

## Durham E-Theses

---

### *Recipes for Love: A Semiotic Analysis of the Tools in the Erotic Magical Papyri*

EVANS, LUKE,AARON,RALPH

#### How to cite:

---

EVANS, LUKE,AARON,RALPH (2016) *Recipes for Love: A Semiotic Analysis of the Tools in the Erotic Magical Papyri*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online:  
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/11454/>

#### Use policy

---

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

---

Academic Support Office, Durham University, University Office, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HP  
e-mail: e-theses.admin@dur.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107  
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk>

## Abstract

Luke Aaron Ralph Evans

Recipes for Love: A Semiotic Analysis of the Tools in the Erotic Magical Papyri

This thesis is a semiotic analysis of the tools instructed for application by the erotic magical papyri (EMP). Erotic magic, one of the largest categories instructed by the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM), is performed to establish or reinforce a relationship with an erotic nature. The performance of erotic magic is reliant on the incorporation of a broad variety of ritual practices, including, for example, necromancy, binding, divination, and sacrificial ceremonies. The tools have been defined as the physical substances, materials, and objects that are instructed for application by the PGM for the performance of erotic magic. Any analysis of the PGM will immediately notice that the manipulation of physical tools is ever-present and, as a consequence, the image portrayed of the magician is one of a tool-wielding practitioner. This statement can lead logically to the conclusion that the power of the rituals instructed by the EMP did not reside within the individual but in the manipulation of tools in the proper manner. As a consequence, to understand magic and how it was performed, it is essential to understand the instructions for the manipulation of tools. The main objective of this thesis is to discover, through the application of semiotics, if there was any rationale to the application of a tool and, if there was meaning, did this rationale correlate directly to the outcome of the erotic spells instructed by the PGM.

# Recipes for Love

**A Semiotic Analysis of the Tools in the Erotic Magical Papyri**

Luke Aaron Ralph Evans

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Classics and Ancient History

Durham University

2015

# Contents

Abbreviations	i
Glossary	ii
Statement of Copyright	vi
Acknowledgments	vii
Dedication	viii
I. Introduction	1
1. Outline	1
2. Semiotics and the EMP	6
3. Defining the Code	17
4. Defining the Perceiver	37
II. Analysis	55
1. Incantation	55
2. Fire Manipulation	80
3. Deposition	101
4. Potion Construction	126
5. Figurine Construction	139
6. Animal Killing	162
7. Minor Rituals	178
III. Conclusion	198
Bibliography	209

## List of Tables

Table	Title	Page
I.3.a	A categorisation of the EMP	32
II.1.a	Tools in the <i>ink</i> paradigm	57
II.1.b	Tools in the <i>stylus</i> paradigm	63
II.1.c	Tools in the <i>medium</i> paradigm	67
II.2.a	Tools in the <i>flame</i> paradigm	82
II.2.b	Tools in the <i>burnt substance</i> paradigm	92
II.3.a	Tools in the <i>deposited</i> paradigm	102
II.3.b	Tools in the <i>supporting item</i> paradigm	105
II.3.c	Tools in the <i>deposition location</i> paradigm	111
II.4.a	Tools in the <i>container</i> paradigm	128
II.4.b	Tools in the <i>mixture</i> paradigm	133
II.5.a	Tools in the <i>construction</i> paradigm	140
II.5.b	Tools in the <i>form</i> paradigm	148
II.5.c	Tools in the <i>insertion</i> paradigm	153
II.5.d	Tools in the <i>adornment</i> paradigm	158
II.6.a	Tools in the <i>victim</i> paradigm	163
II.6.b	Tools in the <i>method</i> paradigm	170
II.7.a	Tools in the <i>ointment</i> paradigm	179
II.7.b	Tools in the <i>ointment location</i> paradigm	180
II.7.c	Tools in the <i>object</i> paradigm	185
II.7.d	Tools in the <i>target</i> paradigm	185
II.7.e	Tools in the <i>phylactery</i> paradigm	190
II.7.f	Tools in the <i>tie</i> paradigm	190
II.7.g	Tools in the <i>liquid</i> paradigm	193

## List of Figures

Figure	Title	Page
I.2.a	Syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of an erotic magical ritual	13
I.2.b	Syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of a ritual action	14
I.2.c	A semiotic deconstruction of an erotic magic ritual	15
II.1.a	The <i>incantation</i> ritual	56
II.1.b	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of <i>incantation</i>	79
II.2.a	The <i>fire manipulation</i> ritual	81
II.2.b	A visual representation of the <i>fire manipulation</i> ritual in PGM IV.2441-2621	94
II.2.c	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of <i>fire manipulation</i>	99
II.3.a	The <i>deposition</i> ritual	101
II.3.b	A visual representation of the <i>deposition</i> ritual in PGM IV.296-466	104
II.3.c	A visual representation of the dog in PGM XXXVI.361-71 if used in the <i>figurine construction</i> ritual	119
II.3.d	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of <i>deposition</i>	124
II.4.a	The <i>potion construction</i> ritual	126
II.4.b	A visual representation of the <i>fire manipulation</i> ritual required for the creation of MC1	135
II.4.c	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of <i>potion construction</i>	138
II.5.a	The <i>figurine construction</i> ritual	139
II.5.b	A visual representation of the incorporation of the <i>incantation</i> ritual into the <i>figurine construction</i> ritual of PGM IV.1716-1870	154
II.5.c	A visual representation of the incorporation of the <i>incantation</i> ritual into the <i>figurine construction</i> ritual in PGM IV.296-466	159
II.5.d	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the <i>figurine construction</i> ritual	160
II.6.a	The <i>animal killing</i> ritual	162
II.6.b	A visual representation of the cat in PGM III.1-164 if used in the <i>figurine construction</i> ritual	174
II.6.c	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the <i>animal killing</i> ritual	177

II.7.a	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the <i>ointment construction</i> ritual	195
II.7.b	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the <i>throwing</i> ritual	195
II.7.c	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the <i>phylactery construction</i> ritual	196
II.7.d	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the <i>libation</i> ritual	196
III.a	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of PGM IV.1716-1870	202
III.b	Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of PGM IV.1496-1595	202



## Abbreviations

For ancient authors, the abbreviations in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (OCD), 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds. (2003), have been followed.

- CT: Gager, J. G. 1992. *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. Oxford.
- DT: Audollent, A. 1904. *Defixionum Tabellae*. Paris.
- DTA: Wünsch, R. 1897. *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*. Berlin.
- FGrH: Jacoby, F. *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. (1923-)
- GMPT: Betz, H. D. 1992. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*. London.
- LS: Sokolowski, F. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. Paris. 1969.
- LSJ: Liddell, H. G., & Scott, R. *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., rev. H. Stuart Jones (1925-40); Suppl. by E. A. Barber and others. 1968.
- OZ: Hopfner, T. 1921-1924. *Griechische-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber in studien zu Paläographie und Papyruskunde 21 und 23*. Leipzig. (repr. Amsterdam, 1974 and [in part] 1983)
- PGM: Preisendanz, K., ed. 1973-1974. *Papyrie Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols., 2nd ed.
- SEG: *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* (1923-).
- SGD: Jordan, D. R. 1985. "A Survey of Greek defixiones not included in the special corpora." *GRBS* 26: 151-197.
- Suppl. Mag.: Daniel, R. W., & Maltomini, F., ed. 1990. *Supplementum Magicum*. 2 Vols. Cologne.
- TrGF: B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt, eds. 1971-1986. *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. 4 vols.
- VD: Faraone, C. A. 1991. "Binding and burying the forces of evil: the defensive use of 'voodoo dolls' in ancient Greece." *Classical Antiquity* 10: 165-205.

## Glossary

### *Adornment:*

- A paradigm used for the *figurine construction* ritual.

### *Animal killing:*

- A ritual action consisting of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

### *Burnt substance:*

- A paradigm used for the *fire manipulation* ritual.

### *Code:*

- A code is a system of related conventions in which the meaning of a sign is transmitted to those perceiving it via a complex interplay of all the signs within the code.

### *Construction:*

- A paradigm used for the *figurine construction* ritual.

### *Container:*

- A paradigm used for the *potion construction* ritual.

### *Deposited:*

- A paradigm used for the *deposition* ritual.

### *Deposition:*

- A ritual action consisting of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

### *Deposition location:*

- A paradigm used for the *deposition* ritual.

### *Erotic magic ritual:*

- An erotic spell, as described by the EMP, consisting of a syntagm linking ritual actions chosen from separate paradigms.

### *Figurine construction:*

- A ritual action consisting of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

### *Fire manipulation:*

- A ritual action consisting of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

*Flame:*

- A paradigm used for the *fire manipulation* ritual.

*Form:*

- A paradigm used for the *figurine construction* ritual.

*Function:*

- The smallest narrative unit of an erotic magic ritual.

*Iconic sign:*

- A sign consisting of a signifier which is believed to be similar to or an imitator of the signified.

*Incantation:*

- A ritual action consisting of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

*Indexical sign:*

- A sign which has a signifier that is connected, either physically or causally, to the signified.

*Ink:*

- A paradigm used for the *incantation* ritual.

*Insertion:*

- A paradigm used for the *figurine construction* ritual.

*Libation:*

- A ritual action consisting of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

*Liquid:*

- A paradigm used for the *libation* ritual.

*Liquid container:*

- A paradigm used for the *libation* ritual.

*Medium:*

- A paradigm used for the *incantation* ritual.

*Method:*

- A paradigm used for the *animal killing* ritual.

*Mixture:*

- A paradigm used for the *potion construction* ritual.

*Object*

- A paradigm used for the *throwing* ritual.

*Ointment construction:*

- A ritual action consisting of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

*Ointment:*

- A paradigm used for the *ointment construction* ritual.

*Ointment location:*

- A paradigm used for the *ointment construction* ritual.

*Paradigm:*

- A set of associated signifiers from a defining category on the vertical axis, the plane of which is a combination of X or Y or Z.

*Phylactery:*

- A paradigm used for the *phylactery construction* ritual.

*Phylactery construction:*

- A ritual action consisting of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

*Potion construction:*

- A ritual action consisting of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

*Ritual action:*

- Consists of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

*Sign:*

- A combination of the signifier and the signified.

*Signified:*

- The concept a sign represents.

*Signifier:*

- The form a sign takes.

*Stylus:*

- A paradigm used for the *incantation* ritual.

*Supporting item:*

- A paradigm used for the *deposition* ritual.

Symbolic sign:

- A sign that has a signifier which does not resemble the signified and is arbitrary or conventional.

Syntagm:

- The sequential arrangement of signifiers from paradigms that combine to create an orderly whole within a text (a combination of X and Y and Z).

*Target:*

- A paradigm used for the *throwing* ritual.

*Throwing:*

- A ritual action consisting of a syntagm linking functions chosen from separate paradigms.

Text:

- A sign containing other signs which can be 'read' for meaning. For the sake of this thesis, an erotic magic ritual is a text.

*Tie:*

- A paradigm used for the *phylactery construction* ritual.

*Victim:*

- A paradigm used for the *animal killing* ritual.

## Statement of copyright

*The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.*

## Acknowledgments

I wish to express my deepest thanks and gratitude to my supervisor Dr Andrej Petrovic. Without the advice, support and understanding from Dr Petrovic this thesis, quite simply, would never have been completed. The help that was given by Dr Petrovic has far exceeded any expectations I may have had when I started at Durham University.

I would also like to thank the following individuals who have all contributed to the completion of this thesis:

Adam Evans

Judith Evans

Ralph Evans

Zoe (née) Tomlins

and last but not least, Dr Mark Woolmer

In memory of my dad, Ralph Evans

*Anything that can happen, has happened, is happening, and will happen*



## I. Introduction

*Fillet of a fenny snake,  
In the cauldron boil and bake;  
Eye of newt and toe of frog,  
Wool of bat and tongue of dog,  
Adder's fork and blind-worm's sting,  
Lizard's leg and howlet's wing,  
For a charm of powerful trouble,  
Like a hell-broth boil and bubble.*

Shakespeare *Macbeth* IV.I.12-19.

*In the end the Party would announce that two and two made five, and you would have to believe it... For, after all, how do we know that two and two make four? Or that the force of gravity works? Or that the past is unchangeable? If both the past and the external world exist only in the mind, and if the mind itself is controllable- what then?*

Orwell, 1984, ch.7.

### 1. Outline

This thesis is a semiotic analysis of the tools that are used in the rituals instructed by the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM),<sup>1</sup> with specific focus on the erotic magic papyri (EMP).<sup>2</sup> This esoteric corpus<sup>3</sup> is multilingual, incorporating Coptic, Demotic, and Greek texts, but the analysis performed here will centre exclusively on the texts written in Greek.<sup>4</sup> The term 'tool' refers to the physical substances, materials, and objects which are used to complete a

---

<sup>1</sup> For a history of the PGM, see GMPT pp.xlii-xliv; Ritner, 1995, p.3335; Brashear, 1995, pp.3398-3412. For scholarship on the PGM, see Eitrem, 1923; *idem*, 1925; Nock, 1925; Riess, 1940; Gundel, 1970; Nock, 1972; Betz, 1980; *idem*, 1981; *idem*, 1982; Moke, 1982; Miller, 1986; Gager, 1987; Petropoulos, 1988; Daniel & Maltomini, 1989; Betz, 1991; Daniel, 1991; Martinez, 1991; Brashear, 1992; Faraone, 1993; Brashear, 1995; Ciruolo, 1995; Fowler, 1995; Betz, 1998; *idem*, 1998a; *idem*, 1998b; Ritner, 1998; Fountoulakis, 1999; LiDonnici, 2001; Brashear & Kotansky, 2002; Faraone, 2002; *idem*, 2002b; Johnston, 2002; LiDonnici, 2002; Phillips, R., 2002; Scibilia, 2002; Dieleman, 2005; Faraone, 2005; Haluszka, 2008; Pachoumi, 2011; Petrovic, "Antiaesthetics."

<sup>2</sup> For the use of erotic magic rather than love magic, see I.3 pp.30-36.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the esoteric nature of the PGM, see the discussion of the practitioner in I.4.

<sup>4</sup> This decision has been made for the benefit of scope and to create a closer examination of the texts under consideration. Furthermore, the majority of the EMP are written in Greek. For a full listing, see Table I.3.a. For erotic magical spells in alternative languages, see PDM xii.50-61, 62-75, 76-107, 108-18, 119-34, 135-46, 147-64; xiv.150-231, 335-55, 355-65, 366-75, 376-94, 428-50, 636-69, 772-804, 930-32, 1026-45, 1046-47, 1047-48, 1049-55, 1063-69, 1070-77, 1090-96, 1130-40, 1155-62, 1190-93, 1194-95, 1196-98, 1206-18; lxi.95-99, 112-27, 128-47, 148-58, 159-96, 197-216.

magical ritual. There is continuous reference to the application of tools throughout the EMP and when reading the PGM generally, it becomes apparent that the power of magic did not reside within the magical practitioner but in the ritual manipulation of tools in the correct manner. The image of the tool-wielding practitioner is a constant in modern depictions of magical practices and an influential figure for the continuation of this trope is the English playwright and poet William Shakespeare. The lines in the first quotation above are some of the most recognisable written by Shakespeare. They resonate with magical connotations and incite ominous images of witches, night-time, and bubbling cauldrons filled with unpleasant substances. The lines are spoken by the second of three revolting and unappealing witches (characteristics comparable to that seen in the ancient source material)<sup>5</sup> as they perform a ritual which resembles the practices instructed by the PGM: a nocturnal scene, a conglomeration of substances, a metal container, the use of fire, and the adjuration of supernatural beings (in *Macbeth* the goddess Hecate and various apparitions appear). It would be impossible for the witches in *Macbeth* to complete their ritual act without the implementation of tools but the image of the tool-wielding magical practitioner was not an invention of Shakespeare's. On the contrary, the heritage of the tool-wielding practitioner is a far older concept, as can be seen by both Greek and Latin literary depictions of the magical practitioner. From Homer's depiction of Helen, who wields φάρμακα to ease the pain of those in her company, to Apuleius' portrayal of Pamphile, who has a cache of tools for magic on her rooftop, the tool-wielding magician was a recurrent theme employed time and again.<sup>6</sup> The archaeological evidence also points to the importance of tools for the completion of a magical act and for reference to their application, one need look no further than extant magical figurines and the vast corpus of curse tablets.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> For example, compare the witches of Shakespeare with Canidia and Sagana in Horace's *Satires* (I.8) and *Epodes* (V) and Lucan's description of the Thessalian witch Erichtho in the *Pharsalia* (VI.413-830).

<sup>6</sup> For Helen's use of φάρμακα, see Hom. *Od.* IV.219-239. Also see I.2 p.20, I.3 p.37. For Pamphile and her rooftop magical lair, see Apul. *Met.* III.17-18.

<sup>7</sup> Both curse tablets and magical figurines by their nature require the application of tools. For important collections of curse tablets, see DT; DTA; Besnier, 1920; Kagarow, 1929; Ziebarth, 1934; Solin, 1968; Susini, 1973; SGD; Tomlin, 1988; Lopez Jimeno, 1991; CT; Lopez Jimeno, 1999; Jordan, 2000; Bettarini, 2005; Eidinow, 2007, pp.352-454. The scholarship on curse tablets is extensive. For some important examples, see Calder, 1963; Garcia Ruiz, 1967; Speyer, 1969; Preisendanz, 1972; Jordan, 1976; Brashear, 1979; Jordan, 1980; Aupert & Jordan, 1981; Parker, 1983, pp.191-206; Van Rengen, 1984; Faraone, 1985; Jordan, 1985; Versnel, 1985; Tupet, 1986, pp.2601-2606; Bravo, 1987; Jordan, 1988; *idem*, 1988a; *idem*, 1988b; Faraone, 1989; Gáspár, 1990; Bernand, 1991, pp.107-130; Faraone, 1991; Chanotis, 1992; Dubois, 1995; Bevilacqua, 1997; Graf, 1997, pp.118-174; Curbera & Jordan, 1998; Heintz, 1998; Versnel, 1998; Johnston, 1999, pp.71-80; Jordan, 1999; Ogden, 1999; Versnel, 1999; Heintz, 2000; Curbera & Jordan, 2002; Faraone, 2002a; Carastro, 2006, pp.163-188; Eidinow, 2007; *idem*, 2007a; Ogden, 2008, pp.138-145; *idem*,

There is little consistency to the amount of tools instructed for application by the EMP and the number varies dramatically from one spell to another. Sometimes a minimalist approach to magic is instructed by the EMP, as can be seen by, for example, PGM VII.462-66. In this succinct charm, the EMP instruct that an incantation should be engraved onto a tin lamella with a copper nail. This lamella should then be thrown into the sea with some οὐσία.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, to complete PGM VII.462-66 the magical practitioner need only apply three tools but elsewhere, such as PGM IV.1716-1870 (a spell of attraction), the EMP instruct that a meandering ritual which involves many tools must be performed. A magnetic stone, a golden lamella, a partridge, a herb, manna, styrax, opium, myrrh, frankincense, saffron, bdellium,<sup>9</sup> dried fig, wine, mulberry tree wood (in the form of an Eros figurine), fire, and a copper stylus are all used in PGM IV.1716-1870. Be it used in a simple or a meandering procedure, the reason for the application of a specific substance is not immediately evident at face value. For instance, why is a gold lamella in PGM IV.1716-1870 engraved and given to a partridge which is then ritually slain? Why is a partridge chosen and not another animal? Why are manna, styrax, opium, myrrh, frankincense, saffron, wine, fig, and bdellium combined in PGM IV.1716-1870? Similarly, the PGM offer no immediate reason why tin and copper were chosen for the construction of a lamella and a stylus in PGM VII.459-61. Is the use of a tool completely meaningless with little consideration given, or is there a reason for the application of a specific tool in a specific situation? Do the reasons for the use of a tool relate directly to the outcome of the rituals instructed by the EMP? These are the basic questions I wish to shed light on.

To understand the tools instructed by the EMP however, it is important to consider the second quotation above. This extract, taken from George Orwell's *1984*, depicts the portentous musings of the protagonist Winston Smith. In it we see Smith's fear that it may be possible for the authoritarian Party to declare that two and two would make five. Smith uses this simple equation to contemplate the totalitarian regime's ability to fabricate the truth. The Party's position is that external reality only exists within the mind and later in the novel, whilst being interrogated for his thought-crimes, Smith's fear becomes a reality.

---

2009, pp.210-226. The most important collection of figurines is VD. For scholarship on figurines, see Trunpf, 1958, pp.94-102; Wortmann, 1968, pp.56-111; Faraone, 1989a; *idem*, 1992; CT pp.14-16; Graf, 1997, pp.118-174; Ogden, 1999, pp.71-79; Felton, 2001; Scibilia, 2002; Johnston, 2004, pp.147-149; Collins, 2008, pp.92-103; Johnston, 2008; Haluszka, 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Translated as magical material, οὐσία normally consisted of a piece of hair or fragment of clothing. For a discussion of οὐσία, see II.3.b, II.5.e.

<sup>9</sup> For the contentious translation of βδέλλα into bdellium, see II.2 p.90 n.374.

O'Brien, a member of the Inner Party, states that sometimes two and two can indeed make five but it can also make three, four, and all three simultaneously. To the Party, all that matters is perception and if a person was to believe that two and two made five then two and two made five. In this way, any act is possible and any statement is truth, in accordance with the concept of doublethink (the simultaneous acceptance of two mutually contradictory beliefs as correct), as long as there is control over perception by and to the Party's will.<sup>10</sup> The application of the phrase portrays the concept that reality is wholly reliant on perception and, as such, is subjective. This notion is essential for any attempt to understand the tools instructed for application by the EMP as their perception is wholly dependent on the person who perceives them. That is to say, any attempt to analyse tool application must consider tools as nothing more than signs which are open to interpretation.

According to the principles of semiotics (and in a manner comparable to that seen in Orwell) no sign has meaning unless it is perceived to have meaning. As reality is subjective and reliant on the individual, the meaning of a tool can change from person to person. Modern scholarship must always be careful when considering the tools which are instructed for application by the EMP as there is no natural connection between the nature of a tool and how that tool can be applied. As a consequence, before proceeding with an analysis of the tools it is important to consider semiotics and how it can be applied to the rituals instructed by the EMP. This discussion will also help establish some key terminological phrases, an objective that will continue into the following chapters which aim at establishing what is meant when reference is given to erotic magical practices, the context in which the tools are perceived, and the perceiver of the tools, i.e. the practitioner. Establishing the terminology associated with the erotic magical rituals and the practitioner will help determine the social and cultural context of the texts, an essential task for the completion of any semiotic analysis. Of these definitions however, it is arguably the practitioner that is the most valuable as it is this person who perceives magical practices generally, erotic magical practices, and the tools which are instructed for application by the EMP. Subsequently, it is essential to know, as far as it is possible, the practitioner's identity and his/her likely perception of magic and the tools used. It is only when the terms

---

<sup>10</sup> Orwell expressed this concern previously in *Looking back on the Spanish War* (1943). He was not the first to express this term, as can be seen by Victor Hugo's criticism of Napoleon III in *Napoléon le Petit* (1852).

practitioner and erotic magic are accurately described that it will then be possible to begin an analysis of the tools instructed for application by the EMP.

## 2. Semiotics and the EMP

Semiotics (from the Greek σημεῖον) is the study of signs, a term which can incorporate anything that is considered to possess meaning and which communicates information when interpreted and decoded by the perceiver.<sup>11</sup> All items, acts, concepts, and cultural phenomena can be considered a sign in this respect and as a result everything is potentially open to semiotic analysis. Semiotics is a modern umbrella term that encompasses the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) who, working independently from one another, developed theories of semiology and semiotics respectively. All subsequent semiotic scholarship has found its origins in these two traditions.<sup>12</sup> A key difference between the Saussurean and Peircean traditions however, is their concept of the basic sign structure. In the Peircean tradition, the sign is triadic and unifies the form the sign takes (representamen), the sense made of the sign (interpretant), and something beyond the sign to which it refers (object).<sup>13</sup> The interaction between all three is known as semiosis.<sup>14</sup> In contrast, the Saussurean tradition advocates the dyadic sign type, which consists of a signifier (*significant*), the form the sign takes, and the signified (*signifié*), the concept it represents.<sup>15</sup> The relationship between the signifier and the signified is known as signification. This thesis will apply aspects of both the Saussurean and Peircean traditions to the rituals instructed by the EMP (as will be extrapolated on in this section) but the dyadic sign will be used throughout. To give an example of Saussure's sign in the EMP, an apple, like the one that is used in PGM CXXII.1-55, would be the form the sign takes (the signifier). The concept of an apple within the context of PGM CXXII.1-55 as a tool of seduction would be the concept it represents (signified).<sup>16</sup>

Saussure's signified and Peirce's interpretant are not static however, and they can be interpreted differently according to the individual perceiving the form the sign takes. In the Saussurean tradition there is nothing innate in an item, act, or concept that implies it is

---

<sup>11</sup> Eco, 1976, p.7. Cf. Chandler, 2007, p.260.

<sup>12</sup> For semiotics as an umbrella term, see Nöth, 1990, p.14. Leading semiotic theorists include Roland Barthes (1915-1980), Marshall Blonsky (b. 1938), Marcel Danesi (b. 1946), Umberto Eco (b. 1932), Algirdas Greimas (1917-1992), Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009), Yuri Lotman (1922-1993), Charles W. Morris (1901-1979) and Thomas A. Sebeok (1920-2001). For major works, see the bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> Peirce, 1931-58, II.228. For an analysis of the Peircean sign, see Chandler, 2007, pp.29-34.

<sup>14</sup> Peirce, 1931-58, V.484.

<sup>15</sup> Saussure, 1983, p.67. For an analysis of the Saussurean sign, see Chandler, 2007, pp.14-28.

<sup>16</sup> For the perception of the apple in PGM CXXII.1-55, in which it is connected with eroticism, seduction, and Aphrodite, see II.7 pp.184-188.

a particular item, act, or concept.<sup>17</sup> For instance, a signifier such as the Union Jack can promote in an Englishman the concept of nationalistic pride, a concept that may bring a tear to his eye. The same flag can be understood by a Scotsman as a sign of brutal imperial oppression and bring an altogether different kind of tear to his eye. The potential of multiple interpretations produced by the signifier is termed multivocality.<sup>18</sup> In the extreme, the problems of multivocality can lead to the ‘floating signifier,’ a term referred to by Lévi-Strauss in 1950.<sup>19</sup> A ‘floating signifier’ is a signifier with a vague or highly unspecifiable signified and to Lévi-Strauss, a ‘floating signifier’ is akin to an algebraic symbol, i.e. it has no symbolic value and can represent anything as a result. In the same way that the meaning of a signified is constantly shifting depending on perception, every signified can be indicated by multiple signifiers. For example, to one person the concept of romance could be indicated by a rose and to another, it could be indicated by a candlelit dinner. In other words, every signifier can have a number of different signifieds and a signified can have a number of different signifiers.<sup>20</sup> The multivocality of a sign prompts the question: how are we to understand the meaning of signs (and by extrapolation, that seen in the EMP) when there are potentially an infinite number of relations between a signifier and the signified?

To complete a semiotic analysis of the rituals instructed by the EMP, an understanding of perception and interpretation is therefore paramount. Every erotic magic spell and the tools used to complete these spells are signifiers which are open to multiple interpretations. Consequently, in order to avoid the problem of multivocality it is vital to know, as far as possible, the identity of those perceiving the signifiers, i.e. the practitioners of the rituals instructed by the EMP.<sup>21</sup> Many factors can affect how a person perceives a signifier, including, for example, culture (as seen by the perception of the Union Jack above), or profession, e.g. a blacksmith working his trade in the ancient world may see very little about the bronze which he created that implied it was anything more than a metal by which he earned his living. However, in the hands of a magical practitioner a piece of bronze could be used as a tool to cause a physical reaction in a target (as can be

---

<sup>17</sup> Saussure (1983, pp.67-69, 78), when speaking of linguistics, promoted the arbitrary connection between a signifier and a signified, although he does make some concessions (1983, p.73). For the arbitrary nature of the Saussurean sign, see Chandler, 2007, pp.22-28.

<sup>18</sup> Turner, 1969, p.8. Cf. Young, 1991, p.161; Musello, 1992, p.55.

<sup>19</sup> Lévi-Strauss, 1950. For a discussion of the empty signifier, see Chandler, 2007, pp.78-82.

<sup>20</sup> Schneider, 1976, p.214.

<sup>21</sup> The identity of the practitioner will be covered in I.3.

seen in PGM IV.296-466).<sup>22</sup> By focusing on the use of bronze as instructed by the EMP and other examples like it, it is possible to see that there is no natural connection between the signifier (bronze) and the signified (the use of bronze as a tool to earn a living or a tool to cause a physical reaction). Furthermore, it demonstrates why a vital aspect of any semiotic analysis is to consider the identity of the perceiver. If there is no natural connection between the signifier and the signified then the connection must exist because the perceiver believes there to be one. In this respect, as long as something is interpreted as signifying something, it is a sign and in a similar manner, declares Peirce, nothing is a sign unless it is interpreted as one.<sup>23</sup> Once the identity of the practitioner has been established it will be possible to narrow the interpretation of a signifier to a few possibilities rather than the countless interpretations offered by their multivocal nature. Even when the identity of the practitioner is taken into consideration, the interpretation and translation of a signifier should never be seen as a straightforward process. However, to list all possible interpretations would be counterproductive to the objective of this thesis. As a consequence, it is important to focus on the interpretations which are perceived by the practitioner as beneficial to erotic magic. This does not mean to say that all alternative interpretations will be excluded however, and when there are potential multiple interpretations, reference to these alternative possibilities will be given.

All signs can be broken down into three key types according to the Peircean tradition (Saussure did not offer a similar typology): the symbol/symbolic sign, the icon/iconic sign, and the index/indexical sign.<sup>24</sup> A comprehension of this typology is useful when trying to understand the application of tools and, to give a brief description of each type of sign, it can immediately be seen that all three are applicable to the EMP. To take initially the symbolic sign, the signifier of a symbolic sign does not resemble the signified and the relationship between the two is either arbitrarily or conventionally established.<sup>25</sup> That is to say, the relationship has to be agreed upon and learned over a period of time by many people. These are signs which have become institutionalised within a culture, such as the use of language or national flags. Symbolic signs are commonly applied in the rituals instructed by the EMP and can be seen with, for example, the use of donkey skin or blood

---

<sup>22</sup> The needles are not intended to harm the target however. They are inserted into sensual zones to remind the target of the practitioner. See II.5 pp.154-155.

<sup>23</sup> Peirce, 1931-58, II.172.

<sup>24</sup> Peirce, 1931-58, I.291, II.243. Cf. Chandler, 2007, pp.35-44.

<sup>25</sup> A notion in keeping with the Saussurean tradition, as seen above at I.2 pp.6-7.



to symbolically bring into the spell the power of Seth (e.g. PGM XXXVI.69-101).<sup>26</sup> An iconic sign consists of a signifier which is believed to be similar to or an imitator of the signified. A modern example of an iconic sign would be a photographic image of a person which iconically represents the subject. Indeed, any kind of representation of a person can be classified as an iconic sign and in the EMP, the figurines of Ares and a bound female in PGM IV.296-466 are classified as iconic signs due to the visual similarity between the figurines and those they are representing.<sup>27</sup> The final type, the indexical signifier, is connected either physically or causally to the signified and points to the signified. For example, smoke indexically makes one think of fire and a medical symptom, such as a rash, implies a medical condition. As with symbolic and iconic signs, indexical signs are applied regularly by the practitioners of the rituals instructed by the EMP. For the use of an indexical sign see, for example, the application of οὐσία, magical material, which indexically points to the person from whom it originated (e.g. PGM IV.296-466).<sup>28</sup>

Although Peirce advocated the categorisation of signs into the above three types, a sign does not fall solely into the symbolic, iconic, or indexical categories. It is possible that a signifier could be symbolically connected to X, iconically represent Y, and still be indexically connected to Z. Cartography, for example, illustrates the accordant nature of types within a single, unifying sign: a map incorporates all three sign types as it points to locations (index), represents accurate directions and distances between important points and locations (icon), and uses institutionalised symbols which must be learned (and agreed upon) for accurate application (symbol).<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the signs within the EMP can fall into different type categories and, as such, incorporate separate interpretations. Looking again at the application of donkey skin or blood in PGM XXXVI.69-101, the tool can be perceived by one person as a symbol of Seth but it could also be perceived by another as an indexical sign of a donkey.<sup>30</sup> Due to this integrated nature of sign types it is more appropriate to refer to them as modes with one dominant over the others. Jakobson proposed that within each sign there is a modal hierarchy with one dominant (dominance was dependent on context) over the others.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, Peirce understood the integration of modes within a sign and stated that it would be virtually impossible to find a pure index or

<sup>26</sup> For the connection between Seth and the donkey, see II.1 pp.60-61.

<sup>27</sup> For the figurines in PGM IV.296-466, see II.5 pp.148-150.

<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of οὐσία, see II.3.b and II.5.e.

<sup>29</sup> For the use of cartography to illustrate the accordant nature of sign types, see Chandler, 2007, p.44.

<sup>30</sup> For a discussion of Seth and the donkey, again see II.1 pp.60-61.

<sup>31</sup> Jakobson, 1966, p.411.

a sign that could not be categorised indexically.<sup>32</sup> Due to the modality of a sign, context is crucial and it must always be taken into consideration when attempting an interpretation of the tools instructed by the EMP. To again focus on the application of bronze in PGM IV.296-466, it is only because the metal is used within a magical context that it can be interpreted as a magical tool. When bronze is perceived within the context of a forge, there is nothing magical about this everyday substance. As a consequence, what can be seen when studying the EMP and magical practices generally is the appropriation of the mundane with the result that there is a shift in their modal perception. That is to say, unremarkable objects are taken from the everyday and applied in a completely separate context in which they gain new modal connections. In a similar manner to that stated above regarding the practitioner, a focus on context can again narrow possible interpretations.

To appreciate the context of signs and to gain a greater comprehension of their possible interpretations, it is essential to understand a sign in relation to other signs.<sup>33</sup> A sign should not be considered as an independent entity devoid of interaction with alternative signs.<sup>34</sup> Rather, all signs exist within a code, a system of related conventions in which the meaning of a signifier is transmitted to those perceiving it via a complex interplay of all the signs within the code.<sup>35</sup> When this is applied to the EMP, the tools that are instructed throughout must be considered in relation to the other signs in the PGM, the code of erotic magical practices, and, by extrapolation, the larger code of Graeco-Roman magical practices in the Imperial period. The conventions of a code however, are determined and constructed by the societies within which they exist. Understanding codes, their practices, and their context is an integral part of what it means to be a member of a particular society and as a consequence, it can be difficult for anyone outside of a particular culture to fully comprehend the cultural codes which dominate that culture. In this respect, when viewing erotic magic as a code, it can be seen to reflect the beliefs, attitudes, tenets, and customs of the society present in the Roman Empire from the 1<sup>st</sup>-5<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Peirce, 1931-58, II.306.

<sup>33</sup> Saussure, 1983, p.121.

<sup>34</sup> Two planes (signifiers and signifieds) running parallel to each other are created by the relationship between signs. Hjelmslev (1961, p.59) referred to the 'expression plane' and the 'content plane.' Signs only have meaning in relation to others. Saussure (1983, p.88) used the analogy of chess as the meaning of each piece is determined by its relationship to every other piece.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Saussure, 1983, p.127. To Saussure (1983, p.15), language was the most important of all sign systems and he saw linguistics as a branch of semiology (Saussure, 1983, pp.16-17). Lévi-Strauss (1972, p.48) referred to language as the semiotic system *par excellence*. Jakobson (1970, p.455) argued for the importance and centrality of language above and beyond all other semiotic systems and non-verbal codes are often compared to language. All codes share the same characteristics. For a detailed list, see O'Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders & Fiske, 1983, pp.36-37. For a discussion of codes, see Chandler, 2007, pp.147-173.

century AD.<sup>36</sup> Thus, it is difficult for a modern scholar to fully comprehend the cultural codes present in the Roman Empire at the time of the EMP's composition, being divided from them not only by space but also by time. In order to combat this problem when attempting to analyse a code, it is important to treat all items, acts, and concepts as signifiers that have meaning to members of a specific cultural group to understand the 'grammar' of a society's codes.<sup>37</sup> By doing so, it is possible to identify the rules of the codes which underlie the production of meanings within a culture. All the codes of a society need to be taken into consideration however, as the code employed to create a text is not devoid of interaction with alternative codes. Kristeva, an advocate of intertextuality, spoke of two axes within every text: the horizontal connecting the author and the reader and a vertical connecting the text to others.<sup>38</sup> In this respect, the code of erotic magic is not devoid of interaction with other codes present in Graeco-Roman society and it incorporates characteristics which are an evolution and/or interpretation of previous or synchronic codes (the most important are arguably religious code systems).<sup>39</sup> As a consequence, the nature of the erotic magic code system is predetermined, to an extent, by the authority of previous and synchronic code systems.<sup>40</sup> When the EMP are considered in this manner, they can be seen as an extrapolation and amalgamation of various code systems which had been in place prior to its composition and, consequently, they should not be perceived as a separate entity devoid of interaction with other codes present in the Roman Empire at the time of their composition.

It is within the context of a code that a text (i.e. a sign containing other signs within a system and which can be 'read' for meaning)<sup>41</sup> can be interpreted. To understand the structure of a text however, it is essential to adopt a structuralist semiotic approach to comprehend the relationship between its constituent signs. This can be determined by splitting the text, following the Saussurean tradition, into two axes: the syntagmatic

---

<sup>36</sup> For a concise listing of dates, see GMPT pp. xxiii-xxviii. Cf. Brashear, 1995, pp.3412-3420.

<sup>37</sup> Leach (1976, p.10) stated that all non-verbal aspects of a culture (e.g. clothing, architecture, furniture, food, cooking, music, physical gesture, etc.) are organised in patterned sets in order to incorporate coded information in a manner analogous to the sounds, words, and sentences of language. Sturrock (1986, p.79) argues that it is legitimate to claim that the language of a people determines their reality, rather than reality their language.

<sup>38</sup> Kristeva, 1980, p.69.

<sup>39</sup> The connections between religion and magic will be discussed in I.3.

<sup>40</sup> Foucault (1974, p.23), whilst discussing a book, proposed that texts are perpetually referencing other texts in a system and are but nodes within a network.

<sup>41</sup> Chandler, 2007, p.263.

horizontal axis and the vertical paradigmatic axis.<sup>42</sup> Syntagms, the sequential arrangement of signifiers that combine to create an orderly whole within a text (a combination of X and Y and Z), refer to the possibility of combinations within a text. Paradigms, sets of associated signifiers from a defining category, refer to signifiers not included in a text (a combination of X or Y or Z).<sup>43</sup> The combination of the two axes is a linking of signifiers from paradigm sets in sequential order along the syntagmatic axis and it is this which determines the value of the larger sign. A sentence, for example, consists of a syntagm linking words chosen from separate paradigms (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives).<sup>44</sup> A discussion of one of the most basic sentence structures in English (consisting of subject, verb, and object) can help illustrate this combination of axes. Subject, verb, and object are paradigms from which a word must be chosen to complete the sentence, such as ‘the woman leaves work.’ However, if different signifiers were chosen from the paradigms, the meaning of the sentence changes dramatically. If instead of ‘woman,’ ‘boy’ was chosen from the noun paradigm and if instead of ‘leave,’ ‘run’ was chosen from the verb paradigm, and if ‘home’ was chosen instead of ‘work’ from the object paradigm, the sentence changes to ‘the boy runs home.’ The result of this substitution is the creation of a different sentence with a completely altered meaning to the original sentence. Therefore, by dividing a text in such a manner, it is possible to determine the meaning of the larger sign, i.e. the text.

When this is applied to the rituals instructed by the EMP, an individual erotic magic ritual can be perceived as a text and, in the same way that a sentence consists of a syntagm linking words chosen from separate paradigms, an erotic magic ritual consists of a syntagm linking ritual actions chosen from separate paradigms. This thesis has catalogued 10 core ritual actions (italicised throughout) which are comparable to the nouns, verbs, etc., of a sentence: *animal killing* rituals, *deposition* rituals, *figurine construction* rituals, *fire manipulation* rituals, *incantation* rituals, *libation* rituals, *ointment construction* rituals, *phylactery construction* rituals, *potion construction* rituals, and *throwing* rituals. Each ritual action is a paradigm from which a signifier is chosen (e.g. a written or recited *incantation*) and combined with others along the sequential syntagmatic axis to create an erotic magic ritual. This is represented visually in Figure I.2.a, where the syntagmatic horizontal line represents the sequential nature of the erotic magic ritual. Above this are the

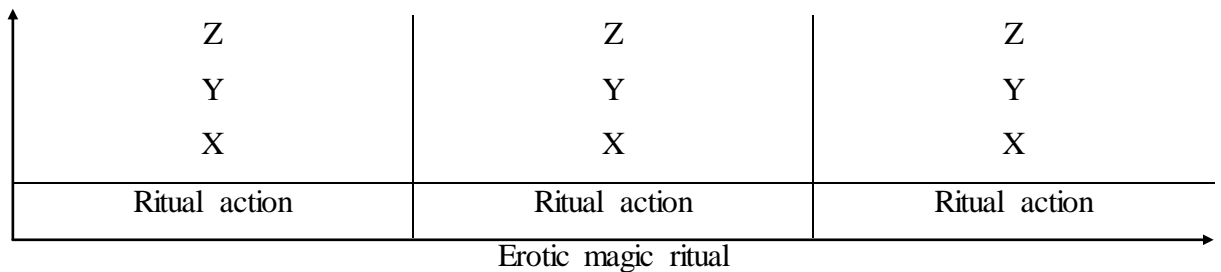
<sup>42</sup> Saussure, 1983, pp.121-128. Cf. Chandler, 2007, pp.83-87.

<sup>43</sup> Saussure, 1983, p.122.

<sup>44</sup> For a discussion of a sentence consisting of a syntagm of words, see Chandler, 2007, p.85.

ritual actions that require the application of a signifier (represented by X, Y, and Z) from paradigm sets (e.g. *incantation*) on the vertical axis. However, just as words consist of a syntagm linking letters chosen from separate paradigms, the ritual actions in an erotic spell consist of a syntagm linking ‘functions’ chosen from separate paradigm sets.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, in the same way that the word ‘boy’ is a construction of letters chosen from two separate paradigms (vowels and consonants) in sequential order along the syntagmatic axis, the ritual actions in the EMP are a construction of ‘functions’ chosen from separate paradigms in sequential order along the syntagmatic axis. The ‘functions’ are the minimal significant unit, the narrative unit, of an erotic spell which are linked into paradigm sets.<sup>46</sup>

Figure I.2.a: Syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of an erotic magical ritual



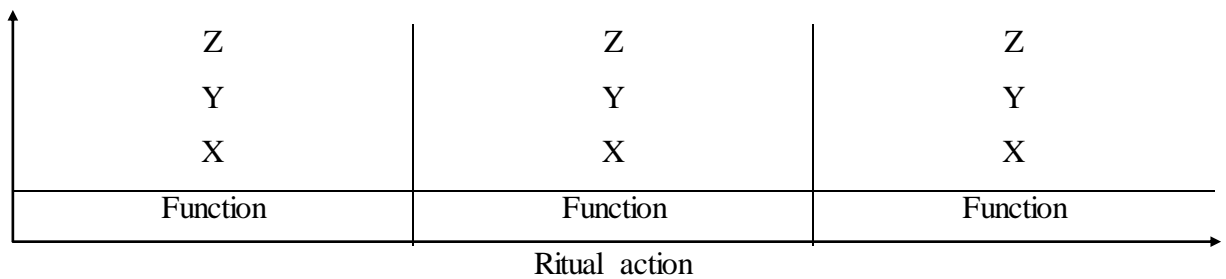
This thesis has catalogued 23 separate paradigms (italicised throughout) in the EMP which, when a signifier is chosen from them, combine along the syntagmatic axis to create the ritual actions listed above: *adornment, burnt substance, construction, container, deposition location, flame, form, ink, insertion, liquid, liquid container, medium, method, mixture, object, ointment, ointment location, phylactery, stylus, supporting item, target, tie, victim*. This is represented visually in Figure I.2.b, where the syntagmatic horizontal line represents the sequential nature of a ritual action. Above this are the ‘functions’ that require the application of a signifier (represented by X, Y, and Z) from separate paradigms (e.g. *stylus*) on the vertical axis. The combination of Figure I.2.a and Figure I.2.b is

<sup>45</sup> As stated by Barthes (1977, p.88), for structural analysis ‘the first task is to divide up narrative and... define the smallest narrative units... Meaning must be the criterion of the unit: it is the functional nature of certain segments of the story that makes them units – hence the name “functions” immediately attributed to these first units.’

<sup>46</sup> For minimal significant units of a text, see Barthes, 1967, p.48. For narrative units, again see Barthes, 1977, p.88. For the application of this approach, see Lévi-Strauss (1972, pp.203-204, 211) who discussed the elementary functions of myth, the ‘mytheme,’ believing that all myths could be reduced to a limited number of similar types. Propp (1928) adopted a similar approach in his analysis of fairy tales, in which he specified ca.30 functions. Propp (1928, p.21) defined functions as ‘an act of character defined from the view of its significance for the course of action.’

represented at Figure I.2.c, where the sequential nature of the larger text, the erotic magic ritual, is represented on the horizontal syntagmatic axis. An erotic magic ritual consists of a syntagm linking ritual actions and these are listed above. Ritual actions, in turn, consist of a syntagm linking ‘functions’ (listed above the ritual actions), and these require the application of a signifier (i.e. tool) chosen from separate paradigm sets (represented by X, Y, and Z). To help illustrate how this applies to the EMP, see the *animal killing* ritual in PGM III.1-164, which requires that a cat (*victim*) is killed via drowning (*method*).<sup>47</sup> Therefore, PGM III.1-164 consists of a syntagm linking ritual actions, one of which is the *animal killing* ritual, which in turn consists of a syntagm linking ‘functions.’ In regards to *animal killing* in PGM III.1-164, if the choice of a signifier from the *victim* paradigm was changed to a rooster and if the choice of signifier from the *method* paradigm was changed to sacrifice, the *animal killing* ritual in PGM III.1-164 would have an altered meaning and, as a consequence, so too would the meaning of PGM III.1-164. To reiterate that said above, these ‘functions’ are thus the basic building blocks of the spells instructed by the EMP and the signifiers chosen from the paradigm sets are here interpreted as the tools of erotic magic. It is to these ‘functions’ and the paradigm sets employed to complete these ‘functions’ that attention will be focused in this thesis.

Figure I.2.b: Syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of a ritual action



<sup>47</sup> For the slaying of the cat in the *animal killing* ritual of PGM III.1-164, see II.6.c.

Figure I.2.c: A semiotic deconstruction of an erotic magic ritual

Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	Z
Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
X	X	X	X	X	X
Function	Function	Function	Function	Function	Function
Ritual action			Ritual action		
Erotic magic ritual					

The catalogue of 10 ritual actions listed above is not comprehensive however, as there are a number of the EMP which are too fragmented to comment upon with confidence.<sup>48</sup> It is possible to glean some information from these examples but the reader relies heavily on conjecture and assumption. Consequently, these spells are virtually impossible to analyse adequately with semiotics and this thesis will not attempt to do so. Ritual actions which do not require the application of a tool have also been omitted from the list above but their use is few and far between.<sup>49</sup> For example, this thesis will not be focusing on the purity as a ritual action. The reason for this omission is due to the vagueness of instructions by the EMP and lack of tool application. PGM IV.1265-74 tells us only that the practitioner should καθαρός γενόμενος ἐπὶ ἡμέρας γ'. PGM VII.981-93 instructs that the practitioner should be pure ἀπὸ πάντων and PGM XXXVIII.1-26 reads καιρον ἄγνευτον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας. This does not mean to say that there will be a complete omission of the role of purity in this thesis however (the same also applies to alternative ritual actions that do not employ tools). Purity is still vitally important and will be discussed as and when it occurs in relation to the other ritual actions listed above. For instance, the slaying of the partridge in PGM IV.1716-1870 is performed in a purificatory

<sup>48</sup> PGM X.1-23 (GMPT tells us that the beginning of this EMP is fragmented and that the restoration by Preisendanz is tentative. As a consequence, the translation is debatable and it is because of this that it will be omitted); XIXb.1-3; XXIVb.1-15; LII.1-9; LII.9-19; LXIII.1-7; LXVII.1-24; CIII.1-18; CXVII.1-23; CXIXa.1-3; CXIXa.4-6.

<sup>49</sup> The main ritual action that does not require the application of a tool is *moving*, referring to the physical movement of the amateur practitioner: PGM III.1-164 (towards sunset); IV.1265-74 (towards target), 1716-1870 (to house of target), 2441-2621 (to roof, backwards descent from roof); VII.405-6 (kissing), 459-61 (stepping over), 661-63 (kissing); LXI.1-38 (to face moon either on a roof or on the ground), 39-71 (approach the doorway of the target's marital home). Note that on occasion the practitioner may be instructed to carry a tool but the justification of the tool's application is covered in the corresponding chapter, e.g. PGM IV.1716-1870 requires the practitioner to carry a figurine of Eros and the rationale for the figurine is covered when discussing the *figurine construction* ritual.

ritual which enhances the power of a gold tablet which is to be worn.<sup>50</sup> It would be impossible to complete PGM IV.1716-1870 without purity and it must be acknowledged.

To carry out a semiotic analysis of the rituals instructed by the EMP, the second section of this thesis will be divided into chapters corresponding to the 10 ritual actions listed above. Each chapter will then be subdivided corresponding to the paradigms employed in that ritual. By first establishing the structure and definition of a ritual, it will then be possible to analyse the tools, the signifiers chosen from the paradigm sets, which are employed to complete the 'functions' of a ritual action. This analysis will begin with the most prevalent ritual action (this being *incantation*) and finish with a chapter dedicated to rituals that employ tools but are instructed for application by only a few EMP (the minor ritual actions). By carrying out a semiotic analysis of the rituals instructed by the EMP in this manner, this thesis will argue that there are essentially only 10 ritual actions that make up all of the erotic magic instructed by the PGM. Furthermore, it will be argued that a ritual action consists of a syntagm linking 'functions' and that these 'functions' are the basic building blocks of the rituals instructed by the EMP. From this point it will be argued that there are a finite number of paradigms from which a tool can be chosen and that the meaning of a tool is wholly dependent on the context of its application. That is to say, the use of a tool in one paradigm does not mean that its use in another should follow the exact same logic. Each tool needs to be considered in relation to the ritual action in which it is found, which in turn needs to be considered in relation to the other ritual actions of the larger sign (text) of the erotic magical spell in which it is used. It is only when the tools are considered in this manner that a greater understanding of their meaning and how they were believed to function can be achieved.

---

<sup>50</sup> For the slaying of the partridge in PGM IV.1716-1870, see II.6 pp.175-176.



### 3. Defining the Code

An analysis of the code is an analysis of context and it is essential for the aims of this thesis to offer a definition. As has been argued previously, understanding the context in which a signifier is perceived and offering a definition of the code can greatly narrow possible interpretations. In regards to the tools which are used in erotic magical practices, the code is erotic magic itself and, by extrapolation, the context of Graeco-Roman magical practices in the Imperial period. Therefore, in order to define the code of erotic magic and the context in which the tools are applied, it is important to consider the meaning of the words erotic and magic individually. When this is accomplished, it will then be possible to offer a definition of what is meant when erotic magic is referred to, not only as a concept but as a context in which we can translate the signifiers present in the EMP. However, the term magic, which has generated a multitude of scholarship and debate, is notoriously problematic to define. When attempts have been made to accomplish this task, it has been common to compare and contrast the term with religion and science.<sup>51</sup> This technique was instigated in modern scholarship by Frazer in his seminal work *The Golden Bough*. Frazer developed a tripartite distinction which placed magic, religion, and science on an evolutionary path (i.e. magic is an earlier form of religion, which in turn is an earlier form of science).<sup>52</sup> The argument of Frazer corresponds to that proposed by Sir Edward Tylor in his *Primitive Culture*, where he wrote of the evolutionary nature of human culture (i.e. savagery to barbarism to modern educated life).<sup>53</sup> According to Tylor, magic was representative of primitive forms of belief, belonging to the lowest stages of civilisation and race, and he described it as one of the most “pernicious delusions that ever vexed mankind.”<sup>54</sup> Both Tylor and Frazer also promoted the mechanistic nature of magic, seeing

---

<sup>51</sup> For attempts to address this relationship and the nature of magic, see Durkheim, 1915; Tylor, 1920; Deubner, 1922; Malinowski, 1948; Goode, 1949; Ratschow, 1955; Petersson, 1957; Hammond, 1970; Thomas, 1971; Mauss, 1972; Tupet, 1976, pp.vii-xv; Aune, 1980; Segal, 1981; Phillips, 1986, pp.2679, 2711-2732; Versnel, 1986; Bernard, 1991, pp.65-75; Faraone, 1991, pp.17-20; Versnel, 1991, pp.92-93; *idem*, 1991a; Kotansky, 1991, p.123 n.1; Graf, 1991; Betz, 1991, pp.244-247; CT pp.24-25, 39; Garcia Teijeiro, 1993; Ritner, 1993, pp.4-28; Brashear, 1995, pp.3446-3448 & n.353; Fowler, 1995; Graf, 1995; Smith, 1995; Graf, 1997; *idem*, 1997a; Ogden, 1999, pp.85-86; Faraone, 1999, pp.16-18; Braarvig, 1999; Bremmer, 1999; Remus, 1999; Thomassen, 1999; Luck, 2000, pp.203-222; Janowitz, 2001, pp.9-26; Dickie, 2001, pp.18-46; Ogden, 2001, pp.xviii-xxii; Graf, 2002; Hoffman, 2002; Fowler, 2005; Collins, 2003, pp.17-21; Johnston, 2003; Luck, 2006, pp.1-92; Stratton, 2007, pp.1-38; Collins, 2008, pp.1-26; Karivieri, 2010, pp.401-403; Sfamini, 2010, pp.437-440, Wilburn, 2012, pp.13-20.

<sup>52</sup> Frazer, 1922, esp. chapter IV.

<sup>53</sup> Tylor, 1920, p.27.

<sup>54</sup> Tylor, 1920. p.112.

it as a process in which the practitioner thought he could change the world through a belief in underlying analogies.

A set of guidelines (which has been applied and adapted long after formulation) incorporating various theories on the dichotomy between magic and religion was compiled by the anthropologist William J. Goode in 1949.<sup>55</sup> The main characteristics which differentiate magic from religion in Goode's work include intention (magic is individualistic, religion is concerned with the community), attitude (magic is manipulative, religion relies on prayer and sacrifice), action (magic applies means to an end, religion focuses on the end in itself; magical means are performed by an expert, religion requires only a mediator), and the social/moral evaluation (magic is immoral and anti-social, religion has positive social functions). Using magic as an evaluative rather than an interpretive term, however, can produce work which portrays magical practices in a negative and derogatory light.<sup>56</sup> For example, Sir Edmund Leach promoted the idea that the magical act rests on empirically untested beliefs (distinguishing it from science) and that it is an effort at control (distinguishing it from religion).<sup>57</sup> In a similarly derisive manner, Barb saw magic as religion in a state of decay and Thomas assigned religion to the educated and magic to the primitive and the uneducated.<sup>58</sup>

Any attempt to define magic by comparing it to religion and science is problematic however, and the distinction between the three is never straightforward. For example, the tripartite evolutionary process advocated by Frazer does not stand up to the reality of human culture and it is common for magic, religion, and science to coexist at the same time.<sup>59</sup> From Bronislaw Malinowski (who grouped magic with religion and rejected the view that magic misunderstood causal connections),<sup>60</sup> Marcel Mauss (who argued that aspects of magic resembled both science and religion)<sup>61</sup> and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (who, like Malinowski, maintained that societies were not "irrational" and did not misunderstand the laws of cause and effect),<sup>62</sup> to Ritner (who refers to the creation of artificial boundaries

---

<sup>55</sup> Goode, 1949 (esp. pp.177-178), suggests 11 points of opposition between magic and religion. Those listed here are the categories summarised by Versnel, 1991a, pp.178-179. Goode (1949, pp.172-173) also gives seven points of comparison between magic and religion.

<sup>56</sup> As argued by Smith, 1995, p.16.

<sup>57</sup> In Gould & Kolb, 1964, s.v. magic.

<sup>58</sup> Barb, 1963, p.101; Thomas, 1971 (e.g. pp.25-26, 506-507, 666).

<sup>59</sup> Nock (1972a, pp.314-317) states that there was not and is not a distinct sphere of magic in contrast to the sphere of religion. Cf. Segal, 1981, pp.354-355; Luck, 2006, p.1.

<sup>60</sup> Malinowski, 1948, esp. pp.30-31.

<sup>61</sup> Mauss, 1972, esp. pp.86, 141.

<sup>62</sup> Lévy-Bruhl, 1979, esp. p.65.

between magic, medicine, and religion),<sup>63</sup> Graf (who questions the dichotomy between the image of the humble religious man reliant on supplicative prayers and the forceful magician),<sup>64</sup> and Collins (who advocates the irrelevance of the debate as it focuses on defining the meaning of the modern term magic),<sup>65</sup> the ambiguous nature of magic has led to continuous attempts to refute any kind of categorisation which sees it as separate to or a vulgar cousin of religion/science.<sup>66</sup> This vein of thought has led to the rejection of attempts to distinguish between the two, with claims that any debate on the relationship is an illusion and a discussion of an artificial problem with the word magic, a word heavily influenced by Western intellectual traditions, being a major source of contention.<sup>67</sup> From the teachings of the church to the founders of social and religious anthropology, the word magic is the by-product of centuries worth of intellectual development and, as such, the application of this ethnocentric concept to non-Western societies is fundamentally flawed.<sup>68</sup> When this view is taken to the extreme, it comes naturally to the conclusion that the application of the word magic as a device for defining the activities of non-Western cultures should cease.<sup>69</sup>

The modern debate on the nature of magic continues and no doubt it will endure for many years to come. It is of great importance to take into consideration modern attempts to define magic when viewing the PGM but of equal importance is the need to understand if the concept of magic existed in the ancient world. That is to say, was there awareness in the ancient world of distinct magical practices? Did they differentiate between magical and religious practices? If so, how was magic perceived? Such questions are of great importance as an analysis of perception can help us identify and understand phenomena via indigenous cultural concepts (i.e. an emic approach).<sup>70</sup> However, when taking into consideration the principles of semiotics, it is virtually impossible for anyone studying the practices of another culture to fully understand that culture and the phenomena therein. This idea is supported by Versnel who states that any definition of magic other than an

---

<sup>63</sup> Ritner, 1995, p.3334.

<sup>64</sup> Graf, 1991.

<sup>65</sup> Collins, 2008, pp.xi-xii.

<sup>66</sup> For a summary, see Versnel, 1991a, pp.179-180.

<sup>67</sup> Petersson, 1957, p.119; Versnel, 1991a, p.180.

<sup>68</sup> As is discussed by Versnel, 1991a, p.180.

<sup>69</sup> CT pp.24-25; Meyer & Smith, 1994, pp.1-6; Hoffman, 2002, pp.192-193; Collins, 2008, pp.xi-xii; Wilbur, 2012, pp.13-14. Smith (1995, pp.16-17) proposes the application of more precise scholarly taxa saying that it would create more useful categories than terminology in circulation (e.g. sympathetic/contagious, witchcraft/sorcery. benevolent/malevolent).

<sup>70</sup> For examples of an emic approach to magic, see Stratton, 2007; Collins, 2008.

outside (i.e. an etic approach) definition would be impossible, as any attempt to talk about magic must incorporate the modern term and thus the concepts (even if rejected) it represents.<sup>71</sup> In a similar manner, Johnston states that it is only the etic approach which can provide the necessary terminology to conduct research on the Mediterranean world, an area of study which requires the ability to talk across cultures.<sup>72</sup> Both the etic and emic approaches have beneficial aspects however, and it is the belief of this thesis that they should not be mutually exclusive. In support of the etic approach, it is impossible for modern scholarship to perceive magic in the ancient world without referring to magic but, in support of the emic approach, it is equally important to define whether or not the perception of magic as an independent field can be detected in the extant source material. Towards this end, this thesis will attempt to combine both approaches by first studying the development and application of magical terminology in the ancient sources<sup>73</sup> before assessing what this can contribute to a working, modern definition of magic that can be applied to the PGM.

Literary references to the concept of magic in the Greek world can be seen as early as the Archaic period, with the use of terms deriving from φάρμακον, a multifaceted word with meaning ranging from drug and healing remedy to enchanted potion, charm, and spell.<sup>74</sup> The application of the term by Homer, especially in relation to the activities of Helen and Circe, illustrate the multifaceted nature of φάρμακον. Helen is said to possess a φάρμακον which she uses to quell the pain and strife of those in her company. Those who drank from her draught would not cry and forget their woe.<sup>75</sup> In contrast, Circe uses a φάρμακον to turn the crew of Odysseus into swine. She would have done the same to Odysseus were it not for the intervention of Hermes, who protects Odysseus by giving him

---

<sup>71</sup> Versnel, 1991a, p.181. Cf. Bohak, 2008, p.62, Wilburn, 2012, p.15.

<sup>72</sup> Johnston, 2003, p.54.

<sup>73</sup> This discussion will follow the approach of scholars such as Graf, 1995, (whose aim it was to show that the concept of magic as something different from religion developed in specific historical situations) and Bremmer, 1999 (who questions when and why people started using the term magic). For other attempts to define the conflicting terminology used by the Greeks and Romans, see Nock, 1972a; Graf, 1997, pp.20-60; Stratton, 2007; Collins, 2008, pp.27-63; Bremmer, 2008, pp.235-247; Rives, 2010.

<sup>74</sup> For a discussion of φάρμακα, see Collins, 2008, pp.133-135. The term φάρμακον is connected to φαρμακός, scapegoat. This refers to someone who is sacrificed or executed for the purification for others. For scapegoat rituals, see Rohde, 1925, pp.321 n.87, 588-590; Bremmer, 1983; Parker, 1983, pp.24-26, 231-232, 257-280; Burkert, 1985, pp.82-84; Hughes, 1991, pp.139-165; Dalby, 2003, p.311; Price & Kearns, 2003, p.421; Bremmer, 2008, pp.169-214; Bendlin, 2010, pp.187-188; Parker, 2011, pp.216-217.

<sup>75</sup> Hom. *Od.* IV. 219-239. Cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* IX.xv.1. For a discussion of Helen's drug, see Scarborough (1991, pp.139-140), who identifies it as opium poppy. For the trade of opium in the Bronze Age, see Merrillees, 2003, pp.2-9, 121-126.

another, more powerful substance (μῶλυ).<sup>76</sup> Homer depicts φάρμακα as powerful substances which can contrarily heal or harm those who consume it. Another term applied in Homer is ἐπαιοιδή, a verbal utterance with magical effect, which is valued positively for its use in healing (a tradition that continues through to Plato).<sup>77</sup> It is important to emphasise that there is no stigma attached to accounts of φάρμακα and ἐπαιοιδάι in Homer and, as a consequence, magic does not appear to be something outside the norm in the Archaic period.<sup>78</sup> Magical practices were seen as an accepted part of the world in which humans lived and died. The perception of magic as mundane was to change drastically in the Classical period however, and it is during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC that the dichotomy between magic and religion emerges.<sup>79</sup> The growing contact between the Greek world and Persia, which brought the former into contact with the priestly magi, is a pivotal reason for the shift in thought.<sup>80</sup> As a result of this contact with Persia, the term μάγος (magician) began to appear towards the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and it grew in popularity, supplanting previous Greek terms such as γόης (derived from γόος),<sup>81</sup> referring to a marginal figure who had an association with the dead.<sup>82</sup> The μάγοι (and the art they practised) were perceived derisively by their contemporaries, the prime example of this being the Hippocratic treatise *On the Sacred Disease*, which attacks the magicians (μάγοι), purifiers (καθάρται), begging priests (ἀγύρται), and charlatans (ἀλαζόνες).<sup>83</sup> As a consequence of this shift in perception, earlier terms that could be seen as magical, such as ἐπαιοιδή, also developed negative connotations in the Classical period. Instead of the noble healing ἐπαιοιδάι of Homer, for example, they are combined with λόγοι θελκτήριοι by the nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus* for the promotion of a perceived immoral goal.<sup>84</sup> The perception of γόης also deteriorated in this period, as can be seen by Menon's claim that Socrates, if he

<sup>76</sup> Hom. *Od.* X.133-405. Cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* IX.xv.7; Plin. *HN* XXV.viii.

<sup>77</sup> For the healing power of ἐπαιοιδή, see Hom. *Od.* XIX.457. For Plato, see *Rep.* 426B. Also see Pind. *Pyth.* IV.217 in which ἐπαιοιδή is used in a description of an erotic spell. For Pindar's erotic spell as a charter myth, see I.4 p.49 n.223 and II.3 p.121 n.495.

<sup>78</sup> Graf (1995, p.37) argues that in Archaic Greece there was no differentiation made between sorcery, healing, and surreptitious killing.

<sup>79</sup> Graf (1995, pp.38-41) sees the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC as a turning point for the perception of magic and argues that Classical Greece is accountable for our modern distinction between magic and religion. He argues that there were two main forces at work to bring about this change: the development of philosophical theology and medical science.

<sup>80</sup> For the magi, see Hdt. I.107-108, 120, 128; VII.19, 37, 43, 113-114, 191. Cf. Plat. *Alc.I* 122A; Arist. *Met.* 1091B; Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII.iii.11. For studies of the magi, see de Jong, 1997; Henkelman, 2008.

<sup>81</sup> For this relationship and the function of a γόης, see Graf, 1997, pp.24-25, 28; Johnston, 1999, pp.100-123; *idem*, 2008b.

<sup>82</sup> For a concise analysis of the development of the term μάγος, see Nock, 1972a.

<sup>83</sup> Hippoc. *Morb. Sacr.* II.1-4. Cf. Soph. *OT* 380-403; Eur. *Hipp.* 1038-1040.

<sup>84</sup> Eur. *Hipp.* 478.

had lived elsewhere, would have been arrested and accused of being a γόης for having numbed his soul and tongue: τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα ναρκῶ, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ὅτι ἀποκρίνωμαί σοι.<sup>85</sup> Plato appears to have loathed magicians and in his *Laws* he advocated severe penalties for those who practised magical arts with the intent of seducing the souls of the dead, persuading the gods, or destroying individuals, families, and cities.<sup>86</sup> Plato portrays the magician as a persuasive charlatan dripping with venality and amorality as he goes from door to door trying to sell his services. Despite the support by Plato for the introduction of severe punishments for magicians, and the allusions to such laws by Menon, it is hard to find extant examples of legislation in the Classical Greek world and that which has survived targets harmful magic rather than magic per se.<sup>87</sup>

The traditions founded in the Classical period continued unabated into the Hellenistic era, with the result that magic was perceived as an independent field and in a negative light. This can be seen in Aeschines' denunciation of his rival, Demosthenes, as a μάγος καὶ γόης, the likes of which had never before been seen.<sup>88</sup> According to Aeschines, by the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, the Greek world continued to amalgamate terms representing the magician into one entity. Another important fact to highlight from Aeschines' work is the denunciation of someone as a magician. This became a powerful tool that could be used to attack and demonise one's enemies before the law. Here one also sees the active involvement of the state in magical practices, a point that is portrayed by Demosthenes in *Against Aristogiton*, which describes the defiled Lemnian witch (τὴν μιαρὰν... τὴν φαρμακίδα) Theoris, who was sentenced to death because of her magical practices.<sup>89</sup> The active interference of the state into the affairs of the magician began to grow in regularity during the Roman period, as will be discussed shortly. It is also in the Hellenistic period that Theocritus narrated the tale of Simaetha in his second *Idyll*, titled Φαρμακεύτρια, a tale which was to influence Virgil's eighth *Eclogue*, written some 200 years later.<sup>90</sup> Theocritus depicts a lovelorn Simaetha and the ritual she performs (a ritual which corresponds regularly to that instructed by the EMP) to win back the love of the estranged

<sup>85</sup> Plat. *Meno* 80B.

<sup>86</sup> Plat. *Legg.* X.908d-909d; *Rep.* 364b-e, 572e. From reading Plato and Hippocrates we can also see that there was a combination of terms, an amalgamation of many types, to describe the magician and no longer was the μάγος separate from the γόης. Cf. Graf, 1997, pp.24-26, Collins, 2003, pp.19-20.

<sup>87</sup> For example, see *Dirae Teiorum* (the curses of the Teian state), produced some time after 479 BC. Meiggs & Lewis, 1969, n.30. Cf. Collins, 2003, p.18.

<sup>88</sup> Aeschin. III.137.

<sup>89</sup> Dem. XXV.79.

<sup>90</sup> For a discussion, see I.3 p.26 n.111.

Delphis. Here can be seen the application of magical practices for immoral and personal goals. Such a negative view was not a constant in the Hellenistic world however, and the same vilification cannot be seen in the depiction of Medea by Apollonius of Rhodes. In his epic *Argonautica*, Medea is portrayed as a powerful witch skilled in the magical arts and it is due to her intervention that Jason and his crew are saved from destruction at the hands of Talos.<sup>91</sup> Without the assistance of Medea and her magical knowledge, Jason, his crew, and their fabled journey would have met their end at Crete.

As can be seen by the influence of Theocritus on Virgil, the Hellenistic (and thus the Classical) perception of magic continued to hold sway into the Roman period. That said, the derogatory perception of magic as a distinct art separate from religion was something that developed relatively late in Rome.<sup>92</sup> There are references to laws pertaining to magic in the Republican period (e.g. the *Twelve Tables*, 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, targets evil incantations and crop-charming) but as with that seen in the Greek world, they are aimed more at malevolent magic rather than magic per se.<sup>93</sup> It is with the adoption of μάγος from the Hellenistic world, and its adaption into the terms *magia* and *magus*, that a derogatory perception of magic is formulated in Rome.<sup>94</sup> As with the Greek use of μάγος however, the perception and use of *magia* and *magus* in the Roman period developed considerably. From the impartial ethnographical use of the word by Cicero in his descriptions of Persian practices, to Pliny, who describes magic as *fraudentissima artium* in his derisive history of its development, we can see that the perception of *magia* and *magus* was in a state of flux from the late Republican period.<sup>95</sup> The *Naturalis Historia* reveals Pliny's ardent opposition to magical practices but it also exposes the very real fear of magic by Rome in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Despite being an enemy of magic, Pliny cannot deny the force of magic's influence and he tells us that there is no one who does not fear being spell-bound by means of evil imprecations.<sup>96</sup> Magic was clearly alive and well in Imperial Rome and the literature of this period regularly refers to magical practices. From Ovid's lament of his impotence, which he believes could be the result of a Thessalian enchantress, to Lucian's

<sup>91</sup> Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* IV.1636-1693.

<sup>92</sup> For the development of the concept of magic in the Roman world, see Graf, 1997, pp.36-60.

<sup>93</sup> *Twelve Tables* 8 (fragment at Ernout, 1957, 119). For reference to the Twelve Tables, see, for example, Plin. *HN* XVIII.viii.41-43 (cf. XXVIII.iv.17-18) and the trial of C. Furius Cresimus, the freedman who had to defend himself against accusations that he used magic to steal the harvest of others. Cf. Graf, 1997, pp.41-43, 62-65.

<sup>94</sup> For the Greek influence on the Roman perception of magic, see Graf, 1997, pp.36-39.

<sup>95</sup> Cic. *Div.* I.46, 91; Plin. *HN.* XXX.i.1.

<sup>96</sup> Plin. *HN.* XXVIII.iv.19. According to Pliny (*HN.* XXX.i.1), magic incorporates *medicina*, *religio*, and *artes mathematicae* (i.e. divination).

depiction of courtesans discussing the use of erotic magic to ensnare an estranged lover, magic was a commonly employed literary trope.<sup>97</sup>

The image portrayed in the late Republican, early Imperial period however, was still one of vulgarity. In the extreme, this negative perception of magic could lead to derogatory depictions of the heinous practitioner, as is the case with the witch Erictho in the *Pharsalia* by Lucan.<sup>98</sup> This account of the Thessalian witches and the necromantic ritual performed by Erictho is infused with horror and revulsion. Erictho is described physically as a repulsive woman, a characteristic that is reflected by the horrible depictions of Canidia and Sagana by Horace (and the Three Witches seen in the opening quotation of this thesis).<sup>99</sup> The work of Seneca also reflects this negative perception of the magical practitioner, the prime example of this being his portrayal of Medea.<sup>100</sup> What is of significance about Seneca's depiction of Medea however, is how dramatically the image of Medea had changed from that portrayed by Apollonius of Rhodes. The shift in Roman thought towards the end of the Republican period allowed accusations of magic to become a tool which could be used as a means of denunciation, as was discovered by Apollonius of Tyana and Apuleius who both had to defend themselves against such charges in the Imperial period.<sup>101</sup> Magical practices in the Roman Empire were frowned upon in a way never before seen in the Graeco-Roman world and penalties could be severe if found guilty. Attempts to penalise magical practices were in place in Rome by 82 BC, with the introduction of *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis* by Sulla, which targeted assassins and magicians.<sup>102</sup> The edict states that those who practise the art of magic should suffer extreme punishment (thrown to wild beasts, crucified, burned alive) and that confiscated magical books should be publicly burned. From this edict onwards, the Roman world regularly saw leaders instigating laws which resulted in the expulsion or punishment of magic and those who were believed to practise it.<sup>103</sup> It is also in the Imperial period that the

---

<sup>97</sup> For Ovid's predicament, see *Ov. Am.* III.vii.27-36, 73-84. For Lucian's courtesans, see *Lucian Dial. meret.* IV.

<sup>98</sup> *Luc.* VI.413-830.

<sup>99</sup> *Hor. Sat.* I.viii; *Epod.* V.

<sup>100</sup> *Sen. Med.* For further references to Medea, see I.4 p.47 n.203.

<sup>101</sup> Apollonius had to defend himself against charges aimed at his miracle working (*Philostr. VA.* VIII.7), Apuleius for his marriage to an older woman (*Apul. Apol.*). Judging by the defence of Apuleius and his *Metamorphoses*, it is possible that Apuleius was fully aware of magical practices in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Cf. Versnel, 1991a, p.183.

<sup>102</sup> Paulus, *Sent.* V.xiii.

