

{ RELIGION AND SOCIETY: DIVINE DISPLAY }

1. The Divine in the World.

NUMBERS 9.15-23. On the day the tabernacle was set up, the cloud covered the tabernacle, the tent of the covenant; and from evening until morning it was over the tabernacle, having the appearance of fire. It was always so: the cloud covered it by day and the appearance of fire by night. Whenever the cloud lifted from over the tent, then the Israelites would set out; and in the place where the cloud settled down, there the Israelites would camp. At the command of the Lord the Israelites would set out, and at the command of the Lord they would camp. As long as the cloud rested over the tabernacle, they would remain in camp. Even when the cloud continued over the tabernacle many days, the Israelites would keep the charge of the Lord, and would not set out. Sometimes the cloud would remain a few days over the tabernacle, and according to the command of the Lord they would remain in camp; then according to the command of the Lord they would set out. Sometimes the cloud would remain from evening until morning; and when the cloud lifted in the morning, they would set out, or if it continued for a day and a night, when the cloud lifted they would set out. Whether it was two days, or a month, or a longer time, that the cloud continued over the tabernacle, resting upon it, the Israelites would remain in camp and would not set out; but when it lifted they would set out. At the command of the Lord they would camp, and at the command of the Lord they would set out. They kept the charge of the Lord, at the command of the Lord by Moses.

I KINGS 19.11B-13. Now there was a great wind, so strong that it was splitting mountains and breaking rocks in pieces before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a sound of sheer silence.

MATTHEW 25.31-46. “Come, you that are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you gave me clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me.” Then the righteous will answer him, “Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry and gave you food, or thirsty and gave you something to drink? And when was it that we saw you a stranger and welcomed you, or naked and gave you clothing? And when was it that we saw you sick or in prison and visited you?” And the king will answer them, “Truly I tell you, just as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me.” Then he will say to those at his left hand, “You that are accursed, depart from me into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels; for I was hungry and you gave me no food, I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, I was a stranger and you did not welcome me, naked and you did not give me clothing, sick and in prison and you did not visit me.” Then they also will answer, “Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison, and did not take care of you?” Then he will answer them, “Truly I tell you, just as you did not do it to one of the least of these, you did not do it to me.” And these will go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life.

2. The Power of the Divine.

NUMBERS 5.11-31. The Lord spoke to Moses, saying: Speak to the Israelites and say to them: If any man’s wife goes astray and is unfaithful, if a man has had intercourse with her but it is hidden from her husband so she is undetected though she has defiled herself, and there is no witness against her since she was not caught; if a spirit of jealousy comes on him and he is jealous of his wife who has defiled herself; or if a spirit of jealousy comes on him, and he is jealous of his wife, though she has not defiled herself; then the man shall bring his wife to the priest. And he shall bring the offering required, one-tenth of an *ephah* of barley flour. He shall pour no oil on it and put no frankincense on it, for it is a grain offering of jealousy, a grain offering of remembrance, bringing iniquity to remembrance. Then the priest shall bring her near, and set her before the Lord; the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel, and take some of the dust that is on the floor of the tabernacle and put it into the water. The priest shall set the woman before the Lord, dishevel the woman’s hair, and place in her hands the grain offering of remembrance, which is the grain offering of jealousy. In his own hand the priest shall have the water of bitterness that brings the curse. Then the priest shall make her take an oath, saying, “If no man has lain with you, if you have not turned aside to uncleanness while under your husband’s authority, be immune to this water of bitterness that brings the curse. But if you have gone astray while under your husband’s authority, if you have defiled yourself and some man other than your husband has had intercourse with you,” – let the priest make the woman take the oath of the curse and say to the woman – “The Lord make you an execration and an oath among your people, when the Lord makes your uterus drop, and your womb discharge; now may

this water that brings the curse enter your bowels and make your womb discharge, your uterus drop!” And the woman shall say, “Amen. Amen.”

Then the priest shall put these curses in writing and wash them off into the water of bitterness He shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness that brings the curse, and the water that brings the curse shall enter her and cause bitter pain. The priest shall take the grain offering of jealousy out of the woman’s hand, and shall elevate the grain offering before the Lord and bring it to the altar; and the priest shall take a handful of the grain offering, as its memorial portion, and turn it into smoke on the altar, and afterward shall make the woman drink the water. When he has made her drink the water, then, if she has defiled herself and been unfaithful to her husband, the water that brings the curse shall enter into her and cause bitter pain, and her womb shall discharge, her uterus drop, and the woman shall become an execration among her people. But if the woman has not defiled herself and is clean, then she shall be immune and be able to conceive children. This is the law in cases of jealousy, when a wife, while under her husband’s authority, goes astray and defiles herself, or when a spirit of jealousy comes on a man and he is jealous of his wife; then he shall set the woman before the Lord, and the priest shall apply this entire law to her. The man shall be free from injury, but the woman shall bear her iniquity.

MARK 5.25-34. Now there was a woman who had been suffering from hemorrhages for twelve years. She had endured much under many physicians, and spent all that she had; and she was no better, but rather grew worse. She had heard about Jesus, and came up behind him in the crowd and touched his cloak, for she said, ‘If I but touch his clothes, I will be made well.’ Immediately her hemorrhage stopped; and she felt in her body that she was healed of her disease. Immediately aware that power had gone forth from him, Jesus turned about in the crowd and said, ‘Who touched my clothes?’ And his disciples said to him, ‘You see the crowd pressing in on you; how can you say, “Who touched me?”’ He looked all round to see who had done it. But the woman, knowing what had happened to her, came in fear and trembling, fell down before him, and told him the whole truth. He said to her, ‘Daughter, your faith has made you well; go in peace, and be healed of your disease.’

