

**MAGIC, DIVINATION AND COSMOLOGY
COURSE HANDBOOK**

**MODULE LEADER: CRYSTAL ADDEY
CREDITS: 20**

AIM(S)

- To:
- introduce students to the theory and practice of magic, divination and oracles as understood within Greek religion
- locate such practices within classical and Hellenistic cosmology and the development of astrology
- explore the wider context of ancient Near Eastern divination and magic
- consider the legacy of Hellenistic and Classical divinatory, magical and oracular practices in post-Classical culture

LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this module successful students should be able to:

1. Demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of the theory of magic and divination
2. Demonstrate a critical understanding of cosmological frameworks in the Classical and Hellenistic worlds, especially the notion of individual participation in cosmic processes, and their legacy in the Near East.
3. Display an advanced awareness of current academic debates on ancient divination and magic, and critically evaluate scholarly theories.
4. Critically interpret the emergence of classical astrology, its nature and function, within a religious and divinatory context

COURSE CONTENT

Weeks 1 and 2

Divination, Magic and Religion

- The role of divination within magical and religious practices
- Controversies, connections and boundaries between religion and magic
- What is divination? What is magic? What is religion? What are the connections and boundaries between them and how can we define them?
- Anthropological and historical perspectives and debates on the nature of magic and religion.
- Case study: curse tablets and “prayers for justice” – between religion and magic?

Week 3

Ancient Near Eastern Divination

- Codification of different types of divination

- Emergence of astral divination
- Distinction between provoked and unprovoked divination
- The Heavens as a system of communication between divinity and humanity
- The use of magic to engage in a dialogue with destiny

Week 4

Magic, medicine, religion and divination in Ancient Greece

- Magic and medicine: early connections and links
- Incantations and healing amulets
- Healing oracles and divination practices: sanctuaries and oracles of Asclepius in Classical and Hellenistic Greece and in the Roman World
- The Healing oracle of Demeter in Patras: mirrors and *catoptromancy*
- Oracles of Sarapis and Isis in Hellenistic Greece and Late Antiquity

Week 5

Divination and Oracles in Ancient Greece

- Categorisations and conceptual boundaries of divination: Inspired and Inductive types of divination; divination by 'art' and by 'nature' (or artificial and natural divination).
- Oracles and temples: Oracles of Apollo at Delphi, Didyma and Claros; Oracle of Zeus at Dodona; other oracular sanctuaries and temples. Examination of archaeological evidence from Delphi and Dodona: Oracle tablets
- Lot oracles and small oracle shrines
- The reading of omens and signs: augury and haruspicy, *cledomancy* and other types of omens

Week 6

Magic, Astrology and Divination in the Graeco-Roman World

- The role of divination within 'magical' practices: astrology, hydromancy, lecanomancy and catoptromancy.
- The emergence of astrology in the Hellenistic World: the cosmology of astrology
- The *Greek Magical Papyri (PGM)* and divination
- Oracles of Homer (the *Homeromanteia*): poetry and prophecy

Necromancy and Oracles of the Dead in the Graeco-Roman World

- Necromancy and re-animation
- Oracles of the Dead
- Cosmology of necromancy and Oracles of the Dead: ideas concerning the Underworld, the afterlife and ghosts

Week 7

Magic, Theurgy and Philosophy in the Graeco-Roman World

- Wise men and women (philosophers) and their connections with magical practices
- Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus' *Life*)
- Apuleius' *Metamorphoses (The Golden Ass)* and *Apology*
- Plotinus (Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*)
- Sosipatra (Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*)

- The emergence of theurgy in Late Neoplatonism: What was theurgy? Can it be classified as a type of magic? Was it spiritual purification and, if so, how did it work?
- Iamblichus' *De Mysteriis* (*On the Mysteries*)
- Theurgy as spiritual purification and ritual practice
- The Cosmology, worldview and Metaphysics of theurgy: the animated cosmos, cosmic sympathy (*sympatheia*) and divine love (*theia philia*), will and providence, grades of being and reality
- The role of divination within theurgy

Week 8

Post-Classical Survival and Reception

- Divination, magical and astrological practices in the Islamic World.
- The survival, development and reception of ancient Near Eastern and Hellenistic magic in early medieval Europe.

