined from the contexts in which accusation of magic were made and pursued? To what extent was the accusation of magic merely a political weapon, at whatever level, as it undoubtedly was sometimes at the imperial court? To what extent was it ever a purely religious concern? And what then is to be made of the apparently unique appeal for an organized purge of magicians in Constantinople in the mid-fourteenth century?[114]

Finally, on another level again, there are the questions of how this magic was perceived to be empowered. On what symbolism did it depend for its efficacy, on what associations?[115]

[114] MM I, 184–87, no. 85; 188–90, no. 86.

[115] See, for a brief indication of what may be done, Greenfield, *Demonology,* 298–302.

This sort of questioning is, of course, pertinent to the whole range of late Byzantine religious belief and practice, not just to the subject of Palaeologan magic, but the importance of the latter lies, perhaps, in the fact that it is one area in which the answers to such questions may be particularly, and unusually, accessible. It is one of those rare historical situations in which it may indeed be possible to examine the development of practical religion in the hands of the learned and the conception of orthodox belief in the minds of the people. Let us hope it is not too long before the conjuror arrives at the palace and works his magic on the feast.

Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario

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8

Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa: The Written Tradition

ROBERT MATHIESEN

I. Introduction

Ethnographers and folklorists interested in the Orthodox Slavs have long been aware of the rich oral traditions of magic in that part of the world, and have been collecting and studying texts of magical folklore for well over a century. Particularly valuable are the extensive collections of East Slavic folk incantations published long ago by L. Majkov and by N. Vinogradov, but South Slavic materials are also available in quantity.[1]

Philologists and historians, in sharp contrast, have paid little systematic attention to the corresponding written traditions of magic and the occult sciences among the medieval Orthodox Slavs. Some magical texts have been published, and others studied, but always only in passing, by scholars who were pursuing other interests, such as describing manuscripts or editing texts for the historical study of literature, language, the Bible, liturgy, church history, the sciences—in short, of anything and everything except magic in its own right.

This neglect of magic as a subject of scholarship is only partly the consequence of a kind of rationalistic or scientific distaste for magic itself, or of discomfort in the presence of magicians who took their magic seriously. It is also due to the intractability of the magical texts themselves.

[1] L. Majkov, "Velikorusskie zaklinanija," *Zapiski Russkogo geografičeskogo obščestva po Otdeleniju ètnografii* 2 (1869), 417–580, 747–48; Nikolaj Vinogradov, *Zagovory, oberegi, spasitel'nye molitvy i proč.* Živaja starina, Dopolnenie (St. Petersburg, 1907–10). There are convenient surveys by Joseph L. Conrad: "Magic Charms and Healing Rituals in Contemporary Yugoslavia," *Southeastern Europe / L'Europe du sud-est* 10.2 (1983), 99–120; "Bulgarian Magic Charms: Ritual, Form, and Content," *SlEEJ* 31 (1987), 548–62; "Russian Ritual Incantations: Tradition, Diversity, and Continuity," *SlEEJ* 33 (1989), 422–44.

Some few magical texts seem to have been wholly lost, and are now known only by name.[2] Others survive only in very late copies, often the work of scribes who poorly understood the texts they were copying, or who altered them to suit the views and tastes of the age in which they lived and worked. Modern editors, too, usually lack an insider's understanding of magical texts and usually have not had much experience with the practices which these texts treat. Many of the texts that have been published are anonymous or pseudepigraphic and offer little evidence for the time and place of their origin. In addition, many are what textual critics refer to as "wild texts," that is, texts that scribes felt free to alter at will or whim as they copied them. It is not easy to determine the stemmatic relations between the extant copies of a wild text. Thus an editor who wishes to edit a wild text of any length must overcome great difficulties and may perhaps be excused if he decides to turn his hand to an easier task instead.

As a result of all this there is still no published corpus of all the magical and occult texts copied by the medieval Orthodox Slavs. Indeed, there is not even a single published survey of the known materials for such a corpus. It is the simple aim, therefore, of this paper to provide a preliminary overview of the whole written tradition of magic and the occult sciences within Slavia Orthodoxa, that is, within the world of the Orthodox Slavs during the middle ages.

II. The Term "Magic"

Let us say, first of all, what we mean by "magic." We do *not* wish to limit the term to "using spells and incantations to control the forces of nature," as the skeptic James Randi once put it.[3] A broader definition will prove more useful

[2] Several of the Orthodox Slavic definitions of the canon of Scripture include at their end a list of rejected or heretical books, most of which seem to be books of magic (see section III.1 below). Some of the titles in this list are not now known to be extant, e.g., *Putnik* and *Volxovnik*. See A. I. Jacimirskij, *Bibliografičeskij obzor apokrifov v južno-slavjanskoj i russkoj pis'mennosti (spiski pamjatnikov), I: Apokrify vetxozavetnye* (Petrograd, 1921), 1–75; N. A. Kobjak, "Indeksy otrečennyx i zapreščennyx knig v russkoj pis'mennosti," *Drevnerusskaja literatura: Istočnikovedenie: Sbornik naučnyx trudov*, ed. D. S. Lixačev (Leningrad, 1984), 45–54.

[3] James Randi, "The Role of Conjurors in Psi Research," *A Skeptic's Handbook of Parapsychology*, ed. Paul Kurtz (Buffalo, 1985), 339–56 (at 342).

for our purpose here. In particular, we shall regard divination as a kind of magic.

The question of how to define magic is an old and vexed one, and we will not be able to answer it fully here. As a rule, scholars have tried to define magic in contrast to such things as religion, science, technology, or medicine. There is much to be said for this approach, since there was a time when no sharp distinctions were drawn among these several disciplines, and for centuries afterward there were large areas of knowledge and practice where they all overlapped one another.

In the beginning the Greeks had a word for magic, and that word was μαγεία. Μαγεία was the special expertise of the μάγοι, and the μάγοι were originally a tribe or a people in the lands of the Medes and the Persians. Legend claimed that the sage Zoroaster was a member of this tribe and the first μάγος of them all in the secondary sense of the term, that is, a mage or magician. He, it was said, was the first teacher of the religion and the high or hidden sciences that were practiced by the Greeks' most formidable enemy, namely, the Persian Empire. Thus μαγεία originally referred to the religion, the magic, and the science of one's enemies, and so it could easily become a term of reprobation. Subsequently both the Greeks and the Romans used the word to refer to anything alien or subversive or reprehensible that used hidden or supernatural forces and thus fell beyond the understanding or comprehension of ordinary people. By a very slight shift in meaning it could also be used to refer to any false or evil religious or parareligious practices.

As false or evil practice, it eventually came to contrast with θεουργία, a form of magical religion cultivated by certain Neoplatonists from the second century A.D. onward.[4] This positive term echoes both θεολογία and θαυματουργία, being in opposition to the former as practice to theory, and to the latter as holy practice to mere wonderworking. On the other hand, some defenders of magic insisted on retaining μαγεία as a positive term, in opposition to γοητεία as good practice to evil.

Science and technology, of course, took shape as distinct spheres of

[4] Georg Luck, "Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism," in *Religion, Science, and Magic in Concert and in Conflict,* ed. Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher (New York-Oxford, 1989), 185–225; Sarah Iles Johnston, *Hekate Soteira: A Study of Hekate's Roles in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature,* American Classical Studies 21 (Atlanta, 1990).

knowledge and practice much, much later. We all know the main lines, at least, of the way in which scientific truth came to be regarded as a different kind of knowledge from religious truth, and as a kind of knowledge that rests on different foundations—on observation and experiment as opposed to divine revelation. In each case, of course, one puts forth propositions that are true or false (as logicians use these terms), and from these propositions one then deduces many others by the processes of logic. The difference hinges on how one determines the truth or falsity of such propositions in the first place.