3. Physical Manifestations of the Divine.

EXODUS 3.1-6. Moses was keeping the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro, the priest of Midian; he led his flock beyond the wilderness, and come to Horeb, the mountain of God. There the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of a bush; he looked, and the bush was blazing, yet it was not consumed...God called to him out of the bush, “Moses! Moses!” And he said, “Here I am.” Then [God] said, “Come no closer! Remove the sandals from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground.” [God] said further, “I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.” And Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look at God.

MATTHEW 3.13-17. Then Jesus came from Galilee to John at the Jordan, to be baptized by him. John would have prevented him, saying “I need to be baptized by you, and do you come to me?” But Jesus answered him, “Let it be so now; for it is proper for us in this way to fulfil all righteousness.” Then he consented. And when Jesus had been baptized, just as he came up from the water, suddenly the heavens were opened to him and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and alighting on him. And a voice from heaven said, “This is my Son, the Beloved, with whom I am well pleased.”

JOHN 4.6B-FF. ...and Jesus, tired out by his journey, was sitting by the well. It was about noon. A Samaritan woman came to draw water, and Jesus said to her, “Give me a drink.”...The Samaritan woman said to him, “How is it that you, a Jew, ask a drink of me, a woman of Samaria?” Jesus answered her, “If you knew the gift of God, and who it is that is saying to you ‘Give me a drink,’ you would have asked him, and he would have given you living water.” The woman said to him, ‘Sir, you have no bucket and the well is deep Where do you get that living water? Are you greater than our ancestor Jacob, who gave us the well, and with his sons and his flocks drank from it?’ Jesus said to her, ‘Everyone who drinks of this water will be thirsty again, but those who drink of the water that I give them will never be thirsty. The water that I give will become in them a spring of water gushing up to eternal life.’ The woman said to him, ‘Sir, give me this water, so that I may never be thirsty or have to keep coming here to draw water.’ Jesus said to her, ‘Go, call your husband and come back.’ The woman answered him, ‘I have no husband.’ Jesus said to her, ‘You are right in saying ‘I have no husband,’ for you have had five husbands, and the one you have now is not your husband. What you have said is true!’ The woman said to him, ‘Sir, I see you are a prophet. Our ancestors worshiped on this mountain, but you say that the place where people must worship is in Jerusalem.’ Jesus said to her, ‘Woman, believe me, the hour is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem. You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews. But the hour is coming, and is now here, when the true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father seeks such as these to worship him. God is spirit, and those who worship [God] must worship in spirit and truth. The woman said to him, ‘I know that Messiah is coming’ (who is called Christ). ‘When he comes, he will proclaim all things to us.’ Jesus said to her, ‘I am he, the one who is speaking to you.’

{ RELIGION AND SOCIETY: THE HOUSEHOLD }

A Plea to a Local God for a Husband's Attentions.

It is Esmpe, the [daughter] of Kllaouč, who is complaining about Hor, the [son] of Tanesneou.

My lord Osiris, Lord of Hasro! I complain to you, do justice to me and Hor, the [son] of Tanesneou, concerning what I have done to him and what he has done to me. Namely, he does not make love with me, I having no power, I having no protector-son. I am unable to help [myself], I am childless [?]. There is no one who could complain concerning me before you [lit. him] because of Hor.

...I complain to [you]...Osiris, listen to my calls! ...what he has done to me. Open the way [lit. give way to] your [messengers?]...Osiris, [lord] of Abydos, Osiris [...] Isis ...Ophois [?], Hathor [?], nurse [of] Anubis the Osiride, the cowherd of...do justice to me!

Edward Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990).

{ RELIGION AND SOCIETY: EMPIRE AND EMPEROR }

Exodus 12.12-27. The Lord said to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt...take a lamb for each family, a lamb for each household. If a household is too small for a whole lamb, it shall join its closest neighbour in obtaining one; the lamb shall be divided in proportion to the number of people who eat of it. Your lamb shall be without blemish, a year-old male; you may take it from the sheep or from the goats. You shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this month; then the whole assembled congregation of Israel shall slaughter it at twilight. They shall take some of the blood and put it on the two doorposts and the lintel of the houses in which they eat it. They shall eat the lamb that same night; they shall eat it roasted over the fire with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. Do not eat any of it raw or boiled in water, but roasted over the fire, with its head, legs, and inner organs...You shall let none of it remain until the morning; anything that remains until the morning you shall burn...It is the Passover of the Lord. For I will pass through Egypt that night, and I will strike down every firstborn in Egypt, both human beings and animals; on all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgements: I am the Lord. The blood shall be a sign for you on the houses where you live: when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and no plague shall destroy you when I strike the land of Egypt. This day shall be a day of remembrance for you. You shall celebrate it as a festival to the Lord; throughout your generations you shall observe it as a perpetual ordinance...And when your children ask you "What do you mean by this observance?" you shall say "It is the passover sacrifice to the Lord, for [God] passed over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt, when [God] struck down the Egyptians but spared our houses."

I Kings 8.1-ff. Then Solomon assembled elders of Israel and all heads of tribes, the leaders of the ancestral houses of the Israelites, before King Solomon in Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the city of David,¹ which is Zion. All the people of Israel assembled to King Solomon at the festival in the month *Ethanim*, which is the seventh month. And all the elders of Israel came, and the priests carried the ark....Then the priests brought the ark of the covenant of the Lord to its place in the inner sanctuary of the house, in the most holy place underneath the wings of the cherubim...And when the priests came out of the holy place, a cloud filled the house of the Lord, so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord. Then Solomon said, 'The Lord has said that he would dwell in thick darkness, I have built you an exalted house, a place for you to swell in forever.'

The Gospel According to Luke 2:41-42. Every year Jesus' parents went to Jerusalem for the Festival of the Passover. When he was twelve years old, they went up to the festival, according to the custom.