ASSESSMENT FOR THIS MODULE

There are two assignments for this module, which together comprise 5000 words of written work in total:

Assignment 1: One 2,000 word assignment (40% of marks)

Critical Review: Analysis of a primary source document

Write a critical review of Cicero's arguments against divination in *De Divinatione*

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cicero/de_Divinatione/home.html

OR

Write a critical review of Iamblichus' arguments for divination in *De Mysteriis*

<http://www.archive.org/stream/iamblichusonmys00taylgoog#page/n9/mode/1up>

The Alexander Wilder translation of 1911 is on-line at

<http://www.esotericarchives.com/oracle/iamblich.htm>

NB: You should consult the guideline for writing critical reviews.

Assignment 1 Due:

Completion: Monday 1 July 2013, Submission Monday 15 July 2013

Assignment 2: One 3,000 word essay (60% of marks) on one of the following topics.

1. Can theurgy be considered a form of magic?
2. Analyse the cosmology, metaphysics and “world-view” of **ONE** of the following:
 1. Near Eastern divination
 2. Hellenistic astrology
 3. Theurgy
 4. Necromancy and Oracles of the Dead.
3. Critically discuss the relationship between divination, magic and religion in the ancient world.
4. Can the theory and practise of divination help distinguish between magic and religion?
5. Compare and contrast the roles and uses of divination with those of curse tablets (*katadesmoi*) in ancient magical practices?
6. Critically examine the connections between theurgy, philosophy and magic.
7. Analyse the role of divination within relevant practices and the cosmological and philosophical views which made connections between theurgy, philosophy and magic possible.

Assignment 2 Due:

Completion: Monday 29 July 2013, Submission: Monday 12 August 2013.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Please see below for recommended reading lists: these are divided into an essential reading list, a reading list of ancient texts and sources, a general reading list and a weekly reading list for each section of the course.

Each weekly reading list is divided into three sections: Required Reading for that week, Additional Reading in two sections: those available online and other additional reading.

Some items are repeated if they are relevant to more than one area of the course. These are exploratory rather than prescriptive: in other words, you are not required to read everything on the list, but it is constructed so as to give you starting places for whatever topics interest you.

If you can afford to buy books for this course, I recommend especially Daniel Ogden's sourcebook: *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and/or the *Greek Magical Papyri*

sourcebook: edited by Hans Dieter Betz (*The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic Spells*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992) and/or an edition of Iamblichus' *De Mysteriis* (see below in Ancient Texts Reading List for available editions).

Essential Reading

Betz, Hans Dieter, *The Greek magical papyri in translation, including the Demotic spells*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992.

Campion, Nicholas, *The Dawn of Astrology: A Cultural History of Western Astrology*, Vol. 1, The Ancient and Classical Worlds, London: Continuum, 2008.

Ogden, D., *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Reading List: Ancient Texts and Sources

Ancient Texts: Essential Reading

Cicero, *De Divinatione (On Divination)*, trans. W.A. Falconer, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, London, 1929

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cicero/de_Divinatione/home.html

Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis (On the Mysteries)*, trans. Thomas Taylor. London: Reeves and sons, 1895

<http://www.archive.org/stream/iamblichusonmys00taylgoog#page/n9/mode/1up>

Book 3 / Section 3: On Divination

NOTE ON TRANSLATION: Thomas Taylor's English is often archaic and difficult to understand, so do not be discouraged, but it is well worth the effort. He was himself a philosopher and pagan who devoted his life to translating ancient Platonic philosophical works and elucidating ancient wisdom. His translations and editions therefore raise important issues regarding emic/etic approaches towards ancient philosophy, divination and religious practices.

OR use the translation of Alexander Wilder (Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries*) London: William Rider & Son Ltd, 1911.

http://www.esotericarchives.com/oracle/iambli_t2.htm#chap7

IMPORTANT NOTE ON LINE NUMBERING: If using Wilder's translation of Iamblichus, please note that he refers to Book 3 (On Divination) as Chapter 7. The Book/Chapter numbers in this edition are for some reason different to the standard book/section and line numbers.

A printed edition of Thomas Taylor's translation (Iamblichus' *On the Mysteries and Life of Pythagoras*, Dorset: Prometheus Trust, 2004) is available from the Prometheus Trust for £13.60 (paperback) or £18.40 (hardback): prices quoted here are inclusive of a 20% discount for ordering directly from the Prometheus Trust. This edition includes book, chapter and section numbering (excellent for citing in coursework).

www.prometheustrust.co.uk

The most recent, scholarly edition of Iamblichus' *De Mysteriis* (including Greek text as well as English translation, and extensive line numbering) is the translation of Emma C. Clarke, John M. Dillon and J.P. Hershbell (eds.), Iamblichus: *On the Mysteries*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.