<sup>103</sup> *Cass. Dio XLIX.xliii.5*: Agrippa expels the astrologers and the sorcerers from Rome in 33 BC; *Tac. Ann.* II.27-32: Libo Drusus convicted for magical practices against Tiberius in 16 AD; *Tac. Ann.* XII.52: Nero punishes divination for the date of his death and expels astrologers from Italy in 52 AD; *Suet. Vit.* XIV:



mass destruction of magical texts was recorded.<sup>104</sup> Magic, although slowly falling out of favour with the state, did however have its defendants in the Imperial period. For example, the Neo-Platonist Plotinus (ca.205-270 AD), the founder of the school, took magic seriously and the treatise *On the Mysteries of Egypt* by Iamblichus (ca.250-325 AD) is a defence of theurgy, 'higher magic.'<sup>105</sup> Nonetheless, the attempts to defend the magical arts by the Neo-Platonists were doomed to failure and by the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, which saw Christianity become the official state ordained religion, there was a unification of religious and political interests and resistance towards all forms of magic intensified.<sup>106</sup>

From this brief overview of the perception of magic in the Graeco-Roman world, we can see that the concept of magic was alive and flourishing. This perception developed from the Archaic period, which saw magic as a natural part of the world, to Imperial Rome and the developing persecution of magical practices. As the ancient world believed that there existed a specific set of practices which were defined as separate from religion, then these practices should be considered as separate from religion by modern scholarship. However, if the ancient world did believe there were activities which could be defined as magical, the question needs to be asked: what was it in these practices that they saw as different? In truth, there does appear to be very little that differentiates magical practices as a separate entity in the ancient world.<sup>107</sup> The literary evidence is littered with examples of public rituals applying what in another context would be called magical. To give an example, the *Cyrene Foundation Decree* (4<sup>th</sup> century BC) is a prime example of the application of magical principles in a public arena and by all members of a society simultaneously. Cyrene, located in modern day Libya, was founded by colonists from Thera. The inscription relates how the colonists moulded wax images and burnt them whilst everyone (men, women, and children) uttered an imprecation that condemned all

---

Vitellius, emperor in 69 AD, expels astrologers and the Chaldaean; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* IV.19: a necromantic divination for a successor to Valens (ruled 364-78AD) results in mass extermination.

<sup>104</sup> From Suetonius (*Aug.* 31) we read of Augustus' burning of the prophets' books in 31 BC. *Acts* XIX.17-19 describes how Paul's Ephesian converts burn their magical books. Ritner (1995, p.3335) tells us that the burning of magical books became a common civic event under Roman rule.

<sup>105</sup> For a biography of Plotinus' life, see Porphyry's *Vita Plotini*.

<sup>106</sup> This is reflected in, for instance, canon 36 of the Council of Laodicea, held between 341 and 381 AD. From this we learn that no sorcerers, enchanters, or astrologers can be a priest or clergy. See Metzger, 1968, pp.106-107. The full-scale persecution of magical practices by the state began in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Cf. Barb, 1963, pp.102-104; Luck, 2006, p.77.

<sup>107</sup> As is argued by Collins, 2008, pp.24-25.

who would transgress the decree to melt away and dissolve like the images.<sup>108</sup> This is a clear indication of the application of the Frazerian sympathetic magic (i.e. the transferral of characteristics from one object to another).<sup>109</sup> Compare this with the second *Idyll* of Theocritus, in which Simaetha burns a waxen image of Delphis.<sup>110</sup> The melting of the image is to make the cad fall into the heat of passion: ὡς τοῦτον τὸν κηρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, ὡς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφης.<sup>111</sup> The *Cyrene Foundation Decree* is not defined as magic but Theocritus knew all too well that what he was writing was of a magical nature. The lack of distinction between magic and religion continued into the Roman period as can be seen, for instance, in Tacitus' account of Germanicus' death. When Germanicus, the adopted son of the emperor Tiberius, died mysteriously in 19 AD, magic was suspected as disinterred human remains and a curse tablet inscribed with the deceased's name were reportedly found in the walls. On learning of this, Suetonius records, the Roman people stormed the temples en masse, demolished the altars, and maltreated the statues of the gods.<sup>112</sup> Such behaviour does not correspond to the supposed compliant and supplicatory role of the religious devotee.

The problematic depiction of magical practices in the ancient sources is reflected by that seen in the PGM. For example, it is claimed that magic was chthonic but the most commonly adjured deity in the rituals instructed by the PGM (and the EMP) is *Iaω*.<sup>113</sup> The Jewish *Iaω* (interpreted as a vocalised rendition of the tetragrammaton YHWH),<sup>114</sup> is frequently associated with *Σαβαωθ*<sup>115</sup> and *Αδωναί* (meaning lord in Hebrew).<sup>116</sup> Thus, all

<sup>108</sup> For the inscription see Graham, 1964, pp.224-226; Meiggs & Lewis, 1969, pp.5-9, no.5. Cf. SEG IX.3. See Faraone, 1993, pp.60-65; *idem*, 1999, p.50, for a discussion of this text and other burning rituals used in oaths.

<sup>109</sup> Frazer, 1922, chapter III. §1-3.

<sup>110</sup> Although it is impossible to know for certain, it is logical to suppose that the wax referred to by Theocritus was moulded into a figurine. However, compare this with Gow's (1950) commentary of the lines in question where he claims the wax was not an image but a symbol.

<sup>111</sup> Theoc. *Id.* II.28-29. For a detailed discussion of *Idyl* II, see Petrovic, 2004. Cf. Bernand, 1991, pp.175-181; Graf, 1997, pp.176-190; Faraone, 1999, pp.50, 152-154; Luck, 2006, pp.104-108, 113-115; Ogden, 2009, pp.108-112. Virgil's eighth eclogue (Verg. *Ecl.* VIII.64-109) is an adaptation of Theocritus' second *Idyll*. Although written over 200 years after Theocritus' poem, it stays very close to the original story. Most of the magical ingredients are the same, although the rhombos and the magical wheel are replaced by two dolls, one made of clay, the other of wax. For the connection between fire and the burning sensation of passion, see I.4 pp.51-53, II.2 p.83 & n.338.

<sup>112</sup> Tac. *Ann.* II.69. For the Roman people's reaction, see Suet. *Cal.* 5.

<sup>113</sup> For reference to *Iaω* in the EMP, see PGM III.1-164; IV.296-466; IV.1390-1495; IV.1496-1595; IV.1716-1870; IV.1872-1927; VII.300a-310; VII.593-619; VII.619-27; VII.643-51; VII. 969-72; VII.973-80; X.1-23; XV.1-21; XIXa.1-54; XXXVI.187-210; XXXVI.333-60; LXI.39-71; LXVII.1-24; LXXVIII.1-14; CI.1-53.

<sup>114</sup> For a discussion of *Iaω*, see Bonner, 1950, pp.29-30, 126; Preisendanz, 1972, pp.11-13; Smith, 1973, p.223 n.10; Miller, 1986, pp.487-488; CT p.268; GMPT p.335; Brashear, 1995, p.3588; Dieleman, 2005, p.78. Hebraic tradition accredited YHWH with both making and unmaking language (*Gen.* II.19; XI.1-9).

<sup>115</sup> For *Σαβαωθ* see Brashear, 1995, p.3597.

three are associated with the supreme Jewish-Christian monotheistic deity.<sup>117</sup> This is a clear indication of a non-chthonic element pervading the PGM. To linger on the presumed chthonic nature of magic, see Odysseus' attempts to contact the deceased seer Tiresias in the *Odyssey*.<sup>118</sup> On the instructions of Circe, Odysseus creates a trench, a βόθρος (an inverted altar for the nether powers), intended to serve as an access point to the realm of Hades (whether this access point allows Odysseus to enter Hades or Tiresias to exit the land of the dead is unclear).<sup>119</sup> Around the edge of this βόθρος Odysseus pours various libations, including milk mixed with honey, wine, water, and blood of a black ram.<sup>120</sup> Compare this to Menippus who performs, in the work of Lucian (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), a complex necromantic ceremony with the assistance of the magi in Babylon. The protagonist of this tale (in trying to discover the best way to live) travels to Babylon and befriends a Chaldaean called Mithrobarzanes. Menippus pleads with Mithrobarzanes to take him to the underworld and following twenty-nine days of continuous preparatory purifications, a ritual is performed that employs many of the motifs laid out by Homer.<sup>121</sup> Here can be seen the representation of a necromantic ritual as respected epic and the norm in the Archaic period and as satirical farce and magic in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Furthermore, many of the actions performed in the *Odyssey* (e.g. the use of libations, the slaying of an animal for its blood, necromancy) are instructed by the PGM but whereas reading the *Odyssey* would receive accolades, reading the PGM could result in derisive comments and perhaps even penalisation.

The contradictory evidence throughout the ancient sources hinders any attempt to define the ancient perception of magic. The solution to this problem lies not with the practices themselves however, but with the perception of the practices. When all things are taken into consideration, magic in the ancient world was ritual practice and it consisted of procedures and beliefs not that dissimilar to those seen in religion.<sup>122</sup> The main difference between the two however, is that practices which were defined as magic were not part of a culture's accepted belief system when they were defined as magic. This idea was promoted by Aune who described magic as a form of religious deviance whereby individual or social

<sup>116</sup> For Ἀδωναί see CT p.265; GMPT p.331.

<sup>117</sup> Luck, 2006, p.49, commenting on Σαβαώθ and Ιαω.

<sup>118</sup> Hom. *Od.* XI.1-149. The necromantic ritual performed by Odysseus is incorporated into PGM XXIII.1-70. For the use of Homeric incantations in magic, see Collins, 2008, pp.104-131.

<sup>119</sup> For the βόθρος, see Burkert, 1985, pp.199-200.

<sup>120</sup> For the use of libations in the EMP, see II.7.e.

<sup>121</sup> Lucian *Menip.* 6-11.

<sup>122</sup> For magic as a ritual act, see Wilburn, 2012, pp.16-17.

goals are sought by means distinct from those sanctioned by the dominant religious institution.<sup>123</sup> Segal similarly argued that in a climate where each religion claimed to be implementing divine power, any competing religious activity needed to be considered as fraudulent or demonic.<sup>124</sup> In this respect, the reason why the *Cyrene Foundation Decree* or the necromantic ritual performed by Odysseus were not perceived as magic was because they were part of accepted religious practice at the time of their production. Practices which were from outside of the accepted religious system, which could include new and alien belief systems, were viewed suspiciously and open to charges of magic. For example, the prophet of Dionysus is called a γόνος in Euripides' *Bacchae*.<sup>125</sup> In the Roman period, those hostile to Jesus Christ accused him of performing magic and used instances in his life, such as his exorcistic practices and Matthew's report that he was taken to Egypt (the land of magic *par excellence*) as an infant, as evidence.<sup>126</sup> The notion that magic is associated with that from beyond an indigenous culture corresponds with Tylor's argument which states that many cultures saw sorcery and magic as the art of the hostile (or barbarous) neighbour.<sup>127</sup> It is no coincidence then that the notion of magic as a separate entity began to emerge when contact with Persia increased over the course of the Classical period. The religious practices of the Persians were perceived as foreign, exotic, and barbarian by the Greeks. Everything about this exotic culture and its strange ways was unfamiliar and hostile to the Greek traditions and the idea of a distinction between magic and religion developed alongside the idea of Greece as opposed to the barbarous foreigner.<sup>128</sup>

Due to the association of magic with practices not sanctioned by the dominant religious institution of a culture, the concept of magic is flexible and can change in the eyes of the perceiver. Therein lies the crux of this discussion: the term to define magic depends solely on the eye of the beholder. If the majority in a culture agree that X is magic

<sup>123</sup> Aune, 1980, p.1515. This is but one half of Aune's definition of magic and the other half states that these goals are sought within the context of religious deviance and conjunction with the management of supernatural powers "in such a way that results are virtually guaranteed."

<sup>124</sup> Segal, 1981, p.370. This is in line with that advocated by Evans-Pritchard (1976, p.18), who said that antisocial behaviour could attract suspicions of witchcraft. Could there be many things more antisocial than undermining a culture's accepted belief system?

<sup>125</sup> Eur. *Ba.* 233-238. Cf. Versnel, 1991a, p.188.

<sup>126</sup> For accusations that Jesus was a magician, see Origen, *C. Cels.* I.68. Exorcism: Hull, 1974, p.129; Smith, 1978, pp.45-47; Luck, 2006, p.57. Egypt: Smith, 1978, pp.150-152. Cf. Graf, 1997, pp.90-91; Luck, 2006, pp.62-64.

<sup>127</sup> Tylor, 1920, pp.113-115. For a discussion of the construction of the other in Classical Athens, see Stratton, 2007, pp.39-69; Wilburn, 2012, pp.14-16. Cf. Versnel, 2002, pp.146-147.

<sup>128</sup> See Hall, 1989; Garland, 1992, pp.145-150.

and Y is religion, then X is magic and Y is religion. If the majority in that same culture 100 years later agree that, contrarily, Y is magic and X is religion, then Y is magic and X is religion. To put it another way, and to refer to the quotation at the beginning of this thesis, if everyone agrees that two plus two makes five, then two plus two *makes* five.<sup>129</sup> The same principle applies also to how magic was perceived to work, i.e. magic worked because people believed it worked.<sup>130</sup> This was a concept that was understood by Plato, as can be seen in his *Laws*, when he claims that magic exists and works because people believe it does.<sup>131</sup> An acceptance of magic's existence, Plato argues, allows people to believe that they can do injury by magical means and it also convinces their victims that they can be injured. Moreover, a person's ability at self-deception and the power of the imagination should not be underestimated. If a person believes that a magical procedure will result in a desired outcome, then that person will believe it has occurred, even if his senses tell him that nothing is actually happening. The practitioner of PGM IV.1716-1870, for example, can see that the Eros figurine does not physically move but he also contrarily believes or acts as if he believes that there will be some benefit from the performance of the procedure.<sup>132</sup> Likewise, if the target believes they can be affected by magic, then they can be affected.<sup>133</sup> The notion that the definition of magic relies on the beholder is in keeping with the concepts and ideas promoted by semiotics, i.e. nothing has meaning unless the perceiver has imposed meaning upon it. It is due to the flexible nature of the ancient definition of magic that an etic approach can be beneficial to the study of magic. The modern term magic can encompass many ritual actions and, as a result, it can ground us and offer consistency whilst we navigate through a corpus of texts as complex as the PGM and the ancient perception of magic. As a consequence, throughout this thesis there will be reference to the PGM as magical and the procedures described therein as spells. This is done not to make a statement about the nature of magic and its relation to religion

---

<sup>129</sup> Smith (1995, p.16), when considering the shifting taxonomies employed by modern scholarship, argues that most late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century works saw shamanism as the quintessential image of magic. This perception of shamanism had changed dramatically towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century however, and it began to be seen as religion. Smith tells us the data under discussion had never changed but that the attitude of the scholar had shifted, with the result that shamanism was placed into the religious rather than the magical category. For a similar shift in perception, see Ritner, 1993, pp.6-7.

<sup>130</sup> Mauss, 1972, p.40; GMPT p.xlviii; Stratton, 2007, pp.11-12. Cf. Luck, 2006, p.54.

<sup>131</sup> Plat. *Leg.* 933A-B.

<sup>132</sup> For the Eros figurine acting as a mobile agent, see II.5 pp.151-152.

<sup>133</sup> A similar notion was promoted by Collins (2008, pp.5-7) in his discussion of magic as communication, in which he states that a target who knows they have been a victim of magic immediately, whether they believe in magic or not, can be affected. Collins argues that communication, in whatever shape or form, can impact the behaviour of others and is thus causal. Cf. Collins, 2003, pp.34-37.

but to simply use an all-encompassing label for practices which were defined as magical by their contemporaries.<sup>134</sup>

In contrast to defining magic, outlining what is meant by erotic is a relatively simple procedure and relies on establishing a distinction between eroticism and love. Ordinarily, the texts under discussion in this thesis are referred to as examples of “love” magic.<sup>135</sup> The notion of love however, a strong or constant feeling of affection for a person, does not seem appropriate when applying it to that depicted in the EMP despite references to φιλέω.<sup>136</sup> For example, aggressiveness and the wish to inflict torment onto the target are recurring characteristics of “love” magic in the PGM, as is illustrated by PGM IV.1496-1595, a spell which is centred on the incineration of myrrh whilst an incantation is recited. The incantation opens with a string of epithets of the resin. It is seen as bitter and difficult and it has the ability to burn and to force those who do not acknowledge Eros to love. The practitioner sends the myrrh to attract the intended target and to stop her from performing many everyday things (including sitting, chatting, gazing at someone, going to someone, strolling, drinking, eating, kissing, enjoying pleasure or sleeping). The myrrh is to enter the target and remain in her heart, burning her guts, her breast, her liver, her breath, her bones, and her marrow. She is to be inflamed, her guts are to be turned inside out, and all of her blood is to be sucked out. This torment is to continue until she comes to the practitioner and fulfills all his wishes.<sup>137</sup> The practitioner employs this aggressive formulaic language as he wants the target to be able to do nothing but think of him alone. This is not something that someone in love would wish to inflict on their beloved. Instead of love, the spells under discussion in this thesis appear to be more concerned with passion and sexual intercourse. For examples, see PGM IV.296-466 which has an engraved lamella that is deposited by a grave with two figurines (one of Ares, the other of a female). The final lines

---

<sup>134</sup> For a recent attempt at describing magic, see Wilburn, 2012, p.15. The drawback of this simple three point description is that it could be used to translate many acts as magical. That said, its simplicity offers it a flexibility that can, as a result, meet the demands of the ever changing perception of magic in the ancient world.

<sup>135</sup> For studies on love magic, see Boll, 1910; McCartney, 1925; Massoneau, 1934, pp.86-90; Tavenner, 1942; Segal, 1974; du Bourguet, 1975; Daniel, 1975; Tupet, 1976, pp.56-91; Winkler, 1980; Tupet, 1986, pp.2626-2647; Petropoulos, 1988; Cairns, 1989; Faraone, 1990; Bernand, 1991, pp.161-183, 285-310; Martinez, 1991; *idem*, 1991a; Winkler, 1991; Faraone, 1992a; *idem*, 1992b; CT pp.78-115; Petropoulos, 1993; West, 2004; Martinez, 1995; Ritner, 1995, p.3348-3349; Faraone, 1996; Graf, 1997, pp.175-190; LiDonnici, 1998; Faraone, 1999; *idem*, 1999a; Dickie, 2000; Pérez, 2000; Janowitz, 2001, pp.47-58, 86-96; Frankfurter, 2001; Faraone, 2002; *idem*, 2002b; Eidinow, 2007, pp.206-224; Collins, 2008, pp.88-103; Karivieri, 2010, pp.410-412.

<sup>136</sup> As is argued by Winkler, 1991, pp.214-215.

<sup>137</sup> For the use of myrrh in PGM IV.1496-1595, see II.4 p.137 n.544.

of the lamella read: κολλήση καὶ χεῖλεα χεῖλεσι συνάψη καὶ γαστέρα γαστρὶ κολλήση καὶ μηρὸν μηρῶ πελάση καὶ τὸ μέλαν τῶ μέλανι συναρμόση καὶ τὰ ἀφροδισιακὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐκτελέση ἢ δεῖνα μετ' ἐμοῦ, τοῦ δεῖνα, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τοῦ αἰῶνος. Clearly it is not the intention of the practitioner in this spell to instigate in the target the feelings of love. The practitioner wants sex and as such it has more in common with eroticism rather than love. As a consequence, and due to the lovelorn nature of the practitioner (which will be discussed in detail in the following section), this thesis will refer to all spells that can be categorised as erotic as the erotic magical papyri (EMP).

Erotic magic is not a unified category however, and it can be divided into various subcategories. For instance, Faraone divided love magic, in a discussion of the agonistic context of binding spells, into two types: separation and aphrodisiac.<sup>138</sup> This binary separation of Faraone can be subdivided further and Petropoulos, for example, distinguishes between love spells of attraction and binding love spells.<sup>139</sup> Winkler, whilst discussing curse tablets, refers to rival cursing spells, separation spells, attraction spells, and spells designed to cause financial problems for a souteneur.<sup>140</sup> For this thesis however, the erotic magic instructed by the PGM has been broken into only three subcategories: the spells of attraction (ἀγωγή), the binding spells (φιλτροκατάδεσμος), and charms (encompassed by the word φίλτρον).<sup>141</sup> The main logic for this categorisation lies in an emic approach. That is to say, these are the names generally given to the EMP by the composers of the PGM. However, due to the common use of love to translate ἀγωγαί, φιλτροκατάδεσμοι, and φίλτρα and the use of the word erotic here, this thesis will refer throughout to the ἀγωγαί as spells of attraction, φιλτροκατάδεσμοι as binding spells, and φίλτρα as charms. It will be taken as a given that eroticism is referred to when reference is given to these three categories. All of the erotic magic in the PGM can be categorised by one of these types (see Table I.3.a) and when doing so, there are 69 EMP.

<sup>138</sup> Faraone, 1991, pp.10, 13-15. See Faraone's 1999 *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, in which he further divides the aphrodisiac spells into spells for inducing uncontrollable passion and spells for inducing affection.

<sup>139</sup> Petropoulos, 1988, pp.221-222.

<sup>140</sup> Winkler, 1991, p.231.

<sup>141</sup> The separation spells are not included in this categorisation as technically they are not erotic in nature and they do not aim to create in the target any erotic feelings. Rather, separation spells are performed by a person who wishes to cause a schism. In this respect, this thesis will follow the method of Faraone, 1999, p.18 who describes separation spells as inhibitory magic.

Table I.3.a: A categorisation of the EMP

PGM	Attraction	Binding	Charms
III.1-164		✓	
IV.94-153	✓		
IV.296-466		✓	
IV.1265-74			✓
IV.1390-1495	✓		
IV.1496-1595	✓		
IV.1716-1870	✓		
IV.1872-1927	✓		
IV.2145-2240	✓		✓
IV.2441-2621	✓		
IV.2708-84	✓		
IV.2891-2942	✓		
IV.2943-66	✓		
VII.191-92		✓	
VII.300a-310	✓		
VII.385-89			✓
VII.405-6			✓
VII.459-61			✓
VII.462-66			✓
VII.467-77	✓		
VII.593-619	✓		
VII.619-27			✓
VII.643-51			✓
VII.661-63			✓
VII.862-918	✓		
VII.969-72			✓
VII.973-80	✓		
VII.981-93	✓		
X.1-23			✓
XIc.1-19			✓



XIII.1-343	✓		✓
XV.1-21		✓	
XVI.1-75		✓	
XVIIa.1-25	✓		
XIXa.1-54	✓		
XIXb.1-3	✓		
XIXb.4-18	✓		
XXIVb.1-15			✓
XXXII.1-19	✓		
XXXIIa.1-25	✓		
XXXVI.69-101	✓		
XXXVI.102-33	✓		
XXXVI.134-60	✓		
XXXVI.187-210	✓		
XXXVI.283-94			✓
XXXVI.295-311	✓		
XXXVI.333-60	✓		
XXXVI.361-71	✓		
XXXVIII.1-26	✓		
XXXIX.1-21	✓		
LII.1-9			✓
LII.9-19			✓
LXI.1-38	✓		
LXI.39-71	✓		
LXII.1-24	✓		
LXIII.1-7			✓
LXVII.1-24			✓
LXVIII.1-20			✓
LXXVIII.1-14	✓		
LXXXIV.1-21	✓		
CI.1-53	✓		
CIII.1-18	✓		

CVII.1-19	✓		
CVIII.1-12	✓		
CIX.1-8			✓
CXVII.1-23	✓		
CXIXa.1-3			✓
CXIXa.4-6	✓		
CXXII.1-55			✓

The first subcategory, the spells of attraction, is more widespread than any other form of erotic magic instructed by the PGM. Spells of attraction aim, like their name implies, at the forcible attraction of the target. It is common for an agent of some kind to be enlisted and sent forth to find the target. Once the agent has discovered the target, it is to physically drag this person to the practitioner. For example, see PGM XVIIa.1-25 which adjures the god Anubis to force the target under the feet of the practitioner and to melt with passionate desire. The target should not be allowed to participate in regular day-to-day activities (e.g. eating and sleeping) without having thoughts of the practitioner on the mind. This is a common wish amongst the ἀγωγαί and it is regularly joined (as is the case with PGM XVIIa.1-25) by an insistence of urgency by the practitioner, a desire that the spell be enacted quickly and immediately. See, for example the closing lines of PGM XIXa.1-54, which reads ἦδη ἦδη, ταχὺ ταχύ. Sometimes the spell of attraction can be a complicated procedure, such as that seen in PGM IV.2943-66, which enacts the procedure through the infliction of insomnia via the construction of a dog figurine with the eyes of a real bat.<sup>142</sup> Other times they can be simple, as is the case with PGM VII.300a-310, in which the practitioner is instructed to take a seashell and write holy names on it with the blood of a black donkey.

With only five examples, the binding spells are the smallest subcategory of erotic magic instructed by the EMP. The main objective of this type of spell is the forcible binding of the target to the practitioner and, at the same time, the prevention of the target from having sexual intercourse with another. A prime example of this type of spell is instructed at PGM XV.1-21, in which a Capitolina hopes to bind a Nilos with great evils. The binding spells are closely related to the spells of attraction and many elements within

<sup>142</sup> For the construction and role of the bat-eyed dog figurine, see II.5 pp.150-151, 155-156.

the former are commonly seen in the latter.<sup>143</sup> For example, PGM IV.296-466, a wondrous spell for binding a lover, utilises two figurines (made from either wax or clay from a potter's wheel) to forcibly bind the female target of the spell. Numerous techniques are employed in unison to create this binding, including the construction of figurines, the application of an engraved lead lamella, necromancy, technopaegnia (words displayed in shapes) and the extensive use of *voces magicae*.<sup>144</sup> PGM IV.296-466, as seen by its name, is clearly a binding spell but the incantation both written and recited reveals techniques commonly found in spells of attraction. As with the spells of attraction, it is also very common for the practitioner to enlist a supernatural being to enact the binding of the target. The adjured in PGM IV.296-466, for example, is enlisted to drag the target by her hair, heart, and soul. The target is to be kept from the normalities of everyday life, such as eating and drinking, and she is to be unable to accept the pleasure of another man, even if it be her husband.<sup>145</sup>

The final category, the erotic charm, is the second largest implemented. The word φίλτρον is a catch-all word which covers a variety of methods, techniques, and rituals.<sup>146</sup> The general overarching premise to all of the spells listed under charms however, is that they wish to instil in the target feelings of an erotic nature. For example, charms may consist of an ointment that is to be spread on the genitals of the practitioner prior to sexual intercourse. PGM XXXVI.283-94, the Pudenda key spell, instructs the grinding of a crow's egg, juice of the plant *crow's foot* and eel gall into honey to create an ointment.<sup>147</sup> This is then to be smeared onto the genitals whilst a spell is recited. When the practitioner subsequently has sexual intercourse with the target, she would love him alone and not be had by another. An erotic charm may also be a simple incantation, as seen by PGM IV.1265-74, in which the practitioner is required to recite Aphrodite's name over an offering of frankincense. The name is then to be said internally to the target for seven days. As can be seen by PGM IV.1265-74 and PGM XXXVI.283-94, it is common for charms to be relatively short and succinct and it is rare for one to be over 50 lines. A good example of a short and succinct erotic charm is PGM VII.661-63, in which the practitioner is to say ανοκ θαρενεπιβαθα χειουχα ανοα ανοκ χαριεμοχθ λαλαμ whilst kissing the target

<sup>143</sup> Although binding spells could be a form of attraction magic, this thesis follows Petropoulos (1988, p.216) who distinguishes between attraction spells and binding magic.

<sup>144</sup> For a discussion of technopaegnia, see II.1 pp.55, 70. For *voces magicae*, see I.3 pp.44-46.

<sup>145</sup> For the role of the figurines in PGM IV.296-466, see II.5 pp.148-150.

<sup>146</sup> See the discussion of φίλτρα in II.4 pp.130-132.

<sup>147</sup> For the application of this ointment, see II.7.b.

passionately. The tongue of the practitioner must have been quite dexterous to recite this list of complicated *voces magicae* whilst participating in a prolonged, passionate kiss.

Such a categorisation of erotic magic is never this simple however. The connection between binding spells and spells of attraction has already been discussed above but some spells can also be used for more than one of the above categories, as seen by, for example, PGM IV.2145-2240. This EMP gives instructions for the application of an iron lamella that can guarantee many benefits, including victory, protection, favour, happiness, and good fortune. The specific applications of the spell are listed following the construction and consecration of the iron lamella. Amongst the possible objectives can be seen a charm and a spell of attraction. It will be made clear in this thesis when the overlapping of categories occurs. It is also sometimes not immediately clear that the intentions of a set of instructions are erotic in nature. This can be seen in PGM III.1-164, in which the EMP give instructions for the performance of an extensive ritual revolving around a cat that has been drowned and turned into an Ἐκυῖς.<sup>148</sup> In the final lines we read that the procedure is suitable for every ritual purpose, including a charm to restrain charioteers in a race, a charm for sending dreams, an erotic binding charm, and a charm to cause separation and enmity. As a consequence, this thesis has categorised some spells as erotic which do not immediately appear to be erotic in nature. In a similar manner, certain spells, although being named as such (PGM VIII.1-63: Φιλτροκατάδεσμος Ἀστραψοίκου) do not actually deal with erotic magic and, as a consequence, have not been included in this thesis.

---

<sup>148</sup> For the meaning of Ἐκυῖς and the role of the cat, see II.6 pp.171-174.

#### 4. Defining the Perceiver

Every tool that is instructed for application by the EMP is a signifier which can be interpreted differently by separate people and, as a consequence, an understanding of the identity of those perceiving these signifiers is vital. For the intentions of this thesis, the term perceiver is synonymous with practitioner, the person who actively performs magical practices. The identity of the practitioner has been left ambiguous so far but in order to complete a semiotic analysis of the tools instructed for application by the EMP, it is essential to understand who exactly the practitioner was. As with an attempt to define magical practices however, any attempt to define the practitioner is fraught with difficulty.<sup>149</sup> The fluctuating concept of magic is reflected by the varying perception of those who performed magic, and from the previous discussion we can see that the portrayal of the practitioner in literature developed dramatically from the Archaic to the Imperial period. In earlier literary works, magic was an accepted part of the world which mortals inhabited and there was nothing unseemly in the actions of those who were adept in it. For example, Helen's use of a φάρμακα in the *Odyssey* could classify her as a magician to later audiences but Homer does not create the sense of a magical practice being performed.<sup>150</sup> In contrast, the image of the practitioner in the Classical period, as portrayed by the Hippocratic *On the Sacred Disease* and Plato, is one of an itinerant charlatan who would use his wiles to bamboozle those who did not know any better.<sup>151</sup> The perception of the magician in the Classical period, although negative, was of a knowledgeable individual adept in the magical arts. This expert was distinct from the rest of society and the emergence of the specialist points to the existence of the layperson. The relationship between the specialist and the layperson is alluded to by Euripides who narrates the story of Phaedra and her love for her stepson Hippolytus. The nurse, after discovering what has been troubling her mistress, offers to help and claims to have knowledge of φίλτρα that

---

<sup>149</sup> For attempts to define the nature of the practitioner, see I.3 p.17 n.51 above but especially GMPT, xli-lxiii; Ritner, 1995; Frankfurter, 1997; Graf, 1997; Frankfurter, 1998, pp.198-237; Faraone, 1999; *idem*, 1999a; Luck, 1999; Ogden, 1999, pp.54-71; Dickie, 2000, *idem*, 2001; Frankfurter, 2002; Faraone, 2002b; Stratton, 2007.

<sup>150</sup> For reference to Helen's use of φάρμακα to quell the pain of those in her company, see I.3 p.20 & n.75. Again see Odysseus' performance of a necromantic ritual as well. For reference, see I.3 pp.26-27. As with Helen's use of φάρμακα, Odysseus performs an action which to later ages would be classified as magical but in Homer it is portrayed as something not out of the ordinary.

<sup>151</sup> For references, see I.3 p.20-21.

will free Phaedra from her torment.<sup>152</sup> Clearly the nurse is more adept in the magical arts and she offers her knowledge to assist Phaedra.

This notion of two separate practitioners, one specialist the other amateur, continued into the Hellenistic period, as can be seen by the second *Idyll* of Theocritus. In this depiction of an erotic magical practice, we can see reference to a professional practitioner and an amateur practitioner with the statement made by Simaetha (ll.90-91): καὶ ἐς τίνοσ οὐκ ἐπέρασα ἢ ποίας ἔλιπον γραίας δόμον, ἄτις ἐπᾶδεν. Simaetha, despite appearing adept in the magical arts, is an amateur practitioner. She has conferred with experts and has been informed of the ritual which needs to be performed to win back her wayward lover. The relationship between Simaetha and these unknown specialist practitioners is one of consultant and client. Simaetha has a problem which can only be solved by approaching a consultant who can offer help and advice. This is an important aspect of the relationship between the professional and the amateur practitioner and one that will be taken up again below. In the Republican period of Rome we can also see the belief that magic was the domain of specific individuals with specialised knowledge. Horace, who appeared to despise magical practices, illustrates this idea with his vulgar depictions of the stereotypical witches Canidia and Sagana.<sup>153</sup> During the Imperial period, the period contemporaneous with the PGM, the perception that magic was the domain of the professional was deeply embedded in the Graeco-Roman perception of magical practices. For example, the writing of Lucian is littered with examples of the professional consultant who is sought after by an amateurish client: we read of a Syrian witch who will assist with a love spell to help a courtesan, an Egyptian named Pancrates and his apprentice Eucrates, a Syrian from Palestine who could perform exorcisms, a Hyperborean who could perform all manner of magic and assisted with a love spell, an Arab who supplied amulets and taught spells, and a Chaldean who could help those wanting to perform necromancy.<sup>154</sup>

From this brief description of the perception of the magical practitioner in the ancient sources, we can see that there developed two distinct practitioners: the professional

---

<sup>152</sup> Eur. *Hipp.* 507-515. Although we are led to believe that the nurse is the professional, Phaedra does appear to have some knowledge of magic as she asks at l.516 πότῆρα δὲ χρῖστων ἢ ποτὸν τὸ φάρμακον. Both an ointment and potion are regularly used in erotic magic and it is clear that Phaedra is aware of them. For ointments in erotic magic, see II.7.b. For love potions in erotic magic, see II.4.

<sup>153</sup> For reference to Canidia and Sagana, see I.3 p.24.

<sup>154</sup> Syrian witch: Lucian *Dial. meret.* IV.4; Pancrates and Eucrates: Lucian *Philops.* 33-36; the Syrian from Palestine: Lucian *Philop.* 16; the Hyperborean: Lucian *Philops.* 14-15; the Arab Lucian *Philops.* 17, 22-24; the Chaldaean: see I.3 p.27. Note the countries of origin in Lucian and the notion that the magician is someone outside of the perceiver's society. For the concept of a magician being someone outside of the perceiver's society, see I.3 pp.27-28.

consultant and the amateur client.<sup>155</sup> The amateur would approach the professional who would then inform the former of how a ritual was to be performed. The idea of two types of magical practitioner is supported by the nature of the PGM and that described therein. Indeed, the PGM are arguably the best source of information for highlighting the existence of the professional and amateur practitioner. To focus initially on the nature of the PGM, many of the texts (the Anastasi collection) originate from the collection of one unknown individual who was active in Thebes.<sup>156</sup> This corpus of magical texts can best be described as instructions for the creation of many magical acts. Evidence to support the instructive nature of the PGM can be seen with the continuous reference to δεῖνα, “so-and-so.” For example, see PGM IV.2943-66, a spell of attraction which uses a figurine of a dog with the eyes of a bat. Attached to the dog is a papyrus strip on which is written a spell which states ποιήσον τὴν δεῖνα ἀγρυπνοῦσάν μοι διὰ παντὸς αἰῶνος.<sup>157</sup> It is when δεῖνα is stated that the name of target, whoever this may be, would be inserted either by or under the instructions of the amateur practitioner.<sup>158</sup> In this sense, the PGM is little more than a textbook or a manual and many such manuals must have existed in the Graeco-Roman world. References to the existence of similar magical books in alternative source material (including those occasions when there have been mass burnings of magical books due to suppression, the most notable example of which is the burning of magical books in Ephesus under the advice of Paul in *Acts* XIX.19) offer a view of a world littered with magical texts.<sup>159</sup> It is likely that the composer of the PGM was aware of alternative magical corpora and judging by that written throughout the PGM, the professional had access to such texts. This consultation of alternative magical corpora is referred to at, for example, l.50 of PGM II.1-64 (a non-erotic spell for a revelation) when it is stated ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ οὕτως εὔρον.<sup>160</sup> The PGM thus could be the culmination of many studious hours in which various magical texts were consulted in order to create potential optimum magical acts.<sup>161</sup>

The widespread distribution of magical corpora is supported by the archaeological evidence which points to their consultation throughout the Roman Empire. This can be

<sup>155</sup> The idea of the professional-client relationship is listed amongst the distinctions laid down by Goode, 1949, pp.177-178.

<sup>156</sup> GMPT p.xlii-xliii; Luck, 2006, p.47. For a history of the PGM, see I.1 p.1 n.1.

<sup>157</sup> For a discussion of PGM IV.2943-66, see II.5 esp. pp.150-151, 155-156.

<sup>158</sup> Graf, 1997, pp.151-152.

<sup>159</sup> On the burning of magical books, see I.3 p.24. It is common for the PGM to refer to themselves as books. For example, PGM XIII.1-1077, which is called Βιβλος ἱερὰ ἐπικαλουμένη Μονὰς ἢ Ὀγδοὴ Μοῦσεως. Cf. PGM I.42-195; III.424-66; VII.222-49; CXXII.1-55.

<sup>160</sup> See also PGM IV.464-466, 500, 1277; V.51; VII.204; XIII.731.

<sup>161</sup> Graf, 1997, p.100.

seen, for example, through the discovery of figurines which correspond to the instructions in PGM IV.296-466.<sup>162</sup> Not only do these archaeological finds point to the existence of numerous magical manuals, they also contradict the idea of a desperate man in emotional turmoil and instead give credence to the existence of a professional practitioner.<sup>163</sup> Of significance is a small clay figurine dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. This figurine, found in Egypt but now residing in the Louvre, of a woman sealed inside a clay pot with an engraved and folded lead tablet, appears to follow almost to the letter the instructions given by PGM IV.296-466.<sup>164</sup> The effigy kneels with her feet tied together and her arms bound behind her back and various body parts are pierced by 13 needles: one in the top of her head, one in the mouth, one in each eye and in each ear, one in the solar plexus, vagina and anus, one in the palm of each hand and in the sole of each foot. Major dissimilarities do however exist between the Louvre figurine and PGM IV.296-466. For instance, the Louvre figurine does not have any inscriptions, an accompanying male figurine could not be found, the placement of the needles does not coincide with the instructions in the PGM, there is no mention of a clay jar in PGM IV.296-466 and, finally, the text to be recited and inscribed on the lead tablet is an approximation of that seen in the PGM.<sup>165</sup> This aside, the undeniable connection between the Louvre figurine and the instructions in PGM IV.296-466 testifies to the wide circulation and relatively conservative reproduction of this type of figurine. The idea of a professional magician creating figurines from a manual is reinforced when one takes into consideration the discovery of magical caches, such as the Tell Sandahannah find consisting of 51 limestone tablets and 16 lead figurines.<sup>166</sup> The lead slab figurines have either their hands or feet (or both) bound with bronze wire. The inscriptions on the limestone are in Greek and Hebraic. Only two contain full texts (most only reveal a

<sup>162</sup> For a concise listing of the finds corresponding to PGM IV.296-466, see CT 27. It is rare for a pair of figurines to contradict that seen here and instead represent a passionate embrace. For an example of figurines embracing passionately, see VD 28, 28a; CT 30. Cf. Wortmann, 1968, pp.85-102; Suppl. Mag. 45. Also see the fragmented PGM XXIVb.1-15. GMPT tells us that this PGM could contain sections of erotic magic similar to PGM IV.296-466.

<sup>163</sup> Johnston (1999, p.119) argues that the very existence of anthropomorphic dolls can justify the existence of professionals as their production cannot have been easy. However, the position of Johnston does not consider the malleability of lead and wax, which allowed for easy construction, and the unimportance of accuracy with iconic representation. For the importance of iconicity, see II.5.c.

<sup>164</sup> VD 27. Cf. du Bourguet, 1975, pp.255-257; Kambitsis, 1976, pp.213-223; Suppl. Mag. 47; Faraone, 1991, p.26 n.33; Winkler, 1991, pp.230-234; CT 27-28; Brashear, 1995, pp.3416-3417; Graf, 1997, p.137; Faraone, 1999, pp.41-43; Ogden, 1999, p.78; Dickie, 2001, pp.48-49; Faraone, 2002; Eidinow, 2007, p.143 & n.17.

<sup>165</sup> For dissimilarities, see Brashear, 1995, p.3417.

<sup>166</sup> Gager (CT 107-108) proposes that the find at Tell Sandahannah was an inventory of a professional practitioner. For more information on this find see Bliss, 1900, pp.319-334; Clermont-Ganneau, 1901, pp.54-58; Wunsch, 1902, pp.173-176 (no. 34); Mariani, 1910, pp.39-47; Ganszyniec, 1924, pp.516-521; VD 32; Ogden, 1999, p.72.



few personal names or Greek letters) and are concerned with personal enmity and financial issues.<sup>167</sup>

The PGM were not intended for everyone however, and the information contained within magical corpora needed to be kept secret from the eyes of the uninitiated. Magical texts give reference to a level of specialised knowledge that could only be acquired by years of dedicated study. The professional practitioner regularly iterates the divine origins of this knowledge, claiming that it was bestowed by the gods. For example, see II.440-441 of PGM III.424-66 (a non-erotic charm to give foreknowledge and memory), and the claim that τῆς πράξεως ταύτης μείζων οὐκ ἔστιν. πεπείραται ὑπὸ Μανεθῶνος, ὃς αὐτὴν ἐλάβετο δῶρον ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ὀσίρεως τοῦ μεγίτου.<sup>168</sup> It was via a process of initiation, in which the professional practitioner came into contact with the gods, that access to divine knowledge was gained. Such a process appears to have been known to Lucian who describes the professional magician Pancrates, an Egyptian who spent 23 years underground in the presence of Isis to learn his trade.<sup>169</sup> The initiatory nature of the rituals instructed by the PGM has led to comparisons being drawn between the information therein to the secretive mysteries, the unofficial reproduction of which could result in severe penalties.<sup>170</sup> Indeed, there are various similarities between the two, with, amongst other aspects (e.g. the need for secrecy, direct contact with the divine, and initiation), terminology being a key indicator of the professional practitioner's perception of magic.<sup>171</sup> For example, the magical rite is referred to as μυστήριον, "mystery" or "secret rite" (e.g. PGM IV.476), the knowledgeable magician is referred to as μυσταγωγός, "one who introduces/initiates the mysteries" (e.g. PGM IV.172), and the magician's associates and colleagues are called συνμύσται, "fellow initiate" (e.g. PGM IV.733-734). In comparison, those who are not adept in the magical arts are called ἀμυστηρίαστοι, "the uninitiated" (e.g. PGM XIII, 57-58).

---

<sup>167</sup> However, see Bohak, 2008, p.125 n.163, who believes that they are not binding spells but petitions.

<sup>168</sup> Contact with the divine was believed to be the source of superior knowledge in Greek thought. This is an old concept, as depicted in the prologue of the *Theogony* (Hes. *Theog.* 23). Hesiod writes how he gained a greater knowledge from the Muses at the base of Mt. Helicon. Jason was taught how to perform erotic magic by Aphrodite in Pind. *Pyh.* IV.213-219. See also Plato's *Republic* (364B), in which he says that magicians believe they gained their power from the gods.

<sup>169</sup> Lucian *Philops.* 34.

<sup>170</sup> See Graf (1997, pp.89-117) in which he discusses the role of initiation in magic and compares it to the mysteries. Cf. Betz, 1991. Alcibiades, as is described by Plutarch (*Alc.* 19), learned all too well what an accusation of profaning the mysteries could involve. For the most famous of mysteries, the Eleusinian, see Burkert, 1985, pp.276-278, 285-290.

<sup>171</sup> As discussed by Graf (1997, pp.96-117).

The fact that there was secret knowledge within the PGM points to the existence of the professional and amateur practitioner. To acquire this secret knowledge would require dedicated study and without completing the necessary studies and initiation, the layman would not be able to understand that which is instructed by the PGM. A principal source of evidence for the requirement of expert knowledge is PGM XII.401-44, described as priestly interpretations of substances. This text is a key to misleading names employed by temple scribes to conceal the substances used in magical rituals.<sup>172</sup> The majority of the text consists of two columns with a codeword for a substance on the left and the translation on the right. For example, γόνος Ἡλίου is the codeword for ἑλλέβορος λευκός. The text opens with Ἑρμηνεύματα ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μεθηρμηνευμένα, οἷς ἐχρῶντο οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς, a reference to the hieroglyphs engraved on many buildings which could not be read by the majority of the population in the Roman period.<sup>173</sup> The text continues with διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν περιεργίαν τὰς βοτάνας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, οἷς ἐχρῶντο, εἰς θεῶν εἶδωλα ἐπέγραψαν, ὅπως μὴ εὐλαβούμενοι περιεργάζονται μηδὲν διὰ τὴν ἐξακολούθησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Here we can see that the code was employed to deter the curiosity of the people who might try to perform the rituals independently. However, the text is not designed to stop people from attempting to perform the rituals but only to stop them from effectively achieving the desired outcome.<sup>174</sup> The introductory text ends with ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς λύσεις ἠγάγομεν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἀντιγράφων καὶ κρυφίμων πάντων. The secret knowledge required to read and understand this text resides with the professional practitioner and the professional practitioner alone. This is an important aspect of the professional practitioner's character as possession of this knowledge allowed him to promote his own expertise and demand higher prices for his services.<sup>175</sup> As a result, the text is a classic example of the professional practitioner adopting what Frankfurter calls "stereotype appropriation" and what Lidonnici refers to as "bizarreification."<sup>176</sup> Both terms refer to the modification of Egyptian practices due to the expectation of the Graeco-Romans who wanted Egyptians to be weird and

---

<sup>172</sup> For a discussion of this text, see Graf, 1997, pp.99-100; LiDonnici, 2002, pp.366-377. Scarborough (1991, pp.159-161) uses the text in a discussion of κῶφι, a mixture of pharmacologically active plant substances. For κῶφι also see Lidonnici, 2001, pp.65-66, 78-79; *idem*, 2002, p.367 n.49. For κῶφι in the PGM, see PGM IV.1275-1322; V.213-303; VII.528-39. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 372D. The composition of κῶφι is reminiscent of the combinations used in, for example, the *fire manipulation* ritual.

<sup>173</sup> For the growing inability of the masses to translate hieroglyphs under Roman rule, see van der Horst, 1982; pp.115-123; Fowden, 1986: pp.63-65; Graf, 1997, p.100; Lidonnici, 2002, p.367 & n.48.

<sup>174</sup> Lidonnici, 2002, p.367.

<sup>175</sup> Lidonnici, 2002, p.367.

<sup>176</sup> Frankfurter, 1998, pp.224-237; *idem*, 2002, p.376.

wonderful. Lidonnici explains that the amateur practitioner would be awed by and more willing to pay for a substance with an exotic name rather than a mundane substance.<sup>177</sup>

When cataloguing the substances instructed for application by the PGM, it is immediately evident that there are various unrecognised substances and in the EMP alone can be seen, for example, a herb called *boy love* (PGM IV.1716-1870), the plant *crow's foot* (PGM XXXVI.283-94), and *sarapis* (PGM XXXVI.361-71).<sup>178</sup> The question needs to be asked whether this series of codewords, or one similar, was applied wholesale in the composition of the PGM. When considering the frequent use of the phrase αἷμα Τυφονίου to represent donkey's blood,<sup>179</sup> it is possible that this is the case. However, if, for instance, wormwood was to be written as αἷμα Ἡφαίτου or as καρδία ἰέρακος, as is implied by PGM XII.401-44, then why does the plant appear continuously throughout the PGM as ἀρτεμίσια? Not once is it referred to as either of these codewords. Despite the contradictory evidence in the PGM for the widespread application of codewords, PGM XII.401-44 must always be kept in mind when cataloguing the substances used for magical practices. There is always a possibility that certain substances that are instructed for application by the PGM are in fact recorded as code. This can also apply to the application of the unrecognised materials listed above. Perhaps, for example, the herb *boy love* that is instructed for the creation of an amulet in PGM IV.1716-1870 or the *crow's foot* plant in PGM XXXVI.283-94, are both references to something as simple as myrrh. That said, PGM XII.401-44 does not and should not give free licence for the liberal interpretation of the substances instructed for application by the PGM. Instead, in order to understand these unknown substances it is more prudent to focus on PGM which describe such substances by specific characteristics.<sup>180</sup> For example, the unknown *kentritis* plant in PGM IV.475-829, the *Mithras Liturgy*, gives a description of where this unknown plant can be found. It grows from Payni (the tenth month of the Coptic calendar which corresponds to June 8<sup>th</sup> to July 7<sup>th</sup>) in the regions of black earth. What follows is reminiscent of plant descriptions in botanical works, such as Theophrastus and Pliny, with identification offered via

<sup>177</sup> Lidonnici, 2002, pp.367-368, 376.

<sup>178</sup> Outside of the EMP, see *amomon* (PGM IV.1275-1322), *besas* (PGM IV.475-829), *calf's snout plant* (PGM V.172-212, 370-446) *chelkbei* (PGM V.70-95), *erephyllinon* (PGM XIII.1-343, 343-646), *falconweed* (PGM IV.850-929), *Hermes Finger* (PGM II.64-184), *kentritis* (PGM IV.475-829), *talapēs* (PGM IV.475-829), *thrion* (PGM III.612-32). All ambiguous substances will be italicised throughout this thesis.

<sup>179</sup> For the connection between Seth and the donkey, see II.1 pp.60-61.

<sup>180</sup> As proposed by Lidonnici, 2002, pp.376-377.

comparisons to other plants. Such an account insinuates that the *kentritis* plant existed and gives the impression that the other unknown substances could also be real.

Another prime example of the secret knowledge required to perform the rituals instructed by the PGM is the *voces magicae*.<sup>181</sup> Throughout the PGM there are ca.6000 *voces magicae* that are instructed for application either orally or visually and their inclusion is the most common practice in the category of erotic magic.<sup>182</sup> Unlike other practices discussed in this thesis, the use of *voces magicae* can mainly be traced from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onward and previous eras are all but devoid of comparable words or formulae.<sup>183</sup> From the 1<sup>st</sup> century onwards however, *voces magicae* grew in popularity to become one of the most common characteristics of late antique magic.<sup>184</sup> The reliance on *voces magicae* can clearly be seen in, for example, the lead lamella deposited with the figurines in PGM IV.296-466. The application of *voces magicae* in PGM IV.296-466 (167 separate *voces magicae* can be noted in this spell but only 32 can be found in an alternative erotic spell) reflects their use in magic generally. That is to say, there is a lack of coherency and consistency which supports the ancient view that these words were ἄσημα (without meaning, unintelligible),<sup>185</sup> ἄτοπα (out of place, strange, paradoxical),<sup>186</sup> and βάρβαρα (barbarous).<sup>187</sup> However, ancient opinion, such as Pliny's (who claims that all wise men reject the power of *voces magicae* but then proceeds to quote an occasion when a

---

<sup>181</sup> For scholarship on the *voces magicae* see Bonner, 1950; Miller, 1986; Suppl. Mag. Vol. II, pp. 325-338; GMPT pp.331-339; Kotansky, 1991; Graf, 1991, pp.190-195; Martinez, 1991, pp.34-36, 105-111; CT pp.5-12, 265-269; Brashear, 1995, pp.3429-3438, 3576-3603; Graf, 1997, pp.218-222; Frankfurter, 1994; Ogden, 1999, pp.46-50; Luck, 2006, pp.493-518. Cf. Tambiah, 1968.

<sup>182</sup> Establishing a precise figure can be difficult due to the very nature of *voces magicae* and the fragmented condition of the PGM. For an example of the difficulties surrounding the cataloguing of *voces magicae* in the PGM, see the heavily fragmented PGM LXVII.1-24. As stated in Suppl. Mag. Vol. II, p.325, editorial division and analysis of such words is often nothing more than guess work. *Voces magicae* are omitted in only eleven EMP: PGM IV.94-153; VII.167-86, 191-92, 459-61; XIXb.1-3; XXIVb.1-15; LII.9-19; CIX.1-8; CXIXa.1-3; CXXII.1-55; CXXVII.1-12.

<sup>183</sup> CT p.5; Brashear, 1995, pp.3414, 3430; Ogden, 1999, p.46. The exception would be the *Ephesia grammata* (ἄσκιον, κατασκιον, λιξ, τετραξ, δαμναμενευς, αἰσιον/αἰσια) which were believed to hold extraordinary power and were often used on amulets and phylacteries for apotropaic purposes. These six words can be found as early as the Hellenistic period. For the *Ephesia grammata* see Wessely, 1886; Wünsch, 1900, pp.73-85; Schultz, 1909; Siebourg, 1915; Deissman, 1918; McCown, 1923; Guarducci, 1939, p.19 no.7; Jeffrey, 1955, pp.75-76; Preisendanz, 1962; Jordan, 1988, pp.256-257; Kotansky, 1991, pp.110-112; CT pp.5-7, 267; Frankfurter, 1994, pp.195-196; Brashear, 1995, pp.3429-3430; Gordon, 1999, p.239; Ogden, 1999, pp.46-47; Janowitz, 2001, p.40.

<sup>184</sup> Dieleman, 2005, p.70. The same can be said of curse tablets. Gager (CT p.6) tells us that by the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, *voces magicae* and other forms of unintelligible writing can take up as much as 80-90% of a tablet.

<sup>185</sup> Lucian *Menip.* 9; Iambl. *Myst.* VII.iv.

<sup>186</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 166B.

<sup>187</sup> Heliod. *Aeth.* VI.14; Lucian *Dial. meret.* IV.5; Eur. *IT.* 1337-1338; Plin. *HN.* XXVIII.iv.20. Cf. Martinez, 1991, pp.34-35.

leading citizen of Rome applied such words on an amulet to cure ophthalmia)<sup>188</sup> can be contrary. Modern scholars traditionally agree with the ancient consensus however, and frequently claim that *voces magicae* (despite at times showing connections with various languages) are indecipherable.<sup>189</sup>

The question needs to be asked however, are the *voces magicae* as meaningless as we are generally led to believe? The simple answer to this question is that they are not completely devoid of meaning. To look at those words which are used in PGM IV.296-466, we can immediately see the names of various supernatural beings, e.g. Ἀβρασάξ,<sup>190</sup> Ἀδωναί,<sup>191</sup> Ἐρεσχιγᾶλ,<sup>192</sup> Ἴαω, Σαβαῶθ and Θῶθ.<sup>193</sup> Rather than being completely without meaning, the inclusion of these beings as *voces magicae* is evidence for the amalgamation of cultures and the pooling of intellectual resources from every corner of the Mediterranean world. The professional practitioner actively drew on the sources of religious energy available to them through the free incorporation of foreign ideas, deities, and names. Magic, above and beyond everything else, is the search for close communication with the divine and knowledge of a name is an essential prerequisite for any form of communication, as is the case with matters of a more mundane nature.<sup>194</sup> If one were to spot a friend on the other side of the road for example, how would that friend know someone was trying to get their attention if the wrong name was being shouted? It is the same when adjuring the gods and they can only realise someone was trying to win their attention if their true title was enunciated.<sup>195</sup> However, the diversity of names for the gods (e.g. Hermes is equal to Mercury and to Thoth) meant that it was important to know their

<sup>188</sup> Rejection: Plin. *HN*. XXVIII.iii.10. Ophthalmia: *HN*. XXVIII.v.29. Cf. Lucian *Philops*. 10.

<sup>189</sup> See for example Bonner, 1950, pp.11, 188; Nock, 1972, p.189; Miller, 1986, pp.481-505; Graf, 1991, p.191; CT p.9; Suppl. Mag. Vol. II, p.325; Brashear, 1995, pp.3434-3438.

<sup>190</sup> For a discussion of Ἀβρασάξ, see Bonner, 1950, pp.123-139; Barb, 1957, pp.67-86; CT p.265; GMPT p.331; Brashear, 1995, p.3577; Graf, 1997, p.144; Ogden, 1999, p.48.

<sup>191</sup> For Ἴαω, Σαβαῶθ, and Ἀδωναί, see I.3 p.26-27.

<sup>192</sup> Ereschigal is the goddess of the Mesopotamian underworld. Cf. Bonner, 1950, p.86; Burkert, 1992, p.68; CT p.267; GMPT p.334; Brashear, 1995, p.3585; Graf, 1997, p.170.

<sup>193</sup> The Egyptian Thoth. Cf. CT p.269; GMPT p.339; Brashear, 1995, pp.3586-3587. Through the repetitive use and the very nature of ritual, some *voces magicae* developed into supernatural beings in their own right. The more these words were used, the more familiar they became. As their familiarity developed, the more meaningful they became and less incomprehensible. Due to the conservative nature of rites and practices, almost anything can develop meaning if it is used repeatedly in a specialised context. For this process, see Smith, 1982, pp.53-56. Cf. CT p.7; Graf, 1997, pp.132-134; Ogden, 1999, pp.47-48; *idem*, 2009, p.214.

<sup>194</sup> For the ancient perception that magic was the search for close communication with the divine, see Apul. *Apol.* XXVI.6; Iambl. *Myst.* VII.5.

<sup>195</sup> Dillon, 1985, p.210; CT p.10.

true name in its original language.<sup>196</sup> In addition, it was believed that a language beyond the norm was required for communication with the divine as regular human language, used on a daily basis to talk amongst one another, was deemed unfit for communication with higher beings.<sup>197</sup> Thus *voces magicae* were perceived as a higher form of communication which allowed the practitioner to converse with these beings.<sup>198</sup> Knowledge of this higher language and the true names of the divine resided exclusively with the professional.<sup>199</sup> In a manner analogous to the secret knowledge required to understand codewords for substances, there was an element of status enhancement present for the professional who guarded this information which had taken time and effort to acquire.<sup>200</sup> As a consequence, if an amateur practitioner wished to establish contact with the divine he would need to consult the professional.<sup>201</sup>

From that depicted in literature, the archaeological evidence, and the PGM, the image of a professional practitioner with a specific level of knowledge and expertise

<sup>196</sup> The audible power of languages, which could be lost in translation, was a common issue in the debate on magic and divination in intellectual circles during the Roman period. See Préaux, 1967; Dillon, 1985; Clark, 1999, pp.121-126; Dieleman, 2005, pp.3-6. The power of one language over another is argued by the author of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (XVI.1-2), in which the opening passage takes the form of a letter from Asclepius to King Ammon. The author warns King Ammon against translating this treatise into Greek as translations, it is claimed, greatly distort the sense of writing. It is only in Egyptian that a word can convey its accurate meaning and, as a result, texts should remain untranslated. The reasoning for this is twofold: they do not want the power to be used by the Greeks and the Greek mode of speech, described as feeble and full of tricks, would reduce the strength of language and the force of words. This view was supported by the Neoplatonist Iamblichus (*Myst.* VII.iv-v) and in a defence of these practices he argues that foreign words, when used properly, could convey the power of the gods. These words and names lose their power when translated into Greek. Tambiah (1968, pp.180-181) points out that there is a continuation of this principle into the modern era. He tells us that in Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist and Jewish religious ceremonies, the sacred words recited should be in the language of the authorised sacred texts. Whether or not the congregation can understand these languages is secondary. Cf. Bloch, 1974, p.56.

<sup>197</sup> Frankfurter, 1994, p.201.

<sup>198</sup> Miller, 1986, pp.481-505; Wallis, 1986, pp.460-480; Versnel, 2002, pp.145-146. The ability of *voces magicae* to allow movement and communication between the human and divine worlds is illustrated in Lucian's *Menippus* (6-11). To enter the underworld, a ritual is performed at a deserted location in which the Chaldaean vocalises a number of βαρβαρικά τινα καὶ ἄσημα ὀνόματα καὶ πολυσύλλαβα. The result of which was immediate: the ground opened to reveal the underworld. Also see I.3 p.27.

<sup>199</sup> The proclamation that these names were secret and known only to the practitioner was a common characteristic of the PGM. For example, see the opening line of PGM IV.1265-74 which states Ἀφροδίτης ὄνομα τὸ μηδὲνι ταχέως γνωσκόμενον. Cf. PGM III.494-611; IV.1716-1870, 2241-2358; VII.1017-26; VIII.1-63; XIII.343-646.

<sup>200</sup> For status enhancement via knowledge of *voces magicae*, see Graf, 1991, p.192; CT p.10; Ogden, 1999, p.57.

<sup>201</sup> To know the true name of anything, including the divine, could also ensure control over them. See Bonner, 1950, pp.23, 188; Nock, 1972, pp.186-187; Dillon, 1985, p.204; Pulleyn, 1994, pp.17-25; Ogden, 1999, p.6; *idem*, 2009, p.214. See Erichtho's warnings (Luc. VI.730-749) against the powers of the underworld as she attempts to reanimate a corpse at the request of the Pompeian faction during the Civil War. Erichtho threatens to address the Furies by their true names, to reveal Hecate in her true form and to call on Him at the sound of whose name the earth quakes and trembles. For the use of threats as an Egyptian characteristic, see Bonner, 1950, p.23; CT pp.6-7; Frankfurter, 1994, p.197; Ritner, 1995, p.3346-3347.

emerges. It is with this expert that attention must be focused for a semiotic analysis of the rituals instructed by the EMP. They are the ones who know the secret knowledge and understand that which is being performed. The amateur practitioner is one of the multitudes who are not initiated in the ways of magic. As such we have to focus on the professional practitioner, the composer of the texts, to understand the rationale behind the application of tools in the rituals instructed by the EMP. The most likely character portrayal of this professional practitioner is offered by Betz who states that the original owner of the Anastasi papyri was someone scholarly, philosophically inclined, a bibliophile, and an archivist.<sup>202</sup> This highly educated individual was most likely a man, despite the regular depiction of the magical practitioner in literature as a woman.<sup>203</sup> This man would have been actively involved with religious activities and was most likely associated with one of the temples in Egypt.<sup>204</sup> The multi-lingual nature of the PGM (they are written in Coptic, Demotic, and Greek) points to a scribally trained Egyptian priest.<sup>205</sup> Indeed, the written nature of the PGM and the reference to many hours of studious work comparing various versions of a spell, alludes to this role as the majority of the populace was illiterate.<sup>206</sup> Examples of these temple magicians include the poet Pachrates, whose abilities assured the support of Hadrian, and Harnuphis, who instigated a deluge of rain in the Danube campaign of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>207</sup>

An important aspect of the professional practitioner's character is his willingness to embrace multiculturalism, a trait reflected by the nature of the PGM (a prime example being the inclusion of gods from many cultures around the Mediterranean basin).<sup>208</sup> Multiculturalism, the growing integration of cultures, and the gradual blending of ideas

<sup>202</sup> GMPT p.xlii.

<sup>203</sup> The most famous female practitioners in literature are Circe (Hom. *Od.* X.133-574; Diod. Sic. IV.45) and Medea (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* III-IV; Sen *Med.*; Ov. *Met.* VII.159-351; Diod. Sic. IV.45-46, 48, 50-52, 54-56; Apollod. *Bibl.* I.ix.26). For other female magicians, see Hor. *Epod.* V, *Sat.* I.viii; Verg. *Ecl.* VIII.64-109; Petron. *Sat.* 131; Luc. VI. 413-830. For a discussion on gender in magic, see Bremmer, 1987, pp.204-206; Winkler, 1991; CT pp.80, 244-245; Montserrat, 1996, p.187; Graf, 1997, pp.175-204; Ogden, 1999, pp.60-67; Faraone, 1999; *idem*, 1999a; Dickie, 2000, pp.563-583; Stratton, 2007, pp.24-25, 47-105. For a discussion of the prosecution of women in Classical Athens for magical practices, see Eidinow, 2010.

<sup>204</sup> For the likelihood that the composer of the PGM was a temple priest, see GMPT p.xlvi; Ritner, 1995, p.3354-3358; Frankfurter, 1998, pp.198-237; *idem*, 2002, pp.159-160. For the connection between magic and priests in Egyptian history, see Ritner, 1993, pp.220-233.

<sup>205</sup> Ritner, 1995, p.3361-3362. Gager (CT pp.4-5), when speaking of curse tablets, also promotes the idea of a professional via the nature of the inscriptions.

<sup>206</sup> Ritner (1995, p.3354) places literacy rates at just 1%. For literacy rates in Egypt, see Bagnall, 1993, pp.230-260; Ray, 1994; Lidonnici, 2002, p.367 & n.48.

<sup>207</sup> Pachrates: PGM IV.2446-55; Harnuphis: Cass. Dio LXXI.8-10.

<sup>208</sup> For the inclusion of foreign gods in the PGM, see I.3 pp.26-27, I.4 pp.45-46.

(syncretism)<sup>209</sup> were facilitated by the unification of peoples first under Hellenic and then Roman rule.<sup>210</sup> The unification and relative peace of the Hellenistic and Roman periods created a unique opportunity for the pooling of resources and ideas. There was relatively open movement within the Empire and intellectual debate between peoples was allowed to flourish due to the development of this unified world. This process was exemplified in the Egyptian city of Alexandria which contained large contingents of Jews, Egyptians, and Greeks. Alexandria flourished from its founding in 332 BC to become one of the leading and most renowned centres of knowledge and learning.<sup>211</sup> As a consequence of multiculturalism in the Roman Empire, there is an array of non-Greek (including Egyptian, Babylonian, Sumerian, Christian and Latin)<sup>212</sup> elements in the PGM. Due to the incorporation of numerous cultural elements, establishing the heritage of the PGM can be difficult. That said, in spite of the influence of other cultures, the inclusion of several key features (e.g. the use of hexametrical incantations)<sup>213</sup> reveals a continuous Greek tradition stretching from the Classical Age to late antique Egypt and supports the notion that the magical practices instructed by the PGM are a Greek creation on Egyptian soil.<sup>214</sup> The close connection between the PGM and the curse tablets (a Greek practice, the earliest of which date from 6<sup>th</sup> century BC Sicily)<sup>215</sup> also points to this Greek heritage. However, the influence of other cultures on the PGM cannot be ignored and many ancient source materials must be addressed to understand the rituals instructed by the PGM.<sup>216</sup> Indeed, the dominant non-Greek influence is Egyptian and to the Greeks and Romans, Egypt was the land of mystery and magic *par excellence*.<sup>217</sup> In the extreme, there are some scholars who

<sup>209</sup> For syncretism and magic, see Preisendanz, 1972, pp.11-13; Nock, 1972, p.189; Casadio, 1990; Faraone, 1991, p.6; Graf, 1991, p.191; Scarborough, 1991, p.157; CT pp.6-7, 10; GMPT pp.xlv-xlvii; Brashear, 1995, p.3430; Faraone, 1995; Graf, 1997, pp.5-6; Ritner, 1998; Faraone, 1999, pp.30-40; Sfameni, 2001; Scibilia, 2002, p.74; Luck, 2006, pp.16, 55-59; Collins, 2008, p.90; Ogden, 2009, pp.212-214; Karivieri, 2010; Sfameni, 2010, pp.461-464.

<sup>210</sup> Faraone, 1995, pp.300-301; Sfameni, 2010, p.463.

<sup>211</sup> Ogden, 1999, p.44; Luck, 2006, p.16.

<sup>212</sup> The use of Latin is limited. For an example of its use, see the application of Latin names; e.g. Capitolina (PGM XV), Claudianus (PGM VII.862) and Urbicus (PGM XII.318). The lack of Latin may be due to the perception that the language was not considered to be a holy or magical language, unlike Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek or Persian. Cf. Brashear, 1995, pp.3425-3426.

<sup>213</sup> Faraone, 1999, pp.32 & n.134.

<sup>214</sup> Luck, 2006, p.56. Cf. GMPT p.xlvi.

<sup>215</sup> Listed by Jameson, Jordan, & Kotansky, 1993, pp.125-126. Eidinow (2007, p.141) tells us that over 1600 curse tablets have been found dating from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. For important collections of curse tablets and scholarship, see I.1 p.2 n.7.

<sup>216</sup> As advocated by Luck, 2006, p.13.

<sup>217</sup> For Egyptian precedence, see Brashear, 1995, pp.3390-3396. For scholars who argue that Egyptian magic predates that seen in Greek magic, see Lexa, 1925; Sauneron, 1951; Käkösy, 1985; Roccati & Siliotti, 1987;



advocate a nearly exclusive derivation of the PGM from non-Greek cultures.<sup>218</sup> As a consequence, it is virtually impossible to understand that written in the PGM without first acknowledging this conglomeration of cultures. To negate the influence of one culture in favour of another is severely detrimental to any study of the PGM.

The professional practitioner, although most likely an Egyptian, was a *bricoleur* and, as a consequence, he was willing to adopt and adapt the beliefs of many cultures if they were seen to be of benefit.<sup>219</sup> The professional practitioner cared little for the cultural heritage of the PGM and his main concern was that a practice appeared to work.<sup>220</sup> The incorporating nature of the professional practitioner is an essential issue to focus on as the integration and reinterpretation of practices had a distinct advantage for the continuation of magic. That is to say, the rituals could appeal to a wide variety of possible clientele irrelevant of their cultural background.<sup>221</sup> Certain practices may have had a heritage predominantly in a particular culture (such as the heritage of cursing and binding which could be traced to Egyptian rites of subjugation or the Greek heritage of love magic)<sup>222</sup> but it is more important that a practice was common to multiple cultures (subjugation is present in the earliest Greek literature and love magic, although the evidence is slight, can be seen in Pharaonic Egypt)<sup>223</sup> and was thus compatible to many. Potential clients, whatever their own cultural heritage, would therefore not feel offended by the incorporation of such rituals in magic.<sup>224</sup> In this respect, the nationality of the professional practitioner is diminished due to the free incorporation of all cultural ideas. In contrast to the importance of national identity, what should be promoted instead is the role of

---

Ritner, 1993 (esp. pp.111-190); Koenig, 1994; Pinch, 1994; Arslan, 1997. For a survey of other influences, see Brashear, 1995, pp.3422-3429.

<sup>218</sup> E.g. Ritner, 1993 (esp. pp.99-100) where he writes about “the inherently traditional Egyptian basis of most PGM ritual.” Also see Ritner, 1995.

<sup>219</sup> For the ritual expert as a *bricoleur*, see Frankfurter (2002).

<sup>220</sup> See the story of Simon in *Acts VIII*, who, after seeing and being impressed by the power of Christianity, tried to buy its secrets. Simon did not care how the power of Christianity worked. He simply cared that it worked. For a discussion of Simon, see Luck, 2006, pp.64-66.

<sup>221</sup> Faraone, 1999, p.35. Sfameni (2010, p.454 n.119) argues that in the same manner, work from scholars tends to be based on their own field of research. Thus a Greek historian would see the Greek influence, an Egyptologist the Egyptian influence, etc.

<sup>222</sup> For the Egyptian heritage of subjugation and binding, see Ritner, 1993, pp.111-190; *idem*, 1995, pp.3346-3349.

<sup>223</sup> For subjugation in Greece, see Petrovic, “Desmophobia,” pp.10-12. For love magic in Pharaonic Egypt, see Ritner, 1995, p.3348-3349. Ritner tells us that only one Ramesside example of love magic has survived. Faraone (1999, p.34), when speaking of the lack of evidence of love magic in Egypt prior to the Hellenistic period, states that it would be churlish to consider the practice inherently Greek. For one of the earliest Greek literary representations of a spell of attraction, see Pind. *Pyth.* IV.213-219. Aphrodite invented the spell of attraction and taught it to Jason so that he might seduce Medea.

<sup>224</sup> Faraone, 1999, p.35.

multiculturalism and the effect this had on the professional and thus the perception of the EMP. In this respect, it is as counterproductive to refer to the PGM as Egyptian as it would be to refer to them as Greek. We should not try to definitively pin the PGM to one cultural heritage or another and the multiculturalism which pervades the corpus should be embraced.<sup>225</sup> Due to this multicultural tradition and the nature of the PGM (i.e. they are copies of original documents lost to us),<sup>226</sup> it is prudent for those interested in the papyri not to limit themselves to contemporary source material. As a consequence, it is important to refer to an array of Greek and Roman ancient sources, including fictional works (e.g. Homer, Euripides, or Lucian), historical narratives (e.g. Plutarch, Lucan, or Suetonius), philosophical and scientific discourse (e.g. Plato, Hippocrates, or Iamblichus), and legal records (e.g. Apuleius or Demosthenes). It is also important to understand and incorporate, when it is appropriate, texts from outside the Graeco-Roman world (e.g. the Old and New Testaments or the Ebers Papyrus).<sup>227</sup>

The image of the professional practitioner depicted so far is one of a learned, male, Egyptian scholar who is open to any cultural idea as long as it is deemed worthy. However, one final aspect still needs to be established: the professional practitioner's relationship to the amateur practitioner. In essence, the professional practitioner is a merchant who sells his trade to the amateur practitioner who in turn would then perform the magical act.<sup>228</sup> A description of the commercial nature of magical practices is offered by Origen who attacks Celsus' attempts to compare Jesus Christ to a magician. In doing so, Origen reveals the image of the professional practitioner in his own time (248 AD). Jesus Christ is compared by Celsus to the Egyptians who ἐν μέσαις ἀγοραῖς ὀλίγων ὀβολῶν ἀποδιδόμενων τὰ σεμνὰ μαθήματα καὶ δαίμονας ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐξελαινόντων καὶ νόσους ἀποφυσόντων καὶ ψυχὰς ἡρώων ἀνακαλούντων δεῖπνά τε πολυτελεῖ καὶ τραπέζας καὶ πέμματα καὶ ὄψα τὰ οὐκ ὄντα δεικνόντων καὶ ὡς ζῶα κινούντων οὐκ ἀληθῶς ὄντα ζῶα ἀλλὰ μέχρι φαντασίας

---

<sup>225</sup> In this respect this thesis will follow that stated by Graf, 1997, pp.5-6. Faraone (2002, pp.321-322) states that those who focus on non-Greek elements fall victim to the same methodological flaws of scholars who saw only Greek traditions in the PGM and magic generally.

<sup>226</sup> Brashear (1995, pp.3415-3416), tells us that the texts which date from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD cannot be original works and are instead compilations from a multitude of source material. The earliest known dating of a text is the curse of Artemisia at PGM XL, which has been placed soon after the death of Alexander the Great. Cf. Brashear, 1995, p.3413; Sfameni, 2010, p.453 n.111. Ritner (1995, p.3360) places the date of PGM XL to before Alexander.

