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At the Seizure of the Moon

The Absence of the Moon in the Mithras Liturgy

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"At the seizure of the moon, take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup." The ritual instructions for the famous Mithras Liturgy tell the magician to begin the complex preparations for the encounter with the supreme sun-god Mithras "at the seizure of the moon," that is, at the time of the new moon, when the moon is absent from the heavens. This absence of the moon is not merely an isolated ritual detail, but rather it corresponds to a pattern throughout the whole spell, in which the absence of the moon is crucial to the magician’s project of immortalization through

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1. PGM iv.751–62. Translation slightly modified. All citations to the PGM are to Henrich’s second edition of Preisendanz: Karl Preisendanz and Albert Henrichs, eds., Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri, 2d ed., 2 vols. [Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973–1974]. All translations from the PGM are from Hans Dieter Betz, ed., The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). “At the seizure of the moon, take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup; . . . Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in midheaven.”

2. A search of the TLG (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, CD ROM E, University of California, Irvine, 1999) reveals only one other use of this term, in Horapollo 1.14.6, also referring to the absence of the moon at the conjunction of the sun and moon, that is, the new moon. The passage relates that male baboons mourn the absence of the moon at new moon: “For when the moon, moving into conjunction with the sun, is darkened, then the male baboons do not look nor does he eat; but he is bowed down to the earth in grief; as if lamenting for the rape [Gr. ἀρπαγή] of the moon.”

his contact with the powers of the sun. While the absence of the moon from the ritual preparations is suggestive, its absence from the magician’s ascent through the heavens is striking. In the Mithras Liturgy, the magician ascends through the heavens to a meeting with the supreme god, who is titled Helios Mithras. Although he encounters other planetary and astral gods and two deities with solar characteristics, he never sees the moon. Why does the magician avoid an encounter with the moon in his ascent, and why must all of his ritual preparations avoid her influence?

In this essay, I argue that this absence of the moon points to an underlying cosmology in which the moon is seen as a potentially hostile and dangerous power, in contrast to the benevolent power of the sun. The sun and moon are not merely two planetary powers in a cosmos divided into seven planetary spheres; rather, the moon rules over the lowest realm of earth, while the solar powers reign over the higher realms of the cosmos. Not only does this cosmology underlie the ritual instructions and the description of the magician’s ascent through the heavens in the Mithras Liturgy, but this cosmology also corresponds with the redactor’s organization of the whole papyrus. The spells that invoke the powers of sun and moon are placed in different parts of the papyrus, and the sun and moon are invoked in different ways and for different purposes. This division reveals the significance of the sun and moon in the cosmology of the compiler of the Great Paris Magical Papyrus, giving insight into the worldview of a magician of the late antiqute period.

3. “Immortalization” is the best, most direct translation of the Greek apathanatismos. The precise ramifications of the process are not explained in the text, but the immortality achieved is not permanent, just a temporary state of undying. Presumably, it means elevation to some sort of divine ontological status for the duration of the ritual, but since it does not last beyond this ritual, it is not really dedication, which might suggest some permanent transformation to divine status. See Sarah N. Johnstone, “Rising to the Occasion: Theurgical Ascent in Its Cultural Milieu,” in Peter Schafer and Hans G. Kippenberg, eds., Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium, Studies in the History of Religions, 75 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 179-80. Hans Lewy (Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic, and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire, ed. Michel Tardieu (Paris: Études Augustineennes, 1978), 177-200) discusses the significance of the immortal soul’s separation from the mortal body.

4. The exact dates of the Mithras Liturgy and of the papyrus are of course uncertain, although the papyrus is generally agreed to date to the third or early fourth century C.E., cf. PGM p. 64. Undoubtedly the Liturgy is older than the collection of spells within the papyrus, since it shows signs of editing. A. J. Festugière, in noting comparisons with the second-century C.E. Chaldean Oracles, suggests that the Liturgy may go back to the same period (Festugière, La résolution d’Hermès Trismégiste, vol. 1-4 [Paris: Librairie LeCoffre, 1930], 1:303 n. 1); cf. Morton Smith, “The Hymn to the Moon, PGM iv 2242-2355,” in Proceedings of the xvi Int. Cong. of Papyrology, American Studies in Papyrology, vol. 23 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1981), 643-45, and, for discussions of the dates, William M. Brashar, “The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994),” in ANRW II: Princeton, vol. 18 S (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 3149-20 and notes. Whether the redactor of the papyrus was himself a practicing magician who used the spells he collected cannot be known for certain. Garth Fowden suggests that the size and character of the collection “savour more of the library than the workbench” (Fowden, The Egyptian Hermetics: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind [repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993], 170).