What may be less well known is the similar process by which applied science or technology came to be regarded as different from magic. This long history was the subject of Lynn Thorndike's great work, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science,* published in eight substantial volumes over the course of thirty-five years.[5] Here, too, observation and experiment were the foundations on which the wall was built that eventually separated the realm of applied science and technology from that of magic.

It should also be noted that both technology and magic can be practiced without any *explicit* theory for their practice. They can exist wholly as practical activities, where one follows certain directions in order to attain some goal; and these directions either work or do not work, as may be the case. It is just as easy to test a set of directions by observation and experiment as to test a set of propositions. Magic and technology may, but need not, entail *only* "knowing how to"; religion and science always entail a certain amount of "knowing that" alongside of their "knowing how to."

In saying that science and technology rest on a foundation of observation and experiment, and thus can be tested empirically, we do not wish to say that religious or magical claims are *never* empirically testable. The history of world religions is in fact littered with many empirically testable claims that were made, and then found empirically wanting (for example, prophecies that the world would end at some specific date now long past). Nor is it very hard to find historical magicians whose spells did not work. We merely say that the claims of religion and magic *need not* be empirically testable.

Such considerations lead us to propose that science and technology are distinguished from religion and magic in that the claims of the former are empirically testable—with our greater modern sophistication we might now say

[5] Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923–58).

Table 1. Defining Features of Science, Technology, Religion, and Magic

The claims of	Science	Technology	Religion	Magic
are:				
Empirically Testable	+	+	−	−
True/False Propositions	+	−	+	−

that they are empirically falsifiable—whereas the claims of the latter need not have this property. In semiotic terms, the former are *marked* for the empirical testability or falsifiability of their claims, whereas the latter are *unmarked* in that respect.[6]

Similarly, we would propose that science and religion are distinguished from technology and magic in that the former make claims in the logical form of propositions that may be true or false, whereas the latter need not do so. In semiotic terms, the former are *marked* for making claims in the form of propositional statements with truth-value, whereas the latter are *unmarked* in that respect.

This can be set out as a table (Table 1).

Here it is science that is doubly marked, the most narrowly specified of the four categories. Religion and technology are specified by a single mark each. Magic is the wholly unmarked category, the residue class left after the other three categories have been defined and have taken shape as organized disciplines.[7]

Residue classes need not have any positive defining characteristics of their own, but may be merely a kind of classificatory "leftovers." This is why it seems impossible to define magic in any positive terms. However, as the archaeologists among us know, residues also merit serious study, and often repay it most generously.[8]

[6] For this terminology see Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology,* trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York, 1967), 76–78.

[7] The problems connected with the definition of magic have been most profoundly examined by Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge, 1985), 1–86, 123–66; idem, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (Cambridge, 1990).

[8] There is now a branch of archaeology devoted to the remains of magic and ritual: see Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (New York, 1987).

III. The Extant Magical Texts

The written magical texts that have so far been discovered fall largely into three classes: (1) individual charms, spells, incantations, and magical prayers, including inscriptions on amulets; (2) divinatory texts of several kinds; and (3) herbals that contain elements of magical herbalism, and other texts of natural magic.

There are also a few texts that are occult in the broader sense, although not precisely magical, and that therefore do not fall clearly into one of these three classes. Among the latter is the *Laodicean Epistle,* which I view as essentially a system of cryptography appended to a brief account of the premises of a rather idiosyncratic theology.[9]

Most of these written texts are translations from Greek into one or another type of Church Slavonic, but some of them seem to have been translated from other languages, and a very few may be either original compositions or written copies of oral charms from Slavic folk magic.[10]

The majority of these magical texts in Church Slavonic were translated in the broad context of the liturgy of the Slavic Orthodox churches, or at least have been preserved in that context. That is, most of the charms and magical prayers, as well as some of the divinatory texts, have been preserved in liturgical or biblical manuscripts.[11] Since the same kinds of text in Greek seem to occur in the same kinds of Greek manuscripts, such magical texts may some-

[9] M. Speranskij, *Tajnopis' v jugo-slavjanskix i russkix pamjatnikax pis'ma,* Ènciklopedija slavjanskoj filologii 4.3 (Leningrad, 1929), 103–7, 114–15; N. A. Kazakova and Ja. S. Lur'e, *Antifeodal'nye eretičeskie dviženija na Rusi XIV–načala XVI veka* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1955), 256–76. There is a large body of scholarly literature on the *Laodicean Epistle* which need not be cited here.

[10] Most of the 125 incantations in the *Olonetsk Spellbook* appear to derive from Russian folk magic. This remarkable manuscript (48ff, written ca. 1625–50) was carefully described and published by V. I. Sreznevskij, *Opisanie rukopisej i knig, sobrannyx dlja Akademii nauk v Oloneckom krae* (St. Petersburg, 1913), 196–202, 481–512; see also Elena Eleonskaja, "Vredonosnye zagovory: Tri zagovora iz Sbornika 17-go veka," *Slavia* 7 (1928–29), 934–39. A few other such manuscripts are known to exist, but they are no older than the late 18th century and are much briefer: in addition to Majkov, "Velikorusskie zaklinanija," and Vinogradov, *Zagovory,* see V. I. Sreznevskij, "Otčet Otdeleniju russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti o poezdke v Vologodskuju guberniju," *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk 7* (1902), 2, 232–72; 4, 128–245 (at 186, 188, 235–45).

[11] Even the glagolitic *Euchologium Sinaiticum,* probably written in the 11th century, contains a number of prayers which might be viewed as magical, for example, the

times have been translated without any special forethought, as part of the ongoing large-scale process of translation and redaction of liturgical and ritual texts. This process, we know, began with Constantine and Methodius around 863 and continued among the Orthodox Slavs throughout the middle ages.[12]

Smaller groups of texts may have been translated in other contexts, of course; one obvious example may be the inscriptions on amulets, a few of which are quite early examples of writing in the Cyrillic alphabet. The oldest of these may have belonged to Grand Prince Vladimir Monomax and have been made in the late eleventh century: this is the gold amulet from Černihiv.[13]

1. Charms, Spells, Incantations, and Magical Prayers

These are the only texts, of all those that we shall survey here, which merit the term "magical" in the very strictest sense of the term, where the overt purpose is to control both nature and one's fellows, and the means of that control are words and gestures alone.

Let us remind ourselves, at the outset, that our common sharp modern distinction between religion as acts of humble supplication and magic as acts of proud command is precisely that—a *modern* distinction, and one more characteristic of western than eastern Europe. Its roots lie in the reforming move-

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Prayer of St. Tryphon against insects that might harm vineyards and fields (fol. 59): see Rajko Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum: starocerkveno-slovanski glagolski spomenik,* Akademija znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani, Filozofsko-filološko-historični razred, dela 1–2 (Ljubljana, 1941–42), II, 151–54). Similar texts in liturgical manuscripts are discussed by I. Ja. Porfir'ev, "Apokrifičeskie molitvy po rukopisjam Soloveckoj biblioteki," *Trudy Četvertogo arxeologičeskogo s"ezda v Rossii, byvšego v Kazani, s 31 ijulja po 18 avgusta 1877 goda* (Kazan, 1891), II, 1–24 (separately paginated); A. I. Almazov, "K istorii molitv na raznye slučai (zametki i pamjatniki)," *Letopis' Istoriko-filologičeskogo obščestva pri Novorossijskom universitete* 6 [= Vizantiskoe otdelenie 3] (1896), 380–432; S. Rozanov, "Narodnye zagovory v cerkovnyx Trebnikax (k istorii byta i mysli)," *Sbornik statej v čest' akademika Alekseja Ivanoviča Sobolevskogo,* Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk 101.3 (Leningrad, 1928), 30–35.

