TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

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INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

Géza A l f ö l d y, *Die Bauinschriften des Aquäduktes von Segovia und des Amphitheaters von Tarraco.*, Berlin, New York 1997 (E. Weber: 335) — Roger S. B a g n a l l, Bruce W. F r i e r, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge 1994 (B. Palme: 335) — Rajko B r a t o ž (Hrsg.), *Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der spätrömischen Zeit — Zahodni Ilirik in severovzhodna Italija v poznorimski dobi*, Ljubljana 1996 (E. Weber: 338) — Werner E c k, *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archaeologia. Scritti scelti, rielaborati ed aggiornati*, Rom 1996 (F. Beutler-Kränzl: 338) — Gawdat G a b r a, *Der Psalter im oxyrhynchitischen (mesokemischen / mittelägyptischen) Dialekt*, Heidelberg 1995 (H. Förster: 340) — Martin H o s e, *Erneuerung der Vergangenheit. Die Historiker im Imperium Romanum von Florus bis Cassius Dio*, Stuttgart, Leipzig 1994 (G. Dobesch: 341) — Franziska K r ä n z l und Ekkehard W e b e r, *Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften aus Rom und Italien in Österreich* Wien 1997 (E. Kettenhofen: 344) — Guy L a b a r r e, *Les cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale*, Lyon 1996 (L. Ruscu: 346) — Magdalena M ą c z y ń s k a, *Die Völkerwanderung. Geschichte einer ruhelosen Epoche im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert*. Zürich 1993 (G. Dobesch: 348) — Michael M a u s e, *Die Darstellung des Kaisers in der lateinischen Panegyrik*, Stuttgart 1994 (H. Heftner: 350) — Federico M o r e l l i, *Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo (V–VIII d. C.)*. Firenze 1996 (R. Mazza: 351) — Rolf S c h u r i c h t, *Cicero an Appius (Cic. fam. III). Umgangsformen in einer politischen Freundschaft*, Trier 1994 (G. Dobesch: 353) — Jennifer A. S h e r i d a n, *Columbia Papyri IX: The Vestis Militaris Codex.*, Atlanta 1998 (F. Mitthof: 357) — Jörg S p i e l v o g e l, *Amicitia und res publica. Ciceros Maxime während der innenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen der Jahre 59–50 v. Chr.* Stuttgart 1993 (G. Dobesch: 362) — Volker Michael S t r o c k a (Hrsg.), *Die Regierungszeit des Kaisers Claudius (41–54 n. Chr.). Umbruch oder Episode*, Mainz 1994 (G. Dobesch: 364) — Timothy M. T e e t e r, *Columbia Papyri XI*, Atlanta 1998 (A. Papathomas: 370) — Gabriele Z i e t h e n, *Gesandte vor Kaiser und Senat. Studien zum römischen Gesandtschaftswesen zwischen 30 v. Chr. und 117 n. Chr.* St. Katharinen 1994 (G. Dobesch: 372)

Tafeln 1–4

MATTHEW W. DICKIE

Varia magica

I. Jordan (1999) no. 1 Side A.1–15 = Aud 52.1–15[1]

1   Κέρκις
2   Βλάστος
3   Νίκανδρος
4   Γλυκέρα
5   Κέρκιν καταδῶ καὶ λόγους καὶ
6   ἔργα τὰ Κέρκιδος καὶ τὴν γλῶσ-
7   σαν παρὰ τοῖς ἠιθέοις, καὶ ὁπότα-
8   ν οὗτοι ταῦτα ἀναγνῶσιν, τότε
9   Κέρκιδι καὶ τὸ φθένξασθαι.

10   Θέωνα καταδῶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς
11   παιδίσκας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τέχνη-
12   ν καὶ τὴν ἀφορμὴν καὶ τὴν
13   ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγους καὶ
14   ἔργα αὐτοῦ

Until very recently our knowledge of this *defixio* rested on the copy that Wilhelm Judeich made when shown it by an Athenian antique dealer in whose possession it was. The tablet, which in 1913 was found with two others in a drawer in the Keeper's Room in the Ashmolean Museum, has been re-examined by David Jordan. It is his text that I print. It differs from the text published by Audollent in three respects: 1) there is no writing visible in the space after φθένξασθαι in line 9; 2) there is a para-graphus between lines 9 and 10; 3) the proper name, Θέωνα, occurs at the beginning of line 10. The new text eliminates a misinterpretation of the *defixio*, which was that Kerkis, a brothel-keeper, and his girls are being bound down[2]. That interpretation was

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[2] Audollent: *Epistola diis mandantur Blastus, Nicandros, Glycera, maxime vero Cercis; qui cum appareat leno fuisse, non potest quin amatoria fuerit defixio.* So also Robert, 188 n. 5 and Bravo, 201, who assumes that Kerkis continues to be the object, has recently proposed the following supplement to the lines: φθένξασθαι [κατὰ τ]ὸ(ν ἀ)γῶνα. The reading is adopted by Dubois (1995) 193. For παιδίσκη used in a *defixio* of a girl who is a prostitute or courtesan, see Lopez Jimeno no. 27 (= SEG XXXIV 952) A 9. On the use of the term in Graeco-Roman Egypt to refer to prostitutes who are slaves, see Montserrat, 107 and 123 citing PSI IV 405.

based on the assumption that Kerkis was the object of the second καταδῶ and that he was a man. It may well be that Kerkis was a man, but that cannot be taken for granted[3].

What is now certain is that Kerkis is not the object of the second καταδῶ. A new curse begins at line 10 of which Theon is the main target. Before David Jordan very kindly communicated his findings to me, I had independently reached the conclusion that Kerkis was not the object of the second καταδῶ, but a man whose name ended in -ωνα. Kaibel correctly divined that the name at the beginning of line 10 was [Θέ]ωνα. He was followed by Wünsch[4]. The reasoning that moved me to restore a proper name in the accusative in line 10 may still be of some interest. It was a pattern present in line 10 discernible in a number of other Attic *defixiones*: The name of the person to be bound down in the accusative case is placed immediately in front of the word καταδῶ, and where there is more than one person to be bound down, the pattern is repeated: DTWü 40, 41, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 74, 84a, 86. A variation on the pattern is DTWü 51.1–4, in which a genitive precedes καταδῶ: Δημη[τ]ρίου καταδῶ ψυχὴν καὶ νοῦ(ν) Τελεσάρχου κατ(α)δῶ ψυχὴν καὶ νο(ῦ)ν θυμόν. The best parallel for the pattern in Jordan (1999) no. 1 = DTAud 52 is DTWü 84a, where we see: Ἀνδρο-κλείδη καταδῶ καὶ τὴν γλῶτ(τ)αν κτλ. (1) followed by: Δ]ιονύσιον κατα[δ]ῶ καὶ τὴν γλῶτ(τ)αν κτλ. (3). The pattern of name in the accusative, then καταδῶ followed by αὐτόν has its counterpart at DTWü 74: Λα ̈ λον καὶ Αεξ καταδδίδημι κὴ αὐτὰν κὴ ψυχὰν κτλ. (1–2); Θεόξενον καταδδίδημι κὴ αὐτὸν κὴ ψυχὰν κτλ. (6–7)[5].

II. Ἀδύνατα in Binding-spells

Emmanuel Voutiras has recently published a binding-spell of extraordinary interest and importance (Voutiras 1992/93, 1996, 1998). It was excavated by his colleague at the Aristotelian University of Thessalonike, I. M. Akamatis, in August of 1986 in the oldest of the cemeteries at Pella. The excavator would date the tomb in which it was found to the period between 380 and 350 B.C. The rolled-up lead sheet with the spell inscribed on it must have been placed in the tomb shortly after the inhumation, since its writing, according to Voutiras, is consonant with a date in the first half of the 4th century. The spell is not only early as binding-spells go, but also from a location that we might have imagined, almost certainly falsely, was at this date cut off from the main currents of Greek culture.