<sup>227</sup> For the Ebers papyrus, see II.7 p.181 & n.683. See Faraone, 1999, pp.30-40, where he discusses and advocates the advantages of a synchronic and comparative approach.

<sup>228</sup> Ritner (1995, p.3354) argues that off-duty priests could supplement their income by serving as community magicians.

φαινόμενα τοιαῦτα.<sup>229</sup> Here we can see in the public market places of Egypt men who are offering to sell their expert knowledge of practices which are not dissimilar to that seen in the PGM. The services that are on offer include the ability to perform exorcisms, the curing of ailments, the rousing of the dead, the spontaneous summoning of food, and the animation of the inanimate. Although many of these skills are required for the successful completion of the rituals instructed by the PGM, there does not appear to be any worry of legal repercussions.

The trade in magic in Egypt may have been relatively open but it is virtually impossible to know for certain exactly who approached these professional practitioners for assistance. However, questions of the amateur practitioner's gender, nationality, profession, cultural influences, and others, are not as important as establishing the identity, as far as it is possible, of the professional practitioner. As has been stated above, it is the professional who has expert knowledge in the ways of magic and it is with this individual's perception of the tools that attention must be focused. To give an example to help illustrate this point, the reason for the incineration of dove fat in PGM IV.2891-2942 (use of dove fat is rooted in Greek tradition and it is offered as it is associated with Aphrodite, it being her favourite animal and symbolic of her)<sup>230</sup> does not change depending on who performed the actual incineration of the substance. The rationale for the inclusion of this substance is reliant on the professional practitioner alone and the amateur practitioner could have been anyone from any corner of the Roman Empire.<sup>231</sup> What we can guess at with more confidence however, is the emotional state of the amateur practitioner who performed erotic magic. In contrast to the professional, the amateur practitioner is suffering from a terrible ailment and it is for this reason that he/she has sought the advice of the professional. The burning experience of erotic desire was perceived as the onset of a

---

<sup>229</sup> Origen, *C. Cels.* I.68.

<sup>230</sup> For a discussion of the dove and its connection to Aphrodite, see II.2 p.96.

<sup>231</sup> The language of the EMP may allow assumptions to be made as they regularly use ὁ δαίνα to designate the practitioner and ἡ δαίνα to designate the target, as is discussed by Graf, 1997, pp.185-186. For example, the final line of the erotic charm at PGM VII.643-651 aims at making the target love the amateur practitioner for all of her life: τῆς δαίνα, φιλησάτω με, τὸν δαίνα, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον. From this it may be possible to deduce that the EMP were generally intended for a male audience and the target was, on the whole, a female. In support of this, Winkler (1991, pp.227-228 & n.74) asserts that love magic is created for men in pursuit of women. He also observes however, that a number fall into alternative categories: a) women in pursuit of men; b) women in pursuit of women; c) and men in pursuit of men. For a partial listing of homosexual attraction spells, see Suppl. Mag. 42. Cf. CT p.80.

pathological disease,<sup>232</sup> a disease which attacks the inner faculties of thought and emotion.<sup>233</sup> The ailment of the amateur practitioners has been generated by an unrequited desire for the intended target and they are suffering from a terrible disease of passionate longing. A description of the detrimental effects of this disease is offered by Simaetha after she first caught a glimpse of Delphis and was set aflame: *χῶς ἴδον, ὥς ἐμάνην, ὥς μοι πυρὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη δειλαίας, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο. οὐκέτι πομπᾶς τήνας ἐφρασάμαν, οὐδ' ὡς πάλιν οἴκαδ' ἀπῆνθον ἔγνων, ἀλλὰ μέ τις καπυρὰ νόσος ἐξεσάλαξεν, κείμεν δ' ἐν κλινηρῶν δέκ' ἄματα καὶ δέκα νύκτας.*<sup>234</sup> Simaetha ignores the passion that arises from seeing Delphis. The result is an illness through fire and fever. Simaetha tries more mundane remedies to cure her ailment but ultimately is forced to turn to magic.<sup>235</sup> It is noteworthy that in only one example from the PGM is there an acceptance by the practitioner of this erotic disorder (and his subsequent resort to a course of action not altogether dissimilar to that taken by Simaetha). This can be seen in PGM VII.981-93, a spell of attraction, in which the amateur practitioner asks the adjured being to attract and bind the intended target and to inflame her heart, her guts, her liver, her spirit, and her bones. The amateur practitioner refers to himself as the man who is pining away with passion for the intended target.

By enacting the rituals described in the EMP, the amateur practitioner is attempting to replicate his or her feelings in the target in an attempt to alleviate this burning ailment. The only cure for passion is erotic magic and the return of the devotee's feelings.<sup>236</sup> The therapeutic nature of erotic magic was promoted by Winkler who states that its performance was reliant on a dual process of displacement and transference,<sup>237</sup> i.e. the

<sup>232</sup> Dodds, 1951, pp.64, 218; Maehler, 1990; Parry, 1992, pp.269-271, 292; Winkler, 1991, pp.222-224; CT pp.81-82; Martinez, 1995, pp.353-354; Faraone, 1999, pp.43-55; Parisinou, 2000, pp.114-123; Petrovic, 2004; Eidinow, 2007, p.208.

<sup>233</sup> This is represented in epic poetry. The magical *kestos himas* of Aphrodite (Hom. *Il.* XIV.214-219, 294), for example, can steal away the mind of thoughtful men and Eros can overcome the mind of the gods and men (Hes. *Theog.* 121-122).

<sup>234</sup> Theoc. *Id.* II. 82-86.

<sup>235</sup> Amongst the ritual that Simaetha performs, she burns bay leaves in the hope that Delphis' flesh would become consumed by flames. In addition, she burns a waxen image and declares that as the doll melts, so too may Delphis melt with love. See Theoc. *Id.* II.23-26, 28-29. The ritual Simaetha performs contains similar techniques to those instructed by the EMP. Concerning the wish to inflict a burning sensation of passion onto the target, see II.2 p.83 & n.338.

<sup>236</sup> Winkler, 1991, pp.225-226. See Petrovic, 2004, p.428, who argues that magic is the only answer to this terrible disease.

<sup>237</sup> Winkler, 1991. Collins (2008, pp.3-4) tells us that magic can be seen as a psychological phenomenon which helps the practitioner believe he is doing something in a situation the outcome of which is uncertain. This is a situation fraught with uncertainty, a point that links to Faraone's theory (1991) that binding magic is performed within an agonistic context, i.e. a situation that involves competitors. Such a statement is no more

ailment contracted by the amateur practitioner was transferred via the erotic magical procedure to the target.<sup>238</sup> As a consequence, the real target of the spell can be seen to be the disease, the inflamed passion of the amateur practitioner. In this respect, the relationship between the amateur and the professional is comparable to the modern relationship between a patient and a medical consultant: passionate longing was a disease affecting the amateur practitioner and the professional practitioner was the doctor. The amateur practitioner would go to the professional trusting that he knew the best solution to his predicament in the same way that a patient would go to a medical consultant for an ailment, trusting that he would have the expert knowledge to treat this ailment. It is debatable whether the amateur practitioner actually understood every aspect of erotic magic just as a patient in 21<sup>st</sup> century British society would not know how modern medicine works. It is possible that a certain level of knowledge was possessed (i.e. the amateur practitioner may know for example, that the donkey was the symbolic animal of Seth and the patient may understand for example, that penicillin targets a bacterial infection)<sup>239</sup> but if the amateur practitioner/patient was asked to explain explicitly why and how erotic magic/modern medicine worked, they would struggle. The amateur practitioner/patient would thus go to the professional practitioner/doctor who would be able to accurately diagnose the problem, possessing the specialised knowledge to do so, and offer a prescription, e.g. an ἄρωγόν/penicillin. The amateur practitioner/patient, following this visit to the professional/doctor, would thus have done nothing but follow the instructions sold to him/her by the professional/doctor.<sup>240</sup>

It is due to the expert knowledge of the professional and the client-consultant relationship which existed between the professional and the amateur practitioner, that this thesis will be focusing almost exclusively on the professional practitioner's perception of the tools instructed by the EMP. As a consequence, when reference is given to the practitioner throughout this thesis, it generally refers to a male professional practitioner who possesses secret knowledge. This is a man who has spent many years training to become adept in the magical arts. He is the one who composed the texts and he is the one that understands the reasons why the rituals instructed by the EMP were believed to work.

---

true than with matters of the heart. Magic could help with this feeling of uncertainty and the commission of a spell gave the amateur the initiative and a sense of power over a situation outside of their control. Cf. CT pp.81-82; Graf, 1997, pp.152-157.

<sup>238</sup> Winkler, 1991, pp.224-228.

<sup>239</sup> For the relationship between the donkey and Seth, see II.1 pp.60-61.

<sup>240</sup> Graf, 1997, p.147.

On occasion it will be necessary to focus on the amateur but when reference is made to this person it will be explicitly stated. This will ordinarily be in conjunction with the actual performance of a spell, i.e. when discussing the meaning of a tool, reference will be given to the professional but when discussing the performance of the rituals instructed by the EMP, it is to the amateur that reference must be given.

## II. Analysis

### 1. Incantation

#### a) Introduction

The prevalent ritual action is the *incantation* ritual, the name of which is derived from the Latin *incantare*, meaning “to chant upon.”<sup>241</sup> The *incantation* ritual requires the use of verbal words which are spoken or sung as part of a magical ritual, and to written formulae which are designed to produce a particular magical effect. This dual meaning enables a categorisation of the *incantation* ritual into two basic paradigms: spoken and written. However, this analysis of the *incantation* ritual is complicated by a number of the EMP that do not explicitly instruct how the ritual action is to be performed.<sup>242</sup> Insight into the nature of these unspecified *incantation* rituals can nevertheless be revealed through a close reading of the EMP which do not give explicit instructions. For example, the inclusion of written techniques is a clear indication of an *incantation* ritual’s written nature. *Incantation* rituals, be they spoken or written, generally consist of legible Greek and include *voces magicae* but it is only with the written form that characters and technopaegnia are included.<sup>243</sup> As a consequence, the use of technopaegnia in PGM XVIIa.1-25, PGM XXXIX.1-21, and PGM LXXXIV.1-21, and characters in PGM CVII.1-19 and PGM CVIII.1-12 demonstrates that the *incantation* rituals in these spells would have been written rather than spoken. As such, EMP incorporating written techniques have been included in this chapter despite there being no instructions for the application of any tools.

This chapter will focus exclusively on the written form of the *incantation* ritual. This is due to the lack of tool application in the spoken form of the ritual and, as a result, when reference is henceforth given to an *incantation* ritual it will always be in regards to the written form unless specified otherwise. The written form of an *incantation* ritual can be divided into ‘functions’ which require the application of a tool chosen from one of three paradigms: *ink*, *stylus*, and *medium*. The *incantation* ritual is visually represented in Figure II.1.a. The sequential nature of the ritual is represented on the syntagmatic axis. This is joined by the vertical axis, which represents the paradigms, from which only one tool can

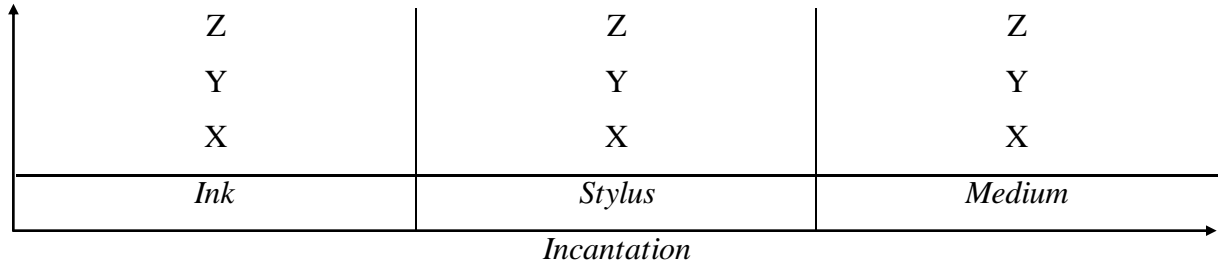
<sup>241</sup> The majority of the EMP require the performance of the *incantation* ritual. Only PGM VII.167-86, PGM VII.191-92, and the charm at ll.319-320 of PGM XIII do not include one.

<sup>242</sup> PGM XVIIa.1-25, XXXII.1-19, XXXIIa.1-25, XXXIX.1-21, LXVIII.1-20, LXXXIV.1-21, CVII.1-19, CVIII.1-12; CIX.1-8.

<sup>243</sup> The use of characters and technopaegnia will be discussed momentarily.

be chosen (X, Y, and Z). The structure of this chapter will be dictated by the sequential nature of the ritual laid out in Figure II.1.a.

Figure II.1.a: The *incantation* ritual



The first section, *ink*, will focus on the perceived connections between the tools chosen and the divine, chief amongst which are deities with liminal characteristics. It will be argued that an understanding of this connection is essential as the performance of the *incantation* ritual is reliant on its epistolary nature and the wish that the text should be transmitted. A study of a tool's modal connections can also explain why it is only metals that are used in *stylus*, a paradigm which is heavily affected by the influence of multivocality. That is to say, when first perceiving the application of a tool in the *stylus* paradigm, initial thoughts focus primarily on practical purposes but further symbolic rationale can be perceived when considering the modal connections between, firstly, writing tools and Aphrodite and, secondly, writing tools and nails. The final section will continue in this vein and argue that tools were used in the performance of *medium* due to practical reasons but, due to the conservative nature of rituals, symbolic and indexical connotations developed over time to create an altered perception of these tools.

#### b) Ink

The tools in the *ink* paradigm are in the form of coloured fluid or paste and are used for writing words directly onto a tool chosen from the *medium* paradigm. There are seven substances in the *ink* paradigm: *blood of Typhon*, cinnabar, donkey blood, fish blood, the plant *Sarapis*, myrrh, and wormwood. The EMP that give instructions for the application of a tool from the *ink* paradigm reveal that a tool can be constructed from either one substance or through a combination of several. Therefore, there are only six tools (when it is stated) in the *ink* paradigm despite the cataloguing of seven substances (see Table II.1.a).



The combination of the plant *Sarapis* and fish blood in PGM XXXVI.361-71 will be referred to as *ink* combination 1 (IC1) and when wormwood is used in conjunction with myrrh in PGM IV.2145-2240, the resulting combination will be referred to as *ink* combination 2 (IC2). Table II.1.a also reveals that there are many EMP that do not specify that a tool should be chosen from the *ink* paradigm. The majority of these examples are engravings however (e.g. the engraved lead lamella in PGM IV.296-466) and would not require the application of such a tool.

Table II.1.a: Tools in the *ink* paradigm

<b>Tool</b>	<b>EMP</b>	<b>Line(s)</b>	<b>Category</b>
<i>Blood of Typhon</i>	LXI.39-71	61	Attraction
Cinnabar	III.1-164	18-19	Binding
Donkey blood	VII.300a-310	301	Attraction
	XXXVI.69-101	71	Attraction
IC1	XXXVI.361-71	361-363	Attraction
IC2	IV.2145-2240	2236-2238	Attraction
Myrrh	VII.467-77	468	Attraction
	VII.593-619	596	Attraction
	XIXb.4-18	5	Attraction
	XXXVI.102-33	103	Attraction
	XXXVIII.1-26	2	Attraction
Unknown	IV.296-466	n/a	Binding
	IV.1716-1870	n/a	Attraction
	IV.1872-1927	n/a	Attraction
	IV.2145-2240	n/a	Attraction & charm
	IV.2441-2621	n/a	Attraction
	IV.2943-66	n/a	Attraction
	VII.459-61	n/a	Charm
	VII.462-66	n/a	Charm
	VII.593-619	n/a	Attraction
	VII.969-72	n/a	Charm
	XIc.1-19	n/a	Charm

	XV.1-21	n/a	Binding
	XVI.1-75	n/a	Binding
	XVIIa.1-25	n/a	Attraction
	XIXa.1-54	n/a	Attraction
	XXXVI.187-210	n/a	Attraction
	XXXIX.1-21	n/a	Attraction
	LXXVIII.1-14	n/a	Attraction
	LXXXIV.1-21	n/a	Attraction
	CI.1-53	n/a	Attraction
	CVII.1-19	n/a	Attraction
	CVIII.1-12	n/a	Attraction

Myrrh, the aromatic resin exuded from trees of the *Commiphora* genus, was used more than any other substance for the creation of a tool. The dominance of myrrh is reflected by its use in the rituals instructed throughout the PGM, i.e. the main use of the resin is as ink and its red/brown colour was well-suited for writing on a medium.<sup>244</sup> The role played by myrrh can be understood when considering the modality of the substance and in PGM I.232-47, a non-erotic memory spell, the substance is referred to as ζμυρνομέλανι Ἑρμαϊκῶ. Hermes is the god of language, having taught mankind their many tongues, and the inventor of writing.<sup>245</sup> The application of a substance symbolically and indexically connected with the inventor of writing seems logical but the traditional role of Hermes, guide of deceased souls to the afterlife, points to alternative rationalisation.<sup>246</sup> Hermes is a liminal deity with the ability to freely move between the world of the mortals and the world of the divine. He is the messenger of Zeus, the mediator between heaven,

<sup>244</sup> For the use of myrrh for the creation of ink, see PGM I.1-42, 232-47; II.1-64; III.165-86; IV.475-829, 930-1114, 1928-2005, 2140-44, 2145-2240, 2373-2440, 3209-54; V.304-69; VII.300, 467-77, 505-28, 593-619, 664-85, 703-26, 940-68, 993-1009; VIII.1-63, 64-110; XII.107-21, 121-43, 144-52, 179-81, 376-96; XIII.1-343, 343-646; XIXb.1-3, 4-18; XXXVI.102-33, 256-64, 264-74; XXXVIII.1-26; LXII.24-46; LXXII.1-36. The next main use of myrrh is in a burnt offering: PGM I.42-195; II.64-184; IV.1275-1322, 1496-1595, 1716-1870, 2441-2621, 2785-2890, 2891-2942; V.172-212, 213-303; VII.429-58; XIII.1-343, 343-646.

<sup>245</sup> Hes. *Op.* 80-82; Plat. *Crat.* 408b; Philostr. *VA* V.15; Hyg. *Fab.* 143, 277.

<sup>246</sup> One of the earliest indications of the god in this role can be found in Hom. *Od.* XXIV.1-10. Cf. Hom. *Od.* XI.626; Lucian *Dial. mort.* 2 (22) 424; Eur. *Alc.* 743-744; Aesch. *Pers.* 629-630, *Cho.* 1; Soph. *Aj.* 831-832; *OC.* 1548. Guides were of great importance in the transition from life to death. Socrates (*Phd.* 107D-E) believed that each individual soul was allocated a guide at the point of death.

earth, and the afterlife.<sup>247</sup> *Incantation* rituals, be they spoken or written, were fundamentally messages between the mortal practitioner and the agents who were expected to help the amateur practitioner. They explain in great detail the expected outcome of the rituals instructed by the EMP and how they were to be enacted. To this end, it is common for an *incantation* ritual to be used in conjunction with the *deposition* ritual (they are commonly placed into the resting place of the deceased) and they regularly contain integral information regarding the identity of the target, how to find them, and the method of attraction.<sup>248</sup> It is because of the liminal role of Hermes and his position as a messenger that he is brought into the power of the *incantation* ritual. The composers of the EMP wished to take advantage of Hermes' liminality by transferring his symbolic qualities to the tool, which, in turn, could help with the transmission of the message contained within the *incantation* ritual.

The PGM regularly draw on the ability of plants and plant produce to symbolically represent and indexically point to the divine. Through their perceived modality, plants and plant produce (the combination of which will henceforth be referred to as botanical substances) could bring powerful supernatural forces into a spell. The symbolic and indexical nature of plants can be seen clearly in PGM XIII.1-343 which depicts a connection between 15 plants and the divine. The initial 234 lines of PGM XIII.1-343, titled *μὸνὰς* or *Ὁγδόη Μοῦσέως*, are dedicated to an initiation ceremony which, once completed, would allow the performance of various magical spells (amongst which are a charm and a spell of attraction). At l.14 the EMP instruct that seven incenses *συνγενικοῖς οὐ̅ξι τοῦ θεοῦ* should be prepared. *Styrax*, *malabathron*, *kostos*, *frankincense*, *Indian nard*, *cassia*, and *myrrh* are described as being connected to the gods *Kronos*, *Zeus*, *Ares*, *Helios*, *Aphrodite*, *Hermes*, and *Selene*, respectively.<sup>249</sup> A further connection is then drawn between *marjoram*, *white lily*, *lotus*, *erephyllinon*,<sup>250</sup> *narcissus*,<sup>251</sup> *gillyflower*, and *rose* and the seven stars; i.e. the heavenly bodies.<sup>252</sup> Furthermore, the practitioner in PGM XIII.1-

<sup>247</sup> Hom. *Il.*XXIV. 333-338; *Od.* V.29. Also see H. *Dem.* 335-337. Cf. Furley, 1981, pp.56-63.

<sup>248</sup> For placement into a grave or tomb and the instructive nature of the information transmitted, see II.3.

<sup>249</sup> Hermes is here associated with *cassia* and instead *Selene* is associated with *myrrh*. It is evident from this spell that plants and plant substances could be associated with more than one god.

<sup>250</sup> *Erephyllinon* is unknown. It also appears in PGM XIII.343-646.

<sup>251</sup> The *daffodil*. For the use of the *narcissus* plant in the PGM, excluding erotic magic, see PGM XIII.343-646. For a mythological justification for the origins of the *narcissus* plant, see *Ov. Met.* III.402-508. Cf. *Plin. HN* XXI.lxxv.128-129; *Theophr. Hist. pl.* VI.vi.9, VII.xiii.1-7.

<sup>252</sup> Hermetic lore claimed that the reason plants had a power was because of the connections to the divine who were represented by constellations and the planets. For the Hermetic astrological herbal lore, see *Thessalus' Power of Herbs*. Cf. Scarborough, 1991, pp.154-156.

343 is required to wear cinnamon as its presence will please the deity due to the divine origin of its power. In a comparable manner, it is because of the perceived power of botanical substances that the PGM instruct the construction of Apollo figurines from laurel.<sup>253</sup> Laurel was the sacred plant of Apollo (the association between the two is famously depicted in the myth of Daphne and Apollo)<sup>254</sup> and could assist those who would request aid from the god.<sup>255</sup> This connection between laurel and Apollo is illustrated by PGM II.64-184, a non-erotic spell for a revelation, which instructs the performance of a verbal *incantation* ritual proclaiming laurel as Apollo's holy plant of presage. An analysis of the botanical substances instructed for use by the PGM can therefore reveal the perception that many plants were believed to have a power which was bestowed upon them by a divine connection.<sup>256</sup> Wormwood, used with myrrh in IC2, by its very name (ἀρτεμισία) indicates its connection to the goddess Artemis and by studying instructions for its use throughout the PGM, it can be seen to have positive connotations.<sup>257</sup>

The symbolic and indexical connection between plants and the divine makes possible the partial identification of the unknown plant *Sarapis* used to create IC1. In the same way that myrrh is connected to Hermes, it is possible there was a perceived connection between the plant *Sarapis* and the Graeco-Egyptian deity Sarapis. The author of PGM XXXVI.361-71 may have used the name of Sarapis as a codeword to hide the plant's true identity from unworthy eyes.<sup>258</sup> If this hypothesis is accurate, the author intentionally took advantage of the indexical and symbolic connections inherent in botanical substances in order to elevate the magical properties of the tool IC1, a concoction already magically active due to the inclusion of fish blood. In Egyptian thought fish are synonymous with magic and excessive interest in maritime life could lead to an accusation of magical practices.<sup>259</sup> Egyptian mythology viewed fish as impure, chaotic, and evil, due to their devouring of Osiris' genitalia after the disposal of his corpse by Seth (the Greek

<sup>253</sup> PGM III.282-409; XIII.1-343, 646-734.

<sup>254</sup> *Ov. Met.* I.452-567.

<sup>255</sup> The Pythia, the oracle priestess of Delphi, chewed laurel leaves before falling into a trance. See Parker, 1983, pp.228-229; Räscher, 1992, pp.57-58; Price & Kearns, 2003, p.159; Bonnechere, 2010, p.155.

<sup>256</sup> For a further discussion of this divine connection, see II.2 pp.95-97.

<sup>257</sup> For alternative uses of wormwood in the EMP, see PGM IV.2891-2942 (burnt in an offering) and PGM VII.593-619 (placed on a lamp). For an example of wormwood having a negative connotation, see PGM IV.2622-2707, where it is an ingredient in a coercive spell.

<sup>258</sup> For the use of codewords in the PGM, see I.4 pp.42-44.

<sup>259</sup> An interest in fish was one of the reasons why Apuleius had to defend himself against an accusation of erotic magic. *Apul. Apol.* XXXIV.4. Cf. Graf, 1997, pp.72-76.

Typhon).<sup>260</sup> Fish are thus symbolically accursed through their association with the god Seth and, come the compilation of the PGM, the god represented the archetypal enemy of the ordered world. Like Hermes he was a liminal deity but he was also regarded as antisocial and the enemy of society through his identification with foreigners.<sup>261</sup> The final three tools (donkey blood, *blood of Typhon*, and cinnabar) are all connected symbolically and indexically with this strange and confusing deity. To focus initially on the donkey, Egyptian thought perceived the animal as the quintessential symbol of Seth and to apply a substance originating from the donkey was to utilise the power of Seth.<sup>262</sup> It is for this reason that donkey blood, which is used more for the creation of ink than any other animal blood in the rituals instructed throughout the PGM,<sup>263</sup> is applied in PGM VII.300a-310 and PGM XXXVI.69-101.<sup>264</sup> The connection between the donkey and Seth is specifically referenced by PGM XXXVI.69-101, in which the EMP instruct that an inscription and a theriomorphic figure are to be written on papyrus with the blood of a donkey. The name of Seth can be found both in the *voces magicae* of the inscription and running vertically to the left of the theriomorphic figure. The proclamation ἐλθέ, Τυφῶν at the beginning of the *incantation* ritual proves that the intention of PGM XXXVI.69-101 was to adjure Seth. Due to the symbolic and indexical connection between the donkey and Seth, it is possible to infer that a similar connection is drawn in the last fragmented lines of the spell of attraction at PGM LXI.39-71, in which, following the heating of a lizard in an iron container, a spell is to be written on papyrus with αἷματι Τυφῶνος, *blood of Typhon*.<sup>265</sup> It is highly likely that the identity of this unknown tool was in fact donkey blood.

The final substance used to create a tool in the *ink* paradigm is cinnabar, the common ore of the metal mercury (known as ὑδράργυρος, silver water, to the Greeks). Cinnabar is used only in PGM III.1-164 for erotic magic and instructions for its application

<sup>260</sup> For an early testimony of the association between Seth and Typhon, see Hdt. II.144, 156. Cf. Procopé-Walter, 1933; Bonner, 1950, p.130; Moraux, 1960, pp.23-37; Jordan, 1985, pp.240-241, 245; Dieleman, 2005, p.132 & n.77.

<sup>261</sup> For the role of Seth in Egyptian mythology, see te Velde, 1967. For his association with the foreigner, see te Velde, 1967, pp.138-151; Dieleman, 2005, p.132. Compare with the concept of the magician as someone from outside of a society at I.3 pp.27-28.

<sup>262</sup> For the association between Seth and the donkey, see Ritner, 1995, p.3349; Dieleman, 2005, pp.130-138.

<sup>263</sup> For the use of animal blood for the creation of ink throughout the PGM, not including the EMP, see PGM IV.1928-2005 (snake), IV.2006-2125 (donkey, eel, falcon), VIII.64-110 (crow, dove), XIII.1-343 (baboon), and LXII.76-106 (sheep).

<sup>264</sup> In PGM VII.300a-310 donkey's blood is used to write an incantation on a seashell, another tool related to Seth due to a maritime connection. It is also because of the connection between Seth and the donkey that the animal's skin is used for parchment in PGM XXXVI.361-71.

<sup>265</sup> This phrase is not uncommon in the PGM and can be seen by, for example, l.3260 of PGM IV.3255-74, a non-erotic spell to induce insomnia.

by the PGM are infrequent but when it is applied it is generally used for the creation of ink.<sup>266</sup> Although there is little reference to the use of cinnabar for writing in the PGM, the substance was evidently well known for this use in the wider Graeco-Roman world, a point demonstrated by extant artefacts revealing the use of cinnabar in Greece from as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>267</sup> From Pliny we learn that by the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Iberia had become the dominant producer of the ore.<sup>268</sup> The ore became an expensive commodity and the sales price was fixed by law to keep it from becoming too costly.<sup>269</sup> Perhaps because of the striking red pigment produced from cinnabar, it was thought by some to be associated with blood and with serpent's blood in particular.<sup>270</sup> The iconic similarities between cinnabar and blood would not have gone unnoticed and it is possible that it was believed to possess the ability of blood help in purificatory rituals. That said, this ability of blood was wholly dependent on the context in which it was spilled: when it was shed in murder, it was impure but when shed in a ritual context, it could have a purifying quality.<sup>271</sup> As a consequence, rationale for the application of the substance must lie elsewhere and we can again see a symbolic association with Seth as red, a colour associated with negativity, is symbolically connected with the god.<sup>272</sup> Thus, through the application of a tool which is connected to a liminal deity, the objective of cinnabar is to draw into the power of an *incantation* ritual free movement between worlds. In a comparable manner, cinnabar, through its connections with mercury, is also alchemically associated with Hermes. In the same way that plants are connected to the divine, many metals (including all that are instructed for application by the EMP), via alchemy, indexically point to and symbolically represent the divine: gold was associated with the sun (Helios), silver with the moon (Selene), copper with Venus (Aphrodite), iron with Mars (Ares), mercury with Mercury (Hermes), lead with Saturn (Cronos), and tin with Jupiter (Zeus).<sup>273</sup> In order to place a tool chosen from the *ink* paradigm onto a surface however, a writing tool of some kind was

<sup>266</sup> For the use of cinnabar in the PGM see PGM IV.2373-2440; VII.222-49, 795-845; VIII.64-110; XIII.1-343. PGM XIII.1-343 is the only spell that does not use cinnabar as ink. Instead it is smeared onto half of a falcon's egg to create an invisibility spell.

<sup>267</sup> Caley, 1945, Table I no.4, Table II no.4, 8; Caley & Richards, 1956, p.194.

<sup>268</sup> For Pliny's coverage of cinnabar, see *HN* XXXIII.xxxvi-xl. For Iberia as a source of cinnabar, see Plin. *HN* XXXIII.xl. For the production of the pigment in 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, see Theophr. *de Lap.* 53, 58, 59.

<sup>269</sup> Thompson, 1956, p.103.

<sup>270</sup> Plin. *HN* XXXIII.xxxviii.116.

<sup>271</sup> For a discussion of the impurity and purity of blood, see II.6 pp.175-176.

<sup>272</sup> GMPT, p. 336; Ritner, 1993, pp.147-148; *idem*, 1995, p. 3349. It is for this reason that red is avoided with the application of lamps. For the application of lamps, see II.2 pp.85-90.

<sup>273</sup> OZ I §605; Martinez, 1991, pp.4-5; Luck, 2006, p.442.

required. More commonly than not, this tool was a stylus and it is to the *stylus* paradigm that attention must now be turned.

### c) Stylus

Instructions for the application of a tool from the *stylus* paradigm can be found in four EMP (see Table II.1.b). The nails used in PGM VII.462-66 and PGM LXXVIII.1-14 have been included in *stylus* as their application is directly comparable to the use of a writing tool. The main tools chosen from the *stylus* paradigm are copper and bronze (an alloy of copper and tin). The references to bronze and copper in the PGM outnumber all other metals and, when it is specified, they are the only substances used for the construction of a writing tool.<sup>274</sup> However, a tool from *stylus* is never specified when instructions for the use of a tool from the *ink* paradigm are included. Additionally, there are no instructions for the inclusion of the *stylus* paradigm in numerous *incantation* rituals (see unknown in Table II.1.b); however, the omission of instructions in certain EMP for the creation and application of a writing tool does not mean that one was not to be used. Indeed, the very nature of the *incantation* ritual requires that a tool of some sort must have been used. It is reasonable to assume, for example, that the copper stylus used to engrave the golden lamella at ll.47-50 of PGM IV.1716-1870 was also used for the engraving of the magnet and worn golden lamella in the same spell. As a consequence, and judging from the frequent references to bronze and copper writing tools throughout the PGM, it is logical that a writing tool such as that seen in PGM IV.1716-1870 was also used in EMP which do not give explicit instruction. That is to say, either a stylus or a similar writing tool must have been used to engrave lamellae and to place ink onto a tool chosen from the *medium* paradigm. It is also safe to assume that the nail (ἤλαος) used in PGM LXXVIII.1-14 was also made from either bronze or copper due to the widespread specification in the PGM for the use of the metal for the creation of a writing tool.

Table II.1.b: Tools in the *stylus* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Bronze	XXXVI.187-210	187	Attraction

<sup>274</sup> For copper and bronze styli in the PGM, not including the examples listed in this chapter, see PGM III.410-23; IV.154-285, 3255-74; VII.215-18, 390-93, 396-404, 417-22, 429-58, 740-55, 919-24, 925-39; XII.365-75; XXXVI.1-34, 35-68, 231-55. Bronze was rarely used as a tablet. For bronze tablets, see CT 90, 92.

Copper	IV.1716-1870	1847-1849	Attraction
	VII.462-66	466	Charm
Nail	LXXVIII.1-14	4	Attraction
Unknown	III.1-164	n/a	Binding
	IV.296-466	n/a	Binding
	IV.1872-1927	n/a	Attraction
	IV.1716-1870	n/a	Attraction
	IV.2145-2240	n/a	Attraction & charm
	IV.2441-2621	n/a	Attraction
	IV.2943-66	n/a	Attraction
	VII.300a-310	n/a	Attraction
	VII.459-61	n/a	Charm
	VII.467-77	n/a	Attraction
	VII.593-619	n/a	Attraction
	VII.969-72	n/a	Charm
	XIc.1-19	n/a	Charm
	XV.1-21	n/a	Binding
	XVI.1-75	n/a	Binding
	XVIIa.1-25	n/a	Attraction
	XIXa.1-54	n/a	Attraction
	XIXb.4-18	n/a	Attraction
	XXXVI.69-101	n/a	Attraction
	XXXVI.102-33	n/a	Attraction
	XXXVI.361-71	n/a	Attraction
	XXXVIII.1-26	n/a	Attraction
	XXXIX.1-21	n/a	Attraction
	LXI.39-71	n/a	Attraction
	LXVIII.1-20	n/a	Charm
	LXXXIV.1-21	n/a	Attraction
	CI.1-53	n/a	Attraction
	CVII.1-19	n/a	Attraction
	CVIII.1-12	n/a	Attraction



Bronze and copper, with a measurement of 3 and 2.5-3 respectively on the Mohs scale (a gauge of mineral hardness based on the ability of one natural sample of a substance to scratch another), are perfect metals for the construction of a tool which is used for engraving. By using a bronze or copper stylus, a practised scribe could write on a soft metallic surface (such as those instructed for use by the EMP) relatively easily.<sup>275</sup> These metals were well suited to the task at hand but a symbolic and indexical connection to the divine can be detected when viewing the noun used to represent copper in PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM VII.462-66. Only these two EMP throughout all the PGM refer to copper as Κύπριος, a name connected to the metal's production in the Troödos foothills.<sup>276</sup> The choice of Κύπριος is therefore revealing as ordinarily the metal is more commonly referred to as χαλκός and, as a consequence, the EMP can be seen to deliberately exploit a connection between Cyprus and copper in PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM VII.462-66. This exploitation of the connection between copper and Cyprus could be due to the previously mentioned alchemical association between copper and the planet Venus, i.e. Aphrodite (herself of Cyprus, Κυπρογένεια, and referred to as such in the EMP).<sup>277</sup> It would seem logical to use the metal symbolically and indexically associated with the goddess of love in erotic magic.<sup>278</sup>

As well as the symbolic and indexical connections to the divine, copper and bronze styli were also symbolically and iconically connected to the practice of binding. The EMP regularly instruct that the target should be bound and, as can be seen by its name, binding is an integral aspect of the φίλτροκατάδεσμοι. An important tool used in binding rituals was the nail and the reliance on nails for this end is a pervasive characteristic of the curse tablets.<sup>279</sup> Gager argues that the root meaning of the nail in magical practices is derived

<sup>275</sup> Tomlin, 1988, p.81.

<sup>276</sup> Hom. *Od.* I.184; Dioscorides *Mat. Med.* V.87, 89 106; Plin. *HN.* XXXIV.ii.2; Strabo III.4.15; VI.1.5; XIV.6.5. The English word copper comes from the Latin *cyprum*, a shortening of *cyprium* (metal of Cyprus). An ancient connection between Cyprus and the production of copper is revealed by Pliny (*HN.* VII.lvi.195) who accredits the Cyprian king Cinyra with the metal's discovery. Homer (*Il.* XI.19-23) places Cinyra as the king of Cyprus at the time of the Trojan War.

<sup>277</sup> E.g. PGM IV.2891-2942; CXXII.1-55. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* IV.216; Suppl. Mag. 72.

<sup>278</sup> In Egyptian thought copper is associated with Isis and Horus, who used the metal against Seth. See Ritner, 1993, p.166.

<sup>279</sup> For the importance of the nailing process in the activation of curse tablets, see Suppl. Mag. 37, 39, 46, 47, 57; CT 2, 6, 13, 16, 36-39, 41, 44, 53, 55, 59, 62, 63, 67, 70, 71, 73, 75, 78, 80, 83, 103, 115. Cf. VD p.193; CT p.18; Dungworth, 1998; Nuzzo, 2000; Bevilacqua, 2001; Alfayé Villa, 2010, pp.445-448; Petrovic, 'Desmophobia,' p.4.

from their ordinary function (to fasten, to fix, to tie down, and thus to bind).<sup>280</sup> It is with the nail, and all its symbolic associations of binding, that the styli are connected. This association is created through obvious iconic visual similarities and strengthened by the durable nature of copper and bronze. The metals were both strong enough to pierce lamellae and from the PGM we can see that the practice of inscribing became interrelated with the action of nailing. See, for example, the non-erotic binding spell at PGM V.304-69, which instructs the engraving of characters, *voces magicae*, a binding formula, and the outline of an iron ring onto a lead lamella. The tool used to enact this engraving is to be driven through the lead lamella after it has been wrapped around a ring.<sup>281</sup> Writing tools could thus be used for piercing but nails could likewise be used for inscribing, as can be seen with the use of the nail in PGM LXXVIII.1-14 and the copper nail ἀπὸ πλοίου νεναναγηκότος in PGM VII.462-66.<sup>282</sup> When considering the modal connections between writing tools, Aphrodite, and binding, the words of an *incantation* ritual are not just engraved onto a surface but are bound with the assistance of the goddess of love to a tool that is chosen from the *medium* paradigm.

#### d) Medium

The tools in the *medium* are written on or engraved and they are referenced more than any other in the *incantation* ritual. Tools chosen from the *medium* paradigm include donkey skin, gold, iron, lead, a magnet, myrtle leaf, papyrus, pottery, seashell, tin, and wick (see Table II.1.c). Due to the multiple applications of the *incantation* ritual in the EMP and the frequent instructions for a tool chosen from the *medium* paradigm, there are numerous examples of individual EMP which specify multiple tools: PGM III.1-164 (one papyrus, three metal), PGM IV.1716-1870 (two gold, one magnet), PGM IV.2145-2240 (one gold,

<sup>280</sup> CT p.18. Cf. VD p.193. Eidinow (2007, p.145), whilst discussing curse tablets, states that the act of nailing may also provide a ritual reinforcement of control. For the possible Egyptian heritage of this practice, see Ritner, 1993, pp.163-169.

<sup>281</sup> Ogden (1999, p. 13) tells us that the process of folding was done to facilitate the binding of the intended target. Twisting and turning hold inherent magical connotations. For this reason Hephaestus (god, smith, and magician) was often portrayed with twisted legs. On the magical prowess of Hephaestus, see Delcourt, 1957; Detienne & Vermant, 1978, pp.259-275; Faraone, 1987; *idem*, 1992, pp.18-35, 133-134. Metal in the Bronze Age may also have developed magical properties due to primitive civilisations' awe at the smith and his trade; an explanation perhaps for Hephaestus' magical prowess. Cf. Aitchison, 1960, p.114; Parry, 1992, pp.26-27, 78-79, 87. For instructions to fold tablets, see CT 1, 2, 6, 8-10, 12, 13, 15-17, 23, 24, 36-40, 43, 45, 47, 50, 54, 55, 57, 58, 62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, 73, 75, 78, 81, 83, 84, 89, 95, 97, 98, 102, 103, 105, 106, 115.

<sup>282</sup> Through the association with death and catastrophe, magical power was transmitted onto the nail in PGM VII.462-66. It is for this reason that the wicks in PGM VII.593-619 are to come from a wrecked ship. Cf. Tupet, 1976, pp.38-39; Ogden, 2009, pp.145, 235

one iron, one myrtle), and PGM VII.593-619 (seven wicks). The predominant form taken by a tool chosen from the *medium* paradigm however, is either as a lamella or as paper. To focus initially on the former, it can be seen that the PGM employ various terms, often interchangeably, to describe lamellae (including λάμνα, λεπίς, πέταλον, πλάξ, πλάτυμμα and πτόχιον) but the basic premise remains the same.<sup>283</sup> A metal is flattened until it is only a few millimetres thin, at which point it can then be cut into smaller tablets and inscribed.<sup>284</sup> Papyrus, appearing 14 times, is the dominant substance used for the creation of paper. It is also used more than any other tool in the *medium* paradigm, a fact no doubt due to the substance's efficiency in the role.

Table II.1.c: Tools in the *medium* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
CC1	IV.1872-1927	1877-1881	Attraction
Clay	IV.296-466	296-297	Binding
Donkey skin	XXXVI.361-71	361-362	Attraction
Gold	IV.1716-1870	1813-1814, 1847	Attraction
	IV.2145-2240	2227-2228	Charm
Iron	IV.2145-2240	2152-2178, 2229-30, 2236	Attraction & charm
Lead	IV.296-466	329	Binding
	LXXVIII.1-14	3-4	Attraction
Magnet	IV.1716-1870	1722-1723	Attraction
Metal	III.1-164	15, 58-94	Binding
Myrtle leaf	IV.2145-2240	2233	Attraction
Papyrus	III.1-164	18-21	Binding
	IV.1872-1927	1894	Attraction

<sup>283</sup> λάμνα: PGM II.15, 297, 299; IV.2153-2154, 2166, 2177, 2208, 2226, 2238; VII.398, 459, 462; IX.8; X.26, 36; XXXVI.1, 37-38, 231, 234; LVIII.6. λεπίς: PGM III.410-411, 417; IV.258, 1828, 2160-2161, 2216, 2228; VII.271, 919, 925; XIII.1001; XXXVI.278; LXXVIII.3. πέταλον: PGM III.58, 66; IV.330, 1218, 1255, 1813, 1824, 1847, 2705; V.306, 359; VII.216, 382, 417, 487, 581, 743; IX.14; X.36, 39; XII.197-198, 199; XIII.889, 898, 903, 1008, 1052. πλάξ: PGM IV.2187, 2194, 2212; VII.432. πλάτυμμα: PGM IV.330, 407; VII.438. πτόχιον: VII.740-741.

<sup>284</sup> In keeping with that seen in the EMP, lamellae are engraved in almost every reference throughout the PGM. The lamella in PGM XII. 193-201 is not engraved. PGM LXXXII.1-12 and PGM CXXIX.1-7 are too fragmented to tell with confidence.

	IV.2441-2621	2512-2513	Attraction
	IV.2943-66	2952-2953	Attraction
	VII.969-72	969	Charm
	XIc.1-19	1	Charm
	XV.1-21	9	Binding
	XVI.1-75	75	Binding
	XIXb.4-18	4-5	Attraction
	XXXVI.69-101	71	Attraction
	XXXVI.102-33	102	Attraction
	XXXVIII.1-26	2	Attraction
	LXI.39-71	61	Attraction
	CI.1-53	Translator's notes in GMPT	Attraction
Pottery	XXXVI.187-210	187	Attraction
Seashell	VII.300a-310	300	Charm
	VII.467-77	466	Charm
Tin	VII.459-61	459	Charm
	VII.462-66	462	Charm
Unknown	XVIIa.1-25	n/a	Attraction
	XIXa.1-54	n/a	Attraction
	XXXIX.1-21	n/a	Attraction
	LXVIII.1-20	n/a	Charm
	LXXXIV.1-21	n/a	Attraction
	CVII.1-19	n/a	Attraction
	CVIII.1-12	n/a	Attraction
Wax	IV.296-466	296	Binding
Wick	VII.593-619	594-598	Attraction

The widespread practice of creating paper from the pith of *Cyperus papyrus* points to papyri's efficiency as a tool to be written upon. Indeed, the PGM themselves are written on this substance. Papyrus may have initially been used due to its ability to record words but further symbolic mystique developed around it and the EMP regularly require papyri to

be either καθαρός or ιερατικός.<sup>285</sup> As argued previously, the words written onto the tools in the *medium* paradigm were messages between the mortal practitioner and the agent who was expected to assist with the rituals instructed by the EMP. It was thus essential that the words written via the *incantation* ritual, before it was transmitted, needed to attain a level of purity. It was not possible for the mundane and the everyday to approach the sacred without first being pure and boundaries existed between the purity of the sacred and the pollution of the secular.<sup>286</sup> It is for this reason that the polluting activities of normal life (e.g. birth, death, sex, defecation, commerce) were excluded from sacred spaces. The author of the Hippocratic *On the Sacred Diseases* portrays the separation of the sacred from the secular world when he states that boundaries are set around sanctuaries and precincts of the gods ὡς ἂν μηδεὶς ὑπερβαίνει ἢν μὴ ἀγνεύη.<sup>287</sup> In a similar manner, the activities instructed by the PGM are dominated by the need for purity.<sup>288</sup> Many elements throughout the PGM were instructed to be of a level of purity (represented by the terms καθαρός and ἀγνός)<sup>289</sup> or holiness (ιερατικός).<sup>290</sup>

The process of writing enhanced the power of papyri (and all writing materials) as the written word could be construed as magic by an illiterate.<sup>291</sup> In semi or non-literate societies, Frankfurter tells us, the written word was not considered sacred semantically but

<sup>285</sup> καθαρός: PGM III.1-164; XXXVI.69-101; 102-33; XXXVIII.1-26. ιερατικός: PGM IV.2441-2621; XIc.1-19; XIXb.4-18.

<sup>286</sup> Parker, 1983, pp.19-23; Burkert, 1985, pp.77-79; Bendlin, 2010, pp.180-181.

<sup>287</sup> Hippoc. *Morb. Sacr.* IV.55-60.

<sup>288</sup> For the purifying nature of fire and blood shed in a ritual context, see II.2 pp.85-90 and II.6 pp.175-176, respectively.

<sup>289</sup> PGM I.57 (καθαρός); II.21 (καθαρόν), 23 (καθαρόν), 55 (καθαρόν), 146 (καθαροῦ), 147-149 (ἔκτω δέ σου ὀτόπος ἀγνός ἀπὸ παντός μυσεροῦ, καὶ ἀγνεύσας καθαρίως προκατάρχου τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἱκεσίας), 150-151 (καθαρόν, ἀγνεύεις), 161 (καθαρός), 174 (καθαρόν); III.19 (καθαρόν), 295 (καθαροῦ), 302 (καθαρόν), 306-307 (καθαρόν), 383 (καθαρός), 692 (καθαροῖς), 700-701 (καθαρόν, ἱεροῦμενον, καθαροῖς); IV.79 (καθαρόν), 173 (καθαρόν), 734-736 (συναγνεύτω), 760 (καθαρείως), 770-771 (καθαρείως), 897-899 (ἀγνίως), 1860 (καθαρόν), 1925-1927 (καθαροῦ), 2188 (καθιέρωσις), 2189 (καθαρόν), 2190 (καθαρόν), 3003 (καθαρόν), 3095 (καθαρόν), 3191 (καθαροῦ), 3250 (καθαροῦ); V.180 (καθαροῦ), 226 (προαγνεύσας), 230 (καθαροῖς, καθαροῦ); VII.194 (καθαροῦ), 218 (καθαρόν), 359 (καθαρόν), 360 (καθαρόν), 540 (καθαροῦ), 544 (καθαρός), 703 (καθαροῦ), 843 (παναγνός), 875-876 (καθαροῦ), 940 (καθαρόν), 941 (καθαροῦ); XII.29 (καθαρόν), 38-39 (ἀγνός καὶ καθαρός), 121 (καθαρόν); XIII.92 (καθαρός), 96 (καθαροῖς), 314 (καθαροῦ, καθαρόν), 316 (καθαρόν), 646-647 (καθαρός), 650 (καθαροῖς), 1009-1010 (καθαροῦ, καθαρόν), 1019 (καθαρός); XXXVI.71 (καθαρόν), 102 (καθαρόν), 266 (καθαρόν), 269 (καθαρόν); XXXVIII.2 (καθαρόν).

<sup>290</sup> PGM I.232; II.61; III.178; IV.268, 2364, 2394, 2514, 3142; V.304, 381; VII.412, 582, 970; XIc.1; XII.316; XIII.253, 315; XIXb.5. It was also vitally important for the practitioner to be pure. Cf. PGM I.40-42, 55-57; II.149; III.304, 697-98; IV.26, 52, 784-785, 899, 1099-1100, 1268, 2968, 3085-3086, 3210, 3247; VII.216, 334, 364, 523, 666, 726, 749, 843, 846, 981; X.28; XII.207, 277; XIII.5, 114, 346, 671, 1004-1005; XXIIb.27-28; XXXVIII.1; XLVII.15; LXXVII.24; CII.17.

<sup>291</sup> Brashear, 1995, pp.3440-3443; Frankfurter, 2002, p.169; Luck, 2006, p.219. Also see Johnston, 1999, pp.93-94 who argues that the belief in the efficacy of the written word in Greece, which developed dramatically from the late archaic period, is reflected by a possible belief in the superiority of the written word over verbal enunciations.

rather visually as concrete symbols.<sup>292</sup> This principle is taken to the extreme with the application of characters, *χαρακτῆρες* (derived from the verb *χαραύσσω*, to cut, carve, stamp, or engrave) and *technopaegnia*. Characters are a series of magical figures which broadly resemble alphabetic letters in form but are slightly more complex in design.<sup>293</sup> *Technopaegnia* is the use of words displayed in shapes as can be seen, for example, with PGM XVIIa.1-25, a spell of attraction in which a Hermeias aims at attracting a Tigerous (a rare example of the use of personal names).<sup>294</sup> To complete the spell, Hermeias also includes a design that displays the *voces magicae* *αβλαναθαναλβα* and *ακραμμαχαμαρι* in a dramatic manner.<sup>295</sup> Other forms of *technopaegnia* include the *klima* (seven-layered), *pterugion* (wing) and *plinthion* shapes, which are regularly constructed from the seven Greek vowels (*α ε η ι ο υ ω*)<sup>296</sup> and referred to as the so-called ‘Shaped Hymns.’<sup>297</sup> By their association with the written word, writing materials such as papyrus would have held a place of privilege. The added inclusion of the papyri to be priestly or pure would have heightened the symbolic prowess of the tool.

Many tools instructed for application by the PGM may have initially been chosen due to simple practical and economic reasons, e.g. substances like papyri were well suited to the task at hand and they could be easily accessed. If a substance could not be found (e.g. myrtle is native to Europe and North Africa and could be harvested by anyone who knew its appearance),<sup>298</sup> it could be bought for a price. Tools may have been chosen due to practical and economic reasons but further symbolic rationale developed over time and gave new meaning to their application. Due to the continuous duplication and conservatism

<sup>292</sup> Frankfurter, 1995, p.463. For literacy rates, see I.4 p.47.

<sup>293</sup> For a discussion of characters, see Hopfner, 1924; Bonner, 1950, p.195; Frankfurter, 1994, pp.205-211; Dieleman, 2005, pp.96-101; Collins, 2008, pp.73-78.

<sup>294</sup> For the more common *δαίνα*, see I.4 pp.39, 51 n.231.

<sup>295</sup> For further use of *technopaegnia* in the EMP, see PGM IV.296-466; XIXa.1-54; XXXVI.102-33, 187-210; XXXIX.1-21; LXXXIV.1-21.

<sup>296</sup> The power of the Greek vowels originated in their mystical numerical significance. Through the number seven they were associated with the planetary spheres and the tones given off by them. See Domseiff, 1922, pp.82-91; Bonner, 1950, pp.12, 187; Miller, 1986, pp.495-499; Kotansky, 1991, p.132 n.60; CT p.34 n.40; Frankfurter, 1994, pp.191, 200-201; Brashear, 1995, p.3431; Ogden, 1999, p.49; Luck, 2006, p.51; Dieleman, 2005, pp.64-69. Cf. PGM VIII.1-63; XII.201-69; XIII.734-1077; XXI.1-29. Seven is also important to the Egyptians, as can be seen in the belief of the seven creative words which brought the world into being. See Ritner, 1993, pp.46-47, 161.

<sup>297</sup> *Klima*: PGM I.1-42; LXII.76-106; XCVIII.1-7. *Pterugion*: PGM XIII.734-1077. *Plinthion*: PGM XXXVI.187-210; XLIV.1-18. For a discussion of these forms of *technopaegnia*, see Frankfurter, 1994, pp.199-200; Brashear, 1995, pp.3433-3434; Dieleman, 2005, p.66.

<sup>298</sup> Myrtle, in a similar manner to copper and bronze, was also believed to have symbolic and indexical connections with Aphrodite. For the cultic connections between Aphrodite and myrtle and the common application of the botanical substance in the Graeco-Roman world, see Hünemörder, 2006. For the pricing of substances in the PGM, see II.2 p.95 n.398.

seen in ritual practices, elements of a rite which initially appear insignificant or accidental (such as the use of a common material for the construction of a tool) can develop further rationalisation at a later date to explain newfound significance.<sup>299</sup> As a consequence of the conservative nature of rites and practices, it is possible for almost anything to become mystified and develop a significance which may have never been previously perceived. The application of lead, as instructed by the EMP, is a prime example of the role played by conservatism in ritual practices. The metal was ideal for the construction of a medium because it is soft and malleable. On the Mohs scale, the strength of lead is measured at 1.5 and supplies of the metal, a byproduct of silver mining,<sup>300</sup> were plentiful, cheap, and readily available.<sup>301</sup> Its use for lamellae is well attested and the metal had been used to create letters of communication in eastern Greece from the Archaic period.<sup>302</sup> During the period when the PGM were compiled, the price of lead was relatively low and it was widely available to even the poorest sectors of society through its application in construction. If one wanted to acquire lead and had no money, it could be stolen from plumbing, a course of action instructed by PGM VII.396-404 (a spell for silencing, subjecting and restraining) and PGM VII.429-58 (a restraining rite), which direct the practitioner to λαβὼν μόλιβον ἀπὸ ψυχροφόρου σωλήνου or τόπου.<sup>303</sup> The easy acquisition of lead could help explain the widespread discoveries of the metal amongst the extant magical artefacts, e.g. the lead curse tablets.<sup>304</sup>

The characteristics of lead (cold, heavy, immobile, valueless, and without lustre) were exploited over time, in what Graf refers to as *a posteriori* ritualisation, and it was believed that these characteristics could be transferred onto the target.<sup>305</sup> It is clear from an

<sup>299</sup> For scholarship on the conservative nature of rituals, see I.4 p.45 n.193.

<sup>300</sup> For lead as a byproduct of silver mining, see Lucas, 1928, p.313; Aitchison, 1960, p.148; Boulakia, 1972, p.139; Gale, 1980, pp.162-163; CT pp.3-4; Faraone, 2002, p.324.

<sup>301</sup> For the ready availability of lead, see Jordan, 1980, pp.226-229; Faraone, 1991, p.7; CT pp.3-4; Ogden, 1999, p.11; Eidinow, 2007a, p.45. For pricing of lead in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, see Plin. *HN*. XXXIV.xlviii.161. Pliny (*HN*. XXXIV.xlix.164) also tells us that due to the abundant quantity of lead in Britain, a law was passed prohibiting the production of more than a certain amount.

<sup>302</sup> Many curse tablets adopt an epistolary structure in duplication of the practice. For curse tablets as letters, see Jimeno, 1990; Faraone, 1991, p.4; Graf, 1997, pp.130-131; Johnston, 1999, pp.90-93, *idem*, 1999a, p.85; Ogden, 1999, p.11; Versnel, 2002a, p.62; Collins, 2008, pp.71-73; Eidinow & Taylor, 2010, pp.43-46. For the proposed Egyptian heritage of this practice and the problems surrounding the issue, see II.3 pp.115-117 & n.471. It is possible that there is a connection between lead “letters” and the use of lead tablets at the oracle of Dodona. For a discussion of Dodona, including a catalogue of oracles, see Eidinow, 2007, pp.56-124, 345-349.

<sup>303</sup> Compare with CT 13 and 114, which were created from lead taken from plumbing.

<sup>304</sup> For corpora and scholarship on the curse tablets, see I.1 p.2 n.7.

<sup>305</sup> Graf, 1997, pp.132-133. Cf. Kagarow, 1922; Tomlin, 1988, pp.81-82; Martinez, 1991, pp.3-4; Faraone, 1991, pp.6-7; CT pp.4, 118-119; Eidinow, 2007, p.150; *idem*, 2007a, p.52-53; Stratton, 2007, p.41. Although

analysis of the PGM that the negative characteristics of lead were implemented as all of the papyri which instruct the metal's application are also associated with silencing, subjugation, or restraint.<sup>306</sup> This suggests that to the composer of the PGM there was a perceived connection between lead and the subjugation of an intended target, a connection supported by lead's alchemical connection with Saturn (a planet often described as ill-boding with harmful or evil influence).<sup>307</sup> A separation spell engraved on a lead tablet from Athens is a prime example of the practitioner's reliance on the sympathetic transmission of lead's properties with the intent to restrain.<sup>308</sup> In this spell the practitioner targets a Juliana,<sup>309</sup> Leosthenes, and Peios, with the intention of separating the former from the latter two.<sup>310</sup> The language employed is symbolic and eludes heavily to the transfer of lead's properties to the targets. There are various references to the chilling of the targets, which culminates in the instruction ψυγήτω Λεοσθένης καὶ Πείος, ὅπως μὴ δύνωνται λαλήσαι Ἰουλιανῆ. Ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχεται, οὕτως καὶ Λεοσθένου καὶ Πείου ψυχέσθω τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανῆ καὶ ἡ ψυχή, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐπιπομπή, ὁ νοῦς, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ὁ λογισμός. Despite the widespread extant evidence supporting the application of lead as a substance for the construction of lamellae however, in the rituals instructed by the EMP it is only used for the lamellae in PGM IV.296-466 and PGM LXXVIII.1-14. The aggressive nature of these EMP, despite drawing no correlation between the nature of lead and a wish to inflict its nature on the target, does however correspond to the symbolic

---

no lamellae in the PGM explicitly draws an analogy between the oxidised blotchiness of lead and deathly pallor, Pliny (*HN*. XI.cxiv.274) does compare the colour of lead to that of death. The body of Germanicus, who was killed with the aid of curse tablets, is recorded by both Tacitus (*Ann*. II.69) and Suetonius (*Calig*. I) as blotchy.

<sup>306</sup> PGM IV.2441-2621 is the only EMP that does not use lead for the creation of lamellae. However, it is still used in conjunction with the aims here stated. For lead elsewhere in the PGM, see PGM V.304-69; VII.396-404, 429-58, 925-39; XXXVI.1-34, 178-87, 231-55; LVIII.1-14. PGM XXXVI.178-87 is a charm to break spells. The mass use of lead for lamellae could imply that the metal lamellae in PGM III.1-164, a spell which aims at binding the target, were constructed from lead.

<sup>307</sup> Martinez, 1991, pp.4-5 & n.20.

<sup>308</sup> SGD 31; Jordan, 1985, no.8; CT 21. The tablet was found in a well, a location which would have contributed to the chilling of the targets. For the transmission of a locations characteristics, see II.3 pp.121-122.

<sup>309</sup> Jordan, 1985, no.9, mentions a Juliana, daughter of Markia, along with Polynikos. It can be assumed that they are the same individuals mentioned in this example. Jordan, 1985, no.9 is also a separation spell, designed to keep Juliana from Polynikos sexually.

<sup>310</sup> It can be assumed that Juliana is a prostitute due to the inclusion of the verb προσέρχομαι which can mean simply to visit, go to, approach, or associate in a general sense. However, in Xenophon (*Symp*. IV.38) it takes on a sexual tone, a tone in keeping with reference to ἐργαστήριον, a place of business which can include a brothel (judging by Dem. LIX.67) and the Greek verb καθίζω. Jordan (1985, p.227. Cf. Herescu, 1959; Booth, 1980) comments that the Greek verb καθίζω might be understood here by analogy with the Latin verb *sedere*, both meaning 'to sit.' In Latin, the use of *sedere* in such a setting would imply a clear sexual connotation.



application of lead as a tool to subjugate the target. In this respect, the use of lead in spells that silence, subjugate, or restrain could help identify the unknown metal that is used for the construction of three lamellae in PGM III.1-164, a spell which can be used to bind. It is also possible that lead may have been used for the unknown tools listed in Table II.1.c, when the *incantation* ritual is performed for subjugation and/or restraint.

As with lead, tin and gold are ideal for the construction of a medium as they are all soft and malleable substances. Tin, which was and still is one of the softest metals available, is the predominant metal used for the construction of lamellae in the rituals instructed by the PGM.<sup>311</sup> On the Mohs scale, the strength of tin and gold are measured at 1.5 and 2.5 respectively and it would have been relatively easy to carve an inscription onto their surface with the more durable copper and bronze writing tools. Unlike lead however, both tin and gold were relatively expensive. Sources of tin in Europe (despite its wide application for the creation of bronze since an early age) were rare and from whence the ancient Mediterranean world acquired its tin has been the cause for a debate yet to produce a definitive answer.<sup>312</sup> Herodotus states that the tin known to the Aegean world in his day came from the most distant parts of the world, from the Κασσιτερίδες, the Tin Islands, and evidence for 5<sup>th</sup> century BC tin prices in Athens places it at 6.5 times more expensive than copper.<sup>313</sup> Unique and extraordinary characteristics of items like tin and gold (the innate value of which forced the regularly recycling of golden lamellae)<sup>314</sup> added to their desirability and increased their perceived powers. As a result, items that were unique or extraordinary appealed to the practitioner.<sup>315</sup> In this respect, the magnet in PGM IV.1716-1870 can owe its inclusion to it being unique and thus desirable to the professional practitioner.<sup>316</sup> Aristotle records the opinion that magnets were even thought to contain a

---

<sup>311</sup> Tin is moulded into the form of a lamella every time it is used. For tin in the PGM, see PGM III.282-409; IV.1227-64, 2145-2240, 3007-86; VII.215-18, 260-71, 417-22, 478-90, 579-90, 740-55; XCIV.36-38; CXXIIIa-f; CXXIX.1-7.

<sup>312</sup> For a concise overview of the debate, see Moorey, 1999, pp.299-300.

<sup>313</sup> Treister, 1996, p.248. The identity of the Tin Islands may in fact be the British Isles. Isager & Hansen, 1975, p.31; Hawkes, 1984. In Pliny (*HN* IV.xvi) we see that tin was believed to come from Mictis, an island lying six days' sail from Britain and it can also be found on a number of islands opposite to Celtiberia (Plin. *HN* IV.xxii).

<sup>314</sup> Kotansky, 1991, p.110.

<sup>315</sup> For extraordinary substances appealing to the magician, see II.3 p.106 n.420 and the use of the bat at II.5 pp.155-156.

<sup>316</sup> Onto the magnetic stone is to be engraved the image of Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche. Below the two deities the image of Eros standing on the vault of heaven is to be engraved, holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche, a reference to the famous love story of Amor (Eros/Cupid) and Psyche recorded by Apuleius (*Met.* IV.28-VI.24). On the other side of the magnet, Eros is engraved embracing Psyche. Cf. PGM XII.20. For this theme in literature see Helm, 1959, pp.1434-1438; Binder & Merkelbach, 1968, pp.433-434. The

soul and, whether referred to as a lodestone or breathing stone, the magnet is symbolic as its ability to attract is representative of the wish to attract.<sup>317</sup>

It is with the application of specific metals, such as gold (PGM IV.1716-1870) and iron (PGM IV.2145-2240) however, that the use of amuletic magic emerges in the *incantation* ritual. Although it is never explicitly stated that the metals in PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.2145-2240 are used for amuletic purposes, there was a perceived innate protective quality to metallic objects.<sup>318</sup> Amuletic magic flourished between the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, a time period contemporary with the PGM, and it was believed that the practice could alleviate risk and offer protection from an uncertain world heavily influenced by luck, fate, and fortune.<sup>319</sup> The performance of the rituals instructed by the EMP was littered with risk and in the dangerous act of communication with supernatural beings, it was sensible to take precaution to ensure protection. A warning of what could happen should safety be ignored is described at ll.2505-2512 of PGM IV.2441-2621, which explains how a goddess is prone to hurl to the ground from a height those who perform the rite unprotected by a charm. Contact with a divinity is an inherently dangerous process due to the potential anger of the god or the possibility that an evil entity might use the form of the god to deceive the magician.<sup>320</sup> Metals were chosen as amuletic devices because supernatural forces were impotent in the face of their restraining and protective power, a power that was present from a very early age.<sup>321</sup> Homer refers to this innate capacity of metal when he describes the necromantic ritual performed by Odysseus in book XI of *The Odyssey*. The insubstantial nature of the dead does not seem to be a troubling issue for Odysseus, who controls the dangerous swarming hordes of the underworld with

---

symbolic imagery here used is self-evident when considering the intention of the EMP to create a union of an amorous nature.

<sup>317</sup> Arist. *de An.* I.ii.405A 19-21. Cf. Plin. *HN.* XXXVI.xxv.126-130; Dioscorides *Mat. Med.* V.148. Magnets are traditionally associated with contraceptives, due to the perception that they could prevent uterine haemorrhages and absorb blood. Cf. Scarborough, 1991, pp.158-159; Collins, 2003, pp.37-38; *idem*, 2008, pp.110-111.

<sup>318</sup> For specific instructions for the application of amulets in the EMP, see II.7.d.

<sup>319</sup> An important corpus dealing with amulets is Bonner, 1950. Also see Delatte & Derchain, 1964; Kaimakis, 1976; Halleux & Schamp, 1985; Kotansky, 1991; CT, pp. 218-242; Kotansky, 1994; Ogden, 1999, p. 51-54. For risk and risk management in the ancient world, see Eidinow, 2007. For the use of magical curse tablets to alleviate risk in many areas of life (including eroticism), see Eidinow, 2007, pp.139-232. For a discussion of luck, fate and fortune, see Eidinow, 2011.

<sup>320</sup> Graf, 1997, pp.106. 149-150, 182.

<sup>321</sup> See, for example, the metallic talismans of Hephaestus discussed by Faraone, 1987, pp.257-280; *idem*, 1992, pp.18-35.

his sword alone.<sup>322</sup> The very gates of Hades are described in PGM LXI.1-38 as *ειδηρῶς* *θύρα* and even the sound of metal clashing was enough to frighten the supernatural (a technique used at eclipses to drive off evil powers attacking the heavenly body).<sup>323</sup> In his second *Idyll*, Theocritus writes how Simaetha used bronze (whilst enacting the procedure intended to bring back her wayward lover Delphis) to protect her against the approaching Hecate and her entourage.<sup>324</sup> Gold in particular is traditionally associated with amulets and medical charms<sup>325</sup> and, because of the brilliance and immortality of the metal (for it does not rust), it was associated with the upper world, with light and life.<sup>326</sup> It would seem logical that something as radiantly pure and heavenly as gold would protect against negative forces.

To understand the amuletic lamellae in PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.2145-2240, it is first important to understand the application of an alternative form of magic: the victory charms (*νικητικά*) which, although generally created with the intention of defeating a rival, had an effect that was far more diffuse and regularly ask for an array of personal advantages. The charm at PGM LXX.1-4, for example, gives us a name that works as a favour charm (*χαριτήσιον*), a charm to dissolve a spell, a phylactery, and a victory charm. The incantation that is recited consists of the name *αα εμπτωκομ βασυμ* and the simple proclamation *διαφύλαξόν με*.<sup>327</sup> Faraone argues that there is a strong connection between victory charms, spells to restrain anger (*θυμοκάτοχον*),<sup>328</sup> and charms for gaining favour (*χάρις*).<sup>329</sup> That is to say, the competitive success necessitated by the *νικητικά* regularly combined with a power to restrain anger and the wish to replace it with goodwill.

<sup>322</sup> Hom. *Od.* X.488-540, XI.13-149. Cf. PGM XXIII.1-70 and Heliod. *Aeth.* VI.14. Ogden (2001, p.180) argues that Odysseus' sword was more likely bronze. The 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC poet Lycophron (*Alex.* 686) describes Odysseus' sword as the terror of the underworld. Also see the use of sword imagery in PGM IV.1716-1870 and its protective power in PGM XII.1-13.

<sup>323</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 944B; Lucian *Philops.* 15; Alex. *Aphr. Prob.* 2, 46.

<sup>324</sup> Theoc. *Id.* II.33-36. For metal protecting against the supernatural, also see Lucian *Philops.* 15, 17, 22-24; Juv. VI.442-443; Livy XXVI.v.9; Mart. XII.57; Ov. *Met.* VII.207-209, *Fast.* V.441-442; Plut. *Mor.* 944B, *Aem.* 17; Plin. *HN.* II.ix.54; Stat. *Theb.* VI.686-687; Tac. *Ann.* I.xxviii; Tib. I.viii.21-22. Cf. Rohde, 1925, pp.37, 52 n.72; Lowe, 1929, pp.27-28; Martinez, 1991, p.2 n.6; Kingsley, 1995, pp.239-240; Felton, 1999, p.5. However, in Phlegon (*Mir.* I) the ghost Philinnion gives a gold ring as a present from her lover (I.7) and accepts an iron ring in return (I.15).

<sup>325</sup> Jordan, 1985a; Tomlin, 1988, p.81; Kotansky, 1991; *idem*, 1994.

<sup>326</sup> Ferguson, 1989, p.151.

<sup>327</sup> For further examples of *νικητικά*, see PGM III.1-164; IV.2145-2240; VII.390-93, 429-58, 528-39, 919-24, 1017-26; XII.270-350; XXVII.1-5; XXXV.1-42; XXXVI.35-68, 211-30; LXIX.1-3; LXX.1-4; CXXIIIa.69-72.

<sup>328</sup> Anger restraining techniques can vary greatly. It is instructed in PGM IV.467-68 and PGM IV.831-32 that Homeric lines are to be recited (compare this to the use of Homeric text in PGM IV.2145-2240). For the use of Homeric texts in magic, see I.3 p.27 n.118. In PGM XXXVI.161-77 prayers are recited. In PGM VII.940-68, PGM IX.1-14, and PGM XII.179-81 inscriptions are to be carried on one's person.

<sup>329</sup> Faraone, 1990, pp.225-227. Cf. Winkler, 1991, pp.218-220.

Radiating charm and deflecting anger are essential when attempting to alleviate risk for the benefit of personal success and the use of any of the above can reveal an individual's need to prepare for social situations fraught with uncertainty. For example, such practices are used by social inferiors in an attempt to affect how they are perceived and how they perform before a person at the apex of a social group. This is common amongst the PGM and the anger or potential anger of a ruler or the outcome of a court appearance is frequently the focus of this type of spell, as can be seen with PGM XXXVI.35-68, an anger restraining charm called *Θυμοκάτοχον καὶ χαριτήσιον καὶ νικητικὸν δικακτηρίων βέλτιον*. Compare PGM XXXVI.35-68 with the charm described at PGM XXXVI.275-83, which is called *Χαριτήσιον μέγα πρὸς παρόντας καὶ πρὸς ὄχλους*. It is perfectly conceivable that PGM XXXVI.275-83 could have been used in court by either a defendant or a prosecutor. In essence, victory charms, spells to restrain anger, and charms for gaining favour are interlinked and they are used to influence the behaviour of a superior, either to ensure that they will welcome the petitioner or to calm their anger and replace it with friendship.<sup>330</sup>

Amuletic devices instructed by the EMP, in a way comparable to the above, had an effect on how the wearer was perceived by other people and they could greatly affect social interaction.<sup>331</sup> The iron and golden lamellae in PGM IV.2145-2240 are both used to create individual charming amulets but they combine in the charm at ll.2232-2236 to create a super-charming amulet. The iron lamella inscribed with three Homeric verses,<sup>332</sup> when worn, can guarantee numerous benefits, including victory, protection, favour, happiness, good fortune, invulnerability, and the love of any man or woman. The golden lamella is to be engraved with the *voces magicae* *μυρι μυρι νεε μαχεων* and then placed under the iron lamella for three days before being worn. The power of the iron lamella will transfer to the already magically potent golden lamella to create the super-charming amulet which will help the carrier exude popularity and love. The golden lamella in PGM IV.1716-1870, although it is not explicitly stated, may offer protection against the dangerous god Eros.<sup>333</sup> We have already seen that those who approach the gods unprotected are prone to

<sup>330</sup> Faraone, 1999, p.104.

<sup>331</sup> For an example of the connection between amulets and victory charms, see Suppl. Mag. 64. This 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD silver amulet asks for charm, love, success and sexiness (*ἐπαφροδισίαν*) for the man who is wearing the amulet. The rare Greek word *ἐπαφροδισίαν* appears only on charms from Egypt and is a calque for the Demotic *mr.t*, a charismatic quality that Egyptians asked the gods to grant them when they were about to appear before the pharaoh. Cf. Kotansky, 1994, pp.356-360.

<sup>332</sup> Hom. *Il.* X.521, 564, 572. Again, for a discussion of the use of Homeric incantations in magic, see I.3 p.27 n.118.

<sup>333</sup> Eros is used as an agent. For the agency of Eros in PGM IV.1716-1870, see II.5 pp.151-152.

punishment and consequently the amateur practitioner in PGM IV.1716-1870 may wish to protect himself against Eros, deflect his rage, and guarantee assistance with the attraction of the target.