8. Further ideas might be distinguished in the various revisions of the Mithras Liturgy before its redaction, but, for the purposes of this essay, I focus on the correspondence between the two most easily discernible.

9. Cf. Origen Contra Celsum vii.22, 31; Corpus Hermeticum i.25; Macrobius In Somn. 1.12. The dating of the Corpus Hermeticum (= CH) is of course uncertain, but the best guess is probably third century C.E. Celsum’s work is dated to ca. 175-81 C.E., according to Origen’s refutation, dating to the 240s. Macrobius is looking back to earlier traditions, writing at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century C.E. Cf. Paul’s passage through the seven heavens with extra realms beyond in the Nag Hammadi Apocalypse of Paul (NHC v.2) 20:6-21:28, 24:1-9. Another elaborate set of 

The so-called Mithras Liturgy has been described as “the single best known Greek papyrus in the world today,” and it has indeed enjoyed a certain amount of notoriety since its publication by Albrecht Dieterich in his Einte Mithrasliturgie in 1903. The Mithras Liturgy consists of lines 475 to 834 in the Great Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM iv), a thirty-six-page codex in Coptic and Greek. The redactor of the codex was clearly a scholarly magician, working with a large variety of sources from which he drew the spells to include in his codex. The Mithras Liturgy itself seems to have been collated from at least two manuscripts available to the redactor, since the redactor notes alternate readings in three separate places in the text. Thus, although the papyrus seems to have been written early in the fourth century C.E., scholarly consensus places most of the originals from which the redactor was copying or recopying as early as two centuries prior. In examining the Mithras Liturgy within the Great Paris Magical Papyrus, therefore, we may distinguish at least two sets of cosmological ideas: those of the original author of the Mithras Liturgy and those of the redactor of the papyrus. I will begin with the cosmology of the spell itself and then examine some of its correspondences and differences from the cosmology revealed by the redactor’s organization of the whole papyrus.

Since the Mithras Liturgy was designed as a practical guide for the magician rather than a descriptive literary tour of the cosmos, its cosmology is not immediately clear. Comparisons with the Mithraic ladder of seven steps described by Celsum or with the planetary sequences in the Hermetic Poimandres and Macrobius have led some scholars to look for a sevenfold division of planetary realms in the text. The celestial gods, however, are encountered together in the realm
of the winds before the doors of the sun. As the magician rises by inhaling the sun’s rays, 10 he can see “the divine order of the skies: the presiding gods rising into heaven and others setting. Now the course of the visible gods will appear th.rough the disk of god, my father; and in similar fashion the so-called pipe, the origin of the ministering wind.” 11 In this realm of winds and astrological rulers of the day and hour, the magician must protect himself against the inhabitants’ wrath at an intruder, claiming to be a wandering star at home in the realm. “I am a star, wandering about with you, and shining forth out the deep.” 12 The magician then approaches the doors of the sun and, after invoking the seven immortal gods of the world, invokes Helios, who comes when the doors of the sun open. The magician faces no sequence of planetary gates whose guardians need the password to permit the magician to ascend to the next realm. Even the invocation to the seven immortal gods of the world, presumably the planetary deities, serves only to open the doors of the sun into the next realm. 13


10. PGM iv. 539–41: “Draw in breath [pneuma] from the rays, drawing up three times as much as you can, and you will see yourself being lifted up and ascending to the height, so that you seem to be in mid-air” (Gr. ἀνά τῶν ἀκτίων πνεύμα ὑπερήτησα, ἐπιθέσιος, καὶ ὄφθαλμον ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐμφανίσθη, ἐν τῷ ἄντων τοῦ ἄνεμος τῇ ἐνιαύτῃ). On the technique of inhaling the sun’s rays to ascend, see Radcliffe Edmonds, “Did the Mithraists Inhalate?—A Technique for Theurgic Ascent in the Mithraic Liturgy, the Chaldæan Oracles, and Some Mithraic Frescoes,” Ancient World 32 (2000): 10–24; Johnston, “Rising to the Occasion,” 181–83; Lewis, Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy, 184–85, 209.


12. Lines 574–75: Gr. ἀνά τῶν ἀκτίων πνεύμα ὑπερήτησα, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄντων τοῦ ἄνεμος ἐκαταβάεται.