The spell is cast by a woman, whose name is unlikely to have been given, if the *defixio* follows the pattern normal in such curses, against the marriage of Thetima and Dionysophon, asking that it should never take place[6]:

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[3] On male names such as Κέρκις, Κερκίων and Κέρκων, see Bechtel (1898) 33; on Κέρκις as the name of a woman, see Bechtel (1917) 603; for further discussion and instances, see Robert, 187–91.

[4] Wünsch (1900) no. 20.

[5] *Cf.* DTWü 84b.2: καταδῶ Τρύφ[ω]να πρὸ(ς) τὸ(ν) Ἑ(ρ)μ(ῆ)ν· (αὐ)τὸμ καὶ ἔργα [κ]α(ὶ) ἔπεα.

[6] On preserving anonymity in *defixiones* wishing another ill, see López Jimino 117. The editor followed by SEG XLIII 434 assumes that the name of the women is given in v. 6.

[Θετί]μας καὶ Διονυσοφῶντος τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸν γάμον καταγράφω καὶ τᾶν ἀλλᾶν πασᾶν γυ-

[ναικ]ᾶν καὶ χηρᾶν καὶ παρθένων, μάλιστα δὲ Θετίμας, καὶ παρκαττίθεμαι Μά-κρωνι καὶ

[τοῖς] δαίμοσι. καὶ ὁπόκα ἐγὼ ταῦτα διελ⟨ί⟩ξαιμι καὶ ἀναγνοίην πά⟨λ⟩ιν ἀνορ⟨ύ⟩ξασα,

[τόκα] γᾶμαι Διονυσοφῶντα, πρότερον δὲ μή (1–4).

Her wish is that Dionysophon may take no other woman than herself, that she and no other should grow old in Dionysophon's company and finally that Thetima may perish miserably. There is much that calls for comment in the spell, not least what to our inexperienced eyes looks to be its non-formulaic character. That it is non-formu-laic and does not follow established patterns may be a misapprehension on our part, brought about by our having seen too few binding-spells from this period, let alone from Pella and the parts of Greece with which the inhabitants of Pella were in contact. I confine my comments to one sentence and its implications: The wish that Thetima may only marry Dionysophon when the caster of the spell digs it up, unrolls it and reads it again. That is to say, never.

The same wish is expressed in a more straightforward fashion in two Attic bin-ding-spells in which Hermes Katochos is asked in conjunction with Persephone and Hermes Chthonios respectively to hold bound the parties against whom the spells are directed, until they descend to the House of Hades or are themselves amongst the senseless (DTAud 50. 10, 14–15; 52. 15). If the date in the 4th century B.C. assigned these *defixiones* by Wünsch stands, then they will be roughly contemporary with the curse from Pella. The spell from Pella expresses the wish in a way that calls for fur-ther comment. The wish in it seems to be predicated on the belief that to undo a *de-fixio* that consists of a rolled-up lead tablet transfixed by a nail, the tablet on which it is written has to be unrolled. That means the tablet will have had to be unearthed and the nail transfixing it removed. These steps are never mentioned in other Greek *defi-xiones*, where the term for undoing the *defixio* is ἀναλύειν[7]. It is employed in an Attic *defixio* of the 4th century B.C. whose author announces that he binds down a number of persons before Hermes and that he will not release them (καταδῶ τούτος ἅπαντας ... καὶ οὐκ ἀναλύσω Strÿd no. 5)[8]. A binding-spell from Akanthos in Ma-cedonia belonging to the end of the 4th century B.C. or later also uses the term: It asks that it not be untied by anyone other than its author, until the woman at whom the spell is directed complies with the wishes of the author of the spell (ταῦτα δεῖ μηδεὶς ἀναλύσαι ἀλλ᾽ ἢ Παυσανίας Side A Trakosopoulou-Salakidou = Jordan (1999) no.

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[7] *Cf.* Hesych. *s. v.* ἀναλῦσαι: τὸ βεβλαμμένον τινὰ δι᾽ ἐπῳδῆς ἀπαλλάξαι.

[8] I do not see how ἀναλύσω here can, as Faraone (1995) 4–5 hesitantly suggests, be what he calls a „performative future". Such a suggestion does not take sufficient account of a pattern widespread in curses of announcing that the curse is to be effective throughout the life of the party cursed and that there is to be no release from it. The operant may, in consequence, use a first person future to convey his intentions and wishes for the future. PGM XV 1–3 is a case in point: ἐπιδήσω σε, Νῖλε ... οὐδὲ θεῶν οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων εὕρω σοι καθαρὰν λύσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλήσεις με Καπετωλίνας ... καὶ ἔσῃ μοι κατὰ πάντα ἀκόλουθος.

3 Side A.7). There is a fairly exact parallel in Latin for this clause in a *defixio* from Rome written on a sherd from the body of a lamp: It asks that only those who have performed the binding-spell should free the man who is its object from it (*ne quis eum solvat nisi nos qui fecimus*, DTAud 137. 3–4). Since the spell is written on a potsherd, it is unclear what procedures would have had to be followed to nullify the *defixio*, but it does rather look as if the author of the spell from Akanthos envisaged the physical unrolling of the tablet to undo the spell he had placed. Finally, there is the story told by the Sophron, the last patriarch of Jerusalem before the Arab Conquest, of an Ale-xandrian crippled by a *defixio* that consisted of a likeness done in bronze with nails piercing its four limbs; the object had been placed in a box made secure through its fastenings and lead seals, and had then been deposited by the sorcerers in the depths of the sea to prevent its being released (θαλαττίῳ βυθῷ ὡς οὐκ ἀναλυθησομένην ἐνέβαλον Sophr. H. v. Cyr. et Jo. PG 87 [3]. 3545). The sufferings of the victim ended when the nails were drawn from the limbs of his effigy.

I turn now to the actions and expressions that the Greeks employed to express in prayers and oaths in as forceful a fashion as they could a wish or an intention that something should or would never come to be[9]. One well-attested way of doing that was to drop ingots of iron into the sea to signify that an agreement was to hold, until the iron came to the surface again. A slight variant on this practice consisted of throwing molten ingots of the same substance into the sea, thereby signifying that the agreement was good, until they came to the surface again hot[10]. This is a form of ἀδύνατον symbolically expressed. The use of ἀδύνατα in literature is more than amply documented[11]. Yet their use in oaths and curses, which is our concern, has not received the same minute attention[12]. The earliest instances of an oath sworn by men determined to impress on their hearers its inexorable character by an appeal to a state of affairs that can never be are the oaths uttered by Achilles in his quarrel with Aga-memnon and by Odysseus as he is about to punish Thersites: The former swears by his sceptre, which will never blossom again (*Il.* 1. 233–241); Odysseus prays that his head may not rest on his shoulders (κάρη ὤμοισιν ἐπείη) and he may not be called the father of Telemachus, if he does not punish Thersites (*Il.* 2. 257–264). There is a much more elaborate version of an oath of the type to be found at Horace, *Epode* 16, where the oath to be taken by the Romans is that they will not return to Rome, until the rocks lying on the sea-bed are raised up and float and a series of other impossibi-lities occur (25–38). Its inspiration, as Horace himself makes clear, is the oath, now proverbial, taken by the Phocaeans not to return to Phocaea (*Phocaeorum / velut profugit exsecrata civitas* 17–18), until the ingots they had cast into the sea should

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[9] On oath-rituals as an expression of irreversibility, see Burkert, 173–175.

[10] Hdt. 1. 165. 3; [Arist.], *Ath. Pol.* 23. 5; Diod. Sic. 9. 10. 3; Plut., *Arist.* 25. 1.

[11] Dutoit with further literature in Nisbet and Hubbard, 341–342.

[12] Michel collects ἀδύνατα in what he calls promissory oaths, but his discussion of their origins is vitiated by an appeal to the notion of primitive mentality and the difficulty it has in conceiving of the future.

rise up again (Hdt. 1. 165. 3)[13]. When Mardonius just before the Battle of Plataea suggested to the Athenians that they might come to some accomodation, their response, which was that they would never come to terms with Xerxes, so long as the sun continued on its present course, was in effect an oath in which appeal was made to an ἀδύνατον (Hdt. 8. 143. 2). Finally, there is the treaty reported by Polybius between Locrians and Sicels, that their friendship was to continue, so long as they walked on the earth and their heads were on their shoulders (βαίνωσι τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις φορῶσι, 12. 6. 2). It is hard to say whether the latter ἀδύνατον was traditional in oaths or whether it betrays the influence of Il. 2. 259).