Plato, *Apology*, translated by B. Jowett
<http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/apology.html>

This is the account of Socrates' trial and defence-speech. Socrates relates how his philosophical mission and journey was catalysed by an oracle received from the prophetess at Delphi given to his friend which claimed that Socrates was the wisest person in Greece; Socrates could not accept the oracle at face value and set out to discover someone wiser than him – this represents the beginning of his philosophical journey.

Plato, *Ion*, translated by B. Jowett
<http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/ion.html>

Socrates and the rhapsode (singer of Homeric epic) Ion discuss prophetic and poetic inspiration as parallel examples of divine inspiration and possession by the gods. Line numbers 533-536 are particularly relevant.

Plato, *Phaedrus*, translated by B. Jowett
<http://www.fullbooks.com/Phaedrus2.html>

The whole dialogue is relevant, but particularly line numbers 244-245 where Plato draws the distinction between inspired/natural types of divination (oracles etc.) and inductive/artificial types of divination (haruspicy, augury etc.).

Plato, *Timaeus*, translated by B. Jowett
<http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/timaeus.html>

Plotinus, *On Whether the Stars are Causes*, Book 2, Third Tractate of the *Enneads*
Translated by Stephen Mackenna and B.S. Page
<http://classics.mit.edu/Plotinus/enneads.2.second.html>

Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, translated by J.M. Ashmand, London: Davis and Dickson (1822).
<http://www.astrologiamedieval.com/tabelas/Tetrabiblos.pdf>

Other Ancient Texts: Additional Reading

Artemidorus, *The Interpretation of Dreams (Oneirocritica)*, ed: R.A. Pack (1963), *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V*, Leipzig: Teubner.
English. translation: R.J. White (1975), *Artemidorus: The Interpretation of Dreams*, Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes Press.

Chaldaean Oracles (fragments): *Oracles and Mysteries*, trans. T. Taylor, Westbury, Wiltshire: The Prometheus Trust. Available for £14.40 from the Prometheus Trust: see www.prometheustrust.co.uk.

Eusebius, *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, trans. Wilmer Cave Wright, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1921, reprinted: 2005.

Iamblichus, *Fragments (Iamblichi Chalcidensis In Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta)*, trans. and ed. John Dillon, Westbury, Wiltshire: The Prometheus Trust, 2009.

Available from the Prometheus Trust in hardback for £19.20 (includes Greek text and English translation): see www.prometheustrust.co.uk.

Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana (Vita Apollonii)*, trs: F.C. Conybeare (1922), 2 vols. Loeb, London: Heinemann.

Plato, *Apology*, trs: H.N. Fowler (1914; repr. 1982), *Plato: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*, Loeb, London and Cambridge, MA: Heinemann and Harvard University Press.

Plato, *Ion*, trs: W.R.M. Lamb (1925; repr. 1952), Loeb, Cambridge, MA and London: Heinemann and Harvard University Press.

Plato, *Phaedrus*, trs: H.N. Fowler (1914; repr. 1982), *Plato: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*, Loeb, London and Cambridge, MA: Heinemann and Harvard University Press.

Plato, *Timaeus*, trs: R.G. Bury (1929), Loeb, London and Cambridge, MA: Heinemann and Harvard University Press.

Plotinus, *Enneads*, ed. and trs: A.H. Armstrong (1966-88), 7 vols. Loeb, Cambridge, MA and London: Heinemann and Harvard University Press.

Plutarch, *The E at Delphi; The Oracles at Delphi no longer given in verse; The Obsolescence of Oracles; Isis and Osiris*, in Plutarch's *Moralia*, Volume 5, trans. F.C. Babbitt, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1936, reprinted: 2003.

Sallustius, *Concerning the Gods and the World*, in *Collected Writings on the Gods and the World*, trans. T. Taylor, Westbury, Wiltshire: The Prometheus Trust.

Available from the Prometheus Trust in hardback (£16) and paperback (£9.60): see www.prometheustrust.co.uk

Synesius, *Concerning Dreams (De Insomniis)*, ed: N. Aujoulat (2004), *Synesios De Cyrene: Opuscles*, 4 vols., Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

English. translation: A. Fitzgerald (1930), *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene*, 2 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Additional Reading (General) – Please note a weekly reading list for each week of the course is given below and this will direct you to more specific readings for each week.