John 4.16b-ff. Jesus said to her, 'Go, call your husband and come back.' The woman answered him, 'I have no husband.' Jesus said to her, 'You are right in saying 'I have no husband,' for you have had five husbands, and the one you have now is not your husband. What you have said is true!' The woman said to him, 'Sir, I see you are a prophet. Our ancestors worshiped on this mountain, but you say that the place where people must worship is in Jerusalem.' Jesus said to her, 'Woman, believe me, the hour is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem. You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews. But the hour is coming, and is now here, when the true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father seeks such as these to worship him. God is spirit, and those who worship [God] must worship in spirit and truth. The woman said to him, 'I know that Messiah is coming' (who is called Christ). 'When he comes, he will proclaim all things to us.' Jesus said to her, 'I am he, the one who is speaking to you.'

¹ City of David = Jerusalem.

{ RELIGION AND SOCIETY: ATTRACTIONS AND ADVANTAGES }

N.B. Most of these categorise are over-lapping, so there is no need to be hyper-attentive to the fact that one passage can fit neatly amongst or within another category.

1. Attraction – Esoteric Wisdom & Divine Inspiration

PSEUDO-SIBYLLINE ORACLES, BOOK III.

1 O THOU high-thundering blessed heavenly One,
Who hast set in their place the cherubim,
I, who have uttered what is all too true,
Entreat thee, let me have a little rest;

5 For my heart has grown weary from within.
But why again leaps my heart, and my soul
With a whip smitten from within constrained
To utter forth its message unto all?

But yet again will I proclaim all things

10 Which God commands me to proclaim to men.

O men, that in your image have a form
Fashioned of God, why do ye vainly stray
And walk not in the straight way, always mindful
Of the immortal Maker? God is one,

15 Sovereign, ineffable, dwelling in heaven,
The self-existent and invisible,

Himself alone beholding everything;

Him sculptor's hand made not, nor is his form
Shown by man's art from gold or ivory;

20 But he, eternal Lord, proclaims himself

As one who is and was and shall be
Again hereafter. For who being mortal
Can see God with his eyes? Or who shall bear
To hear the only name of heaven's great God,

25 The ruler of the world? He by his word
Created all things, even heaven and sea,
And tireless sun, and full moon and bright stars,
And mighty mother Tethys,¹ springs and rivers,
Imperishable fire, and days and nights.

30 This is the God who formed four-lettered Adam,²

The first one formed, and filling with his name
East, west, and south, and north. The same is he
Who fixed the pattern of the human form,
And made wild beasts, creeping things and fowls.

35 Ye do not worship neither fear ye God,
But vainly go astray and bow the knee
To serpents, and make offering to cats,
And idols, and stone images of men,

And sit before the doors of godless temples;

40 Ye guard him who is God, who keeps all things,
And merry with the wickedness of stones
Forget the judgment of the immortal Saviour
Who made the heaven and earth. Alas! a race
That has delight in blood, deceitful, vile,

45 Ungodly, of false, double-tongued, immoral men,
Adulterous, idolatrous, designing fraud,
An evil madness raving in their hearts,
For themselves plundering, having shameless soul;
For no one who has riches will impart

50 To another, but dire wickedness shall be
Among all mortals, and for sake of gain
Will many widows not at all keep faith,
But secretly love others, and the bond
Of life those who have husbands do not keep.

55 But when Rome shall o'er Egypt also rule³

Governing always, then shall there appear
The greatest kingdom of the immortal King
Over men. And a holy Lord shall come⁴

To hold the scepter over every land

60 Unto all ages of fast-hastening time.

And then shall come inexorable wrath
On Latin men; three⁵ shall by piteous fate
Endamage Rome. And perish shall all men,
With their own houses, when from heaven shall flow

65 A fiery cataract. Ah, wretched me!

When shall that day and when shall judgment come
Of the immortal God, the mighty King?

But just now, O ye cities, ye are built
And all adorned with temples and race-grounds,

70 Markets, and images of wood, of gold,
Of silver and of stone, that ye may come

Unto the bitter day. For it shall come,
When there shall pass among all men a stench
Of brimstone. Yet each thing will I declare,

75 In all the cities where men suffer ills....

But when the threatenings of the mighty God
Shall draw near, and a flaming power shall come
By billow to the earth, it shall consume

Both Beliar and all the haughty men
From the Sebastenes⁶ Beliar shall come

Hereafter, and the height of hills shall he
Establish, and shall make the sea stand still
And the great fiery sun and the bright moon

80 And he shall raise the dead, and many signs
Work before men: but nothing shall be brought
By him unto completion but deceit,

And many mortals shall be lead astray
Hebrews both true and choice, and lawless men

85 Besides who never gave ear to God's word.

90 Who put their trust in him. And thereupon
Shall the whole world be governed by the hands
Of a woman⁷ and obedient everywhere.

Then when a widow shall o'er all the world
Gain the rule, and cast in the mighty sea

95 Both gold and silver, also brass and iron
Of short lived men into the deep shall cast,

Then all the elements shall be bereft
Of order, when the God who dwells on high

Shall roll the heaven, even as a scroll is rolled;
100 And to the mighty earth and sea shall fall
 The entire multiform sky; and there shall flow
 A tireless cataract of raging fire,
 And it shall burn the land, and burn the sea,
 And heavenly sky, and night, and day, and melt
105 Creation itself together and pick out
 What is pure. No more laughing spheres of light,
 Nor night, nor dawn, nor many days of care,
 Nor spring, nor winter, nor the summer-time,
 Nor autumn. And then of the mighty God
110 The judgment midway in a mighty age
 Shall come, when all these things shall come to pass.

NOTES: 1. 28. *Mother Tethys*—Wife of Oceanus, mother of rivers, and nymphs. See Hesiod, *Theog.*, 335, ff
 2. 30. *Four-lettered Adam*. The ingenuity which seer, in the four letters of this name the Greek initials of the words for east, west, north, and south surpasses even that noted in book i, 102, where Hades is traced in the word Adam. But Augustine adopts this, and says: “According to the Greek tongue, Adam himself signifies the whole world. For there are four letters, A, D, A, M, and in Greek speech these are initial letters of four quarters of the earth.” *Eharratio in Psalmum*, xcv, 15 [L., 37, 1236]; *Tractatus in Joannis*, ix.14, & x.12 [L., 35, 1465, 1473].
 3. 55. Rome obtained full control of Egypt when Augustus became undisputed master of the regions all

about the Mediterranean Sea, and the Roman empire became fully established. This Sibyl recognizes the empire as beginning at the appearance of the Christ, born during the reign of Augustus.