The wish in the tablet from Pella differs from the usual run of ἀδύνατα in that the impossibility does not rest on a reversal of the normal course of nature, but in a inconceivable reversal of the feelings entertained by the person casting the spell. That particular conceit, so far as I can see, has no parallel in the literature of antiquity. There are, however, parallels in *defixiones* to the use of ἀδύνατα to express the wish that something may never come to be. Louis Robert published a tablet from Attica of the 4th century B.C. in which a person bound down his opponents in a law-suit and expressed the wish that they might bring their suit to fulfilment, just as those who reach Persephone return home (καὶ ὅσπερ οἱ παρ[ὰ] ταύτην ἀφικνôνται οἴκαδε νοστôσι ὅτως οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἀντίδικοι τέλος λαβόντων τῆς [δίκ]ης, Robert no. 11).

Closer parallels to the spell from Pella are offered by a binding-spell from Attica, said to be of the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. (DTAud 52), and a pair of tablets, perhaps of the 2nd century B.C., of unknown provenance but sometimes said on inadequate grounds to be Arcadian (DTAud 43, 44)[14]. The ἀδύνατον that is exploited in both of these cases is that the dead persons in whose graves the tablets have been deposited would be able to read them. Only when that occured would those affected by the binding-spell be released. For the purposes of the ἀδύνατον the dead are conceived of as being useless and inert[15]. The two Arcadian tablets address a being called Pasianax. They begin with a temporal relative clause that is left hanging, since it is broken off by a declaration that neither will Pasianax ever read the document, nor will Neophanes, son of Agesibolos, ever bring suit against a name that cannot be restored (ὅταν σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἀναγνῶς· ἀλλ' οὔτε ποτὲ σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἀναγνώσει οὔτε ποτὲ Νεοφάμης Ἀγασιβώλω δίκαν

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[13] *Cf.* Call. fr. 388. 9–10 Pfeiffer. Further instances of allusions to the Phocaean oath are given by Pfeiffer in his note *ad loc.* The custom of raising ingots before dropping them into the sea was already known to Alcaeus (fr. 77 L.-P. = fr. 77 Voigt).

[14] Dubois (1986) II. 322 calls them Arcadian, but only very hesitantly, because of the lack of distinctly Arcadian elements in them.

[15] Bravo, 196–202 cites the spells as support for the thesis that until the end of the Hellenistic Period there is no evidence for the dead conceived of as having the power to act on the living. I am not all confident that the matter is so simple and that there cannot be two very different conceptions of the dead in operation at the same time. For the view that the restless dead are to be found as early as the *Odyssey*, see Johnston (1994), 137–160. There is a comprehensive discussion of the topic with up-to-date bibliography in Johnston (1999) 161–249.

ἐποίσει, Voutiras (1998) 1–4 = DTAud 43. 1–6)[16]. The spell goes on to say that just as Pasianax lies dead and useless, so too may Neophanes be useless and nothing (ἀλλ᾽ [ὥσπε]ρ [σ]ύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ ἐνθ[αῦτα] ἀλίθι[ος] κε[ῖ]σοι, αὔτ[ι] καὶ Νε[ο]φά[ν]εα ἀλίθιον καὶ μηδὲ[ν] γενέσθαι, 6–9). It is, accordingly, Pasianax's inert and useless state that precludes his reading the spell.

That all looks straightforward enough, but a very different interpretation of the tablet was given by Wünsch, who was very much in thrall to the theory that binding-spells were essentially letters addressed to the powers below or to the dead. In Wünsch's view, the sender of the spell imagines that it will become effective as soon as it is read, but is then struck by the deadness and uselessness of the corpse, which realisation leads him to change his tack and to employ the inertness of the dead man against Neophanes. To complicate matters further, Wünsch suggests that Pasianax is an epithet of Pluto and that the dead man is identified with the deity and so acquires some of his powers to harm. This is contradictory and complex and represents a failure to grasp the figure of the ἀδύνατον[17].

Jordan (1999) no. 2. 7 = DTAud 52. 7 binds down the words, deeds and tongue of Kerkis by the ἠίθεοι (Κέρκιν καταδῶ καὶ λόγους καὶ ἔργα τὰ Κέρκιδος καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν παρὰ τοῖς ἠιθέοις). The ἠίθεοι are young unmarried men. In this case, they are dead. They would seem to be the precursors of the unhappy and restless spirits of the untimely dead, the ἄωροι of later magic, who resent having been cut off before fulfilling their lives[18]. The souls of maidens who die before marriage are particularly dangerous and envious spirits[19]. The spell goes on to express the following wish: Kerkis may speak again when the ἠίθεοι read the words that have been written (καὶ ὁπόταν οὗτοι ταῦτα ἀναγνῶσιν, τότε Κέρκιδι καὶ τὸ φθένξασθαι, 7–9). Now that we have the *defixio* from Pella it becomes a good deal clearer what the intent of the wish is, which is that Kerkis should never be able to speak again. The ἠίθεοι will never read what has been written, since the dead are unable to read. So Kerkis will never speak again.

The syntactical pattern in both the Attic spell and that from Pella is the same, if we make allowance for the rather different ways future conditional and temporal senten-ces are expressed in Attic, on the one hand, and Doric and related dialects, on the other: Future temporal clause introduced by ὅποταν and subjunctive or ὅποκα and optative followed by temporal adverb τότε or [τόκα] and infinitive φθένξασθαι or γᾶμαι[20]. It is not exactly a formula that can be copied out mechanically word for word with which we are confronted, but a pattern of expression that allows for a cer-tain inventiveness on the part of the person composing the *defixio*. I suspect that there

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[16] I give the improved text provided by Voutiras (1998), 65–66. The tablets, now in the National Museum in Athens, have benefited from the attention of David Jordan and Voutiras.

[17] Kagarow, 32 seems to have been the first scholar to see what was wrong here and to have recognized that DTAud 43. 2–6 was an instance along with DTAud 52. 7–9 of what he called „die Formel der unausführbaren Bedingung".

[18] Hopfner (1974) 264–265, 349–352. For further bibliography, see Voutiras (1998) 96 n. 218.

[19] Hopfner (1974) 350.

[20] Dubois 193; Buck 138–139.

are other features in the spell from Pella susceptible of the same sort of analysis. The fact that an Attic *defixio* and a Macedonian one use the same kind of conceit and employ virtually the same syntactical structure to express it raises questions about how such patterns circulated in the Greek world. There has never been much doubt that there was a κοινή in which spells were written, although there are local peculiarities. How did it come into being? It goes without saying that people moving from place to place must have brought spells with them. The mendicant-priests and diviners (ἀγύρται καὶ μάντεις) of whom Plato speaks may have been one of the carriers (*Resp.* 364b 5).

III. Magic in the Baths at Gadara

Epiphanius tells of an incident in the baths at Gadara in which a youth in what was probably the *sudatorium* had rubbed his flank against that of an attractive woman whom he had seen there (διιὼν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι παρενέτριψεν τὴν πλευρὰν τῇ πλευρᾷ τοῦ γυναίου)[21]. She, since she was a Christian, had crossed herself in the name of the Christ (ἡ δὲ ἑαυτὴν ἐσφραγίσατο εἰς ὄνομα Χριστοῦ οἷα δὴ Χριστιανὴ οὖσα). Epiphanius' interpretation of what happened as a result of her crossing herself was that, despite the woman's contravening Christian convention by engaging in mixed bathing, the youth had not been allowed to succeed in his attempt on her, so that God might display his miracles (ἵνα δείξῃ ὁ θεὸς τὰ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια, τοῦ ἐπιχειρήματος τὸ μειράκιον ἀπέτυχεν)[22]. The puzzle here is to understand what is taking place. Women are generally not so overcome by desire when youths rub against them as to need to cross themselves to overcome their libidinous feelings, if crossing oneself could even have that effect.