[12] For an excellent general account see A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge, 1970).

[13] B. A. Rybakov, *Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI–XIV vekov,* Arxeologija SSSR: Svod arxeologičeskix istočnikov, E 1–44 (Moscow, 1964), 19–20, pl. XXXIV: 1–2; T. V. Nikolaeva and A. V. Černecov, *Drevnerusskie amulety-zmeeviki* (Moscow, 1991).

ments of late medieval Catholicism, and its full bloom occurred during the Protestant Reformation, as Stanley Tambiah has so decisively shown; modern historians who still oppose religion to magic on this basis are just making unexamined use of a relic of sixteenth-century ecclesiastical polemics.[14] We shall not use this relic here.

Thus it becomes very hard, perhaps impossible, to decide in every case whether some text is religious or magical. A very few of the texts that we shall treat here make no reference to God or any saint, or to the Christian religion: these, indeed, may be regarded as magical, and may unhesitatingly be labeled as charms, spells, or incantations. Also, there are many prayers that do not attempt even to influence nature or one's fellows, let alone control them, but are gratuitous acts of devotion. However, there are many texts that aim at influence or control, and yet also have religious references; and their status is wholly ambiguous. We may perhaps term them "magical prayers," but if we do so, we risk giving offense to believers who use some of them in ways that are fully approved by the Orthodox churches. In Orthodoxy, rather, the line appears to be drawn sharply between approved and rejected prayers of this class, and only the latter might be thought to merit the term "magical," which is taken as a term of reprobation.

However, in the very few cases where a medieval Orthodox Slavic churchman condemns or rejects a specific text or group of texts that belong to this class, he does so on the grounds of heresy, not magic. Thus the earliest form of the anonymous text *On the True Books and the False* (*O knigax istinnyx i ložnyx*) concludes with the following remark:[15] "And the priests have false writings in their *Euchologia,* like the bad Penitentials (*Nomokanony*) and the false Prayers for the Fevers. Heretics had distorted the traditions of the Holy Apostles, writing false words to deceive the vulgar; but the Council investigated them and cleansed them and cursed them."

Virtually the same words are included in the later, much amplified redactions of this text, two variants of which are attributed to the Russian metropolitans Kiprian and Zosimus; one composite redaction reads:[16]

[14] Tambiah, *Magic.*

[15] A. N. Pypin, "Dlja ob"jasnenija stat'i O ložnyx knigax," *Letopis' zanjatij Arxeografičeskoj kommissii,* 1 (1861), 1–55 (at 27). For the manuscripts of the earliest form of this text, see Jacimirskij, *Bibliografičeskij obzor apokrifov,* 6–9.

[16] Pypin, "Dlja ob"jasnenija," 41 (with variant readings from several manuscripts incorporated into his text).

> And in their *Euchologia,* among the Divine Writ, the stupid village priests have false writings—sown by heretics for the destruction of ignorant priests and deacons—thick village manuscripts and bad Penitentials (*Nomokanony*) and the false healing Prayers for the Fevers and for infections and for sicknesses. And they write fever letters on prosphorae and on apples, because of sickness. All this is done by the ignorant, and they have it from their fathers and forefathers, and they perish in this folly. Heretics had distorted the traditions of the Church and the Canons of the Holy Apostles, writing false words.

Elsewhere, in one or another of these amplified redactions, we also find some or all of the following condemned as false and heretical: *The Seven Daughters of Herod which are wrongly called Fevers, The Names of the Angels, The Seventy Names of God, The Letter from Heaven about Sunday, Jesus' Letter to King Abgar,* "all sorts of heretical spells" ("kobi vsjakie eretičeskie") and "also other spells about the Martyrs and about the Annunciation, which are heretical writings" ("takožde i pročie kobi o Mučennikax i o Blagoveščenii, eže sut' knigi eretičeskie").[17]

Thus it appears that the category of "magical" texts in the written tradition of Slavia Orthodoxa may be a scholars' construct, and might not correspond to any category of texts commonly recognized by the medieval Orthodox Slavs. This question needs to be investigated further.

The number of extant charms, spells, incantations, and magical prayers is surprisingly large. We can do no more than briefly list some of the major texts and types of texts that belong here.[18]

[17] Jacimirskij, *Bibliografičeskij obzor apokrifov,* 9–28, for the manuscripts; and for the texts, 44–45 (#44), 46–47 (#54), 50–51 (#62–63), 56–59 (#76–80), 70–71 (#111), 72–73 (#114). See also Pypin, "Dlja ob"jasnenija," 32–46; Kobjak, "Indeksy," 50–54; Bon'o Angelov, "Spiskăt na zabranenite knigi v staro-bălgarskata literatura," *Izvestija na Instituta za Bălgarska literatura* 1 (1952), 107–59.

[18] A. N. Pypin, *Ložnye i otrečennye knigi russkoj stariny,* Pamjatniki starinnoj russkoj literatury, izdavaemye grafom Grigoriem Kuželevym-Bezborodko 3 (St. Petersburg, 1862), 150–53, 167–68; Nikolaj Tixonravov, *Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury* (Moscow, 1863), II, 11–17, 314–22, 339–46, 351–60; Porfir'ev, "Apokrifičeskie molitvy"; A. I. Jacimirskij, "K istorii ložnyx molitv v južno-slavjanskoj pis'mennosti," *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk* 18 (1913), 3, 1–102; 4, 16–126; W. F. Ryan, "Solomon, SATOR, Acrostics, and Leo the Wise in Russia," *OxfSlPap,* n.s. 19 (1986), 46–61. See also the references in notes 10–11 above.

- lists of epithets or names for God (usually 72 in number) and for the Virgin Mary
- praise for the cross
- prayer to the archangel Michael for general protection
- charms and prayers against the bite of a snake or of a mad dog
- charms and prayers to stop the flow of blood
- charms and prayers against blocked water (urine)
- charms and prayers against toothache
- prayers against various other forms of sickness
- prayers for a speedy and safe childbirth
- prayers and rituals against thunder and lightning
- prayers to protect travelers
- prayers for protection in a court of law
- *The Letter from Heaven about Sunday*
- *Jesus' Letter to King Abgar*
- *St. Theodosius's Coffin Letter*
- the SATOR AREPO TENET OPERA ROTAS square and related talismanic seals (often ascribed to Solomon)

Most of these texts are probably translations from the Greek, and Greek parallel texts seem not to be rare, although few have been published by modern scholars.[19] However, *St. Theodosius's Coffin Letter* is an East Slavic original text, the origin of which is recounted in the first chapter of the *Paterikon* of the Kievan Crypts Monastery.[20]

2. Divinatory Texts

About a dozen divinatory texts are known in Church Slavonic translation. They fall naturally into several groups. There are, first of all, a few bibliomantic texts. In the pure form of bibliomancy, after a few prayers, a book is opened at

[19] See also F. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters,* Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten III.3 (Giessen, 1907), as well as the various works by Armand Delatte cited in notes 36, 48, and 49 below.