4. 58. *Holy Lord shall come*. This passage is evidence that at least lines 55-75 are of Christian or Jewish Christian authorship.

5. 62. *Three*. One naturally thinks of the triumvirate of Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus; but it is difficult to explain the “fiery cataract” (65) and other pictures of judgment in connection with those historic names.

6. 76. The *Sebastenes* are most naturally understood of the inhabitants of Sebaste, or Samaria, and a Jewish writer living in the time of Augustus might have been readily disposed to think of a Beliar—Antichrist—as issuing from among the hated Samaritans. Comp. the miracle-working antichrist of Dan. vii 25; viii, 23-25; xi, 36; and also 2 Thess. ii, 8-10. 492-93.

7. 92. If we find in line 62 a reference to Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, it is natural to understand this ‘widow’ as Cleopatra of Egypt. But here again a picture of world-judgment which immediately follows is difficult to account for in connection with such a mention of Cleopatra. Is not the entire passage rather an ideal apocalyptic concept, to be understood somewhat after the manner of the woman portrayed in John’s Apocalypse, xvii, 3; xviii, 7; a symbol of Rome herself conceived as the mistress of nations?

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON, 6.12 ff. Wisdom is radiant and unfading, and she is easily discerned by those who love her, and is found by those who seek her. She hastens to make herself known to those who desire her. One who rises early to seek her will have no difficulty, for she will be found sitting at the gate. To fix one’s thoughts on her is perfect understanding, and one who is vigilant on her account will soon be free from care, because she goes about seeking those worthy of her, and she graciously appears to them in their paths, and meets them in every thought. The beginning of wisdom is the most sincere desire for instruction, and concern for instruction is love of her, and love of her is the keeping of her laws, and giving heed to her laws is assurance of immortality, and immortality brings one near to God; and so the desire for wisdom leads to a kingdom.

MITHRAS LITURGY. [475] Be merciful to me, O Providence and Psyche...writing these things that cannot be sold...great god Helios Mithras commanded to be transmitted to me...that I alone ascend to heaven as a petitioner and observe all.

[485] This is the invocation for the spell: “First genesis of my genesis: **AEIIOUO**, first principle [*arché*] of my first principle **PPP SSS PHR [E]**, breath of break, first of the breath in me **MMM**, fire, divinely given to my mixture of the mixtures in me, first of the fire in me **EIY EIIA EEI**, water of water, first of the water in me **OOO AAA EEE**, [495] first earthy substance of the earthy substance in me **UEI UOEI**, perfect body of me, so and so, [whose mother is] so and so, having been molded by a noble arm and by an immortal right hand in a dark yet radiant world, both lifeless and animated with soul **UEII AYI EYOIE**. [500] If it is in your judgement **METERTA PHOTH**, hand me over to immortal birth and subsequently to my underlying nature; so that, after the exceedingly urgent need which is upon me, I will behold the immortal [505] first principle with the immortal breath **ANKHREPHRENESOUPHIRIGKH**; with the immortal water **ERONOU PARAKOUNEITH**, with the most stable air **EIOAEI PSENABOTH**, in order to be born again in knowledge **KRAOKHRAX R OIM ENARKHOMAI**, [510] and the holy breath may be breathed in me **NEKHTHEN APOTOU NEKHTHIN ARPI EITH**, so that I will marvel at the sacred fire **KUPHE**, so that I may wonder at the awe-inspiring boundless water of the dawn **NUO** [515] **THESO EKHO OUKHIEKHOA**, and the all-embracing generative Aether may hear me **ARNOMEITHPH**, since today, I am destined to behold with my immortal eyes, born from a mortal womb, yet changed for the better by a mighty power and an immortal right hand, with immortal breath the [520] undying Aeon and ruler of the fiery diadems, made holy by sacred consecrations, while, sustained in holiness, for a short time, by the human [525] spiritual power in me, which I will again receive after the undiminished bitter necessity [*ananke*] that has blocked me and pressures me, I so and so, whose mother is so and so,

according to the unalterable decision of God **EYEI UIA EEII AO EIAY** [530] **IYA IEW**. Since it is not possible for me, having been born of an impure mortal, to ascend with the golden gleaming immortal brilliance **OEIY AEO EIYA EOEI UAE OIAE**, stand, O perishable nature of mortal man, and immediately take me safe and sound from the implacable and pressing [535] need. For I am the son **PSUKHON DEMOU PROKHO PROA**, I am **MAKHARPH[.JN MOY PROPSUKHON PROE**.”

Draw in breath from the rays, three times sucking up as much as you are able, and you shall see yourself being raised up and [540] passing over to the summit, so that you seem to be in mid-air. You will hear nothing of men nor of another living being; neither shall you see anything of the mortal world in that hour, rather, you shall see everything immortal: for that day and that hour [545] you shall see the presiding planetary gods ascending in heaving while others are descending, according to divine arrangement.

...[661] Having said all this, you shall see doors being pulled back and coming out from the depth seven virgins in linen garments, having faces of asps. They are called Fates of heaven, brandishing golden batons.

[692] And when they shall array themselves here and there in order, look intently into the air and you shall see flashes of lightening descending and lights sparkling [695] and the earth quaking and an exceedingly awesome god descending, having a shining countenance, youthful, golden-haired, in a white tunic and with a golden crown and Persian trousers, holding in his right hand a golden shoulder [700] of a young bull, who is Ursa Major the one who sets in motion and turns heaven about, moving upwards and downwards in an orbit according to the hour. Thereupon, you shall see lightening bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body. Then, immediately, [705] emit a great bellow, straining your stomach so that you activate the five senses, bellow long again until exhausting your storage of air, and, kissing the amulet, say “**MOKRIMO PHERIMOPHERERI** life of me, so and so, stay, inhabit [710] my soul, do not abandon me, for **ENTHO PHENEN THROPIOTH** commands you.”