The larger setting within which Epiphanius places the incident makes it very likely that the assault made by the youth on the woman is to be seen as an attempt to draw her to him by magic. The particular episode forms part of the story of the conversion to Christianity of a Jew called Josephus. Epiphanius had heard it from Josephus when he was in Scythopolis. The events in question took place in the time of Constantine. Epiphanius justifies his digressing from his main theme, the Ebionite heresy, and his recounting the tale, because it illustrates his contention that books of the New Testament were translated into Hebrew. The story begins with the appointment of Josephus by the dying Jewish patriarch of Tiberias to be the guardian of his son. The youth had proved to be a bit of a handful: He had fallen in, much to his harm, with a group of young men of a dissolute character who engaged in evil practices; they led the young patriarch into wicked ways, specifically into debauching women and fornicating with them; they used magical practices in which they involved him to achieve that goal; performing attraction-spells and incantations to compel free women to come to the young man to be debauched by him (ἀγώγιμά τινα

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[21] For a description with illustrations of the baths at Hammat Gader (Gadara), see Yigül, 121–124. Habas has argued that a memory of the incident was preserved in the baths and that one of the springs mentioned by Eudocia in her poem on the sixteen springs of the baths (SEG XXXII 1502) as the spring of the Patriarch (ἡ Πατριάρχου, 14) was named after the youthful patriarch.

[22] *Adv. haeres.* 1. 2. 30. 7; GCS 25. 342–343; PG 41. 417.

ἐπιτελοῦντες καὶ διὰ ἐπαοιδῶν βιαζόμενοι γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας)[23]. The group had gone to Gadara to an annual festival and it was then that the youthful patriarch had seen in the baths an attractive woman and had taken the opportunity to rub himself against her[24].

The setting in which the incident takes place is, accordingly, one in which magic-working is in the wind. That sorcery is indeed at issue becomes more apparent from Epiphanius' account of the rest of the incident: The youth persisted in his effforts and sent to the woman and proposed gifts, which she angrily spurned; his companions, understanding the anguish the youth had expended on the woman, attempted to devise a still greater piece of sorcery on his behalf (ἐπιχειροῦσιν αὐτῷ τινα μεῖζονα μαγγάνειαν κατασκευάσαι)[25]. In other words, sorcery had already been attempted. What the group did was to go to a cemetery outside the city, where caverns had been dug into the rock for the tombs, to perform conjurations (ἐπιορκισμοί) of spirits and to engage in other unholy procedures. A fellow-guardian warned Josephus of what was going on and took him to the tomb in which the youths were practising magic. The pair were able, by standing at the door of the tomb, to hear what was taking place within. When they entered the tomb, after the conspirators had left, they found evidence of the detritus of magic-working lying discarded on the floor. The two guardians, who had correctly guessed who the woman was against whom the plot had been hatched, kept an eye on the youth. They realized that the sorcerers had not been successful when they saw the youth waiting for the arrival of the woman for three nights. They also learned later that he had quarrelled with those who had performed the magic, because it had not worked[26].

Epiphanius puts the failure of the sorcery of the young men down to the help that the Sign of the Cross afforded and to the Christian faith of the woman[27]. It was, he says, the third lesson Josephus had been given that the power of sorcery did not have the strength to prevail over the name of Christ and the Sign of the Cross (τοῦτο τρίτον τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ κατηχήσεως ἔργον ἐγίνετο, ὅτι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἔνθα ὄνομα Χριστοῦ καὶ σφραγὶς σταυροῦ, φαρμακείας δύναμις). What the third instance of sorcery was in which Josephus saw the Sign of the Cross prevail over φαρμακεία is a puzzle, but there is not much room for doubt that the other two are the magic-working in the tomb and the episode in the baths. There is no great mystery about what went on in the tomb; a powerful attraction-spell in which the name of the woman and the name of the youth were linked was performed (οἱ ἅμα αὐτῷ γόητες ἐπῳδάς τινας καὶ ἐπιορκισμοὺς καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἀσεβείας ἔμπλεα εἰς αὐτὸν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς προειρημένης γυναικός); and the youth then waited for three days for the

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[23] It is also possible that πρὸς τὴν τούτου φθοράν means „to effect the debauching of the youth". I incline towards the other translation partly because the position of the demonstrative between the article and the noun suggests that it is a possessive and not an objective genitive and partly because Epiphanius has just spoken in general terms of the young men debauching women (φθοράς τε γυναικῶν καὶ λεγνείας ἀνοσίους).

[24] *Adv. haeres.* 1. 2. 30. 4–7; GCS 25. 338–343; PG 21. 409–417.

[25] *Adv. haeres.* 1. 2. 30. 7. 8–8. 1; GCS 25. 343; PG 41. 417.

[26] *Adv. haeres.* 1. 2. 30. 8; GCS 25. 342–343; PG 41. 417–420.

[27] Waiting for three days for an attraction-spell to work, before having recourse to a more compelling spell: PGM IV 1434–1436.

woman to come to him. As for what was done in the name of the youth and the woman, Epiphanius has in mind attraction-spells and erotic binding-spells that call on a demonic or chthonian force to bring a woman immediately to the man, giving the name and mother's name of both parties. That is all quite straightforward, but how can rubbing oneself against someone in the baths constitute sorcery?

That in Rome men had assignations with women at the baths we know from Ovid (*Ars* 3. 639–640). Clement of Alexandria complains about well-to-do women going to the baths and finding lovers there (*Paed.* 3. 5, Stählin I 254–255). He presumably has Alexandria mainly in mind. It is not then very surprising that erotic magic should have been performed in the baths. The formularies give virtually no hint of spells specially intended for use against those bathing, although one formulary containing a list of παίγνια or tricks speaks of crushing a tick taken from a dead dog into the groin to cause someone in the baths to react (ἐν βαλανείῳ τινὰ ἔρεσθαι, SupplMag. II 76. 3–4). What the reaction was supposed to be is not altogether clear, since the verb used to refer to it, ἔρεσθαι, makes little sense. The easiest and most satisfactory correction is ἐρεθίζεσθαι[28]. The point of the trick was then to cause irritation in a sensitive spot or more likely to cause sexual arousal and so embarrassment[29]. There may be no erotic recipes specifically designed for use in the baths, but there was one form of attraction-spell ideally suited for such a location. In the Great Paris Magical Papyrus there is a recipe that promises various forms of help, if three verses from *Iliad* 10 (564, 521, 572) are inscribed on a plate of iron (PGM IV 2145–2241)[30]. In particular, it asserts that great and various powers may be obtained, if the iron plate is applied to the wound of a man who has suffered judicial execution, among them the love of whatever man or woman, the holder of the plate touches (ἧς δ' ἂν παράψῃ γυναικὸς ἢ ἀνδρός, φιληθήσει, 2173–2174)[31]. The plate so treated empowers a man or a woman to perform the kind of spell that is called a παράψιμον or a παράψιμον ἀγώγιμον, which is to say, a touching-spell. It takes its name from an adjective derived from the verb παραψαύεσθαι. There are besides the recipe at PGM IV 2173–2174) three other references in the formularies to such a spell: PGM VII 973; XII 62; SupplMag. II 82 Fr. A. 2.

PGM VII 973–980 is for our purposes the most interesting of the three touching-spells. Under the rubric παράψιμον ἀγώγιμον it offers a recipe that begins with the preparation of a concoction that is to be put into a glass cup: The concoction consists of a sun-scarab boiled in myrrh and then ground up with the plant known as the

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[28] David Jordan *per litteras* proposes the same correction and suggests that the prank was intended to cause embarrassment by producing an erection.

[29] For ἐρεθισμός and ἐρεθίζεσθαι used of sexual arousal, *cf.* Heliod., *Aeth.* 8. 2. 3: καὶ ὅλως ἐξηρέθιστο ἤδη καὶ διακαὴς ὁ σατράπης; see also Ach. Tat. 5. 25. 7; Clem. Alex., *Paed.* 2. 2. 21, Stählin I 168; 2. 2. 32, Stählin I 176; Theodoret., *Graec. affect. cur.* 7. 12. 3, 9. 43.