If the principles behind victory charms, charms, anger restraining spells, and amulets are applied to the EMP, the male, when compared to the female or the supernatural, is in an inferior and submissive position.<sup>334</sup> Just as a petitioner going before a person at the apex of a social group is in an inferior position, the amateur practitioner in PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.2145-2240 is submissive and inferior to a god and a female, respectively. The lower status of the amateur practitioner before a god is self-evident but in regards to a female, the inferior position of the amateur practitioner requires a deeper understanding of his mental condition. As has been discussed previously, some of the language and gestures in erotic magic are due to the amateur practitioner's own sense of victimisation by a power he is helpless to control, i.e. the ailment of Eros and the burning passion felt for another.<sup>335</sup> As a consequence, erotic magic is used by those who are afflicted by the terrible disease of Eros as a means to alleviate their torment. In this respect, the real objective of the rituals instructed by the EMP is the disease of passionate longing felt by the amateur practitioner. This is a terrible disease which can greatly affect the day-to-day activities of the sufferer and it is important to note that it is the male amateur practitioner who is subjected to this turmoil. In contrast to the female, who is most likely ignorant of the attention she has attracted,<sup>336</sup> it is the man who is forlorn and relatively powerless. The female target holds the ability to accept or reject his advances. By using such charming amuletic devices, the anger of the target (supernatural or mortal) would be placated, their favour would be secured, and victory would be guaranteed for the amateur practitioner who exudes *χάρις*.

#### e) Summary

The written form of the *incantation* ritual is completed via the combination on the syntagmatic axis of tools chosen from a maximum of three paradigms: *ink*, *stylus*, and *medium*. When assessing the evidence in this chapter, the *incantation* ritual can be represented by the syntagmatic horizontal and paradigmatic vertical axes in Figure II.1.b and every written *incantation* instructed by the EMP is a combination of that listed here.

<sup>334</sup> For information on gender role reversal in the EMP, see II.4 pp.130-132.

<sup>335</sup> See Winkler, 1991, and the discussion at I.4 pp.51-54.

<sup>336</sup> Winkler, 1991, p.225-226.

However, the *incantation* ritual does not always require three ‘functions’ and therefore three tools chosen from the available paradigms. When a tool is chosen from the *ink* paradigm the tool chosen from the *medium* paradigm is always specified but the tool chosen from the *stylus* paradigm, as can be seen by the limited references throughout the EMP, is never used in conjunction with a tool from *ink* and it is only instructed for the engraving of four tools from the *medium* paradigm. A tool from the *ink* paradigm is also never used with a metallic tool chosen from the *medium* paradigm and the EMP essentially only instruct two ways to create a written *incantation* ritual: either a tool from the *stylus* paradigm is used to engrave a tool from the *medium* paradigm or a tool from the *ink* paradigm is used in conjunction with a non-metallic tool from the *medium* paradigm. Therefore, it is not always possible for a ritual instructed by the EMP to draw on all the sources of symbolic, iconic, and indexical connections available by the options available in the paradigms necessary for an *incantation* ritual.

All of the functions of an *incantation* ritual require, at one point or another, the application of a tool perceived to have a connection to the gods. Not all tools are associated with the gods but it is a regular feature of the *incantation* ritual and one which was relied upon heavily. The connection between specific tools and the divine allowed the practitioner to tap into great powers and to enhance the capability of an *incantation* ritual. The gods connected with the tools however, differ from one example to the next with varying reasons for their inclusion. To focus initially on the options in the *ink* paradigm, they are predominantly connected with the liminal gods Hermes and Seth. Tools with modal connections to these gods were believed to add a liminal status to the *incantation* ritual. Hermes and Seth are gods who could freely move between worlds without great hindrance. An *incantation* ritual, above and beyond everything else, was performed to create a message that needed to be transmitted and it is unsurprising that it appeals directly to beings that can help achieve this goal. In contrast to the liminal deities symbolically and indexically represented by the tools chosen from the *ink* paradigm, those chosen from the *stylus* paradigm were connected with the Greek goddess of love, Aphrodite. This connection is established via the application of copper or bronze, metals which were also practical for the task of engraving. The inclusion of tools symbolically and indexically connected to the goddess of love would seem a logical addition due to the expected outcome of the rituals instructed by the EMP. In addition to this connection, the symbolic and iconic connection between styli and nails meant that the words which are engraved are



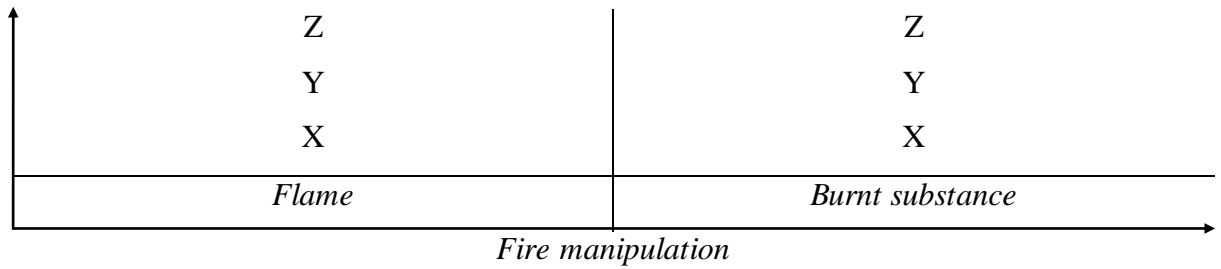
## 2. Fire Manipulation

### a) Introduction

The *fire manipulation* ritual is instructed by 16 EMP and it is performed in all erotic magic subcategories (see Table II.2.a). However, the ritual has a closer association with spells of attraction, as it is instructed by 14 EMP for this purpose whilst only being instructed twice by charms (PGM IV.1265-74 and PGM IV.2145-2240) and once by a binding spell (PGM III.1-164). Every time the ritual is performed, it employs two tools chosen from two paradigms: *flame* and *burnt substance*. *Flame* represents the heat source which is used to incinerate the tools chosen from the *burnt substance* paradigm. The *fire manipulation* ritual is visually represented in Figure II.2.a. Running horizontally along the syntagmatic axis is the sequential nature of the *fire manipulation* ritual and above this are the paradigms *flame* and *burnt substances*. The possible tools used from each paradigm are represented by X, Y, and Z on the vertical axis. In order to carry out an analysis of the tools used in the *fire manipulation* ritual, this chapter will be structured according to the paradigms of the ritual and will first focus on *flame* before addressing *burnt substance*. However, the first section will argue that instructions for the use of a tool from the *flame* paradigm are limited. As a consequence, the lack of tool application from *flame* problematises a semiotic analysis of their use. This being said, it is possible to construct a semiotic analysis of the perceived role of the function by studying the terminology used to describe the process of burning. This can then be contrasted with the use of a lamp. The intent of this discussion is to argue that meaning (this does not apply to lamp application) generally indicates a symbolic and iconic connection between the ritual action and the sacrificial incineration of an offering to the gods. As a consequence of the inclusion of specific terminology it can then be argued that substances are not just burnt but are ritually burnt in a sacrificial offering to the beings expected to assist with the spell.



Figure II.2.a: The *fire manipulation* ritual



This discussion will lead into the second section and an analysis of the tools chosen from the *burnt substance* paradigm. If sacrificial terminology in the *fire manipulation* ritual points to the practice of sacrifice then it stands to reason that the tools chosen from the *burnt substance* paradigm are the sacrificial offerings. It is common for these sacrificial offerings to consist of a combination of animal and/or botanical substances and, because of their widespread application, it is essential to understand why combinations are used so extensively. It will be argued that the modal properties of each substance within a combination, be it botanical or animal, combine to create a super-offering, i.e. combinations meld the individual properties of each substance into one powerful offering. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that the task of the *fire manipulation* ritual is to pique the interest of the recipient, be it for positive reasons (e.g. the enlisting of a supernatural being to help with the task at hand) or negative reasons (e.g. the forcing of a supernatural being to help with the task at hand).

#### b) Flame

*Flame* refers to the process of applying a heat source in the *fire manipulation* ritual and the EMP give instructions for five tools that were used to create fire: a censer, charcoal, flax, lamp, and vinewood (see Table II.2.a). There are six examples which do not refer to the use of any tool and the only instruction given is the general one that a heat source should be employed. For example, see PGM IV.1716-1870 and the instructions that a burnt offering should be performed. The tool used to create a heat source in PGM IV.1716-1870 is not specified and we are only told that one of some sort must be incorporated into the erotic magic ritual. It thus appears that the tools used to generate fire in PGM III.1-164, PGM IV.1265-74, PGM IV.1716-1870, PGM IV.2145-2240, PGM VII.862-918, and PGM VII.973-80 are of little importance. This proposition is further supported by an analysis of

charcoal (ἄνθραξ), a carbonaceous material that can be produced by the incineration of a number of animal and botanical substances. However, there is no instruction in the EMP that specifies which animal and/or botanical substances should be incinerated to create the charcoal. It is clear then that the perceived role of the ‘function’ is more important than the tools chosen from the *flame* paradigm in these EMP.

Table II.2.a: Tools in the *flame* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Censer	IV.1872-1927	1907-1909	Attraction
	IV.2708-84	2712	Attraction
Charcoal	IV.1496-1595	1497	Attraction
	IV.2441-2621	2468-2469	Attraction
	IV.2708-84	2712	Attraction
	IV.2891-2942	2894-2895	Attraction
	LXI.39-71	42-43	Attraction
Flax	IV.1390-1495	1439	Attraction
Lamp	III.1-164	22	Binding
	IV.2145-2240	2192	Attraction & Charm
	VII.593-619	593	Attraction
	LXII.1-24	1	Attraction
Unknown	III.1-164	23	Binding
	IV.1265-74	1269	Charm
	IV.1716-1870	1838-1840, 1864	Attraction
	IV.2145-2240	2231-2232	Attraction
	VII.862-918	876	Attraction
	VII.973-80	974	Attraction
Vinewood	IV.2891-2942	2894-2895	Attraction
	XXXVI.295-311	296	Attraction

It is via a study of the terminology used alongside charcoal and the unknown tools that a deeper understanding of fire’s perceived role in the *fire manipulation* ritual can be gained. Various words are used to describe the burning of a substance in the PGM and

each has different nuances, implying there was a contrast between the use of one and the use of another. When the PGM state the use of one word over the use of another, particular symbolic and indexical connections are brought to the mind of the practitioner. For example, by reading the instruction  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\ldots \lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega\pi\omicron\nu \acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\iota\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  at ll.2390-2391 in PGM IV.2373-2440 (a non-erotic business spell), the practitioner would know that the text refers to a holocaust, the incineration of a sacrificial victim in its entirety as an offering.<sup>337</sup> The word  $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  implies a burning of the sacrificial victim but it also implies something else: PGM IV.2373-2440 does not just instruct the burning of a donkey but rather what can be seen is a sacred act through the use of fire. With this in mind, if the burnings in the *fire manipulation* rituals were nothing more than simply putting a substance to a heat source then the text would perhaps read  $\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}$  (kindle, set on fire, burn),  $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}$  (burn with fire, burn up),  $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$  (burn, burn up), or  $\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\omega$  (melt, melt down). These words are of importance to the successful completion of an erotic spell (due to their use in aggressive formulaic fire imagery)<sup>338</sup> but such words are only used to describe the burning of a lizard in PGM LXI.39-71.<sup>339</sup> As a consequence, to understand the perceived role of the fire created by the application of a tool from the *flame* paradigm, it is essential to focus on  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ , a verb which appears in the majority of the EMP that use charcoal, the unknown tools, a censer (only in PGM IV.2708-84), flax, and vinewood (only in PGM IV.2891-2942).<sup>340</sup>

The Greek verb  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  is closely connected with  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ , a word heavily associated with the practice of making offerings or giving sacrifices.<sup>341</sup> The process of animal

<sup>337</sup>  $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  is used four times but never in the EMP. For references, see PGM IV.2373-2440, 3125-71; XII.14-95, 201-69.

<sup>338</sup>  $\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ , and  $\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\omega$  are used more in the *incantation* rituals which draw heavily on aggressive formulaic fire imagery, i.e. they are used descriptively in an *incantation* ritual that is performed to inflict, sympathetically, a burning sensation on a target. The application of aggressive formulaic language did not rely on the actual use of fire to burn substances. Only five examples from the EMP which employ aggressive formulaic fire imagery actually apply fire to a substance: PGM IV.1496-1595 (myrrh is burnt); XXXVI.295-311 (sulphur is burnt), 333-60 (myrrh is burnt); LXI.39-71 (a lizard is heated).

<sup>339</sup> The burning of the lizard, in contrast to the discussion which follows, is interlinked with the *animal killing* ritual. For the use of the *fire manipulation* ritual in the *animal killing* ritual, see II.6 p.170.

<sup>340</sup> The burning of styrax in PGM III.1-164 uses  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  and is the only *fire manipulation* ritual in the EMP to do so.

<sup>341</sup> Fire played a vital role in sacrifice as the offering to the gods (an animal's bones wrapped in fat) was incinerated on an altar at the climax of the ritual. For a discussion of  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  in the PGM, see Petrovic, "Antiaesthetics," pp.1-2. On Greek sacrificial terminology see Tavenner, 1942, p.24 n.26; Detienne, 1977, p.38; Casabona, 1966; Nagy, 1979, p.308; Vernant, 1981a, p.61; Burkert, 1985, p.62; Graf, 2005, p.71; Henrichs, 2005, pp.48-49 ns. 5-6. For sacrifice generally, see Meuli, 1975, II.907-1021; Furley, 1981, pp.1-36; Vernant, 1981a; Burkert, 1983; *ibid.*, 1985, pp.55-66; Smith, 1987; Detienne & Vernant, 1989; Van Straten, 1995; Bowie, 1995; Bremmer, 1996, pp.248-283; Himmelmann, 1997; Graf, 2002a; Mylonopoulos, 2006, pp.71-84; Bremmer, 2010; Georgoudi, 2010; Parker, 2011, pp.124-170; Petrovic, "Antiaesthetics,"

sacrifice implies many ritual actions however, and θύω can simply mean to sacrifice or slay a victim (as can be seen by the instructions in PGM IV.2373-2440 above). Translations of compounds and cognates in Betz's edition of the papyri (GMPT) vary greatly due to the diverse application of the word and can include 'offer,' 'offering,' 'burn,' 'burnt offering,' 'sacrifice,' and 'sacrificial victim.' Importantly for a discussion of the *flame* paradigm, the original meaning of θύω was 'to smoke' and it referred to a bloodless burnt offering; the beginnings of the shift in meaning more towards sacrifice can be seen in Homer.<sup>342</sup> The use of sacrificial terminology implies that there was far more to the *fire manipulation* rituals in PGM III.1-164, PGM IV.1265-74, PGM IV.1390-1495, PGM IV.1496-1595, PGM IV.1716-1870, PGM IV.2145-2240, PGM IV.2441-2621, PGM IV.2891-2942, and PGM VII.862-918 than simply putting a substance to a heat source. Rather, the substances are ritually burnt in a sacrificial offering to the powers that will assist with the spell at hand. The substances which are to be offered to these powers are generally sacrificed to win favour and to open communication with the divine.<sup>343</sup> The symbolic and indexical connotations of sacrificial terminology would have been automatically translated by those perceiving both the instructions to burn an offering and the actual act of the burning.

This hypothesis is supported by the iconic similarities between the *fire manipulation* ritual and the religiously charged sacrificial ceremonies present throughout the Graeco-Roman world. These similarities could not help but impress themselves upon the amateur practitioner as they sent an offering to the gods. The mystique and sense of ceremony involved with the rituals instructed by the EMP helped create a sacred atmosphere and space which lifted the rituals performed out of the mundane and instilled in them great dignity.<sup>344</sup> Burning of incense, repetitive chanting, strange and mysterious words (*voces magicae*), gazing into a flame, the burning of an offering, rituals of purity

---

pp.13-14. For reference to sacrifice in the PGM generally, both Johnston (2002) and Petrovic ("Antiaesthetics") offer detailed descriptions and discussions.

<sup>342</sup> Hom. *Il.* IX.219-20; *Od.* XIV.446; XV.222. Θυσία, sacrifice, first appears in H. *Dem.* 312, 368. Cf. Burkert, 1983, p.62. The Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyry (*Abst.* II.5), 3<sup>rd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, tells us that due to the exhalation of smoke, offerings were called θυμιατήρια, to sacrifice was referred to as θύειν, and that sacrifices became θυσία. It is due to later failure to interpret these words properly that they developed beyond their original meaning.

<sup>343</sup> For the argument that the substances burnt in magic had a psychoactive effect, see Luck, 2006, pp.479-492. For references to psychoactive substances, see Hom. *Od.* IV.219-234, IX.82-104; Hdt. I.202, IV.74-75; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* IX.xv.1, IX.xi.5-6; Plin. *HN* XXIV.ci.160-165; Ath. V.221A-B.

<sup>344</sup> For the creation of a sacred space in a public ritual, see Aeschines' (*In Tim.* 23) report of the Athenians who, prior to an assembly, sacrificed a pig (to chase away unclean demons) and offered aromatics (to attract benevolent spirits). For the role of blood in purificatory rituals, see II.6 pp.175-176.

and consecration, and the night, amongst other actions, were essential for the creation of mystique, a heightened religious state, and a multisensory effect.<sup>345</sup> The extensive preparation of a tool in the *burnt substance* paradigm, which can involve the performance of an *animal killing* ritual (e.g. PGM IV.2441-2621), heightened the ceremonial atmosphere of *fire manipulations* that use sacrificial terminology and, when coupled with the use of flax, vinewood, and charcoal, there is an implication that an open ceremonial fire not too dissimilar to an altar fire was used. That said, there is no specification that the *fire manipulation* rituals in EMP which use sacrificial terminology are created on an altar but the preparation of an environment does imply that the space has been elevated out of the mundane and the use of an altar can be seen throughout the PGM.<sup>346</sup> If it can be assumed that an open ceremonial altar fire was used, it is still not clear what size these fires were. Some of the fires were in the open air (e.g. PGM IV.2441-2621) and could have been relatively large, but others were performed within the home (e.g. PGM IV.1716-1870) and must have been kept to a modest size. Whether these fires were created on an altar or not, it is clear that the importance of fire lay not in what tool was used to create it but in the fact that a ceremonial fire was in place to burn an offering.

In contrast to the open ceremonial fires that are instructed by EMP which use sacrificial terminology, the use of a lamp as a tool is an example of a limited, closed, and contained fire.<sup>347</sup> Lamps are instructed to be used regularly throughout the PGM but their structure and how they appear is not known.<sup>348</sup> The colour of the lamps (or rather the colour they should not be) is however stipulated and in PGM VII.593-619 and PGM LXII.1-24 we read that the lamps should be ἀμίλωτος, not red. This simple instruction can reveal much about the perception of lamp use within the context of the EMP: fire is a pure element and the stipulation that a lamp should not be red is linked with this purity.<sup>349</sup>

<sup>345</sup> For magic as a multisensory experience, see Luck, 2006, pp.481, 484. Cf. Parker, 2011, pp.134-135.

<sup>346</sup> The attraction spell at PGM XXXVI.295-311, although not using sacrificial terminology, does instruct the creation of an altar. For altars in the PGM, see PGM I.262-347; III.282-409; V.172-212, 370-446; XII.14-95; XIII.1-343, 343-646, 646-734; XXXVI.295-311.

<sup>347</sup> Lamps appear in 29 spells throughout the PGM and, when it is specified, are the main tool used to contain fire. For lamps in the PGM, not including the EMP, see PGM I.262-347; II.1-64, 64-183; IV.52-85, 930-1114, 2359-72, 3172-3208; V.1-53, 447-58; VII.222-49, 250-54, 255-59, 359-69, 376-84, 407-10, 478-90, 540-78, 664-85, 703-26; VIII.64-110; XIb.1-5; XII.14-95, 121-43; XIII. 1-343, 343-646, 646-734, 734-1077; XXIIb.27-31, 32-35; CII.1-17.

<sup>348</sup> The structure of a lamp varied considerably over time and location due to its evolution from the basic shape of a bowl through to the volute lamps of the Imperial period, with their rich motifs depicting a variety of scenes from the mundane to the mythological and religious. For a history of lamps, see Harris, 1980; Bailey, 1987; Barbera, 1993; Karivieri, 1996; Parisinou, 2000, pp.8-19.

<sup>349</sup> Fire is susceptible to metaphysical contamination. For metaphysical contamination, see Parker, 1983, p.77. It is for this reason that the purity of hearth fire is to be protected from pollution. Hesiod (*Op.* 733-734)

However, there does not seem to be an avoidance of the colour due to any symbolic connections with blood. It is easy to see a connection between the colour red and blood and it is true that blood can be impure when spilt in murder but it can also be pure when shed in a ritual context. As a result, the purity of blood is wholly dependent on the context in which it is used.<sup>350</sup> Red is avoided for the same reason that cinnabar is available in the *ink* paradigm, i.e. the colour is associated with Seth.<sup>351</sup> The spells in which lamps are used involve elements of attraction and binding and Seth is regularly invoked for his ability to cause separation. He was the archetypal enemy of the ordered world and as such it would be inappropriate to include a colour which would bring to the mind of the perceiver this negative force in a procedure reliant on purity and attraction.

The perceived nature of fire meant that it was used regularly for its purificatory qualities in rituals dealing with the miasma surrounding transition. The most notable examples of fire in transitional rituals are those involved with birth,<sup>352</sup> marriage<sup>353</sup> and death.<sup>354</sup> Due to the perceived transitional role of fire, the pure nature of the element could be harnessed to allow movement from one state of being to another. In the case of death, the fire of cremation purged the soul of the impurity of mortality.<sup>355</sup> One need not die to take advantage of fire's ability to cleanse the body however, and movement between the realm of living and that of the dead could be achieved via the application of lamps. This belief is portrayed in Lucian's *Menippus* and the depiction of the Chaldean's ceremony that will prepare the eponymous character's descent to Hades. This ritual includes (amongst many other purifying actions) consecration and cleansing by torches.<sup>356</sup> The ability of fire to help humans move successfully through liminal periods may help to

---

writes that it is unfitting to expose oneself before the hearth when bespattered with seed (i.e. following sexual intercourse). Note the association between the hearth and the virgin goddess Hestia. Cf. Parker, 1983, pp.76-77; Burkert, 1985, pp.61, 170.

<sup>350</sup> As has been argued at II.1 p.62 and II.6 pp.175-176.

<sup>351</sup> See II.1 pp.60-61. Also see Rohde's (1925, p.192 n.6) discussion of the wrapping of the deceased in various parts of Greece in crimson robes. It is possible that red may have developed an association with the deceased through this practice.

<sup>352</sup> Furley, 1981, pp.65-70; Parker, 1983, p.51 & n.71; Parisinou, 2000, pp.45-51.

<sup>353</sup> Torches are one of the most distinctive features in literary descriptions of weddings: Hom. *Il.* XVIII.491-493; Eur. *Phoen.* 344-346, *Med.* 1024-1027, *IA.* 733, *Hel.* 637-640, 722-724. Cf. Furley, 1981, pp.186-188; Parker, 1983, p.51; Oakley & Sinos, 1993, p.138 n.93; Parisinou, 2000, pp.54-59.

<sup>354</sup> Hom. *Od.* XXII.481-484; Soph. *Trach.* 1198; Eur. *Or.* 39-42; Plut. *Arist.* XX.4-5. Cf. Richardson, 1974, pp.166-167; Parry, 1992, p.75 n.39; Parker, 1983, pp.227-228; Parisinou, 2000, pp.73, 80. For the miasma surrounding birth and death generally, see Parker, 1983, pp.32-73.

<sup>355</sup> Rohde, 1925, pp.49 n.41, 334 n.127; Parker, 1983, p.227. Ghosts in the underworld are described as wraithlike and barely visible (Hom. *Od.* XI). The perception that the souls of the dead floated from the pyre with the smoke may help explain the perception of ghosts as insubstantial and flimsy. Cf. Russel, 1981, p.196; Vemant, 1981a, pp.76-77; Felton, 1999, pp.14-18.

<sup>356</sup> Lucian *Menippus* 7. Cf. Lucian *Philops.* 12.

explain why the dead are often drawn to the light of a lamp, a common motif in tales of haunted homes.<sup>357</sup> Deities associated with the dead are often portrayed as lamp-bearing and prominent in the PGM is the goddess Hecate, whose cult epithets (Amphipuros, Phaosphōriē, Phōsphoros, Dadoukhos, Daidophoros and Purphoros) point to her relationship with fire.<sup>358</sup> For example, in the *incantation* ritual of PGM IV.1390-1495, a spell of attraction performed with the help of heroes, gladiators, or those who have died a violent death, Hecate is said to rouse up with fire the souls of the dead. The dead follow the light of the lamps as they do the lamps used in funeral processions or those left in graves to light the way to the afterlife.<sup>359</sup> The light of the lamp, which leads mortals from one realm to another, can give joy to the deceased. It offers them a momentary glimpse of light and life for death is dark and life is light.<sup>360</sup>

It is because of the ability of fire to purify that the *fire manipulation* ritual at I.2192 of PGM IV.2145-2240 is performed as part of a process to consecrate a lamella engraved with three Homeric hymns. This section is heavily reliant on establishing a purity which will help create a sacred lamella that can then be used in a spell of attraction and a charm. To perform this ritual of consecration, the EMP instruct that a table with clean linen and flowers of the season should be set up in a clean room.<sup>361</sup> This is done prior to the performance of an *animal killing* ritual that sees a rooster killed for the purifying properties of blood.<sup>362</sup> In the same way that fire could purge the deceased of the impurity of mortality in a cremation, the metallic lamella is purged of its impurity by the fire employed within the seven lamps. In a similar manner, the seven lamps used in PGM III.1-164 helped contribute to the creation of a pure area in which styrax is burnt in another *fire manipulation* ritual action.<sup>363</sup> In PGM VII.593-619 and PGM LXII.1-24 however, the pure nature of the lamps are used to open a conduit between the mortal and divine worlds

<sup>357</sup> For the association between lamps and the dead, see Ogden, 2009, p.140. One of the more famous examples of a haunted house can be found in the *Epistles* of Pliny (*Ep.* VII.xvii.5-11). For a discussion of this text, see II.3 p.113-114. The presence of lamps in such ghost stories alludes to the practice of necromancy via lychnomancy. Cf. Ogden, 2001, p.195. Perhaps, mundanely, lamps developed an association with the dead because one needs to be able to see in order to see ghosts, as with the ghost of a little girl seen by the nurse in Phlegon (*Mir.* 1). For the necessity of light to see ghosts, see Felton, 1999, p.55.

<sup>358</sup> Parisinou, 2000, p.83. For light bearing deities, see Parisinou, 2000, pp.81-91.

<sup>359</sup> Lawson, 1964, p.505; Kurtz & Boardman, 1971, p.211; Morris, 1992, p.67; Felton, 1999, pp.14, 55.

<sup>360</sup> Hom. *Il.*V.45, VI.11; Eur. *Alc.* 269, *IA.* 1505-1509, 1279-1282; Soph. *Ant.* 806-816, 872-882; Aesch. *Pers.* 299-301. Cf. Parisinou, 2000, pp.60-72; Heath, 2005, p.391.

<sup>361</sup> For the role of flowers of the season, see I.3 p.107.

<sup>362</sup> See II.6 pp.175-176.

<sup>363</sup> The number seven is used continuously in the PGM. Here, as with PGM IV.2145-2240, seven lamps are used. Seven wicks are used in PGM VII.593-619. The number seven is symbolically and indexically connected with the heavenly bodies. For more information, see II.1 p.70 n.296.

through which information can be transmitted. To focus initially on PGM LXII.1-24, the information to be transmitted is created via the performance of an *incantation* ritual, which consists of instructions given to an agent who will enact the attraction element of the spell. In PGM VII.593-619 the power of the spell, which can force the target into the presence of the amateur practitioner, can be viewed in the flickering of the seven wicks. The amateur practitioner merely watches the flames to gain knowledge in regards to the success of the spell. This act is a reference to the practice known as *lychnomancy* (divination by the flame of the lamp) and it is integral for the establishment of communication in PGM VII.593-619 and PGM LXII.1-24.<sup>364</sup> Anyone who has lost themselves whilst gazing into a flame can vouch for the hypnotic qualities of fire. The movement of a flame and the diffraction of light as it passes through the heated air are mesmeric. By staring captivated at the flame of a lamp it is possible that the amateur practitioner became entranced and susceptible to his imagination. The use of lamps for divination in this manner is directly related to *empyromancy*, a form of divination associated with sacrificial ceremonies. *Empyromancy* was the observation of the sacrificial parts as they were incinerated on the altar.<sup>365</sup> The expansion of the flame whilst it consumed the sacrificial parts (the fat remaining on the bone would cause the flame to spurt dramatically) on the altar was perceived as a sign of divine manifestation.<sup>366</sup> Although lamp fire, as instructed by the EMP, is not generally used for the burning of a substance, it is not inappropriate to draw a correlation between *lychnomancy* and *empyromancy*. Unlike *empyromancy* however, *lychnomancy* did not need an experienced interpreter. *Lychnomancy* was *empyromancy* for the masses. That is to say, it was a form of “do it yourself” divination and consequently it was ideal for magical practices.<sup>367</sup>

The fire in a lamp was a medium (as is the fire of sacrifice which allowed the movement of an offering between the mortal and divine worlds) between the worlds of man and the gods, through which the practitioners of *lychnomancy* could gain access to knowledge unavailable to mortals.<sup>368</sup> Pamphile, the wife of Milo, seems adept in this form of divining (as depicted in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius) when she stares into her lamp

<sup>364</sup> For *lychnomancy*, see Graf, 1999, p.287; Ogden, 2001, pp.193-195; Johnston, 2008a, pp.158-159.

<sup>365</sup> For examples in the ancient sources, see Pind. *Ol.* VIII.1-7; Hdt. VIII.134; Soph. *OT.* 21; Aesch. *PV.* V.476-506; Eur. *Phoen.* 1254-1258.

<sup>366</sup> Plut. *Them.* 13. Cf. Furley, 1981, p.62; Parke, 1967, pp.164-193; Burkert, 1983, p.61; Graf, 1997, p.214; Johnston, 2008a, pp.98, 128; Bonnechere, 2010, p.152.

<sup>367</sup> Johnston, 2008a, pp.158-159.

<sup>368</sup> For the flame as a medium between the divine and mortal worlds, see Vermant, 1981a, pp.75-76.



to predict the weather.<sup>369</sup> She is mocked but the protagonist intercedes on her behalf with the proclamation that although the flame she uses is modest, it nonetheless remains mindful of the greater heavenly fire as if of its own parents. Thus her fire can know by divine presentiment what the divine fire is going to do and declare it to the corporeal world. As indicated by Apuleius, when fire is taken from a place it keeps the properties of the original fire. In this respect, all fire on earth is descended from the fire in the divine realm from whence Prometheus stole it to give to mortal men.<sup>370</sup> It is for this reason that fire is taken from a mother city and given to a colony in order to create political and religious continuity with that city.<sup>371</sup> As a consequence, every time the *fire manipulation* ritual is performed, a connection is established with an aspect of the divine realm. This belief is portrayed in the attraction spell at PGM LXII.1-24, which instructs that a lamp not coloured red is to be hung and lit with good oil and cedar oil. The accompanying *incantation* ritual sees the practitioner adjure the fire within the lamp as being one and the same with the fire that lies beside the great god:  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}$  εἶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον τὸ παρακείμενον τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ.

Fire can serve as a medium for the transmission of information but it can also serve as a conduit, through which it was possible for a divinity to pass into the mortal realm.<sup>372</sup> This perception is portrayed in the opening section of PGM XIII.1-343, in which it is specified that an earthen altar should be prepared with numerous items, including two lamps each holding an eighth of a pint of good oil. The instructions specifically advise that further oil should not be put into the lamps, for when the presence of the god enters the flame it will burn more fiercely. Compared to the wild, open flame of the sacrificial fire (in which the gods receive offerings and are coerced into giving their assistance) lamp fire is controlled, restricted, and limited. The ever present danger of fire is negated by man's ability to control the flame via a lamp. Everything about the rituals instructed by the EMP gives the amateur practitioner the illusion of control in a situation he cannot control. The power to accept or reject his advances lies with the female and with her alone.<sup>373</sup> Erotic

<sup>369</sup> Apul. *Met.* II.11-12. Cf. III.21.

<sup>370</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 561-569; Plin. *HN.* VII.lvi.198; Sen. *Med.* 820-823; Pl. *Phlb.* 16B, *Prt.* 320C-322A, *Plt.* 274; Diod. Sic. IV.xv.2, V.lxvii.1-2; Aesch. *PV.* 73-121, 254, 609-612, 944-946; Hes. *Op.* 42-44; Verg. *G.* VI.41-43. Cf. Vernant, 1981.

<sup>371</sup> Plat. *Leg.* VI.776B; Plut. *Mor.* 297A, *Arist.* XX.4-5. Cf. Furley, 1981, pp.39-40; Parisinou, 2000, p.43. The eternal flames (as stated by Burkert, 1983, p.61), in temples were seen as the embodiment of the body politic.

<sup>372</sup> Parisinou, 2000, p.7; Johnston, 2008a, p.159.

<sup>373</sup> For the passionate longing of the amateur practitioner, see I.4 pp.51-53.

magic gives the amateur practitioner the belief that he is the one in charge. The elaborate erotic magic rituals are performed in the hope of gaining control, be it over his emotions, over the target, or the beings who will act on the amateur practitioner's behalf. The application of a controlled fire could be an extension of the amateur practitioner's will to control the situation. Something as primal and as dangerous as fire (a danger comparable to that of passionate longing) has been contained and, by extrapolation, the gods who are adjured via lychnomancy are also controlled and contained. The flame of the lamp is not used to give an offering to the gods. Rather, the fire belongs to and is manipulated by the amateur practitioner. The gods who are to assist will consequently belong to the amateur practitioner.

### c) Burnt Substance

Tools chosen from the *burnt substance* paradigm are placed directly onto the fire created via the application of a tool from the *flame* paradigm. There are 29 substances used for the creation of a tool: baboon excrement, bdellium (βδέλλα),<sup>374</sup> beetle,<sup>375</sup> cow excrement, crab, crocus, cumin, dove fat, dove blood, fig, frankincense, galingale, goat fat, ibis egg, lizard, *lunar offering*, manna,<sup>376</sup> mouse, myrrh, onion, opium,<sup>377</sup> roses, saffron,<sup>378</sup> styrax (στύραξ),<sup>379</sup> sulphur, sumac, unguent, vulture brains, wine, and wormwood. There are only two EMP (PGM III.1-164 and PGM IV.2145-2240) which do not give clear instructions for the application of a tool from the *burnt substance* paradigm. The majority of the substances used for the creation of a tool are listed however, and the 16 references to

---

<sup>374</sup> Βδέλλα has not been translated by GMPT or PGM. It is possible βδέλλα is an abbreviation for bdellium (βδέλλιον), an aromatic myrrh like gum, which is used elsewhere (PGM IV.1275-1322; VII.429-58). It could also be a reference to the use of a leech. See PGM XII.401-44 where a secret name is given to a leech, βδέλλα. However, see LiDonnici, 2002, p.373 & n.75 who argues that it is a form of incense or aromatic gum. In PGM IV.1716-1870 βδέλλα is used in a combination with only plants and it would seem more fitting for bdellium to be used.

<sup>375</sup> The beetle in PGM IV.2441-2621 is a moon beetle. The beetle in PGM VII.973-80 is a sun beetle. Thus one is associated with Selene, the other Helios.

<sup>376</sup> For manna, see II.5 pp.143-144.

<sup>377</sup> The poppy is the source of opium (the thickened sap obtained by slitting the unripe seed capsule) and has a long history as an inebriant and an instrument of magic. See Plin. *HN* XIX.liiii.167-169, XX.lxxvi.198-204; Dioscorides *Mat. med.* IV.65. Cf. Ratsch, 1992, pp.145-147. Also see the possible connection between Helen's φάρμακον and opium at I.3 p.20 n.75.

<sup>378</sup> Κρόκος is translated in PGM IV.2441-2621 as crocus by GMPT but as saffron in PGM. Saffron is used regularly for κρόκος (PGM IV.1275-1322, 1716-1870; XII.201-69; XCIV.1-6) and would seem the more appropriate translation.

<sup>379</sup> Στύραξ is translated as either storax or styrax in PGM and GMPT. LSJ translates στύραξ as storax, the tree producing the gum *styrax officinalis*. When στύραξ is used in the PGM this thesis will translate it into styrax, believing it to refer to the gum and not the tree.

botanical substances points to their wide application in the paradigm.<sup>380</sup> In contrast, the burning of animal substances is relatively limited (a point that is in contrast to the burning of such substances in the PGM generally)<sup>381</sup> and although their inclusion is of great importance due to their symbolic and indexical properties (e.g. the field mouse, river crab, and moon beetle in PGM IV.2441-2621 are symbolic of earth, water, and sky, respectively),<sup>382</sup> the question needs to be raised why botanical substances are dominant. Alongside the dominance of botanical substances is the consistent use of combinations. When a substance is put to fire, it is generally not burnt alone but combined in what can be very complex combinations.<sup>383</sup> As a consequence of this frequent application of combinations, there are only 11 tools in the *burnt substance* paradigm (see Table II.2.b).

The use of combinations is more prevalent in *burnt substance* than in any other paradigm and there was clearly great importance placed on the inclusion of combinations. The combination of manna, styrax, bdellium, opium, myrrh, frankincense, saffron, fig, and wine in PGM IV.1716-1870 will be referred to as *burnt substance* combination 1 (BSC1). The combination of roses and sumac in PGM IV.2145-2240 will be referred to as *burnt substance* combination 2 (BSC2).<sup>384</sup> The combination in PGM IV.2441-2621 of mouse, beetle, crab, goat fat, baboon excrement, ibis egg, styrax, myrrh, crocus, galingale, frankincense, and onion will be referred to as *burnt substance* combination 3 (BSC3). The combination of cumin and goat fat in PGM IV.2708-84 will be referred to as *burnt substance* combination 4 (BSC4). The combination in PGM IV.2891-2942 of dove fat and blood, myrrh, and wormwood will be referred to as *burnt substance* combination 5

<sup>380</sup> The dominance of botanical substances is in keeping with the original meaning of θύω, according to Porphyry (*Abst.* II.4-5), who claims that the offering of incense was an older tradition than the offering of flesh. He claims that primitive sacrifice consisted of botanical substances only.

<sup>381</sup> For the burning of animal substances in the PGM, not including the EMP, see PGM I.262-347 (wolf eye); II.1-64 (rooster gizzard stones, ram brain, ram nail, ibis brain); II.64-184 (sheep nails, goat nails, wolf fur); III.633-731 (rooster); IV.26-51 (rooster), 1275-1322 (ram brain), 1331-89 (donkey fat, goat fat, bull fat), 2359-72 (rooster), 2373-2440 (donkey), 2622-2707 (mouse, goat fat, baboon magical material, ibis egg, crab, beetle, dog magical material), 2785-2890 (dog magical material, goat magical material), 3086-3124 (cat heart, horse manure), 3125-71 (falcon); V.172-212 (frog tongue); VII.478-90 (dove excrement), 528-39 (ram brain); XII.14-95 (chick), 201-69 (goose, roosters, pigeons); XIII.343-646 (rooster, pigeon). For a discussion of animal sacrifice in the PGM, see Johnston, 2002; Petrovic, "Antiaesthetics."

<sup>382</sup> For the use of mouse, crab, and beetle, see II.6 p.165.

<sup>383</sup> When dealing with a long and complex list of substances, the EMP never instructs the burning of various items one after another. Contrast this to the offering made by Simaetha in Theoc. *Id.* II.18-56. A clear disparity emerges between literary representation and actual practice. Cf. Graf, 1997, p.179.

<sup>384</sup> It is unclear however, if the roses and sumac in PGM IV.2145-2240 are to be offered side by side or in a combination with one another but due to the mass use of combinations in the *fire manipulation* ritual, this thesis will see this as another combination.

(BSC5). The combination in PGM VII.973-80 of a beetle and unguent will be referred to as *burnt substance* combination 6 (BSC6)<sup>385</sup> and the final combination, used in PGM LXII.1-24, of good oil and cedar oil will be referred to as *burnt substance* combination 7 (BSC7). The extensive use of combinations in the *burnt substance* paradigm can also help explain the unknown *lunar offering* in PGM VII.862-918, about which very little information is given and we are only told that it is to be offered after the construction of a Selene figurine, who will help with the attraction of the target, and prior to an *incantation* ritual referred to as ὁ λόγος σεληνιακός.<sup>386</sup> It is however, feasible that this tool could closely resemble BSC3 in PGM IV.2441-2621, which is to be burnt on a roof as the moon (i.e. Selene) is rising. In the *incantation* ritual following the offering of BSC3, there are instructions that the clouds should part and for the goddess ακτιωτικ to shine. It is possible that ακτιωτικ is a secret name of Selene who is specifically mentioned at II.2525, 2545, 2558, 2569.<sup>387</sup> Due to the connections between BSC3 and the *lunar offering*, this thesis has taken the latter tool to be composed of the exact same substances.

Table II.2.b: Tools in the *burnt substance* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
BSC1	IV.1716-1870	1829-1838, 1864	Attraction
BSC2	IV.2145-2240	2231-2232	Attraction
BSC3	IV.2441-2621	2455-2466	Attraction
BSC4	IV.2708-84	2708-2710	Attraction
BSC5	IV.2891-2942	2891-2893	Attraction
BSC6	VII.973-80	974	Attraction
BSC7	LXII.1-24	1	Attraction
Cow excrement	IV.1390-1495	1439-1440	Attraction
Frankincense	IV.1265-74	1269	Charm
	IV.1872-1927	1909-1910	Attraction
Lizard	LXI.39-71	40	Attraction
<i>Lunar offering</i>	VII.862-918	876	Attraction

<sup>385</sup> When the beetle in PGM VII.973-80 is boiled with unguent, it is then combined with vetch and then placed into a glass cup. The rationale for the *fire manipulation* ritual in this EMP differs to alternative performances of the ritual. For the use of these substances and the combination BSC6, see II.4 pp.134-135.

<sup>386</sup> For the Selene figurine in PGM VII.862-918, see II.5 p.150.

<sup>387</sup> For *vores magicae* functioning as secret names, see I.3 pp.44-46.

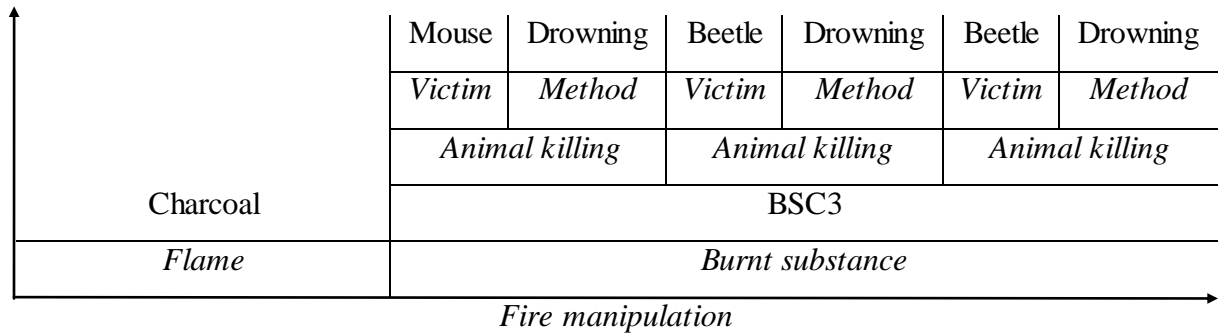
Myrrh	IV.1496-1595	1496-1497	Attraction
Olive oil	VII.593-619	599	Attraction
Styrax	III.1-164	23-24	Binding
Sulphur	XXXVI.295-311	295-296, 297-298	Attraction
Unknown	III.1-164	22	Binding
	IV.2145-2240	2192	Attraction & charm
Vulture brains	IV.2891-2942	2895-2897	Attraction

Before proceeding with an analysis of the tools in the *burnt substance* paradigm, it is important to understand in greater detail the inclusion of three separate *animal killing* rituals required for the creation of BSC3 (and thus potentially the *lunar offering* tool). The need to perform alternative ritual actions to create a tool is a common attribute of the rituals instructed by the EMP and the process will be seen time and again. It is essential that erotic magic is flexible enough to allow this process as it would be impossible to complete the *fire manipulation* ritual in PGM IV.2441-2621 without enacting the *animal killing* ritual. To focus on BSC3, it has already been seen that the EMP instructs the creation of the combination from a long list of substances. The first three are animals which are to be killed (mouse and two beetles) and at this point the *fire manipulation* ritual automatically breaks away into the *animal killing* ritual and the functions of that ritual must be enacted via the application of a tool from the *victim* and *method* paradigms.<sup>388</sup> As there are three animals which must be killed, the *animal killing* ritual is performed three times. For a visual representation of the requirement of the *animal killing* ritual for BSC3, see Figure II.2.b below. The sequential nature of the *fire manipulation* ritual is represented on the horizontal syntagmatic axis and above this are the paradigms from which a tool must be chosen. The use of sacrificial terminology implies that the *fire manipulation* ritual in PGM IV.2441-2621 is a burnt offering and, as can be seen by Figure II.2.b, the EMP instructs that charcoal is chosen from the *flame* paradigm and BSC3 is chosen from the *burnt substance* paradigm. In order to create BSC3 however, three *animal killing* rituals must be performed. It is at this point that a tool must be chosen from the *victim* and *method* paradigms (listed above BSC3 in Figure II.2.b). Once all functions of the *animal killing*

<sup>388</sup> For the *animal killing* ritual and the tools it requires, see II.6.

ritual are performed, BSC3 can be finalised and the *fire manipulation* ritual can be completed.

Figure II.2.b: A visual representation of the *fire manipulation* ritual in PGM IV.2441-2621



The rationale for a tool chosen from the *burnt substance* paradigm remained the same whether it consisted of solitary animal/botanical substances or a combination: communication between the divine and mortal worlds was established and the attention of the recipient was piqued by the nature of the tool. The rituals instructed by the EMP rely heavily on the establishment of communication between the mortal and divine worlds and the use of a tool from the *burnt substance* paradigm could help achieve this goal.<sup>389</sup> The act of burning and the smoke emitted by incinerated substances played a key role in connecting the human and divine worlds.<sup>390</sup> Burkert, when discussing sacrificial ceremonies, tells us that the worshiper comes into contact with the gods not only through prayer, song and dance, but also by the blow of the axe, the gush of blood and, importantly, the burning of offerings.<sup>391</sup> The recipient of the smoke was pleased by the offering of substances and was expected to return the favour in a mutual relationship of favours and gifts, which lay at the heart of a successful human-divine relationship.<sup>392</sup> Thus, it was not simply because of piety that man transmitted scented smoke to the gods. The same principle also applies to the burnt offerings performed via the *fire manipulation* ritual, i.e. the burning of an offering was expected to be reimbursed with the acquiescence of a target.

<sup>389</sup> For magical practices in general being described as the search for close communication with the divine, see I.4 p.45 n.194.

<sup>390</sup> For the role of sacrificial smoke in communication, see Casabona, 1966, pp.69-125; Detienne, 1977, pp.37-38, 48-49; Vernant, 1980, pp.135-136; Parker, 1983, p.228; Zaidman & Pantel, 1992, p.36; Mikalson, 2005, p.26; Parker, 2011, pp.135-136.

<sup>391</sup> Burkert, 1983, p.2. Cf. Vernant, 1981a, p.61.

<sup>392</sup> Mikalson, 2005, pp.26-27.

To assure this assistance of the recipient, the EMP instruct the burning of substances (the majority being of botanical origin) that possess a pleasant nature.<sup>393</sup> The aromatic smoke emitted by burning botanical substances had been exploited in religious ceremonies of the Graeco-Roman world from a very early age, with λίβανος (a generic term meaning incense, encompassing aromatic materials such as gums and resins, but regularly translated as frankincense) being the most popular substance used.<sup>394</sup> In Homer the gods have fragrant altars (βωμός... θυήεις)<sup>395</sup> and Hesiod describes altars which exhale the perfume of incense (θυήεντων... βωμῶν).<sup>396</sup> The use of incense was seen as a staple component of a religious act and Pliny tells us that in his time the demand for incense was so great that frankincense began to be harvested twice a year.<sup>397</sup> To place frankincense on a flame was a simple and cheap means of sacrifice and it developed into one of the most widespread forms, be it for private or public rituals.<sup>398</sup>

Considering that there is little difference between a tool consisting of one substance and another consisting of a combination, why do the EMP continuously advocate the use of combinations for the creation of a tool? It is possible that the application of a combination may simply rely on efficiency, financial reasons, and practicality. That is to say, the substances used to create a tool only needed to be acquired once and from this single acquisition, numerous combinations could be created and stockpiled for future use.<sup>399</sup> However, combinations appeared to have a distinct advantage over the offering of solitary substances as they fused the modal properties (be they symbolic, indexical, or iconic) of multiple substances to create a super-offering. By combining multiple substances into one super-offering the composers of the EMP are attempting to leave nothing to

<sup>393</sup> See Plin. *HN* XIII.ii.8-18 for a list of substances (including many that are used in erotic magic) known for their perfume.

<sup>394</sup> Frankincense, the foremost incense of the ancient world, was burnt more than any other botanical substance in the EMP. PGM XXXVI.134-60 is the only EMP that does not burn frankincense when it is used. Instead it is placed with vinegar and myrrh into a drinking cup to create a spell of attraction. For PGM XXXVI.134-60, see II.4 pp.135-136. When frankincense is used throughout the PGM, it is to be burnt in all but four examples (PGM I.1-42; VIII.64-110; XXXVI.134-60, 275-83).

<sup>395</sup> Hom. *Il.* VIII.48. Cf. *Il.* XXIII.148; *Od.* VIII.363.

<sup>396</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 556-557.

<sup>397</sup> Plin. *HN* XII.xxii.58-60. LiDonnici (2001, pp.66, 71-72) argues that the importance of incense in religion forced the state in the Roman period to regulate prices to guarantee a maximum limit. Incense was to be available to all strata of society.

<sup>398</sup> Burkert, 1985, p.62. For the pricing and availability of items in the PGM, see LiDonnici, 2001.

<sup>399</sup> The stockpiling of combinations allowed the practitioner to efficiently call on the power of the combination at will. This course of action is explicitly stated at ll.2466-2471 of PGM IV.2441-2621, when the EMP instruct that the combination should be kept in a lead box for further use. Johnston (2002, p.349), when discussing the combination of BSC5 in PGM IV.2891-1942, draws a valid analogy by comparing the practice to the preparation of a large batch of food which could be frozen for further individual use.

chance. This can be illustrated by studying BSC5, which combines dove fat and blood, wormwood, and myrrh. Each substance is included due to their perceived symbolic and indexical connections but they combine into a super-offering which cannot fail in the adjuration of Aphrodite. The dove held symbolic and indexical connections to the goddess as it was her favourite animal.<sup>400</sup> By offering substances from the dove, Aphrodite would be pleased and would therefore be more willing to assist with the attraction of the target. The smoke from the burning dove substances was joined by the pleasing aroma emitted by wormwood and myrrh. Both substances held positive symbolic connotations due to a perceived association between botanical substances and the divine.<sup>401</sup> It is due to this perceived connection that botanical substances are extensively instructed for application by the EMP. The smell emitted by burning incense in particular was believed to be symbolic of the divine as the heat and aridness of the Arabian Peninsula, where many types of incense were cultivated,<sup>402</sup> were thought to endow a substance with a fragrance and incorruptible nature comparable to the divine.<sup>403</sup> To the Greeks, a sweet smell is a characteristic of the gods and the scholiast of the orator Aeschines comments that the purpose of spices was to attract the gods because εἴλκε τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὰ ὅμοια.<sup>404</sup> Foul air

<sup>400</sup> Plu. *Mor.* 379D; Ael. *NA* IV.2. The relationship between the dove and Aphrodite may allude to eastern influences on the Greek world. Περιστέρα can also be translated to mean pigeon. The older Greek word for the house pigeon, πέλεια (same word also applies to the dove. LSJ s.v.), was less commonly applied from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The more common word for the domestic pigeon became περιστέρα (can also apply to the dove), which possibly derived from the Semitic *perach-istor*, meaning the bird of Ishtar. Ishtar is the Assyrian and Babylonian goddess of fertility, love, war, and sex. The connection between Ishtar and Aphrodite, ignoring war, is plain. Cf. Jennison, 1937, p.11; Petrovic, “Antiaesthetics,” p.13.

<sup>401</sup> The connections between myrrh and Hermes, and wormwood and Artemisia have already been discussed at II.1 pp.58-60. The main use of myrrh in the PGM, following ink, is for the creation of a tool chosen in the *burnt substance* paradigm (see II.1. p.58 n.244) and it appears regularly in the same EMP as Aphrodite (PGM IV.1716-1870, 2441-2621, 2891-2942, 3209-54; XIII.1-343, 646-734, 734-1077; CXXII. 1-55). It is possible that the liminal status of myrrh could help the combination transcend the mortal realm. Wormwood, although only appearing in PGM IV.2891-2942 with Aphrodite, is also only used in a positive manner throughout the PGM. For an example of wormwood having negative connotations, see PGM IV.2622-2707, where it is an ingredient in a coercive spell. This coercive role however, would add a compulsion element to BSC5. The role of compulsion in the *fire manipulation* ritual will be discussed in greater detail momentarily.

<sup>402</sup> The trade of incenses to Greece from the East, predominantly southern Arabia via Phoenicia, was established by the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. See Burkert, 1985, p.62; Scarborough, 1991, p.140; Faraone, 1992, pp.26-27; *idem*, 1999, p.36; LiDonnici, 2002, pp.361-362; Price & Kearns, 2003, p.281; Nutton, 2004, p.41; Luck, 2006, p.482. In Greek some incenses retain their Semitic and Arabian names. For example, λιβανός is likely a loan word from the South Arabian *libān*, itself originating from the Semitic root *lbn*, meaning ‘white, milky’ (Price & Kearns, 2003, p.281). Likewise, κιννάμωμον is known in Hebrew as *quinnamon* (Detienne, 1977, p.16). Some substances, such as cassia and cinnamon, were believed to originate from Arabia but were actually traded from as far afield as China. Cf. Detienne, 1977, pp.16-17; Dalby, 2003, p.87.

<sup>403</sup> Detienne, 1977, pp.5-35, 48-49. Cf. Vernant, 1980, p.133. The atmosphere of a location was believed to have an effect on the nature of a plant. Cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* VI.viii.5-6; Plin. *HN* XXI.xviii.36-37.

<sup>404</sup> *Schol. in Aeschin.* I, *In. Tim.* XXIII.9-11 (Dindorf ed., p.13). Cf. Detienne, 1977, p.48.



was associated with disease and pollution,<sup>405</sup> and, in contrast, sacredness was experienced as an atmosphere of divine fragrance.<sup>406</sup> The oil made from plants in PGM VII.593-619 and PGM LXII.1-24 used to kindle the flame of a lamp would similarly have emitted a pleasing fragrance.<sup>407</sup> The same is also true of the frankincense placed onto a censer in PGM IV.1872-1927. However, it is not just incenses that are connected to the divine and the composers of the EMP believed that all plants shared this connection; if nature is divine then it is logical, by extrapolation, that all botanical life is divine.<sup>408</sup> Botanical substances had a power and their incineration could help create a pure area, eradicate foul smells, and make the location of the *fire manipulation* ritual both fitting for and welcoming to the divine.<sup>409</sup>

Just as certain substances when burnt were believed to possess pleasing characteristics, some substances were thought to be abhorrent and negative. The baboon excrement in BSC3, the cow excrement in PGM IV.1390-1495, and vulture brains in PGM IV.2891-2942 are all used in a negative manner. Despite the negative perception of these substances, they were still used for the same reason that pleasing substances were used, i.e. the recipient's attention was piqued by the offering. As opposed to the offering of pleasing substances however, the use of a negative substance is centred on manipulation and compulsion. The adjured would be so reviled by that being offered that they would be willing to do anything to make the burnt offering stop.<sup>410</sup> This can be seen with PGM IV.2891-2942, in which BSC5 is burnt, and the instruction at ll.2895-2897 to incinerate a vulture's brain. The incineration of brain matter, an indication of Egyptian influence on the

<sup>405</sup> See Hippoc. *Nat. Hom.* IX; *Breaths* 6; Diod. Sic. XII.45, 58. Lloyd (2003) discusses Greek intellectual attitudes towards disease. For the connection between disease and the need to purify, see Parker, 1983, pp.207-234.

<sup>406</sup> Burkert, 1985, p.62.

<sup>407</sup> Olive oil, used in PGM VII.593-619, is the primary oil used in the ancient world to kindle a lamp's flame. Various spices and aromatics could be added to heighten the smell. Cf. Price & Kearns, 2003, p.386; Dalby, 2003, pp.239-240. Good oil is used in combination with the cedar oil in PGM LXII.1-24.

<sup>408</sup> The idea that nature was divine is a philosophical notion present from the Presocratics, as is discussed by Collins, 2003, pp.21-23. Cf. Edelstein, 1967, pp.230-231. This belief is not the reserve of magicians and Pliny (*HN* XII.ii.3) tells us that trees were once the temples of deities and that they are still sacred to the divine in his time (for example, winter-oak is sacred to Jove, the bay to Apollo, the olive to Minerva, the myrtle to Venus and the poplar to Hercules).

<sup>409</sup> Burkert, 1985, p.76. Burkert also argues that the Greek word for to purify, καθαίρω, could be derived from the Semitic word for cultic fumigation, *qtr*. Cf. Parker, 1983, p.227 n.114; LiDonnici, 2001, p.77; *idem*, 2002, p.362; Price & Kearns, 2003, p.459. For the ability of aromatic smells to purify, see Plut. *Mor.* 383C. Also see II.6 p.175 n.671 and the Athenian ritual to cleanse the assembly. Foul smells could also be used for the creation of a pure space. For example, see Odysseus' use of sulphur to cleanse the hall following the killing of the suitors (Hom. *Od.* XXII.481-494). Cf. Hom. *Il.* XVI.228-229; Lucian *Philops.* 12. It is for this reason that sulphur is used in PGM XXXVI.295-311. Cf. Parker, 1983, pp. 57-58, 227-228.

<sup>410</sup> For the coercion of the divine, see Graf 1997, pp.222-229. For the Egyptian heritage of coercion, see I.4. pp.49-50.

PGM,<sup>411</sup> is performed for the compulsion element to guarantee the acquiescence of Aphrodite. The brains of an ibis and a ram are used for the same effect in PGM II.1-64 (a spell for a revelation), as are the brains of a ram in PGM IV.1275-1322 (a multipurpose charm) and PGM VII.528-39 (a victory charm). The burning of cow excrement in PGM IV.1390-1495 for compulsion, in contrast to PGM IV.2891-2942, is a last resort when all other avenues have been explored. If the spell has not been successful for three days then the EMP instruct, at ll.1439-1440, that cow excrement should be incinerated in a forceful spell. In this respect, the use of negative substances offers a contingency plan to make sure that the adjured does what is necessary. Excrement would seem a logical tool for this role and it is used throughout the PGM because of its negative symbolic characteristics.<sup>412</sup> The inclusion of baboon dung in BSC3, despite being used in a combination consisting of many positive substances, relies on the negative characteristics of the substance and it adds a forceful compulsion element to the combination.

#### d) Summary

When assessing the evidence listed in this chapter, the *fire manipulation* ritual can be represented by Figure II.2.c, in which the horizontal axis represents the sequential nature of the ritual. Above this are the *flame* and *burnt substance* paradigms and the possible tool options from the paradigms are represented alphabetically on the vertical axis. Every time the *fire manipulation* ritual is performed, a tool must be chosen from both the *flame* and *burnt substance* paradigms and it is impossible to perform the ritual without their inclusion. In regards to the *flame* paradigm however, there is a distinct lack of evidence for the use of tools. As a result of this limited evidence it is difficult to analyse tool use and instead there has been a focus on the importance of the role played by fire. Due to the dominant use of sacrificial terminology and iconic similarities to sacrifice, it is common for the *fire manipulation* ritual to be a means of offering a tool from the *burnt substance* paradigm to a being that is expected to assist. This is in contrast to the use of lamps which

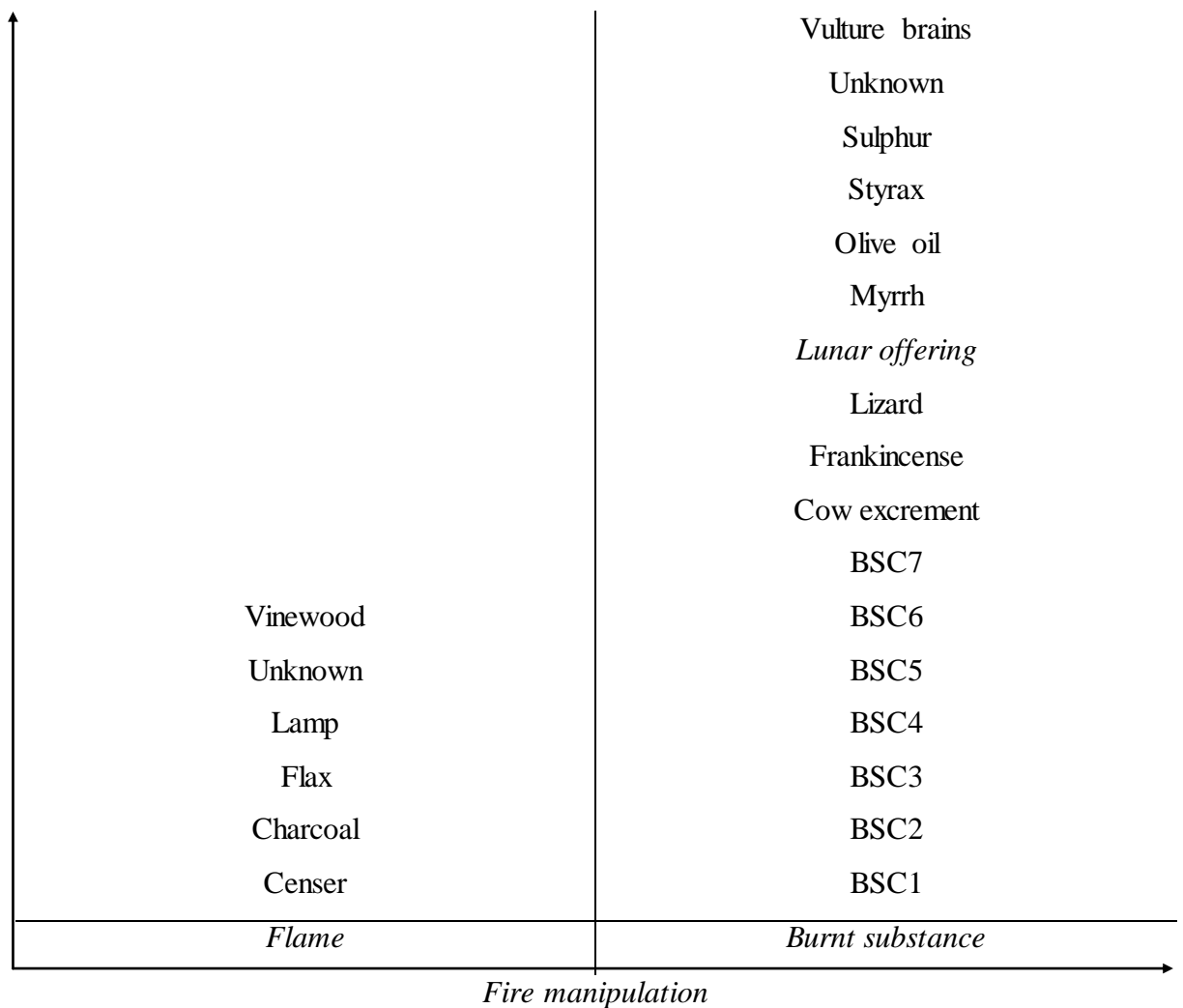
---

<sup>411</sup> No importance was placed on the brain in ancient Egyptian texts. For a discussion, see Johnston, 2002, p.350 & ns.15-16. Cf. Smith & Dawson, 1924, pp.67-68; Fleming, Fishman, O'Connor, & Silverman, 1980, p.20; Andrews, 1984, pp.15-16; Brier, 1994, pp.59-63, 91, 154, 262; Ikram & Dodson, 1998, p.118. During the process of mummification, according to Herodotus (II.86.), the majority of the brain was removed via the nostrils before any remaining residue was washed away with drugs. There is no evidence for a process of treating or preserving the fragments of brain removed, nor has any brain material been found preserved in canopic jars (used to store and preserve the viscera of their owner for the afterlife). The brain thus appears to have been held in low esteem, being considered both superfluous and undesirable.

<sup>412</sup> For example, see ll.240-243 of PGM XIII.1-343, which uses dog excrement as a repellent. The EMP aims at the transferral of excrement's abhorrent characteristics to the target, thus making him or her repulsive.

is interlinked with the need for purity and the practice of lychnomancy. In EMP that use sacrificial terminology, the *fire manipulation* ritual is performed to create a vertical axis of communication between the mortal and divine worlds, through which an offering could be transmitted. The amateur practitioner needed to win the attention of the gods and to ensure their assistance and the smoke emitted by a burning tool was seen as an efficient means of guaranteeing this assistance.

Figure II.2.c: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of *fire manipulation*



It is with the *burnt substance* paradigm and the exacting instructions for the creation of a tool that importance is placed by the composers of the EMP. There is a predominance of botanical substances amongst the substances used to create a tool chosen from the *burnt substance* paradigm and it is also common for a combination to be

employed. These tools (be it botanical, animal, or a combination) generally consist of pleasing or abhorrent substances and botanical substances all fall into the pleasing category because of their indexical and symbolic connections to the divine, a point that could help explain their widespread application. That is to say, in order to assure the assistance of the recipient, the EMP instruct the incineration of substances which are comparable to the divine through their smell and their symbolic and indexical connections. Abhorrent substances are used in a coercive manner for their negative symbolism which would force the recipient into helping. The rationale for the use of a tool chosen from the *burnt substance* paradigm however, whether a substance is pleasing or abhorrent, remains the same: the amateur practitioner wished to guarantee the attention and assistance of the recipient. The same is also true of combinations that could be stockpiled and used at a moment's notice. Combinations held a distinct advantage over the use of a solitary substance for the creation of a tool however. Each individual substance within a combination had its own modal properties (be they pleasant or abhorrent) that fused together to create a super-offering. The individual power of each substance was harnessed via these super-offerings in the *fire manipulation* ritual, which could not fail in the task of employing divine assistance.

### 3. Deposition

#### a) Introduction

*Deposition* refers to the act of placing a completed erotic spell into a location and it is ordinarily the final ritual to be performed. It is also one of the most commonly applied and it requires tools chosen from a maximum of three paradigms: *deposited*, *supporting item*, and *deposition location*. A visual representation of the *deposition* ritual is offered by Figure II.3.a, where the syntagmatic horizontal axis represents the sequential nature of the ritual. On the vertical axis are the paradigms and the tools therein, represented by X, Y, and Z, which are used. Such a simple visual representation of the ritual is misleading however, as *deposition* is a complex process which can involve the merging of numerous ritual actions in a manner comparable to that seen in the *fire manipulation* ritual. As a consequence of this fusing of ritual actions and in order to fully understand the *deposition* ritual, it is important to know exactly what differentiates a tool in the *deposited* and *supporting item* paradigms. Tools in the *deposited* and *supporting item* paradigms are both placed into the area chosen from the *deposition location* paradigm but the tools from *deposited* generally consist of the most important aspect of a spell. These tools contain the main thrust of the erotic spell in question and almost all of these tools also require the performance of an alternative ritual action, with the *figurine construction* and *incantation* rituals (PGM VII.462-66, PGM VII.467-77, PGM XIXa.1-54, PGM XXXVI.69-101, and PGM XXXVI.361-71) being the most common. For the tools chosen from the *deposited* paradigm, see Table II.3.a. The only exception to this rule is myrrh which is placed into a bath in PGM XXXVI.333-60, the reasons for which will be addressed whilst discussing the *deposition location* paradigm.

Figure II.3.a: The *deposition* ritual

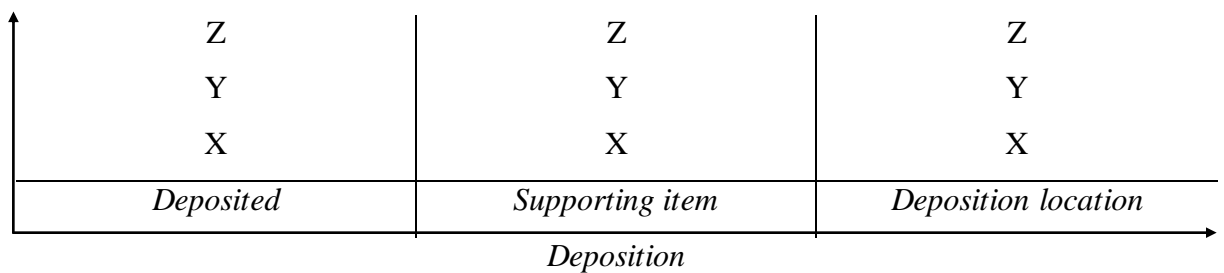


Table II.3.a: Tools in the *deposited* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Cat	III.1-164	21, 25	Binding
Donkey skin	XXXVI.361-71	361-363	Attraction
Figurine	IV.296-466	296-328	Binding
	IV.1716-1870	1860	Attraction
	IV.1872-1927	1872-1884	Attraction
	IV.2943-66	2943-2948	Attraction
	VII.862-918	866-870	Attraction
MC3 <sup>413</sup>	XXXVI.134-60	134-135	Attraction
Myrrh	XXXVI.333-60	333	Attraction
Papyrus	XXXVI.69-101	70-72	Attraction
Seashell	VII.467-77	467-469	Attraction
Tin lamella	VII.462-66	462-463	Charm
Unknown	XIXa.1-54	15	Attraction

To help explain how various rituals are incorporated into the *deposition* ritual, see the visual representation (Figure II.3.b) of the ritual in PGM IV.296-466. Before the ritual can be performed, the first thing that must be created is the tool chosen from the *deposited* paradigm. In PGM IV.296-466 this is the two figurines which are constructed via the *figurine construction* ritual.<sup>414</sup> It is at this point that the *deposition* ritual immediately breaks into the *figurine construction* ritual and each function of that ritual action must be enacted. PGM IV.296-466 now requires the application of a tool from the *construction*, *form*, *adornment*, and *insertion* paradigms. In PGM IV.296-466 wax or clay is used from *construction* and the image of Ares and a female is chosen from the *form* paradigm. The Ares figurine is completed at this point and it is ready for application but the female figurine still requires the implementation of of two separate tools from the *adornment* paradigm and one from *insertion*. The first tool from *adornment* is οὐσία, which should be attached to the female (establishing a symbolic and indexical link to the target)<sup>415</sup> and once this is completed, the second tool from *adornment* requires PGM IV.296-466 to break

<sup>413</sup> For MC3 and the substances used to create the tool, see II.4. pp.135-136.

<sup>414</sup> For the figurines in PGM IV.296-466, see II.5, *passim*.

<sup>415</sup> As will be argued in II.3.b and II.5.e.

away once more into the *incantation* ritual. The ‘functions’ of the *incantation* ritual now need to be completed via the application of tools chosen from the rituals paradigms: *ink* (nothing), *stylus* (bronze?),<sup>416</sup> *medium* (wax/clay). The final function in the *deposition* ritual involves the piercing of the female by 13 bronze needles chosen from the *insertion* paradigm. Once this is completed, the instructions in the EMP return to the *deposition* ritual and two tools must be chosen from the *supporting item* paradigm, the first of which requires another performance of the *incantation* ritual. Once again the *ink* (none), *stylus* (bronze?), and *medium* (lead) paradigms are employed before PGM IV.296-466 proceeds with the second tool (flowers) from the *supporting item* paradigm. The final ‘function’ in the *deposition* ritual in PGM IV.296-466 can now be completed to finalise the ritual and in this example a grave is chosen from the *deposition location* paradigm.

As virtually every tool in the *deposited* paradigm is reliant on the performance of an alternative ritual action, the rationale for their use and the tools chosen can be found in the corresponding chapter and will not be focused on extensively here. In brief, the tools chosen from the *deposited* paradigm generally contain information which is to be transmitted to an agent who will enact the attraction/binding of the target. Indeed, the aim of this chapter is to prove that the role of the *deposition* ritual is centred on the transmission of information. The tools which are chosen from the *deposited* and *supporting item* paradigms generally contain information and such a simple point can help explain the dominance of the *incantation* ritual in the *deposited* and *supporting item* paradigms. The information transmitted via the performance of the *deposition* ritual does not need to be in the form of the written word however (as will be discussed below) and the tools that are used in the ritual hold important information which will contribute to the successful completion of the spell at hand. This rule may not apply wholesale to all of the tools in the *deposition* ritual (e.g. there is no information in flowers), but all of the tools can be understood when considered in relation to this objective.

---

<sup>416</sup> For the possibility of bronze being used in this *incantation* ritual, see II.1.c.

Figure II.3.b: A visual representation of the *deposition* ritual in PGM IV.296-466

Wax Construction	Ares/female Form	οὐστία Adornment	n/a Ink	Bronze Stylus	Wax/clay Medium	Incantation	Engraving	Bronze Insertion	n/a Ink	Bronze Stylus	Lead Medium	Flowers	Grave
	<i>Figurine construction (x2)</i> <i>Supporting item</i>												
<i>Figurine (x2)</i> <i>Supporting item</i>													
<i>Deposited</i> <i>Supporting item</i>													
<i>Deposition</i>													
<i>Location</i>													



## b) Supporting Item

The tools in the *supporting item* paradigm are submitted alongside those chosen from *deposited*. There are five tools that are used from the *supporting item* paradigm and, as can be seen by Table II.3.b, it is common for an EMP to give instructions for multiple tools to be used, with two being a regular amount: lead lamella and flowers (PGM IV.296-466); drinking vessel and papyrus (PGM IV.2943-66); οὐσία and vetch (PGM XXXVI.361-71). Thus the maximum number of tools that are submitted into a location is three but before proceeding with an analysis of these tools, the translation of *κατανάγκη* into vetch should be highlighted as it is a problematic substance. The Greek term *κατανάγκη* could also mean “means of restraint” or “force.” It is only a possibility that it is a reference to the uncertain vetch like plant of the *Fabaceae* or *Leguminosae*. The translation of GMPT, which has been applied for this thesis, has also been used by GMPT to translate *κατανάγκη* βοτάνης at PGM IV.1313 and PGM VII.975, *κατανάγκη* at PGM IV.3199, and *κατανάγκη* at PGM VIII.73. The specification by the PGM of βοτάνης may imply that *κατανάγκη* refers to a “forceful plant” but then what is referenced when βοτάνης is not included? Whatever the substance was, it was referenced for its use in magic and in erotic magic in particular. The ἐρωτικά *κατανάγκαι* are potions that compel to love and from Dioscorides we can see that *κατανάγκαι* were used in φίλτρα and for their application by those most famous of witches, the Thessalian women: ἀμφοτέρας ἱστοροῦσιν τινες εἰς φίλτρα ἀρμόζειν, χρῆσθαι δὲ αὐταῖς τὰς Θεσσαλὰς γυναῖκας.<sup>417</sup> Whatever this substance was, its connections to magic and to erotic magic in particular meant that it appeared to be perfectly placed for its application in the rituals instructed by the EMP.