[20] Dmytro Abramovyč, *Kyjevo-pečers'kyj pateryk,* Pam'jatky movy ta pys'mens-tva davn'oji Ukrajiny 4 (Kiev, 1930), 1–5; cf. 212 note 4 for the scholarly literature on the *Coffin Letter.*

random to yield a suggestive text. Thus one may open a book of the Bible to see what verse first catches the eye. Alternatively, the book that one opens may have been provided with special notes for divination.

The best attested of these books is the *Divinatory Psalter* (*Gadatel'naja Psaltyr'*),[21] which is extant in several copies from the eleventh century on. Here one chooses a Psalm, perhaps by opening the book at random, and reads the non-biblical sentence associated with that Psalm and written at the foot of the page. An alternate method of choosing the Psalm number seems to have involved a spiral arrangement of the numerals from 1 through 150 (a few such spirals have survived in manuscripts from the thirteenth century and later); conjecturally, one cast a pebble or seed onto the spiral. Also, the 150 divinatory notes were sometimes copied by themselves, apart from the Psalter.[22]

A second bibliomantic text is extant in only two manuscripts: the *Art Revealed to the Prophet Samuel* (*Xitrost' proroku Samuilu otkrovena*). Here the diviner records as odd or even the numerical values of the initial Cyrillic letters of the first four verses on a page selected by opening a book of the Bible at random. He then reads one of sixteen divinatory notes as indicated by the specific sequence of odd or even numbers which he chose.[23]

Closely related to these texts in its structure is an aleamantic (or astragalomantic) text, according to which the diviner selects one of 56 sentences by

[21] Here and below I give not only an invented English title for each text, but also the title (in its Russian form) by which it is most commonly cited in modern Slavic scholarship.

[22] M. Speranskij, *Iz istorii otrečennyx knig, I: Gadanija po Psaltiri,* Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva 129 (St. Petersburg, 1899); V. M. Istrin, "K voprosu o gadatel'nyx Psaltirjax," *Letopis' Istoriko-filologičeskogo obščestva pri Novorossijskom universitete* 9 [= Vizantisko-slavjanskoe otdelenie 6] (1901), 153–202. Carlo Verdiani, "Il Salterio Laurenziano-Voliniense, codice paleoslavo del 1384," *RicSlav* 3 (1954), 1–29, provides a photograph of such a spiral (fig. 1).

[23] Speranskij, *Iz istorii otrečennyx knig,* I, 58–66, and Priloženie, 15–20; Gerhard Birkfellner, "Slavische Bibliomantie (Zur abergläubisch-prognostischen Volksliteratur bei den Slaven)," *Litterae slavicae medii aevii Francisco Venceslao Mareš sexagenario oblatae,* Sagners slavistische Sammlung 8 (Munich, 1985), 31–51. Although this text is surely a translation, no original seems to have been found or published. Each of the four numbers admits of two possibilities, odd or even; hence the total number of possible choices is $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 = 16$.

rolling three six-sided dice.[24] This is the *Divinatory Book of King David* (*Kniga gadatel'naja proroka i carja Davida*).[25]

In geomancy, the diviner casts four sets of four random numbers, each of which may be either odd or even. (For convenience, all odd numbers are reduced to the number 1, all even numbers to the number 2.) He may cast these numbers by any random process, for example, by throwing a handful of pebbles on a patch of ground which has already been divided into four "fields" by scratching three parallel lines, or by spattering drops of ink onto a piece of paper similarly marked with three parallel lines. From these four sets of the numbers 1 or 2, he then derives twelve further sets of four numbers 1 or 2 by a rather complicated procedure. The sixteen sets that result from this procedure are then interpreted in astrological terms. There is one lengthy geomantic text, first published within the last decade, namely, the *Rafli Book* (*Kniga Rafli*).[26]

[24] There are 6 possible rolls with all three dice the same, 30 with only two dice the same, and 20 with all three dice different; the sum is 56 possible rolls. The order of the dice is irrelevant to the choice of a text.

[25] Pypin, *Ložnye i otrečennye knigi,* 161–66; Speranskij, *Iz istorii otrečennyx knig,* I, 66–76, 114–68, and Priloženie, 76–99; S. P. Mordovina and A. L. Stanislavskij, "Gadatel'nye knigi XVII v. xolopa Pimena Kalinina," *Istorija russkogo jazyka: Pamjatniki XI–XVIII vv.* (Moscow, 1982), 321–36. Although this text is surely a translation, no original seems to have been found or published. A similar aleamantic text, where one chooses from 216 Homeric verses by rolling a six-sided die three times in succession, is found in a Greek magical papyrus of the 3rd or 4th century A.D., PGM VII.1–148: see Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago-London, 1986), 112–19. Several later parallels can also be found.

[26] A. A. Turilov and A. V. Černecov, "Otrečennaja kniga Rafli," *TrDrLit* 40 (1985), 260–344; idem, "Novoe imja v istorii russkoj kul'tury," *Priroda* (1985), 9, 88–97; idem, "K kul'turno-istoričeskoj xarakteristike eresi 'židovstvujuščix'," *Germenevtika drevnerusskoj literatury XI–XVI veka* (Moscow, 1989), 407–29. The *Rafli Book* seems to me to be an adaptation of a western European Renaissance text, but I have not yet found its source; previous scholarship has emphasized its presumed eastern sources. (Note that the word *rafli,* though ultimately derived from Arabic *raml,* reflects neither the Arabic form of the word nor the Greek *ramplion* or *rabolion/raboulion,* but the Latin *raffla,* the French *rafle,* or the English *raffle,* all of which are attested from the 14th century on, and originally referred to a process of divination in which three six-sided dice are thrown. The oldest attestation of the word in western Europe seems to be in a French divinatory text, edited most recently by Erik von Kræmer, *Le Jeu d'Amour,* Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 54 [Helsinki, 1975].) A large-scale account of western European geomancy during the middle ages has now been given by Thérèse Charmasson, *Recherches sur une technique divinatoire: La géomancie dans l'Occident*

A much briefer treatise of the same general sort, but without any astrological terminology, remains unpublished except for a few brief extracts: the *Gates of Aristotle* (*Vrata Aristotelja*).[27]

Many other divinatory texts are best characterized as omen books, or manuals for the interpretation of naturally occurring omens. Most of these texts are about omens in the heavens, but one text interprets trembling in various parts of the body. Here belong at least the following texts:[28]

- the *Kalendologion* (*Koljadnik*), about the day of the week on which Christmas falls[29]
- the *Brontologion* (*Gromnik*), about thunder in terms of the signs of the zodiac and the age of the moon when it is heard[30]

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médiéval, Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la IV[e] Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, V: Hautes études médiévales et modernes 44 (Geneva-Paris, 1980).

[27] M. Speranskij, "Aristotelevy vrata i Tajnaja tajnyx," *Sbornik statej v čest' akademika Alekseja Ivanoviča Sobolevskogo,* Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk 101.3 (Leningrad, 1928), 15–18. This is not to be confused with the pseudepigraphic *Secreta Secretorum* (*Tajnaja tajnyx*) *of Aristotle,* mentioned below (note 40).

[28] Other texts, not listed here, may be found in Pypin, *Ložnye i otrečennye knigi,* 156–57, 159–60; Tixonravov, *Pamjatniki,* II, 398–424. Cf. Ihor Ševčenko, "Remarks on the Diffusion of Byzantine Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific Literature among the Orthodox Slavs," *SlEERev* 59 (1981), 321–45 (at 338–40).