Barb, A., 'The Survival of Magic Arts,' in A. Momigliano (ed), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1963.
Barton, Tamsyn, *Ancient Astrology*, London: Routledge, 1994.

- Blacker, Carmen and Michael Loewe, *Oracles and Divination*, Boulder: Shambhala, 1981.
- Burkert, Walter, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press 1987.
- Burnett, Charles and W.F. Ryan (eds), *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, London and Turin: The Warburg Institute and Nino Aragno Editore, 2006.
- Copenhaver, Brian P., *Hermetica*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Cramer, Frederick H., *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1996.
- Dickie, M., *Magic and Magicians in the Graeco-Roman World*, London: Routledge, 2001.
- Faraone, C., D. Obbink (eds), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Flint, V., R. Gordon, G. Luck, D. Ogden (eds), *The Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe Volume 2: Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome*, London: Athlone Press, 1999.
- Graf, F., *Magic in the Ancient World*, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- H.C. Kee, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Luck, Georg, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Wellingborough: Crucible, 1987
- Noegel, Scott (ed.), *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.
- Ogden, D., *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2002.
- Jacq, C., *Egyptian Magic*, Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1985
- Lloyd, G.E.R., *Magic, Reason and Experience: Studies in the origins and Development of Greek Science*, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Meyer, Marvin W., P. Mirecki (eds) *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Meyer, Marvin W., Richard Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*, San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1996.
- Nilsson, Nils Martin Persson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece*, Göteborg, Paul Aström, 1986.
- Ritner, Robert, *Egyptian Magic*, Chicago: Chicago Oriental Institute, 1993.
- Voss, A. and Curry, P. (eds.), *Seeing with Different Eyes: Essays on Astrology and Divination*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007.
- Voss, A. and Lall, J.H. (eds.), *The Imaginal Cosmos: Astrology, Divination and the Sacred*, Canterbury: The University of Kent, 2007.
- Savage-Smith, Emilie (ed.) *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, Abingdon: Ashgate, 2004.
- Walzer, R. 'Al-Farabi's Theory of Prophecy and Divination, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77.1 (1957), 142-148: **Available on JSTOR.**
- Wright, M.R., *Cosmology in Antiquity*, London: Routledge 1995.

Weeks 1 and 2

Divination, Magic and Religion

Required Reading

Greek Magical Papyri, PGM IV.475-829, "The Mithras Liturgy," in Hans Dieter Betz (ed.), *The Greek magical papyri in translation, including the Demotic spells*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992.

Frazer, J.G., *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, abridged edition, London: MacMillan 1971 [1922], Chapter III: Sympathetic Magic.
<http://www.bartleby.com/196/5.html>

Wax, M. And Wax., R., 'The Notion of Magic', *Current Anthropology* 4.5 (1963), 495-518: **Available on JSTOR**.

Additional Reading (available online)

Collins, D., 'Nature, Cause and Agency in Greek Magic', *Transactions of the American Philological Association (TAPA)* 133.1 (2003), 17-49: **Available on JSTOR**.

Hammond, D., 'Magic: A Problem in Semantics', *American Anthropologist New Series* 72.6 (1970), 1349-1356: **Available on JSTOR**.

Stark, R., 'Reconceptualizing Religion, Magic and Science', *Review of Religious Research* 43.2 (2001), 101-120: **Available on JSTOR**.

Additional Reading (other)

Bremmer, J. 'The birth of the term "magic"', *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik (ZPE)* 126 (1999), 1-12.

Collins, Derek, *Magic in the Ancient Greek World*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2008: especially Chapter 1: Magic, what is it and how does it work?

Dickie, M., *Magic and Magicians in the Graeco-Roman World*, London: Routledge, 2001: Chapter 1: the formation and nature of the Greek concept of magic; Chapter 5: Magic as a distinctive category in Roman thought.

Franz, Marie-Louise von, *On Divination and Synchronicity: The Psychology of Meaningful Chance*, Toronto: Inner City Books, 1980.

Gordon, Richard, "Imagining Greek and Roman Magic," in Flint, V., R. Gordon, G. Luck, D. Ogden (eds), *The Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe Volume 2: Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome*, London: Athlone Press, 1999, 159-266.

Graf, F., *Magic in the Ancient World*, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Leach, E., *Social Anthropology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Lloyd, G.E.R., *Magic, Reason and Experience: Studies in the origins and Development of Greek Science*, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Luck, Georg, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Wellingborough: Crucible, 1987: especially Introduction and Chapter 1: Magic.