13. One of the reasons Cumont rejected a Mithraic origin for the Liturgy is the lack of correspondence between its cosmology and the cosmology of seven planetary zones he envisioned for Mithraism. “Cette description fantastique du monde céleste ne répond nullement à celle que nous avons donnée aux dieux, et dont je n’ai pas la prétention de fournir l’étymologie, je n’ai découvert aucune analogie avec les appellations perses ou même chaldéennes” (Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés, 41).

14. Cf. Jacques Flamant, “Société et systèmes planétaires,” in Ugo Bianchi and M. V. Vermaaten, eds., La soteriologie dei culti orientali nell’impero romano (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 223–42, who thinks that the three-level cosmology is more archaic and rudimentary than the seven-level Flamant prefers to see the three-level cosmos as deriving from “the orient” but picked up by Greek thinkers as early as Anaximander (Flamant, “Société et systèmes planétaires,” 226). Since, however, he manages to analyze different models of the cosmos—one of which contained the planets. See further on this subject my “Faces of the Moon: Cosmology, Genesis, and the Mithraic Liturgy,” in In Heaven As It Is On Earth: Celestial Reams and Earthly Realities (forthcoming). Cf. the attempts of Proclus and Psellus to synthesize the tripartite and varying sevenfold (Platonic and Chaldean) cosmological structures of their sources—Proclus In To. 257d–259e and Psellus Patriologia Gracia 122a, 1149c–d.

15. John Dillon traces the development of a triadic cosmos to Xenocrates (396–14 b.c.e.), who linked each realm (Sensible, Heavenly, and Intelligible) to an element and to one of the Fates. Such a triadic schema was picked up by other Platonist thinkers, especially Plutarch (Dillon, The Middle Platonic Church [London: Duckworth, 1977], 30–33).

16. Cf., e.g., Philo De Opificio Mundi viii. 31, David Ulansey (“Mithras and the Hypercosmic Sun,” in John R. Hinnells, ed., Studies in Mithraism [Rome: L’Erina di Bretezcheder, 1994], 257–64) discusses the idea of the double sun as it filters into Mithraism, but does not address the Mithraic Liturgy.

17. As Sarah Hes Johnston notes: “The Middle Platonist school popularized the idea that the Moon was both a luminous point and a transmitting or mediating entity between the Sensible and Intelligible worlds, an idea that persisted throughout later antiquity in philosophical and physical thought” (Johnston, Hekate Soternes: A Study of Hekate’s Roles in the Chaldaean Oracles and Related Literature [Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1990], 29).
cian encounters the winds and the planets in the ethereal, or celestial, realm before the boundary of the sun, which divides the ethereal from the hypercosmic realm. Even the two sons, Helios and Mithras, that the magician encounters correspond to the physical and noetic sons of the Platonic system, which rule over the ethereal and hypercosmic realms respectively. In the text the one figure missing from this cosmological system is the ruler of the material world, the keeper of the boundary between the material and celestial realms, the Moon. Just as the magician invokes Helios, the ruler of the celestial realm, to allow him to pass beyond to meet with Mithras, the ruler of the noetic realm, so one would expect that the magician would have previously had to entreat Selene, the ruler of the material world, for entry into the realm of Helios. The Moon, whether called Selene or Hekate or some other name, does indeed play such a role in other theurgic systems, where she serves as the intermediary who allows the magician to rise above the material world. As Sarah Iles Johnston has argued for theurgy of the Chaldaean Oracles, Hekate is the first to be invoked and the first to appear to the theurgist seeking to rise to realms above. Why does the magician’s ascent not include an encounter with Selene, but, to the contrary, why do his preparations avoid her presence as much as possible? To answer this question we must examine the role the moon plays as the ruler of the lowest world in such a tripartite cosmology.

The Role of the Moon in the Genesis of Souls

A passage from Porphyry’s third-century C.E. Cave of the Nymphs may illuminate the obscurity caused by this absence of the moon in the Mithraic Liturgy. Porphyry links the process of apogenesis, the ascent of the soul from embodiment in the material world, to the sun, and the process of genesis, the descent of the soul into flesh, to the moon: “The theologians make the ‘gates’ of souls the sun and the moon, the ascent taking place through the sun and the descent through the moon... And the ancients called the Moon, who presides over genesis, a bee, especially because the moon is a bull and the Moon’s [astrological] exaltation is Taurus, and bees are ox-born, and souls going into genesis are ox-born, and the ox-stealing god [Mithras] is he who secretly [hearkens to?] impedes] genesis.” Whether or not these “theologians” have any connection to the Mithraic mysteries, this association of sun with apogenesis and moon with genesis can be found in a variety of other sources. Souls can return to the realm of the sun after their mortal existence, and souls about to enter bodies and a material existence pass through the moon into the mortal world.