[29] Pypin, *Ložnye i otrečennye knigi,* 155–56, 157–58; Tixonravov, *Pamjatniki,* II, 377–81; Biljana Jovanović-Stipčević, "O zimama i koledama u Zborniku popa Dragolja," *Arheografski prilozi* 2 (1980), 153–74. James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, N.Y., 1983), I, 601–4, gives an English translation of an early Latin version of the same text; Charlesworth was not aware either of the Church Slavonic version or of the Greek texts mentioned by Ševčenko, "Remarks," 339 note 45. All versions are pseudepigraphically attributed to the Prophet Ezra in many manuscripts.

[30] Pypin, *Ložnye i otrečennye knigi,* 154–55; Tixonravov, *Pamjatniki,* II, 361–74; V. N. Peretc, *Materialy k istorii apokrifa i legendy,* I: *K istorii Gromnika: Vvedenie, slavjanskie i evrejskie teksty,* Zapiski Istoriko-filologičeskogo fakul'teta S.-Peterburgskogo universitet 54. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1899); idem, "Materialy k istorii apokrifa i legendy, [II]: K istorii Lunnika," *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk* 6 (1901), 3, 1–126; 4, 103–31. Cf. Ševčenko, "Remarks," 338–40 notes 43, 47, for the parallel Greek texts.

- the *Astrapelogion* (*Molnijanik*), about lightning in terms of the month and day when it strikes[31]
- the *Selenodromion* (*Lunnik*), about the success or significance of activities at any given age of the moon (in days)[32]
- *On the Encircling of the Moon* (*Okruženie mesjaca*), about the ring around the moon in terms of the month when it is seen[33]
- *On Good and Evil Hours and Days* (*O časax i dnjax dobryx i zlyx*)[34]
- the *Palmologion* (*Trepetnik*), about the omens to be drawn from trembling in various parts of the body[35]

Particularly interesting is a treatise on scapulomancy or omoplatoscopy, that is, on divination from the cracks or lines that appear in the shoulder blade of an animal after the bone has been heated over a fire. Only one manuscript of this text is known to exist: *On Omoplatoscopy* (*Lopatočnik*).[36]

3. Herbals and Other Texts with Elements of Natural Magic

The textology of the Church Slavonic herbals and related works is not well understood, but there seem to be at least three such texts which exhibit elements of magic. Two of them are herbals: the *Herbal* (*Zelejnik*) and the *Refreshing Garden of Health* (*Vertograd proxladnyj zdravija*).[37]

Much about these two works still remains uncertain, but it is clear that the *Refreshing Garden of Health* is a translation of a western European work, the *Hortus Sanitatis*. This massive compilation was first printed at Mainz by

[31] Tixonravov, *Pamjatniki*, II, 375–76.

[32] Ibid., 388–95; Peretc, "Materialy," II. Cf. Ševčenko, "Remarks," 338 note 42, for the parallel Greek texts.

[33] Tixonravov, *Pamjatniki*, II, 396–97.

[34] Ibid., 382–87.

[35] M. Speranskij, *Iz istorii otrečennyx knig*, II: *Trepetniki*, Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva 131 (St. Petersburg, 1899), where a Greek parallel text is also given.

[36] M. Speranskij, *Iz istorii otrečennyx knig*, III: *Lopatočnik*, Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva 137 (St. Petersburg, 1900). A Greek parallel text may be found in Armand Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I: *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège 36 (Liège-Paris, 1927), 206–9.

[37] On these texts, which remain unpublished, see L. F. Zmeev, *Russkie vračebniki*, Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva 112 (St. Petersburg, 1895). One brief text with the title *Zelejnik* was published by Tixonravov, *Pamjatniki*, II, 425–28.

Jakob Meydenbach in 1491, and was subsequently republished many times not only in its original Latin, but also in French and Low German translations, and partly also in High German, Dutch, and English ones. The Church Slavonic translation was made in 1534 from the Low German translation, entitled *Gaerde der Suntheit,* which had been printed three times at Lübeck by Steffan Arndes in 1492, 1510, and 1520. It is possible that the oldest form of the Church Slavonic *Herbal* (*Zelejnik*) also derives from some other western European printed herbal.

In the absence of any edition of these Church Slavonic texts, one can only note that the Latin *Hortus Sanitatis* is replete with elements of magical herbalism, and that most or all of these elements would have been preserved by the two successive translations, first from Latin into Low German and then from Low German into Church Slavonic. Since the first Latin edition has an extremely full index, it is easy to find the many and various prescriptions for divination and spellcraft, for cosmetics, for poisons, for contraceptives, and for abortifacients. There is even a method which uses the herb *salvia* (sage) "to make a house seem to be full of serpents."[38] The scholarly literature on the Church Slavonic herbals also indicates the presence of charms or magical prayers in some of their manuscripts.[39]

Although it is not strictly a herbal, there is one other work which should be cited here, since it contains the same sort of prescriptions with elements of magic. This is the pseudepigraphic *Secreta Secretorum* (*Tajnaja tajnyx*) *of Aristotle,* which seems to have been translated from a version in Hebrew sometime in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.[40]

[38] *Hortus Sanitatis* (Mainz, 1491): for the indices see fols. ^{2}A1r–E5r; for *salvia* see chapter 404 of the section on herbs.

[39] O. B. Straxova, "Fragmenty zagovorov i molitv v Travnikax," *Ètnolingvistika teksta: Semiotika malyx form fol'klora,* I: *Tezisy i predvaritel'nye materialy k simpoziumu* (Moscow, 1988), 40–42.

[40] M. Speranskij, *Iz istorii otrečennyx knig,* IV: *Aristotelevy vrata ili Tajnaja tajnyx,* Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva 171 (St. Petersburg, 1908); idem, "Aristotelevy vrata." Of particular value are five recent studies by W. F. Ryan: "A Russian Version of the *Secreta Secretorum* in the Bodleian Library," *OxfSlPap* 12 (1965), 40–48 and 2 plates; "The Onomantic Table in the Old Russian *Secreta Secretorum,*" *SlEERev* 49 (1971), 603–6; "The Old Russian Version of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum,*" *SlEERev* 56 (1978), 242–60; "The *Secreta Secretorum* and the Muscovite Aristocracy," *Pseudo-Aristotle, The* Secret of Secrets: *Sources and Influences,* ed. W. F. Ryan and Charles B. Schmitt, Warburg Institute Surveys 9 (London, 1982), 114–23; "Aristotle and Pseudo-Aristotle in Kievan and Muscovite Russia," *Pseudo-Aristotle in*

IV. Considerations for Further Study

The quantity of written magical texts that has survived might surprise a scholar who had started his research by observing how Orthodox Slavic canon law, and also Orthodox penitential canons, reprehended the practice of magic.

For example, in the so-called *Syntagma XIV Titulorum,* a Church Slavonic translation of which is preserved in manuscripts from the twelfth century on, one finds several canons penalizing various forms of magic, sorcery, and divination, such as Canons 65 and 72 of St. Basil:[41] "He that confesses magic (γοητεία) or witchcraft (φαρμακεία) shall do penance as long as a murderer"; and "He that gives himself to divination (μάντις) shall be treated as a murderer."

It would be possible to multiply canon law citations such as these many times over, and to add to them a large number of brief negative comments made in passing in various homilies. Most such texts, like the Canons of St. Basil just cited, are translations of Byzantine originals, and thus must be used with caution as evidence for the attitudes of the authorities in Slavia Orthodoxa.[42]

Similar comments, however, occasionally are found in original Orthodox Slavic compositions, for example, Grand Prince Vladimir's *Statute about Tithes, Judgments and Clerics,* or Grand Prince Jaroslav's *Statute about Ecclesiastical Judgments.* Grand Prince Vladimir's *Statute,* in its earliest redaction, reserves a number of crimes for ecclesiastical judgment, including those of "witchcraft, cursing, ligatures, herbs, heresy" ("věd'stvo, urěkanie, uzly, zel'e,

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the Middle Ages: The Theology *and Other Texts,* ed. Jill Kraye, W. F. Ryan, and C. B. Schmitt, Warburg Institute Surveys 11 (London, 1986), 97–109.