Table II.3.b: Tools in the *supporting item* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Drinking vessel	IV.2943-66	2952	Attraction
Flowers	IV.296-466	334	Binding
	IV.1716-1870	1859	Attraction
Lead lamella	IV.296-466	328-331	Binding
Οὐσία	VII.462-66	463	Charm
	VII.862-918	915	Attraction

<sup>417</sup> Dioscorides *Mat. Med.* IV.131.

	XXXVI.69-101	71-72	Attraction
	XXXVI.361-71	369-370	Attraction
Papyrus	III.1-164	15-21	Binding
	IV.1872-1927	1888-1893	Attraction
	IV.2943-66	2952-2953	Attraction
Vetch	XXXVI.361-71	370	Attraction

By comparing that depicted in Table II.3.b with the information in the *incantation* ritual, we can see that a number of the tools used from *supporting item* require the performance of the *incantation* ritual (PGM III.1-164, PGM IV.296-466, PGM IV.1872-1927, and PGM IV.2943-66). To illustrate the inclusion of the *incantation* ritual, see Figure II.3.b and the visual representation of the *deposition* ritual in PGM IV.296-466. Following the construction of the tool from the *deposited* paradigm (the figurines), PGM IV.296-466 instructs that an *incantation* ritual is required to create the first tool from the *supporting item* paradigm. As a result, the paradigms used in an *incantation* ritual come into the spell: *ink* (none), *stylus* (although it is not specified, the needles which are inserted into the female could have been used), and *medium* (lead).<sup>418</sup> To look at the other examples of an *incantation* ritual being performed for the creation of a tool in the *supporting item* paradigm, see PGM III.1-164 in which the resulting item is to be wrapped around the deceased body of a cat before it is placed in a tomb. The *supporting item* tool created via the *incantation* ritual in PGM IV.1872-1927 is text on papyrus and it is placed on top of a tripod. A dog figurine is then to be placed on top of the papyrus. The tool in PGM IV.2943-66 is attached to a drinking vessel (κῶθῶνιον)<sup>419</sup> before it is sealed with a ring (on which there is a crocodile)<sup>420</sup> and deposited with a dog figurine. For all of the tools in the *supporting item* paradigm which require the performance of the *incantation* ritual, what is important is the information that is written or engraved, not the tools used. All of these tools in the *supporting item* paradigm contain information that is to be communicated to

<sup>418</sup> See II.1 for tools here used.

<sup>419</sup> Note that this is a κῶθῶν, a Laconian drinking-vessel (e.g. Ar. Eq. 600; X. Cyr. I.ii.8) used by soldiers, and not one of the ποτήριον which are used in the *liquid construction* ritual (see II.4.b). Perhaps it is the intention of PGM IV.2943-66 to raise a Spartan warrior as one of the violently or untimely dead to assist with the attraction of the target. The role of the violently and untimely dead will be discussed momentarily.

<sup>420</sup> The crocodile possessed unique characteristics which may have meant the animal was perceived as magical. Uncommon characteristics of an animal were often highly prized by practitioners of magic. For a discussion, see II.5 pp.155-156. Herodotus (II.68; cf. Plut. Mor. 381B) describes how the crocodile is the only animal which does not move its lower jaw. He also tells us (incorrectly) that it does not have a tongue.

the powers that will assist with the completion of the spell. This is in line with that seen in the *deposited* paradigm and the regular need to perform the *incantation* ritual. This information is essential as every time such a tool is used, be it from the *deposited* or *supporting item* paradigm, it is in conjunction with the employment of an agent.<sup>421</sup> When the agent learns of the information which is submitted, they will subsequently realise the task that is to be completed. The written instructions range from simple statements, such as *ποιήσατε τὴν δεῖνα φιλεῖν ἐμέ* (PGM VII.462-66), to longer and more complex information, the longest of which is in PGM IV.296-466. No other tool from the *supporting item* paradigm can compete with the detailed instructions seen with the lamella in PGM IV.296-466 and it is the perfect example to highlight the role of information transmission.

PGM IV.296-466 relies heavily on two actions: the creation of two figurines and the transmission of information via the *deposition* ritual. Following the construction of the Ares and female figurines in the opening stages, the EMP instruct that a lead tablet should be engraved with a spell that is recited simultaneously. This action is important as engraving the words whilst they are spoken fixes the *λόγοι*, making them permanent, and unites them with the action (*πρᾶξις*).<sup>422</sup> The words become “set in stone,” as it were, and bound to the material on which they are engraved.<sup>423</sup> This lead tablet is then to be tied to the figurine with a thread from a loom, after making 365 knots, whilst saying *Ἀβρακάξ, κατάρχε*.<sup>424</sup> All are subsequently placed (with flowers)<sup>425</sup> when the sun is setting, beside the grave of one who has died untimely or violently. The entire inscription, which begins at l.336 and opens with the statement *παρακατατίθεμαι ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεμον, θεοῖς χθονίοις*, is one long message filled with important information. The inscription calls on the adjured to arouse themselves and to help the agent with the attraction and binding of

<sup>421</sup> Demon of the dead: PGM IV.296-466; XIXa.1-54; dog: PGM XXXVI.361-71; dog figurine: PGM IV.1872-1927, IV.2943-66; Isis’ familiar: PGM III.1-164 (see II.6.b for the connection between the cat and Isis); Typhon: PGM VII.467-77, XXXVI.69-101; unspecified: PGM VII.462-66.

<sup>422</sup> For a discussion, see Graf, 1997, p.131.

<sup>423</sup> See the discussion of copper’s binding role at II.1.c.

<sup>424</sup> The numerical value of the name of Abrasax (a rooster-headed anguiped) is 365. For a discussion of Abrasax, see I.4 p.45.

<sup>425</sup> We are only informed that the flowers in PGM IV.296-466 are to be various seasonal flowers. Seasonal flowers are also used in PGM IV.1716-1870. As has been argued at II.2 pp.95-97, plant life can be very powerful and possess connections to the divine. It is difficult to conduct a semiotic analysis of this tool without further information however. It is possible that seasonal flowers are specified to ease the task for the amateur practitioner. That is to say, whatever flower is in season, the practitioner can simply go out, pluck it, and then use it in PGM IV.296-466 and PGM IV.1716-1870. It is also possible that the placing of flowers by the grave could be seen as a form of offering. For the offering of substances, see II.7.c and II.7.e.

the target. The aggressive methods by which the agent is to attract the target are described in explicit detail. The target is to be kept from the normalities of everyday life, such as eating and drinking. She is to be unable to accept the pleasure of another man, even if it be her husband. The agent is to go into every place, every quarter, and into every house to find and drag the target by her hair, heart, and soul. Finally the target is to be bound to the amateur practitioner for all the time of his life. The inscription ends with a specific wish that head should be joined to head, lip should be fastened to lip, belly joined to belly, thigh drawn close to thigh, black to black (a possible reference to pubic hair), and the target should perform sexual acts with the amateur practitioner for all eternity. The task here is very specific and the agent in PGM IV.296-466 could not help but know exactly what was expected of it.

The inscription in PGM IV.296-466 importantly also includes the method of target identification, which can be seen when reading the statement ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα, ἦν δεῖνα, ἧς ἔχεις τὴν οὐσίαν.<sup>426</sup> This is a clear reference to the inclusion of οὐσία, chosen from the *adornment* of the *figurine construction* ritual. This substance is also chosen from the *supporting item* paradigm for PGM VII.462-66, PGM VII.862-918, and PMG XXXVI.361-71. When the EMP instruct the use of οὐσία, it is always as a means of target identification and in conjunction with techniques to guarantee attraction.<sup>427</sup> To focus on the nature of this tool, the noun is formed etymologically on the feminine present participle of εἶναι ('to be') and is translated into English as "substance", "being", "essence," or "nature of a thing." Preisendanz's and Betz's editions of the PGM translate οὐσία as "Zauberstoff" and "magical material" respectively, and when the verb οὐσιάζω is used within the PGM it means to provide with οὐσία or to make something magically effective through the application of οὐσία. It is impossible to know for certain what exactly οὐσία in the EMP

<sup>426</sup> For magical material as a means of identification, see Graf, 1997, pp.139-140; *idem*, 1997a, p.98. It has been argued that the manipulation of magical material (e.g. burning) must similarly, in a sympathetic manner, affect the person from whom it originated. See the studies of οὐσία listed at II.3 p.108 n.427. It is true that the ancient sources (II.3 p.108 n.427) depict the application of magical material in a sympathetic manner but this is never the case with the EMP. Also see II.5.e.

<sup>427</sup> For references to οὐσία throughout the PGM, see PGM IV.296-466, 2006-2115, 2145-2240, 2785-2890, 2943-66; VII.376-84, 462-66, 862-918; XV.1-21; XXXVI.69-101, 361-71. Only two (PGM IV.2785-2890, VII.376-84) are not an EMP. All of the EMP which use οὐσία use techniques of attraction. The connection between οὐσία and attraction is corroborated by that seen in the ancient sources. See Eur. *Hipp.* 507-515; Apul. *Met.* II.32, III.15-18; Lucian *Dial. meret.* IV.4; Theoc. *Id.* II.53-54. For the study of οὐσία, see Abt, 1908, p.105; Preisendanz, 1918, pp.1-8; OZ I §667-677; Gow, 1950, vol. II, pp.45-46; Jordan, 1976; Moke, 1982, pp.81, 215-216; Jordan, 1985, p.251; Suppl. Mag. 71 Fr. 10 & n. *ad loc.*; Faraone, 1991, p.14; Winkler, 1991, p.224; GMPT p.336; CT pp.16-18; Graf, 1997, pp.139-140; Faraone, 1999, pp.7-8; Ogden, 1999, pp.14-15; Luck, 2006, p.6; Ogden, 2009, pp.112, 145.

consisted of but it was likely a discarded organic (e.g. hair) or inorganic (e.g. scrap of clothing) substance. Judging by that seen in the literary evidence, both types of substances could readily be used for the creation of οὐσία and one substance does not appear to be preferable. For example, in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, the nurse, after discovering what has been troubling her mistress Phaedra (she has fallen in love with her stepson Hippolytus), at ll.507-515 claims to have knowledge of medicines that will free her from her torment, a likely reference to erotic magic.<sup>428</sup> All that is needed to guarantee success is a token from Hippolytus which could consist of either a lock of hair (πλόκος) or a fragment of clothing.<sup>429</sup> The same indifference is depicted by Lucian in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, who describes how Melitta, lovelorn over the estrangement of Charinus, in desperation turns to her companion Bacchis for advice on how to find an old Thessalian woman for help.<sup>430</sup> Bacchis proceeds to tell Melitta of a Syrian witch who had previously helped when her lover Phantias had been angry for no discernible reason. Bacchis' situation mirrored exactly the predicament of Melitta and yet the Syrian witch was successful in reconciling the pair even after a considerable amount of time had elapsed. As payment for her services the witch needed a drachma, a loaf of bread, seven obols, sulphur, a torch, some salt and a bowl of mixed wine to drink.<sup>431</sup> Importantly Bacchis has one other instruction: δεήσει αὐτοῦ μέντοι τι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι, οἶον ἰμάτια ἢ κρηπίδας ἢ ὀλίγας τῶν τριχῶν ἢ τι τῶν τοιοῦτων.<sup>432</sup> The reconciliation of Melitta and Charinus can be guaranteed though the application of the latter's clothing or hair, i.e. οὐσία.

As has already been stated, it is not possible to know for certain what substance was instructed by the EMP for the creation of οὐσία but hair is a viable and logical candidate. This proposition is supported by PGM XVI.1-75, PGM XIXa.1-54, and PGM LXXXIV.1-21 (each is a love spell of attraction but none specify the application of οὐσία),

<sup>428</sup> For further discussion of *Hippolytus*, see I.4 pp.37-38.

<sup>429</sup> There is a debate in regards to πλόκον, which may read λόγον. See Eitrem, 1941, esp. p.48 n.1; Conacher, 1961, esp. p.42; *idem*, 1967, p.40; Goff, 1990, p.52 & n.30; Faraone, 1999, pp.7-8 & n.26; Fountoulakis, 1999. Ambiguity surrounds the scene generally. See Goff, 1990, pp.48-54; Faraone, 1999, pp.7-8; Fountoulakis, 1999, pp.195-196; Ogden, 2009, p.106.

<sup>430</sup> For the portrayal of magicians as female, see I.4 p.47 & n.203. Thessaly in particular was often associated with magic. Although Thessalian witches were commonplace in the ancient sources (Ar. *Nub.* 749-752; Lucian *Dial. meret.* IV.1; Philostr. *VA.* VIII.vii.9; Ov. *Am.* III.vii.27-30, *Met.* VII.221-233; Luc. VI.413-830; Hor. *Epod.* V.41-46), evidence for Thessalian sorcerers is rare. For an example, see Plaut. *Amph.* 1043-1044. The Pitys in PGM IV.2006-2125 is also a Thessalian (l.2140). For a detailed discussion of Thessaly and its witches, see Phillips, O., 2002.

<sup>431</sup> For a discussion of the supposed drunkenness of witches, see Dickie, 2001, pp.89-91.

<sup>432</sup> Lucian *Dial. meret.* IV.4. Theocritus (*Id.* II.53-54) does not mention organic material in his portrayal of οὐσία and instead uses a part of the target's cloak.

which were all found wrapped in hair.<sup>433</sup> Due to the degradable nature of hair however, the extant examples available to scholarship are extremely limited but a broken North African wax doll (used in an erotic spell and measuring 10 cm tall) was discovered with human hair pushed into its navel.<sup>434</sup> Epigraphic material can also help demonstrate the application of human hair in erotic magic as engravings on durable items indicate its use. For example, a small ribbed clay pot (measuring 11 by 11 cm and dated to either the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century AD) has an inscription on its surface which spirals down and around and indicates that the practitioner, Theodoros, is trying to win the affections of the target, Matrona.<sup>435</sup> Theodoros invokes the spirit of the dead (in whose grave the pot was deposited) in an attempt to bind Matrona whose magical material, consisting of τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς, is included to guarantee the successful completion of the spell. Hair would seem the perfect candidate for οὐσία as it served as a symbolic and indexical sign of the person from whom it originated. As the application of οὐσία is reliant on the principles of contagious magic (i.e. things which have once been conjoined must remain so evermore),<sup>436</sup> the possibility that hair was instructed by the EMP is supported by alternative rituals which incorporated this substance. This principle can be seen with the offering of hair at liminal periods of a person's life and the identity of an individual would be left behind in the offering as they became something new.<sup>437</sup> A young man would cut his hair in offering as he moved into adulthood.<sup>438</sup> The maidenhood of a girl was given up alongside her hair when she married.<sup>439</sup> Hair is a living part of a person, it is an extension of oneself and, consequently, the offering of hair is a form of offering oneself.<sup>440</sup> Through these offerings, a person could use their hair as a substitute in a symbolic surrendering of their body in order to place

<sup>433</sup> Wortmann, 1968, p.69; Jordan, 1985, p.251; Suppl. Mag. 40, 71 Fr. 10 & n. *ad loc.*; Winkler, 1991, p.224; CT pp.16-17.

<sup>434</sup> VD 31.

<sup>435</sup> Suppl. Mag. 51. Cf. Kambitsis, 1976, pp.213-230; Jordan, 1985, pp.251-253; *idem*, 1988; Suppl. Mag. 49, 50; CT 29.

<sup>436</sup> Contagious magic is an aspect of Frazer's sympathy which is described in *The Golden Bough* (chapter III. §3). Cf. Tupet, 1976, pp.48-49; Ferguson, 1989, p.149; CT. pp.17-18; Fountoulakis, 1999, p.200 & n.34; Collins, 2008, pp.14-17.

<sup>437</sup> Dowden, 1989, p.3.

<sup>438</sup> Callim. *Hymn* IV.296-299; Theophr. *Char.* 21.3; Paus. I.xxxvii.3, VIII.xli.3; Pind. *Pyth.* IV.82; Diod. Sic. IV.xxiv.4-5; Ath. XI.494F. Cf. Labarbe, 1953; Vidal-Naquet, 1981, pp.173, 177, 183; *idem*, 1981a, pp.149-150, 152; Dillon, 2002, pp.68-69, 215; Diggle, 2004, p.406; Larson, 2007, pp.178, 187.

<sup>439</sup> Hdt. IV.34; Plut. *Lyc.* XV.3; Callim. *Hymn* IV.296-299; Paus. I.xliii.4, II.xxxii.1, VIII.xx.3. Cf. Dowden, 1989, pp.2-3; Johnston, 1999, p.67; Dillon, 2002, pp.215-216, 225-226, 235; Larson, 2007, pp.113, 123-124.

<sup>440</sup> Ferguson, 1989, p.142.

themselves under a powerful being's protection and authority.<sup>441</sup> Hair is ideal for these types of offerings as its loss is manageable.<sup>442</sup> There is no pain to the devotee when cutting his or her hair and it is replaced relatively quickly.<sup>443</sup> The composers of the EMP would have been all too aware of these beliefs and they would have perceived hair as the perfect tool to help the agent identify a target.

### c) Deposition Location

The tools in the *deposition location* paradigm are the sites in which the tools from the *deposited* and *supporting item* paradigms are to be placed. This can vary dramatically from a table in the amateur practitioner's home (PGM IV.1716-1870), to a crossroads (PGM IV.2943-66), a bath (PGM VII.467-77), or the sea (PGM VII.462-66). Each place chosen holds special significance and the characteristics of that place can be employed for the benefit of erotic magic. From Table II.3.c it is clear that the dominant tool used is a bath. However, it is prudent to consider the tools in PGM III.1-164, PGM IV.296-466, and PGM XIXa.1-54 as one type. These tools should be considered in union because the corpse in PGM XIXa.1-54, the tomb in PGM III.1-164, and the grave in PGM III.1-164 (either a grave or tomb can be used in PGM III.1-164) and PGM IV.296-466 are all associated with the deceased.<sup>444</sup> This association is of great importance for understanding how these erotic magic rituals are expected to work. An examination of these tools can also help generate an understanding of the use of a crossroads, a dog's corpse, and a doorway.

Table II.3.c: Tools in the *deposition location* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Bath	VII.467-77	469	Attraction
	XXXVI.69-101	74	Attraction
	XXXVI.333-60	333-334	Attraction

<sup>441</sup> Burkert, 1985, p.70; Fountoulakis, 1999, p.201. The offering of hair to the dead by mourners can also be viewed as a form of self-offering; the liminality of the mourners is represented by their shorn hair. Hom. *Il.* XXIII.135; Aesch. *Cho.* 7-9; Soph. *El.* 52, 449; Eur. *IT* 172. Cf. Johnston, 1999, p.42.

<sup>442</sup> The disposable nature of hair is another reason why it is the most likely candidate for magical material in the EMP. In comparison to other substances, hair was relatively easy to access due to it being discarded once cut, as seen in Apuleius (*Met.* II.32, III.15-18).

<sup>443</sup> Burkert, 1985, p.70.

<sup>444</sup> The translation of PGM III.1-164 in GMPT specifies at 1.21 that the cat should be buried but the Greek reads θάπτω. Within the context of this EMP it would be more appropriate to translate this as 'honour with funeral rites,' i.e. prepare the cat for deposition in the tomb or grave.

Corpse	XIXa.1-54	15	Attraction
Crossroads	IV.2943-66	2955	Attraction
Dog	XXXVI.361-71	370	Attraction
Doorway	XXXVI.134-60	136-137	Attraction
Grave	III.1-164	24-26	Binding
	IV.296-466	332-334	Binding
Sea	VII.462-66	463-464	Charm
Table	IV.1716-1870	1857	Attraction
Tomb	III.1-164	24-26	Binding
Tripod	IV.1872-1927	1885-1886	Attraction
Unknown	VII.862-918	914-915	Attraction

PGM III.1-164, PGM IV.296-466, and PGM XIXa.1-54, as well as using a tool connected to the deceased, also employ an agent who will become an assistant to the amateur practitioner: in PGM III.1-164 Isis is to help with a binding love spell via the creation of her familiar,<sup>445</sup> in PGM IV.296-466 the demon of the dead specified via the *incantation* ritual is to forcibly attract and bind the target, and in PGM XIXa.1-54, an inscribed lamella inserted into the mouth of a corpse specifies that a demon of the dead will act as an agent.<sup>446</sup> The tools used in all three require the completion of an *incantation* ritual and the writing of important information that is transferred to the agent, as has been discussed above. In addition to the lamella containing information in PGM IV.296-466, two symbolic and iconic figurines are to be deposited which will transfer the objective of the spell to the agent.<sup>447</sup> Without the information contained in the tools from the *supporting item* and *deposited* paradigms, the agent would not be able to enact the attraction and/or binding of the target. When the tools from the *deposited* and *supporting item* paradigms are perceived as a form of information transmission, we can see that it is not the locations per se which are important but the deceased who rest in these locations.<sup>448</sup> To understand how a corpse could help with this information transmission, it is important to understand the

<sup>445</sup> See II.6.b for the role of Isis in PGM III.1-164.

<sup>446</sup> The placing of a lamella into the mouth of a corpse in PGM XIXa.1-54 is an assumption as this EMP consists solely of an *incantation* ritual. There are no instructions given but the text refers to the required deposition of a lamella at l.15: τέλεσον τὰ ἐνγεγραμμένα καὶ ἐντεθειμένα ἐν τῷ στόματί σου.

<sup>447</sup> For the role of these figurines, see II.5 pp.148-150.

<sup>448</sup> Although it is not stated in PGM III.1-164 that a corpse will be used, it can be assumed due to the specification that the cat should then be placed into a tomb or a grave.



perception of the dead in the ancient world. The boundaries between the living and the dead were believed to be permeable, allowing movement back and forth between this world and the next. As a result, deceased souls were not eternally confined to one realm or the other and they could be called upon by the living to aid them in an endeavour (e.g. necromantic rituals).<sup>449</sup> It fell to the jurisdiction of deities such as Hecate (who was traditionally associated with phantoms, apparitions, and marginal creatures) to permit movement between the realms.<sup>450</sup> The liminal Hecate possessed the knowledge and ability to convey the souls of the dead between the lands of the living and the dead.<sup>451</sup>

There were many categories of the dead but magical practices regularly relied on those which were known as ἄωροι (those dead before their time), βίαιοθάνατοι (those dead by violence), and ἄταφοι (those deprived of burial). These were the ‘Restless Dead,’ souls that were aggrieved and as such would be more willing to assist the amateur practitioner.<sup>452</sup> For the reference to and employment of these wretched souls in the EMP, see PGM IV.1390-1495, a spell of attraction performed with the help of heroes, gladiators, those who have died a violent death: Ἀγωγή ἐπὶ ἠρώων ἢ μονομάχων ἢ βιαιών. It is clear not only from the title of PGM IV.1390-1495 that the deceased are expected to help with the attraction of the target but also from that seen in the *incantation* ruitual.<sup>453</sup> Unlike the majority of the deceased, the ‘Restless Dead,’ being prohibited entry into Hades,<sup>454</sup> were stuck in the mortal world and readily available to those who wished to employ them. Perhaps the deceased’s desire to rest in peace allowed the assurance of their compliance in a magical ritual. We can see from Lucan’s depiction of a necromantic ritual in the *Pharsalia* that those who commanded a soul could promise to return it to rest once its task had been completed.<sup>455</sup> If the deceased refused to help in a magical ritual, they could be

<sup>449</sup> For necromantic rituals, see Hom. *Od.* XI.1-149; Aesch. *Pers.* 607-699; Sen. *Oed.* 530-626; Luc. VI.413-830; Lucian *Men.* 6-11; Heliod. *Aeth.* VI.12-15; See also the references to the oracles of the dead in, for example, Hdt. V.92G; Plut. *Mor.* 109B-D, 560E-F, *Cim.* 6.

<sup>450</sup> For Hecate’s associations with phantoms, apparitions, and marginal creatures, see Rohde, 1925, pp.590-595; Burkert, 1985, p.171; Johnston, 1999, pp.71-80, 203-204; Faraone, 1999, pp.141-142.

<sup>451</sup> This is a role traditionally associated with Hermes. For Hermes as a guide, see II.1 pp.58-59.

<sup>452</sup> For the ‘Restless Dead,’ see Johnston’s seminal 1999 (esp. pp.127-160) book on the topic. Cf. Jordan, 1988a, p.273; Graf, 1997, pp.150-151; Felton, 1999, pp.25, 57; Collins, 2008, pp.9-10, 70; Luck, 2006, pp.209-210. Johnston (1999, pp.86-95) and Burkert (1984, pp.65-72) argue that the employment of a deceased soul in this manner could have been influenced by beliefs originating in the East. Ritner, 1995, pp.3349-3350 argues that the appeal to the dead is based in Egyptian cultural practice. For more on the Egyptian heritage of this practice, II.3 pp.115-117 & n.471.

<sup>453</sup> For the appeasement of the souls in PGM IV.1390-1495, see II.7.c.

<sup>454</sup> As can be seen by Verg. *Aen.* VI.325-383, 426-443. Cf. Hom. *Od.* XI.36-50.

<sup>455</sup> Luc. VI.762-770.

doomed to wander the earth, linger around tombs, and haunt the living.<sup>456</sup> The idea of the earthbound soul was strong in the Roman period and one of the more famous examples is narrated in the *Epistles* of the Younger Pliny.<sup>457</sup> Pliny relates a tale he had heard of a large and roomy house in Athens in which the spirit of an old man, emaciated and filthy, would appear with fetters on his feet and wrists. The house was abandoned as a lost cause until the philosopher Athenodorus arrived in Athens. Despite or because of the tales he had heard, he decided to spend an evening in the house. Athenodorus requested some writing tablets, a pen and a lamp, so that he could spend the night in quiet reflection and study. As he studied in the night by his lamp, the ghost approached but Athenodorus, enraptured by his studies, ignored him. The apparition rattled his chains over the philosopher's head as he wrote and beckoned for the philosopher to follow. Athenodorus finally followed with his lamp after giving up on his studies. On entering the courtyard the ghost disappeared and Athenodorus marked the spot with some grass and leaves. The next day he had the place dug up and bones bound in chains were found. The philosopher had the bones properly buried (the ghost here was evidently one of the ἄταφοι) and thereafter the house was free from hauntings.<sup>458</sup>

In PGM IV.296-466 and PGM XIXa.1-54 the deceased soul is designated a νεκύδαμον, a demon of the dead. In order to understand specifically what this agent is, it is important to understand the Greek δαίμων. The first thing to consider is that δαίμων does not mean the same in Greek as it does in English (an evil spirit or devil).<sup>459</sup> Indeed, δαίμων can have a variety of translations and in Homer the distinction between δαίμων and θεός, deity, is ambiguous and indistinct.<sup>460</sup> By reading Plato we can see that a δαίμων was perceived as an intermediary between the gods and man, being not quite one and not quite the other.<sup>461</sup> This is a belief that continued through to the Imperial period, as can be seen by the *Apology* of Apuleius who argues for the existence of δαίμονες, defining them as

<sup>456</sup> For ghosts at graves: Plat. *Phaedo* 81C-D. For a taxonomy of ghosts, see Apuleius *De deo Socratis* 15.

<sup>457</sup> Plin. *Ep.* VII.xxvii.5-11.

<sup>458</sup> This is the best attested haunted house story from antiquity and can be found in three examples. It had first been told by Plautus (*Mostell.* 446-531. ca. 200 BC). Lucian (ca. 170 AD) also wrote a version of the tale (*Philops.* 30-31). The *Mostellaria* was most likely an adaptation of a Greek play entitled *Phasma*, probably by Philemon. Also see the Christian version at Constantius of Lyon, *Life of St Germanus* II.10. Cf. Fantham, 1977, p.406 n.4; Felton, 1999, pp.81-88; Ogden, 2009, pp.154-155.

<sup>459</sup> For a discussion of δαίμονες and their comparison to demons, see Johnston, 1999, pp.162-163. For a discussion of daemonology, see Luck, 2006, pp.207-222.

<sup>460</sup> E.g. Hom. *Il.* I.222. For the Homeric use of δαίμονες, see Brenk, 1986, pp.2071-2082.

<sup>461</sup> Plat. *Symp.* 202D-E, *Tim.* 40D-41E.

intermediary divine powers situated between gods and men.<sup>462</sup> Although the Classical Period linked δαίμονες to misfortune and death,<sup>463</sup> they were not necessarily perceived as evil and later it became common to qualify δαίμων by an adjective (e.g. κακός) to distinguish the evil nature of δαίμονες.<sup>464</sup> In PGM IV.296-466 and PGM XIXa.1-54 we see that δαίμων is associated with the dead, an association which was already in place by the time Hesiod described souls (specifically the souls of men of the Golden Age) as δαίμονες, which were disseminated throughout the mortal world.<sup>465</sup> From this we can see that it was possible for a human soul to be promoted to the rank of δαίμων.<sup>466</sup> This concept was adopted by later authors who connected the Platonic and Hesiodic concept of the δαίμων by equating them with souls<sup>467</sup> and, in this respect, the soul which will be employed as an agent in PGM IV.296-466 and PGM XIXa.1-54 is not just a deceased mortal soul but a νεκύδαμον, an intermediary between the divine and mortal worlds, and as such would have greater power than just one of the 'Restless Dead.'

It is not clear however, if the νεκύδαμον in PGM IV.296-466 and PGM XIXa.1-54 was to actually read the information on the submitted lead lamellae. For example, the deceased in PGM IV.296-466 is seen to receive the information in the form of a written inscription and the two symbolic and iconic figurines, but these are then to be entrusted to a selection of supernatural beings.<sup>468</sup> The information could merely be passed over to the adjured who would then assign the mission of attraction and binding to the messenger. The ambiguous role of the deceased in the process of information transmission via lamellae remains a contentious issue.<sup>469</sup> On one side, it is possible that the dead were expected to read the information themselves and then act upon it. Indeed, Jordan (when discussing curse tablets) points to the placing of tablets in the right hand of a corpse as evidence that they were meant to be read by the dead.<sup>470</sup> In contrast, the dead could serve merely as a messenger, a role common amongst the curse tablets which regularly adopt an epistolary

<sup>462</sup> Apul. *Apol.* LXIII.2-5.

<sup>463</sup> E.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 1175; *Sept.* 812; Soph. *OC* 76; Antiph. III.iii.4.

<sup>464</sup> E.g. Iamblichus *Myst.* III.xxxi.15. Cf. Luck, 2006, p.207.

<sup>465</sup> Hes. *Op.* 109-126.

<sup>466</sup> Dodds, 1973, p.209 n.1.

<sup>467</sup> Philo *De gigantibus* 16; Plut. *Mor.* 415F, 419A.

<sup>468</sup> For the role of the Ares figurine and the deceased's role as an agent, see II.5 pp.148-150.

<sup>469</sup> For the main issues of this debate, see CT pp.19-20; Graf, 1997, pp.130-132; Johnston, 1999, pp.71-80, 90-95; *idem*, 1999a, pp.85-88; Ogden, 1999, p.21; Eidinow, 2007, pp.140-141 & n.5, 148-150; Eidinow & Taylor, 2010, pp.43-46.

<sup>470</sup> Jordan, 1988, pp. 273-274.

nature.<sup>471</sup> The names of chthonic gods inscribed on the outside of a folded tablet (e.g. the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Attic tablet which has on side A the names of Hermes and Hecate of the underworld),<sup>472</sup> and the lead they are constructed from can be interpreted as an attempt to replicate the way in which conventional letter scrolls were addressed.<sup>473</sup> As a consequence, the evidence from curse tablets can be contradictory and the ambiguous role expected of the deceased in information transmission is never clear. For example, in the two “Pasianax tablets,” created to hinder lawsuits with the assistance of a corpse, the inscriptions refer to the lead tablets (originating either from Megara or Arcadia) as a letter and contrarily state: “Όταν σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἀναγνῶς· ἀλλὰ οὔτε ποτὲ σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἀναναγνώσει.”<sup>474</sup> The tablets are addressed to Pasianax but they also suggest that he will not be able to read the engraved information.<sup>475</sup> The role of Pasianax in both tablets is as uncertain as the deceased in PGM IV.296-466 and PGM XIXa.1-54.

The PGM give very little information which can be used to support the idea that the νεκύδαμον in the EMP is a messenger or the recipient of the submitted information. In only two non-erotic examples are the graves of the dead used for the deposition of a metallic lamella, these being PGM V.304-69 and PGM VII.396-404 (both of which are non-erotic binding spells). The role played by the dead in PGM VII.396-404 is unspecified but the binding spell at PGM V.304-69 is more informative. The PGM instruct that a ring

<sup>471</sup> For scholarship on the epistolary nature of curse tablets, see II.1 p.71 n.302. There has been debate that the origins of this practice lay in Egypt. The advocates of this theory postulate that the Greek tablets are descendants of the ancient custom of private ‘Letters to the Dead’. For this practice, see Gardiner & Sethe, 1928; Gardiner, 1930; Wortmann, 1968, p. 81; Goedicke, 1972; Bravo, 1987, pp.196-200; Baines, 1991, pp.152-156; Ritner, 1993, pp.178-183; Pinch, 1994, pp.45, 126, 150, 158, 160; Ritner, 1995, pp.3349-3350; David, 2002, pp.282-283. Johnston (1999, pp.90-95) advocates caution when insinuating a connection between the two. Cf. Faraone, 2002; Collins, 2008, p.72. The first key point of disparity argued by Johnston is the time period (700-800 years) between the oldest curse tablet and the youngest ‘letter to the dead’. Moreover, the Egyptian letters are sent to family members whereas the identity of the deceased in Greek magical practices was rarely known by the practitioner (e.g. DT 22-37; CT 45). The Egyptian ‘letters to the dead’ focus on matters of justice and employ a supplicating and justifying tone, unlike Greek examples. Lastly Johnston argues that the practitioners of Egyptian ‘letters to the dead’ make no attempt to conceal their identity, unlike the anonymity of the Greek practitioner. Also note that lead is not native to Egypt. Faraone (2002, p.324) suggests that the common use of this metal in Greece and its scarcity in pre-Hellenic Egypt suggests a Greek origin to this practice.

<sup>472</sup> CT 40.

<sup>473</sup> Prior to the growing affordability of papyrus and its increased popularity as a writing material, lead appears to have been a common material for the construction of letters of communication. See Wilhelm, 1904; Bravo, 1974; Graf, 1997, p.133; Jordan, 1980, pp.226-228; Faraone, 1991, pp.4, 8; Henry, 1991, p. 65; Jordan, 2000, pp.91-93.

<sup>474</sup> DT 43, 44. Gager (CT 43) proposes Megara. See Voutiras, 1999, p.76 & n.9 for Arcadia. The two tablets are written by the same hand and may allude to the professionalism of the writer.

<sup>475</sup> Voutiras (1999, pp.76-80) suggests the tablets are addressed not to the deceased but to a supernatural entity as Pasianax means “Lord to all.” The argument is compelling, claiming that the only other example of this name is from an epithet of Zeus in a Delphic oracle. For a discussion of the Pasianax tablets, see Graf, 1997, p.130; Ogden, 2001, pp.247-248; Versnel, 2002a, p.61; Collins, 2008, pp.72-73.

should be taken and placed on either a sheet of papyrus or lead before its outline, both inside and out, is traced with a pen. On the inside of the ring's outline a name consisting of *voces magicae* is to be written and on the outside are to be engraved characters. Supplementary to the *voces magicae* on the inside of the ring, the PGM instruct the engraving of what is not to happen, and either a binding of a male's thoughts (so that he is unable to do an action), or a woman (so that she should not marry). The ring is then to be placed once more onto the outline before it is enveloped by the papyri or the lead lamella.<sup>476</sup> This package is then to be pierced through with the pen used for the writing of the spell, whilst an invocation of binding is recited. The completed package is to be taken to the grave of someone untimely dead whilst reciting the following: νεκυδαίμων, ὅτι ποτ' οὖν εἶ, παραδίδωμί σοι τὸν δεῖνα, ὅπως μὴ ποιήσῃ τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα. Although there are numerous noticeable *voces magicae* inscribed inside the rings outline (including Ἐρεσχιγᾶλ, Ἰάω, Σαβαῶθ, and Ἀβρασάξ),<sup>477</sup> there are no adjured supernatural beings acknowledged as the recipient of the lead lamella, as is the case with PGM IV.296-466. We are therefore to believe that the deceased in PGM V.304-69 is to receive the lamella, read it, and act accordingly to the engraved instructions as the νεκύδαίμων. In contrast to PGM V.304-69, it may not be clear whether each νεκύδαίμων in PGM IV.296-466 and PGM XIXa.1-54 were to read the submitted information but it is clear they are to act as an agent. It is for this reason that a place of burial is chosen for the tool from the *deposition location* paradigm.

In a similar manner to that seen already, a crossroads is used in PGM IV.2943-66 because of the wish to employ an agent. Crossroads exist in an unspecified point of space as they are neither here nor there and as such they are liminal.<sup>478</sup> Due to this liminal status, crossroads became areas of great magical potency and were intrinsically connected to magical practices and the goddess Hecate.<sup>479</sup> As has been stated above, Hecate was a liminal deity who could help with the transition of souls between worlds but she could also

<sup>476</sup> For the magical powers inherent in folding, see II.1 p.66 & n.281.

<sup>477</sup> For these *voces magicae*, see I.4 pp.26-27, 45.

<sup>478</sup> The same also applies to the use of a doorway chosen from the *deposition location* paradigm in PGM XXXVI.134-60. The tool chosen from the *deposited* paradigm that requires the performance of the *potion construction* ritual is an offering to the beings which linger in this liminal location. For the liminal nature of doorways, see Johnston, 1991, p.217, Felton, 1999, p.94. For the *potion construction* ritual in PGM XXXVI.134-60, see II.4 pp.135-136.

<sup>479</sup> Tupet, 1976, pp.14-15; Parker, 1983, p.30 & n.65; Johnston, 1991; Parry, 1992, pp.75-76; Felton, 1999, p.5; *idem*, 2010, p.91. For the use of crossroads in the PGM, see PGM IV.1390-1495, 2441-2621, 2708-84, 2785-2890, 2943-66; LXX.4-25.

guide people through many types of transitions, including the wayfarer on his journey.<sup>480</sup> As such, crossroads appealed to those wishing to perform magical practices as Hecate and her entourage of 'Restless Dead' were believed to gather there.<sup>481</sup> Importantly for that seen in PGM IV.2943-66 (a spell which uses a figurine of a dog), amongst the entourage of Hecate were canines.<sup>482</sup> From the ancient sources we can see that there was a perceived connection between canines and the dead and it was not uncommon for supernatural beings to appear as dogs.<sup>483</sup> The connection between Hecate, dogs, and crossroads is illustrated by the sacrifice of the animal to Hecate at crossroads during the new moon, itself a time of liminality (therefore, the sacrifice of dogs to Hecate is a ritual using the intervals between space and time).<sup>484</sup> By submitting a dog figurine at a crossroads, PGM IV.2943-66 is appealing to the connection between the dog and Hecate. The intention of PGM IV.2943-66 is for the dog to act as an agent and it is via an adjuration of Hecate (as can be seen by I.2953: ἐξορκίζω σὲ τρις κατὰ τῆς Ἐκάτης), that this agency can be guaranteed. She is the one who will assign the agent to assist with the attraction of the target.

The connection between Hecate and the dog can also help explain the deposition of the tools from the *deposited* and *supporting item* paradigms in PGM XXXVI.361-71, a fetching charm for an unmanageable woman in which the amateur practitioner is instructed to take the skin of a donkey and write on it with the blood from the womb of a silurus fish (αἷματι κελούρου μήτρας)<sup>485</sup> and juice of the plant *Sarapis*.<sup>486</sup> Once the inscription has been completed, the οὐσία of the target is to be placed inside the donkey skin with vetch. All are then to be deposited inside the mouth of a dead dog. It is not clear if the dead dog is to act as an agent or if it is to transmit the information but its inclusion points to a connection to Hecate, i.e. by using a dead dog, PGM XXXVI.361-71 is relying on the symbolic connection between a dog and Hecate with the result that the animal will either become an agent of the amateur practitioner or it will transfer a message to Hecate, in which case the goddess could then assign a being to enact the attraction of the target. The agency of the dog can be perceived differently however, when comparing the application

<sup>480</sup> Johnston, 1991, pp.218-219.

<sup>481</sup> Johnston, 1991, pp.223-224; Felton, 1999, pp.5, 94-95.

<sup>482</sup> See, for example, Lycoph. *Alex.* 1175-77; Theoc. *Id.* II.35; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* III.1024-45, 1194-1224; Lucian *Philops.* 14, 22-24; Sen. *Oed.* 548-579, *Med.* 843; Verg. *Aen.* VI.257-258; Hor. *Sat.* I.viii.35; Tib. I.ii.54; Porph. *Abst.* IV.16. Cf. Lucian *Dial. mort.* 1 (1) 331; Plut. *Mor.* 708F-709A; Porph. *Abst.* II.16.4.

<sup>483</sup> For a list of source material, see Winkler, 1980, p.161 n.23.

<sup>484</sup> For reference to the offerings to Hecate, see Plut. *Mor.* 290D, 708F-709A. Cf. Graf, 1997, p.107.

<sup>485</sup> Preisendanz has altered the text to read αἴλουρος, cat.

<sup>486</sup> See I.4 pp.42-44 for the use of unidentified substances.

of its corpse to that seen in the *figurine construction* ritual. For a visual representation of the connections between the dead dog in PGM XXXVI.361-71 and the *figurine construction* ritual, see Figure II.3.c.<sup>487</sup> As will be argued in the chapter discussing the *figurine construction* ritual, figurines are generally constructed for the creation of an agent and the use of a dog here is comparable to that seen with the *figurine construction* ritual. In order to complete this ritual, four separate paradigms are employed: *construction* (the tool used to create the figurine), *form* (the image moulded), *insertion* (the tool placed inside the figurine), and *adornment* (tools used to adorn the figurine). If the dog in PGM XXXVI.361-71 is compared to that seen in the *figurine construction* ritual, we can see that the animal acts as the tool from the *construction* paradigm, an attendant of Hecate is chosen from the *form* paradigm, the tools chosen from the *deposited* and *supporting item* paradigms would constitute three separate tools from *insertion*, and there would be no tool chosen from the *adornment* paradigm (*insertion* and *adornment* are not a prerequisite for the *figurine construction* ritual).<sup>488</sup> In this respect, the dog in PGM XXXVI.361-71 could be seen as an agent constructed via the *figurine construction* ritual.

Figure II.3.c: A visual representation of the dog in PGM XXXVI.361-71 if used in the *figurine construction* ritual

Dog	Attendant	IC1	Unknown	Skin	οὐσία	Vetch	n/a
		<i>Ink</i>	<i>Stylus</i>	<i>Medium</i>			
<i>Construction</i>	<i>Form</i>	Parchment			<i>Insertion</i>	<i>Insertion</i>	<i>Adornment</i>

*Figurine construction*

The application of a place of burial or a crossroads as a tool also has one other very important advantage: the spell was hidden away. Deposition in a secret location was believed to bestow a great power onto a spell and when it was found, this power would become defunct.<sup>489</sup> It is for this reason that the EMP instruct that the completed spells in

<sup>487</sup> The use of the dog in this manner would thus be comparable to the use of the cat seen in the *animal killing* ritual (the cat is used in PGM III.1-164 as a familiar of Isis), which can also be compared to that seen in the *figurine construction* ritual. See II.6 pp.172-174.

<sup>488</sup> For the paradigms used in the *figurine construction* ritual, see II.5.

<sup>489</sup> Graf, 1997, pp.134, 167-168.

PGM VII.462-66 and PGM VII.862-918 are to be thrown in the sea and hidden away, respectively. In PGM VII.862-918 there are no instructions specifying a location but once the spell is completed, the figurine of the goddess is to be stowed away. As long as an erotic spell remained secret and hidden, the power of the spell would also remain. Some PGM instruct retrieval techniques for the amateur practitioner if he wished to undo the power of a spell, e.g. see the non-erotic binding spell at PGM VII.429-58 in which an incantation is to be written onto a lead plate consecrated by the burning of aromatics. A cord is to be tied to the plate before being thrown into the sea or a stream. The intent of the cord is then clearly stated by ll.437-438: ἵνα, ὅτε θέλει, ἐκλύσῃ. εἰ δὲ θέλῃ ἀπολύσαι, λύσῃ τὸ πλάτυμμα. The idea that the power of the spell remained until it was found (or released) is supported by that seen in the ancient source material. The tale of a successful hideaway can be seen by the death of Germanicus, the adopted son of the emperor Tiberius. In 19 AD he died in mysterious circumstances and Tacitus tells us that the reason for his death was only discovered when human remains and a curse tablet inscribed with Germanicus' name were found hidden in the walls.<sup>490</sup> The spell in this example was never found and its power was left to work with the result being the death of the target. In contrast, see the tale of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD rhetorician Libanius, who, in his *Autobiography*, recounts a time when he lost the ability to lecture. Libanius was afflicted with a recurring illness which could not be helped by a doctor. Many asked Libanius to speak but he remained unable to perform and he prayed for death. Libanius claims that his problems were only alleviated when a mutilated dead chameleon was discovered in his classroom. The chameleon had been present for some time. Its head had been placed between its hind feet and one of the animal's forefeet was positioned in its mouth to keep it

---

<sup>490</sup> Tac. *Ann.* II.69. For the reaction of the Roman people to the death of Germanicus, see I.3 p.26.



silent.<sup>491</sup> Libanius fully regained his mobility and his oratorical skills when the chameleon was disposed of.<sup>492</sup>

In contrast to the tools used from the *deposition location* paradigm thus far, the use of a bath in PGM VII.467-77, PGM XXXVI.69-101, and PGM XXXVI.333-60 relied on the symbolic application of its nature.<sup>493</sup> This aim is revealed by the *incantation* rituals (spoken or written) which accompany the performance of the *deposition* rituals. In PGM XXXVI.333-60, the incantation to be read aloud whilst myrrh is placed on the flat stone of a bath, reads ὀπότεν σε βάλω, Ζμύρνα, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐτρόβιλον τῆς πλακὸς τοῦ βαλανίου τούτου, ὡς εὐ κάη, οὕτως καὶ εὐ καύσεις τὴν δεῖνα.<sup>494</sup> The incantation to be recited in PGM VII.467-77 specifically states that the target should be attracted καιομένην τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν and in PGM XXXVI.69-101 the words written on papyrus from the *deposited* paradigm read ὡς ὑμεῖς καίεσθε καὶ πυροῦσθε, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ καρδία τῆς δεῖνα. What can be seen in these EMP is a classic example of the sympathetic transferral of fire onto the target. The heat of the location is used in the hope that its heat will be transferred onto the target but it is important to state that the practitioner does not wish to cause incineration and death. By the time the PGM were compiled, tradition had guaranteed a close relationship between fire and erotic magic, a relationship aggressive in nature. Such an association exists because passion, as with other emotions (such as anger), was believed to be inherently related to the sensation of burning.<sup>495</sup> There are 23 PGM that

---

<sup>491</sup> The chameleon here is seen to work in a manner comparable to the application of figurines, the principal example of this in the EMP being the female in PGM IV.296-466. For PGM IV.296-466 and the sympathetic transferral of bound imagery, see II.5 pp.148-150. As the chameleon is bound and gagged, so too will Libanius be bound and gagged. For a similar application of an animal, see the two legal curse tablets (dating to ca. 172 AD) deposited in a grave in Aquitania. DT 111-112. Cf. CT 53; Ogden, 2009, p.332. Although the remains of an animal were not discovered, it can safely be assumed that a dog was used when studying the text on the tablet. The text denounces a Lentinus and a Tasgillus and proclaims that just as the puppy did no harm to anyone, nor should they be able to win a lawsuit. A correlation is then drawn between the inability of the puppy's mother to defend the puppy and the inability of Lentinus' and Tasgillus' advocates to defend them.

<sup>492</sup> Libanius I.243-250. Cf. Bonner, 1932; Eidinow, 2007, pp.152, 166; *idem*, 2010, pp.28-29. Eidinow not only describes the incident involving the chameleon but also how Libanius himself was accused of performing magical practices.

<sup>493</sup> For the use of baths in magic, see Winkler, 1991, p.224; GMPT p.14 n.16; Suppl. Mag. Vol I pp.132-133; Ritner, 1993, pp.158-159; Faraone, 1999, p.54. Ogden (1999, p.36; 2001, p.22) argues that bathhouses were used because they were favoured haunts for ghosts. Cf. Bonner, 1932a; Felton, 1999, pp.36-37. The ghosts supposedly arrived into a bath via the underground waters on which they drew. For haunted bathhouses, see Plut. *Cim.* I.6; SGD 151.

<sup>494</sup> The myrrh in PGM XXXVI.333-60 is personified and becomes the agent in the spell. For the personification of a plant substance in this manner, see II.4 p.137 & n.544.

<sup>495</sup> One of the earliest literary representations of a love spell of attraction is by Pindar (*Pyth.* IV.213-219), who acknowledges the role of fire and its relation to passion. For Pindar's *Pythian Ode*, see I.4 p.49 n.220. Cf. Plat. *Charm.* 155D, *Tim.* 70B; Aesch. *PV* 590-591; Arist. *Part. an.* 650B.

depict an association between intense passion and fire and only one of these is not an EMP.<sup>496</sup> There was clearly a connection between erotic magic and burning and the fire of Eros, which Theocritus describes as being more intense than Hephaestus',<sup>497</sup> is to be put under the target to guarantee that they burn with passion until acquiescence in all cases where fire is called upon in such a manner. As has been argued via a discussion of the amateur practitioner, the burning experience of erotic desire was perceived as the onset of a pathological disease which could assail the thoughts and emotions.<sup>498</sup> The amateur practitioners of erotic magic are the victims of this terrible disease inflicted by an unrequited desire, and by enacting rituals such as those instructed by the EMP, he wished to replicate in the target this burning ailment.

The final two tools chosen from the *deposition location* paradigm are instructed for application in PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.1872-1927. It is appropriate to consider both of these EMP in union due to similarities between the two. That is to say, they both require the construction of a figurine which will be placed in what is essentially a homemade shrine. PGM IV.1716-1870 states that the Eros figurine should be placed, once it has been shown the door of the target, onto a table in the amateur practitioner's home. The table is to be spread with pure linen, a product made from flax and one of the most common and versatile fabrics in the ancient world (the cultivation and processing of flax is reported extensively by Pliny).<sup>499</sup> The widespread application of linen in the ancient world is reflected by its use in the PGM, as can be seen by the repeated instructions throughout for its application. In PGM IV.1872-1927 a figurine of a dog is to be placed on a tripod. We are never explicitly informed that the *deposition* ritual in PGM IV.1872-1927 is to be performed in the amateur practitioner's home but we can assume this when considering the instructions at Il.1900-1902, following the performance of an *incantation* ritual: εἶτα ἀνοίξαι τὴν θύραν εὐρήσεις παρὰ ταῖς θύραις, ἣν θέλεις. It would not be unreasonable to assume that the dog figurine was to be placed in the amateur practitioner's home. Related to that seen in PGM IV.1716-1870 are the final lines which state ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ ποιήσεις, καθαρῶ τόπῳ. Again we see the necessity of purity and the figurines, being

<sup>496</sup> Spell of attraction: PGM IV.94-153, 1496-1595, 1716-1870, 2441-2621, 2708-84, 2891-2942; VII.467-77, 593-619, 981-93; XVIIa.1-25; XIXa.1-54; XXXIIa.1-25; XXXVI.69-101, 102-33, 187-210, 295-311, 333-60; LXXVIII.1-14; LXXXIV.1-21; CI.1-53. Charm: PGM LXVIII.1-20. Binding: PGM XVI.1-75. Only PGM XCI.1-14 is unrelated to erotic magic. Cf. CT 30, 32, 35, 85, 113.

<sup>497</sup> Theoc. *Id.* II.133-134.

<sup>498</sup> For the emotional state and passionate longing of the amateur practitioner, see I.4 pp.51-53.

<sup>499</sup> Plin. *HN* XIX.i-vi.

iconic representations of Eros and Cerberus, are to be treated with respect and dignity. It would seem fitting that the EMP instruct the construction of a household shrine, a practice which was common place throughout the ancient world (e.g. Lararium)<sup>500</sup> and would theoretically not draw too much attention. That said, this was not the case with Apuleius who was accused of secretly keeping in his home a statuette in the form of a skeleton sculpted from rare and precious wood.<sup>501</sup> Apuleius retorts that he did have a statue but it was one of Hermes made from ebony.<sup>502</sup> The accusation was that Apuleius must be performing magical acts as he has in his home a statue comparable to that seen in PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.1872-1927, a practice which was clearly known well enough in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD that it could be used for evidence in court.

#### d) Summary

The *deposition* ritual requires the application of tools chosen from three paradigms: *deposited*, *supporting item*, and *deposition location*. When assessing the evidence for *deposition*, the ritual can be represented by the horizontal and vertical axes in Figure II.3.d. Every *deposition* ritual that is performed is a combination of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes in Figure II.3.d. The principal reason for the *deposition* ritual is centred on its role in information transmission. The majority of the tools that are deposited into a place contain information which is essential for the completion of the spell at hand. Without the transmission of this information, the spell in which a *deposition* ritual is carried out would not be able to function. The importance of *deposition* is guaranteed as all of the EMP that instruct the performance of the ritual rely on the assistance of an agent and this being will know what is required of them by this information. Sometimes this information comes in the form of the written word, other times in the form of οὐσία, and other times in the symbolic and iconic representation of the target via the *figurine construction* ritual. Those tools in the *deposited* and *supporting item* paradigms that do not contain information are still used to supplement this objective.

---

<sup>500</sup> For the importance of the household to religion, see, for example, Cic. *Dom.* 41.108-109. For a discussion of religion in the home, see Kaufmann-Heinimann, 2007.

<sup>501</sup> Apul. *Apol.* LXI, 2.

<sup>502</sup> At 1.13 of PGM VIII.1-63 Ebony is specifically associated with Hermes. Again, we can see evidence for Apuleius' supposed knowledge of magic. For a discussion of Apuleius' statue, see Graf, 1997, pp.80-82.

Figure II.3.d: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of *deposition*

		Unknown
		Tomb
		Tripod
		Table
		Sea
		Grave
		Doorway
		Dog
		Crossroads
		Corpse
		Bath
Unknown		
Tin lamella		
Seashell		
Papyrus	Vetch	
Myrrh	Papyrus	
MC3	Οὐσία	
Figurine	Lead lamella	
Donkey skin	Flowers	
Cat	Drinking vessel	
<i>Deposited</i>	<i>Supporting item</i>	<i>Deposition location</i>
<i>Deposition</i>		

When studying the tools used from the *deposited* and *supporting item* paradigms, it is common for the *deposition* ritual to require the performance of an alternative ritual action. As a consequence, the *deposition* ritual is a complex procedure which necessitates the fluid integration of multiple rituals and it would be impossible to carry out *deposition* without first completing alternative ritual actions. Indeed, there is not one *deposition* ritual which does not apply another ritual action and the most commonly required is the *incantation* ritual. This is not surprising when considering the role of the *deposition* ritual as a means of information transmission. The place chosen from the *deposition location* paradigm is directly related to this objective, with chthonic places connected to the deceased and/or Hecate being dominant. Hecate is undeniably of great importance to the completion of the ritual for she had access to and control of the deceased, the ‘Restless Dead,’ and dogs. The rationale for the tool chosen from the *deposition location* paradigm in PGM VII.862-918 is comparable to that seen in PGM III.1-164, PGM IV.296-466, PGM IV.2943-66, and PGM XIXa.1-54, but it is not Hecate who is given the role of agent assignment and instead we see Selene. In contrast to the role of the *deposition* ritual for

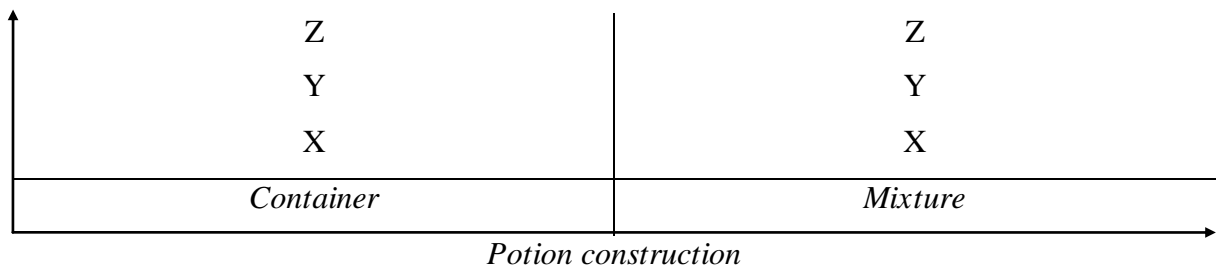
information transmission are the EMP which give instructions for the use of a bath. The rituals in these EMP rely on the sympathetic transferral of a bath's characteristics, i.e. baths are hot and the amateur practitioner wished to project this heat onto the target. This wish is interlinked with the perception that passion was closely associated with fire. As a consequence, it is the intention of EMP which give instructions for the use of a bath that a burning sensation of passion was to be inflicted upon the target until she acquiesced to the objective of the spell at hand.

## 4. Potion Construction

### a) Introduction

There are eight EMP which give instructions for the completion of the *potion construction* ritual, which consists of the creation of a liquid and its placement into a vessel. Therefore, the *potion construction* ritual requires the application of tools from two paradigms: *container* and *mixture*. The *potion construction* ritual is represented visually in Figure II.4.a, in which the syntagmatic horizontal axis represents the sequential nature of the ritual. Above this are the paradigms *mixture* and *container* with the possible tools (X, Y, and Z) listed on the vertical axis. EMP that give instructions for the *potion construction* ritual are ordinarily short and succinct and they quickly deal with the issue at hand, incorporating few alternative ritual actions. Thus, in comparison to alternative EMP, the examples discussed in this chapter are simple to perform and require very little time or effort.

Figure II.4.a: The *potion construction* ritual



The following analysis will be dictated by the paradigms of the *potion construction* ritual, with a section dedicated to each. The initial section will focus on the tools chosen from *container* before consideration is given to the tools chosen from the *mixture* paradigm. The chapter will be structured in this way as the role of the *potion construction* ritual can be determined more from the tools chosen from the *container* paradigm rather than those used from *mixture*. It is via an initial study of the *container* paradigm that the aim of this chapter will come to the fore: a comparison between the *potion construction* rituals instructed by the EMP and the creation of love potions in alternative source material. There are obvious similarities between the two but in contrast to the EMP under discussion in this chapter, which are aimed at a predominantly male audience, love potions are traditionally associated with feminine magic and are performed to strengthen the bonds

of an already existing relationship. This dichotomy between the EMP and alternative sources of evidence must be addressed when considering the *potion construction* ritual. Moreover, it can help generate a better understanding of the male amateur's position and how society would perceive him.

#### b) Container

The *container* paradigm includes tools which are used to hold the tool chosen from the *mixture* paradigm. There are three tools specified, with a drinking vessel, ποτήριον (a drinking cup for wine), dominating the paradigm. This is followed by a glass cup<sup>503</sup> and a jar, which are both instructed for application only once. Two EMP (PGM VII.969-72 and PGM XIII.1-343) do not specify what tool will be used. The dominance of the ποτήριον, a vessel designed specifically for drinking, could automatically point to the consumption of the tool contained therein. Indeed, when studying the instructions in the EMP which include the *potion construction* ritual, three separate categories emerge: those which are to be drunk by the target (PGM VII.619-27, PGM VII.969-72, and PGM XIII.1-343), those which are not meant to be drunk (PGM LXI.1-38), and those which do not specify if anything is to be drunk or not (PGM VII.385-89, PGM VII.643-51, PGM VII.973-80, and PGM XXXVI.134-60). As can be seen by this categorisation however, a dividing line for consumption with ποτήριον application on one side and alternative EMP on the other is not exactly true. To illustrate this further, PGM VII.385-89 and PGM VII.643-51 both use a ποτήριον but neither specifies if consumption is required. PGM XXXVI.134-60 uses a ποτήριον but it is not drunk (by the target), as it is placed in the doorway of the amateur practitioner's home.<sup>504</sup> PGM VII.619-27 is the only example which uses a ποτήριον and also instructs that the *potion* should be drunk by the target. In addition, PGM VII.969-72 and PGM XIII.1-343 are both meant to be drunk by the target but neither specifies the tool used from the *container* paradigm.

<sup>503</sup> Glass appears in only one other spell at 1.758 of PGM IV.475-829, the non-erotic *Mithras Liturgy*.

<sup>504</sup> PGM XXXVI.134-60 is the only EMP that fuses together the *potion construction* ritual and the *deposition* ritual. In accordance with that seen in the *deposition* ritual, the objective of the spell revolves around the compliance of demons. For the use of the *potion construction* ritual in the *deposition* ritual, see II.3 p.117 & n.478.

Table II.4.a: Tools in the *container* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Drinking vessel	VII.385-89	385	Charm
	VII.619-27	622	Charm
	VII.643-51	643	Charm
	XXXVI.134-60	135	Attraction
Glass cup	VII.973-80	976	Attraction
Jar	LXI.1-38	5	Attraction
Unknown	VII.969-72	n/a	Charm
	XIII.1-343	n/a	Charm

The omission of exact details however, does not mean that conclusions cannot be drawn from the evidence that is available. The lack of instructions in PGM VII.385-89 and PGM VII.643-51 for example, does not mean that the *potion construction* rituals in these EMP did not result in a liquid which was not to be drunk by the target. In PGM VII.385-89, called a *ποτήριον καλόν*, the EMP instruct only that an *incantation* ritual (in which Aphrodite is adjured)<sup>505</sup> should be performed over a *ποτήριον* seven times. In PGM VII.643-51, simply entitled *ποτήριον*, an *incantation* ritual (again, adjuring Aphrodite) is to be recited over a *ποτήριον* seven times.<sup>506</sup> It may not be stated in PGM VII.385-89 and PGM VII.643-51 that the *potion construction* ritual is performed for consumption but the *incantation* rituals which accompany both point to this act. As is often the case with the *incantation* ritual, the words that are spoken or written contain important information which contributes to the power of the spell and the completion of the ritual is an essential act in the process of EMP which instruct the performance of the *potion construction* ritual.<sup>507</sup> To take PGM VII.973-80 as an example, the *incantation* ritual performed twice begins with a string of *voces magicae* (some of which are recognisable supernatural beings, e.g. *Ιαω*)<sup>508</sup> before ending with *ἐπαναγκάσατε τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, ἐὰν ἄψαιμι,*

<sup>505</sup> In the form of the holy names of Cypris. For the connection between Cyprus and Aphrodite, see II.1.c and II.7 pp.184-187.

<sup>506</sup> In PGM VII.385-89 and PGM VII.643-51 the *incantation* ritual should be performed seven times. Seven is an important magical number and it appears time and again throughout the EMP. The key to the power of seven lies in the cosmic harmony created by invoking a symbolic connection between the number seven and the seven stars. For more information, see II.1 p.70 n.296.

<sup>507</sup> The charm in PGM XIII.1-343 is the only EMP that does not include an *incantation* ritual when a *potion construction* ritual is specified.

<sup>508</sup> *Ιαω* is the Jewish monotheistic deity. For *Ιαω* see I.3 pp.26-27, I.4 p.45.



ἐπακολουθῆσαι. The incantation is an adjuration of the *voces magicae* in the hope that when the amateur practitioner touches the target, she will be attracted to him.<sup>509</sup> Therefore, to return to the *incantation* rituals in PGM VII.385-89 and PGM VII.643-51, we can see that the text in the former refers to *voces magicae* (as with PGM VII.973-80) before continuing with ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, ἅγια ὀνόματα τῆς Κύπριδος (i.e. the *voces magicae*), ὅπως, ἐὰν καταβᾶτε εἰς τὰ ἐπλάγχνα τῆς δεῖνα, ἦν ἡ δεῖνα, ποιῆσαι φιλεῖν. This is mirrored by the *incantation* ritual in PGM VII.643-51 which refers to Athena, Osiris, and various *voces magicae* and proceeds with ἐφ' ἧς ὄρας ἐὰν καταβῆς εἰς τὰ ἐπλάγχνα τῆς δεῖνα, φίλησάτω με, τὸν δεῖνα, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον. It is possible that the tool used from the *mixture* paradigm in both had been infused with these supernatural beings and the references to descending into the guts and heart of the target could be an allusion to a drink as it slips down into the body of the target.

In a similar manner, the lack of specification for tool application from the *container* paradigms in PGM VII.969-72 and PGM XIII.1-343 does not mean that assumptions cannot be made about their nature. In PGM VII.969-72, entitled πότισμα καλόν, the EMP instructs the performance of the *incantation* ritual. This is the only instruction given by PGM VII.969-72 but it is with this *incantation* ritual that we learn of the consumption of a liquid by the target, as the final line states φιλείτω με ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, ποῦσα τὸ ποτόν.<sup>510</sup> At ll.319-320 of PGM XIII.1-343, entitled φίλτρον πότιμον (a drinkable love charm), the EMP instruct that MC2 should be sprinkled ἐπὶ πότον δὸς πεῖν.<sup>511</sup> It is clear from the text that the tools chosen from the *mixture* paradigm for PGM VII.969-72 and PGM XIII.1-343 are to be drunk and it would seem logical that a drinking vessel like a ποτήριον would be used. This is a tempting possibility and if the assumptions made thus far are true, then the dominant role of the *potion construction* ritual (when excluding PGM LXI.1-38)<sup>512</sup> is centred on the consumption of the tool from the *mixture* paradigm via a vessel designed for drinking. That is to say, the dominant role of the *potion construction* ritual is centred on the creation of a potion which is to be drunk by the target (PGM XXXVI.134-60 and possibly PGM VII.973-80 being the exceptions).

<sup>509</sup> Although it is never specified in PGM VII.973-80, it is also possible that the touching of the target is performed once the tool chosen from the *mixture* paradigm is consumed by the target. For comments on this spell and other examples of touch magic, see Winkler, 1991, p.223 & n.62.

<sup>510</sup> On the use of pleonasm in the PGM, see n.152 *ad loc* in GMPT.

<sup>511</sup> The nature of MC2 will be discussed in II.4.c.

<sup>512</sup> The *potion construction* ritual PGM LXI.1-38 is expected to work in an altogether different way, as will be discussed in the second half of this chapter.

The application of a potion intended for consumption is a common motif in alternative source material and is recorded from the Archaic (e.g. Helen's use of potions to quell the worries of those in her company)<sup>513</sup> to the Imperial period (e.g. Canidia and company's murder of a young boy to make a love potion)<sup>514</sup> but in contrast to that seen in the EMP, the practitioners are generally female with men being the target.<sup>515</sup> The idea of the potion wielding female was so strong that Plutarch believed it necessary to warn people of the dangers.<sup>516</sup> Whilst giving marriage advice, Plutarch makes an analogy between fishing and marriage and states that although it may be quick and easy to catch fish with φάρμακα, the result is that they become ἄβρωτος and φαῦλος. In a similar manner, those women who use φίλτρα and γοητεία against their husbands end up with dull-witted and degenerate fools. Plutarch believed there to be a fine line between φίλτρα and poison and one had to be careful when administering a potion. The perils inherent in the practice were something that the Roman emperor Caligula learned by experience, as he was poisoned by his wife, Caesonia, who intended simply to administer a love potion. From Suetonius it is possible to see that the result of this love potion on Caligula was a gradual decline into insanity.<sup>517</sup> We are not informed of the legal consequences of Caesonia's act but from alternative examples we can see that if φίλτρα were misapplied then it could result in a court appearance for the administrator and even execution.<sup>518</sup> Indeed, St. Basil of Caesarea, a bishop contemporaneous to the PGM and active in Cappadocia in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, wrote that potion wielding women (who are forever making a magical drug to make men fall in love via incantations, binding spells, and the administration of drugs), should be classified as premeditated murderers if their actions resulted in death.<sup>519</sup>

<sup>513</sup> For reference to Helen's use of φάρμακα, see I.3 p.20, I.4 p.37. It would not be unreasonable to assume that Helen knew of alternative potions and perhaps even love potions.

<sup>514</sup> As described at Hor. *Epod.* V.

<sup>515</sup> For love potions and female sexual desire, see Eidinow, 2010, p.32.

<sup>516</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 139A. Cf. Faraone, 1999, p.113.

<sup>517</sup> Suet. *Cal.* 50. The idea that there was a fine line between a poison and a love magic extends to all φίλτρα, as can be seen by Sophocles' depiction of Deianeira's accidental slaying of Heracles in the *Trachiniae*. Cf. Diod. Sic. IV.xxxvi, xxxviii. It is possible that Deianeira's killing of Heracles was not as accidental as would first appear. See Faraone's (1999, pp.110-119) discussion of Deianeira and the fine line between poison and potion. Ogden (2009, pp.102-105) refers to the women who kill via the misapplication of φίλτρα as the 'Daughters of Deianeira.'

<sup>518</sup> For the execution of a female for the accidental murder of man through φίλτρον application, see Antiph. I.14-20. However, a woman who killed via a misapplication of φίλτρα could get away unpunished. It was not the act that was punishable but the intention and if a woman gave a φίλτρον for affection, as was the case with Caesonia, she could be acquitted. Cf. Faraone, 1999, pp.115-117; Collins, 2008, pp.134-136.

<sup>519</sup> St. Basil of Caesarea *Letters* 188.8.

Faraone contends that φίλτρα (be they a potion or otherwise)<sup>520</sup> are generally a female form of magic, which are used by wives, mistresses, and prostitutes within a social context (i.e. a marriage or an existing relationship) to retain or strengthen the affection of their husbands, companions, and/or clients.<sup>521</sup> The affection of a male was not guaranteed and women sought the assurance of φίλτρα to ensure that their men's attention would not stray.<sup>522</sup> Magic performed to strengthen an already existing relationship was in contrast to the aggressive ἀγωγή magic used typically by men to target inaccessible women.<sup>523</sup> In this respect the dichotomy between the two (with male ἀγωγή on one side and female φίλτρα on the other) is fairly straightforward but if this is taken into consideration, then the inclusion of a female orientated magical act in the EMP appears out of place. As the majority of the EMP which employ the *potion construction* ritual are intended for a male audience (only PGM XIII.1-343 does not state the gender of either the amateur practitioner or the target), there is a problem when attempting to apply Faraone's dichotomy to the PGM. To understand this problem it is important to study the case of Roman general Lucullus, whose death was recorded by Plutarch.<sup>524</sup> In the lead up to his demise, Lucullus' mind had begun to deteriorate (compare this to Caligula above) to the point at which his brother took over the management of his estate. The reason for the decline and eventual death of Lucullus, according to the Roman biographer Cornelius Nepo (as recorded by Plutarch), was due to the administration of φάρμακα by his freedman Callisthenes. The reasoning for this administration was very similar to that seen with φίλτρα: Callisthenes wished to ensure more of Lucullus' love and affection. The importance of this example and others like it, Faraone argues, proves that importance lies not in the actual gender of the person administering φίλτρα but in the social construction of gender.<sup>525</sup> That is to say, the gender of those who employ φίλτρα was constructed to incorporate males who were deemed socially inferior.<sup>526</sup> Faraone concludes that gender was socially constructed via Greek hierarchical notions of the "femininity" of subordinates or the "masculinity" of the socially autonomous. As a consequence, the femininity of the φίλτρα wielding practitioner

<sup>520</sup> There are many types of φίλτρα magic. See Faraone, 1999, pp.96-131. For a discussion of love potions in particular, see Faraone, 1999, pp.110-119.

<sup>521</sup> For a summary and taxonomy of love magic, see Faraone, 1999, p.28.

<sup>522</sup> The classic example of this is Deianeira who thought that Heracles would withdraw his affection due to a relationship with another woman. For Deianeira, see II.4 p.130 n.517.

<sup>523</sup> For aggressive male magic, see Faraone, 1999, pp.41-95.

<sup>524</sup> Plut. *Luc.* XLIII.1-2.

<sup>525</sup> For the social construction of gender, see Faraone, 1999, pp.146-160.

<sup>526</sup> See Faraone, 1999, p.147 & n.57 *ad loc.* for the social construction of effeminate males and hierarchal notions in homoerotic relationships.

is constructed vertically and based on notions of hierarchy, with allowance given for males who are in submissive position.<sup>527</sup>

When the social construction of gender is applied to φίλτρα application as instructed by the EMP, it is possible to hypothesise that the male amateur practitioners of the *potion construction* ritual are socially inferior to the female target. This hypothesis conforms to that already stated previously in this thesis in regards to standing. The male amateur practitioner, in comparison to the female, is in an inferior position due to the sense of victimisation he feels through the infliction of the disease of passionate longing.<sup>528</sup> Therefore, as it is the male amateur practitioner who is suffering from this terrible disease, it is this man who has resorted to seeking the aid of the professional practitioner, a person who has the required knowledge to diagnose the condition and offer a remedy. In contrast, it is highly likely that the female target is oblivious of the attention from the amateur male practitioner and is thus in a superior position, holding the power to reject or accept the advances of the male. When considering the use of φίλτρα in literature and recorded court cases however, it is possible that the *potion construction* ritual was performed to strengthen an already existing relationship. Perhaps the amateur practitioner is attempting to rekindle a marriage in which he believes his wife's attention is drifting or it could be a young man who wishes to monopolise the time of a courtesan. Whether the *potion construction* ritual was performed for a woman oblivious of the amateur practitioner's attention or for the strengthening of an existing relationship, the power of the liquid would come into effect once it has been ingested by the target. It is for this reason that a vessel designed specifically for consumption is predominantly used chosen from the *container* paradigm. The tool from the *mixture* paradigm needed to find a way into the stomach of the female target.

### c) Mixture

From the information in Table II.4.b it can immediately be seen that half of the EMP which instruct the completion of the *potion construction* ritual do not specify what substances will be used to create the tool chosen from *mixture*. That said, three of the EMP which do not state the tool do specify that a ποτήριον should be used. As this drinking vessel was designed for wine, it is also possible to assume that tools in PGM VII.385-89, PGM

<sup>527</sup> Faraone, 1999, p.159.