The embodiment of the soul in the material world means that it no longer partakes of the perfection of the highest realm. This loss of perfection can, however, be interpreted in a variety of ways, with each interpretive choice producing a different cosmological outlook on the nature of the material world and the soul’s genesis within it. From the most optimistic perspectives, the descent of the soul and the creation of the material world are part of the revelation of the divine, the

18. For this double sun as a feature of the Mithras Liturgy that may reflect actual Mithraic doctrine, see below. Cf. Edmonds, “Did the Mithraists Inhale?” and Ullman, “Mithras and the Hypercosmic Sun.”
20. Cf. καὶ τὰς θεολόγους πέλας θυμήσας ἱλαρόν τειχέσσης καὶ σέληνης, καὶ ὑπὸ τόν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ οὖν, διὰ τὸ σέληνης κατανέμει... Σέληνη τε οἴνους γενόμενος πρωτότατος Μίθρασις ἔκλειν ἄλλος τε
expression of the completion of the cosmos. Although the descent of souls from the creator is thus, for some, part of a good and ordained process, the *genesis* of souls is not always so positively portrayed. At the other extreme, the fall of the soul into the material world appears as a disaster, a loss of the wings that keep it aloft in the heavenly realm or even an imprisonment of the soul in the body. For some, the body is the tomb of the soul, a prison that binds the soul native to the heavenly realms down in the realm of death and corruption. Mortal life is at best an exile or prison term to be served in expiation for a previous crime; at worst it is a brutal enslavement to the vicious powers that rule the material world and try to keep souls from their true home in the heavens.

The moon as the ruler of *genesis* in a tripartite cosmos can thus be either a positive or a negative entity. In some of the more “optimistic” schools of thought regarding *genesis*, the moon is a beneficent power. The moon serves as an intermediary between the material and higher worlds, not only sending souls down

in the evidence. Festugière ([La révélation d’Hermès Trismégiste, 3:63–96] discusses the range of options, dividing them into “optimistic” and “pessimistic” currents. I explore the cosmological options further in my “Faces of the Moon.”

24. This idea stems ultimately from the Timaeus. Festugière ([La révélation d’Hermès Trismégiste, 3:73–76] discusses such proponents as Plotinus and Calvénus Taurus. Cf. also Hermetic Asclepius 1.8; CH iv.2; Lamb. in Stob. 1.49.40–42.22–25.

25. Plotinus (iv.8.1) contrasts the negative images of the cave in the Republic, the *phronia* in the *Phaedo*, and the loss of wings in the *Phaedrus* with the *Timaeus*’ idea that creation is good. Cf. Phaedo 67d, 62b; Cato 400c; Republic 514a–517b, 619d; Phaedrus 246c–247c; Timaeus 34b. Cf. also Gregory Shaw (Theology and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus [University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995], 24–26) on the Iamblichian reconciliation of the two elements in Neoplatonism. Festugière ([La révélation d’Hermès Trismégiste, 3:77–96] comments on this “pessimistic current.”

26. In a Hermetic treatise (Corpus Hermeticum vi.7) the body is “the bonds of corruption, the dark cage, the living death, the sentient corpse, the portable tomb” (Cf. τὸν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, τὸν ἐξοπλισμὸν περιβόλον, τὸν κόσμον θάνατον, τὸν αἰσθητὴν τάφον). Cf. also the planetary *daemons* in CH xvi.13–16, who govern mortals through the instrument of the body and irrational parts of the soul; Origen Contra Celsum viii.53, the Hermetic *Kore Kosmou* in Stob. Herrnstein’s “Traditional” may be applied in the sense of the ideas and associations passed down in Greek mythical and religious discourse before the time of these cosmologies in the first several centuries C. E. Hekate is *koasteros* (the nurturer of the young) already in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (411–51). Erwin Rohde (Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality Among the Greeks, trans. W. B. Hills [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1923]) has a characteristic chapter on the *koasteros* and *koasteros* (especially in southern Italy, see Theodore Hadzidinou Price, *Koasteros: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978], 175.