[41] V. N. Beneševič, *Drevne-slavjanskaja kormčaja XIV titulov bez tolkovanij* (St. Petersburg, 1906), 500, 502. The English translation follows Henry R. Percival, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church, Their Canons and Dogmatic Decrees, Together with the Canons of All the Local Synods Which Have Received Ecumenical Acceptance,* A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd ser. 14 (New York-Oxford-London, 1905), 608–9. Cf. Ja. N. Ščapov, *Vizantijskoe i južnoslavjanskoe pravovoe nasledie na Rusi v XI–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1978) for the textology of these translations.

[42] A noteworthy example of such a text translated from the Greek is the early-printed *Nomokanon ili zakonnoe pravilo* (Kiev, 1620, ²1624, ³1629), with its extensive treatment of many forms of magic. Large excerpts from its treatment of magic may be found reprinted in F. Buslaev, *Istoričeskaja xristomatija cerkovno-slavjanskogo i drevne-russkogo jazykov* (Moscow, 1861), 1049–56.

eretičestvo"); and later redactions of the same *Statute* add several other such crimes to the list.[43] Similarly, Grand Prince Jaroslav's *Statute* originally included the following clause:[44] "If a wife is an enchantress, ligatrix or sorceress or herbalist ("čarodeica, nauznica, ili volxva, ili zelejnica"), three *grivny* to the Metropolitan, and her husband, having discovered her, shall punish her and not be divorced."

In view of their brevity and generality, all comments like these may as readily, or more readily, refer to practices of folk magic than to those of the written tradition of magic. (This folk magic, of course, includes both Christian and pre-Christian elements, both native Slavic and imported elements; but whatever the origin of its elements, it is magic that is transmitted chiefly by oral tradition, not in writing.) Only rarely is there an unambiguous reference to any of the written magical texts of Slavia Orthodoxa, or to any of the practices described in them.[45]

Only one or two specific references to written magical texts are detailed enough to shed much light on the conditions under which such texts were used. Thus the following question and answer, found among the *Hundred Chapters* compiled by the ecclesiastical council held at Moscow in 1551, is uncommonly informative:[46]

> *Question 17.* And in our Sovereign Domain Christians strive unjustly, and having uttered slander, kiss the Cross or the icons of the Saints, and fight outside the city and shed blood. And on those occasions magicians and enchanters render assistance through spellcraft of the Devil's teaching, and inspect the *Gates of Aristotle* and the *Rafli Book,* and divine by the stars and planets, and inspect the days and hours, and deceive the world by such devilish acts, and separate it from God. And trusting in such enchantments, the slanderer and the calumniator do not keep the peace, and they kiss the Cross, and they fight outside the city, and having uttered slander, they kill.
>
> *Answer.* The most pious Sovereign ought to command in his Sov-

[43] Ja. N. Ščapov, *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie ustavy XI–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1976), 15, cf. 16–84 passim. Cf. idem, *Knjažeskie ustavy i cerkov' v Drevnej Rusi XI–XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1972), 30, 34–35, 46–48.

[44] Ščapov, *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie ustavy,* 89, cf. 97, 102, 105. Cf. idem, *Knjažeskie ustavy i cerkov',* 247–48.

[45] For all these texts see V. J. Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven,* I: *Quellen,* Folklore Fellows Communications 43 (Helsinki, 1922), esp. 260–80.

[46] D. E. Kožančikov, *Stoglav* (St. Petersburg, 1863), 136–37.

> ereign city Moscow and in all cities of the Russian Sovereign Domain, that such magicians and enchanters and spellcasters, and those who inspect the *Rafli Book* and the *Gates of Aristotle,* and [divine] by the stars and planets, and deceive the world by such devilish acts, and separate it from God, and do other such Hellenic deviltry—and all such God-abominated deceit has been renounced by the Holy Fathers—that from now and henceforth these heresies shall be completely stamped out. Whoever henceforth among Orthodox Christians shall by such enchantments sow deceit among the people, either in houses or outside the city, and thereafter shall be discovered, ought to suffer the great wrath of the Sovereign. And those Orthodox Christians who shall accept such devilish Hellenic enchantment ought wholly to be cast out and cursed according to the Sacred Canons.

Elsewhere in the same *Hundred Chapters* there is a second condemnation of the *Rafli Book,* the *Six Wings,* the *Raven's Call,* the *Gates of Aristotle,* and several other such works, where unusually stringent civil and ecclesiastical penalties are proposed for those who shall keep or read such "God-abominated heretical books" ("Bogomerzkie knigi eretičeskie") and "heretical rejected books" ("eretičeskie otrečennye knigi").[47]

As noted already, the surviving magical texts are likely to be only part of what once existed, as is true for every kind of medieval Slavic written text. Even so, they are sufficiently numerous to suggest further lines of inquiry, two of which touch on the motives that may have led the Orthodox Slavs to translate and to copy such problematic texts in the first place.

1. Texts Not Translated

First, one might inquire whether any class of Byzantine magical texts seem not to have been translated by the Orthodox Slavs. If so, *why* were such texts left untranslated? We may attempt to settle such a question by comparing our results with the surveys of the known Byzantine magical texts by A. Delatte and now by R. Greenfield.[48] When we do so, one class of texts emerges: there do not seem to be any Church Slavonic versions of any of the Greek manuals of

[47] Ibid., 139–40.

[48] Delatte, *Anecdota,* I; idem, *La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés,* Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège 48 (Liège-Paris, 1932); Richard P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988).

ceremonial magic and demonology, such as the *Testament of Solomon* or the *Magical Treatise of Solomon.*[49]

This may be the result of chance: copies of these manuals in Greek are now quite uncommon, and one may conjecture that no Greek original happened to come into the hands of any Slav who might have wished to translate it. More likely, however, is the hypothesis that such texts were among the most alarming and reprehensible in the entire corpus of Greek magical writings, and thus were copied infrequently, and frequently destroyed.

In western Europe during the high middle ages, the theory became dominant that all magic involved a pact with demonic powers or allegiance to them, and hence could be seen as the ethical and moral equivalent of treason to God. Medievalists have amply documented this line of development, which had as its final result the notorious western European witch-hunts from the late fifteenth century up to the early eighteenth.[50] Under such a theory all forms of magic, whether active or passive, are equally reprehensible and equally horrifying: there are no differences of degree between them.

It cannot be too much emphasized that such a theory is not universal, even within Christendom. Rather, its dominance is the result of quite specific developments within western European Christianity, and the resulting witch-hunts were exacerbated by the extreme stresses to which western Europe was subject in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. There is no reason to expect comparable events in the history of the eastern Orthodox churches, and they did not take place there.[51]

[49] Chester Charlton McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig, 1922); Delatte, *Anecdota,* I; idem, "Le traité des plantes planétaires d'un manuscrit de Léningrad," *AIPHOS* 9 [= Pankarpeia: Mélanges Henri Grégoire] (1949), 145–77; idem, "Un nouveau témoin de la littérature solomonique, le codex Gennadianus 45 d'Athènes," *Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques,* 5th ser. 45 (1959), 280–321; David Pingree, "Some of the Sources of the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm,*" *JWarb* 43 (1980), 1–15 (at 9–12); Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief,* 157–63, and part II, passim.