[30] *Cf.* PGM IV 471–473 and 821–824, where the same three verses precede and conclude the recipe for the ascent to the divine, popularly known as the Mithras-Liturgy. Hopfner (1974) II 371–372 has a text, translation and brief comment on the recipe at PGM IV 2145–2241.

[31] The translation in GMP is: „you will be loved by any woman or man you have contact with". It does not quite bring out the deliberate touching that is essential for the success of such spells.

compulsion-plant (κατανάγκη βοτάνη)[32]; an incantation has then to be uttered not once but twice over the resulting mixture in which various powers are invoked and asked to compel the woman in whom the man preparing the charm is interested to follow him, if he touches her (ἐπαναγκάσατε τὴν δεῖνα τῆ[ς] δεῖνα, ἐὰν ἄψαιμι, ἐπακολουθῆσαι, 979–980). It is hard to see why the mixture over which the incantation is uttered is to be set aside in a glass cup, if it is not to be used as an ointment endowed with powers of compulsion.

The use of salves or ointments in magic in general and love-magic in particular is not a topic about which much has been written. I have, accordingly, collected some of the more obvious references to their use in magic. Salves or ointments are a sub-category of φάρμακα. Plato in the *Laws* provides a list of the forms taken by the φάρμακα that are physical substances and that do harm short of death by acting directly on other bodies (932e 1–4): They are potions (πώματα), comestibles (βρώματα) and lastly salves (ἀλείμματα). Medea calls the substance, which is obviously a salve, with which she anoints the diadem and the garment which will destroy the daughter of Creon and Creon himself φάρμακα (Eur., *Med.* 786–789). One of the forms of harm through magic that the apotropaic lead tablet from Phalasarna at the western extremity of Crete seeks to afford protection against is that done through anointing (ὅ με καταχρίστ[ῳ δ]ηλήσετοι Jordan (1992) S). The use of salves in love-magic was a widely-recognized technique. There are two famous references to their use in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and in Euripides' *Hippolytus* respectively: Deianeira in *Trachiniae* is under the impression that the ointment she has so carefully preserved is a φίλτρον, which, if applied to the garment she sends to Hercules, will draw him back to her (569–586); Phaedra, after hearing the Nurse say that she has φίλτρα θελκτήρια ἔρωτος in her possession, asks whether the φάρμαον is to be applied as an ointment or is to be drunk (πότερα δὲ χριστὸν ἢ ποτὸν τὸ φάρμακον 516)[33]. A spell of the 1st century B.C. from Cnidus gives three categories of φάρμακον, of which the second is an ointment: φάρμ[ακον ἢ] ποτὸν ἢ κατάχριστον ἢ ἐπακτόν DTAud 8. 14–15). The context makes it likely that erotic magic is at issue in the spell. Finally, there is in the Mithras-Liturgy a salve for anointing the eyes to enable them to have revelatory-visions (PGM IV 750–775).

The formularies have three recipes for salves meant for use in erotic magic: One of them, by bestowing beauty and radiance on the face of the person using it, is guaranteed to draw others in love to the person; in the other two, which are closely related to each other, the salve is only effective, if it is transferred to the woman who is the object of the charm. The simpler of the related pair is called a φ[ιλ]τροκατάδεσμος αἰώνιος, which is to say a love-charm that binds the party charmed down for ever in love. It prescribes the anointing of the *glans penis* with a salve consisting of the gall of a boar and some kind of rock-salt ground up in Attic honey (PGM VII 191). How it was supposed to work emerges from the other recipe, which goes under the rubric φυσικλείδιον, „a key to the private parts of a woman". It

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[32] For an ointment in which a sun-scarab has been ground up being set aside in a glass vessel, *cf.* PGM IV 750–770.

[33] Barrett, 256 (on 516–521) dismisses the possibility of applying an ointment to Hippolytus as ludicrous a little too rapidly.

is a spell meant to keep women from wishing to have intercourse with anyone other than the man by whom the salve has been applied. The ingredients are slightly but not much different from the φιλτροκατάδεσμος: They are the egg of a crow, the juice of the plant crowsfoot, the gall of an electric eel from a river ground up in honey. The same incantation is to be uttered during the process of grinding and when the penis is anointed. The incantation asks that the woman with whom the man will have intercourse will love and remember the man for all of the rest of her time. The examples of Penelope and Odysseus and Isis and Osiris are invoked. This is followed by a promise to the effect that whomsoever the man has sexual relations with will love him alone and will have intercourse with no one else (PGM XXXVI 283–293). The repetition of the incantation during the preparation of the ointment and its application suggests that not only was an incantation in order during preparation of the ointment for the παράψιμον ἀγώγιμον, but also during its application. Finally, there is in a very early formulary of the Augustan Age a love-charm in which Isis and Osiris are also invoked. It requires the anointing of the face with myrrh, during which process the person performing the spell is required to intone an incantation in which the myrrh is invoked as the myrrh with which Isis anointed her face when she went to lie in the bosom of Osiris and which gave her χάρις on that day (SupplMag. II 72 ii 4–7).

It is tempting to imagine that the lustful youth who rubbed against the woman in the baths in Gadara had ointment on his person and that he was trying to apply it to the woman, but it may be that he was armed with an empowering amulet and physical contact was enough. Whichever is the correct explanation of his behaviour, what is certain is that he was practising a παράψιμον ἀγώγιμον. What is even more interesting is that Epiphanius does not feel it necessary to explain to his readers what was being done. We may surmise that it was a widely-recognized form of magic.

IV. The παράψιμον at PGM XII 62

61   ποίησον στρέφεσθαι [π]άν[τ]ας ἀνθρώπους τε καὶ πάσας γυναῖκας
62   εὐπήθως μου τοῦ Δ ἢ τῆς Δ ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἂν παραιτῶ ὥρα⟨ς⟩ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ παραψίμῳ
        κατ᾽ ἐπιτα-
63   γὴν τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ Ἰάω Ἀδωνεαὶ Αβλαθαναλβα· σὺ εἶ ὁ περιέχων τὰς
        Χάριτας
64   ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ Λαμψρη· σὺ δ᾽ εἶ ὁ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τὴν Ἀνάγκην Βελτεπιαχ,
        σὺ εἶ ὁ δια-
65   λύων καὶ δεσμεύων Σεμεσιελαμπεκριφ· Ἐπάκουσόν μου ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον
66   ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον (PMG XII 61–63).

62 εὐπήθως: εὐπείθως, ἐπὶ [ἔ]ρωτα μου Preisendanz; παραψίμῳ P vel παραφιμω (Dietrich)

I print the text of *PGM* XII 61–63 given by Robert Daniel in his photographic edition of the two magical formularies in Leiden purchased from Anastasi. There can be no doubt that παραψίμῳ should be read and that παραφίμῳ, the form printed by Preisendanz, should be rejected. It was very hard, in any case, to see what sense was

to be made of such a form[34]. That is not to say that everything is now plain sailing and that it is immediately obvious what we are to make of a reference to a touching-spell at this point in the text of PGM VII.

The request to make all men and women turn towards the speaker in passion is one of three such requests addressed to Eros to be uttered during an elaborate ceremony in which sacrifices are performed in the presence of a wax-figurine of the deity (14–95). The requests are to be repeated over a period of three days, if the ritual is to be properly fulfilled (75–77). The purpose of the whole ceremony is to have the help of Eros as a familiar (πάρεδρος). At the beginning of the recipe there is a list of deeds that it is promised can be accomplished with the help of Eros. The copyist of the papyrus had either a defective exemplar from which to copy or his eye missed some words, since the list begins: πο[ι]εῖ δὲ πράξε[ι]ς ταύτας καὶ ὀνει[ρο]πομπείαν, ἀγρυπνίαν ποιεῖ κ[αὶ] διαλλάσσει κ[ακ]οδαίμο[νο]ς, [ἐ]ὰν ὀρθῶς αὐτῷ χρήσῃ κα[ὶ] ἀγνῶς. ἔστιν γὰρ ἔχων πᾶσαν πρᾶξιν (15–17). Whatever the actions referred to by the words πράξεις ταύτας were they are missing. It is in fact a severely truncated list that in no way matches the boast at the end of the promises, namely, that it controls all deeds. What is conspicuously missing from the list is any mention of the ability of Eros to help in erotic matters. The three requests or invocations of Eros to be performed in the course of the elaborate sacrifice that accompanies the summoning of Eros as a familiar represent three areas of activity in which Eros is asked to help the performer of the spell acquire control of other persons. Any reference to the three spheres of activity is missing from the list of help that the spell promises. That is unfortunate, since had we had the full list, we would have been better placed to settle what exactly was being requested in the second invocation.