27. Traditional...
powers that conspire to keep the soul in the ignorance of the material world, drawing on malevolent figures from a variety of religious traditions.34 Other cosmologies simply emphasize the darker aspects of traditional Greek mythic deities such as Persephone, dark queen of the underworld, and Hekate, mistress of daïmones and keeper of the keys of hell. Adopting traditional attributes of such deities, the mistress of genesis becomes the ruler of the dark world of the tomb of the body, who leads mortals astray with her daïmones, phantoms of sensual desire and deceit who distract the soul from understanding its true nature.35 Interpreted within such a cosmological framework, Persephone and Hekate are fitting deities for the position of the ruler of the material world, the power that keeps souls locked in the shadowy world of matter.

The Face of the Moon

The moon, in a cosmology that takes such a negative view of genesis, can become a threatening presence, a powerful force for harm. The face of the full moon is associated with terror and madness, the gorgon’s head the sight of which can kill or petrify.36 The moon is the image of Phyisis, the personification of the material world, and theologians are warned not to invoke the image of Phyisis or to look upon her.37 She is the mother of the daïmones that inhabit the material world, the evil spirits who work harm upon the human race.38 Looking upon the moon or calling on her name brings the powers of genesis, the forces that bind the soul into

While many of the epithets are traditional descriptions of Hekate or Persephone, some seem particularly suited to the moon as the ruler of genesis and the material world: “Mistress of night and chthonic realms, holy, black-clad, ‘round whom

39. Cf. the magician’s complaints of the present bitter and pressing necessity in PGM IV.525 and 605: “the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down upon me” and “on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity” (Gr. ἐν ἐκπίνησιν καὶ καταπίνησιν με ἡμών ἀνάγκης ὑποκατάστασιν καὶ ἔνα γὰρ τῆς καταπίνησιν καὶ πηγῆς ἀπόδοσει ἀνάγκης).
the star-traversing nature of the world revolves whenever you wax too great. You
have established every worldly thing, for you engendered everything on earth and
from the sea and every race in turn of winged birds who seek their nests again,
Mother of all.” The ruler of the darkened realm of earth is the Mistress of Gen-
esis, who binds all mortal creatures with her chains.

In all these spells to the moon, the magician invokes the moon to help him in
a violent act. Either the spell stirs up her anger against someone, inciting her to
violent revenge, or it is a violent “love charm,” in which the victim is compelled
go immediately to the magician or suffer excruciating torments. These spells
involve an element of coercion of the hostile goddess to turn her power against
another, as well as an element of danger should the magician himself become the
target of her wrath. As one spell notes: “[T]he goddess is accustomed to make
airborne those who perform this rite unprotected by a charm and hurl them from
aloft down to the ground.”43

Sun and Moon Sections of the Great Paris Magical Papyrus

In the Great Paris Magical Papyrus, the spells that invoke the power of the moon
reinforce the idea that, in the cosmology of the redactor who compiled the pa-
pyrus, the moon was a dangerous and hostile entity, who might be coerced or de-
ceived into directing her violence at others. Such a power is distinguished by the
redactor from the other cosmic ruler to whom prayers are addressed in several
spells in the papyrus, the sun. The spells that invoke the moon are grouped to-
gether in the later part of the papyrus, whereas the spells that invoke the sun,
including the Mithras Liturgy, are all in the earlier part of the papyrus. The or-
ganization of the Great Paris Magical Papyrus has received little comment from
scholars, although some general groupings by the purpose of the spell have been
noted.44 Careful attention to the groupings of spells, however, can reveal some of
the cosmological presuppositions of the magician selecting and arranging them.

41. PGM IV.2530–56; Ge. μαγιά, χάστα, όμι, μελασώμα, τόν ἄνεκολπετά κύριον φόροις συν-
tεροπολτό, ἦτοιρ ὄγανα ἄητος, ω το κομπικά πάντα κάθεσεν γενής γυνώ ὥσ πάντα ἐπὶ χαράς ὅπα
ἀπὸ πάντων καὶ πετροῦ δέ ἄλλης πάντας γέγονε πάλαιναρο παντετρήναρο.

42. Cf. the so-called “slander spells” PGM IV.2241–358, 2441–621, 2622–707; charms of attrac-
tion 1390–495, 2441–621, 2708–84, 2943–66. On these angry spells, see Christopher A. Faraone,

43. PGM IV.2507–9; Ge. εὐθὴν γὰρ ή θέσει τῶν ἀπαθετοπαστῶν διατρίποιται ἄφε-
θερες ποιεῖ καὶ ὥσ πάντα ἐπὶ τῆς γυνῆς ἐκείνης, ύπ’ ή διά κινήσεως. Cf. 2627: as a result, the magician is warned
not to perform such spells too often, 2506, 2569.