<sup>528</sup> For reference to passion as a disease and erotic magic as a means to alleviate this torment, see I.4 pp.51-53.

VII.619-27, and PGM VII.643-51 could contain wine.<sup>529</sup> Such an assumption would be a fair assessment as wine is well known for its aphrodisiac qualities and its inclusion in erotic magic would be appropriate but without further evidence, it is inadvisable to speculate. A lack of specification aside, there are 12 substances instructed, with botanical substances dominating the paradigm: beet, frankincense, lion-wasp, myrrh, olive branches, olive oil, scarab, spider web, unguent, vetch, and vinegar. When the tools are given in detail, they always consist of a combination. The tool created from combining scarab, unguent, and vetch in PGM VII.973-80 will be referred to as *mixture* combination 1 (MC1). The combination of lion-wasp and spider web in PGM XIII.1-343 will be referred to as *mixture* combination 2 (MC2) and the combination in PGM XXXVI.134-60 of myrrh, frankincense, and vinegar will be referred to as *mixture* combination 3 (MC3). The final combination in PGM LXI.1-38 of olive oil, beet, and olive branches (including leaves) will be referred to as *mixture* combination 4 (MC4).

Table II.4.b: Tools in the *mixture* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
MC1	VII.973-80	974-976	Attraction
MC2	XIII.1-343	319-320	Charm
MC3	XXXVI.134-60	134-135	Attraction
MC4	LXI.1-38	1-5	Attraction
Unknown	VII.385-89	n/a	Charm
	VII.619-27	n/a	Charm
	VII.643-51	n/a	Charm
	VII.969-72	n/a	Charm

To begin an analysis of the tools in the *mixture* paradigm, it is prudent to initially consider the combination MC1 as it is the most difficult to create, requiring the performance of the *fire manipulation* ritual. The instructions in PGM VII.973-80 begin by combining a beetle with an unguent. Although the inclusion of a scarab is relatively easy to understand

<sup>529</sup> The possibility that the tool chosen from the *mixture* paradigm in PGM VII.643-51 was wine is corroborated by that said in the accompanying *incantation* ritual, as will be discussed momentarily. Also see Winkler, 1991, p.223.

considering the use of the animal for fertility in Egyptian practices,<sup>530</sup> the nature of the unguent is left ambiguous. It is unclear what this substance specifically is but Preisendanz translates μύρον as myrrhenöl, myrrh oil. However, GMPT claims that Preisendanz's translation is too specific, but the use of myrrh would seem fitting considering the frequent instructions for its use throughout the EMP.<sup>531</sup> Once the scarab has been combined with unguent they are to be boiled, an act which would obviously require a heat source and thus the performance of the *fire manipulation* ritual. For a visual representation of the performance of the *fire manipulation* ritual in the *potion construction* ritual of PGM VII.973-80, see Figure II.4.b. Along the horizontal axis can be seen the sequential nature of the *potion construction* ritual, above which are the paradigms *container* and *mixture*. A glass cup is used from the *container* paradigm and from the *mixture* paradigm can be seen the tool MC1, which requires the completion of the *fire manipulation* ritual. It is at this point that the *fire manipulation* ritual requires the application of tools from the *flame* (unknown) and *burnt substance* (BSC6) paradigms.<sup>532</sup> Once this is completed the resulting liquid is then to be combined with vetch, κατανάγκη, before being placed into a glass cup. As discussed previously, the Greek word κατανάγκη does not necessarily mean a plant of the *Fabaceae* or *Leguminosae* and it could refer to a “means of restraint” or “force.”<sup>533</sup> That said, the inclusion of βοτάνης in PGM VII.973-80 may imply that κατανάγκη refers to a “forceful plant” and the use of this substance in erotic magic would not be out of place. Not only is this due to the forceful nature of the plant but it is also reported by Dioscorides that κατανάγκη were a common substance applied in φίλτρα by Thessalian women, i.e. magicians.<sup>534</sup>

<sup>530</sup> For the Egyptian heritage of scarab use for fertility, see Hölbl, 1986, pp.198, 201-202. Scarabs were also used for the protection of small children and, according to Pliny (*HN* XXX.xlvii.138), they wore the horns of real scarabs as amulets.

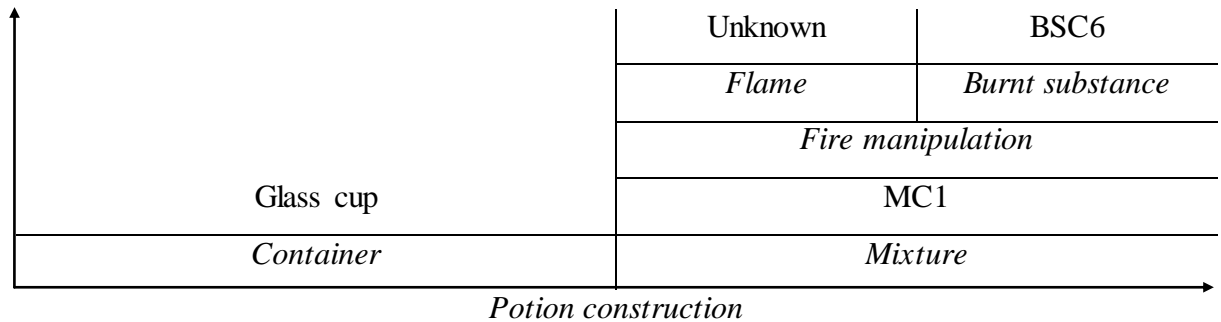
<sup>531</sup> See n.153 *ad loc.* in GMPT. For the mass application of myrrh in the EMP, see II.1 p.58 & n.244.

<sup>532</sup> For the unknown tool and BSC6, see II.2 p.92.

<sup>533</sup> For the ambiguous nature of κατανάγκη, see II.3 pp.105.

<sup>534</sup> Dioscorides *Mat. Med.* IV.131.

Figure II.4.b: A visual representation of the *fire manipulation* ritual required for the creation of MC1



As with other combinations discussed throughout this study, the power of a combination lay less in each individual substance used to create it but in the accumulated effect of the tool. For example, see the charm found at ll.319-320 of PGM XIII.1-343, in which the EMP instruct that a lion-wasp and a spider's web are to be ground together and sprinkled onto a φίλτρον πότιμον. To look at each substance in PGM XIII.1-343 in isolation is confusing as the Greek word for lion-wasp, *σφηκαλέων*, is unclear and it is not immediately apparent what this animal is.<sup>535</sup> However, the identity of *σφηκαλέων* is not as important as the perception of the tool MC2. The symbolic imagery of an ensnared animal within a web is relatively self-explanatory: the amateur practitioner, via an application of symbolism and sympathetic magic, would want the target to become as ensnared in his web of love as the lion-wasp was in PGM XIII.1-343.<sup>536</sup> This principle is at play with all combinations, as can be seen when looking at the use of MC3 in PGM XXXVI.134-60. In this EMP we can see that two out of the three substances are used due to a perceived symbolic and indexical connection to the divine. The first substance, myrrh, is symbolically and indexically connected to the liminal Hermes.<sup>537</sup> As a consequence, the liminal qualities of Hermes would be symbolically and indexically represented in MC3. To this combination is added frankincense, an aromatic resin and the incense *par excellence*, which is symbolically and indexically connected to the divine.<sup>538</sup> The final substance

<sup>535</sup> Lion-wasp is the translation given by the GMPT (and Preisendanz: löwenwespen) for *σφηκαλέων*. This is a term unattested elsewhere. This translation has been applied for this thesis as it is clear that whatever a *σφηκαλέων* is, it is an insect of some kind as it has become ensnared by the web of a spider.

<sup>536</sup> However, see n.72 *ad loc* in GMPT where it states that death could be the intended outcome.

<sup>537</sup> For the connection between myrrh and Hermes, see II.1 pp.58-59.

<sup>538</sup> For the symbolic and indexical connection between the divine and botanical substances, see II.1 pp.58-60 and II.2. pp.95-97.

added to MC3 is vinegar, a means of flavouring which was common throughout the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>539</sup> Thus what can be seen when studying MC3 is a combination which has symbolic and indexical connections to the divine and would be palpable to the demons with whom the amateur practitioner is trying to adjure.<sup>540</sup>

The final tool chosen from the *mixture* paradigm, MC4, is instructed for application by the only EMP that does not give reference to consumption. As with the other EMP under discussion in this chapter, PGM LXI.1-38, named a φίλτρον ἐπαινετὸν, is a relatively simple spell to perform but the rationale for the application of MC4 is centred on altogether different reasons than those seen with alternative tools. The amateur practitioner is instructed to take pure olive oil, beet, olive branches, and seven leaves (assumedly) from an olive plant. These are to be ground together and added to olive oil before being placed into a jar. It is possible that more substances were intended to be added to MC4 due to the fragmentation with the initial line but the main substance of the combination, olive, is evident. The importance of olive becomes apparent via an analysis of the *incantation* ritual which is to be performed whilst facing the moon on a rooftop. The spell refers to the olive oil as ἰδρῶς τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, ἡ μύξα τῆς Ἴσιδος, τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα τοῦ Ἡλίου, ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Οὐσίριος, ἡ χάρις τῶν θεῶν. The olive oil is olive oil and yet it is not: it is the sweat of the Good Daimon, the mucus of Isis, the utterance of Helios, the power of Osiris, and the favour of the gods. Here is evidence that the power of botanical substances (a power bestowed on them by the divine)<sup>541</sup> was allowed to flourish in the PGM. The oil is released against the target to cause her to swoon and it is to become a fire beneath the target until she succumbs to the power of the spell.<sup>542</sup>

The olive in PGM LXI.1-38 is portrayed as a personified agent of the amateur practitioner that can act out the attraction of the target. This personification is mirrored in PGM VII.643-51, in which the incantation recited over the ποτήριον reveals the belief that a botanical substance could be symbolically perceived as aspects of the divine: *κὺ εἶ οἶνος, οὐκ εἶ οἶνος, ἀλλ' ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. κὺ εἶ οἶνος, οὐκ εἶ οἶνος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλάγχνα τοῦ Ὀσίρεως, τὰ πλάγχνα τοῦ Ἰάω, Πακερβηθ: Σεμεσιλάμ ωωω η παταχνα ιααα.* The tool

<sup>539</sup> Vinegar is ordinarily produced by fermenting wine. Various qualities existed, with Alexandrian vinegar being prized. Cf. Plin. *HN* XIV.xix.102-103. By the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, vinegar was relatively cheap (Edict. Diocletiani III.5) and it was used in many dishes for its sweet-and-sour taste (e.g. Apicius VII.i.1).

<sup>540</sup> For the adjuration of demons via the combination of the *deposition* and *potion construction* rituals in PGM XXXVI.134-60, see II.3 p.117 & n.478.

<sup>541</sup> For the perceived divine nature of a botanical substance, see II.1 pp.58-60 and II.2. pp.95-97.

<sup>542</sup> Note here the use of aggressive fire imagery in language. For the use of this language, see II.2 p.83 & n.338.



chosen from the *mixture* paradigm in PGM VII.643-51, as with PGM LXI.1-38, is to be the vehicle for something else. That is to say, it is wine and yet it is not: it is also the head of Athena, the guts of Osiris, and the guts of various personified *voces magicae*. The wine becomes a tool which can convey these properties to the recipient.<sup>543</sup> The botanical substances in PGM VII.643-51 and PGM LXI.1-38 have been personified in a dramatic manner and a power has been attributed which allows the substance to torment the victim. In this sense, it is the tool used in PGM VII.643-51 and PGM LXI.1-38 which will act as an agent of the amateur practitioner.<sup>544</sup>

#### d) Summary

The *potion construction* ritual requires the application of tools from two paradigms: *container* and *mixture*. When assessing the EMP that give instructions for the performance of the *potion construction* ritual, the evidence can be represented visually in Figure II.4.c. It is immediately obvious when studying the *potion construction* ritual however, that there is a distinct lack of information provided for both the *container* and *mixture* paradigms. That said, every *potion construction* ritual that is instructed by the EMP must be a combination of the paradigms in Figure II.4.c. This can be argued as the EMP which do not specify the tools to be used from the *container* paradigm must have included a vessel into which the tool from the *mixture* paradigm was placed. Likewise, EMP which do not specify the tool from the *mixture* paradigm appear to have included one due to the references of consumption by the target.

It is with consumption that a study of the *potion construction* ritual must focus as the dominant role of the ritual is centred on the creation of a liquid which is ingested by the target. In this respect, the *potion construction* ritual is performed for the creation of a love potion, a practice which is perceived (seen via literary representations and court records) as a feminine form of magic. Love potions were applied to strengthen the bonds of an already existing relationship in the hope that the attention of the male did not wander. The inclusion of feminine magical practices in these EMP, as they were intended for a predominantly male audience, seems ill-suited but if consideration is given to the socially

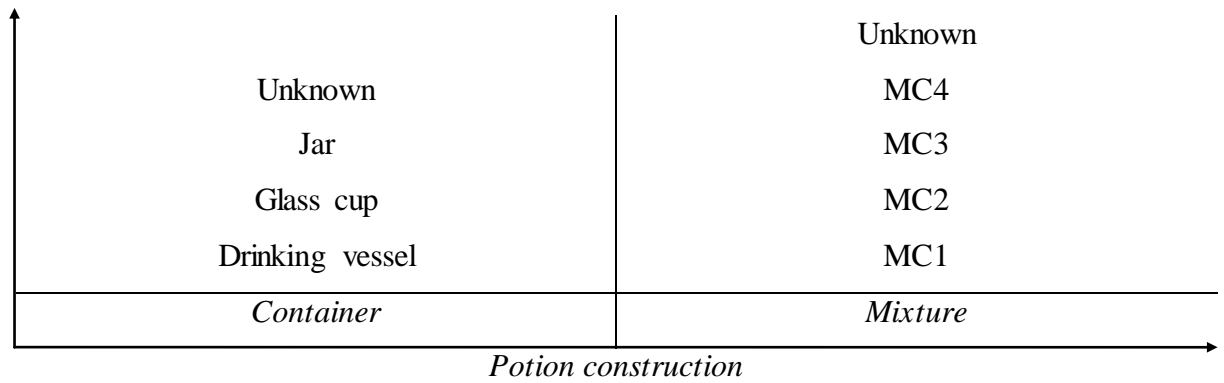
---

<sup>543</sup> Moke, 1982, p.302.

<sup>544</sup> See also the use of myrrh in PGM IV.1496-1595, in which it is described as bitter, difficult, an eater of flesh, an inflamer of the heart, and a reconciler of combatants. PGM XXXVI.333-60 proclaims myrrh as one who serves at the side of the gods. It is seen as a compelling force strong enough to consume the godless Typhon with fire and it is ally, protector and guide to the gods. For further information on PGM IV.1496-1595 and PGM XXXVI.333-60, see II.2.

constructed nature of gender, some light can be shed on the situation. To be viewed by society as female did not mean that a person's sex was female and perception was flexible enough to include males who inhabited a socially submissive position. In this respect, the male amateur practitioners of the *potion construction* ritual could be seen as socially inferior to the female target. Indeed, it is the male who has invested time and effort in first approaching a professional practitioner and then performing erotic magic due to his burning sense of passion and victimisation. In contrast to the male, the female target could have remained relatively unaware and could possibly have participated in her day-to-day activities as usual.

Figure II.4.c: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of *potion construction*



## 5. Figurine Construction

### a) Introduction

The *figurine construction* ritual is required for the creation of small scale statuettes and it is instructed by five EMP, all of which are spells of attraction. The *figurine construction* ritual may be one of the least instructed by the EMP but it is also one of the most complex, as can be seen by the inclusion of four paradigms: *construction*, *form*, *adornment*, and *insertion*. The *figurine construction* ritual is visually represented in Figure II.5.a. The sequential nature of the ritual is represented on the syntagmatic axis. This is joined by the vertical axis, which represents the paradigms, from which only one tool can be chosen (X, Y, and Z). The arrangement of the *figurine construction* ritual is not as rigid as the rituals which have already been discussed however, and although a tool must always be chosen initially from the *construction* and *form* paradigms, the *insertion* and *adornment* paradigms can be switched. That said, this chapter will follow the structure laid out here, as it follows the majority of the instructions for the *figurine construction* rituals.

Figure II.5.a: The *figurine construction* ritual

Z	Z	Z	Z
Y	Y	Y	Y
X	X	X	X
<i>Construction</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Insertion</i>	<i>Adornment</i>

*Figurine Construction*

The initial section will look at the tools used from the *construction* paradigm and argue that a study of their modal connections established a link between application and the objective of the spell. It is with the *form* paradigm however, that the rationale for the *figurine construction* ritual comes to the fore. That is to say, the tools chosen from the *form* paradigm are generally used to represent an agent that will help with the successful completion of the spell. An analysis of the *insertion* paradigm, which requires the placing of a tool into the interior of a figurine, will follow. It is with a study of the tools chosen from the *insertion* paradigm that the complexity of the *figurine construction* ritual is exacerbated as it requires, at times, the incorporation of multiple alternative rituals. It would be impossible to complete the *figurine construction* ritual in PGM IV.296-466,

PGM IV.1716-1870, and PGM VII.862-918 without enacting *incantation* and/or an *ointment* ritual. Therefore, it will be important in a discussion of the *insertion* paradigms to understand how alternative rituals can be incorporated into the *figurine construction* ritual. The final subsection will look at the *adornment* paradigm and will highlight again the ability of erotic magic to fuse multiple rituals. A discussion of the *adornment* paradigm must also consider the application of οὐσία, magical material, the main tool used from this paradigm that does not require the performance of an alternative ritual. The principal aim of this chapter is to argue that the complex *figurine construction* ritual is generally designed to create and employ an agent that will help facilitate the attraction of a target.

#### b) Construction

The tools chosen from the *construction* paradigm are used to construct the actual body of a figurine. Nine substances are instructed for the creation of a tool: clay, dough, fruit (of the chaste-tree), goat's blood, manna, pitch, sulphur, wax, and wood. Due to the use of combinations (which use seven of the nine above substances) in the *construction* paradigm, there are only six tools (see Table II.5.a). As with tools which are used in alternative ritual actions, a combination allowed the fusing of properties from various substances into one tool. The use of wax, fruit, manna, and pitch for the construction of a dog figurine in PGM IV.1872-1927 will be referred to as *construction* combination 1 (CC1) and the use of clay, sulphur, and goat's blood for the construction of a Selene Figurine in PGM VII.862-918 will be referred to as *construction* combination 2 (CC2).

Table II.5.a: Tools in the *construction* paradigm

<b>Tool</b>	<b>EMP</b>	<b>Line(s)</b>	<b>Category</b>
CC1	IV.1872-1927	1877-1881	Attraction
CC2	VII.862-918	866-868	Attraction
Clay	IV.296-466	296-297	Binding
Dough	IV.2943-66	2945	Attraction
Wax	IV.296-466	296	Binding
	IV.2943-66	2945	Attraction
Wood	IV.1716-1870	1841-1842	Attraction

As wax is the dominant substance used in the creation of a tool in the *construction* paradigm, this section will focus initially on this versatile substance.<sup>545</sup> Wax, a degradable substance and one little referenced amongst the extant source material,<sup>546</sup> is used for the female and Ares figurines in PGM IV.296-466, the dog figurine in PGM IV.2943-66,<sup>547</sup> and it is used in CC1 for another dog figurine. It was obviously a popular choice and when one considers why this would be, the mind automatically turns to the malleability of the substance which ensured it would be relatively easy to mould the form of a figurine.<sup>548</sup> Wax was also a common and easily accessed substance in the Graeco-Roman world and it was used for the construction of a variety of items, including the images of household gods.<sup>549</sup> An argument based on malleability and availability however, does not take into consideration the perception of wax. As instructions appear regularly both in the EMP and in the PGM for the creation of a figurine from the substance, there was clearly something distinctive about wax which made it highly desirable. Rationale could rely on the type of wax used but (despite specification throughout the PGM)<sup>550</sup> the EMP are relatively quiet on the issue.<sup>551</sup> As a result, the desirability of wax to the composers of the EMP cannot be accredited to any specification of colour or place of origin but, rather, in the symbolic and

<sup>545</sup> Only the Eros figurine (wood) in PGM IV.1716-1870 and the Selene figurine (CC2) in PGM VII.862-918 are not made from this substance. The dominance of wax in the *construction* paradigm is in keeping with its dominant position for the construction of figurines throughout the PGM. For wax figurines in the PGM, not including the EMP, see PGM IV.2359-72, 2373-2440, 3125-71; XII.14-95; XIII.1-343; CXXIV.1-43.

<sup>546</sup> For extant wax figurines, see VD 28-29, 31; SGD 152-153, 155. On the whole, only figurines made from durable substances have survived, with lead (VD 1-7, 12, 15-16, 18, 21, 23-26a, 32, 34) and bronze (VD 8-11, 13-14, 17, 19, 33) being the most widespread. All but two of the examples throughout the PGM instruct the use of highly perishable substances for creation of a figurine. The gothic figurine in PGM XCIV.22-26 is made from an unspecified material. The statuette in PGM CXXIIIa-f is constructed from marble. There are no references in the EMP (and the PGM) to the construction of a figurine from harder substances (e.g. lead) and, consequently, the instructions in the EMP do not correspond with that seen amongst the extant evidence.

<sup>547</sup> PGM IV.2943-66 instructs the use of either wax or dough. It is unclear what exactly the dough in PGM IV.2943-66 would consist of. The Greek used in the EMP is *κράτιον*, a word with reference only in the PGM (LSJ s.v.), but it could easily be a bread-like dough made from flour and water. Flour (*σείδαλις*) is not without precedent in the PGM. In the extensive ceremony described in PGM XIII.1-343 for example, which depicts how a practitioner was initiated via a ritual of consecration, three figurines use flour for construction. One of the figurines has the face of a bull, one has the face of a goat, and the final figurine has the face of a ram. They are all to be eaten.

<sup>548</sup> The malleability of wax also allowed easy manipulation of a figurine, as can be seen by the ancient sources. See Theoc. *Id.* II.28-29; Hor. *Sat.* I.viii.30-33, 43-44; Verg. *Ecl.* VIII.64-109; Ov. *Her.* VI.91, *Am.* III.vii.27-30. In only one spell (PGM IV.296-466) however, do the EMP specify that a figurine should be manipulated in a similar manner to that seen in literature.

<sup>549</sup> Household gods: Juv. XII.87. For other references to the mass use of wax in the construction of items, see Plin. *Ep.* VII.ix.11; Petron. LXIX.9; Hor. *Epist.* II.i.264-65; Ov. *Met.* X.285; Juv. VII.237; Cass. Dio LVI.34. For the cheapness of wax, see Colum. I.xvi.1.

<sup>550</sup> PGM IV.2359-72: orange wax; PGM IV.2373-2440: was that has not been heated; PGM IV.3125-71: Etruscan wax; PGM XII.14-95: Etrurian wax; PGM XIII.1-343: red wax; PGM CXXIV.1-43: unsmoked beeswax.

<sup>551</sup> The EMP do instruct the use of *κηρὸν ἄπυρον* in PGM IV.2943-66 but generally we are only ever informed that wax should be used.

indexical connections as revealed through a study of the substance's nature and its creation. To focus initially on the nature of wax, the stickiness of the substance would help symbolically to associate the figurine with attraction. Indeed, many of the substances that are in the *construction* paradigm (blood, clay, dough) are sticky and this would have helped with erotic magic which was heavily reliant on attraction. In regards to creation, the wax that is instructed for application by the EMP is always κηρός, bees-wax, and due to the connection between the bee and wax, the latter could share the same symbolic and indexical properties of the former. Therefore, to understand the use of wax in the *construction* paradigm, it is prudent to consider the bee, an insect believed to be exemplary and which had a number of associations with harmony, diligence, and purity.<sup>552</sup> As a consequence of the perception of the bee, wax could be seen as a pure and harmonious substance due to the transmission of characteristics from this commendable insect to the wax. The pure nature of wax, when used for a tool in the *construction* paradigm, would heighten the perceived power of the tool. The purity of wax is further strengthened by the process needed to create it: the honeycombs of bees were melted, bleached by boiling in sea water, and finally left in the air to dry.<sup>553</sup> The use of water and fire in this process would have contributed to the purity of wax as both were known for their purificatory qualities.<sup>554</sup> By the process of creation, from the bee to being left out to air by man, wax was instilled with purity and the resulting figurine constructed from it would have a greater level of purity.

The pure nature of wax is combined in CC1 with fruit, manna, and pitch to create a dog figurine. An assessment of CC1, as with tools in alternative ritual actions, relies on the principles present with combinations that allowed a fusing of the symbolic, indexical, or iconic properties of each substance into one tool.<sup>555</sup> As a consequence, the power of a combination is enhanced far beyond that of its individual constituent parts. For example,

<sup>552</sup> For the association between bees and the divine, see, for example, Ar. *Ran.* 1273; Pind. *Pyth.* IV.60). Bees were harmonious and believed to live in a constitutional society (e.g. Varro *Rust.* III.xvi.7-9; Plin. *HN* XI.iv-xii), in which they shared tasks (e.g. Varro *Rust.* III.xvi.4; Plin. *HN* XI.iv.11).

<sup>553</sup> Plin. *HN* XXI.xlix.

<sup>554</sup> For the purity of fire, see II.2 pp.85-90. For the purifying powers of salt water, see Parker, 1983, pp.226-227. PGM IV.154-285 tells us that sea water is used to adjure chthonic gods and it is possible that the bee had a number of associations with the underworld and the dead. Bees were seen to take up residence in caves (Hom. *Il.* II.87) and the carcasses of dead humans (Hdt. V.114) and animals (Verg. *G.* IV.549-558). The vast horde of the dead were visualised as a swarm of bees. This association can be dated as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC with Aeschylus' *Psuchagogoi* (F273a *TrGF*). In this fragment Odysseus refers to the ghosts he is to summon as a swarm (ἔσμός) of night-wanderers (νυκτιπόλοι). A Sophoclean fragment (F879 *TrGF*) also refers to the swarm (σμήνος) of the dead that buzzes. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI.706-709; Sen. *Oed.* 598-607.

<sup>555</sup> In particular, see the use of combinations in the *fire manipulation* ritual and the discussion at II.2.c.

when the liminal power of clay from a potter's wheel<sup>556</sup> is combined with sulphur and blood in CC2, it is combined with two substances which are symbolically and indexically associated with purification.<sup>557</sup> The resulting tool becomes a very powerful combination which would allow the creation of a pure figurine infused with the creative potential of liminality. The logic seen with CC2 can also be applied to CC1 but to understand all the factors at work it is important to study each substance individually to see exactly what they can bring to the power of the tool. The purity brought into CC1 by wax is combined with a chthonic element via the inclusion of pitch, a black resin obtained from various conifers.<sup>558</sup> The inclusion of pitch would have undoubtedly given the figurine a black hue (it is because of this substance that we have the phrase 'pitch black,' a phrase attested to as early as Homer).<sup>559</sup> The colour black was perceived as chthonic due to its connection with the dead, death, and the land of the dead,<sup>560</sup> and as a consequence of its symbolic and indexical connections with the chthonic, the colour occupies a principal role in magic.<sup>561</sup>

Included with pitch and wax in CC1 is manna, represented by μάγνη in the EMP. It is unclear what exactly the EMP imply when stating μάγνη (unattested in LSJ) but it may possibly be a reference to μέλι, a sweet gum collected from the μελία (the manna-ash, *Fraxinus ornus*) tree which was sacred to Zeus.<sup>562</sup> The manna (μέλι) of the manna-ash and

<sup>556</sup> The figurines in PGM IV.296-466 and PGM VII.862-918 can also be created from clay. In both the clay is instructed to be from a potter's wheel and as a result should be formless and malleable. As it is neither in one state nor in another it can be perceived as a liminal substance. Consequently, the material is ideal for a ritual that relies on the creative potential of liminality. For the creative potential of liminality, see van Gennepe, 1960.

<sup>557</sup> For the purity of blood, see II.6 p.175-176. For the purity of sulphur, see II.2 p.97 n.409. It is significant that goat's blood in particular is used for the creation of CC1. Goats had been sacrificed since the Classical period (e.g. in the cult of Apollo, as seen by Paus. II.xxvi.9) but it was with Aphrodite, who is sometimes represented riding a goat (Paus. VI.xxv.1), that the animal shared symbolic connections. Aphrodite shares with the goat dangerous, uncontrollable desire, ἀφροδισιαστικός (Gal. *De temperamentis* I.624.10).

<sup>558</sup> Theophrastus (*Hist. pl.* III.ix.2), when speaking of fir trees, specifically mentions the Idean kind (Corsican pine). He reports that the tree is full of pitch and that its pitch is blacker, sweeter, thinner, and more fragrant when it is fresh.

<sup>559</sup> Hom. *Il.* IV.277: μελάντερον ἤ ὕτε πίσσα.

<sup>560</sup> Black ghosts and spirits: Lucian *Philops.* 16, 31; Phlegon, *Mir.* II.5-6; Paus. IV.xiii, VI.vi.11. The living dressing as the dead: Lucian *Philops.* 32. The buildings of the underworld: Apul. *Met.* VI.19. The act of death described as black: Hom. *Il.* III.360. Death as black: Hippoc. *Morb. sacr.* II.20; Eur. *Alc.* 843-844; *Hec.* 704-705. Mourning: Eur. *Hel.* 1088; Plut. *Per.* XXXVIII.4; Apul. *Met.* II.23, 27. Also see Aeschines' anger (*In Ctes.* 77) that the accused dared to wear white when in mourning. Nevertheless, the evidence for the colour of the dead is inconsistent and there are numerous occasions when a ghost could appear as white. The dead appearing white or pallid: Stat. *Theb.* II.98, IV.510, 519; Lucian *Menippus* 21; Hdt. VIII.27. The dead robed in white: Hom. *Il.* XVIII.353; Paus. IV.xiii; Apul. *Met.* II.24. Cf. Artem. II.3. For a discussion of the appearance of ghosts, see Winkler, 1980; Felton, 1999, pp.14-18; Johnston, 1999, p.6; Ogden, 2009, pp.50-51.

<sup>561</sup> Tupet, 1976, pp.47-48. For the slaying of black animals in the PGM, see II.6 p.167.

<sup>562</sup> When Zeus was an infant he was fed manna, as well as the milk of Amaltheia, by the Nymphai Meliaia, the Nymphs of the manna ash-tree. Callim. *Hymn 1* 42-44; Verg. *G.* IV.149-151.

the honey (μέλι) of bees were believed to be closely related and both were regarded as ambrosial food from heaven.<sup>563</sup> If μάννη is a reference to μελία then the figurine of the dog is imbued with a supernatural substance with divine origins. The final substance in CC1 is fruit from the chaste-tree, άγνος or λύγος, a powerful plant that can cure many genital ailments in men and women and can paradoxically be an aphrodisiac (to men) and an antaphrodisiac (to women).<sup>564</sup> At first glance, the role of the chaste-tree as both an antaphrodisiac and an aphrodisiac is a perplexing characteristic for a substance used in an erotic spell. The substance's name points to its associations with chastity (similar to άγνός, pure, chaste, holy) and its role as an antaphrodisiac was utilised by the Athenian women during the Thesmophoria, a period when the strictest abstinence was observed.<sup>565</sup> The answer to this paradox can be found however, by understanding what kind of women used the chaste-tree at the Thesmophoria. These women were not virginal but matrons, women who had been married and were thus sexually active. Here is a substance which is symbolically associated with abstinence but it could also be symbolically associated with marital chastity, an association strengthened by the symbolic and indexical connections between the plant and Hera, the matronly goddess of women, marriage, and marital chastity.<sup>566</sup> Hera and those who partook in the Thesmophoria were not virginal per se but could be chaste as they only had sexual intercourse with one man, their husbands, and abstained from unlawful sexual acts. This is not an argument for the performance of erotic magic to facilitate marriage but it would seem logical to suggest that one aim was to ensure that the target would only have sexual intercourse with one partner: the amateur practitioner.

In contrast to that discussed thus far, the use of wood for the creation of the Eros figurine in PGM IV.1716-1870 refers to the ancient practice of constructing ζόανα (from

<sup>563</sup> The tree sprung from the blood of heaven, and its manna was often described as the sky-fallen juice of the stars. Cf. Verg. *G.* IV.1-3. In the bible (*Ex.* XVI.14-21, 31; *Num.* XI.7-9) manna is the edible substance that God provided for the Israelites whilst they were in the desert.

<sup>564</sup> For a detailed discussion of the chaste-tree and its properties, see von Staden, 1993. For reference to the chaste-tree, see Theophr. *Hist. pl.* I.iii.2, I.xiv.2, III.xii.1, III.xii.2, IV.x.2, IX.v.1. The close association between the chaste-tree and healing is portrayed by Pausanias (III.xiv.7) who describes a Spartan statue of Asclepius carved from its wood.

<sup>565</sup> For the use of the chaste-tree at the Thesmophoria, see Plin. *HN* XXIV.xxxviii. For the Thesmophoria, see Parke, 1977, pp.82-88, 158-160; Simon, 1983, pp.18-22; Burkert, 1985, pp.242-246; Winkler, 1990, pp.193-202.

<sup>566</sup> Hera was born under the chaste-tree (Paus. VII.ix.4) and it was due to the connection between the two that it was used in the Samian Hera cult. Cf. von Staden, 1993, pp.49-50.



ξέω, to scrape), cultic statues made in the image of the gods.<sup>567</sup> The relevance of using wood for the construction of divine figurines would not have been lost to the professional practitioner. The divine image of Eros in PGM IV.1716-1870 is created via ancient and sacred methods. As with alternative substances used for the construction of a figurine (e.g. wax), wood was practical as, although not being malleable, it could easily be shaped through carving. However, from references in the ancient source material to ξόανα, the wood used for their construction ordinarily came from cedars, cypresses, or trees from the genus *Diospyros*.<sup>568</sup> The dominance of these alternative types of wood raises the question: why is mulberry wood specified in PGM IV.1716-1870 if the practitioner was constructing a ξόανον? The dark fruit from the mulberry tree was known for its medicinal properties and it was used as treatment for, amongst other things, excessive bleeding, scorpion stings, snake bites, corroding sores, phlegm on the chest and for toothache.<sup>569</sup> It is unlikely however, that connections between the mulberry tree and medicine were actively sought when PGM IV.1716-1817 was composed. Rather, it is possible to draw a symbolic connection between the tree and the doomed lovers Pyramos and Thisbe from the Mesopotamian city of Babylon, as told by Ovid.<sup>570</sup> The lovers were forbidden from seeing each other by their parents and met in secret outside of the city beneath a mulberry tree with white berries. On one tryst, Pyramos arrived and saw Thisbe's shawl in the mouth of a lion and, believing her dead, committed suicide. On seeing the body of Pyramos, Thisbe joined her lover in death. The mulberry tree soaked up the blood of the pair and forevermore they were transformed from white to black-red. It would seem fitting in erotic magic to use a substance that is symbolically connected to a love as strong as Pyramos and Thisbe's.

### c) Form

The tools in the *form* paradigm are the images which are represented by the figurine (be it a mortal, animal, or god). There are five tools instructed for application from the *form* paradigm by the EMP: Ares, a dog (twice), Eros, a female, and Selene (see Table II.5.b).

<sup>567</sup> See Herrmann, 1975; Papadopoulos, 1980; Donohue, 1988; Bouzek, 2000. Unfortunately, none of the ξόανα have survived and all information comes from literary sources, primarily Pausanias. For testimonia, see Donohue, 1988, pp.237-476.

<sup>568</sup> Cedars: Paus. IX.x.2; cypresses: Xen. *An.* V.iii.12; ebony: Paus. VIII.liii.11. Compare the use of ebony here with Apuleius' statue (see II.3 pp.123), the possession of which was used against him.

<sup>569</sup> Dioscorides *Mat. Med.* I.126; Plin. *HN.* XXIII.lxxi.137-140.

<sup>570</sup> For the tale of Pyramos and Thisbe, see Ov. *Met.* IV.55-166. For reference to the mulberry tree, see Ov. *Met.* IV.90, 127.

Each one is an iconic sign of the object that they are designed to represent and this connection allowed a direct and instantaneous translation between that being perceived and that which was meant to be perceived. That is to say, those perceiving the figurines created via the performance of the *figurine construction* rituals, believed that there was no difference between a figurine and the object it was meant to represent because of its form. This principle is expressed in the biography of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus, who reports that the magicians, who Philostratus states are the most unfortunate of mankind, believed they could change fate by torturing the statues of gods.<sup>571</sup> This could be achieved as the statues were perceived to be identical with the deities and thus they would feel the pain inflicted and do almost anything asked of them by the magician. The direct translation of an iconic nature of a figurine is not the preserve of magic however, and it can be seen elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>572</sup> The wingless Nike in Athens, for instance, would secure the presence of victory for the city as the goddess, iconically represented by the statue, was unable to leave.<sup>573</sup> In a similar manner, a representation of Tyche was bound with gold to a cross in Constantinople to secure wealth and prosperity for the city.<sup>574</sup> In this respect, the figurines of the divine instructed by the PGM, simply by being carved in their image, were perceived to be the gods.<sup>575</sup> The belief that the image of the figurine, acting as an iconic sign, equated directly to that being represented is essential for understanding how a figurine was thought to function. As will be discussed below, a figurine was generally to act as an agent and to actively assist the practitioner in completing the spell at hand.

The importance of iconicity is contradicted however, by extant magical figurines that reveal varying degrees of artistic representation.<sup>576</sup> Representation ranges from the

<sup>571</sup> Philostr. VA V.12.

<sup>572</sup> For some choice examples, see Collins, 2003, pp.39-42. The intent of Collins is to prove the social agency of figurines both magical and otherwise, an aim in keeping with this chapter. For a discussion of the perception of statues in the ancient world, see Gordon, 1979, esp. p.11 & n.26; Collins, 2008, pp.18-19.

<sup>573</sup> Nike at Athens: Paus. III.xv.7. Pausanias also describes the Spartan custom of keeping Enyalios bound in fetters. Cf. Petrovic, "Desmophobia," p.18-22.

<sup>574</sup> *Patria Konstantioupoleos* (Preger, ed. p.166). For the problems related to this text, see Petrovic, "Desmophobia," p.11 n.50 & p.20 n.84.

<sup>575</sup> For figurines of the divine in the PGM, see PGM III.282-409; XIII.1-343, 646-734 (Apollo); PGM IV.296-466 (Ares); PGM IV.1716-1870; XII.14-95 (Eros); PGM IV.2359-72; V.370-446 (Hermes); PGM VII.862-918 (Selene).

<sup>576</sup> Figurines have been discovered throughout the Mediterranean basin and the Black Sea region. The most comprehensive survey of surviving figurines is still VD, which catalogues 36 separate finds. The years since VD have seen very little activity. Two inscribed lead figurines (SEG LVII 94/94), dated ca. 430 BC, were found with nine inscribed lead curse tablets that are folded and pierced with an iron nail. A fragment of a lid from a lead box (SEG LVII 671), dated ca. 400-350 BC, was believed to contain a figurine. For recent

relatively accurate portrayal of a woman by the Louvre figurine<sup>577</sup> to those in the Tell Sandahannah find, which only hold a general resemblance to the human form.<sup>578</sup> This variation perhaps suggests that accurate portrayal did not matter. For example, the identity and gender of a flat lead figurine found in Euboea (a binding spell with unknown objective), is indicated solely by the name Isias inscribed upon it.<sup>579</sup> Fluctuating degrees of accuracy is logical, as a degree of artistic skill would be required to create an accurate representation and such a level of artistic competence would depend on the individual creating the shape of a figurine (be they an amateur or professional). Furthermore, if it is assumed that the figurines were created in advance by a professional practitioner for an amateur client, such a professional would not be aware of the appearance of a future target.<sup>580</sup> Thus, how was a figurine deemed to be iconically powerful if it did not accurately portray the object it was meant to represent? If the shape of a figurine only holds a superficial resemblance to the object and not to a specific individual then where does its power lie? The answer lies not in the figurine itself but with the perceiver. To the eyes of the percipient there would have been no difference between the figurine as signifier and the object it represented as signified, despite possible dissimilarities between the two. Quite simply, accurate portrayal is not an issue and the perceiver, by believing an iconic figurine to be that represented, makes a figurine that represented.<sup>581</sup>

---

scholarship on figurines known prior to VD, see SEG XLIX 314-318, LI 327, LV 87. Of those in VD, only six finds (27-31) were constructed for erotic magic and all originate from Egypt. VD 27: an unbaked clay female figurine; VD 28: two wax figurines entwined in an embrace; VD 28a: two wax figurines entwined in an embrace; VD 29: two wax figurines, a male and female. The male has the head of a donkey and exaggerated genitals. The female is bound. VD 30: mud figurine tied to an erotic charm corresponding to PGM LXVIII; VD 31: broken wax figurine moulded around a rolled papyrus. Its navel is embedded with human hair.

<sup>577</sup> VD 27. For scholarship and further discussion, see I.4 p.30.

<sup>578</sup> For the Tell Sandahannah find, see VD 32. For scholarship and further discussion, see I.4 pp.40-41.

<sup>579</sup> For the Euboea figurine, see Robert, 1936, no.13; SGD 64; VD 15; Faraone, 1991, p.3; CT 19. For the dating of the Euboea Figurine to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, see Guarducci, 1978, pp.248-249. When a figurine is inscribed with a single name in the manner of the Euboea figurine, it is an obvious assumption that the doll is intended to represent the named person. For solitary names on figurines, see VD 5, 18, 20, 21. However, this relationship is lost in cases of dolls inscribed with more than one name. VD 16, for example, is inscribed with 10 names.

<sup>580</sup> For the creation of figurines as evidence for the professional, see I.4 pp.39-41.

<sup>581</sup> Graf (1997, p.139) claims how unimportant accuracy of the image is by arguing that there was no distinction between the image and the object represented so long as it bore some superficial resemblance to the identity of the target (i.e. legs, arms, etc.). Accuracy of imagery would have undoubtedly helped but Faraone (VD p.190) argues that the sympathetic action of the figurine was directed more so by accompanying ritual action. Cf. Tambiah, 1973, pp.218-227.

Table II.5.b: Tools in the *form* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Ares	IV.296-466	297-301	Binding
Dog	IV.1872-1927	1882-1883	Attraction
	IV.2943-66	2945-2946	Attraction
Eros	IV.1716-1870	1842-1846	Attraction
Female	IV.296-466	301-302	Binding
Selene	VII.862-918	868-868	Attraction

Once the image of the figurine was created via the application of a tool from the *construction* paradigm, it could be employed as a supernatural assistant or *πάρεδρος* (from the verb *πάρεδρεύω*, meaning to wait or attend upon) who would then assist with the attraction element of the spell.<sup>582</sup> This is the crux of the *figurine construction* ritual: a figurine is constructed to act as an agent complete with a premeditated mission.<sup>583</sup> The only exceptions to this rule are the Ares and female figurines in PGM IV.296-466, a unique spell in many ways as it includes instructions for the creation of two figurines, one of which is in the form of a mortal, and neither acts as an agent.<sup>584</sup> Despite PGM IV.296-466 being an exception in the EMP, the discovery of similar artefacts (e.g. the Louvre figurine) alludes to the widespread application of the process it describes.<sup>585</sup> The Ares figurine is to be made standing above the bound and kneeling female figurine, with his sword hovering over the right side of her neck.<sup>586</sup> Rather than agency, the figurines are

<sup>582</sup> *Πάρεδροι* appear regularly in the PGM and can be broken down, following the taxonomy of Ciruolo (1995, p.280), into four general categories: the divine, the celestial, the spiritual, and the material. For a discussion of these assistants, see Ciruolo, 1995; Scibilia, 2002; Pachoumi, 2011. Both Winkler (1991, p.226) and Collins (2008, pp.97-103) refer to Eros *πάρεδροι* figurines as *ἔρωτες*.

<sup>583</sup> This is in direct contrast to that seen in the ancient sources. Figurines in the ancient sources are generally constructed to be punished (e.g. pierced or burned). For example, see the incineration of a waxen figurine in Theoc. *Id.* II.28-29 (see I.3 p.26 n.111). Punishment rather than agency is also supported by deliberately damaged or bound extant artefacts (e.g. the Louvre figurine). The predominant reason for the application of figurines in the EMP (agency) remains largely unattested in the ancient sources. For an example of agency, see Lucian *Philops.* 13-15 and II.5 p.151 n.596.

<sup>584</sup> Amongst the extant figurines, it is rare for a pair to deviate from that described in PGM IV.296-466 and instead have the male and female embracing passionately. For an example of a male and female entwined in lovemaking, see I.3. p.40 n.162.

<sup>585</sup> For further information and a discussion of the Louvre figurine see I.4 p.40.

<sup>586</sup> Use of such imagery was recorded in literature by Horace (*Sat.* I.VIII.30-33) who wrote of Canidia and Sagana and the creation of two figurines, one wax and the other woollen. The woollen larger figurine was positioned so that it could restrain the smaller wax figurine, which was in a subjugated pose. There is agreement that the dominant woollen doll represents the female practitioner (Canidia), while the smaller, wax

intended to be an iconic representation of the intended outcome of the spell that is communicated to the agent. That is to say, the bound and subjugated pose of the female figurine is to be sympathetically replicated in the target who will have thoughts of the amateur practitioner, induced by the insertion of needles, on her mind.<sup>587</sup> The posture of the effigies used in PGM IV.296-466 is reminiscent of the application of effigies in public rituals, implying not only a tradition of such practices but also the widespread acceptance of the principles behind the *figurine construction* ritual. Of importance would be the instructions to the people of Syedra, a Greek city on the southern coast of Anatolia, from the oracle of Apollo at Claros. The oracle instructed that the city should set up an image of Ares bound in chains and supplicating to the goddess Dike (Justice), to guarantee the prevention of further attacks by pirates and brigands. The statue of Ares, representing the enemies of Syedra, is to be placed in a submissive position before the dominating figure of Dike, representing the Syedrans.<sup>588</sup> When comparing PGM IV.296-466 to the application of bound images on public display, it can be concluded that there is no agency involved with the *figurine construction* ritual in PGM IV.296-466 and instead the figurines are created to illustrate to the agent, the νεκύδαμον, what should happen. The agency of the νεκύδαμον is vividly described in the accompanying *incantation* ritual at ll.334-435 that is written and recited.<sup>589</sup> The target is to love only the amateur practitioner and to not have sexual intercourse with any other person. She is to be kept from eating and drinking, contentment, strength, piece of mind, and sleep. The νεκύδαμον, acting as an agent, is to

---

figurine depicts a male victim (Horace?). See Kuhnert, 1894, pp.44-45; Tupet, 1976, p.302; Faraone, 1989a, pp.298-299; *idem*, 1999, pp.51-52. The woollen material of the larger is revealing as Greeks associated female flesh with wool. See Hanson, 1990, p.317; Carson, 1990, p.154 n.39; Dean-Jones, 1994, p.55. See the discussion of Tupet (1976, pp.303-305) regarding the use of wool in apotropaic rites and the suggestion that the woollen image is intended to protect Canidia. Unfortunately there is not one reference in the PGM to the application of wool for the construction of a figurine. How this woollen figurine appeared and whether or not it was an accurate representation is open to conjecture but it is possible to assume that it will have been more like a doll than a figurine.

<sup>587</sup> The insertion of needles will be discussed in greater detail in II.5.d. For the communicative nature of figurines and the use of figurines as instructions for the intended outcome of a spell, see Jordan, 1988a, p.274.

<sup>588</sup> See Bean & Mitford, 1965, pp.21-23 no.26; Sokolowski, 1966; Robert, 1966, pp.91-100; Wiseman, 1973, pp.177-178; Maroti, 1968, pp.233-238; Petrovic, "Desmophobia," p.10 & n.37. Cf. Parke, 1985, pp.157-158; Faraone, 1989a, pp.296-297; *idem*, 1992, pp.75-76; de Souza, 1997, p.477; Faraone, 1999, p.51. For other instances of Ares bound in analogous imagery see VD pp.166-172; Faraone, 1992, pp.74-78. For other examples of gods being bound in both myth and cult, see Petrovic, "Desmophobia," tables I & II. See Ritner, 1993, pp.113-119, for the use of the bound prisoner motif in Egypt and the argument that the origins of the practice lay in Egypt.

<sup>589</sup> The agency of the νεκύδαμον is also supported by that seen with the final *incantation* ritual to be said whilst facing the sunset. At ll.435-436 the text reads that the amateur practitioner should hold the οὐσία from the tomb and at ll.448-449 can be read πέμψον δαίμονα τοῦτον τῇ δέϊνα μεκάταιι ὥραις, οὐπερ ἀπὸ κήνους κατέχω τόδε λείψανον ἐν χερσίν ἑμαῖς. For the importance of reciting whilst writing, see II.3 pp.107.

go into every quarter, into every house, and drag the victim by her hair, heart, and soul. This information transmission is achieved via the application of the figurines in the *deposition* ritual.<sup>590</sup>

In contrast to the figurines in PGM IV.296-466, the Selene figurine is to act as an agent, but in a similar manner, she is not expected to be actively involved in the physical attraction of the target.<sup>591</sup> Instead, the Selene figurine will act as an agent by assigning a *ἱερός ἄγγελος* or *πάρεδρος* and it is this assistant that will enact the attraction element of PGM VII.862-918 (described at ll.886-889), an attraction which is every bit as aggressive as that seen in PGM IV.296-466. There is no mention that Selene should deviate from her role as delegator however. She is not to seek out the target and she is also not to touch or physically drag the target to the amateur practitioner. Selene may not be the main agent at work in the attraction but it is through her acting as an agent that an assistant is sent forth. Indeed, the figurines instructed for construction by the EMP rarely perform a physical and aggressive attraction of the target and this non-physical role is supported by the creation of two dog figurines in PGM IV.1872-1927 and PGM IV.2943-66. To look initially at PGM IV.2943-66, the purpose of the dog figurine is interlinked with the instruction in the accompanying *incantation* ritual that the target's sleep should be affected. There is no mention that the dog figurine is to physically touch the target or drag her to the amateur practitioner but, rather, the methods to be employed utilise the characteristics of the figurine in a sympathetic manner. That is to say, the figurine is an iconic representation of an animal that holds symbolic connections with alertness, watchfulness, and protection.<sup>592</sup> The dog was also perceived as a loyal and prudent animal and as such would serve as a

---

<sup>590</sup> For the incorporation of the *figurine construction* ritual into the *deposition* ritual and the role of information transmission, see II.3.

<sup>591</sup> There is ambiguity surrounding the Selene figurine which is to be constructed in the form of the universe (*εχηματιζομένην παντόμορφον*). Despite the structure of the Selene figurine being unclear, here again is the possible belief that accurate representation of a figurine did not affect its iconicity. The practitioner believed the figurine to be an iconic representation of Selene and consequently it was. For a discussion of the form of Selene, see Pachoumi, 2011, pp.160-161.

<sup>592</sup> The watchfulness of dogs is epitomised by Cerberus, the guardian of Hades, who had, according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 311-312), 50 heads (*πεντηκοντακέφαλον*). For other examples of supernatural guard dogs, see the gold and silver dogs created by Hephaestus to protect the home of Alcinous (*Hom. Od.* VII.91-94). Cf. *Ant. Lib. Met.* 36. For dogs in this role, see Faraone, 1987. Dogs were also believed to be susceptible to the presence of supernatural activity. See the story of Eumaios' dogs (*Hom. Od.* XVI.155-163) recognising the presence of the disguised Athena and Lucian's (*Philops.* 27) mocking tale of a small dog that causes the deceased wife of Eucrates to flee. It would not have been uncommon for a Greek household to have a large watchdog (*οἰκουρός*) like the house dog described in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes (*Ar. Vesp.* 954-960).

trustworthy and thoughtful agent.<sup>593</sup> It is from the ever watchful nature of the dog that the figurine draws power as it effectively combines this constant alertness with the nocturnal nature of the bat (the eyes of a bat are to be inserted into the eye sockets of the dog figurine)<sup>594</sup> to guarantee that the target cannot rest until she succumbs to the power of the spell. The wish to inflict this unrelenting torment is stated clearly in the incantation inscribed on a papyrus strip described at Il.2956-2966, which culminates with the instruction that the πανοπαῖα should ποιήσον τὴν δεῖνα ἀγρυπνοῦσάν μοι διὰ παντὸς αἰῶνος. Essentially, the aim of the dog figurine is to force the target to lie awake with nothing on her mind except the amateur practitioner alone.<sup>595</sup> Although it is not stated in PGM IV.1872-1927 that the dog (referred to here as Cerberus) is to cause sleeplessness, it can clearly be seen to act as an agent of the amateur practitioner who adjures it via the *incantation* ritual at Il.1910-1924 to attract the target immediately. It is not clear how the dog is to perform this attraction but there is no mention that the dog figurine should physically or aggressively drag the target to the amateur practitioner.

The Eros figurine in PGM IV.1716-1870 is to perform the attraction of the target in a manner analogous to that illustrated by PGM IV.2943-66. Once the figurine has been fully constructed, the amateur practitioner is to go late at night to the house of the woman desired, knock on her door with the Eros figurine and say: ἰδέ, ὄδε μένει ἡ δεῖνα, ὅπως παρασταθεῖς αὐτῇ εἴτηρ, ἃ προαιροῦμαι, ὁμοιωθεῖς ᾧ céβεται θεῶ ἢ δαίμονι.<sup>596</sup> PGM IV.1716-1870 continues by instructing the amateur practitioner to go home before following further directions which culminate in the Eros figurine being sent out to the target to instigate dreams. This instruction is essential in understanding how the Eros figurine was believed to force the target to submit to the amateur practitioner, i.e. Eros was to manipulate the dreams of the sleeping woman.<sup>597</sup> He was to invade her subconscious

<sup>593</sup> Loyal: Hom. *Od.* XVII.291-293; Plin. *HN* VIII.lxi.143-144. Prudent: Xen. *Oec.* XIII.8; Theoc. *Id.* XXI.15; Plin. *HN* VIII.lxi.147. The dog is also strongly associated with magic. This is guaranteed through the animal's connections with Hecate. For the connection between Hecate and the dog, see Il.3 pp.117-119.

<sup>594</sup> More will be said about the bat below in Il.5.d.

<sup>595</sup> Sleeplessness is a recurrent method employed to torture and torment and the wish to afflict the target with insomnia is in keeping numerous PGM, as can be seen by PGM IV.1390-1495, 1496-1595, 2441-2621, 2708-84; VII.593-619; XII.376-96; XVIIa.1-25; XXXVI.102-33, 295-311; CI.1-53.

<sup>596</sup> Lucian (*Philops.* 13-15) describes how such an Eros figurine was supposed to operate when recounting the tale of a Hyperborean who constructed an Eros figurine from clay for a Glaucias. The Hyperborean was hired by Glaucias as the latter longed for a married woman called Chrysis. On its completion, the Eros figurine flew to the target to carry out the attraction. Here recorded for posterity is clear indication that the use of Eros figurines was believed to be a distinctive and well known procedure in the Roman period. Cf. Felton, 2001; Collins, 2008, pp.97-98.

<sup>597</sup> For a discussion of PGM IV.1716-1870 and the close association between dreams and sex, see Winkler, 1991, pp.228-230.

and make the target act in a way favourable to the amateur practitioner. Analysis of dreams was a popular method of divining (known as oneiromancy, from the Greek ὄνειρος) because they were free to all (although at times some may have felt the need to resort to a professional for interpretation).<sup>598</sup> The popular oracles of incubation allude to the belief that dreams were of great importance for the prediction of the future<sup>599</sup> and the notion that dreams can be influenced is common within the PGM.<sup>600</sup> The Eros figurine in PGM IV.1716-1870 thus was believed to accomplish its mission by going to the target as she slumbered and influencing her dreams.<sup>601</sup> As the analysis of dreams was seen as a viable means of divination, the target would be affected by the appearance of Eros in her sleep telling her to go to a specific person.<sup>602</sup> The agency of the Eros figurine is established via the application of tools from the *construction* and *form* paradigms (the same also applies to alternative figurines) but in order to complete the *figurine construction* ritual in PGM IV.1716-1870, the EMP instruct that the another tool should be implemented from the *insertion* paradigm. Certain figurines cannot be employed without including a tool from the *insertion* or *adornment* paradigms and it is to these that we now turn our attention.

#### d) Insertion

The tools in *insertion* are to be, in one way or another, inserted into a figurine's body. The *figurine construction* ritual does not always require the application of a tool from the *insertion* paradigm, as demonstrated by the lack of instructions for the Ares figurine in PGM IV.296-466 (the female does require a tool from *insertion*) and the Selene figurine in PGM VII.862-918. That said, the inclusion of a tool from the *insertion* paradigm is essential for the *figurine construction* ritual when it is incorporated and the figurines that do require such a tool would not be able to complete their given task without it. Four tools are used from the *insertion* paradigm, with bat eyes, gold lamella, human bone, and needles being specified (see Table II.5.c). Due to the inclusion of a gold lamella in PGM

<sup>598</sup> Artemidorus' 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD treatise *Oneirocritica* is a prime example of dream interpretation.

<sup>599</sup> For the Greek perception of dreams, see Dodds, 1951, pp.102-134; Luck, 2006, pp.287-295; Johnston, 2008a, pp.90-95, 134-137; Bonnechere, 2010, pp.153-154. For a discussion of dreams in the magical rituals, see Eitrem, 1991.

<sup>600</sup> Johnston, 2008a, pp.161-166. At ll.310-319 of PGM XIII.1-343, for instance, there are instructions for the sending of dreams via the creation of a hippopotamus from red wax.

<sup>601</sup> This is in keeping with classic descriptions of messages received in sleep from supernatural entities, be they gods or the dead. For example, see Plaut. *Mostell.* 490-505; Aesch. *Eum.* 94-139; Theopompus FGrH 115 F 350; Prop. IV.7; Verg. *Aen.* II.268-297; Sen. *Tro.* 438-460; Stat. *Theb.* II.89-127; Apul. *Met.* IX.31.

<sup>602</sup> For the use of dreams in seduction, see Pseudo-Callisthenes 27, an account of the fugitive pharaoh of Egypt's, Nectanebos, use of dreams to bed Alexander's mother.



IV.1716-1870 and the instructions that it should be engraved, the *incantation* ritual (analysed in the corresponding chapter) can be incorporated into the *figurine construction* ritual. As a consequence, it would be impossible to utilise this engraved gold lamella without having completed an *incantation* ritual. The inclusion of this alternative ritual for the creation of a tool in the the *insertion* paradigm once more reveals the ability of erotic magic to fuse together multiple rituals to create a spell.

Table II.5.c: Tools in the *insertion* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Bat's eyes	IV.2943-66	2946-2948	Attraction
Gold lamella	IV.1716-1870	1846-1851	Attraction
Human bone	IV.1872-1927	1883-1886	Attraction
Needles	IV.296-466	321-328	Binding

A more detailed examination of the Eros figurine in PGM IV.1716-1870 can help demonstrate how separate rituals are fused together to create the *figurine construction* ritual. The precise way in which the *incantation* ritual could be incorporated into the *figurine construction* ritual of PGM IV.1716-1870 is visually represented by Figure II.5.b. The horizontal syntagmatic axis represents the sequential nature of the *figurine construction* ritual, above which, on the vertical axis, are the paradigms (*construction*, *form*, *adornment*, and *insertion*). As can be seen by Figure II.5.b, an engraved gold lamella is chosen from the *insertion* paradigm and thus, the performance of the *incantation* ritual is required. As a consequence, when the tools from the *construction* and *form* paradigms have been chosen, the EMP instruct that the 'functions' of an *incantation* ritual must be completed and the tools used from the *ink* (nothing), *stylus* (bronze), and *medium* (gold) paradigms are employed.<sup>603</sup> As is often the case with an *incantation* ritual, great importance is placed on the information that is either engraved or written. In PGM IV.1716-1870 the gold lamella is engraved with the short inscription Μαργαβουταρθε-γενοῦ μοι πάρεδρος καὶ παρατάτης καὶ ὄνειροπομπός. This inscription is directly related to the method by which the Eros figurine, acting as an agent, is expected to work against

<sup>603</sup> For the tools used in an *incantation* ritual, see II.1.

the target (i.e. Eros is to go to the target whilst she sleeps and affect her dreams).<sup>604</sup> Once the *incantation* ritual is completed, PGM IV.1716-1870 can return to the *figurine construction* ritual and another tool is to be chosen from the *adornment* paradigm. *Adornment* is not included in PGM IV.1716-1870 and as a result, the Eros figurine is complete and can be employed as an agent.

Figure II.5.b: A visual representation of the incorporation of the *incantation* ritual into the *figurine construction* ritual of PGM IV.1716-1870

		None	Copper	Gold
		<i>Ink</i>	<i>Stylus</i>	<i>Medium</i>
		<i>Incantation</i>		
Wood	Eros	Engraved gold lamella		None
<i>Construction</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Insertion</i>		<i>Adornment</i>

*Figurine construction*

The rationale for the application of a tool from the *insertion* paradigm (that does not require the completion of alternative rituals) varies from one example to the next and each must be considered in the context of their use. For example, the *figurine construction* ritual performed to create the female figurine in PGM IV.296-466 (the only EMP which instructs that a tool should be chosen from adornment prior to *insertion*) can only be understood when taking into consideration all aspects of the *figurine construction* ritual and the aim of the spell. The instructions for the application of a tool can be seen at ll.321-328, which describes how various body parts (brain, ears, eyes, mouth, midriff, hands, pudenda, and soles) of the female figurine are to be pierced with copper needles. One could be mistaken for automatically assuming that the piercing of the figurine was instructed to cause pain in the target. In contrast however, the intention was not to harm but

<sup>604</sup> The use of a tool from the *insertion* paradigm is comparable to that seen in animation rituals. For a discussion of animation rituals and the problems surrounding the topic, see Haluszka, 2008. Cf. Steiner, 2001; Johnston, 2008. Animation rituals in the PGM mirror the theurgist practice referred to as τελεστική (from τελεῖν, to consecrate). Τελεστική is a process whereby an object is perfected for ritual use and which culminated in the placing of a σύμβολα (symbol) or token (an animal, stone, metal, gem, seals, text, or an herb) into a cavity in the figurine. Haluszka (2008, pp.480-481) tells us that through consecration an object changes status and becomes imbued with divine power, efficacy, and agency. This is in keeping with that stated by Iamblichus (*Myst.* XLVII.vi). Dodds (1951, pp.291-295), describes in detail this theurgic practice and alludes to its connections with the PGM. Cf. Bonner, 1950, pp. 14-17; Struck, 2004, pp.210-215; Collins, 2008, pp.99-100.

rather to force the victim to remember the person who inflicts the actions on the figurine.<sup>605</sup> The text itself allows us to come to this conclusion as the *incantation* ritual at ll.328-329 to be recited whilst the needles are driven into the figurine does not specify pain. Instead, the amateur practitioner is to declare *περονῶ τὸ ποιὸν μέλος τῆς δεῖνα, ὅπως μηδενὸς μνησθῆναι πλὴν ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα*.<sup>606</sup> The needles, when used in conjunction with the iconic representation of the target, are thus applied to these areas specifically as they are sensual areas. The action is symbolic of the intended outcome and it is expected that these key sensual areas of the target would become excited. Put differently, the amateur practitioner hopes that by piercing these areas they will yearn for contact with him.

To understand the eyes of a bat, which are to be placed into the eye-sockets of the dog figurine in PGM IV.2943-66, it is important to first assess the perception of the bat, an animal that was seen as symbolically magical. The nature of the bat and how it lived assured the perception that it was magically potent. Many distinctive characteristics of an animal were often highly prized by the practitioners of magic. The lifestyle of the tick, for example, was believed to imbue it with magical potency and Pliny referred to it as the most repellent of animals.<sup>607</sup> For the same reason, according to Pliny, Nigidius and the magi ascribed power to the cricket because it walks backwards, bores into the ground, and screeches during the night.<sup>608</sup> In a similar manner, the uniqueness of the bat was guaranteed by its lifestyle and activity on the cusp of darkness and as a consequence it was perceived as liminal, on the border between day and night, light and darkness. This unique trait of the bat was further enhanced by its ability to defy categorisation and they were seen as neither a mammal nor a bird.<sup>609</sup> The bat uses its duality to great advantage in the *Fables* of Aesop by thwarting the attempts of two separate weasels who wished to kill it.<sup>610</sup> To the first weasel, who was the enemy of birds, the bat claimed to be a mouse. To the second

---

<sup>605</sup> Winkler, 1991, p.232; CT pp.15, 81; Graf, 1997, pp.140-141; Faraone, 1999, pp.41-42; Collins, 2008, pp.17-18. This can also be seen in other genres of magic (e.g. VD 7, 12, 21). Nails aim at nailing down opponents and making them immobile and not at piercing flesh or wounding them. For further scholarship on nails and their importance in magic, see II.1.c.

<sup>606</sup> Both Gager (CT p.81) and Ogden (2006, p.250) postulate that the penetration of the female figurine carries sexual meaning as well. It may be possible that the needles could be read symbolically and indexically as phallic extensions of the amateur practitioner.

<sup>607</sup> Plin. *HN* XI.xl.116, XXX.xxiv.82-83. Pliny singles it out for two reasons; the first of which is that it does not have an anus and the latter being that the more it eats, the quicker it dies. Its own food is the death of it. Thus the tick contradicts the necessities of life (all animals eat to live and they pass excrement). Practitioners of magic would also have been drawn to the tick due to its unique lifestyle: it spends all its time with its head buried in blood. For a discussion of the bat in the ancient world, see Marciniak, 2001.

<sup>608</sup> Plin. *HN*. XXIX.xxxix.138.

<sup>609</sup> Macr. *Sat.* VII.xvi.7. Cf. Arist. *Hist. an.* I.488A 25; Plin. *HN*. X.lxxx.168; XI.xcv.232.

<sup>610</sup> Aesop *Fables* 364 (Gibbs, ed).

weasel, who was the enemy of mice, the bat claimed to be a bat. The unique nature of the bat guaranteed its position as an effective treatment for various diseases.<sup>611</sup> The bat was also prized as an aphrodisiac and it could target lethargy and tiredness.<sup>612</sup> If one wished to induce passion in a woman, it was recommended that bat's blood should be placed under her head.<sup>613</sup> These last two points are in keeping with the use of the eyes of the bat in PGM IV.2943-66. By reading the text to be written on the accompanying papyrus, it becomes apparent that the eyes of the bat are used to inflict insomnia on the target. The nocturnal nature of the bat is to be sympathetically transferred to the target who is to lie awake with nothing on her mind except the amateur practitioner alone. The nocturnal nature of the bat is to combine with the constant alertness of the dog to guarantee that the intended target is to receive no rest until she succumbs to the power of the spell. The insomnia created by the eyes of the bat is further heightened by the piercing of the eyes with a needle.<sup>614</sup>

The final tool from the *insertion* paradigm is used in conjunction with the dog figurine in PGM IV.1872-1927. Once the the dog figurine has been created from CC1, the EMP instruct that a bone from the head of a corpse should be placed into the mouth of the dog figurine. The remains of the deceased were believed to possess magical properties and the magician's perceived reliance on these substances is portrayed by Apuleius in his *Metamorphosis* when Thelyphron recalls how he lost his nose and ears to some witches whilst he guarded a dead body.<sup>615</sup> The witches had cast Thelyphron into a deep sleep and called the name of the deceased so that they could harvest his corpse. Unfortunately for Thelyphron however, the deceased shared his name and the sleeping Thelyphron rose to the call of the witches, who mistakenly mutilated his face through a hole. The use of a substance originating from a corpse, be it in Apuleius or PGM IV.1872-1927, points to the application once more of οὐσία, magical material, as there is an essence of the deceased contained within the substance.<sup>616</sup> As the bone is an indexical and symbolic indicator of the person it came from, the power of the deceased, on whom the rituals instructed by the EMP so often rely, is brought into the power of PGM IV.1872-1927. The bone is not taken from the dead body of a person who has died naturally however, and it is specifically stated that

<sup>611</sup> Bat's gall and heart healing bites: Plin. *HN*. XXIX.xxvii.88-89, 92; blood healing stomach ache: Plin. *HN*. XXX.xx.59, 64; as an amulet healing animal urinary system failure: Plin. *HN*. XXX.i.144; wings used for madness: Plin. *HN*. XXX.xxix.97.

<sup>612</sup> Plin. *HN*. XXX.xlviii.140.

<sup>613</sup> Plin. *HN*. XXX.xlix.143.

<sup>614</sup> Faraone, 1999, p.68.

<sup>615</sup> Apul. *Met*. II.21-30.

<sup>616</sup> For the remains of the deceased acting as οὐσία, see Graf, 1997, p.199.

it should be taken from one who has died violently: ἐνθήσειε δὲ εἰς τὸ εἶμα τοῦ κύνου ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου κεφαλῆς βιαίου ὀστέον. As a consequence, the reliance by the spells instructed by the EMP on a particular category of deceased souls, the ‘Restless Dead,’ is once more actively promoted.<sup>617</sup> However, when οὐσία is used in the *figurine construction* ritual it is predominantly employed for the creation of a tool from the *adornment* paradigm and, as such, the reasons for its application will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

#### e) Adornment

The tools from the *adornment* paradigm are to be placed on the exterior of a figurine and they are the least used in the *figurine construction* ritual. As with the tools from *insertion*, the *adornment* paradigm is not a requirement of the *figurine construction* ritual and this is demonstrated by the lack of instructions for the Ares figurine in PGM IV.296-466 (the female does require a tool from *adornment*) and the Eros figurine in PGM IV.1716-1870. There are only four tools in total that are used from the *adornment* paradigm: engraving, *lunar ointment*, οὐσία, and wreath (see Table II.5.d). It is unclear what type of wreath is used in PGM VII.862-918 however, and we are only informed that the figurine should be wreathed but the instruction is relatively simple to understand when considering that wreaths were regularly given in Greece and Rome for valour and as a mark of distinction.<sup>618</sup> Therefore, the wreathing of the Selene figurine is a wreathing of Selene herself through the iconic connections between the figurine and the goddess. The main tool that is specified is οὐσία but before proceeding with an analysis of its application, it is important to acknowledge the inclusion of the *incantation* ritual in PGM IV.296-466 and PGM IV.1872-1927, and the *ointment construction* ritual in PGM VII.862-918. The rationale for the application of a tool in the *incantation* and *ointment construction* rituals are discussed in their respective chapters but it is vital here to describe how alternative rituals are required for the creation of a tool in the *adornment* paradigm.

<sup>617</sup> For the use of the dead and the ‘Restless Dead’ in the EMP, see II.3 pp.113-117.

<sup>618</sup> For reference to wreaths, see Hdt. VII.209; Ar. *Plut.* 21; Ath. 669F-686C; Plin. *HN.* XXI.viii, XXII.iv; Apul. Met. IV.27, XI.24.4 FGtH 334 F 29. See Maxfield, 1981; Blech, 1982.

Table II.5.d: Tools in the *adornment* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Engraving	IV.296-466	304-321	Binding
	IV.1872-1927	1886-1889	Attraction
<i>Lunar ointment</i>	VII.862-918	873-874	Attraction
Οὐσία	IV.296-466	302-303	Binding
	IV.2943-66	2949-2951	Attraction
Wreath	VII.862-918	874	Attraction

For a visual representation of the performance of an alternative ritual for the creation of a tool in the *adornment* paradigm, see Figure II.5.c. The female figurine in PGM IV.296-466 (the only figurine which specifies the application of a tool from *adornment* prior to *insertion*) requires all four ‘functions’ of the *figurine construction* ritual and the sequential nature of the spells is represented along the syntagmatic horizontal axis. The paradigms are located on the vertical axis and once female form of the figurine has been created via the application of either wax or clay, PGM IV.296-466 instructs that the first of two tools from the *adornment* paradigm should be applied. To accomplish this, the οὐσία of the female target is to be attached to the head or neck. This is immediately followed by the engraving of various *voces magicae* directly onto the exterior of the figurine. As a consequence, it is at this point that the *figurine construction* ritual requires the completion of *incantation* ritual and the tools required for the completion of this alternative ritual are to be implemented. The EMP are relatively silent on how this *incantation* ritual is to be completed and it is only certain that either wax or clay is to be used from the *medium* paradigm. As it is an engraving however, it is logical that a tool was not chosen from the *ink* paradigm and it is possible that the bronze needles used from the *insertion* paradigm could also have been used to create a tool in the *stylus* paradigm.<sup>619</sup> When this is completed, the construction of the female figurine progresses into the final ‘function’ and the tool chosen from the *insertion* paradigm, 13 bronze needles, are to be used to pierce the female figurine.

<sup>619</sup> For the connection between piercing and engraving, see II.1.c.

Figure II.5.c: A visual representation of the incorporation of the *incantation* ritual into the *figurine construction* ritual in PGM IV.296-466

			n/a	Bronze	Wax/clay
			<i>Ink</i>	<i>Stylus</i>	<i>Medium</i>
			<i>Incantation</i>		
Wax/clay	Female	οὐσία	Engraving		
<i>Construction</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Adornment</i>	<i>Adornment</i>		
				Bronze	<i>Insertion</i>

*Figurine construction*

When an alternative ritual is not required for the creation of a tool from the *adornment* paradigm, the predominant substance used as a tool is οὐσία. As has been discussed in a study of the *supporting item* paradigm, it is not possible to know for certain what substance οὐσία specifically refers to when it is instructed for application by the EMP.<sup>620</sup> However, hair is a viable and logical candidate due to evidence from the PGM, archaeological material, epigraphic evidence, and literary sources. Due to the previous discussion, this section will not speculate on the nature of οὐσία but will focus on and reiterate the role of the tool as a means of transmitting information. In contrast to this objective however, it has been common practice to deduce that the manipulation of οὐσία (e.g. burning or twisting) was performed to create in the target a similar effect. References to the application of οὐσία in the ancient sources do point to this role but the EMP at no point advocate the manipulation of magical material in this manner.<sup>621</sup> Rather, the application of οὐσία communicates the identity of the person from whom it originated to the being who will become an agent. The dog figurine in PGM IV.2943-66, who is to act as an agent of the amateur practitioner and inflict wakefulness, will know the identity of the target because of the attachment of οὐσία directly to its bat's eyes. Thus, the οὐσία is constantly in the dog's field of vision and it could not help but know the identity of the one it sought. The identity of the female figurine in PGM IV.296-466 is created by its iconic nature and it is solidified by the attachment of οὐσία (presumably) from the target. The method by which the νεκύδαμον will find the target is stated in the accompanying spell, which is both engraved onto a lead tablet and recited: ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα, ἦν δεῖνα, ἧς ἔχει

<sup>620</sup> For a discussion of the nature of οὐσία in the EMP, see II.3.b.