... [750] Instruction for the magical operation: taking a solar dung-beetle having twelve rays, let it fall into a deep turquoise cup during a dark moon, toss it together with a seed from the fruit pulp of a Nile water lily [755] and honey, after grinding it smooth, make a little cake and immediately you shall see it [the beetle] approaching and eating, and when he shall eat it, immediately he dies.

[767] And on the seventh day, after taking up the beetle and conducting funerary rights for it with myrrh, Mendesian wine, and a linen [shroud], stow it away in a flourishing bean field. Then, after entertaining and feasting together, store in a pure manner [770] the ointment for the immortalization.

[778] And this is the introduction to the great god: after acquiring the prescribed [780] plant, *kentritis*, during the conjunction [i.e. new moon] that falls in the constellation Leo, take the juice and—mixing it with honey and myrrh—write on a leaf of a persea tree the eight-letter name as given below and, keeping yourself pure for three days, come early in the morning to face the direction of sunrise, [785], lick off the leaf, showing it to the sun and he will pay perfect attention to you. So, begin to perform it during then new moon, according to god, which occurs in Leo.

2. Advantage – Traditional Benefits (health, economics, love)

CULT OF ASCLEPIUS AT EPIDAUROS. AMBROSIA FROM ATHENS, BLIND IN ONE EYE. She came as a suppliant to the god. As she walked about in the temple she laughed at some of the cures as incredible and impossible, that the lame and the blind should be healed by merely seeing a dream. In her sleep she had a vision. It seemed to her that the god stood by her and said he would cure her, but that I payment he would ask her to dedicate to the Temple a silver pig as a memorial of her ignorance. After saying this, he cut the diseased eyeball and poured in some drug. When day came she walked out sound. Edelstein, 1945, stele 1-4.

CHRISTIANITY MARK 7.24-28. ...From there he set out and went away to the region of Tyre. He entered a house and did not want anyone to know he was there. Yet he could not escape notice, but a woman whose little daughter had an unclean spirit immediately heard about him, and she came and bowed down at his feet. Now the woman was a Gentile, of Syrophoenician origin. She begged him to cast the demon out of her daughter. He said to her, ‘Let the children be fed first, for it is not fair to take the children's food and throw it to the dogs.’ But she answered him, ‘Sir, even the dogs under the table eat the children's crumbs.’ Then he said to her, ‘For saying that, you may go—the demon has left your daughter.’

3. Advantage – Intensity (privileged relationship with the deity)

ISIS – APULEIUS, THE METAMORPHOSIS. Having been transformed into a donkey after dabbling in magic, the narrator, *Lucius*, begs for divine intervention and salvation from his state.

Being therefore solicitous, not for my modesty, but for my life, while liberty was granted to me of indulging my own thoughts, my master being intent on aptly preparing the bed, and all his servants being partly occupied in hunting, and partly attentive to the voluptuous spectacle; no one believing that so mild an ass required to be so attentively guarded; I gradually withdrew myself by an occult flight. And when I arrived at the next gate, I hurried away with most rapid steps. When also, with great celerity, I had travelled over six thousand entire paces, I arrived at Cencreæ; which city, in deed, is

said to be the most noble colony of the Corinthians... Avoiding, therefore, the crowd and choosing a solitary shore, near to the eructation of the waves, there, stretched on a most soft bed of sand, I refreshed my weary body...

Being awakened with a sudden terror about the first watch of the night, I beheld the full orb of the moon shining with excessive brightness, and just then emerging from the waves of the sea. Availing myself, therefore, of the silent secrets of opaque Night, as I was also well assured that the primary Goddess [Isis] possessed a transcendent majesty, and that human affairs were entirely governed by her providence; and that not only cattle and wild beasts, but likewise things inanimate, where invigorated by the divine power of her light and of her deity; that the bodies likewise which are in the earth, in the heavens, and in the sea, are at one time increased as she increases, and at another time, conformably to her decrements, are diminished; being well assured of this, I determined to implore the august image of the Goddess then present, Fate being now satiated with my calamities so many and so great, and administering to me the hope of safety, though late.

Having, therefore, immediately shaken off sluggish sleep, I rose promptly and cheerfully, and directly applied myself to purification, by washing with marine water; and having merged my head seven times in the weaves, because, according to the divine Pythagoras, that number is especially adapted to religious purposes, I joyfully and readily thus supplicated with a weeping countenance the transcendently powerful Goddess: "Queen of heaven...by whatever name, by whatever rites, and under whatever form it is lawful to invoke you; graciously succour me in this my extreme calamity, support my fallen fortune, and grant me rest and peace, after the endurance of so many cruel misfortunes. Let there have been enough of labours, let there have been enough of dangers. Remove from the dire form of a quadruped, restore me to the sight of my kindred, restore to me [to myself]. And if any offended deity oppresses me with inexorable cruelty, may it at least be lawful for me to die, if it is not lawful for me to live in my proper shape."