44. Cf. the listings of the spells in the papyrus by Brashier, “Greek Magical Papyri,” 3497–98,
and Betz, The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, xi–xvii. Brashier also has an index of spell types

The papyrus begins with a few miscellaneous spells (lines 1–87), followed by
a large section in which most of the spells are addressed to the sun (lines 88–
127).45 A section in the middle (lines 1227–2240) contains a mixture of spells
to various powers (Christ, Aphrodite, the constellations of the Bears, Eros), as
well as two spells invoking Helios and one that invokes the chthonic powers (al-
though not in lunar form). A number of spells follow that do invoke the moon
(lines 2240–890), and the papyrus concludes with another miscellany of short
spells (lines 2891–3274). While these divisions are by no means exact, the redac-
tor does make a clear division of “sun spells” and “moon spells” in the papyrus.
Although this magician feels free to draw upon the resources of a number of
religious traditions, we can perhaps get a picture of his cosmological ideas from his
selection and organization of spells within the papyrus. The sun is the supreme
heavenly power, beneficent and connected specifically with special knowledge.46
The moon, on the other hand, is a hostile power connected with sex, death, and
the underworld, far from the beneficent intermediary and helper of the sun that
appears in other cosmological systems. Such a depiction of the moon reveals a
pessimistic view of the material world and the mortal condition, although the ma-
gician also sees opportunities to manipulate the constraints of fate, either by ap-
peal to the beneficent powers of the higher realms or with spells that coerce or de-
ceive the hostile powers of the sublunar world.

Ritual Preparations at the Seizure of the Moon

Some spells invoking the dangerous power of the moon must be performed at
moonrise, when the moon begins to influence the world below; another danger-
ous spell for summoning the spirits of the dead must be performed under the light

(“Greek Magical Papyri,” 3499–505). Smith (“Hymn to the Moon,” 643–45) makes a few comments
on the sections of the papyrus that concern the purpose of the spells.

45. The spell in 296–466 is a curious exception to the division, since it contains a spell of attrac-
tion that invokes the chthonic deities. However, the prayer that is attached to the procedures is a hymn
addressed to Helios, entreating him to mollify the daemon who performs the attraction and claiming
that Helios has enabled mankind to understand the threats of Fate so that such magic may be per-
formed. I would suggest that the redactor classified this spell as a “sun” spell because of the hymn to
Helios. Despite the chthonic nature of the spell, moreover, the moon is not invoked, nor must the spell
be performed in the presence of the moon. Instead, the hymn is sung at the setting sun.

46. PGM IV.88–153 uses a buy medium to find out about a lover: 154–285 and 930–30 are for
lecanomancy; 950–1115 is for lynchomancy; 1115–66 and 1167–226 (as well as 1275–308, which is
primarily a Bear spell) are all-purpose, powerful spells; 296–466 and 1928–2125 both involve sum-
momg spirits of the dead, but the sun is invoked in both cases to ensure that the spirit is “gentle, gra-
cious, and pondering no hostile thoughts towards me” (Ge. προς, ἀγάλλοι φρόνοις μα
of the full moon.\(^\text{47}\) By contrast, all the magician’s preparations for the ascent in the Mithras Liturgy must take place when the moon is absent from the sky. Beginning at the time of the seizure of the moon, when the moon exerts least influence over the process, the magician prepares the ointment by infusing a vessel of high-quality rose oil with a specially prepared sun-scarab beetle. The ointment is further filled with the power of the sun by the recitation of a magic formula over the vessel for seven days at the time of day when the sun is in midheaven. The magic ink for the formula must also be prepared when the moon is absent from the sky, at the conjunction of the sun and moon (again, the new moon) that occurs in the sign of the lion, that is, Leo, the astrological house of the sun.\(^\text{48}\) In each case, the ritual preparation must take place when the influence of the moon is least powerful and when the sun’s influence is present.\(^\text{49}\) Whereas spells that manipulate the dangerous power of the moon often require the moon’s presence in the sky, the

Mithras Liturgy, which is to free the magician from the chains of fate, requires the moon’s absence.

This timing for the ritual preparations may be an important instance of genuinely Mithraic elements in the Mithras Liturgy, since the conjunction of the sun and moon with the sun in the sign of Leo had special significance for the Mithraists as the time of Mithras’s slaying of the bull. As Roger Beck has argued, the elements in the Mithraic tauroctony provide a picture of the heavens, with the animals representing various constellations (the scorpion is Scorpio, the snake is Hydra, the dog is Canis Minor, etc.) and with the bull and Mithras depicting the moon and the sun—specifically, the sun in its astrological house of Leo.\(^\text{50}\) The Unconquered Sun slaying the lunar bull, Beck argues moreover, is linked to the processes of genesis and apogenesis, of the descent and ascent of souls.\(^\text{51}\) The ritual preparations for the Mithras Liturgy, then, are prescribed for the time that is most appropriate to the Mithraic bull-slaying, when Mithras as the power of apogenesis overcomes the power of genesis in the form of the lunar bull.