Malinowski, Bronislaw, *Magic, Science, Religion and other Essays*, New York: Doubleday, 1954.

Mauss, Marcel, *A General Theory of Magic*, London: Routledge, 1950.

Smith, Jonathan Z, *Map is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978: especially Chapters 10-12.

Tambiah, S., *Magic, Science, Religion and the Scope of Rationality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, Chapter 3.

Week 3

Ancient Near Eastern Divination

Required Reading

Campion, Nicholas, *The Dawn of Astrology: A Cultural History of Western Astrology*, Vol. 1, The Ancient and Classical Worlds, London: Continuum, 2008: Chapters 3 and 4: Mesopotamian cosmology and astrology; Chapter 5: The Assyrians and Persians; Chapters 6 and 7: Egyptian astrology.

Reiner, E., 'Fortune-Telling in Mesopotamia', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19.1 (1960), 23-35: **Available on JSTOR**.

Rochberg, F., 'Introduction: The Cultures of Ancient Science: Some Historical Reflections', *Isis* 83.4 (1992), 547-53: **Available on JSTOR**.

Additional Reading (available online)

Faraone, C., 'Molten Wax, Spilt Wine and Mutilated Animals: Sympathetic Magic in near Eastern and Early Greek Oath Ceremonies', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies (JHS)* 113 (1993), 60-80: **Available on JSTOR**.

Greenfield, J.C. and Sokoloff, M., 'Astrological and Related Omen Texts in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48.3 (1989), 201-214: **Available on JSTOR**.

Rochberg-Halton, F., 'New Evidence for the History of Astrology', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43.2 (1984), 115-140: **Available on JSTOR**.

Rochberg-Halton, F., 'Elements of the Babylonian Contribution to Hellenistic Astrology', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108.1 (1988), 51-62: **Available on JSTOR.**

Rochberg-Halton, F., 'Between Observation and Theory in Babylonian Astronomical Texts', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50.2 (1991), 107-120: **Available on JSTOR.**

Rochberg, F., 'Empiricism in Babylonian Omen Texts and the Classification of Mesopotamian Divination as Science', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119.4 (1999), 559-569: **Available on JSTOR.**

Week 4

Magic, medicine, religion and divination in Ancient Greece

Required Reading

Addey, C., "Mirrors and Divination: *Catoptromancy*, Oracles and Earth Goddesses in Antiquity," in M. Anderson (ed.), *The Book of the Mirror: An Interdisciplinary Collection exploring the Cultural Story of the Mirror*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2007, 32-46.

Dieter Betz, Hans (ed.), *The Greek magical papyri in translation, including the Demotic spells*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992: Use the "Table of Spells" (pp.xi-xxviii) at the beginning to look up any spells / rituals connected with healing and illness (for example, *PGM* VII.199-201: For migraine headache; *PGM* VII.211-12: For fever with shivering fits).

Ogden, D., *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2002: Chapter 13 (Amulets: Healing amulets); Chapter 11 (Erotic Magic: section on Abortion and contraception).

Additional Reading (available online)

Maechner, G.A., 'Medicine, Music and Magic: The Healing Grace of Pindar's Fourth Nemean,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 95 (1993), 113-141: **Available on JSTOR.**

Renahan, R., 'The Staunching of Odysseus' Blood: The Healing Power of Magic', *The American Journal of Philology* 113.1 (1992), 1-4: **Available on JSTOR.**

Additional Reading (other)

Dickie, M., *Magic and Magicians in the Graeco-Roman World*, London: Routledge, 2001: Chapter 1: the formation and nature of the Greek concept of magic

Edelstein, E.J. and Edelstein, L., *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, Volumes 1 and 2, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1945.

Eidinow, E., *Oracles, Curses and Risk among the Ancient Greeks*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Hamilton, M., *Incubation*, London: Henderson, 1906.

Hart, G.D., *Asclepius: the God of Medicine*, London: Royal Society of Medicine Press, 2000.

Kee, H.C., "Self-Definition in the Asclepius Cult," in B.F. Meyer and E.P. Sanders (eds.) (1982), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition Volume 3: Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World*, London: SCM Press, 118-36.

King, Helen, *Greek and Roman Medicine*, London: Duckworth, 2001 (revised: 2009).

Nutton, Vivian, *Ancient Medicine*, London: Routledge, 2004.