<sup>621</sup> For scholarship on οὐσία and its use in the ancient source material, see II.3 p.108 n.427.

τὴν οὐσίαν. Even if the magical material did not originate from a target, as can be seen with the use of human bone in PGM IV.1872-1927, the same principles can be applied.

f) Summary

The *figurine construction* ritual is one of the most complex ritual actions instructed by the EMP. A major factor contributing to the complexity of the ritual action is the large number of paradigms (*construction, form, insertion, and adornment*). The *figurine construction* is visually represented by Figure II.5.d and every *figurine construction* ritual instructed by the EMP consists of a combination of these axes. For example, the *figurine construction* ritual in PGM IV.1716-1870 is a sequential combination of wood, Eros, and gold lamella chosen from the *construction, form, and insertion* paradigms, respectively. As can be seen with the construction of the Eros figurine in PGM IV.1716-1870 however, the *figurine construction* ritual does not require the inclusion of all paradigms. The only paradigms which are used every time the ritual is performed are *construction* and *form*. This is logical as all figurines must have a form and they must be created from something. The *adornment* and *insertion* paradigms, although not included in every example and thus not of equal importance, are still essential for the completion of the *figurine construction* ritual when they are included.

Figure II.5.d: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the *figurine construction* ritual

Wood			
Wax	Selene		
CC2	Female	Needles	Wreath
CC1	Eros	Human bone	Οὐσία
Dough	Dog	Gold lamella	<i>Lunar ointment</i>
Clay	Ares	Bat's eyes	Engraving
<i>Construction</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Insertion</i>	<i>Adornment</i>

*Figurine construction*

As demonstrated by Figure II.5.d, the *incantation* ritual is used for the creation of tools in the *adornment* and *insertion* paradigms, and the *ointment construction* ritual is used for the creation of a tool in the *adornment* paradigm. As a consequence, to fully



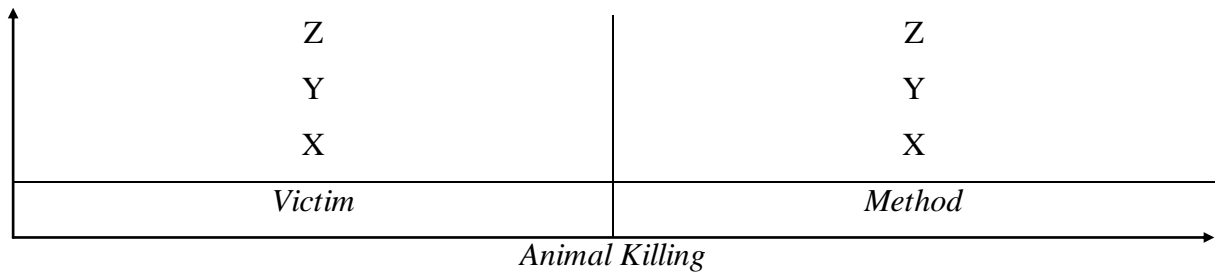
understand the process of the *figurine construction* ritual, it is important to understand how these alternative rituals are incorporated. The complexity of the *figurine construction* ritual and the effort which must surely have gone into the procedure was designed to guarantee the creation of an agent who would actively help with a spell of attraction. This is essential when attempting to understand the *figurine construction* ritual as every time it is performed, it is in a spell of attraction and in conjunction with the employment of an agent. Only three of the figurines were actively expected to enact the attraction element of the spell however (PGM IV.1872-1927, PGM IV.2943-66, and PGM IV.1716-1870). In contrast to these figurines, the Ares and female figurines in PGM IV.296-466 are an iconic representation of what is to be expected and the Selene figurine in PGM VII.862-918 is to act as a delegator who would assign a supernatural being to carry out the attraction of the target. Whether it is by direct or indirect methods however, the figurine will help with the spell and this is the fundamental reason for the *figurine construction* ritual in all its complexity. The substances that are used to create the tools are all linked to this goal. From the sticky wax that is used to create a pure figurine of a divine being (e.g. VII.862-918), to the insertion of a bat's eyes to inflict sleeplessness onto a target (PGM IV.2943-66), all substances can help with the attraction of a target when perceived in the context of a spell of attraction.

## 6. Animal Killing

a) Introduction:

The *animal killing* ritual refers to the instructions in the EMP which specify that an animal is killed. Instructions for the performance of the *animal killing* ritual can be seen in five EMP and it is predominantly used in spells of attraction, although it is also used in one binding spell (PGM III.1-164) and one charm (PGM IV.2145-2240). Instructions in the EMP for the killing of animals are limited when compared to the PGM generally and when considering the infrequency of the rituals, it may be argued that the practice played an insignificant role in erotic magic. When the ritual is instructed by the EMP however, it seems to follow certain conventions: firstly, the *animal killing* ritual is normally used once in a spell;<sup>622</sup> secondly, the ritual must always apply a tool from the *victim* and *method* paradigms; and thirdly, the *animal killing* ritual is essential for the completion of the spell in which it is used. The *animal killing* ritual is visually represented in Figure II.6.a, where the syntagmatic horizontal axis represents the sequential nature of the *animal killing* ritual and along the vertical axis are the possible tools from paradigms, which are represented by X, Y, and Z.

Figure II.6.a: The *animal killing* ritual



This chapter will begin with a study of the *victim* paradigm and it will be argued that the animals chosen can only be understood when considering them as a signifier for something beyond that which is initially perceived. Namely, it is via an animal's symbolic, indexical, and iconic associations that a connection to a powerful force can be established. This force can range from symbolic negativity (lizard) to an iconic representation of a

<sup>622</sup> The only exception to this rule is PGM IV.2441-2621 in which three animals (two beetles and a mouse) are killed in the process required to create BSC3, a tool used from the *burnt substance* paradigm. As a result, this is also the only EMP in which the *animal killing* ritual is incorporated into another. For the *fire manipulation* ritual and the role of BSC3, see II.2 pp.93-94.

god's familiar (cat). The second section will cover the tools chosen from the *method* paradigm and will focus predominantly on drowning and sacrifice, the dominant means of killing an animal, believing there to be a transformative nature to the *animal killing* ritual. That is to say, the practice of drowning can transform an animal from the mundane through ensoulment, and sacrifice is performed to transform an impure object into a pure one. The aim of this chapter is to show that the *animal killing* ritual, although only appearing a limited number of times, performs a pivotal role in erotic magic when it is used and the performance of the ritual is interlinked with the wish to transform a mundane object.

#### b) Victim

The tools chosen from the *victim* paradigm are the animals that are killed in the process of an *animal killing* ritual. Six types of animals can be seen in the *victim* paradigm, ranging from insects (beetle) and mammals (cat, mouse), to reptiles (lizard) and birds (partridge, rooster). Instruction for the killing of an animal can only be seen in five EMP (the mouse and two beetles are killed in PGM IV.2441-2621) and all categories of erotic magic incorporate the ritual action (see Table II.6.a). The lizard which is used in PGM LXI.39-71 is included in this section despite there being no explicit instructions that it is alive or dead when it is collected. PGM LXI.39-71 states only that the animal should be taken from a place where bodies are mummified. The EMP are ordinarily very precise when stating that an animal's dead body should be used and the lack of specification in PGM LXI.39-71 could reveal the state of the lizard when collected.<sup>623</sup> Following its collection, the lizard is then to be placed into an iron vessel with coal at ll.41-44 and again there is no mention at this stage if the lizard is alive or dead, but due to lack of detail and the inevitable consequences of placing hot coal onto an animal, it has been assumed here that a lizard is meant to be killed during the process of PGM LXI.39-71.<sup>624</sup>

Table II.6.a: Tools in the *victim* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Beetle	IV.2441-2621	2451-2452	Attraction

<sup>623</sup> For an example of specification, see the use of a dead dog in PGM XXXVI.361-71. For a detailed discussion of PGM XXXVI.361-71, see II.3 pp.118-119.

<sup>624</sup> The idea that the lizard is alive on collection is supported by PGM VII.186-90, a favour and victory charm, in which a lizard (καλαβοῦτιν, translated as gecko by GMPT) is taken from a tomb. It is explicitly stated in PGM VII.186-90 that the lizard should be alive on collection as it is still alive when released.

Cat	III.1-164	1	Binding
Lizard	LXI.39-71	40-44	Attraction
Mouse	IV.2441-2621	2452-2453	Attraction
Partridge	IV.1716-1870	1823-1825	Attraction
Rooster	IV.2145-2240	2190	Attraction & charm

Ambiguity may surround the status of the lizard in PGM LXI.39-71 but the reason for its inclusion becomes apparent when taking into consideration the context in which it is used and the perception of the lizard. To focus initially on the perception of the animal, from the *Metamorphosis* of Antoninus Liberalis we can see that it was thought of as a worthless, cursed, and spiteful creature.<sup>625</sup> Pliny informs us that it was said to eat its own slough to spite mankind who would use it as a medicament for epilepsy.<sup>626</sup> It is due to this negative perception of the lizard that it is used symbolically in PGM LXI.39-71 and this becomes apparent when considering the *incantation* rituals at ll.44-46 and ll.50-58, in which we learn that the lizard is resented by all. The incantation recited whilst the lizard is cooked in a vessel draws upon and utilises this enmity by transferring it to the target: *καλαβῶτα, καλαβῶτα,*<sup>627</sup> ὡς ἐμίσησέν σε Ἥλιος καὶ πάντες θεοί, οὕτως μισεῖτω τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ δεῖνα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ ἀνήρ. After the lizard has been completely cooked, it is to be held in the vessel as a gateway is approached. This gateway is most likely the door of the female's home as the second *incantation* ritual, again invoking a connection between the hated lizard and the target, includes the instruction *μὴ προσέλθῃ ἡ δεῖνα διὰ τοῦ πυλῶνος.*<sup>628</sup> Both *incantation* rituals demonstrate the wish that the loathing felt towards the lizard will be transferred to multiple targets to cause a rift between a man and his wife.<sup>629</sup> This hatred would be so powerful that the female target would be unable to enter the marital home. Once this had been accomplished it would then be possible for the amateur practitioner to swoop in and pick up the pieces, a technique more in line with the *διάκοποι.*<sup>630</sup>

<sup>625</sup> Ant. Lib. *Met.* 24. Cf. Arist. *Hist. an.* VIII. 607A 27.

<sup>626</sup> Plin. *HN.* XXX.xxvii.88-89.

<sup>627</sup> Translated as a gecko by Preisendanz.

<sup>628</sup> The actions instructed by PGM LXI.39-71 are reminiscent of PGM IV.1716-1870, in which the amateur practitioner is to approach the doorway of the target with the Eros figurine.

<sup>629</sup> The transferral of an animal's characteristics onto the target is not without precedent in the EMP, as has been seen by the eyes of a bat at II.5 pp.155-156.

<sup>630</sup> The title of PGM LXI.39-71 is contradictory to the aim of the spell. Ordinarily separation spells only want to end an existing relationship (e.g. PGM XII.365-75) but the incantation written on papyrus with the blood

The lizard, when perceived within the context of PGM LXI.39-71, is seen as a symbolically negative creature that can be used to cause a rift between two lovers. The lizard in PGM LXI.39-71 is a hated animal and it is used in a spell designed to generate hatred and the perceiver does not just see the animal which will be killed but all related modal connections related to that animal. This principle can be applied to all animals in the *victim* paradigm and their modal connections are utilised for a very specific goal in the spells in which they are used. As a consequence, an understanding of an animal in the *victim* paradigm can only be achieved by taking into consideration the context in which they are being used, i.e. every animal in the *victim* paradigm is deeply connected with the desired outcome of a spell. The principle can again be detected with the *animal killing* ritual in PGM IV.2441-2621, in which two beetles and a mouse are killed for the creation of the tool BSC3, used in a *fire manipulation* ritual.<sup>631</sup> The meaning of the mouse and beetles is dependent on the level of specification instructed (i.e. the type of mouse and beetle to be used) and the context of PGM IV.2441-2621. When both are taken into consideration we can see that the animals were perceived as symbols of cosmic elements. The field mouse (μυγαλῆ)<sup>632</sup> and moon beetle are symbolically and indexically connected to the earth and sky, respectively. When they are combined with the (assumedly) already deceased river crab, an animal symbolically and indexically connected to water, all of the cosmic elements are combined into BSC3. Through the application of the animals, a cosmic unity is not only achieved but harnessed by PGM IV.2441-2621, creating a correlation between the unity of elements and a spell that can be used for a number of scenarios.<sup>633</sup>

A study of the rooster and the partridge in the context of PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.2145-2240 can also enable a greater understanding of why they were used as a tool. These animals have been grouped together as it is sensible to consider the rooster and partridge in unison due to the similarities between the animals and how they are instructed to be used by the EMP. To assess the nature of the animals initially, the rooster and the partridge would both have been relatively easy to acquire as they were common birds in the Mediterranean basin. The partridge, a pheasant like bird, was frequently used in the

---

of Typhon (see II.1 pp.60-61 for the importance of Typhon's blood to the spell) at II.60-71 demands that the target should love the amateur practitioner.

<sup>631</sup> For the creation of BSC3, see also II.2 pp.93-94.

<sup>632</sup> Μυγαλῆ can also mean a shrew. Preisendanz opts for this translation.

<sup>633</sup> See Petrovic, "Antiaesthetics," pp.12-13 for the argument that the animals in PGM IV.2441-2621 represent a cosmic unity and are thus suitable for a spell that can be used for numerous reasons.

Graeco-Roman world for medicinal reasons. Its gallbladder could restore vision, partridge broth could add fortitude to the stomach and help ease diarrhoea, and the eggs of a partridge were believed to make a woman's breasts firm, promote fertility, and create abundant lactation.<sup>634</sup> Roosters were readily available due to the practice of keeping poultry as livestock and the ready availability of the bird in the Imperial period is supported by the regularity in which it is killed in the rituals instructed by the PGM.<sup>635</sup> The size of the rooster and the partridge also allowed for easy transportation and a person would attract little unwanted attention as he prepared for the ritual. The size of the birds were also perfect for secret sacrifices (there is no mention of the location in PGM IV.1716-1870 but PGM IV.2145-2240 is performed on a table possibly in the amateur practitioner's home) performed away from the prying eyes of others.<sup>636</sup>

When analysing the application of the the rooster and the partridge in the *animal killing* ritual, it is immediately clear that the EMP instruct that both should be sacrificed in conjunction with the performance of an *incantation* ritual. Both points are essential for understanding why the birds are used. To look initially at the application of the partridge, the EMP instruct that the bird should be forced to swallow a golden lamella inscribed with an incantation at ll.1823-1825 of PGM IV.1716-1870.<sup>637</sup> The rooster is killed at ll.2186-2193 of PGM IV.2145-2240 in a section entitled καθιέρωσις τῆς πλακός, a reference to the engraved iron lamella described at the beginning of the spell. The items being created are engraved metallic devices which will be worn by the amateur practitioner. In short, PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.2145-2240 both kill a bird via a ritual killing to create an amulet.<sup>638</sup> Consequently, it is when the birds are considered in relation to the construction of an amuletic device that rationale for their application emerges. The partridge is an

<sup>634</sup> Gallbladder: Plin. *HN* XXIX.xxxviii.125; stomach and diarrhoea: Plin. *HN* XXX.xv.46, XXX.xx.60; breasts, fertility, lactation: Plin. *HN* XXX.xliv.131.

<sup>635</sup> The rooster is killed more than any other in the PGM. See PGM II.64-184; III.633-731; IV.26-51, 2359-72; XII.14-95, 201-69, 270-350; XIII.1-343, 343-646. Graf (1997, pp.77-78, 229-232) proposes that the sacrifice of the rooster could be an indication of reversal (other examples include the isolation of the practitioner, retrograde writing, and metonymic identification). Traditional sacrifice is inverted with such a sacrifice. However, for a discussion of reversal, including counterarguments, see Versnel, 2002, p.135 n.76; Johnston, 2002; Petrovic, "Antiaesthetics," pp. 11-13.

<sup>636</sup> For the economical and practical reasons for the rooster, see Petrovic, "Antiaesthetics," p.12 & n.54.

<sup>637</sup> Included in this incantation are various *voces magicae* of Jewish origin: Θουρήλ· Μιχαήλ· Γαβριήλ· Ουρήλ· Μιχαήλ· Ἰρραήλ· Ἰετραήλ. The translator in GMPT refers to them as variants of the name of Israel. See n.233 *ad loc* in GMPT. However, included amongst these words are angels, as described by the Bible (e.g. *Daniel* VIII.15-26, IX.21-27, X.31, XII.1; *Luke* I.11-38). For a parallel to PGM IV.1716-1870, see the *Sword of Moses* described at n.234 *ad loc* in GMPT.

<sup>638</sup> As has been discussed previously, the metallic lamellae in PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.2145-2240 were not used just for protection and many personal advantages (e.g. charm and victory) could be attained. For the metallic lamellae and amuletic magic, see II.1 pp.74-77.

animal which has many uses in medicine but it was not for this reason that it was used in the context of PGM IV.1716-1870. Rather, it was due to the partridge's symbolic and indexical associations with the mythical figure Perdix, the nephew and student of Daedalus, that it was used. Perdix was the inventor of various implements and Daedalus, on becoming jealous of his skill, threw him from the temple of Athena on the Acropolis. As Perdix fell to his death, the goddess Athena intervened and changed him into the bird, πέρδιξ, which was named after him.<sup>639</sup> The inventiveness of Perdix, symbolically and indexically represented by the partridge, is brought into the power of PGM IV.1716-1870 to create a golden amulet.<sup>640</sup> Likewise, the rooster is symbolically and indexically connected to the god Helios.<sup>641</sup> This connection is established due to the nature of the rooster, a bird that greets the rising sun with its call. Further connections between the rooster and the divine are revealed by the specification in PGM IV.2145-2240 that the rooster should be white, which (along with black) is a common colour of an animal instructed to be killed by the PGM.<sup>642</sup> The colour white was associated with Olympian deities (black with chthonic) and this is a clear signal of the rooster's connection to heavenly deities. This association with dawn in particular also meant that the rooster (like the bat that is used in PGM IV.2943-66) was perceived as a liminal creature.<sup>643</sup> It is this characteristic of the rooster that will help create the amulet but in order to do so, the amateur practitioner must enact a ritual killing (as will be discussed in the second half of this chapter).

The final animal used from the *victim* paradigm is the cat and an analysis of the the animal's migration across Europe can help develop an understanding of its modal connections and how it can be of benefit to PGM III.1-164. The domestic cat was a relatively late comer to the European ecological system and it is likely that the first cat to

<sup>639</sup> Diod. Sic. IV.76; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xv.9; Ov. *Met.* VIII.236-60; Hyg. *Fab.* 39, 244.

<sup>640</sup> The indexical and symbolic connection between the partridge and Perdix (and thus the ability to create) would have been combined with the perception of the partridge as an amorous animal. From Xenophon (*Mem.* II.i.4) and Pliny (*HN* X.li) we learn that no other animal is as easily susceptible to sexual feelings. Indeed, from Pliny we learn that the female could become impregnated simply by standing downwind from the male. This amorous nature of the partridge would be transferred to the amulet which is to be worn about the neck of the amateur practitioner.

<sup>641</sup> Paus. V.xxv.9. For the connection between solar deities and animals associated with the dawn, see Bonner, 1950, pp.125-128; Johnston, 2002, p.356 n.31; Zografou, 2008, p.193 ns.47, 48.

<sup>642</sup> When the colour of the animal is mentioned in the PGM it is either black or white; no other colour is given. Black: PGM I.1-42; II.1-64; III.282-409; IV.475-829, 850-929, 930-1114, 1275-1322, 1331-89, 1390-1495, 3086-3124, 3125-71; VII.300a-310, 528-39, 652-60; XIa.1-40; XII.107-21; XIII.1-343, 343-646, 646-734; XXXVI.231-55; CXXIX.1-7. White: PGM II.64-184; III.633-731; IV.26-51, 475-829, 2145-2240, 2373-2440, 2891-2942, 3125-71; VII.222-49, 478-90; VIII.64-110; XII.270-350; XIII.1-343, 343-646; LXII.24-46.

<sup>643</sup> For the liminality of the bat, see II.5 pp. 155-156.

set foot on the European mainland was brought over from Egypt (the country of the domesticated cat's origin)<sup>644</sup> to Greece. From Greece the animal then followed the Greek colonists around the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions so that by the Classical period, the cat could be found throughout the Mediterranean world.<sup>645</sup> No doubt the Italian peninsula was populated by cats through the development of Magna Graecia and from southern Italy they would have spread to Rome, a city which helped distribute the feline even further afield.<sup>646</sup> Egypt is accountable for the cat but it is also accountable for the perception of the animal as the lore surrounding it was spread at an equal pace. In Egyptian thought the cat was associated with the theriomorphic Bastet, hunter goddess of motherhood, fertility, childbearing, and childrearing.<sup>647</sup> The Greeks identified Bastet with Artemis (the Romans with Diana) who shared many traits of the Egyptian goddess.<sup>648</sup> As with Bastet, Artemis became associated with the cat and it was in this form she chose to hide when the Greek gods fled to Egypt to hide from the Titans.<sup>649</sup> As a consequence, the cat is symbolically and indexically connected with Artemis to the Greek perceiver or Diana to the Roman. In addition, the cat can also be an iconic sign of Bastet to the Egyptian perceiver due to the worship of theriomorphic deities in Egypt.

The cat in PGM III.1-164 could be symbolically and indexically connected to Bastet, Artemis, or Diana depending on who perceived its application. However, come the compilation of PGM III.1-164 (4<sup>th</sup> century AD), another deity had surpassed in popularity these goddesses and had incorporated many features of their worship. From the Hellenistic period onwards aspects of Bastet, Artemis, and Diana (and other female deities) were

<sup>644</sup> For an early description of the Egyptian custom of keeping cats, see Hdt. II.66-67. For the cat in Egypt, see Engels, 1999, pp.18-47.

<sup>645</sup> For the movement of the cat throughout the Mediterranean up until the Classical period, see Engels, 1999, pp.48-57. For reference to the cat in the Classical period see, for example, Ar. *Ach.* 878-880.

<sup>646</sup> Both Seneca (*Ep.* 121, 19) and Pliny (*HN* X.lxxxiii.179, xciv.202) testify to the presence of cats in Italy by the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. For the cat in the Roman world, see Engels, 1999, pp.88-137. Cf. Jennison, 1937, pp.19, 129.

<sup>647</sup> In Egyptian thought, Bastet was twinned with Sekhmet (PGM III.1-164 n.1 in GMPT), meaning the Powerful One, who is usually depicted as a lion-headed woman. She is fury personified and is a goddess of war. She is also the ruler of demons and can spread disease by means of her demons and demonic darts. If she is appeased by appropriate rites, her power works in a protective way against her own demons. She is thus also known as a healing goddess. Bastet is seen as a more benign aspect of Sekhmet. For Sekhmet and Bastet, see Shorter, 1937, pp.11, 129, 140; Mercer, 1949, pp.210-211; Morenz, 1973, pp.17, 23, 28, 260, 268; Watterson, 1984, pp.172-173, 201-203; Shafer, 1991, pp.19, 41-43, 54; Teeter, 1991, p.91; Quirke, 1992, p.31; Traunecker, 2001, pp.16-17.

<sup>648</sup> Herodotus (II.59-60, 137, 155-156) equates Bastet with Artemis. Cf. Paus. VIII.xxxvii. 6. For the relationship between Bastet, Artemis, and Diana, see Engels, 1999, pp.25-26, 29-31, 77-80, 123.

<sup>649</sup> Ant. Lib. *Met.* 28; Ov. *Met.* V.325-331; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* II.28.



assimilated into the cult of Isis, a goddess known as *deae multinominis*.<sup>650</sup> Isis was the goddess of marriage, family, and motherhood but in contrast to the virginal Artemis and Diana, she was a wife (to her brother Osiris), mother (to her son Horus), and the goddess of physical love.<sup>651</sup> In a similar manner to Bastet, Artemis, and Diana, she was believed to have connections to the cat and to the black cat in particular.<sup>652</sup> In this respect, the cat could be seen as the familiar of Isis in the same way that the dog was the familiar of Hecate.<sup>653</sup> The idea that the cat was perceived as being symbolically and indexically connected to Isis in PGM III.1-164 is supported by the ensoulment of the animal via drowning,<sup>654</sup> continuous reference to the αἰλουροπόροπος θεός, the chthonic one at ll.29-30, 38,<sup>655</sup> the *incantation* ritual at ll.43-58 which refers to the one who brought together the limbs of Meliouchos (perhaps a reference to Osiris),<sup>656</sup> and reference to the mistress of corpses.<sup>657</sup> In the same *incantation* ritual there is reference to Hecate who was also assimilated into the worship of Isis, bestowing onto the latter all the former's magical and chthonic connotations. As many inhabitants of the Roman Empire in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD would have been familiar with the worship of Isis, it is possible that the cat in PGM III.1-164 could have been perceived as sharing a symbolic and indexical connection with the goddess by a Greek, a Roman, or an Egyptian.<sup>658</sup> The cat was not intended to be an iconic representation of the goddess however, and instead it was meant to represent a familiar of Isis, as will be discussed further through a study of the *method* paradigm.

<sup>650</sup> For the inclusion of Bastet, Artemis, and Diana into the cult of Isis, and the popularity of Isis throughout the Roman Empire, see Engels, 1999, pp.115-128. Cf. Bowman, 1986, pp.170, 176-178. For the goddess of many names, see Apul. *Met.* XI.22.

<sup>651</sup> Engels, 1999, p.125.

<sup>652</sup> See Plut. *Mor.* 376C-E for a description of the Isis' sacred instrument the sistrum, which incorporated cat symbolism. Cf. Engels, 1999, pp.28-30, 42-43, 120-122. For black and the black cat being associated with Isis, see Engels, 1999, pp.123-124.

<sup>653</sup> For the connection between the dog and Hecate, see II.3 pp.117-119.

<sup>654</sup> As will be discussed in II.6.c.

<sup>655</sup> Isis' chthonic nature is guaranteed by her associations with the dead, the moon, the night, and the starry sky, as described by Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* (XI.5). Cf. Engels, 1999, pp.116-117.

<sup>656</sup> Gager (CT p.268) states that it refers to a mythological figure associated with a number of deities and that it could derive from μέλι, honey. Perhaps Meliouchos is related to μελιχίος, meaning gentle or soothing, and used mostly for speech. Zeus Melichios is sacrificed to in Attica (LS 18, A.37-39). GMPT p.336 tells us that the meaning of this epithet remains unexplained but that it can be attributed to many deities in magical texts. Cf. Brashear, 1995, p.3592.

<sup>657</sup> Again, see Apul. *Met.* XI.5, in which Isis calls herself the queen of the dead.

<sup>658</sup> Engels (1999, p.129) argues that the cat is a representation of Atum-Ra due to the statement at l.4: ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς μορφῆς τῆς τοῦ Ἡλίου. For the connections between the cat and Atum-Ra, see Engels, 1999, pp.26-28. This notion is supported by the iconic image of a theriomorphic being on the second lamella beginning at l.66 which resembles more a male rather than a female form. If this is a representation of the cat-faced god then it may depict the male identity of that god.

### c) Method

There are only two clear ways in which a killing is achieved in the EMP, these being drowning and sacrifice (see Table II.6.b). As stated previously, it is not clear if the lizard in PGM LXI.39-71 is killed but if it is assumed that it is, then the tool chosen from the *method* paradigm must be cooking as the lizard is placed into a vessel with hot coal. The result of this action is fairly obvious and the lizard would be cooked alive during the process of the spell. The importance of this act lies in the symbolic nature of the heat of the coal which is to be transferred onto the target.<sup>659</sup> The reason for cooking in PGM LXI.39-71 is unique to the *animal killing* ritual however, and does not reoccur with drowning and sacrifice. That is to say, there is no mention in alternative *animal killing* rituals of the transfer of symbolic and indexical characteristics onto a target. Rather, drowning and sacrifice are used for their transformative abilities. Drowning, the prevalent tool used from the *method* paradigm (used three times in PGM IV.2441-262 and for PGM III.1-164), has the ability to change an object from one state of being to another. Likewise, sacrifice, instructed by PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.2145-2240, is used for its transformative abilities. The capacity of drowning and sacrifice to change an object from one state of being into another is the main reason for their inclusion and to illustrate this power, it is prudent to return to an analysis of PGM III.1-164.

Table II.6.b: Tools in the *method* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Cooking	LXI.39-71	40-44, 47-48	Attraction
Drowning	III.1-164	1-3	Binding
	IV.2441-2621	2452, 2453-2454	Attraction
Sacrifice	IV.1716-1870	1825	Attraction
	IV.2145-2240	2190	Attraction & charm

<sup>659</sup> The importance of the act does not rest with killing (perhaps this is why there is no specification of the lizard being alive or dead) but with the transferral of fire's characteristics onto the target in the same way the hatred felt towards the lizard is transferred. When the EMP state that the target should feel fire however, it is generally the fire of love and burning passion. For example, PGM IV.2891-2942, a spell of attraction invoking Aphrodite, specifically refers to a fiery love which is to be inflicted on the target (II.2930-2931). For the use of fire to inflict passion in the target, see II.2 p.83 & n.338. It is clear when reading PGM LXI.39-71 that there is little love however, and we see from the incantations discussed previously that the spell is centred on enmity and hate, i.e. in the same way that fire can be used to induce the fire of passion, it can also be used to induce hatred. Although a connection is never drawn between the cooking of the lizard and the wish to inflict hatred, it is reasonable to assume one existed.

The cat in PGM III.1-164 is to act as an agent and it is via drowning that it is transformed from a regular animal notorious for its independence, into something capable of performing a task at the behest of the amateur practitioner. The drowning of the animal is instructed at ll.1-3: Λαβὼν αἴλουρον ἐκποίησον Ἐσιῆν ἐμβαλὼν τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ. With this act the cat is transformed into an Ἐσιῆς, an epithet of the sacred dead and applied to Osiris who was drowned and then resurrected.<sup>660</sup> In Egyptian thought both man and animals were divinely created and have access to life after death by becoming, in the words of Luck, “Osirified.”<sup>661</sup> Therefore, to become like Osiris meant to be given a new life and the resurrected cat in PGM III.1-164 at ll.50-51 is said to be endowed with spirit (πνευματωτοῦ).<sup>662</sup> The transformative power of drowning could give new life but it could also deify, a notion supported by alternative PGM that instruct the practice (e.g. PGM IV.2441-2621).<sup>663</sup> By using the term Ἐσιῆς the EMP imply that the dead cat was perceived as sacred and through reference to the ensoulment and deification of the animal, it is a short step to come to the conclusion that it had been animated. However, the cat is not intended to be an iconic representation of a god and it is rather to become a δαίμων (l.50) or an ἄγγελος (l.71), both of which are semi-divine beings that share an intermediary role.<sup>664</sup> It is not unreasonable to assume that the composer of PGM III.1-164 did not fully understand the difference between these two semi-divine beings and saw them as one and the same thing. As a result, the ensouled dead cat is to become an agent of the amateur practitioner in the form of an intermediary and due to the symbolic and indexical connections between the animal and Isis, it is possible that PGM III.1-164 gives

<sup>660</sup> GMPT p.334.

<sup>661</sup> Luck, 2006, pp.135-136. Also see Smelik & Hemelrijk, 1984, p.1858. Cf. PGM I.1-42 and n.3 *ad loc* in GMPT.

<sup>662</sup> GMPT tells us that πνευματωτός is a form unattested elsewhere. Cf. PGM XIII.1-343, esp. l.525: ἐμπνευματώθη.

<sup>663</sup> The creation of BSC3 in PGM IV.2441-2621 requires that a field mouse and two moon beetles are deified (ἐκθέωσον) in spring and river water respectively. From PGM IV.154-285 we can see that spring water is used to call upon the deceased and river water is for either the adjuration of Osiris or Sarapis. The power of the animals, already symbolically associated with the cosmos, would have been amplified due to their deification. This divine power would have contributed to the overall power of BSC3. In contrast to that seen in PGM III.1-164, there is no stipulation that the mouse and beetles are to work as an agent. For BSC3, see also II.2 pp.93-94. For the use of drowning as a means of deification, also see PGM I.1-42 (a rite for acquiring an assistant) and PGM VII.628-42 (a non-erotic rite involving a magical ring).

<sup>664</sup> For the role of a δαίμων, see II.3 pp.114-117. The word ἄγγελος originally referred to a messenger or envoy. For example, see Hom. *Il.* II.26; Hdt. V.92. It was only in later philosophy that ἄγγελος referred to a semi-divine being. For example, see Jul. *Or.* IV.141B; Iamb. *Myst.* II.6. The developing divinity of ἄγγελος could have been influenced by growing contact with the Jewish faith and its perception of angels. For the Jewish angel, see Gerber, 2006. Cf. Graf, 1997, pp.90-91. For the role of the ἄγγελοι in the PGM, see Ciruolo, 1995, pp.283-284.

instructions for the creation of an iconic representation with connections to the familiar of the goddess.

The active role of the cat as an agent can be seen via the instructions on the papyrus wrapped around the body of the animal, several references to the active role of the cat in the *incantation* rituals at ll.3-14, 29-40 and 43-53, and the second engraved lamella to be inserted into the cat, which asks for the powerful and mighty angel of the cat to perform the deed: ὀρκίζω σε, τὸν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ μὲν ἄγγελον κραταῖον καὶ ἰσχυρὸν τοῦ ζώου τούτου. PGM III.1-164 is a particularly difficult text to interpret however, and the actual role to be carried out by the cat remains unclear.<sup>665</sup> This aside, the agency of the cat and the manipulation of its body is comparable to the role and creation of figurines constructed via the *figurine construction* ritual, i.e. a figurine is generally created to act as an agent of the amateur practitioner with focus on their intermediary nature. This notion is corroborated by the creation of an agent from a dead dog (a familiar of Hecate) in PGM XXXVI.361-71.<sup>666</sup> Indeed, there are many similarities between the use of the cat in PGM III.1-164 and the *figurine construction* ritual: firstly, instead of an inanimate substance from the *construction* paradigm, a cat is used to create an iconic image (*form*), secondly, three engraved lamellae are to be inserted into the cat (*insertion*), and thirdly, papyrus is wrapped around the body of the cat (*adornment*). For a visual representation of the *animal killing* ritual in PGM III.1-164 as a *figurine construction* ritual, see Figure II.6.b. Running along the syntagmatic horizontal axis can be seen the sequential nature of the *figurine construction* ritual, above which are the paradigms *construction*, *form*, *insertion*, and *adornment*. The sequential order of the tool application in PGM III.1-164 corresponds to that seen with the majority of

---

<sup>665</sup> PGM III.1-164 is split into two sections, with the first focusing on the *animal killing* ritual and the second consisting mainly of two *incantation* rituals that begin at l.98. Herein lies the problem: if the spell had finished prior to the *incantation* rituals then it would be relatively clear that the main agent in the spell was the cat. Everything leading up to the second section implies that the deed, whatever it may be, is to be enacted by the cat that holds iconic, symbolic, and indexical connections with Isis and her familiar. The *incantation* rituals in the second section imply that the agent of the spell, the being that will enact the purpose of the spell, is χρυσοπρόσωπος, χρυσαυγής Helios. It would be easier to understand the roles played by each if we knew what exactly they were intended to do. Instead, the text simply asks for the NN deed to be performed. This is asked of the cat-faced god, Hermes, Hermekate (for more on this combination, see GMPT n.13 *ad loc.*), the demon of the place, and Helios. The only instance when there is specific mention of the adjured performing an act comes in the fragmented recited lines at ll.29-40. These lines speak of restraining in a horse race, a statement which tallies with the final lines of the spell. Despite this confusion, what is clear is that the cat is intended to be an agent of some sort with statements such as ἔχειρόν μοι σεαυτὸν, αἰλουροπρόσωπος θεός, καὶ ποιήσον τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα pointing towards the active role of the animal.

<sup>666</sup> See ll.3 pp.118-119 for the connection between PGM XXXVI.361-71 and the *figurine construction* ritual.

the *figurine construction* rituals in the EMP.<sup>667</sup> The tools used from each paradigm are listed and three require the completion of alternative ritual actions. As a consequence, the *animal killing* ritual and various *incantation* rituals must be performed and all require the application of tools from their respective paradigms. As the figurines created via the *figurine construction* ritual become animate, so too the cat in PGM III.1-164 would become an agent of the amateur practitioner.

---

<sup>667</sup> The female figurine in PGM IV.296-466 is the only figurine that requires the application of a tool from *insertion* before the *adornment* paradigm, as can be seen in II.5.d, e.

Figure II.6.b: A visual representation of the cat in PGM III.1-164 if used in the *figurine construction* ritual

Cat	Drowning	Unknown	Unknown	Cinnabar	Unknown	Papyrus
	<i>Method</i>					
<i>Animal killing</i>		<i>Incantation</i>		<i>Incantation</i>		
Cat		Lamella (x3)		Papyrus		
<i>Construction</i>		<i>Insertion</i>		<i>Adornment</i>		
<i>Figurine construction</i>						

The final tool in the *method* paradigm is used in PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.2145-2240. Both of these EMP have been grouped together as sacrifice despite θύω (the prevalent word used to represent sacrifice) only appearing in PGM IV.2145-2240.<sup>668</sup> In contrast to the use of θύω in PGM IV.2145-2240 the Greek verb used to denote the killing of the partridge in PGM IV.1716-1870, σφάζω, implies a slaying or slaughter by a cutting of the throat. A killing by this method has different motives to those listed for θύω, i.e. an offering made by a mortal to a god in an attempt to establish communication, ask for help and support, and to give thanks for wishes already fulfilled. When σφάζω is applied to animals, it is commonly reserved for sacrifices in which the spilling of blood is the main objective (i.e. a σφάγιος) and it is performed mainly in three situations: the first being before a battle, the second at the burial of the dead, and the final situation being purifications.<sup>669</sup> The application of σφάζω in rituals of purification, when combined with the use of the term in PGM IV.1716-1870, can help us better understand the reasons for the killing of the partridge and, by extension, the rooster. That is to say, the terminology used may differ but both birds are killed in a process which will help create a pure metallic object that possesses power.<sup>670</sup> It was not the animal that could help an object achieve a level of purity however, but the blood that gushed forth from the wound. In a similar manner to the application of drowning, there was a transformative power in blood, which could change the status of an object or person from impure to pure. This power could be utilised to wash away many impurities, including the pollution inflicted by committing murder.<sup>671</sup> However, it is never specified that the iron lamella will come into contact with

<sup>668</sup> For a discussion of θύω and sacrifice, see II.2 pp.83-84.

<sup>669</sup> Casabona, 1966, pp.155-196; Detienne, 1977, p.41; Burkert, 1985, p.60.

<sup>670</sup> The golden lamellae in PGM IV.1716-1870, engraved with the wish that it be a propitious day for the wearer, is to be worn around the neck and could be used to guarantee protection (although this is not clearly stated) in a procedure which adjures Eros, a dangerous god the amateur practitioner wishes to assuage. For a warning of what could happen to someone if the gods were approached unprotected and the many powers of an amulet, see II.1 pp.74-75. The iron lamellae inscribed with three Homeric verses in PGM IV.2145-2240 can be seen to bestow an array of personal advantages and it is used for an attraction spell and a charm. For the power of the iron lamella and its use in PGM IV.2145-2240, see II.1 pp.74-77.

<sup>671</sup> A classic example of this can be seen in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius (IV.452-481, 557-561, 580-588, 662-671, 685-717), in which Jason becomes tainted with pollution due to the murder of Medea's brother. The Macedonian army relied on the ability of blood to help in purifactory rituals and they would march between the bloody halves of a bisected dog (Liv. XL.6. Cf. Burkert, 1985, p.379 n.66). The purifying ability of blood could also be used to cleanse an area, as can be seen by the sacrifice of a piglet in Athens prior to an assembly (Aeschin. *In Tim.* 23. Cf. Polyb. IV.21; Paus. II.xxiv.2, IX.xii.1-2). A pig was sacrificed in a similar manner at the Suovetaurilia, one of the most sacred and traditional rites of Rome, in which it was led (along with a sheep and a bull) round a location as part of a ritual purification before being sacrificed (Cato *Agr.* 141). For a discussion of pollution caused by murder, see Parker, 1983, pp.104-143. For the rituals performed to cleanse via blood, see Parker, 1983, pp.225-232, 370-374. Cf. Burkert, 1985, pp.59-60, 80-82; Ekroth, 2002, p.251; Larson, 2007, pp. 133, 187.

the rooster's blood in PGM IV.2145-2240 but due to the use of blood to help achieve purity in a σφάγιος, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the *animal killing* ritual helped contribute to the enhanced purity of the lamella.<sup>672</sup> If this assumption is accurate, the purifying blood of the partridge (symbolically and indexically connected to the creative potential of Perdix) and the rooster (symbolically and indexically connected to liminality and the power of Helios) will imbue the metallic lamellae in PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.2145-2240 with a pure nature, enhancing their efficacy as an amuletic device.

#### d) Summary

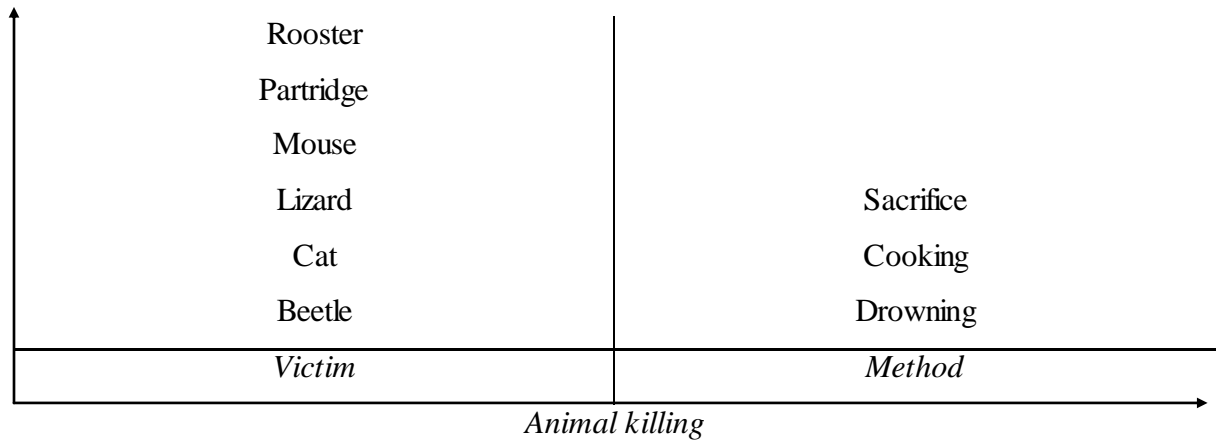
The *animal killing* ritual uses tools from two paradigms: *victim* and *method*. Every time an *animal killing* ritual is instructed for use in an EMP, tools must be chosen from both paradigms and the use of one demands the use of the other. The *animal killing* ritual is visually represented by the horizontal and vertical axes in Figure II.6.c. On the syntagmatic horizontal axis can be seen the sequential nature of the ritual and above this are listed paradigms *victim* and *method* and running vertically are the tools from each. Every *animal killing* ritual instructed by the EMP consists of a combination of that seen in Figure II.6.c. For example, the *animal killing* ritual in PGM IV.2145-2240 is a combination of the tools rooster and sacrifice from the *victim* and *method* paradigms, respectively. As can be seen by Figure II.6.c, the means of killing an animal are limited with only drowning and sacrifice explicitly stated. Cooking has also been included in this chapter as it is used in conjunction with the lizard for the *animal killing* ritual of PGM LXI.39-71. However, it is not entirely certain if the lizard is killed via this process or if it is already deceased. If the lizard was not deceased at the beginning of the spell, then it would logically be killed via its application alongside hot coals.

---

<sup>672</sup> The inclusion of seven lamps would help in the consecration of the lamella. See II.2 pp.85-90 for the use of fire in purificatory rituals. This is joined by clean linen, an offering of a libation (see II.7.e), and an offering of seven cakes and seven wafers which mirrors that seen with the *throwing* ritual (see II.7.c). For the importance of seven, see II.1 p.70 n.296. The inclusion of flowers of the season also supports the notion that what is seen here is an offering. For seasonal flowers, see I.3 p.107. The being who will help with the consecration of the lamella is the Aion of Aions seen in the incantation to be recited at the same time. For Aion see GMPT pp.331-332; Ciruolo, 1995, p.280 & n.8.



Figure II.6.c: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the *animal killing* ritual



The main unifying reason for the performance of the *animal killing* ritual revolves around its ability to transform an object from the mundane. That is to say, the ritual is performed to transform an object from one state of being into another. This could be the transformation of a cat via drowning into an animated agent who could actively assist with a spell or the enhancement of metal into a pure object by being soaked in blood spilled in a ritual. To this end, all of the tools that are used from the *victim* paradigm consist of an animal which has modal connections with something of far greater power but it is with the *method* paradigm that importance lies. Without the *method* paradigm, the actual killing of an animal, the tool from the *victim* paradigm, could not help create a transition from the mundane. With this in mind, the role of the *animal killing* ritual, despite being of limited application, is always pivotal for the desired outcome of a spell when it is used. For example, the partridge could be used for its medicinal properties but it is unlikely that the intention of PGM IV.1716-1870 was to restore vision, ease diarrhoea, or to make the breasts firm and to facilitate lactation. It is more likely that the partridge was used due to a perceived symbolic and indexical connection to Perdix, a mythical character renowned for his ability to create and invent. We can come to this conclusion when viewing the context of the *animal killing* ritual in PGM IV.1716-1870 and the creation of an amuletic device. The blood which flows from the wound inflicted on the partridge would have helped purify the lamella. The same principle that is essential for PGM IV.1716-1870 applies also to all *animal killing* rituals and the centrality of the ritual to the desired outcome of the erotic magic in the PGM, when it is used, is essential for understanding the role of the ritual.

## 7. Minor Rituals

### a) Introduction

This chapter will focus on the ritual actions that are not instructed regularly by the EMP but still require the application of tools. The minor ritual actions incorporate *ointment construction* (instructed by four EMP), *throwing* (instructed by four EMP), *phylactery construction* (instructed by three EMP), and *libation* (instructed by two EMP). All of these ritual actions appear to be of very little importance to the EMP generally but when they are included, they are as essential as any other ritual. As a consequence, these rituals cannot be ignored in a semiotic analysis of the tools of the EMP, despite their infrequency. This chapter will begin with an analysis of the most common minor ritual action (*ointment construction*) and work towards the least applied minor ritual action (*libation*). Each minor ritual action requires the application of two paradigms: *ointment construction* (*ointment*, *ointment location*); *throwing* (*object*, *target*), *phylactery construction* (*phylactery*, *tie*), *libation* (*liquid*, *liquid container*).

### b) Ointment Construction

The *ointment construction* ritual requires the application of two paradigms, the first being *ointment* (which requires the creation of a soft, unctuous concoction) and the second being *ointment location* (which is the area to be smeared). The EMP that give instructions for the performance of the ritual are normally relatively short and succinct. That is to say, they consist of limited alternative ritual actions and deal quickly with the issue at hand. In total there are eight substances specified in the *ointment* paradigm: boar gall, crow egg, the plant *crow's foot*, eel gall, honey, *lunar ointment*, myrrh, and rock salt. However, due to the application of combinations there are only four tools (see Table II.7.a). The combination of boar gall, rock salt, and honey will be referred to as *ointment* combination 1 (OC1) and the combination of crow egg, the juice of the plant *crow's foot*, eel gall, and honey will be referred to as *ointment* combination 2 (OC2). As can be seen by OC1, the unidentifiable plant *crow's foot* is included amongst the substances used for the paradigm. This is most likely a codeword for a known plant but it is impossible to know for certain which one.<sup>673</sup> In a similar manner it is unclear what the *lunar ointment* in PGM VII.862-918 is constructed from but it is possible to draw a connection between this ointment and the *lunar offering* used in the *fire manipulation* ritual of the same EMP. As has been argued

<sup>673</sup> For the use of codewords in the PGM, see I.4 pp.42-44.

previously, the *lunar offering* could possibly be connected to BSC3 and thus the substances which are used to create it.<sup>674</sup> In a similar manner, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the *lunar ointment* could consist of the same substances as those used to create BSC3.

Table II.7.a: Tools in the *ointment* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
<i>Lunar ointment</i>	VII.862-918	873-874, 878-879	Attraction
Myrrh	CXXII.1-55	4	Charm
OC1	VII.191-92	191-192	Binding
OC2	XXXVI.283-94	283-285	Charm

The use of the *ointment construction* ritual is heavily linked to the location that is smeared and an understanding of this connection can help the reader ascertain the reason for the application of a tool in the ritual. For the tools chosen from the *ointment location* paradigm, see Table II.7.b. The most common location smeared is the genitalia of the amateur practitioner (PGM VII.191-92 and PGM XXXVI.283-94) and this is followed by the face (PGM CXXII.1-55), a figurine (the *ointment construction* ritual is used in conjunction with the *figurine construction* ritual in PGM VII.862-918),<sup>675</sup> and oneself (PGM VII.862-918). To assess initially the smearing of genitalia, the reason for the performance of an *ointment construction* ritual is simple: an ointment is smeared to create or strengthen a union between a man and a woman. PGM VII.191-92 is called a φιλοκατάδεσμος αιώνιος and the objective of PGM XXXVI.283-94 is clearly stated in the closing remarks: ταῦτα λέγε (the accompanying recited incantation) τρίβων, καὶ ὅταν χρίσης τὸ αἰδοῖον, καὶ οὕτω συγγίνου, ἧ θέλις, καὶ σὲ μόνον ἀγαπήσι καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενός ποτε κοινωθήσεται, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ σοῦ μόνου. If the *ointment construction* ritual in PGM XXXVI.283-94 is performed correctly, the target would fall in love and remain faithful to him forever. The notion that a union can be established through the application of ointment is an old one in the Greek world, as can be seen via a study of their application in Greek marriage ceremonies.<sup>676</sup> It was not just for the marital union of two people that ointments

<sup>674</sup> For BSC3 and the substances used to create the tool, see II.6 pp.165, 171 & n.663; II.2 pp.93-94.

<sup>675</sup> For the use of the *ointment construction* ritual in conjunction with the Selene figurine, see II.5 pp.157-159.

<sup>676</sup> Prior to the leading of the bride to the house of the husband, women would rub her with ointments and anoint her with perfumes. A man would only consent to sexual intercourse with his wife, comments Plutarch

were used however, and the act of sexual intercourse was also accompanied by their application. From Aristophanes we can see that the smearing of an ointment onto the body could constitute a part of foreplay. An example of this can be seen in the *Lysistrata*, in which Myrrhina (whose name, “Little-Myrtle,” carries heavy erotic overtones)<sup>677</sup> teases her husband, Cinesias, who comes to her with an engorged penis. Myrrhina applies ointment provocatively to her body and when Cinesias can take no more, she disappears back to her female companions who are holding the men of Greece to ransom.<sup>678</sup>

Table II.7.b: Tools in the *ointment location* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Genitalia	PGM VII.191-92	192	Binding
	XXXVI.283-94	285	Charm
Face	CXXII.1-55	29	Charm
Figurine	VII.862-918	874-875	Attraction
Oneself	VII.862-918	878-879	Attraction

If the smearing of genitalia was performed to create or facilitate a bond between a man and a woman, then it would be logical to assume that a tool would consist of pleasing substances. Perfumes and ointments were interlinked with seduction and courtesans were said to be able to arouse the desire even of old men when their hair and breasts were covered in perfume.<sup>679</sup> The target would obviously come into close contact with the tool and thus the seductive power of the spell would be more likely to work if it was pleasing. Such a simple notion, although accurate for certain substances, is not entirely true and to understand the tools it is important to study each substance individually. The *ointment construction* rituals used in conjunction with the genitalia all consist of combinations, with

(*Mor.* 990B-C. Cf. *Ar. Plut.* 529-530), if she is anointed with perfumes (with specific mention of myrrh). The bridegroom who awaits the arrival of the bride is also anointed with myrrh. See Detienne, 1977, p.62 & ns.12, 13; Vernant, 1980, p.136. Cf. *Ar. Pax.* 859.

<sup>677</sup> The branches of myrtle were sacred to Aphrodite and used in Attica (*Ar. Av.* 160-161) to weave crowns worn by married couples. Cf. Detienne, 1977, pp.62-63.

<sup>678</sup> *Ar. Lys.* 912-951. Aristophanes is a good source of information for the use of ointments in sexual intercourse. For example, in the *Acharnians* (1048-1068), Dicaeopolus, when giving advice to a bridesmaid about the secrets of a happy marriage, recommends that the bride should rub an ointment into her husband every night and demonstrates the technique on an alabastron. The alabastron is used by women to hold perfumes. Its shape is used many times for phallic jokes. For further examples, see Henderson, 1975, p.120. Also see Keuls (1985, pp.119-120), who tells us that the anointing of the penis before and after sex was believed to cure irritations and improve skin texture.

<sup>679</sup> Archilochus *Frag.* 38 (Lasserre & Bonnard, ed).

honey being used in both PGM VII.191-92 and PGM XXXVI.283-94. The sweet nature of the substance would seem fitting considering it is to be smeared onto the genitalia prior to sexual intercourse. Honey, the dew from heaven and the gift of the gods, was also used in cooking due to the natural sweetness of the substance.<sup>680</sup> Honey was a highly valued substance in the Graeco-Roman world and *mel optimum* could cost as much as the best olive oil at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>681</sup> The desirability of the substance for genital ointments is heightened by the belief depicted in medical texts that it possessed contraceptive properties. Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Pliny and Soranus when discussing contraception refer frequently to, amongst other things (e.g. *coitus interruptus*, anal sex, etc), the application of pessaries.<sup>682</sup> Honey is included among the substances advocated for the creation of these pessaries.<sup>683</sup> The desirability of honey in *ointment construction* rituals is therefore further enhanced by the perceived contraceptive power of the substance. The sticky and occlusive nature of honey (which contributed a binding substance to a combination and perhaps symbolically aided the desired outcome of PGM VII.191-92 and PGM XXXVI.283-94), was believed to block the cervix and prohibit semen from entering the uterus.<sup>684</sup>

Added to honey in OC1 and OC2 is gall (the contents of the gallbladder), a repugnant substance that defies the previous hypothesis that a tool in the *ointment* paradigm should be of a pleasing nature. That said, particular types of gall were perceived to possess aphrodisiac qualities and its inclusion in a phallic ointment, when taking into consideration this characteristic, would not seem out of place.<sup>685</sup> As a consequence, the aphrodisiac qualities of gall would make both parties more amorous and the contraceptive properties of honey would nullify conception. The gall of boar, an uncastrated male pig,

<sup>680</sup> Dew from heaven: Aristot. *Hist. an.* V.553B 27-29; gift of the gods: Verg. *G.* IV.1. Apicius, in his *De re coquinaria*, adds the substance to many of his dishes. For Apicius see, for example, book X which gives many recipes for sauces to be used with seafood. Attica, Sicily and the Greek islands were renowned for the quality of their honey (Plin. *HN* XI.xiii.32; Dioscorides *Mat. Med.* II.101). The use of honey was not confined to cuisine and it was also applied in medicine (doctors used it for its anti-inflammatory and strengthening properties) and in cosmetics. For medicinal use, see Pliny (e.g. *HN* XX.liii) who continuously refers to the use of honey for medical purposes. Also see Theophr. *Hist. pl.* IX.xi.3; Dioscorides *Mat. Med.* II.104. For the use of honey in cosmetics, see Dioscorides *Mat. Med.* II.102.

<sup>681</sup> *Edictum Diocletiani* III.10.

<sup>682</sup> For Graeco-Roman contraceptive techniques, see Hopkins, 1965; Himes, 1970, pp.79-101; McLaren, 1990, pp.12-72; Leary, 1991; Riddle, 1992; Jütte, 2008, pp.11-16.

<sup>683</sup> The use of honey in contraception appears to also be an Egyptian practice with an ancient heritage. The Ebers Papyrus (ca. 1550 BC), a compendium of medical writings, recommends honey in a pessary. See Himes, 1970, pp.63-64.

<sup>684</sup> Stopes, 1941, p.256; Hopkins, 1965, pp.131 n.20, 134-135; Himes, 1970, pp.63-64; Leary, 1991, p.27.

<sup>685</sup> Plin. *HN.* XXVIII.lxxx.261.

might also have added extra virility to OC1 and there also appears to be an element of purity due firstly to the connection between the bee and honey<sup>686</sup> and, secondly, the inclusion of salt, a substance linked with purificatory rituals.<sup>687</sup> Sexual intercourse can create impurity and it is possible that the amateur practitioner would want to protect against this and, as a consequence, substances which contributed to a certain level of purity could be included in an ointment.<sup>688</sup> In OC2 honey is combined with egg and plant *crow's foot* juice. It is impossible to know for certain what *crow's foot* was but the egg, like the honey, would add to the combination adhesion and a liquid form.<sup>689</sup> Importantly, both the egg and honey were commonplace in Graeco-Roman society.<sup>690</sup> A chicken's egg in particular was affordable, as can be seen by Diocletian's edict on maximum prices in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, and it was also a popular appetiser.<sup>691</sup> However, PGM XXXVI.283-94 specifies that a crow's egg should be used but the bird is common throughout the Mediterranean region and the inclusion of an animal associated with Apollo would symbolically bring into the ointment the power of the god.<sup>692</sup> The eel used in OC2 was also common fare in the Roman period, as was the boar from whence the gall in OC1 originates.<sup>693</sup> The practitioner (professional or amateur) would not have had any difficulty in acquiring the substances needed to create OC1 and OC2.

<sup>686</sup> For the symbolic characteristics of the bee, see II.5 p.142.

<sup>687</sup> For the use of salt water in purificatory rituals, see II.5 p.142 & n.554.

<sup>688</sup> For the impurity of sex, see II.2. p.85 n.349.

<sup>689</sup> Phanēs, the primordial god of the Orphic cosmogony, emerged from an egg. Phanēs is the one who illuminates and enlightens. For Phanēs see West, 1983; Athanassakis & Wolkow, 2013. In Aristophanes (*Av.* 690-703) it is Eros who emerged from this egg. Perhaps this symbolism was still active when PGM XXXVI.283-94 was composed. If this is so, the egg could symbolise either the enlightening of the target (i.e. her love for the amateur practitioner) or the application of the god of passion in a spell designed to inspire love. Cf. PGM III.1-164 n.37 in GMPT.

<sup>690</sup> For the common use of honey, see II.7. p.181 n.680.

<sup>691</sup> *Edictum Diocletiani* VI.43. Appetiser: Hor. *Sat.* I.iii.6-7. For the use of eggs in high class cuisine, see Apicius *De re coquinaria* (e.g. I.v.8; II.i.42, 45, 46; II.ii.50)

<sup>692</sup> The Greek for crow is *κορώνη*. Koronis was the princess of Phlegyantia who was loved by Apollo. She committed adultery whilst she was pregnant with the god's son. Apollo learnt of this affair through a raven (in some versions, Apollo's familiar is actually a crow). Artemis was sent to kill Koronis (in Ovid it is Apollo who kills Koronis). Later, feeling remorse for his actions, Apollo punished the raven/crow (by turning its feathers from white to black) and recovered the unborn child (Asclepius), entrusting his rearing to the centaur Chiron. Koronis was later placed amongst the stars as the constellation Corvus, i.e. the Crow. For the myth of Koronis, see Pind. *Pyth.* V.5-7; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.x.3; Ov. *Met.* II.531-611; Paus. II.xxvi.1-7; Hyg. *Fab.* 202. For constellation, see Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* II.40. Pausanias (II.xi.7-xii.1) tells us that in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Titane birds were burnt on the altar after a wooden image of Koronis was removed. The type of bird is not specified but the removal of the statue may imply ravens or crows.

<sup>693</sup> The keeping of the pig was known from the Greek period, in which it was bred for the main purpose of producing meat (Arist. *Hist. an.* 545A, 573A-573B, 595A), through to the Roman period (e.g. Varro *Rust.* II.iv; Colum. II.xiv.4, II.xvii.1), in which it was a staple component of cuisine (Cato *Agr.* 162; Ath. IV.129B-C; Petron. *Sat.* 49). For reference to the eel in the Tiber, see Juv. V.103.

In a similar manner to that seen with genital ointments, the smearing of the face in PGM CXXII.1-55 and the smearing of oneself in PGM VII.862-918 are performed for the creation of a union. The rationale may be analogous to PGM VII.191-92 and PGM XXXVI.283-94 but there is no indication of sexual intercourse and one half of the relationship in PGM VII.862-918 is a deity (Selene). To assess initially PGM CXXII.1-55, an excerpt of enchantments from a holy book called Hermes,<sup>694</sup> the amateur practitioner is instructed to anoint his face with myrrh whilst an *incantation* ritual is performed before dawn. The logic for the performance of the *ointment construction* ritual is relatively straightforward, as can be seen by the words to be recited, which draws a parallel between the amateur practitioner's anointing and Isis' use of myrrh to woo Osiris: *ὃ εἶς τὸ μύρον ᾧ ἡ Ἐῖς χρεῖσαμένη ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ὀσειρίου κόλπον τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἔδωκε αὐτῆς τὴν χάριν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνη τῆι ἡμέρᾳ*. Just as Isis attracted and won the heart of Osiris by the use of sweet-smelling ointments, so too the amateur practitioner of PGM CXXII.1-55 is hoping to ensnare the heart of the target. Myrrh would be a sensible choice due to the widespread instructions for its application by the EMP but also because of its use in conjugal sex.<sup>695</sup>

In contrast to PGM CXXII.1-55, which uses myrrh to create a union between a man and a woman, the *ointment construction* ritual in PGM VII.862-918 is performed to create a union between the amateur practitioner and Selene. PGM VII.862-918 is reliant on Selene who will act as an agent of the amateur practitioner and, as a result, he must do what is necessary to ensure the compliance of the goddess.<sup>696</sup> Although PGM VII.862-918 is designed to establish communication with a deity, the rationale for the application of this ointment is comparable to PGM CXXII.1-55 and both can be understood when considering their perceived transformative nature, i.e. the application of an ointment could change the appearance of a person in the eyes of others. This is a belief expressed in Theophrastus and in a discussion of plants used as amulets, he states that the plant called snapdragon can be used to create good fame and the man who anoints himself with it will also win a good

<sup>694</sup> The claims that the papyrus contains information translated from ancient Egyptian spells in the book of Hermes, which was found in the innermost shrine of a temple in Heliopolis, is an attempt to create an aura of mystery, antiquity and authority, as is argued by Suppl. Mag. vol II. p.111. PGM CXXII.1-55 is equivalent to Suppl. Mag. 72.

<sup>695</sup> See II.7 p.179 n.676, in which Plutarch comments that myrrh was used in conjugal sex. The practice of using myrrh for the creation of an ointment is well attested in the PDM. See PDM xiv.115, 295-308, 309-34, 805-40, 875-85, 961-65.

<sup>696</sup> For the role of Selene as an agent, see II.5 p.150.

reputation.<sup>697</sup> This idea is reiterated in Pliny who describes the *helianthes* (sun flower), a plant with leaves like myrtle, which when combined with lion's fat, saffron, and palm wine and applied as an ointment is said to give the body a pleasing appearance.<sup>698</sup> When taking into consideration the transformative power of ointments, the appearance of the amateur practitioner in PGM CXXII.1-55 and PGM VII.862-918 changes in the eyes of the beholder. They would appear more attractive and in PGM CXXII.1-55 the human target would more easily succumb to sexual approaches and in PGM VII.862-918 Selene would be more willing to act as an agent.

### c) Throwing

The *throwing* ritual refers to the tossing of a tool at a target (be it a human target or a location) and instructions for it to be performed can be seen in three EMP, with a separate tool used from the *object* and *target* paradigms (see Table II.7.c and Table II.7.d). To begin an analysis of the *throwing* ritual, this section will initially focus on the apple in PGM CXXII.1-55 and by studying the instructions at ll.5-14, entitled ἐπωδή,<sup>699</sup> the *throwing* ritual in this instance can be seen to be infused with erotic symbolism. This is due to the nature of the tool chosen from the *object* paradigm, the apple, the action performed, and the tool chosen from the *target* paradigm, a female. Both the nature of the tools and the action performed are referenced specifically by the *incantation* ritual, which requires that words are spoken over the apples three times and which opens with the proclamation: βαλῶ μήλοισι. The target, who will either take the apple and eat it or hold it to her bosom, is to fall madly in love with the person performing the *throwing* ritual. The recited incantation ends with an adjuration of Aphrodite and the request that she carry out this perfect ἐπωδή. The charm is short and succinct and this brief description is essentially the spell in its entirety. It is with the apple, however, that the importance and power of the spell lies.

---

<sup>697</sup> Theophr. *Hist. pl.* IX.xix.2-3.

<sup>698</sup> Plin. *HN.* XXIV.cii.167. Cf. the *Historia Varia* (XII.18) of Aelian, who gives the myth of Phaon, the ferryman who received from Aphrodite for an act of kindness an alabastron filled with myrrh which made him the most attractive of men. When he smeared it on his body all the women of Myteline fell in love with him. Unfortunately for Phaon, he died a violent death when he was caught in the act of adultery.

<sup>699</sup> In the *incantation* ritual there is reference to PGM CXXII.1-55 being a ἐπωδή and a φάρμακον. For a discussion of ἐπωδή and φάρμακον, see I.3 pp.20-22.



Table II.7.c: Tools in the *object* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Apple	CXXII.1-55	5-14	Charm
Bread	IV.1390-1495	1395	Attraction
Dirt	IV.1390-1495	1396-1397	Attraction
Water	III.1-164	40-42	Binding

Table II.7.d: Tools in the *target* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Female	CXXII.1-55	5-14	Charm
Arena	IV.1390-1495	1395	Attraction
Rite location	III.1-164	41-42	Binding
Target's home	IV.1390-1495	1397	Attraction

The apple was a fruit regularly given as a symbol of affection, as were all seeded fruit, μήλον, in general.<sup>700</sup> The giving of seeded fruit in the courting process was a practice which had a long heritage in the Greek world and is referenced in the mythological source material. A classic example of this can be seen with the abduction of Persephone who ate the honey-sweet pomegranate seeds (κόκκον... μελιηδέα) and became the bride of Hades as a result.<sup>701</sup> One of the oldest testimonies to the throwing of μήλα in courtship can be found in Hesiod's depiction of the seduction of Atalanta by Hippomenes. Atalanta had declared that she would only marry the person who could beat her in a footrace. Those who tried to win her hand but failed to do so were to be punished instantly with death. The race between Hippomenes and Atalanta is recorded by Hesiod.

ἦ δ' αἶψ' ὄσθ' Ἄρπυια μεταχρονίοισι πόδεσσιν  
 ἔμμαρψ'· αὐτὰρ ὁ χειρὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἤκε χαμᾶζε·

<sup>700</sup> Theoc. *Id.* II.120, III.10-11, VII.117, XI.10; Lucian *Tox.* 13; Philostr. *Ep.* 62; Nonnus, *Dion.* XLII.312-314. All seeded fruits (including apples, apricots, quinces, citrons and peaches) were encapsulated by μήλον. When a writer wished to specify which μήλον they were referring to, this word could be extrapolated upon. For instance μήλον περσικόν refers to a peach, μήλον κυδώνιος to a quince. Cf. Foster, 1899, p.40; Littlewood, 1967, pp.147-148; Detienne, 1979, p.43; Faraone, 1999, p.69 & n.126; Dalby, 2003, pp.19-20. For the apple in erotic magic, see Faraone, 1990; *idem*, 1999, pp.69-78.

<sup>701</sup> H. *Dem.* 371-374, 411-413. Cf. Foster, 1899; Trumf, 1960; Littlewood, 1967; Detienne, 1979, pp.43-44; Faraone, 1990, pp.236-237; *idem*, 1999, pp.75-76.

καὶ δὴ ἔχεν δύο μῆλα ποδώκης δῖ' Ἀταλάντη·  
ἐγγύς δ' ἦν τέλος· ὃ δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἤκε χαμᾶζε·  
σὺν τῷ δ' ἐξέφυγεν θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν,  
ἔστι δ' ἀμπνείων...<sup>702</sup>

Instead of employing raw speed to defeat Atalanta, Hippomenes decided that his best chance of victory lay with cunning. In the above quotation we can see that Hippomenes threw two apples, which were caught in the air by Atalanta as she ran, and a third was thrown to the ground. It was this third apple that bested Atalanta as she was forced to stop and collect it. Hippomenes not only won the hand of Atalanta through the application of the apples, he also managed to escape death. It would not have been possible to 'win' Atalanta were it not for the apple and Theocritus later wrote that she went mad with desire for Hippomenes.<sup>703</sup> This account was followed by Ovid's which suggested that the apples were made of gold and were thus a distraction due to their beauty and value.<sup>704</sup> Ovid tried to rationalise the reaction of Atalanta but his account reveals the symbolic power of the apple, a symbolism that is employed by PGM CXXII.1-55. Ovid records that Hippomenes knew he could not defeat Atalanta fairly and so he prayed to Aphrodite. The goddess in turn gave him three apples which came from her sacred apple-tree in Tamasus, Cyprus (Aphrodite is referred to as Κυπρογένεια in PGM CXXII.1-55).<sup>705</sup> This reference in Ovid's narration exposes the connection between the apple and Aphrodite in the mind of the Greeks and Romans. An apple would instantly bring to the mind of the Graeco-Roman perceiver this symbolism. The act of throwing seeded fruit was interlinked with this connection and Detienne tells us that the Greek term μηλοβολεῖν was a proverbial expression which signalled Aphrodite's abilities to render a person with passion, to put them into ecstasy, and to entice them with the lure of sex.<sup>706</sup> The apple was clearly a very powerful fruit with deep symbolic meaning and the connection between the apple and Aphrodite was commemorated by Canachus' statue of the goddess at Sicyon, which held a poppy in one hand and an apple in the other.<sup>707</sup> The apple may have simply owed its sacred

<sup>702</sup> Hes. *Cat.* II.48.18(40)-23(48).

<sup>703</sup> Theoc. *Id.* III.40-43.

<sup>704</sup> Ov. *Met.* X.665-667. Cf. Faraone, 1990, pp.230-238; *idem*, 1999, p.73.

<sup>705</sup> Ov. *Met.* X.638-651.

<sup>706</sup> Detienne, 1979, p.44; Faraone, 1990, p.232; *idem*, 1999, pp.72-73. Cf. Theoc. *Id.* V.88-89, VI.6-7; Lucian *Dial. Mer.* XII.1; Heliod. *Aeth.* III.iii.8.

<sup>707</sup> This statue still stood tall in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, as can be seen by the description of Pausanias (II.x.5).

character to it being in some sense a symbol of Aphrodite or perhaps Aphrodite was associated with the apple which already held connotations of love. Either way, the symbolic connections between μήλα, courtship, and the goddess Aphrodite were well established by the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and the giving of seeded fruit was a practice which was incorporated into the law-codes of Athens. Solonian law meant it was essential, in Attica at least, for the bride to eat a quince (μέλου κυδωνίου) before the wedding night.<sup>708</sup> At the heart of this custom lay the hope that the offering of seeded fruit would placate the bride's hostility to the sexual advances of her husband.<sup>709</sup>

By the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the practice of throwing an apple had developed into an act which could be applied for immoral reasons. This can be seen by reading the argument of Right in Aristophanes' *Clouds*. To be hit by a μήλον from a prostitute was something to be wary of if one wished to hold onto their good name and Right warns: μηδ' εἰς ὄρχηστρίδες εἰσάπτειν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ταῦτα κεχηνῶς μήλω βληθεὶς ὑπὸ πορνιδίου τῆς εὐκλείας ἀποθραυσθῆς.<sup>710</sup> Men feared they could become ensnared by prostitutes against their will and the expression voiced suspicions of an attack of erotic magic.<sup>711</sup> For Aristophanes to openly incorporate this practice into his plays, it is clear that there was a connection already at this point between the symbolic power of the apple and seduction. In the context of erotic magic however, there was no choice for the target and they were simply to succumb to the power of the charm. In contrast to that seen in erotic magic, rituals surrounding the use of μήλα normally involved a two stage process of presentation and acceptance. By hitting a person with an apple, the thrower indicated his intent to seduce and the target would indicate her acquiescence by accepting the apple.<sup>712</sup> Therefore, what can be seen is an element of choice for the receiver of the apple. The belief in this practice was still prevalent when Lucian wrote of the problems between a courtesan by the name of Joessa and her lover Lysias.<sup>713</sup> Joessa recalls an instant when Lysias flirted with a Pyralis by biting off a piece of an apple and throwing it into her bosom. She in turn kissed it,

---

<sup>708</sup> Plut. *Sol.* XX.3. This is a practice not without parallel elsewhere in the Greek world. In the same passage Plutarch also mentions the Boeotian custom of placing a garland of asparagus, commonly used as an aphrodisiac, on the head of the bride after she is veiled. Strabo (XV.3.17) gives us an example of this custom from outside the Graeco-Roman world. Among the Persians, he records, a girl on her wedding day was allowed to eat only apples and camel marrow. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 279F; Nonnus, *Dion.* XIII.351-353.

<sup>709</sup> Detienne, 1979, pp.41-44; Faraone, 1999, pp.71-72.

<sup>710</sup> Ar. *Nub.* 996-997.

<sup>711</sup> For a discussion of the tricks employed by prostitutes, see Faraone's (1999, pp. 146-160) discussion on social construction of gender.

<sup>712</sup> Faraone, 1990, pp.234-235, 237-238; *idem*, 1999, pp.77-78.

<sup>713</sup> Lucian, *Dial. meret.* XII.1.

dropped it between her breasts, and tucked it under her girdle. By this act, Lysias would have known that Pyrallis was willing to engage in an affair and Joessa, by witnessing this act, knew that her relationship with Lysias was in trouble. It is to this practice that PGM CXXII.1-55 alludes and when we read that the target can either take and eat the enchanted  $\mu\tilde{\eta}\lambda\alpha$  or hold them to her bosom, the illusion of this choice is brought into the spell.<sup>714</sup> It is but an illusion however, as either way the target is to fall madly in love with the amateur practitioner. We are not told however, if the target can simply ignore the apples which have been thrown to her but judging by that said by Right in Aristophanes, it would be hard to withstand the onslaught of such a symbolically erotic tool.