[50] Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1976); Edward Peters, *The Magician, the Witch and the Law* (Philadelphia, 1978).

[51] A small series of 17th-century Moscow trials for malevolent magic, allegedly practiced (in most cases) against the sovereign family, seem to me to reflect western European attitudes, and not to be the result of some purely internal development of the criminalization of magic in Russian civil law. Cf. Russell Zguta, "Witchcraft Trials in

Instead, it may always have been possible in Slavia Orthodoxa, as apparently also in Byzantium (and in western Europe before the high middle ages) to practice *many forms* of magic without utterly renouncing one's Christianity: although against canon law (and often civil law as well), magic was generally treated as a crime comparable to homicide or the reprehended kinds of sexual activity, rather than to apostasy or treason. At any rate, the penalties under canon law are generally much milder than excommunication, and typically involve several years penance only. These are severe penalties, but much less severe than those for treason or apostasy.

If, however, any kind of magical practice might have been viewed as a form of apostasy or treason, one might suppose it to have been magic that *explicitly* treated with demons, to persuade them to work one's will. I have not found any original Church Slavonic text which I can cite in clear support of this educated guess of mine, but I suspect such texts do exist.[52] This kind of magic, of course, is the subject of the untranslated *Testament of Solomon* or the *Magical Treatise of Solomon.*

2. Were the Magical Texts Useful?

Second, one might ask whether the texts that were translated and copied were actually used. If so, *why* were they used? Were they *actually useful?* Did at least some of the practices they describe *actually work?*

We may take it as an axiom that *a text rarely used is a text rarely copied.* To apply this axiom, of course, one must understand its sphere of application, which is to texts that are copied by themselves. It should be obvious that a rarely used text may be part of a frequently used longer work, and that such a longer work will often be copied in its entirety, with its rarely used parts included. Thus, some of the texts in the occasional part of the *Euchologion* (the *Trebnik,* as it is termed in Church Slavonic) are rarely used, since the occasions for their use are rare; but copies of these texts are common, since the *Eucholo-*

Seventeenth-Century Russia," *American Historical Review* 82 (1977), 1187–1207; idem, "Was There a Witch Craze in Muscovite Russia?" *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 40 (1977), 119–27; idem, "The Ordeal by Water (Swimming of Witches) in the East Slavic World," *Slavic Review* 36 (1977), 220–30, which cite the earlier literature and argue for the opposite view.

[52] The Byzantine texts, of course, are surveyed by Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief,* 125–29, 249–52.

gion as a whole is frequently used and frequently copied. By this principle, it is clear that most of the shorter magical texts and almost all of the longer ones were in fact used, since copies seem to have continued to be made of them from time to time. There might be some exceptions, perhaps among the longer texts that have survived in just one copy each.

Thus we are driven, willy-nilly, to confront some hard questions: were these texts actually *useful;* and if so, how? Is there any way in which these magical procedures may be said actually to have *worked?* One can indeed argue (even as a strictly scientific materialist) that there are ways in which magical practices can be both useful and effective, and other ways in which they can *appear* to be effective to an unsophisticated observer. Let us briefly consider some of these ways.

If magic, before the modern era, is not yet wholly distinct from science and technology, then certainly some parts of magic could be the ancestors of scientifically or technologically valid practices. Obvious examples may be found in the realm of magical herbalism, where, to cite some examples at random, a tea made from the bark of the willow tree may be useful in relieving a headache, or an incense containing ground-up hemp leaves may make it much easier to see images in a mirror when one is performing that kind of divination. Here, of course, we have crude pharmacology or psychopharmacology, for willow bark contains the active ingredient of aspirin and hemp is marijuana.

However, there are other, much less obvious factors to be considered in attempting to assess scientifically the extent to which magic might have worked in medieval Slavia Orthodoxa and elsewhere. They lie, for the most part, in the realm of applied psychology and folk psychotherapy, which can often be used by one person to help or to harm another. Among the most obvious examples of such practices are those to which we now apply such labels as hypnosis, the placebo effect, biofeedback, hallucinations, altered states of consciousness, and cold reading. The impact these practices have on a person may also be enhanced by skillful use of all the arts of deception in ways that magnify the apparent powers of the practitioner.

Moreover, magical practices that have no effectiveness whatever, even in the ways just mentioned, may often appear to be effective, simply because a favorable result may follow by chance alone: one says an incantation for wealth, and by chance finds a valuable object soon after; or one performs a rite to destroy one's enemy, whose already diseased heart happens to fail the next day.

Table 2. Natural Causes of the Effectiveness of Magical Practices

(1) non-intuitive pharmacological, chemical, or physical properties of magical ingredients or materials
(2) counter-intuitive properties of reality, for example,
(a) the mathematics of random action, and
(b) the physics of force, temperature and heat
(3) counter-intuitive characteristics of the human organism, for example,
(a) the placebo effect and biofeedback
(b) altered states of consciousness, including hallucinations and ecstasy, resulting from
–sensory deprivation
–hypnosis (including autohypnosis)
–externally administered entheogens (psychoactive chemicals)
–internally produced entheogens, including endorphines
(c) pheromones and other chemical messengers
(d) areas of natural low sensitivity to pain
(4) the need of the human mind to find patterns in randomness and to trust (suggestibility and gullibility)
(5) the psychotherapeutic effects of communication and attention
(6) the arts of deception: misdirection of attention, prestidigitation, gimmicked apparatus, cold reading, etc.

It would take us too far afield to consider all these factors in detail. Thus they are listed systematically in Table 2, without any further commentary.[53]

V. Conclusion

Thus we come to the end of our survey of the magic of medieval Slavia Orthodoxa. The texts are not numerous, in comparison to those known from other parts of medieval Christendom, Islam, and Judaism. Nevertheless, we have been able to draw some conclusions from them.

Similar lines of inquiry are now being followed by classicists and medi-

[53] The best single scientific treatment of these matters, for purposes such as ours, is by Andrew Neher, *The Psychology of Transcendence,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1990). For cold reading, see also Ray Hyman, "Cold Reading: How To Convince Strangers That You Know All about Them," *The Skeptical Inquirer* 1.2 (1977), 18–37; James Randi, "Cold Reading Revisited," *The Skeptical Inquirer* 3.4 (1979), 37–41.

evalists interested in ancient and western medieval magic, and also by anthropologists interested in the magic of other cultures. In addition to far-ranging historical surveys, we now have anthologies of translated texts with commentary, a number of quite insightful studies of individual texts and classes of texts (mostly charms), and at least two uncommonly sophisticated anthropological treatments of present-day magic which are particularly relevant to the concerns of medievalists.[54] Among the most promising lines of research are attempts to establish full corpora of specific kinds of texts, for example, charms, and rational, scientific investigations of the ways in which magic may appear to work, or may really have worked, or may have had subtle personal and social functions even if it did not work.

Such lines of inquiry have already yielded fruit that can serve also to nourish students of the written tradition of magic in medieval Slavia Orthodoxa. Even as the medieval world, both eastern and western, is in many respects a single world, so the written tradition of medieval magic is in many respects one tradition. We may all expect to gain much from a broad approach to the study of medieval magic.