Pakkanen, P., *Interpreting Early Hellenistic Religion: A Study based on the Mystery Cult of Demeter and the Cult of Isis*, Helsinki, Finland: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, Vol. III), 1996.

Petsalis-Diomidis, A., "The Body in Space: Visual Dynamics in Graeco-Roman Healing Pilgrimage," in J. Elsner and I. Rutherford, I. (eds.) (2005), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 183-218.

Temkin, O. And Temkin, C. Lilian, *Ancient Medicine: Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967.

Ustinova, Y., "Either a Daimon, or a Hero, or Perhaps a God:" Mythical Residents of Subterranean Chambers," *Kernos* 15 (2002), 267-288.

Week 5

Divination and Oracles in Ancient Greece and Rome

Required Reading

Cicero, *De Divinatione*, trans. W.A.Falconer, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, London, 1929

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cicero/de_Divinatione/home.html

Dieter Betz, Hans (ed.), *The Greek magical papyri in translation, including the Demotic spells*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992: Use the "Table of Spells" (pp.xi-xxviii) at the beginning to look up any spells / rituals connected with divination and oracles (for example, *PGM* II.1-64: Spell for revelation; *PGM* III.165-86: Oracular request; *PGM* V.1-53: Oracle of Sarapis, etc.)

Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis (On the Mysteries)*, trans. Thomas Taylor. London: Reeves and sons, 1895: Book 3 on Divination

<http://www.archive.org/stream/iamblichusonmys00taylgoog#page/n9/mode/1up>

Additional Reading (available online)

Beard, M., 'Cicero and Divination: The Formation of a Latin Discourse', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986), 33-46: **Available on JSTOR.**

Collins, D., 'Mapping the Entrails: The Practice of Greek Hepatoscopy', *The American Journal of Philology* 129.3 (2008), 319-345: **Available on JSTOR.**

Egleston Robbins, F., 'The Lot Oracle at Delphi', *Classical Philology* 11.3 (1916), 278-292: **Available on JSTOR.**

Henry Middleton, J., 'The Temple of Apollo at Delphi', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9 (1888), 282-322: **Available on JSTOR.**

Lloyd-Jones, H., 'The Delphic Oracle', *Greece and Rome* second series 23.1 (1976), 60-73: **Available on JSTOR.**

Maurizio, L., 'Anthropology and Spirit Possession: A Reconsideration of the Pythia's Role at Delphi', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 115 (1995), 69-86: **Available on JSTOR.**

Parke, H.W., 'A Note on the Delphic Priesthood', *Classical Quarterly* 34.1-2 (1940), 85-89: **Available on JSTOR.**

Parke, H.W., 'The Temple of Apollo at Didyma: The Building and Its Function', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106 (1986), 121-131: **Available on JSTOR.**

Schofield, M., 'Cicero for and against Divination', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986), 47-65: **Available on JSTOR.**

Additional Reading (other)

Aune, D.E., *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1983.

Flower, M.A., *The Seer in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Iles Johnston, S., *Ancient Greek Divination*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008.

Wood, M., *The Road to Delphi: The Life and Afterlife of Oracles*, London: Chatto and Windus, 2004.

Week 6

Magic, Astrology and Divination in the Graeco-Roman World

Panel Discussion: "Magic in the Ancient World" by Fritz Graf

Required Reading

Campion, Nicholas, *The Dawn of Astrology: A Cultural History of Western Astrology*, Vol. 1, The Ancient and Classical Worlds, London: Continuum, 2008: Chapters 9 and 10: Archaic and Classical Greece (Homer, Hesiod and Plato); Chapters 11, 12 and 13: Hellenistic cosmology and astrology; Chapter 14: Roman astrology.

Dieter Betz, Hans (ed.), *The Greek magical papyri in translation, including the Demotic spells*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992: Use the "Table of Spells" (pp.xi-xxviii) at the beginning to look up any spells / rituals connected with magic, astrology and divination (for example, *PGM* III.275-281: Horoscope; *PGM* IV.835-849: Astrological Text; *PGM* IV.3209-3254: Saucer divination for Aprodite; *PGM* VII.1-148: Homer oracle etc.).

Ogden, D., *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2002: especially Chapter 9 (Further varieties of divination); Chapter 10 (curse tablets and 'prayers for justice'); Chapter 9 (ancient sources on Necromancy, Evocation, Oracles of the Dead and Reanimation): Chapter 8 (ancient sources on ghosts, ghost-laying, exorcism, werewolves).