Having in this manner poured forth prayers, accompanied by miserable lamentation, sleep surrounding me, and again oppressed my mind, in the same bed [on the soft sand]. And scarcely had I closed my eyes, when behold, [I saw] a divine form emerging from the middle of the sea, and raising a countenance venerable even to the Gods themselves. Afterwards the whole of the most splendid image seemed to stand before me, having gradually shaken off the sea...[after an extensive description of the Goddess, her adornment and what she is holding}...Such and so great a Goddess, breathing the fragrant odour of the shoots of Arabia the happy, deigned with a divine voice thus to address me: "Behold, Lucius, I, moved by your prayers, am present with you; I, who am Nature, the parent of things, the queen of all the elements, the primordial progeny of ages, the supreme of Divinities, the sovereign of the spirits of the dead, the first of the celestials, and the uniform resemblance of Gods and Goddesses. I, who rule by my nod the luminous summits of the heavens, the salubrious breezes of the sea, and the deplorable silences of the realms beneath: and whose one divinity the whole orb of the earth venerates under a manifold form, by different rites, and a variety of appellations. Hence the Phrygians call me Pessinuntica, the mother of the Gods; the Attic Aborigines, Minerva; the floating Cyprians, Venus; the arrow-bearing Cretans, Diana; the three-tongued Sicilians, Proserpine; and the Eleusinians, the ancient Goddess Ceres. Some also call me Juno, others Bellona, others Hecate, and others Rhamnusia. And those who are illuminated by the incipient rays of that divinity the Sun, when he rises, the Ethiopians and the Egyptians skilled in ancient learning, worshipping me by ceremonies perfectly appropriate, call me by my true name, Queen Isis. I am here in pity for your misfortunes, I am here as friend and helper. Weep no more, end your lamentations. Banish sorrow. With my aid, your day of salvation is at hand. So listen carefully to my commands...the life that is left to you, to the final sigh of your last breath, is pledged to me. It is right that all your days be devoted to she whose grace returns you to the world of men. Under my wing, you will live in happiness and honour, and when your span of life is complete and you descend to the shades, even there, in the sphere beneath the earth, you will see me, who am now before you, gleaming amidst the darkness of Acheron, queen of the Stygian depths; and dwelling yourself in the Elysian fields, you will endlessly adore me and I will favour you. Know too that if by sedulous obedience, dutiful service, and perfect chastity you are worthy of my divine grace, I and I alone can extend your life beyond the limits set by fate."

4. Advantage – Salvation

JUDAISM, 4 MACCABEES 17.7-18. If it were possible for us to paint the history of your religion as an artist might, would not those who first beheld it have shuddered as they saw the mother of the seven children enduring their varied tortures to death for the sake of religion? Indeed it would be proper to inscribe on their tomb these words as a reminder to the people of our nation: 'Here lie buried an aged priest and an aged woman and seven sons, because of the violence of the tyrant who wished to destroy the way of life of the Hebrews. They vindicated their nation, looking to God and enduring torture even to death.' Truly the contest in which they were engaged was divine, for on that day virtue gave the awards and tested them for their endurance. The prize was immortality in endless life. Eleazar was the first contestant, the mother of the seven sons entered the competition, and the brothers contended. The tyrant was the antagonist, and the world and the human race were the spectators. Reverence for God was victor and gave the crown to its own athletes. Who did not admire the athletes of the divine legislation? Who were not amazed? The tyrant himself and all his council marvelled at their endurance, because of which they now stand before the divine throne and live the life of eternal blessedness.

CHRISTIANITY, I COR. 15.12-58 [EDITED]. Now if Christ is proclaimed as raised from the dead, how can some of you say there is no resurrection of the dead? If there is no resurrection of the dead, then Christ has not been raised; and if Christ has not been raised then the proclamation has been in vain and your faith has been in vain...If for this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all people most to be pited. But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have died. For since death came through a human being, the resurrection of the dead has also come through a human being, for as all die in Adam, so all will be made alive in Christ...But someone will ask 'How are the dead raised? With what kind of body do they come?' Fool! What you sow does not come to life unless it dies. And as for what you sow, you do not sow the body that is to be, but a bare seed, perhaps of wheat or of some other grain. But God gives it a body as [God] has chosen, and to each kind of seed its own body. Not all flesh is alike, but there is one flesh for human beings, one for animals, another for birds, and another for fish. There are both heavenly bodies and earthly bodies, but the glory of the heavenly is one thing, and that of the earthly is another...So it is with the resurrection of the dead. What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable. It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body...When this perishable body puts on imperishability, and this mortal body puts on immortality, then the saying that is written will be fulfilled: 'Death has been swallowed up in victory. Where, O death, is your victory? Where, O death, is your sting?' The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, my beloved, be steadfast, immovable, always excelling in the work of the Lord, because you know that in the Lord your labour is not in vain.

CHRISTIANITY, THE MARTYRS OF LYONS, 1.62-63. '...The bodies of the martyrs, having been made an example of and exposed in every way for six days, were next burned and turned into ashes by the lawless ones, and then swept into the Rhone River, which flows nearby, so that no remains of them might still appear on the earth. They were doing these things as they were able to conquer God and take away the martyr's rebirth in order, so they were saying, 'that they might have no hope of resurrection, since, convinced about that, they brought in new and foreign relations among us and despised the terrors, going as ones prepared, even to joy, with death; now let us see if they will rise again and if their god will be able to help them and take them out of our hands.'

PHILOSOPHY, PLATO, PHAEDO.

Such is the nature of the other world; and when the dead arrive at the place to which the genius of each severally guides them, first of all, they have sentence passed upon them, as they have lived well and piously or not. And those who appear to have lived neither well nor ill, go to the river Acheron, and embarking in any vessels which they may find, are carried in them to the lake, and there they dwell and are purified of their evil deeds, and having suffered the penalty of the wrongs which they have done to others, they are absolved, and receive the rewards of their good deeds, each of them according to his deserts. But those who appear to be incurable by reason of the greatness of their crimes—who have committed many and terrible deeds of sacrilege, murders foul and violent, or the like—such are hurled into Tartarus which is their suitable destiny, and they never come out. Those who have committed crimes, which, although great, are not irremediable—who in a moment of anger, for example, have done violence to a father or a mother, and have repented for the remainder of their lives, or, who have taken the life of another under the like extenuating circumstances—these are plunged into Tartarus, the pains of which they are compelled to undergo for a year, but at the end of the year the wave casts them forth—mere homicides by way of Cocytus, parricides and matricides by Pyriphlegethon—and they are borne to the Acherusian lake, and there they lift up their voices and call on victims whom they have slain or wronged, to have pity on them, and be kind to them, and let them come out into the lake. And if they prevail, then they come forth and cease from their troubles; but if not, they are carried back again into Tartarus and from thence into the rivers unceasingly, until they obtain mercy from those whom they have wronged: for that is the sentence inflicted upon them by their judges. Those too who have been pre-eminent for holiness of life are released from this earthly prison, and go to their pure home which is above, and dwell in the purer earth; and of these, such as have duly purified themselves with philosophy live henceforth altogether without the body, in mansions fairer still which may not be described, and of which time would fail me to tell.