Brown University

[54] In addition to the recent works cited in notes 4, 7, 8, and 25 above, see Georg Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Baltimore-London, 1985); Karen Louise Jolly, "Anglo-Saxon Charms in the Context of a Christian World View," *Journal of Medieval History* 11 (1985), 279–93; idem, "Magic, Miracle, and Popular Practice in the Early Medieval West: Anglo-Saxon England," *Religion, Science, and Magic in Concert and in Conflict,* ed. Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher (New York-Oxford, 1989), 166–82; Brian Murdoch, "But Did They Work? Interpreting the Old High German *Merseburg Charms* in Their Medieval Context," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 89 (1988), 358–69; T. M. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft: Ritual Magic in Contemporary England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1990); Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 1991); Suzanne Sheldon Parnell and Lea T. Olsan, "The Index of Charms: Purpose, Design, and Implementation," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 6 (1991), 59–63; Lee Siegel, *Net of Magic: Wonders and Deceptions in India* (Chicago-London, 1991).

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Abbreviations

AbhGött Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen, Abhandlungen
ActaSS Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana
AIPHOS Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves, Université Libre de Bruxelles
AJA American Journal of Archaeology
AnalBoll Analecta Bollandiana
AnatSt Anatolian Studies
ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AnzWien Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Anzeiger
ArtB Art Bulletin
BAntFr Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France
BHG Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
ByzF Byzantinische Forschungen
ByzSl Byzantinoslavica
ByzSt Byzantine Studies
BZ Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCAG Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum, 12 vols. (Brussels, 1898–1953)
CChr Corpus Christianorum
CFHB Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CPG Clavis Patrum Graecorum, ed. M. Geerard, 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1974–83)
CTh Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes, ed. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, 2 vols. in 3 parts (Berlin, 1905)
DACL Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
DenkWien Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Denkschriften
DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EO Échos d'Orient
GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
HThR Harvard Theological Review

IGLSyr Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, ed. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, et al. (Paris, 1929–)

JbAChr Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum

JbZMusMainz Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz

JÖB Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

JÖBG Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft

JWalt Journal of the Walters Art Gallery

JQR Jewish Quarterly Review

JWarb Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes

MAMA Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua

Mansi *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio,* ed. J. D. Mansi, 53 vols. (Paris-Leipzig, 1901–27)

MM *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana,* ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90)

MusHelv Museum Helveticum

OxfSlPap Oxford Slavonic Papers

Papyri Graecae Magicae, ed. K. Preisendanz, revised by A. Heinrichs, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1973–74)

PBSR Papers of the British School at Rome

PG Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)

PL Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–80)

PLP Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, ed. E. Trapp et al. (Vienna, 1976–1994)

QDAP Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine

RAC Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum

RACr Rivista di archeologia cristiana

RE Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft

REB Revue des études byzantines

REG Revue des études grecques

RendIstLomb Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo

Rhalles-Potles Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–59; repr. 1966)

RicSlav Ricerche slavistiche

RPh Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes

RSBN Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici

SC Sources chrétiennes
SlEEJ Slavic and East European Journal
SlEERev Slavic and East European Review
ST Studi e testi
Synaxarium CP Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902)
TM Travaux et mémoires
TrDrLit Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta russkoj literatury Akademii nauk SSSR
TürkArkDerg Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi
ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZVI Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta
ZWTh Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

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Henry P. Maguire
Curriculum Vitae

Date of Birth: 20 May, 1943

Education

1965-8 Graduate study in Early Christian, Byzantine, and western medieval art at the Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University. M.A. in 1967, Ph.D. in 1973.

1962-5 King's College, Cambridge. B.A., with first class honors, in part II of the Fine Arts Tripos, 1965.

Administrative Appointments

1991-6 Director of Byzantine Studies, Dumbarton Oaks (Harvard University), Washington, D.C.

Teaching Appointments

2000- Professor, History of Art department, Johns Hopkins University

1979-2000 Assistant Professor, then Associate Professor (1982), then Professor (1988), School of Art and Design, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (courses on Roman, Early Christian, Byzantine, and western medieval art).

1973-9 Assistant Professor, joint appointment with the Center for Byzantine Studies, Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, D.C.) and the Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University.

1972-3 Instructor in medieval art at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

1968-70 Assistant Lecturer in medieval art, Manchester University, England.

Research Appointments, Fellowships and Grants

1989-90 Senior Research Associate in Byzantine Art, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

1986 & 1988 (with Eunice Dauterman Maguire) N.E.H. Planning and Implementation Grants for the exhibition "Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House."

1983 Fellowship in the Center for Advanced Study of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

1971-2 Junior Fellow, Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies.

1970-1 Leverhulme Fellow, Jesus College, Cambridge.

Professional Service

1986-96 Committee of Senior Fellows of the Byzantine Center, Dumbarton Oaks (a group which advises the director in academic matters pertaining to the Byzantine field).

1985-8 and 1998-2001 Board of Directors of the International Center of Medieval Art.

1982-6 Governing Board of the Byzantine Studies Conference.

1981 Co-chair of the Program Committee of the 1982 Byzantine Studies Conference (University of Chicago).

1984-6 President of the Central Illinois Society of the Archaeological Institute of America.

1997 - Treasurer of the U.S. National Committee for Byzantine Studies

Exhibitions

(with Eunice Dauterman Maguire) "Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House," at the Krannert Art Museum, Champaign (August - October 1989) and the Kelsey Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Ann Arbor (November 1989 - April 1990).

(with Eunice Dauterman Maguire and Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzis) "Ceramic Art from Byzantine Serres," exhibition of Byzantine glazed ceramics, at the Krannert Art Museum (October - November, 1992).

Symposia & Colloquia Organized

(with Robert Bergman) symposium in honor of Professor Ernst Kitzinger, held at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, on March 17, 1979.

(with Eunice Dauterman Maguire) symposium on "Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House," held at the Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois, on September 24, 1989.

Colloquium on "Magic and Visual Culture in Byzantium," held at Dumbarton Oaks, February 27-28, 1993.

Symposium on "Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204," held at Dumbarton Oaks, April 22-24, 1994.

Colloquium on "Materials Analysis of Byzantine Pottery," held at Dumbarton Oaks, April 1-2, 1995.

Colloquium on "Women's Space in Byzantium and the Medieval West," held at Dumbarton Oaks, March 2-3, 1996.

(with Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn) colloquium on "Byzantine Garden Culture," held at Dumbarton Oaks, November 2-3, 1996.

Co-chair (with Eunice Dauterman Maguire) of the Art History Program at the College Art Association conference, Chicago, Feb. 28 – Mar 3, 2001

List of Publications

Books

Art and Eloquence in Byzantium, Princeton University Press, 1981; paperback reprint, 1994.

Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art, College Art Association Monograph Series, volume 43, University Park, 1987.

"The Icons of their Bodies": Saints and their Images in Byzantium, Princeton University Press, 1996.

Rhetoric, Nature and Magic in Byzantine Art, Variorum Press, Aldershot, 1998 (a reprint edition of 18 of my articles)

(with Eunice Dauterman Maguire and Maggie Duncan-Flowers) Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House (exhibition catalogue), University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1989.

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(with Angeliki E. Laiou) Byzantium, a World Civilization, Washington, DC, 1992.

Byzantine Magic, Washington, DC, 1995.

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Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204, Washington , DC, 1997.

Materials Analysis of Byzantine Pottery, Washington, DC, 1997.

(with Antony Littlewood and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn), Byzantine Garden Culture, Washington, DC, forthcoming.

Articles

"A Twelfth-Century workshop in Northampton," in Gesta, 9, 1970, 11-25.

"Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art," in Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 28, 1974, 113-140.

"The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art," in Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 31, 1977, 125-174.

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"The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: The Ekphrasis," in Byzantium and the Classical Tradition, Birmingham (England), 1981, 94-102.

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"Adam and the Animals: Allegory and the Literal Sense in Early Christian Art," in Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 41, 1987, 363-373.

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"The Art of Comparing in Byzantium," in Art Bulletin, 70, 1988, 88-103.

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Current Research

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