Additional Reading (available online)

Collins, D., 'Nature, Cause and Agency in Greek Magic', *Transactions of the American Philological Association (TAPA)* 133.1 (2003), 17-49: **Available on JSTOR**.

Edson, Evelyn and Emilie Savage-Smith, "An Astrologer's Map: A Relic of Late Antiquity," *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 52, (2000), pp. 7-29: **Available on JSTOR**

Faraone, C., 'Molten Wax, Spilt Wine and Mutilated Animals: Sympathetic Magic in near Eastern and Early Greek Oath Ceremonies', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies (JHS)* 113 (1993), 60-80: **Available on JSTOR**.

Heilen, Stephen, "Teaching 'Astrology in Greece and Rome'. *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (Dec., 2002 - Jan., 2003), pp. 201-210
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Hordern, J.H., 'Love Magic and Purification in Sophron PS1214a, and Theocritus' *Pharmakeutria*, *The Classical Quarterly* 52.1 (2002), 164-173: **Available on JSTOR**.

Jones, Alexander, "The Adaptation of Babylonian Methods in Greek Numerical Astronomy". *Isis*, Vol. 82, No. 3 (Sep., 1991), pp. 441-453: **Available on JSTOR**

Lehoux, Daryn, 'Parapegmata: Astrology, Weather and Calendars in the Ancient World', PhD Thesis, University of Toronto', 2000.

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Neugebauer, O., "Demotic Horoscopes." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1943), pp. 115-127: **Available on JSTOR**

Riess, Ernst, "The Influence of Astrology on Life and Literature at Rome ." *The Classical Weekly*, Vol. 27, No. 10 (Dec. 18, 1933), pp. 73-78: **Available on JSTOR**

Riley, Mark, 'Science and Tradition in the *Tetrabiblos*', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 132, no 1, pp. 67-84, 1988.
Available on JSTOR

Riley, Mark, 'Theoretical and Practical Astrology: Ptolemy and His Colleagues', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 117, (1987), pp. 235-256:**Available on JSTOR**

Sarton, George Reviewed work(s): Astrology in Roman Law and Politics by Frederick H. Cramer. *Speculum*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Jan., 1956), pp. 156-161: **Available on JSTOR**.

Thurston, Hugh, "Greek Mathematical Astronomy Reconsidered". *Isis*, Vol. 93, No. 1 (Mar., 2002), pp. 58-69: **Available on JSTOR**.

Weinstock, Stefan, "Lunar Mansions and Early Calendars." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 69, (1949), pp. 48-69: **Available on JSTOR**.

Additional Reading (other)

Aaboe, A. "Scientific Astronomy in Antiquity." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series A, Mathematical and Physical Sciences*, Vol. 276, No. 1257, The Place of Astronomy in the Ancient World (May 2, 1974), pp. 21-42

Barton, T., *Ancient Astrology*, London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

Cox Miller, P., *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Cramer, Frederick H., *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1996.

Dickie, M., *Magic and Magicians in the Graeco-Roman World*, London: Routledge, 2001.

Evans, J. (2004), "The Astrologer's Apparatus: A Picture of Professional Practice in Greco-Roman Egypt," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 35.1: 1-44.

Faraone, C., D. Obbink (eds), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Fowden, G., *The Egyptian Hermes* (1986), esp. pages 75-94 on *sympatheia*, *daimones* and Egyptian and Graeco-Roman magic

Iles Johnston, Sarah, John G. Gager, Martha Himmelfarb, Marvin Meyer, Brian Schmidt, David Frankfurter, Fritz Graf
Numen, Vol. 46, No. 3 (1999), pp. 291-325

Iles Johnston, S., *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1999.

Noegel, Scott (ed.), *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Ogden, D., *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Week 7

Magic, Theurgy and Philosophy in the Graeco-Roman World

Required Reading

Addey, C., "Oracles, Dreams and Astrology in Iamblichus' *De mysteriis*," in P. Curry and A. Voss (eds.) (2007), *Seeing with Different Eyes: Essays in Astrology and Divination*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007, 35-57.

Athanassiadi, P., 'Dreams, Theurgy and Freelance Divination: The Testimony of Iamblichus', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993), 115-130: **Available on JSTOR.**

Ogden, D., *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2002: Chapter 4: Apollonius of Tyana (ancient sources in translation); Chapter 14: Libanius and Apuleius (ancient sources in translation).