This correspondence suggests that the spell was originally composed by someone who had some understanding of Mithraic ideas about the sun and moon. Indeed, in contrast to Franz Cumont’s famous claim that the Mithras Liturgy is neither Mithraic nor a liturgy, scholars have identified a number of genuinely Mithraic features in the cosmology of the Mithras Liturgy. The peculiar doubling of the sun-gods in the ascent not only appears in Platonic contexts but is a standard feature of Mithraism, where Sol, the sun, appears separately from Mithras Sol Invictus.\(^\text{52}\) Mithras as the ruler of the celestial pole, turning the heavens by means of the Bear constellations in the form of a bull’s shoulder, appears not only in the central scene of the Mithras Liturgy\(^\text{53}\) but in a variety of Mithraic monuments. The positioning of the Great Bear on the ceiling of the Ponia thraeum, as Beck has argued, shows that at least some Mithraic groups made the connection between the Great Bear (whose Egyptian name, Plutarch tells us, was “the bull’s shoulder”) and Mithras, for Mithras is depicted with the bull’s shoulder in

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\(^\text{47}\) PGM iv.2441-621, 3125-71, arc spells to be performed at moonrise. Cf. iv.52-85, where the magician must hurry home to prevent the hostile spirit from luring him out. Although the spirit is not explicitly a spirit of the dead, the ritual of summoning it with the leftover morsels of food resembles a spell in the papyrus iv.1390-495 in which morsels are explicitly left for spirits of the dead who have died violently. Another spell that requires the full moon is the apogee spell in iv.2708-84, which must be performed on the thirtieth or fourteenth of the month, at the full moon.

\(^\text{48}\) PGM iv.779-88:

“Having obtained the above-mentioned herb kenktis, at the conjunction of the sun and moon occurring in the Lion, take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persica tree the eight-lettered name, as given below. And having kept yourself pure for 3 days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise; lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun, and then be [the sun god] will listen to you attentively. Begin to prepare on the new moon in the Lion, according to the god’s [reckoning].” (Gr. μετά τῆς οἰκονήματος τῆς προκειμένης βοηθότως τῷ συνολῷ τῆς γενεκλητης λέων ὀσοὶ τῷ χειμα καὶ μήδεν ἐλέητι καὶ οὐδεμία γέφυρα ἐπὶ φέλλως περιέχει τὸ πυρογόμπτως ὁμορρώμενος, ὡς ηὐθεῖος, καὶ πρὸ γῆς ἔρεων ἄγεος ἡλικίας ἐπὶ τῷ πρᾶξι στήθος ἀνατάνω, ἀπόλήθη τὸ φέλλως ἑσσακιον ἡμῶν, καὶ ἕκτης ἐκοικοῦσα τελεῖος, ὑπὸ τοῦ λιβαδίου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τελεῖος γενεκλητῆς λέων γενεκλητής.) Note that the oil is prepared at the time of a new moon and then stored for later use at the specific time of the new moon in the Lion. The magician, having picked the kenktis, keeps pure for three days before the new moon, then begins the procedure by mixing the ink, writing the formula, and licking it off.

\(^\text{49}\) Only when the ritual is altered by a later practitioner does this timing shift. In a section of instructions clearly added later, the magician is instructed by the god to throw away the ointment made at the time special to Mithraists and to make use of an entirely different ritual scarab prepared at the full moon (PGM iv.792-98). On the revisions of the Mithras Liturgy, see Morton Smith, “Transformation by Burial” (I Cor. 15:35-49; Rom. 6:3-5 and 8:9-11), Franz-Jahrbuch 52 (1983): 109–10.

\(^\text{50}\) “It follows from the composition and logic of the tauroctony as a map of the solar journey that the icon represents Mithras as Sun god in the sign of Leo.” Beck, “In the Place of the Lion,” 45.

\(^\text{51}\) “The tauroctony, I have claimed throughout, is a map (and calendar) for genesis and apogenesis, for the descent and ascent of the human soul. It is as the great agents of these processes that Mithras and the bull as Sun and Moon are placed on the map,” Ibid, 48.