{ THE RELIGIOUS MARKETPLACE IN LATE ANTIQUITY }

Socrates Scholasticus (c. 379-c. 450), from *Ekklesiastike historia*.

Chapter 13. *Conflict between Christians and Jews at Alexandria, and a breach between Bishop Cyril and the Prefect Orestes.* About this same time it happened that the Jewish inhabitants were driven out of Alexandria by Cyril the bishop on the following account. The Alexandrian public is more delighted with tumult than any other people: and if at any time it should find a pretext, it breaks forth into most intolerable excesses, it never ceases turbulence without bloodshed. It happened on the present occasion that a disturbance arose among the populace, not from a cause of any

serious importance, but out of an evil that has become very popular in almost all cities, a fondness for dancing exhibitions. In consequence of the Jews being disengaged from business on the Sabbath and spending their time not in hearing the Law, but in theatrical amusements, dancers usually collect great crowds on that day, and disorder is almost invariably produced. And although this was in some degree controlled by the governor of Alexandria, nevertheless Jews continued opposing these measures. And although they are always hostile toward the Christians they were roused to greater opposition against them on account of the dancers. When Orestes the prefect was publishing an edict...in the theatre for the regulation of the shows, some of Bishop Cyril's party were present to learn the nature of the orders to be issued. There was among them a certain Hierax, a teacher of the rudimental branches of literature, and one who was a very enthusiastic listener of the bishop Cyril's sermons, and made himself conspicuous by his forwardness in applauding. When the Jews observed this person in the theatre, they immediately cried out that he had come there for no other purpose than to excite sedition among the people. Now Orestes had long regarded with jealousy the growing power of the bishops, because they encroached on the jurisdiction of the authorities appointed by the emperor, especially as Cyril wished to set spies over his proceedings; he therefore ordered Hierax to be seized, and publicly subjected him to the torture in the theatre. Cyril, on being informed of this, sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with the utmost severities unless they desisted from their molestation of the Christians. The Jewish populace, instead of suppressing violence...were led to form conspiracies for the destruction of the Christians; one was of so desperate a character as to cause their entire expulsion from Alexandria; this I shall now describe. Having agreed that each one of them should wear a ring on his finger made of the bark of a palm branch, for the sake of mutual recognition, they determined to make a nightly attack on the Christians. They therefore sent persons into the streets to raise an outcry that the church named after Alexander was on fire. Thus many Christians on hearing this ran out, some from one direction and some from another, in great anxiety to save their church. The Jews immediately fell upon and slew them; readily distinguishing each other by their rings. At daybreak the authors of this atrocity could not be concealed: and Cyril, accompanied by an immense crowd of people, going to their synagogues—for so they call their house of prayer—took them away and drove the Jews out of the city, permitting the multitude to plunder their goods. Thus the Jews who had inhabited the city from the time of Alexander the Macedonian were expelled, stripped of all they possessed, and dispersed...But Orestes the governor of Alexandria was filled with great indignation, and excessively grieved that a city of such magnitude should have been suddenly bereft of so large a portion of its population; he therefore at once communicated the whole affair to the emperor. Cyril also wrote to him, describing the outrageous conduct of the Jews; and in the meanwhile sent persons to Orestes who should mediate concerning a reconciliation...And when Orestes refused to listen to friendly advances, Cyril extended toward him the book of gospels, believing that respect for religion would induce him to lay aside his resentment. When this had no pacific effect on the prefect, but he persisted in implacable hostility against the bishop, the following event afterwards occurred.

Chapter 14. *The Monks of Nitria come down and raise a Sedition against the Prefect of Alexandria.* Some of the monks inhabiting the mountains of Nitria, of a very fiery disposition, whom Theophilus sometime before had unjustly armed against Dioscorus and his brethren, being again transported with an ardent zeal, resolved to fight in behalf of Cyril. About five hundred of them therefore quitting their monasteries, came into the city; and meeting the prefect in his chariot, they called him a pagan idolater, and applied to him many other abusive epithets. He supposing this to be a snare laid for him by Cyril, exclaimed that he was a Christian, and had been baptized by Atticus the bishop at Constantinople. As they gave but little heed to his protestations, and a certain one of them named Ammonius threw a stone at Orestes which struck him on the head and covered him with the blood that flowed from the wound, all the guards with a few exceptions fled, plunging into the crowd, some in one direction and some in another, fearing to be stoned to death. Meanwhile the populace of Alexandria ran to the rescue of the governor, and put the rest of the monks to flight; but having secured Ammonius they delivered him up to the prefect. He immediately put him publicly to the torture, which was inflicted with such severity that he died under the effects of it: and not long after he gave an account to the emperors of what had taken place. Cyril also on the other hand forwarded his statement of the matter to the emperor: and causing the body of Ammonius to be deposited in a certain church, he gave him the new appellation of Thaumasius, ordering him to be enrolled among the martyrs, and eulogizing his magnanimity in church as that of one who had fallen in a conflict in defense of piety. But the more sober-minded, although Christians, did not accept Cyril's prejudiced estimate of him; for they well knew that he had suffered the punishment due to his rashness, and that he had not lost his life under the torture because he would not deny Christ. And Cyril himself being conscious of this, suffered the recollection of the circumstance to be gradually obliterated by silence. But the animosity between Cyril and Orestes did not by any means subside at this point, but was kindled afresh by an occurrence similar to the preceding.