Regrettable though the lacuna may be, it is still possible to reach an understanding from the second invocation itself of what kind of help was sought from Eros in it. It invokes Eros as the lightener, the thunderer, the earth-shaker and finally as one turning all things about and setting them aright again (σ[ὺ] εἶ ὁ πάντα στρέψας καὶ ἐπανορθώσας [π]άλιν, 60–61). Taking its cue from the final element in the celebration of the powers of the god, which is his power to turn everything about (στρέφειν), the invocation asks him to exercise that particular power in relation to all men and women and cause them to turn (ποίησον στρέφεσθαι) to the speaker in obedience from the very hour in this παράψιμον that the plea is made by the command of the most high god Iao Adoneai. Predication of the powers of Eros is then resumed in the *Du-Stil* and the invocation ends with an appeal to Eros to obey the speaker from the present day on for ever.

The transition from predicating of Eros the power of turning all things about to asking the same deity that he cause all men and women turn in obedience to the party casting the spell is an instance of *similia similibus*. There are in recipes for spells or in working spells themselves two and possibly three other examples of the principle that just as something turns, so should so-and-so be turned towards the person casting the spell. The Great Paris Magical Papyrus contains just such a spell under the rubric „The Sword of Dardanus (ξίφος Δαρδάνου)". It calls for the engraving on a magnetic

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[34] A point made long ago by Schmidt, 1174.

stone that breathes of an image of Aphrodite dominating Psyche with Eros below burning Psyche with his torch and a further image of Eros and Psyche embracing (PGM IV 1722–1744)[35]. The stone, once engraved, is to be placed below the tongue and turned around for whatever end is desired (λαβὼν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσάν σου στρέφε, εἰς ὃ θέλεις, 1745–1748). Eros, imagined as a force of cosmic significance, is then to be invoked and the god asked to turn the heart of the desired woman to the caster of the spell in passionate longing and love (ἐπίστρεψον τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δεῖνα εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα, ἵνα με φιλῇ, ἵνα μου ἐρᾷ 1805–08).

A spell from Oxyrhynchos, dated to the beginning of the 4th century A.D., asks that just as Hermes and the piece of papyrus on which the spell is written is turned, so should the brain, heart and mind of a woman be turned (ὥσπερ στρέφεται ὁ Ἑρμῆς τοῦ μυελοῦ καὶ ἀληθεῖται τοῦτο τὸ πιττάκιον, οὕτως στρέψον τὸν ἐγκέφαλον καὶ τὴν καρδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν διανοίαν, P.Oxy. inv. 50. 4B 23/J (1–3) b; SupplMag. II 56. 1–6). There is much that is obscure and controversial about the spell, but what is incontrovertible is that the *tertium comparationis* lies in the notion of turning. It is also virtually certain, in view of the parallels, that the spell is erotic and not vindictive or malign[36]. A parallel for the rotating of a piece of papyrus on which an attraction-spell has been written is perhaps to be found in the remnant of a formulary that prescribes writing on a piece of hieratic papyrus a formula beginning with the words ἐξορκίζω σε τὸν Ἰαβω θεόν· στρέψον τὴν καρδίαν τῆς δεῖνα and that then proceeds to prescribe what is to be done with the slip of papyrus: τοῦτο γράφεις εἰς ἱερατικὸν βιβλίον καὶ θ[ὲς ... (PGM XIc 1–3). There is no question that something was to be done with the slip of papyrus. That it was to be placed in the mouth and rotated is a strong possibility.

Whatever other uncertainties surround the interpretation of the invocation, it can confidently be categorized as a plea for Eros' help in matters to do with love. There can be no doubt that a touching-spell might well be said to cause others to turn in love towards its user. That is not a difficulty. The difficulty with the invocation lies in knowing how to make sense of the expression ἀφ' ἧς ἂν παραι[τ]ῶ ὥρας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ παραψίμῳ when what we seem to have in front of us is not a recipe for a particular spell, but a recipe for acquiring a familiar who will at a later date help in carrying out particular spells. The two other invocatory utterances are couched in a suitably general way. A solution to the problem is to be sought in the recipe just cited in which Iahweh is also invoked and asked to turn the heart of a woman to a man (PGM XIc). The language of the second recipe bears a close resemblance to that in

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[35] On the life and breath with which magnetic stones were filled, *cf.* Damigeron-Evax 30. 1 Halleux-Schamp: *magnes lapis magnas virtutes habet, plenus enim spiritu*. On the use of the stone in magic, see Hopfner (1974) I 565.

[36] Faraone (1988) 283–285 has made a case for extracting the verb ἀλήθεται meaning „is ground" from the letters αληθητε, for finding in the letters μυελου a word meaning „mill", and for taking the word ἑρμῆς to mean „a stone". That interpretation encounters a number of difficulties: 1) grinding does not seem to be at issue; 2) the slip of papyrus has not been ground; 3) ὁ ἑρμῆς τοῦ μυλαίου is a very odd way of referring to a millstone, for which object there are perfectly good Greek words; 4) the new interpretation of the Greek takes no account of lovespells in which turning is the *tertium comparationis*, and, in particular, of the spell in which the charm is physically turned.

the Leiden-papyrus. The recipe recommends that the following words be written on a sheet of hieratic papyrus: ἐξορκίζω σε τὸν Ἰαβω θεόν· στρέψον τὴν καρδίαν τῆς δεῖνα ... κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Ἰαβω, Μασκελλει, Μασκελλω (PGM XIc. 2–6). We have then the invocation of Iahweh, the same expression, κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Ἰαβω, and the use of the verb στρέφειν.

The ultimate author of the recipe in the Leiden-papyrus had then in front of him, when putting together the second λόγος, a model-spell of the type represented in the formulary, which he had adapted to fit his needs. We may exclude from consideration the possibility that the influence ran in the other direction and that the spell in the formulary was influenced by a model akin to the spell in the Leiden-papyrus. Not all of the adjustments necessary to make the model-spell fit the conditions of its new environment were made. The result was a spell in which a clause from an old touching-spell remained. It may be that what the author of the Leiden-recipe had in mind was an invocation activating Eros as a πάρεδρος in touching-spells.

V. Παίζειν at Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 7. 39

Philostratus in the *Vita Apollonii* has a digression on magic, prompted by the story of Apollonius' stepping out of his fetters in a Roman prison. He remarks, speaking in his own voice, that the simpler sorts suppose feats such as that of Apollonius are the work of sorcerers (γόητες); they are willing to credit any success they may have enjoyed to sorcery and any failure of sorcery to their own carelessness in carrying out the ritual. Philostratus concludes the digression with some advice to young men: The techniques by which natural wonders and prodigies are created have been written up by those who scoff at the craft of the magician[37]; he will content himself by declaring that young men ought not to consort with magicians, to avoid getting into the habit of playing at such tricks (παίζειν).

οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι, καθ' οὓς καὶ διοσημίας καὶ ἕτερα πλείω τερατεύονται καὶ ἀναγεγράφαταί τισιν, οἳ ἐγέλασαν πλατὺ ἐς τὴν τέχνην, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀποπεφάνθω μηδ' ἐκείνοις ὁμιλεῖν τοὺς νέους, ἵνα μηδὲ παίζειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐθίζοιντο.