\(^\text{52}\) Cf., e.g., Ulansky, “Mithras and the Hypercosmic Sun.”

\(^\text{53}\) PGM iv.697-700:

“Youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers, and holding in his right hand a golden shoulder of a young bull: This is the Bear which moves and turns heaven around” (Gr. νεότερος, χρυσόμαχος, ἐν χειμένε, μέγα καὶ χρυσόν στεφάνον καὶ θρόμπτος, κατέχεται τῷ δεδομενῷ πρώτῳ χρόνῳ, ὡς ἦν θεός ἅλπνος καὶ οὐσιόπεποις τῶν ὀρθῶν)."
the side panels of a number of monuments. Even the idea of ascent on the rays of the sun, as I have argued, fits in with Mithraic ideas of *apogenenia* through the celestial gate of Capricorn, as the Barberini tauroctony's sunbeam indicates. As we can see, then, from his prescription of the ritual preparations for the seizure of the moon in Leo, the magician who composed the Mithras Liturgy did not merely insert the prestigious Mithras as the endpoint of the magician's journey, but these ritual preparations that fit in with Mithraic ideas of the timing of its central religious scene, the tauroctony, are part of a cosmological perspective that partakes of a number of Mithraic elements.

Conclusions

The absence of the moon in the Mithras Liturgy, then, provides clues to the cosmological perspectives both of the creator of the spell itself and of the redactor who compiled the Great Paris Magical Papyrus. In the cosmologies of other theurgic systems, the powers of *genesis* are a necessary part of the cosmic order, and the moon serves as a helpful intermediary for those seeking contact from the material world to the realms above. In the Mithras Liturgy, by contrast, the ambivalent position of the moon as intermediary in other cosmologies is interpreted in a more negative sense, since this ruler of *genesis* must be absent for the apogenetic ritual to succeed. Although the surviving evidence for Mithraism does not present a particularly negative picture of the moon and *genesis* (apart from the obvious fact that Mithras slays the lunar bull), the redactor of the Great Paris Magical Papyrus found in the Mithras Liturgy a scenario that could be fit within more pessimistic views of the moon and *genesis*. Throughout the papyrus, the moon is a hostile power, trapping souls in *genesis* through hostile *daimones* and the chains of fate. This power can be coerced into assisting in violent magic, but it must be kept as far as possible from an enterprise that aims at *apogenenia*. The magician's preparations and ascent to the great god Mithras, therefore, must take place when the moon is entirely absent from the sky, at the seizure of the moon.

54. Cf. Plutarch _De Is._ 359d. "The polar symbol that the god of the Mithraic liturgy carries is the *Stierschenkel*. Now the *Stierschenkel* is the Egyptian constellation corresponding to Ursa Major, and it is Ursa Major (its size clearly identifies it as such) that, contrary to proper *astrotheosis*, has been placed at the pole and the centre of the Ponza zodiac." Roger Beck, "Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac: II," _JMS_ ii.2 (1977): 126. Beck, confirming the hypothesis of Dieterich denied by Cumont, has identified the object that Mithras is holding during the so-called investiture-of-Sol scenes as the shoulder of a bull, rather than a Phrygian cap, as Cumont suggested (Beck, "Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac," 124–27). See also R. L. Gordon and John R. Hinnells, "Some New Photographs of Well-Known Mithraic Monuments," _JMS_ ii.2 (1978): 213–19, for a discussion of some of the specific monuments on which this motif occurs.

55. Cf. my "Did the Mithraists Inhale?" I build my argument on Beck's analysis of the Barberini monument, where he draws upon Porphyry to explain the positioning of the sunbeam through Capricorn and the torch of Gautas. (Cf. Beck, _Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders_, 91–100.)

56. This is not, of course, to suggest that the Mithras Liturgy is, as Dieterich claimed, an adaptation of a real Mithraic ritual. The author of the Mithras Liturgy reveals his familiarity with many of the features of Mithraic cult practice and is likely to have been an initiate. However, he was also a theurgic magician, a religious craftsman in a syncretistic age, who had no qualms about bringing together elements from a variety of sources to achieve his magical, religious, and philosophical ends. Arrigo Mastrocinque (Studi sul Mithraismo [Il Mithraismo e la magia] [Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1998], 119) discusses a variety of ways in which Mithraic elements were put to use in magical material, although he does not see the Mithras liturgy itself as a particularly valuable source for understanding the interrelation of Mithraic and magical practices.
PRAYER, MAGIC, AND THE STARS IN THE ANCIENT AND LATE ANTIQUE WORLD

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