Chapter 15. *Of Hypatia the Female Philosopher.* There was a woman at Alexandria named Hypatia, daughter of the philosopher Theon, who made such attainments in literature and science, as to far surpass all the philosophers of her own time. Having succeeded to the school of Plato and Plotinus, she explained the principles of philosophy to her

auditors, many of whom came from a distance to receive her instructions. On account of the self-possession and ease of manner, which she had acquired in consequence of the cultivation of her mind, she not unfrequently appeared in public in presence of the magistrates. Neither did she feel abashed in coming to an assembly of men. For all men on account of her extraordinary dignity and virtue admired her the more. Yet even she fell a victim to the political jealousy which at that time prevailed. For as she had frequent interviews with Orestes, it was calumniously reported among the Christian populace, that it was she who prevented Orestes from being reconciled to the bishop. Some of them therefore, hurried away by a fierce and bigoted zeal, whose ringleader was a reader named Peter, waylaid her returning home, and dragging her from her carriage, they took her to the church called *Cæsareum*, where they completely stripped her, and then murdered her with tiles. After tearing her body in pieces, they took her mangled limbs to a place called Cinaron, and there burnt them. This affair brought not the least opprobrium, not only upon Cyril, but also upon the whole Alexandrian church. And surely nothing can be farther from the spirit of Christianity than the allowance of massacres, fights, and transactions of that sort. This happened in the month of March during Lent, in the fourth year of Cyril's episcopate, under the tenth consulate of Honorius, and the sixth of Theodosius.

Chapter 16. *The Jews commit Another Outrage upon the Christians and are punished.* Soon afterwards the Jews renewed their malevolent and impious practices against the Christians, and drew down upon themselves deserved punishment. At a place named Inmestar, situated between Chalcis and Antioch in Syria, the Jews were amusing themselves in their usual way with a variety of sports. In this way they indulged in many absurdities, and at length impelled by drunkenness they were guilty of scoffing at Christians and even Christ himself; and in derision of the cross and those who put their trust in the Crucified One, they seized a Christian boy, and having bound him to a cross, began to laugh and sneer at him. But in a little while becoming so transported with fury, they scourged the child until he died under their hands. This conduct occasioned a sharp conflict between them and the Christians; and as soon as the emperors were informed of the circumstance, they issued orders to the governor of the province to find out and punish the delinquents. And thus the Jewish inhabitants of this place paid the penalty for the wickedness they had committed in their impious sport.

The Life of Hypatia, by John, Bishop of Nikiû (7th century), from his Chronicle 84.87-103.

And in those days there appeared in Alexandria a female philosopher, a pagan named Hypatia, and she was devoted at all times to magic, astrolabes and instruments of music, and she beguiled many people through (her) Satanic wiles. And the governor of the city honored her exceedingly; for she had beguiled him through her magic. And he ceased attending church as had been his custom. But he went once under circumstances of danger. And he not only did this, but he drew many believers to her, and he himself received the unbelievers at his house. And on a certain day when they were making merry over a theatrical exhibition connected with dancers, the governor of the city published (an edict) regarding the public exhibitions in the city of Alexandria; and all the inhabitants of the city had assembled there (in the theater). Now Cyril, who had been appointed patriarch after Theophilus, was eager to gain exact intelligence regarding this edict. And there was a man named Hierax, a Christian possessing understanding and intelligence who used to mock the pagans but was a devoted adherent of the illustrious Father the patriarch and was obedient to his monitions. He was also well versed in the Christian faith. (Now this man attended the theater to learn the nature of this edict.) But when the Jews saw him in the theater they cried out and said: "This man has not come with any good purpose, but only to provoke an uproar." And Orestes the prefect was displeased with the children of the holy church, and Hierax was seized and subjected to punishment publicly in the theater, although he was wholly guiltless. And Cyril was wroth with the governor of the city for so doing, and likewise for his putting to death an illustrious monk of the convent of Pernodj [1] named Ammonius, and other monks (also). And when the chief magistrate [2] of the city heard this, he sent word to the Jews as follows: "Cease your hostilities against the Christians." But they refused to hearken to what they heard; for they gloried in the support of the prefect who was with them, and so they added outrage to outrage and plotted a massacre through a treacherous device. And they posted beside them at night in all the streets of the city certain men, while others cried out and said: "The church of the apostolic Athanasius is on fire: come to its succor, all ye Christians." And the Christians on hearing their cry came fourth quite ignorant of the treachery of the Jews. And when the Christians came forth, the Jews arose and wickedly massacred the Christians and shed the blood of many, guiltless though they were. And in the morning, when the surviving Christians heard of the wicked deed which the Jews had wrought, they betook themselves to the patriarch. And the Christians mustered all together and went and marched in wrath to the synagogues of the Jews and took possession of them, and purified them and converted them into churches. And one of them they named after the name of St. George. And as for the Jewish assassins they expelled them from the city, and pillaged all their possessions and drove them forth wholly despoiled, and Orestes the prefect was unable to render them any help. And thereafter a multitude of believers in God arose under the guidance of Peter the magistrate—now this Peter was a perfect believer in all respects in Jesus Christ—and they proceeded to seek for the pagan woman who had beguiled the people of the city and the prefect through her enchantments. And when they learnt the place where she was, they proceeded to her and found her seated on a (lofty)

chair; and having made her descend they dragged her along till they brought her to the great church, named Caesarion. Now this was in the days of the fast. And they tore off her clothing and dragged her [till they brought her] through the streets of the city till she died. And they carried her to a place named Cinaron, and they burned her body with fire. And all the people surrounded the patriarch Cyril and named him "the new Theophilus"; for he had destroyed the last remains of idolatry in the city.

Notes: 1. The Coptic word for the desert of Nitria. 2. This is apparently wrong. It should be "Cyril."