Παίζειν here is used in the semi-technical sense of „practise παίγνια"[38]. It is also used with an accusative of the person to mean „practise such a trick on someone". It

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[37] We know of three such works: 1) the chapter directed against magicians at Hipp., *Haer.* 4. 28–41; 2) the work by the Epicurean Celsus who is the dedicatee of Lucian's *Alex.* (*Alex.* 21) and who should not be confused with the Platonist of the same name with whom Origen takes issue; 3) Lucian, *Alex.*

[38] On such παίγνια, see now Bain, 262–264. For the diminutive παιγνίδιον used of the conjuring tricks performed by a ψηφάς or conjuror, see Leont. N., *v. Sym.* p. 150 Rydén = PG 93. 1716c, where a conjuror has a stone thrown at him by Symeon Salos that cripples him; Symeon then appears in a dream to the man and promises to heal him, if he will swear to give up such practices; the oath sworn by the man runs: οὐ μὴ παρέλθω τοῦ λοιποῦ διὰ τοιούτου παιγνιδίου. Lampe *s. v.* παιγνίδιον gives „plaything" as his rendering. That is wrong as, to some extent, is „juggler" for ψηφάς in LSJ[9] *s. v.* and Lampe *s. v.* The crucial passage are Ath., *q. Ant.* 125 (PG 28. 677): ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ λεγόμενοι ψηφάδες ... πλανᾷ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρυσίον αὐτοῖς πολλάκις ἢ ἄργυρον ὑποδεικνύς, and Leont., *v. Sym.* p. 165 Rydén = PG 93. 1740b: ὥσπερ ὁ ψηφὰς ποιεῖ ὀφθαλμοπλανίαν. It seems unlikely that

is used in the same sense in the treatise on magical or conjuring tricks that Hippolytus cites in the *Refutatio omnium haeresium*[39]. The person who helps the magician create these special effects is called in the treatise the συμπαίκτης[40]. Neither LSJ⁹ nor its supplements takes any account of either usage. Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, on the other hand, does have an entry for συμπαίκτης. This specialized use of παίζειν probably goes back into the Late Hellenistic Period, if Pliny the Elder's *ludere*, used of one of the παίγνια attributed to Anaxilaus of Larissa is anything to go by:

lusit et Anaxilaus (fr. 3 Wellmann) *eo* (*sc. sulphure*), *addens in calicem vini prunaque subdita circumferens, exardescentis repercussu pallorem dirum velut defunctorum effundente in convivii* (*Hist. Nat.* 35. 175).

The παίγνια of which we learn from the formularies, from Pliny the Elder and from Irenaeus, are mostly, but not entirely, tricks designed to deceive the senses. Philostratus is worried lest young men practise a sub-category of such tricks, those involving signs from heaven and other prodigies. We find examples of these in a quotation by Hippolytus from the so-called *Art of Thrasymedes*: Directions are given 1) for making the moon and stars appear on the ceiling of a room (*Haer.* 4. 37–38), 2) for creating the impression of an earthquake (σεισμοῦ δὲ φαντασίαν ποιοῦσιν, ὡς δοκεῖν πάντα κινεῖσθαι, *Haer.* 4. 39. 1), and 3) for making noises that sound like thunder (*Haer.* 4. 32. 1). There are several ways of creating the last-named effect of which Hippolytus gives two, one of which consists in getting a thin plank of wood to vibrate.

There is in the *Vita Apollonii* an allusion to the earthquake-trick: Thespesion, the leader of the Egyptian Gymnosophists, suggests that the Indian Brahmins, whom Apollonius has just visited and by whom he has been greatly impressed, are thaumaturges who rely on the art of the sorcerer (θαυμασιουργίας τε καὶ βιαίου τέχνης μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀλήθειαν); he then makes an implicit comparison between them and Delphic Apollo: Apollo does not accompany any of his pronouncements with a display of wonders (τερατευσάμενος), despite the ease with which he could make all Parnassus shake, could change Castalia's springs to wine, and prevent Cephisus flowing as a river (6. 10). Two of the τέρατα that Apollo is credited with refraining from are known παίγνια, suitably modified for a god to perform: Turning water into wine and causing earthquakes. Irenaeus accuses the heresiarch Marcus of having drawn on the παίγνια of Anaxilaus of Larissa to make cups filled with a mixture of wine and water appear purple or red, while he said a prolonged Grace over them, in order that the onlookers might think his invocation had caused the blood of Christ to

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Symeon Salos would have thrown a small stone at a mere juggler to put an end to his wickedness (θέλων οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτον κανὸν ἀνακόψαι) and that illicit (τοῦ ποιεῖν ἀθέμιτα πράγματα) would be the epithet used to characterize juggling (Leont. N., *v. Sym.* p. 150 Rydén = PG 93. 1716b). At *v. Sym.* p. 150 Rydén = PG 1716b the ψηφὰς performs in the theatre alongside μῖμοι. At CCAG 8. 3. 110 there is: μηχανικῶν τε καὶ ψηφάδων καὶ μίμων.

[39] 4. 32. 2 *bis*, 6. 7. 1.

[40] 4. 35. 4; 36. 1 and 37. 2, 3. Ganschinietz, 19, 72 for reasons that are not altogether clear takes the use of the terms παίζειν and συμπαίκτης to be evidence, almost certainly wrongly, that *The Art of Thrasymedes* was a treatise on *magia naturalis*.

fill the cups (*Adv. haer.* 1. 7. 2)[41]. As for the earthquake-trick, *The Art of Thrasy-medes*, as we have seen, explained how it was done. Unfortunately, because the manuscript fails, all we are left with are a list of three ingredients: The droppings of an ichneumon, a magnet and burning coals (*Adv. haer.* 4. 39. 1). Apollo, in short, does not perform wonders (τερατεύεσθαι), as do sorcererers and the young men who consort with them[42].

VI. What did Alexander of Abunoteichos do for the rich woman from Pella to earn his keep?

Lucian says that both because the doctor who had been his lover and teacher had died and because he had lost his boyish looks, Alexander of Abunoteichos took to the road and teamed up with a man from Byzantium who wrote poetry for the choruses that competed in the games; the pair then went around performing magical tricks and engaging in sorcery and by so doing relieved the gullible of their money (περιῄεσαν γοητεύοντες καὶ μαγγανεύοντες καὶ τοὺς παχεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων — οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῇ πατρίῳ τῶν μάγων φωνῇ τοὺς πόλλους ὀνομάζουσιν — ἀποκείροντες). Amongst those they cheated was a rich Macedonian woman who had lost her looks but still wanted to be an object of men's sexual attentions (ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ Μακέτιν γυναῖκα πλουσίαν, ἔξωρον μέν, ἐράσμιον δὲ ἔτι εἶναι βουλομένην). Alexander and Kokkonas, once they had chanced on the woman, lived off her and accompanied her from Bithynia to her home in Macedonian Pella (*Alex.* 6)[43].

What exactly did Alexander and Kokkonas do for the woman to become part of her entourage and to earn their keep? Caster in his commentary on the essay implies that the pair serviced her sexual needs[44]. The possibility can by no means be excluded that such is Lucian's meaning. The run of thought, however, suggests that the services Alexander and Kokkonas performed for the woman they carried out *qua* magicians and not as lovers. She was after all one of the persons whom Lucian says the pair relieved of their money by their magical tricks and sorcery. The question that has then to be asked is what could Alexander and his associate, playing the part of magicians, offer such a woman. The answer is that even though the woman was over the hill, they could offer to perform spells to draw lovers to her. There is a conversation in Lucian's *Dialogi meretricum* between Melissa and Bacchis that begins with Melissa asking Bacchis whether she knows of an old woman of the kind many Thessalian women are said to be, that is to say, performers of incantations and

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[41] This must be a variation on the trick of turning water into wine. Hippolytus says that Marcus slipped into the wine a drug that was able to achieve such an effect and then spoke much nonsense to give the drug time to dissolve and change the colour of the wine. He then refers us to the account he has already given in his exposé of the magicians of the substances needed for the trick (*Adv. haer.* 6. 39. 3): The plant alkalent, which produces a red dye, combined with wax (4. 28. 13).

[42] For the connection of sorcery and the creation of prodigies, *cf.* Lucian, *Alex.* 25: γόης ἄνθρωπος καὶ τερατείᾳ φίλος.