Sheppard, A., 'Proclus' Attitude to Theurgy', *The Classical Quarterly* 32.1 (1982), 212-224: **Available on JSTOR.**

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Bonner, C., "Witchcraft in the Lecture Room of Libanius," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 63 (1932), 34-44: **Available on JSTOR.**

Dodds, E.R., 'Theurgy and Its Relationship to Neoplatonism', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947), 55-69: **Available on JSTOR.**

Iles Johnston, S., 'Riders in the Sky: Cavalier Gods and Theurgic Salvation in the Second Century A.D.', *Classical Philology* 87.4 (1992), 303-321: **Available on JSTOR.**

Jones, A., 'The Horoscope of Proclus', *Classical Philology* 94.1 (1999), 81-88: **Available on JSTOR.**

Klitenic, S., 'Review of: *La Théurgie. Des Oracles Chaldaïques à Proclus*, by C. Van Liefferinge', *The Classical Review New Series* 50.2 (2000), 480-482: **Available on JSTOR.**

Merlan, P., 'Plotinus and Magic', *Isis* 44.4 (1953), 341-348: **Available on JSTOR.**

Additional Reading (other)

Armstrong, A.H., "Was Plotinus a Magician?" *Phronesis* 1.1 (1955), 73-79.

W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987: Chapter 3: Theologia and Mysteries: Myth, Allegory and Platonism, on the *Hermetica* and the *Greek Magical Papyri* and connections between philosophy and mystery cults.

Week 8

Post-Classical Survival and Reception

Required Reading

Marmura, Michael E., 'Avicenna's Psychological Proof of Prophecy,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 22.1 (1963), 49-56: **Available on JSTOR.**

Walzer, R. 'Al-Farabi's Theory of Prophecy and Divination,' *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77.1 (1957), 142-148: **Available on JSTOR.**

Additional Reading (available online)

Gutas, D., 'The Study of Arabic Philosophy in the Twentieth Century: An Essay on the Historiography of Arabic Philosophy,' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29.1 (2002), 5-25: **Available on JSTOR.**

Hourani, George F., "Ibn Sina's 'Essay on the Secret of Destiny'", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 29.1 (1966), 25-48: **Available on JSTOR.**

Morewedge, Parviz, "The Logic of Emanationism and Sufism in the Philosophy of Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Part I," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91.4 (1971), 467-476: **Available on JSTOR.**

Morewedge, Parviz, "The Logic of Emanationism and Sufism in the Philosophy of Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Part II," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 92.1 (1972), 1-18: **Available on JSTOR.**

Walbridge, John, 'Explaining Away the Greek Gods in Islam,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59.3 (1998), 389-403: **Available on JSTOR.**

Winston Morris, James, 'Ibn Arabi and His Interpreters Part II: Influences and Interpretations,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106.4 (1986), 733-756: **Available on JSTOR.**

Additional Reading (other)

Adamson, Peter, 'Non-Discursive Thought in Avicenna's Commentary on the *Theology of Aristotle*,' in J. McGinnis (ed.), *Interpreting Avicenna: Science and Philosophy in Medieval Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, 87-111.

Al-Akiti, Afifi, 'The Three Properties of Prophethood in certain works of Avicenna and Al-Ghazali,' in J. McGinnis (ed.), *Interpreting Avicenna: Science and Philosophy in Medieval Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, 189-210.

Altmann, A., 'The Delphic Maxim in Medieval Islam and Judaism,' in A. Altmann (ed.), *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism*, London: Routledge, 1969, 1-40.

Griffel, F., 'Al-Gazali's Concept of Prophecy: The Introduction of Avicennan Psychology into As'arite Theology,' *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 14 (2004), 101-144.

Gutas, D., 'Ibn Tufayl on Ibn Sina's Eastern Philosophy,' *Oriens* 34 (1994), 222-241.

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Inati, S.(trans.), *Ibn Sina and Mysticism. Remarks and Admonitions: Part Four*, London: Kegan Paul, 1996.

Kukkonen, Taneli, 'Ibn Tufayl and the Wisdom of the East: On Apprehending the Divine,' in Panayiota Vassilopoulou and Stephen R.L. Clark (eds.), *Late Antique Epistemology: Other Ways to Truth*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, 87-102.

Morewedge, P. (ed.), *Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism*, Delmar, 1981.

Rahman, Fazlur, *Prophecy in Islam: Philosophy and Orthodoxy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

Savage-Smith, Emilie (ed.) *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, Abingdon: Ashgate, 2004.