[43] On rich women as patronesses of holy men, see Anderson, 117–119.

[44] Caster, 14: „Quant à la Macédonienne, quel était (l'accusation de mauvaises mœurs mise à part) son rôle dans l'association?".

capable of making women objects of sexual attention: εἴ τινα οἶσθα, Βακχί, γραῦν, οἷαι πολλαὶ Θετταλαὶ λέγονται ἐπᾴδουσαι καὶ ἐρασμίους ποιοῦσαι (4. 1). Alexander and Kokkonas then played on the gullibility of the woman by suggesting that they knew of incantations which would draw lovers to her.

VII. Greek Spell-Books in Hadrumetum

David Jordan in his publication of a *defixio* from Isthmia has drawn our attention to the striking similarity between the magical design on one side of the tablet and that on a *defixio* from Hadrumetum[45]. He also pointed out the general similarity of the design on both tablets to that prescribed in a formulary now in London (PGM VII 217). It is interesting that two so apparently diverse locations as Hadrumetum and Isthmia should have *defixiones* with the same design on them. What is even more interesting is that one should be in the Latin-speaking part of the Roman Empire and the other in the Greek. Jordan speaks of „a community of superstition in the *oikoumenê* in the time of the Empire" and cites instances from Rome and from Amathous in Cyprus of spells for which models exist in spell-books from Egypt[46]. What I should like to call attention to is a slightly different phenomenon: A tendency for *defixiones* from Hadrumetum written in Latin to follow Greek models. Since we do not at the moment have comparable collections of *defixiones* from anywhere else in the Latin-speaking areas of the Empire, it is difficult to say whether there is something unusual about the use of Greek formularies or translations of Greek formularies in Hadrumetum or whether the phenomenon was widespread.

Of the nine erotic *defixiones* from a cemetery or cemeteries outside of Hadrumetum five are written in Latin in Roman characters (DTAud 263, 264, 265, 266 and 268) and three in Latin, but in Greek characters (DTAud 267, 269 and 270). There is besides one large *defixio* in Greek written in Greek characters (DTAud 271). The style and turns of expression of the *defixiones* in Latin are in a general way indistinguishable from erotic *defixiones* from Egypt written in Greek. One might, for instance, compare the wish that the *defixa* might out of love neither sleep nor be able to accept food or nourishment at DTAud 266. 7–8 (*ut amo[r]is causa non dormiat non cibum non escam accipere*) with the comparable wish to be found in a number of Egyptian *defixiones* that the *defixa* might be able neither to eat nor drink nor obtain sleep (μὴ ἐάσῃς αὐτὴν φαγῖν μήτε πῖν μήτε ὕπνου τυχῖν, SupplMag. 43. 8–9; 45. 45; 46. 11; 47. 10–11; 48. J. 9, 23; 50. 55–56) or the wish at DTAud 270. 17–19 that the heart and breath of Sextilius should be burned and consumed in fire and all the limbs of all her body with love and desire for Septima (*sed amore et desiderio meo uratur, huius spiritus et cor comburatur, omnia membra totius corporis*) with virtually the same wish at SupplMag. 42. 14 (καῦσον, ποίρωσον, φλέξον τὴν καρδίαν, τὸ ἧπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα Γοργονία, ἣν αἴταικεν Νιλογενία ἐπ᾽ ἔρωτι καὶ φιλία Σοφία) taken in combination with SupplMag. 45. 31 (καύσατε αὐτῆς τὰ μέλη, τὸ ἧπαρ, τὸ γυνεκῖον σῶμα). The wish that Optata should forget her father, mother,

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[45] 119–123. Republished as SEG XLIV 303. For the *defixio* from Hadrumetum, see Héron de Villefosse, 291–294.

[46] Jordan (1994) 123–125.

kinsfolk, friends and all other men because of her love for Felix (*ut obliviscatur patris et matris et [propinquor]um suorum et amicorum omnium [et aliorum] virorum amoris mei*, DTAud 266. 15–17) has its counterpart at SupplMag. 45. 47–50, where Theon prays that Euphemia may leave her father, mother, brothers and sisters behind to come to him in unceasing and maddened love and that she should put aside any other man and forget and hate the other man and love only him (καταλῖψε πατέρα, μητέρα, ἀδελφούς, ἀδελφάς ... ἐκῖνον μὲν ὑπερθέσθω καὶ ἐπιλαθέσθω καὶ μισήσῃ, ἐμὲ δὲ φιλήσῃ καὶ ἀγαπήσῃ καὶ στοργήσῃ).

There can be no question that the ultimate inspiration for some of the erotic *defixiones* from Hadrumetum written in Latin are formularies written in Greek. In the case of the wish that the *defixa* might out of love neither sleep, nor be able to take food or drink (DTAud 266. 7–8) the formulary could be at some remove and its memory only faint or a formulary with somewhat different phrasing could have been used or the scribe-cum-magician had not attempted a precise translation of his Greek formulary, but the wish that the heart and breath of Sextilius should be consumed in fire (DTAud 270. 17–19) looks to be an attempt at reproducing word-for-word the Greek of a formulary. One even more striking instance of an attempt at giving a faithful rendering of a Greek original produces what is in Latin a rather odd turn of phrase, but which by the same token is a guarantee that the spell was either translated directly out of a Greek spell-book or from a Latin version of a Greek spell-book. At DTAud 267. 15–19 Oppius asks the following: κογιτε Βονῶσα κουαμ [π]επεριτ Πάπτη αμαρε ιη ῞Οππιομ κουεμ πεπεριτ Οὐενερία αμωρε σακρω σινε ιντερμισσιωνε = *cogite Bonosam quam peperit Papte amare .e Oppium, quem peperit Veneria, amore sacro sine intermissione*). It is the expression *amare amore sacro sine intermissione* on which we need to concentrate our attention, since it is an attempt at putting into Latin what we find at SupplMag. 45. 48–49: ἐρῶσαν με θῖον ἔρωτα ἀκατάπαυστον. The idea that the object of the *defixio* should love with a θεῖος ἔρως is not an uncommon one[47]. Whatever sense is to be ascribed to θεῖον ἔρωτα at Pl., *Phdr.* 266A7 that is not what those inscribing *defixiones* have in mind. They are thinking of a particularly intense love. That it should at the same time be unceasing is a wish that is expressed in a variety of ways[48]. It is not altogether certain, in consequence, whether *sine intermissione* is a rendering of ἀκατάπαυστος, ἀδιάλειπτος or ἀνεξάλειπτος.

Abbreviations

DTWü = IG III (3) = *Appendix continens defixionum tabellas in attica regione repertas*, ed. Richard Wünsch, Berlin 1897.

DTAud = Auguste Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt tam in graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter atticas in Corpore inscriptionum atticarum editas*, Paris 1904.

GPM = *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, ed. Hans-Dieter Betz, Chicago and London 1986.

Jordan (1992) = D. R. Jordan, *The Inscribed Lead Tablet from Phalasarna*, ZPE 94 (1992) 191–194.

[47] *Cf.* PGM X 7–8; XV 3; SupplMag. 48 J-K 13, 25, 38.
[48] *Cf.* PGM X 7–8; SupplMag. 48 J-K 12–13.

Jordan (1999) = D. R. Jordan, *Three Curse Tablets*, in: *Magic in the Ancient World. Procee-dings of the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar* (Norwegian Institute, Athens 4–7 May 1997), eds. D. R. Jordan, Hugo Montgomery and Einar Thomassen, 1999.

PGM = *Papyri graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri, ed.* K. Preisendanz, rev. ed. by A. Henrichs, I–II, Stuttgart 1973.

Robert = Louis Robert, *Collection Froehner*, I: *Inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1936.

Strÿd = J. H. W. Strÿd, Ἀττικὰ μετ' ἀρῶν μολύβδινα ἐλάσματα, EA (1903) 55–60.

SupplMag. = *Supplementum Magicum*, I–II, eds. Robert W. Daniel and Franco Maltomini, Ab-handlungen der rheinisch-westfälischen Akad. d. Wiss., Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloni-ensia XVI.1–2, Opladen 1990.

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