In contrast to the throwing of an apple, the dirt in PGM IV.1390-1495 and the water in PGM III.1-164 are used in the *throwing* ritual due to the perceived connection between the tools and the location from whence they originate. There is no sexuality or eroticism involved with the *throwing* rituals in PGM III.1-164 and PGM IV.1390-1495 and instead they are used to create a connection between a place of death and the target. In PGM III.1-164, the EMP instruct that the water which was used to drown the cat is to be sprinkled where the rite is performed (due to the inclusion of a stadium in these instructions, it can be assumed that the ritual in question is not the drowning of the animal but the location intended to be affected by the cat).<sup>715</sup> As the cat is to act as an agent of the amateur practitioner and help carry out the binding love charm specified in the closing lines of the spell, the water in which it was drowned could act as a form of  $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$  and create a connection between the deified animal and the location of the ritual.<sup>716</sup> When PGM III.1-164 is performed to create an erotic binding spell, the location to be sprinkled could logically be the residence of the target.<sup>717</sup> The cat would know the location of the target due to the presence of its essence in the water. The same principle can also apply to PGM IV.1390-1495, the opening line of which states that the love spell of attraction is to be performed with the assistance of heroes, gladiators, or those who have died a violent death. As has been discussed previously, the dead could be enlisted by the performance of erotic magic and it is these beings that are to act as the agent of the amateur practitioner in

<sup>714</sup> There is some evidence of apples symbolising women's breasts. See Ar. *Ach.* 1199, *Eccl.* 903; Nonnus, *Dion.* XXXV.33-34.

<sup>715</sup> See II.6 pp.171-174 for a discussion of the cat and how it is killed via drowning.

<sup>716</sup> See Graf's (1997, pp.109-113) discussion of the drowning of a falcon in PGM I.1-42. Here he argues that the milk which is used to drown the falcon consequently contains an essence of the falcon and Re, due to the symbolic.

<sup>717</sup> In PGM IV.1716-1870 we can see that it is not beyond the amateur practitioner to physically go to the house of the target.

PGM IV.1390-1495.<sup>718</sup> It is to the heroes, gladiators, and violently dead that another *throwing* ritual is also performed. PGM IV.1390-1495 instructs that a little piece of bread which is eaten should be broken up into seven pieces. The amateur practitioner is then to speak an oral incantation to the bread before throwing them in the place where gladiators and those who have died a violent death were slain (this thesis has assumed that this is a reference to an arena). This is a form of offering to the deceased so that their anger will be placated and thus they will be more willing to assist the amateur practitioner.<sup>719</sup> Following the offering of bread, the amateur practitioner is then instructed to take some dirt from the place where the ritual was performed, i.e. the place where a corpse has lain. As a consequence, the dirt will have become infused with blood (again can be seen οὐσία, magical material) which contained an essence of the violently dead.<sup>720</sup> The dirt is then to be thrown inside the house of the woman desired. The heroes, gladiators, and violently dead, placated by the offering of bread, would automatically know the location of the target due to the connection between the dirt and themselves.

#### d) Phylactery Construction

*Phylactery construction* refers to the sections in the EMP which require the application of a tool for protection and it requires a maximum of two tools chosen from the *phylactery* and *tie* paradigms. However, just as a word can consist of one signifier chosen from the letter paradigms (e.g. 'I'), it is common for the *phylactery construction* ritual to consist of a solitary signifier. For the tools in the *phylactery* and *tie* paradigms, see Table II.7.e and Table II.7.f. It should be stated that this ritual is called *phylactery construction* to contrast it with the amuletic devices constructed via the performance of the *incantation* ritual discussed previously.<sup>721</sup> The separation of that seen here and alternative amulet devices is reliant on three main points: the word φυλακτήριον (meaning a protective charm,

<sup>718</sup> For the role of the 'Restless Dead' in the EMP, see II.3 pp.113-117.

<sup>719</sup> For the giving of offerings to the dead and the cult of the dead, see Burkert, 1985, pp.190-194; Felton, 1999, pp.12-14; Johnston, 1999, pp.38-46.

<sup>720</sup> Blood contains a life force and energy. It was due to the energy in blood that it was seen as essential for reanimation. Blood was thought to possess the ability to revitalise and revive, to a certain extent. It could return to the dead a semblance of life and sustain them long enough for interaction with the living. See Sourvinou-Inwood, 1995, pp.77, 83; Ekroth, 2002, pp.266, 285-286, 306. It is for this reason that the dead are drawn to blood. They yearn for and are attracted to the energy contained within it. See Ar. Av. 1553-1564; Hom. Od. XI.23-99; Plut. Arist. XXI; Luc. VI.667; Heliod. Aeth. VI.14; Hor. Sat. I.viii.23-50; Stat. Theb. IV.600, 625; Valerius Flaccus Argonautica I.730-740, 816-826; Paus. IX.xxix.6; Eur. Hec. 534-541. Cf. Hawley, 1998, pp.108-109; Ogden, 2001, pp.254-255; Ekroth, 2002, pp.265-268. For οὐσία see II.3.b, II.5.e.

<sup>721</sup> For a discussion of amuletic magic, see II.1 pp.74-77.

phylactery, or amulet) is used every time the *phylactery construction* ritual is specified and virtually never with amuletic devices constructed via the performance of the *incantation* ritual,<sup>722</sup> there is no metal used in the *phylactery construction* ritual, and the power of alternative amuletic devices is reliant on the performance of the *incantation* ritual. Furthermore, although the tools used in the *phylactery construction* ritual and the amuletic devices created via the *incantation* ritual share common characteristics (i.e. they are both worn and aim to offer a form of protection to the amateur practitioner), the power of the latter incorporates various elements (e.g. victory charms) and those created via the *phylactery construction* ritual are used solely for protection. References to the *phylactery construction* ritual may be limited, with instructions in only three EMP, but the protective nature of the resulting tool is clearly stated.

Table II.7.e: Tools in the *phylactery* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Cat whiskers	III.1-164	94-97	Binding
Cow tooth	IV.2891-2942	2895-2900	Attraction
Donkey tooth	IV.2891-2942	2895-2900	Attraction
Peonies	LXII.1-24	24	Attraction

Table II.7.f: Tools in the *tie* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Anubian thread	PGM IV.2891-2942	2895-2896	Attraction

The rationale for the *phylactery construction* ritual is relatively straightforward to understand considering that the sole objective of the ritual is to offer protection from the adjured supernatural beings expected to assist the practitioner. As it is of vital importance that the amateur practitioner does not come into communication with the supernatural without first taking precautions,<sup>723</sup> the tools must be related to this protective objective and when viewing the whiskers of the cat in PGM III.1-164, it can be seen that the substance supports this hypothesis. The cat's whiskers are a by-product of the *animal killing* ritual

<sup>722</sup> The only time it is used in an *incantation* ritual is in PGM IV.2441-2621 and the creation of a protective device from papyrus. See II.1 pp.74-75.

<sup>723</sup> For instructions to not approach a god without being protected, see II.1 pp.74.

performed in the opening section of the spell, in which a cat is drowned to create an agent.<sup>724</sup> The whiskers of the cat were clearly not meant to be buried with the rest of the animal and they are instead to be held (an assumption as the text states only that the whiskers should be taken) by the amateur practitioner as an *incantation* ritual is performed to the setting sun (Helios). The cat's whiskers could be used to create a symbolic and indexical connection with the agent (the familiar of Isis) but, more importantly for the *phylactery construction* ritual, cats were perceived as an apotropaic animal. The cat was also associated with purity, for it is the natural enemy of disease carrying rodents, a characteristic which may have contributed to the gradual domestication of the animal by the Egyptians.<sup>725</sup> The concept of the cat as a clean animal was a perception shared by the Greeks who believed it abhorred all foul-smelling objects and it is for this reason that they bury their excrement.<sup>726</sup> It is the symbolic power of the apotropaic cat that PGM III.1-164 utilises when the spell instructs the application of the animal's whiskers.

In contrast to the use of a cat's whiskers however, it is more difficult to understand the application of alternative tools in the the *phylactery construction* ritual. To focus initially on PGM IV.2891-2942, the EMP instruct that a donkey's tooth or a tooth of a cow are to be tied to the arm with Anubian thread whilst a *fire manipulation* and *incantation* ritual are performed. This is the only *phylactery construction* ritual which applies a tool from the *tie* paradigm but it is unclear what Anubian thread is. Anubis, the divine undertaker, may have had his name applied to the thread used in mummification and if this was so, a chthonic element would be symbolically added to the phylactery.<sup>727</sup> The use of the donkey is clearer and, as is often the case with substances originating from the donkey, there could be a symbolic and indexical connection between the tool and Seth.<sup>728</sup> This notion is corroborated by the nature of PGM IV.2891-2942 which employs two compulsion elements to force Aphrodite to assist with the attraction of the target. Seth is a powerful and liminal deity who could offer protection to the amateur practitioner as he coerced (either through the pleasing offering of BSC5 or the vulgar offering of vulture brains combined with the compulsive nature of the *incantation* ritual)<sup>729</sup> the goddess of love. In a similar manner, the cow is associated symbolically and indexically with Hera, a

<sup>724</sup> For the drowning of the cat, see II.6 pp.171-174.

<sup>725</sup> Engels, 1999. pp.20-21, 130.

<sup>726</sup> Aelian, *HA* VI.27.

<sup>727</sup> See PGM I.147 and n.33. Anubian thread is also used at PGM IV.1083 and PGM XXXVI.237.

<sup>728</sup> For the connection between the donkey and Seth, see II.1 pp.60-61.

<sup>729</sup> For the offering of BSC5 and vulture brains, see II.2.c.

connection reflected by literary works, e.g. in Homer she is referred to as βοῶπις (ox-eyed, having large, full eyes) and her appearance in Ovid is as a white cow.<sup>730</sup> It is possible that the matronly nature of Hera could have contributed some sort of symbolic power to the attraction spell. However, the importance of the the *phylactery construction* ritual in PGM IV.2891-2942 is reliant on the perception that these tools could offer a protective element in a spell which relies on the acquiescence of the goddess of love. This also holds true for the tool in PGM LXII.1-24, which instructs that an amulet consisting of three peonies is to be wrapped around the arm. Ordinarily peony is called παωνία and is thus associated with Paieon, the physician of the Olympian gods and closely associated with the gods Asclepius and Apollo.<sup>731</sup> It is possible that the connection between peony and healing was established due to the use of the substance for various medical reasons, as is attested by Dioscorides and Pliny.<sup>732</sup> In addition however, a παίων was a song addressed to Apollo or Artemis, which was recited in thanksgiving for deliverance from evil and this role would seem fitting for the application of peony in the the *phylactery construction* ritual.<sup>733</sup> Again, it is not the nature of the tool however, which is of importance to the rituals instructed by the EMP. Rather, the perception was that these substances could offer protection against the adjured and thus, as a result, they could offer protection.

#### e) Libation

The *libation* ritual is performed by pouring liquid and it requires the application of two paradigms: *liquid* and *liquid container*. This is the least performed ritual and it can only be seen in PGM III.1-164 and PGM IV.2145-2240. However, it is impossible to know for certain if a *libation* ritual is actually performed in PGM III.1-164 due to the heavily fragmented nature of the line in question (all that is given at l.28 is ...θὲς, βλέπων τῷ ἀπηλιώτη, χωρ...), which is stated following the instructions for the placing of the deceased cat in a tomb.<sup>734</sup> By extrapolation, it is also impossible to know what tool was chosen from either paradigm. In contrast to PGM III.1-164, the instructions for the *libation*

<sup>730</sup> Hom. *Il.* I.551; Ov. *Met.* V.330. For the many connections between the cow and Hera, see Schliemann, 1878, p.20.

<sup>731</sup> For Paieon as healer, see Hom. *Il.* V.401, 899, *Od.* IV.232; Pind., *Pyth.* IV.270; Verg. *Aen.* VII.769. For the association with Apollo and Asclepius, see Aesch. *Ag.* 146; Soph. *OT* 154, *Trach.* 221; Ar. *Ach.* 1212; Eur. *Alc.* 220; Plat. *Crit.* 108C; Ar. *Plut.* 636.

<sup>732</sup> According to Dioscorides (III.140), the plant was called γλυκυσίδη. For Pliny, see *HN* XXVII.lx. For the purported hazardous collection of peony, see Theophr. *Hist. pl.* IX.viii.6 and Plin. *HN* XXV.x, XXVII.lx.85.

<sup>733</sup> For example, see Hom. *Il.* I.473; H. *Ap.* III.518; Aesch. *Lib.* 343; Ar. *Plut.* 636; Xen. *Hell.* IV.vii.4.

<sup>734</sup> For the use of the cat via the performance of a *deposition* ritual, see II.3.a.



ritual in PGM IV.2145-2240 are clearer. The ritual is to be performed four times in quick succession, with instructions that honey, milk, olive oil, and wine are to be poured out in the section to consecrate the lamella inscribed with three Homeric verses.<sup>735</sup> However, as with PGM III.1-164, there is no indication of the tool that was chosen from the *liquid container* paradigm (table omitted as a result) but one must have been used. This conclusion can be reached as the liquids, by their nature and the nature of a libation, would require a container.

Table II.7.g: Tools in the *liquid* paradigm

Tool	EMP	Line(s)	Category
Honey	IV.2145-2240	2190	Attraction & charm
Milk	IV.2145-2240	2190	Attraction & charm
Olive oil	IV.2145-2240	2190-2191	Attraction & charm
Unknown	III.1-164	28	Binding
Wine	IV.2145-2240	2190	Attraction & charm

If the fragmented instructions in PGM III.1-164 refer to the performance of a *libation* ritual, then it would seem logical to assume that one of the four tools seen in PGM IV.2145-2240 would have been used. This assumption can be made as honey, milk, olive oil, and wine were common substances used in libations in the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>736</sup> Libations, one of the most common and simplest religious practices, were seen as one of the basic acts that defined piety in ancient Greece and it had origins deep in prehistoric times.<sup>737</sup> There were two separate types of libation which were performed: the Olympian libation (represented by *σπονδαί*) and the chthonic libations (represented by *χοαί*). Whether the libation is one of the *σπονδαί* or the *χοαί*, its importance lay in the surrendering of oneself to a higher will in what Burkert refers to as “an act of serene wastefulness.”<sup>738</sup> The inclusion of *σπονδή* to specify the act of libation in PGM IV.2145-2240 would imply that what is to be performed is an Olympian libation. It was also common practice for an Olympian libation to be performed with an invocation and prayer (as is the case with PGM

<sup>735</sup> For the use of the lamella in PGM IV.2145-2240, see II.1 pp.74-77.

<sup>736</sup> For libations, see Graf, 1980; Burkert, 1985, pp.70-73; Zaidman & Pantel, 1992, pp.39-41; Johnston, 1999, p.41. Note that water is never used for a libation in the EMP. For the use of water in the EMP, in which it has no connection to a libation, see II.7.c.

<sup>737</sup> Burkert, 1985, p.70.

<sup>738</sup> Burkert, 1985, p.72.

IV.2145-2240) and when a libation was performed in conjunction with a sacrifice, the offering was poured onto the flames which consumed the animal.<sup>739</sup> There is no specification in PGM IV.2145-2240 of a fire being used in conjunction with the slaying of the rooster but the use of θύω could imply that one was used.<sup>740</sup> In the same way that reading θύω would bring to the mind of the perceiver a sacrificial act, the reading of σπονδή in PGM IV.2145-2240 would consequently bring to the mind of the practitioner the act in which a liquid is poured onto the floor from a container, the most common being the kratēr or the phialē.<sup>741</sup> In contrast, chthonic libations are poured on the earth from a larger vessel, which would be tipped and they were known as ὄινοι or νηφάλιοι, “without wine.”<sup>742</sup> Unfortunately, the tool chosen from the *liquid container* paradigm is never specified and although we can only guess at the nature of this object, the use of σπονδή in PGM IV.2145-2240 could imply that a kratēr or a phialē was used.

The *libation* ritual in PGM IV.2145-2240 is one component of a section (which includes the killing of an animal and the incineration of substances) dedicated to the consecration of a lamella inscribed with three Homeric verses.<sup>743</sup> This lamella is subsequently used for the performance of a spell of attraction and a charm and its consecration was seen as a necessity. However, the Greek verb σπένδω, used to represent the *libation* ritual in PGM IV.2145-2240, as well as meaning “to make a drink-offering”, can also mean “pour libations with another” and when it is used for the latter meaning, it refers to the custom of performing a libation whilst making treaties or agreements.<sup>744</sup> In the middle voice, the verb means "enter into an agreement," in the sense that the gods are called to guarantee an action.<sup>745</sup> When this alternative translation is taken into consideration, it is possible that the *libation* ritual in PGM IV.2145-2240 is not performed to give an offering but as a means of establishing agreement between the mortal practitioner and the adjured. Thus, what can be seen via the *libation* ritual in PGM

<sup>739</sup> Burkert, 1985, p.71.

<sup>740</sup> For the use of libation in animal sacrifice, see Burkert, 1985, p.71; Zaidman & Pantel, 1992, p.36.

<sup>741</sup> Burkert, 1985, pp.70-71; Zaidman & Pantel, 1992, p.40. For sacrificial terminology, see II.2 pp.83-84.

<sup>742</sup> For chthonic libations, see Burkert 1985, p. 72-73; Zaidman & Pantel, 1992, p.41; Scullion, 1994, pp.75-76. However, one of the most famous portrayals of a chthonic libation can be seen with Odysseus' attempts to contact the deceased seer Tiresias. For reference and further discussion, see I.3 pp.27. Odysseus pours various libations around the edge of a βόθρος, and included are milk mixed with honey, wine, water, and black ram blood. Also see Aesch. *Pers.* 598-622; Heliod. *Aeth.* VI.14; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* III.1191; Plut. *Arist.* XXI; Hor. *Sat.* I.viii.23-50; Luc. VI.666-668, 750-762; Sen. *Oed.* 548-581; Ov. *Met.* VII.242-250. Cf. Felton, 2010, p.90.

<sup>743</sup> For the use of Homeric text in magic, see I.3 p.27 n.118.

<sup>744</sup> For example, see Hdt. III.144; Ar. *Ach.* 199, Av. 1534; Xen. *An.* I.ix.7.

<sup>745</sup> Mallory & Adams, 1997, p.351.

IV.2145-2240 is either the surrendering of the practitioner to a higher will or the practitioner approaching the divine as an equal to establish an agreement.

f) Summary

The minor rituals have been defined as rituals which are instructed a limited number of times but still require the manipulation of tools. Each one is relatively simple to perform and they are visually represented by Figure II.7.a, Figure II.7.b, Figure II.7.c, and Figure II.7.d. On the syntagmatic horizontal axis can be seen the sequential nature of each minor ritual and on the vertical axis are the paradigms, from which a tool is chosen for the completion of the ritual action.

Figure II.7.a: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the *ointment construction* ritual

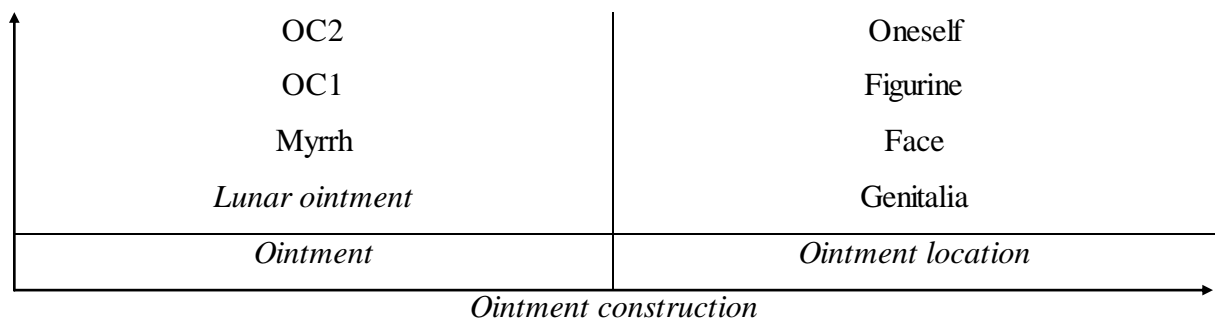


Figure II.7.b: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the *throwing* ritual

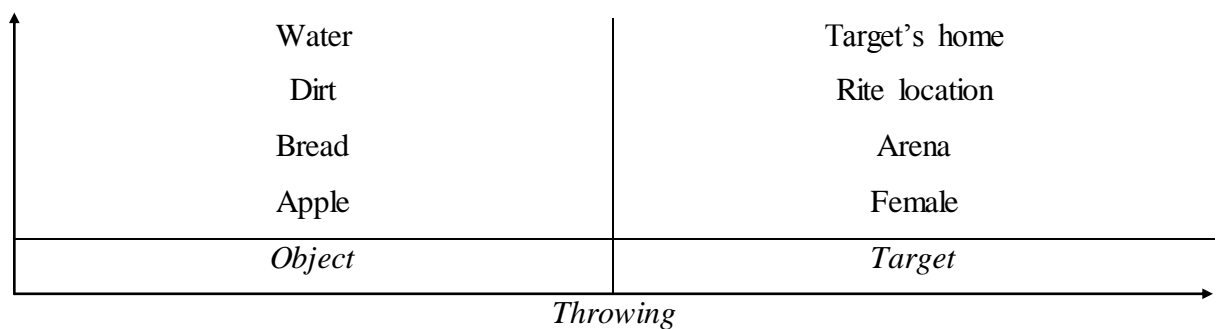


Figure II.7.c: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the *phylactery construction* ritual

Peonies	
Donkey's tooth	
Cow's tooth	
Cat's whiskers	Anubian thread
<i>Phylactery</i>	<i>Tie</i>

*Phylactery construction*

Figure II.7.d: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the *libation* ritual

Wine	
Unknown	
Olive oil	
Milk	
Honey	Unknown
<i>Liquid</i>	<i>Liquid container</i>

*Libation*

As can be seen by these tables, all minor rituals are relatively easy to perform but an understanding of each individual tool is reliant on the context in which it used and there are very few unifying factors to their application. This is understandable as each ritual action should be considered on its own merit. Nevertheless, all of the minor rituals at one point or another are applied to facilitate communication between the amateur practitioner and either the target or an agent. In the *ointment construction* ritual, an ointment is used to make the amateur practitioner more appealing to the target (PGM VII.191-92, PGM XXXVI.283-94, and PGM CXXII.1-55) and it is used in PGM VII.862-918 to make the practitioner more appealing to a deity. The *throwing* ritual is used to facilitate communication between the amateur practitioner and the dead, on whom PGM IV.1390-1495 is reliant. The *throwing* ritual is essential for communication in PGM CXXII.1-55 as the target would know the seductive intent of the amateur practitioner by being thrown an apple. The *phylactery construction* ritual, in a similar manner to the application of an ointment in PGM VII.862-918, is performed for the adjuration of a divine being in every

spell in which it is instructed by the EMP, and it was believed to offer protection to the amateur practitioner. The final minor ritual, *libation*, is instructed as it is an offering to the adjured beings in PGM IV.2145-2240 and possibly PGM III.1-164.

### III. Conclusion

This thesis sheds new light on the tools instructed for application by the erotic magical papyri (EMP). These tools have been defined as the physical substances, materials, and objects that are instructed for application by the PGM for the completion of a process to establish or reinforce a relationship with an erotic nature. Any analysis of the PGM will immediately reveal that the manipulation of physical tools is ever-present. This statement can lead logically to the conclusion that the power of the rituals instructed by the EMP did not reside within the individual but in the manipulation of tools in the proper manner. It has been the main objective of this thesis to discover if there was any rationale to the application of a tool and, if there was meaning, did this rationale correlate directly to the outcome of the erotic spells instructed by the EMP. However, any attempt to understand why a tool was instructed for application must first consider them, in regards to the principles of semiotics, as a signifier and, as such, they are open to interpretation by the perceiver with the signified varying. There is nothing innate in a tool that implies it can be used for a particular purpose and one needs to be careful when analysing their application due to the multivocal (the possibility of limitless interpretations) nature of all signs.<sup>746</sup> As a consequence, before any attempt was made in this thesis to establish rationale for tool application, it was essential to analyse the identity of the perceiver. No signifier has meaning unless it is perceived to have meaning and due to the subjective nature of interpretation, perception of the EMP is wholly reliant on the individual. In regards to the EMP, the perceiver of the tools is the practitioner who actively performed the rituals instructed. This thesis has argued however, that there are essentially two separate practitioners: the professional and the amateur, with the relationship between the two being one of client and consultant.<sup>747</sup> The professional practitioner sells his expert knowledge to the amateur practitioner who is suffering from the terrible disease of passionate longing. It is the amateur practitioner who would then perform the rituals prescribed by the professional. In this respect, it has been argued, the relationship between the amateur and professional practitioner is comparable to the modern relationship between patient and doctor.

Any attempt to understand the tools instructed for application by the EMP must concentrate on the professional practitioner. It is this individual who has dedicated time

---

<sup>746</sup> For the multivocal nature of a sign, see I.2 pp.6-7.

<sup>747</sup> For the relationship between the amateur and professional, see I.4 pp.51-54.

and effort to acquire the level of expert knowledge required to compose and understand the EMP. The amateur practitioner, in contrast, is relatively ignorant of the information contained in the EMP and is simply following the advice of the professional. To continue the previous analogy, this is comparable to a modern patient suffering from an ailment taking prescribed medicine that they do not fully comprehend. As a consequence, when discussing the meaning of a tool, reference has been given to the professional and his perception but when it has been necessary to discuss the performance of erotic magic, this has been in relation to the amateur. It has been argued that the professional was most likely a male but in contrast to the amateur, the professional practitioner was an intellectual actively involved with religious activities and with associations with one of the temples in Egypt. Perhaps one of the most important aspects of this man's character however, was his multiculturalism and his willingness to adopt and adapt aspects of alternative belief systems, a characteristic which saw the professional embrace bricolage.<sup>748</sup> It could be argued that the dominant heritage of the EMP originated in a specific culture but the multicultural nature of the texts should be embraced in any attempt to understand the rituals described therein. To focus exclusively on one culture over another is counterproductive and negates automatically any attempt to rationalise the EMP and tool application. It is not possible to understand the EMP without acknowledging the influence of multiple cultures on the texts. An embracement of multiculturalism also had two important practical advantages for the professional practitioner and magical practices in general. Firstly, the multicultural nature of the EMP potentially opened up their appeal to a variety of peoples, and therefore customers, from every corner of the Roman Empire. The financial benefits gained by adopting a multicultural approach should not be underestimated as the professional had to make a living somehow and work in the temple could be supplemented by off-duty priests serving as community magicians.<sup>749</sup> Secondly, and related to the first advantage, the flexibility of the professional practitioner generated survivability in magic and a capacity to adapt which saw these practices flourish throughout Graeco-Roman history despite increasing persecution.

The interpretation of a signifier however, is as reliant on the code within which it is perceived as it is on the identity of the perceiver. As each tool is a signifier and because no signified can be understood without considering its relationship to the other signs within a

---

<sup>748</sup> For the *bricoleur* of Frankfurter, see II.4 p.49.

<sup>749</sup> For a definition of the professional practitioner, see I.4 pp.46-51.

code, it has been of vital importance to establish the nature of erotic magic practices. Without establishing the code in which a signifier is perceived, the rationale for the application of a tool can vary greatly. For example, the perception of bronze within the context of a profession rather than the context of a magical practice would greatly change the interpretation of the substance. As a consequence, this thesis has offered a working hypothesis of what specifically is referred to when erotic magic is used as a descriptive term for the rituals under discussion, i.e. erotic magic consists of ritual practices (which are not that dissimilar to alternative code systems, such as religion) performed with erotic intent. By establishing the code, it is possible to understand more fully the perception of the practices and their place within a cultural context. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that all codes are reliant on a level of interdependence with alternative codes present in the society in which they originate.<sup>750</sup> This interdependence can be seen with the EMP which incorporate many code systems that were present in the Mediterranean basin at the time of their composition (e.g. religion). Therefore, when composing the EMP, the professional practitioner can be seen to have freely incorporated and developed previous code systems (e.g. Greek and Egyptian) whilst amalgamating into the structure of the texts new code systems introduced via the expansion of the Graeco-Roman world (e.g. Jewish). In this respect, the EMP can be seen as the culmination of a process which took, evolved, and interpreted pre-existing codes present in various alternative fields, disciplines, and cultures.

It is within a code that a text (i.e. a sign containing other signs within a system and which can be 'read' for meaning) is interpreted and, whether they be deemed magical or otherwise, texts can be partitioned into multiple constituent parts and, as a consequence, it has been necessary to divide the text of the EMP into their syntagmatic (the horizontal axis which is a combination of A and B and C) and paradigmatic (the vertical axis which is a combination of X or Y or Z) axes. It is via a combination of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes that the value of the larger sign (i.e. an individual erotic spell) is determined. This thesis has argued that an individual erotic spell consists of a syntagm linking ritual actions, which require the application of 10 common paradigms: *animal killing, deposition, figurine construction, fire manipulation, incantation, libation, ointment construction, phylactery construction, potion construction, and throwing*. There are very few ritual actions that do not require the application of a tool (*purity* and *moving*) and these

---

<sup>750</sup> For interdependence between codes, see I.2 pp.10-11.



10 actions constitute the greater part of the EMP. In regards to the EMP as a text, the ritual actions are placed on the sequential horizontal axis and it is these which have dictated the structure of this thesis. Beginning with the most commonly performed ritual action, *incantation*, which can be separated into the spoken or written variety (only the written form requires the application of tools), this thesis has progressed through the ritual actions, considering the tools required for their performance, and has concluded with the least used ritual actions, the minor rituals (*libation, ointment construction, phylactery construction, and throwing*). However, the ritual actions consist of a syntagm linking ‘functions,’ which require the application of a tool from 23 separate paradigms: *adornment, burnt substance, construction, container, deposition location, flame, form, ink, insertion, liquid, liquid container, medium, method, mixture, object, ointment, ointment location, phylactery, stylus, supporting item, target, tie, victim*.

It is not necessary for every ritual action to be instructed by an individual EMP and, in a similar manner, it is not necessary for all of the ‘functions’ of a ritual action to be used. For example, although the female figurine in PGM IV.296-466 requires four tools chosen from the *construction, form, adornment, and insertion* paradigms, the male figurine only requires tools from *construction* and *form*.<sup>751</sup> It is also possible for the sequential order and number of ritual actions to vary from one spell to the next and a specific ritual action may be required more than once in an EMP. To illustrate the variable nature of the erotic magic rituals in the EMP see, for example, PGM IV.1716-1870, which is a combination of the ritual actions *incantation, incantation, incantation, animal killing, fire manipulation, figurine construction* (which requires the performance of an *incantation* ritual for the creation of a tool in the *insertion* paradigm), *moving, incantation, deposition*, and, finally, another *fire manipulation*. The semiotic deconstruction of PGM IV.1716-1870 is visually represented in Figure III.a, which, due to the amount of ritual actions required, has been labelled in sequential order. In contrast, PGM IV.1496-1595 only consists of the ritual actions *fire manipulation* and *incantation*, as represented by Figure III.b. The contrast between PGM IV.1716-1870 and PGM IV.1496-1595 is vast, with one consisting of 11 separate ritual actions and the other only two. Regardless of the differences between the structure of each individual EMP however, they all consist of a combination of the ritual actions, which in turn consist of ‘functions’ that implement tools chosen from the paradigms listed above.

---

<sup>751</sup> For the figurines in PGM IV.296-466, see II.5 esp. pp.148-150.

Figure III.a: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of PGM IV.1716-1870

n/a	Unknown	Magnet				n/a	Unknown	Gold
<i>Ink</i>	<i>Stylus</i>	<i>Medium</i>	Spoken			<i>Ink</i>	<i>Stylus</i>	<i>Medium</i>
<i>Incantation (1)</i>			<i>Incantation (2)</i>			<i>Incantation (3)</i>		

Partridge		Sacrifice		Unknown		BSC1	
<i>Victim</i>		<i>Method</i>		<i>Flame</i>		<i>Burnt substance</i>	
<i>Animal killing (4)</i>				<i>Fire manipulation (5)</i>			

				n/a	Copper	Gold		
				<i>Ink</i>	<i>Stylus</i>	<i>Medium</i>		
				<i>Incantation (7)</i>				
Wood	Eros	Gold		n/a				
<i>Construction</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Insertion</i>	<i>Adornment</i>			To door		
<i>Figurine construction (6)</i>						<i>Moving (8)</i>		

		Eros	Flowers	Table	Unknown	BSC1	
Spoken		<i>Deposited</i>	<i>Supporting item</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Flame</i>	<i>Burnt substance</i>	
<i>Incantation (9)</i>		<i>Deposition (10)</i>			<i>Fire manipulation (11)</i>		

Figure III.b: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of PGM IV.1496-1595

Charcoal		Myrrh				
<i>Flame</i>		<i>Burnt substance</i>		Spoken		
<i>Fire manipulation</i>				<i>Incantation</i>		

It is possible that a tool chosen from the paradigm sets may consist of only one substance (such as the copper which is used from the *stylus* paradigm in PGM IV.1716-1870, as seen in Figure III.a) or a combination (such as BSC1 in PGM IV.1716-1870, which combines manna, styrax, bdellium, opium, myrrh, frankincense, saffron, fig, and wine). Tools consisting of only one substance could suffice but combinations had a distinct

advantage in specific situations as they fused together the properties of multiple substances into one super tool. Combinations could also be stockpiled for future application and instructions for their use are widespread in the EMP (especially in the *fire manipulation* ritual).<sup>752</sup> It is also possible that a tool may require the performance of an alternative ritual action for its creation. To illustrate the incorporation of an alternative ritual actions for the creation of a tool see, for example, the *figurine construction* ritual in PGM IV.1716-1870 (represented visually in Figure III.a and previously in Figure II.5.b).<sup>753</sup> The ritual is performed via the sequential linking of tools chosen from the *construction*, *form*, *insertion*, and *adornment* paradigms but in PGM IV.1716-1870 there is no tool from *adornment* and tools are only chosen from the *construction*, *form*, and *insertion* paradigms. Therefore, to complete the *figurine construction* ritual in PGM IV.1716-1870, the EMP instruct that wood should be chosen from *construction*, Eros should be chosen from *form*, and an engraved golden lamella is instructed for application from the *insertion* paradigm. As can be seen by the application of a golden lamella, the performance of an alternative ritual action is required. In PGM IV.1716-1870 this is the *incantation* ritual and, as a consequence, in order to complete the *figurine construction* ritual, it is first necessary to perform the *incantation* ritual and the tools from its paradigms must be employed. In the case of the *incantation* ritual in PGM IV.1716-1870, nothing is used from *ink*, copper is used from *stylus*, and the golden lamella is used from *medium*. It is testament to the flexibility and adaptive nature of the EMP that the fusing of ritual actions into a procedure is fluid and it must have been a relatively easy process for the amateur practitioner to perform.

To understand how a tool could contribute to the success of erotic magic, it has been important to analyse their modal properties. Each sign can be interpreted as a symbolic, iconic, or indexical sign with connections to something beyond that which is superficially perceived (i.e. the signifier). These categories should not be considered as rigid types however, and a sign should not be placed definitively into one whilst disregarding the others. Instead, a sign should be seen to have multiple modal properties as they may be symbolically connected with X, iconically connected with Y, and indexically connected with Z. For example, see the application of οὐσία in PGM IV.296-466 which is symbolic of the person from whom it originated and it is also an indexical sign as it points

<sup>752</sup> For the mass use of combinations in the *fire manipulation* ritual, see Table II.2.b at II.2 pp.92.

<sup>753</sup> Figure II.5.b can be found at II.5 p.154.

to this person.<sup>754</sup> It is due to the varying possible connections of a tool when considered as a sign that this thesis has preferred to refer to the modality of a sign, with one type dominant over the others.<sup>755</sup> When considering the tools instructed by the EMP in this manner and if it is taken that the principal objective of erotic magic is the facilitation or creation of a relationship with an erotic nature, the manipulation of a tool can be seen to help achieve this goal. In this respect, the use of all tools instructed for application by the EMP is directly related to the expected outcome of a spell in which they are used and it is via an analysis of their modality (with consideration to the code and perceiver) that this conclusion can be reached. Whether the EMP is short and succinct or a rambling procedure which requires the performance of multiple ritual actions, this premise remains constant. For example, it is due to the symbolic and indexical connections between Aphrodite and the apple that the seeded fruit is thrown at the target in PGM CXXII.1-55.<sup>756</sup> The amateur practitioner wished to facilitate a relationship between himself and the target and he therefore is instructed to employ a tool with a rich symbolic heritage in tradition (e.g. courtship and marriage) and which was closely connected symbolically and indexically to the goddess of love. The methodology applied to PGM CXXII.1-55 can be applied to all tools in the EMP and, as a result, every tool had a part to play in the objective of a spell and nothing was left to chance. If the EMP required the acquiescence of a divine agent, a pleasing tool with symbolic connections to the divine could be incinerated in an offering via a *fiire manipulation* ritual (e.g. BSC5 in PGM IV.2891-2942). Alternatively, it is possible that this acquiescence could be guaranteed by the incineration of a symbolically repugnant substance (e.g. vulture brains in PGM IV.2891-2942), which would force the agent to do the bidding of the amateur practitioner.<sup>757</sup> If the target was to lie awake with nothing on her mind but the amateur practitioner, then the eyes of a bat (an animal renowned for its nocturnal nature) could be combined with the ever-watchful dog (PGM IV.2943-66).<sup>758</sup>

Here listed are but a few examples but the key point to discern is that the tools can be rationalised continuously through an analysis of their modality and with consideration given to the code, the perceiver, and the objective of a spell. The EMP are very specific

<sup>754</sup> For the use of οὐσία in PGM IV.296-466, see II.5.e.

<sup>755</sup> For the modality of a sign, see I.2 pp.8-10.

<sup>756</sup> For the use of the apple in PGM CXXII.1-55, see II.7 pp.184-188.

<sup>757</sup> For the incineration of a tool, see II.2.c.

<sup>758</sup> For the bat-eyed dog figurine, see II.5 esp. pp.150-151, 155-156.

with their instructions and nothing is recommended for application without due consideration. Sometimes a tool may be instructed to facilitate an action that is to be inflicted on the target, such as that seen with the piercing of the female figurine in PGM IV.296-466 by needles, an action intended to affect the pierced areas of the target. A tool could at other times be used for the transferral of its perceived or real characteristics to the target. For example, the very real characteristics of heat are used in PGM XXXVI.69-101 to create in the target a burning sensation and in PGM IV.2943-66, the perceived characteristics of a bat's eyes are to inflict on the target insomnia. However, a recurrent theme that appears continuously throughout the application of tools is the wish to establish communication with the adjured powers expected to assist with the EMP (e.g. the ritual *fire manipulation* is predominantly performed as an offering which would facilitate acquiescence) and the transmission of information to these powers (e.g. engrave lamellae, created via the *incantation* ritual, which described explicitly how the attraction and binding of the target is to be performed). The EMP are heavily reliant on the adjured powers expected to assist in the successful completion of a spell and the idea that communication lay at the heart of magic is in keeping with the portrayal of magic by the ancient sources (notably Apuleius and Iamblichus).<sup>759</sup> When the tools are analysed with consideration to the code, the perceiver, and the objective of a spell, it can be seen that there is logic to the EMP. It is a logic that is dictated by the specialist knowledge of the professional practitioner who has composed the texts in a considered manner and in relation to the contemporary code systems present in the Roman Empire.

An analysis of the tools instructed by the EMP can reveal that rationale is very rarely unique to magical practices alone and they can also be seen in practices not deemed magical by society. For example, an animal is instructed to be killed for reasons comparable to those seen in religious rituals: a prevalent reason being the establishment of purity.<sup>760</sup> As a consequence, the EMP do not apply techniques that cannot be found elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world and in this respect, there is nothing magical about the EMP, a statement that contradicts the idea that magic was supposed to be weird and wonderful.<sup>761</sup> It is only because a set of rituals are deemed to be magical by the majority in a society that they are perceived to be magical. Perception is always crucial and, in a

---

<sup>759</sup> For reference see I.4 p.45 n.194.

<sup>760</sup> For the killing of animals in religion for purity, see II.6 p.175 & n.671.

<sup>761</sup> For the idea that magic was supposed to be weird and wonderful, see the "stereotype appropriation" and "bizarreification" of Frankfurter and Lidonnici, respectively. For reference, see I.4 pp.42-43.

similar manner, it is only because of the professional and amateur practitioner's perception of the tools that they were believed to be efficacious to the rituals instructed by the EMP. The professional practitioner believed they would work or acted as if he believed they would work because he was an expert and had dedicated much time and energy into the study of magic. The amateur practitioner believed they would work or acted as if he believed they would work because he had consulted the professional who had expert knowledge of these matters.

When bearing in mind the practitioner's perception (professional or amateur), it is possible to claim that the rituals instructed by the EMP did have an actual quantifiable effect although it is doubtful that the effect created was the one hoped for. For instance, it is debatable whether or not the Selene figurine in PGM VII.862-918 had any genuine success through its application. It is highly unlikely that the target of PGM VII.862-918 was physically attracted by an agent sent by the goddess.<sup>762</sup> Nevertheless, it is more likely that the tools instructed by the EMP had an effect on the amateur practitioner. Specifically, the application of tools, when following the instructions of the EMP, created an environment in which the amateur practitioner was susceptible to autosuggestion (the process by which a person induces self-acceptance of an opinion, belief, or plan of action). The killing of animals, offerings (via fire or libation), aromatic smoke, a nocturnal setting, seclusion, repetitious actions, chanting of formulae, the inscribing and stabbing of lamellae, staring into fire, stipulations of purity – all combined to create a belief in the amateur practitioner that what he/she was performing could not fail. The amateur practitioners of the EMP were troubled mentally by thoughts of the target. They were suffering from the terrible disease of passionate longing, a disease that could only be cured by the consultation of the professional and the subsequent performance of erotic magic. By completing the process of erotic magic, the amateur practitioner believed or acted like he/she believed that what he was performing could help alleviate the turmoil he/she felt. As a consequence, the rituals described by the EMP can be seen as a process which could help the amateur practitioner and the manipulation of tools in the proper manner was seen as an essential aspect of this process.<sup>763</sup>

Semiotics can help determine the rationale for the application of a tool and it can also demonstrate how the rituals instructed by the EMP transform an object into a tool that

---

<sup>762</sup> For the Selene figurine, see II.5 esp. p.150.

<sup>763</sup> For the mentality of the amateur practitioner, see I.4 pp.51-53.

was believed to be of benefit for the spell in which it is used. In a similar manner to that stated previously, there is nothing inherently magical about the majority of the substances, materials, and objects that are instructed for application by the EMP. Rather, what can be seen is the appropriation of the mundane; a process which can add a perceived magical nature to an object. The EMP give instructions for the seizure of everyday substances, materials, and objects (that have no innate symbolic, indexical, or iconic connections to magic) and their subsequent reapplication in a context (the rituals instructed by the EMP) which generates a shift in their modal perception.<sup>764</sup> As a consequence of this process unremarkable objects can gain various symbolic, indexical, and iconic connections in the eyes of the perceiver. This shift in modal perception is achieved through the combination of mundane object with other objects, which have likewise been appropriated, within a completely different code, a code which generates in the mind of the perceiver a sense of how an object should be perceived. Through this process, an object perceived within the context of the EMP is far more to the practitioner (amateur or a professional) than that which is superficially perceived (i.e. the signifier). For example, when the blood and fat of a dove are used within the context of PGM IV.2891-2942, no longer is the bird simply perceived as a dove. Through the appropriation of the substances and their reapplication within the context of erotic magic, the perception of the bird shifts and its blood and fat are seen as symbolic and indexical signs with connections to Aphrodite (the recipient of the burnt offering in the spell).<sup>765</sup>

By performing a semiotic analysis of the EMP, it is possible to argue that the tools instructed for application can be rationalised when taking into consideration the perception of the practitioner and the context of their use. The EMP were composed by a professional in possession of specialised knowledge (acquired through many studious years) of magical practices and the contemporary code systems present in the wider Mediterranean world. The EMP do not arbitrarily instruct the application of a specific tool for a specific situation and in spite of the opinion that magic was bizarre or unequivocally distinct from alternative code systems, there is little magical about the tools and the procedures they are used in. The majority of these tools can be found in everyday life and as a consequence, erotic magic can be described as the manipulation of commonplace objects in a ritual context; however, it is this context that transforms the perception of the tools. Semiotics can help

---

<sup>764</sup> For the appropriation of the mundane, see I.2 pp.9-10.

<sup>765</sup> For the burnt offering in PGM IV.2891-2942, see II.2 pp.95-96.

the modern reader understand the perceived rationale behind tool application and it can also highlight how erotic magic was a process through which the perception of substances, materials, and objects with no inherent magical connotations were transformed into tools. It is via the active appropriation of the mundane, as instructed by the EMP, that everyday objects were transformed in the eyes of the perceiver into tools which could be used in a procedure composed to establish or reinforce a relationship with an erotic nature.

The methodological approach undertaken in this thesis should not end with an analysis of the erotic magic instructed by the PGM. It is possible that semiotics could be applied to alternative categories in the PGM and offer a greater understanding of the tools instructed therein. Such an analysis would contribute greatly to our understanding of this difficult and challenging corpus and, in a more general sense, the perception and performance of magical practices in the Graeco-Roman world. A greater understanding of that contained in the PGM could also conceivably lead to the semiotic analyses of alternative magical corpora (e.g. the curse tablets), an endeavour which would undoubtedly further add to our understanding of symbolic activity performed in a ritual context. Consequently, a continuation of that instigated by this thesis has the potential to significantly contribute to the perception of magic and its relationship to the wider debate on ritual and religion in the ancient world.



## Bibliography

Abt, A.

- 1908. *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei*. Giessen.

Aitchison, L.

- 1960. *A History of Metals*. Vol. 1. London.

Alfayé Villa, S.

- 2010. "Nails for the dead: a polysemic account of an ancient funerary practice," in R. L. Gordon & F. M. Simón, eds. *Magical Practice in the Latin West*. Leiden. 427-456.

Andrews, C.

- 1984. *Egyptian Mummies*. London.

Arslan, F. A., ed.

- 1997. *Iside. Il mito, il mistero, la magia*. Milan.

Athanassakis, A. N., & Wolkow, B. M.

- 2013. *The Orphic Hymns: Translation, Introduction and Notes*. Baltimore, MD.

Aune, D. E.

- 1980. "Magic in early Christianity." *ANRW* II.23.2:1507-1557.

Aupert, P. & Jordan, D. R.

- 1981. "Magical inscriptions on talc tablets from Amathous." *AJA* 85: 184.

Bagnall, R. S.

- 1993. *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton, NJ.

Bailey, D. M.

- 1987. "The Roman terracotta lamp industry: another view about exports," in Th. Oziol, & R. Rebuffat, eds. *Les lampes de terre cuite en Méditerranée*. Lyon. 59-63.

Baines, J.

- 1991. "Society, Morality and Religious Practice," in Shafer, B. E., ed. *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths and Personal Practice*. London. 123-200.

Barb, A. A.

- 1957. "Abraxas-Studien," in *Hommages à W. Deonna*, Collection Latomus 28: 67-86.

- 1963. “The survival of magical arts,” in A. Momigliano, ed. *The conflict between Paganism and Christianity*. Oxford. 100-125.

Barbera, M.

- 1993. “Un gruppo di lucerne plastiche del Museo Nazionale Romano: Ipotesi sulle fabbriche e sulle ‘influenze’ alessandrini,” in *ArchCl* 45: 185-231.

Barthes, R.

- 1964. “The rhetoric of the image,” in R. Barthes. 1977. *Image-Music-Text*. London. 15-31.
- 1967. *Elements of Semiology*. Trans. A. Lavers & C. Smith. London.
- 1977. *Image-Music-Text*. London.

Bean, G. E. & Mitford, T. B.

- 1965. *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963*. Vienna.

Bendlin, A.

- 2010. “Purity and pollution,” in D. Ogden, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion*. Malden, MA. 178-189.

Bernand, A.

- 1991. *Sorciers grecs*. Paris

Besnier, M.

- 1920. “Récents travaux sur les *defionum tabellae latines* 1904-1914.” *RP* 44: 5-30.

Bettarini, L.

- 2005. *Corpus delle defixiones di Selinunte*. Turin.

Betz, H. D.

- 1980. “Fragments from a catabasis ritual in a Greek magical papyrus.” *History of Religions* 19: 287-295.
- 1981. “The Delphic maxim ‘Know Yourself’ in the Greek Magical Papyri.” *History of Religions* 21: 156-171.
- 1982. “The formation of authoritative tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri.” In *Self-definition in the Graeco-Roman world*. Vol 3. *Jewish and Christian self-definition*. B. F. Meyer & E. P. Sanders, eds. Philadelphia. 162-171.
- 1991. “Magic and mystery in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in C. A. Faraone, & D. Obbink, eds. *Magika Hiera*. Oxford. 244-259.

- 1998. "Secrecy in the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. vol. 4. *Antike und Christentum*. Tübingen. 152-174.
- 1998a. "The changing self of the magician according to the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. vol. 4. *Antike und Christentum*. Tübingen. 175-186.
- 1998b. "Jewish magic in the Greek Magical Papyri: (PGM VII.260-71)," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. vol. 4. *Antike und Christentum*. Tübingen. 187-205.

Bevilacqua, G.

- 1997. "Un incantesimo per odio in una *defixio* di Roma." *ZPE* 117: 291-293.
- 2001. "Chiodi Magici." *ArchClass* 52: 129-150.

Blech, M.

- 1982. *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*. Berlin.

Binder, S. & Merkelbach, R., eds.

- 1968. *Amor und Psyche*. Darmstadt.

Bliss, F. J.

- 1900. "Report on the excavations at Tell Sandahanna." *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement*. London. 319-334.

Bloch, M.

- 1974. "Symbols, song, dance and features of articulation." *Archives Européennes de sociologie* XV(1): 55-81.

Blonsky, M., ed.

- 1985. *On Signs: A Semiotics Reader*. Oxford.

Bohak, G.

- 2008. *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History*. Cambridge.

Boll, F.

- 1910. *Griechischer Liebeszauber aus Aegypten*. Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, no. 2. Heidelberg.

Bonnechere, P.

- 2010. "Divination," in D. Ogden, ed. *A companion to Greek Religion*. Chichester, West Sussex. 145-159.

Bonner, C.

- 1932. "Witchcraft in the lecture room of Libanius." *TAPA*. 34-44.

- 1932a. "Demons of the bath," in F. L. Griffiths, hon., *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffiths*. London. 203-208.
- 1950. *Studies in Magical Amulets: Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*. London.

Booth, A. D.

- 1980. "Sur les sens obscènes de *sedere* dans Martial 11.99." *Glotta* 58: 278-279.

Boulakia, J. D. C.

- 1972. "Lead in the Roman world". *AJA* LXXVI: 139-144.

Bowman, A. K.

- 1986. *Egypt after the Pharaohs: 332BC-AD 642 from Alexander to the Arab conquest*. London.

du Bourguet, P.

- 1975. "Ensemble magique de la période romaine en Egypt." *Revue du Louvre*. 255-257.

Bouzek, J.

- 2000. "Xoana." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 19 (1): 109-113.

Bowie, A. M.

- 1995. "Greek sacrifice: forms and functions," in A. Powell, ed. *The Greek World*. London. 463-482.

Braarvig, J.

- 1999. "Magic: Reconsidering the grand dichotomy," in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, & E. Thomassen, eds. *The World of Ancient Magic. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997*. Bergen. 21-54.

Brashear, W. M.

- 1979. "Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus." *ZPE* 33: 261-278.
- 1992. "Magical papyri: Magic in bookform," in P. Ganz, ed. *Das Buch als magisches und als Repräsentationsobjekt*. Wiesbaden. 25-59.
- 1995. "The Greek Magical Papyri: An introduction and survey with an annotated bibliography." *ANRW* II 18.5: 3380-3684.

Brashear, W. M. & Kotansky, R.

- 2002. "A new magical formulary," in P. Mirecki, & M. Meyer, eds. *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden. 3-24.

Bravo, B.

- 1974. "Une lettre sur plomb de Berezan: Colonisation et modes de contact dans le pont," *DHA* I: 110-187.
- 1987. "Une tablette magique d'Olbia pontique, les morts les héros et les demons," in *Poikilia: etudes offerts à Jean-Pierre Vernant*. Paris. 185-218.

Bremmer, J. N.

- 1983. "Scapegoat rituals in Ancient Greece." *HSCP* 87: 299-320.
- 1996. "Modi di comunicazione con il divino: la preghiera, la divinizzazione e il sacrificio nella civiltà greca," In S. Settis, ed., *I Greci e noi*, vol 1. Turin. 239-283.
- 1987. "The old women of ancient Greece," in J. Blok, & P. Mason, eds. *Sexual Asymmetry: Studies in Ancient Society*. Amsterdam.
- 1999. "The birth of the term magic." *ZPE* 126: 1-12.
- 2008. *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible, and the Ancient Near East*. Leiden.
- 2010. "Greek normative animal sacrifice," in D. Ogden. *A Companion to Greek Religion*. Chichester, West Sussex. 132-144.

Brenk, F.

- 1986. *In the Light of the Moon: Demonology in the Early Imperial Period*. ANRW II 16.3: 2068-2145.

Brier, B.

- 1994. *Egyptian Mummies: Unravelling the Secrets of an Ancient Art*. New York.

Burkert, W.

- 1983. *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*. Trans. P. Bing. London.
- 1984. *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1984, 1). Heidelberg.
- 1985. *Greek Religion*. Trans. J. Raffan. Oxford.
- 1992. *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*. Trans. M. E. Pindar & W. Burkert. Cambridge, Mass.

Cairns, F.

- 1989. "Asclepiades and the hetairai." *Eikasmos* 9: 1-21.

Calder, W. M., III.

- 1963. "The great defixio from Selinus." *Philologus* 197: 163-72.

Caley, E. R.

- 1945. "Ancient Greek pigments from the Agora." *Hesperia*. 14 (2): 152-156.

Caley, E. R. & Richards, J. F. C.

- 1956. *Theophrastus On Stones: Introduction, Greek text, English Translation, and Commentary*. Columbus, Ohio.

Carastro, M.

- 2006. *La cite des mages*. Grenoble.

Carson, A.

- 1990. "Putting her in her place: Women, dirt and desire," in D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler, & F. I. Zeitlin, eds. *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*. Princeton. 135-169.

Casabona, G.

- 1966. *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec, des origines à la fin de l'époque classique*. Paris.

Casadio, G.

- 1990. "Sincretismo magico ellenistico o nuova religione? A proposito di un recente studio sui testi magici greci." *Orpheus*, n.s. 11.1: 118-25.

Chandler, D.

- 2007. *Semiotics: The Basics*. London.

Chaniotis, A.

- 1992. "Watching a lawsuit: A new curse tablet from southern Russia." *GRBS* 33: 69-73.

Ciraolo, L. J.

- 1995. "Supernatural assistants in the Greek Magical Papyri," in M. Meyer, & P. Mirecki, eds. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Leiden. 279-293.

Clark, G.

- 1999. "Translate into Greek; Porphyry of Tyre on the new barbarians," in R. Miles, ed. *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*. London. 112-132.

Clermont-Ganneau, C. S.

- 1901. "Royal Ptolemaic inscriptions and magic figures from Tell Sandahannah." *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement*. 54-58.

Collins, D.

- 2003. "Nature, cause, and agency in Greek Magic." *TAPhA* 133 (1): 17-49.
- 2008. *Magic in the Ancient World*. Oxford.

Conacher, D. J.

- 1961. "A problem in Euripides' Hippolytus." *TAPhA* 92: 37-44.

Culler, J.

- 1985. *Saussure*. London.

Curbera, J. B. & Jordan, D. R.

- 1998. "A curse tablet from the 'Industrial District' southwest of the Athenian agora." *Hesperia* 67: 215-218.
- 2002. "Curse tablets from Pydna." *GRBS* 43: 109-27.

Danesi, M.

- 1998. *Of Cigarettes, High Heels, and Other Interesting Things: An Introduction to Semiotics (Semaphores and Signs)*. London.

Daniel, R.

- 1975. "Two love charms." *ZPE* 19: 249-264.
- 1991. *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*. Papyrologica Coloniensia 19. Opladen.

Daniel, R. W. & Maltomini, F.

- 1989. "Una gemma magica contro l'infiammazione dell'ugola". *ZPE* 78: 93-94.

David, R.

- 2002. *Religion and Magic in Ancient Egypt*. London.

Dean-Jones, L.

- 1994. *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science*. Oxford.

Dalby, A.

- 2003. *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*. London.

- Deissman, A.
- 1918. "Ephesia Grammata," in *Abhandlungen zur semitische Reliionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft: Wolf Wilhelm Grafen von Baudissin zum 26. Sept. 1917 überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*. Giessen. 121-124.
- Delatte, A. & Derchain, P.
- 1964. *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*. Paris.
- Delcourt, M.
- 1957. *Héphaestus, ou la légende du magicien*. Paris.
- Detienne, M.
- 1977. *The Gardens of Adonis*. Trans. J. Lloyd. New Jersey.
  - 1979. *Dionysos Slain*. Trans. M. Muellner, & L. Muellner, Baltimore.
- Detienne, M. & Vernant, J-P., eds.
- 1978. *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*. Trans. J. Lloyd. Sussex.
  - 1989. *The Cuisine of Sacrifice*. Trans. P. Wissing. Lond.
- Deubner, L.
- 1922. *Magie und Religion*. Leipzig.
- Dickie, M. W.
- 2000 "Who practised love-magic in classical antiquity and in the late Roman world?" *CQ* N. S. 50 (2): 563-583.
  - 2001. *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*. London.
- Dieleman, J.
- 2005. *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)*. Leiden.
- Diggle, J., ed.
- 2004. *Theophrastus: Characters*. Cambridge.
- Dillon, J.
- 1985. "The magical power of names in Origen and later Platonism," in R. Hanson, & H. Crouzel, eds. *Origeniana Tertia: The Third International Colloquium for Origen Studies*. Rome. 203-216.
- Dillon, M.
- 2002. *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*. London.



Dindorf, G. ed.

- 1970. *Scholia Graeca in Aeschinam et Isocratem*. Hildesheim.

Dodds, E. R.

- 1951. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. London.
- 1973. *The Ancient Concept of Progress and Other Essays on Greek Literature and Belief*. Oxford.

Donohue, A. A.

- 1988. *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture*. Atlanta, GA.

Dornseiff, F.

- 1922. *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*. Leipzig.

Dowden, K.

- 1989. *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology*. London.

Dubois, L.

- 1995. "Un tablette de malediction de Pella. S'agit-il du premier texte macédonien?" *REG* 108: 190-197.

Dungworth, D.

- 1998. "Mystifying Roman nails. Clavus annalis, defixiones and minkisi," in *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference which formed part of the Second International Roman Archaeology Conference, University of Nottingham, April 1997 (TRAC 97)*. Oxford. 148-159.

Durkheim, É.

- 1915. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Trans. J. W. Swain. New York

Eco, U.

- 1976. *A Theory of Semiotics*. Bloomington, IN.
- 1981. *The Role of the Reader*. London.
- 1984. *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*. Bloomington, IN.

Edelstein, L.

- 1967. "Greek medicine in its relation to religion and magic," in O. Temkin, & C. L. Temkin, eds. *Ancient Medicine: Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein*. Trans. C. L. Temkin. Baltimore. 205-246.

Egger, R.

- 1948. "Liebeszauber." *JOI* 37: 112-120.

Eidinow, E.

- 2007. *Oracles, Curses and Risks among the Ancient Greeks*. Oxford.
- 2007a, "Why the Athenians began to curse," in R. Osborne, ed. *Debating the Athenian Cultural Revolution: Art, literature, philosophy, and politics 430-380 BC*. Cambridge. 44-71.
- 2010. "Patterns of persecution: Witchcraft trials in Classical Athens." *P&P* 208: 9-35.
- 2011. *Luck, Fate and Fortune: Antiquity and its Legacy*. London.

Eidinow, E., & Taylor, C.

- 2010. "Lead-letter days: Writing, communication and crisis in the Ancient Greek World." *CQ* 60: 30-62.

Eitrem, S.

- 1923. *The Greek Magical Papyri in the British Museum*. Christiania: Dybwad.
- 1925. *Papyri Osloenses, I: Magical Papyri*. Oslo.
- 1941. "La magie comme motif littéraire chez les Grecs et les Romains." *SO* 21: 39-83.
- 1991. "Dreams and divination in magical ritual," in C. A. Faraone, & D. Obbink, eds. *Magika Hiera*. Oxford. 175-187.

Ekroth, G.

- 2002. *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*. Liège.

Engels, D.

- 1999. *Classical Cats: The Rise and Fall of the Sacred Cat*. London.

Ernout, A.

- 1957. "La magie chez Plin l'Ancien." *Latomus* 16:628-642.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E.

- 1976. *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*. Oxford.

Fantham, E.

- 1977. "Philemon's Thesaurus as a dramatisation of peripatetic ethics." *Hermes* 105: 4: 406-421

Faraone, C. A.

- 1985. "Aeschylus' *hymnos desmios* (Eum. 306) and Attic judicial curses." *JHS* 105: 150-154.
- 1987. "Hephaestus the magician and Near Eastern Parallels for Alcinous' Watchdogs." *GRBS* 28: 257-280.
- 1989. "An accusation of magic in classical Athens (AR. *Wasps* 946-48)." *TAPA* 119: 149-160.
- 1989a. "Clay hardens and wax melts: magical role reversal in Vergil's Eighth *Eclogue*." *CP* 84: 294-300.
- 1990. "Aphrodite's ΚΕΣΤΟΣ and apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in early Greek myth and ritual." *Phoenix* 44: 219-243.
- 1991. "The agonistic context of early Greek binding spells," in C. A. Faraone, & D. Obbink, eds. *Magika Hiera*. Oxford. 3-32.
- 1992. *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual*. Oxford.
- 1992a. "Aristophanes *Amphiaraus* Frag. 29 (Kassel-Austin): Oracular response or erotic incantation?" *CQ* 42: 320-327.
- 1992b. "Sex and power: Male-targeting aphrodisiacs in the Greek magical tradition." *Helios* 19: 92-103.
- 1993. "Molten wax, spilt wine, and mutilated animals: Near eastern and early Greek oath ceremonies." *JHS* 113: 60-80.
- 1995. "The mystodokos and the dark-eyed maidens: Multicultural influences on late-Hellenistic incantation" in M. Meyer, & P. Mirecki, eds. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Leiden. 297-333.
- 1996. "Taking Nestor's cup seriously: conditional curses and erotic magic in the earliest Greek hexameters." *CA* 15: 77-112.
- 1999. *Ancient Greek Love Magic*. Cambridge, Mass.
- 1999a. "The construction of gender in ancient Greek love magic," in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, & E. Thomassen, eds. *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997*. Bergen. 279-282.

- 2002. “The ethnic origins of a Roman era *philtrokatademos*,” in P. Mirecki, & M. Meyer, eds. *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden. 319-343.
- 2002a. “Curses and social control in the lawcourts of classical Athens,” in D. Cohen & E. Müller-Luckner, eds. *Demokratie, Recht und soziale Kontrolle in klassischen Athen*. Munich. 77-92.
- 2002b. “Agents and victims: constructions of gender and desire in ancient Greek love magic,” in M. C. Nussbaum & J. Sihvola, eds. *The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Chicago. 400-426.
- 2005. “Necromancy goes underground: the disguise of skull- and corpse-divination in the Paris Magical Papyri (PGM IV 1928-2144),” in S. I. Johnston & P. T. Struck, eds. *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination*. Leiden. 255-282.

Felton, D.

- 1999. *Haunted Greece and Rome: Ghost Stories from Classical Antiquity*. Austin, Tex.
- 2001. “The animated statues of Lucian’s *Philopseudes*.” *CB* 77.1: 75-86.
- 2010. “The dead,” in D. Ogden, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion*. 2010. Chichester, West Sussex. 86-99.

Ferguson, J.

- 1989. *Among the Gods: An Archaeological Exploration of Ancient Greek Religion*. London.

Fleming, S. J., Fishman, B., O'Connor, D. & Silverman, D.

- 1980. *The Egyptian Mummy: Secrets and Science*. Philadelphia.

Foster, B. O.

- 1899. “Notes on the symbolism of the apple in Classical Antiquity.” *HSPH* 10: 39-55.

Foucault, M.

- 1974. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London.

Fountoulakis, A.

- 1999. “Οὐσία in Euripides, Hippolytus 514 and the Greek Magical Papyri.” *Maia* 51 (2): 193-204.

Fowden, G.

- 1986. *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*. Cambridge.

Fowler, R. L.

- 1995. "Greek magic, Greek religion." *Illinois Classical Studies* 20: 1-22.
- 2005. "The concept of magic," in V. Lambrinoudakis et al. eds. *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum III, Divination, Prayer, Veneration, Hikesia, Asyilia, Oath, Malediction, Profanation, Magic Rituals*. Los Angeles. 283-286.

Frankfurter, D.

- 1994. "The magic of writing and the writing of magic: The power of the word in Egyptian and Greek traditions." *Helios* 21(2): 189-221.
- 1995. "Narrating power: The theory and practice of the magical historiola in ritual spells," in M. Meyer, & P. Mirechi, eds. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Leiden. 457-476.
- 1997. "Ritual expertise in Roman Egypt and the problem of the category 'Magician'," in P. Schäfer & Hans G. Kippenberg, eds. *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, Leiden. 115-135.
- 1998. *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton, NJ.
- 2001. "The perils of love: Magic and counter magic in Coptic Egypt." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10: 480-500..
- 2002. "Dynamics of ritual expertise in Antiquity and beyond: towards a new taxonomy of "Magicians," in P. Mirecki, & M. Meyer, eds. *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden. 159-178.

Frazer, J. G.

- 1922. *The Golden Bough: A Study of Magic in Religion*. London.

Furley, W. D.

- 1981. *Studies in the Use of Fire in Ancient Greek Religion*. Salem, New Hampshire.

Gager, J. G.

- 1987. Review of Betz. 1986/1992. *Journal of Religion* 67: 80-86.

Gale, N. H.

- 1980. "Some aspects of lead and silver mining in the Aegean," in C. Doumas, ed. *Thera and the Aegean World: Vol II*. London. 161–195.

Ganszyniec, R.

- 1924. "Sur deux tablettes de Tell Sandahannah." *BCH* 48: 516-21.

Garcia Ruiz, E.

- 1967. "Estudio lingüístico de las defixiones Latinas no incluidas el corpus de Audollent." *Emerita* 35: 55-89.

Garcia Teijeiro, M.

- 1993. "Religion and magic." *Kernos* 1993 6: 123-138.

Gardiner, A. H.

- 1930. 'A New Letter to the Dead.' *JEA* 16: 19-22.

Gardiner, A. H. & Sethe, K. H.

- 1928. *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*. London.

Garland, R.

- 1992. *Introducing New Gods: The Politics of Athenian Religion*. London.

Gáspár, D.

- 1990. "Eine griechische Fluchtafel aus Savaria." *Tyche* 5: 13-16.

Georgoudi, S.

- 2010. "Sacrificing to the gods: Ancient evidence and modern interpretations," in J. N. Bremmer, & A. Erskine, eds. *The Gods of Ancient Greece: Identities and Transformation*. Edinburgh. 92-105.

Gerber, S.

- 2006. "Angels." *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volume edited by H. Cancik & H. Schneider. Brill Online, 2014. Reference: Durham University Library, 22 September 2014 <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/angels-e12221550>>

Gibbs, L., ed.

- 2002. *Aesop's Fables*. Oxford, 2002.

Goedicke, H.

- 1972. 'The Letter to the Dead, Nag' Ed Deir N 3500.' *JEA* 58: 95-98.

Goff, B.

- 1990. *The Noose of Words: Readings of Desire, Violence, and Language in Euripides' Hippolytos*. Cambridge.

Goode, W. J.

- 1949. "Magic and religion: A continuum." *Ethnos* 14: 172-182.

Gordon, R.

- 1999. "Imagining Greek and Roman magic," in V. Flint, R. Gordon, G. Luck, & Ogden, D. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Vol 2. Ancient Greece and Rome*. London. 159-275.

Gordon, R. L.

- 1979. "The real and the imaginary: Production and religion in the Graeco-Roman world." *Art History*, Vol. 2 (1): 5-34.

Gould, J., & Kolb, W. L.

- 1964. *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*. Glencoe.

Gow, A. S. F., ed.

- 1950. *Theocritus: Idylls*. 2 Vols. Cambridge.

Graf, F.

- 1980. "Milch, Honig und Wein," in *Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich promossi dalla Cattedra di Religioni del mondo classico dell'Università degli Studi di Roma*. Rome. 209-221.
- 1991. "Prayer in magic and religious ritual," in C. A. Faraone, & D. Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera*. Oxford. 188-197.
- 1995. "Excluding the charming: The development of the Greek concept of magic," in M. Meyer, & P. Mirecki, eds. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Leiden. 29-42.
- 1997. *Magic in the Ancient World*. Trans. F. Philip. Cambridge, Mass.
- 1997a. "How to cope with a difficult life. A view of ancient magic," in P. Schäfer, & H. G. Kippenberg, eds. *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*. 93-114.
- 1999. "Magic and divination," in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, & Thomassen, E., eds. *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997*. Bergen. 283-298.

- 2002. "Theories of magic in antiquity," in P. Mirecki, & M. Meyer, eds. *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden. 92-104.
- 2002a. "What is Greek sacrifice?" in H. F. J. Horstmanshoff, H. W. Singor, F. van Straten & J. H. M. Strubbe, eds. *Kykeon: Studies in Honour of H. S. Versnel*. Leiden. 113-125.
- 2005. "Magical sacrifice," in R. Hägg, & B. Alroth, eds. *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian, Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25-27 April 1997*. Stockholm. 71-74.

Graham, A. J.

- 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*. Manchester.

Greimas, A.

- 1987. *On Meaning: Selected Writings in Semiotic Theory*. Trans. P. J. Perron & F. H. Collins. London.

Guarducci, M.

- 1939. *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. 2. Rome.
- 1978. *Epigrafia greca IV: Epigrafi sacre pagane e cristiane*. Rome.

Gundel, H. G.

- 1970. "Vom Weltbild in den griechischen Zauberpapyri. Probleme und Ergebnisse," in Samuel D. H., ed. *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 12-17 August 1968*. Toronto. 183-193.

Hall, E.

- 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition Through Tragedy*. Oxford.

Halleux, R., & Schamp, J.

- 1985. *Les lapidaires grecs*. Paris.

Haluszka, A.

- 2008. "Sacred signified: the semiotics of statues in the Greek Magical Papyri." *Arethusa* 41 (3): 479-494.



Hanson, A. E.

- 1990. "The medical writers' woman," in D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler, & F. I. Zeitlin, eds. *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*. Princeton. 309-338.

Hammond, D.

- 1970. "Magic: A problem in semantics." *American Anthropologist* 72: 1349-1356.

Harris, W. V.

- 1980. "Roman terracotta lamps: The organization of an industry," in *JRS* 70: 126-145.

Hawkes, C.

- 1984, "Ictis disentangled and the British tin trade," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 3: 211-233.

Hawley, R.

- 1998. "The dynamics of beauty in Classical Greece," in D. Montserrat, ed. *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity*. London. 37-54.

Heath, J.

- 2005. "Blood for the dead: Homeric ghosts speak up." *Hermes* 133 (4): 389-400.

Heintz, F.

- 1998. "Circus curses and their archaeological contexts." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11: 337-42.
- 2000. "Magic tablets and the games at Antioch," in C. Kondoleon, ed. *Antioch, the Lost ancient City*. Princeton. 163-167.

Helm, R.

- 1959. "Psyche." *RE* 23: 1434-1438.

Henderson, J.

- 1975. *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*. London.

Henkelman, W. F. M.

- 2008. *The Other Gods Who Are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation based on the Persepolis Fortification Texts*. Leiden.

Henrichs, A.

- 2005. ““Sacrifice as to the immortals”: Modern Classifications of Animal Sacrifice and Ritual Distinctions in the *Lex Sacra* from Selinous,” in R. Hägg, & B. Alroth, eds. *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian, Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25- 27 April 1997*. Stockholm. 47-60.

Henry, A.

- 1991. ‘A lead letter from Torone.’ *ArchEph* 65-70.

Herescu, N. J.

- 1959. “Le sens "erotique” de sedere.” *Glotta* 38: 125-134.

Herrmann, H. V.

- 1975. “Zum Problem der Entstehung der griechischen Großplastik,” in *Wandlungen: Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst*. Waldsassen. 35-48.

Himes, N. E.

- 1970. *Medical History of Contraception*. NY.

Himmelmann, N.

- 1997. *Tieropfer in der griechischen Kunst*. Opladen.

Hjelmslev, L.

- 1961. *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*. Trans. F. J. Whitfield. Madison, WI.

Hölbl, G.

- 1986. “Egyptian fertility magic within Phoenician and Punic culture,” in A. Bonanno, ed. *Archaeology and Fertility Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean. Papers presented at the 1st International Conference on Archaeology of the Ancient Mediterranean, Malta, 2-5 Sept 1985*. Amsterdam. 197-205.

Hoffman, C. A.

- 2002. “Fiat magia,” in P. Mirecki, & M. Meyer, eds. *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden. 179-196.

Hopfner, T.

- 1924. “Charactères.” *PRE Suppl.* 4: 1183-1188.

Hopkins, K.

- 1965. "Contraception in the Roman Empire." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 8 (1): 124-151.

Hughes, D. D.

- 1991. *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*. London.

Hull, J. M.

- 1974. *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*. London.

Hünemörder, C.

- 2006. "Myrtle." *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volume edited by H. Cancik & H. Schneider. Brill Online, 2014/ Reference: Durham University Library, 11 September 2014 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/myrtle-e814630>

Ikram, S. & Dodson, A.

- 1998. *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity*. London.

Isager, S. & Hansen, M.H.

- 1975, *Aspects of Athenian Society in the Fourth Century B.C.* Odense University Press.

Jakobson, R.

- 1966. "Quest for the essence of language," in R. Jakobson, 1990. *On Language*. L. R. Waugh & M. Monville-Burston, eds. Cambridge, Ma. pp.407-421.
- 1970. "Linguistics in relation to other sciences," in R. Jakobson, 1990. *On Language*. L. R. Waugh & M. Monville-Burston, eds. Cambridge, Ma. pp.451-488.

Jameson, M. H., Jordan, D. R., & Kotansky, R. D.

- 1993. *A 'Lex Sacra' from Selinus*. Durham, NC.

Janowitz, N.

- 2001. *Magic in the Roman World: Pagans, Jews and Christians*. London.

Jeffrey, L. H.

- 1955. "Further comments on Archaic Greek inscriptions." *The Annual of the British School in Athens* 50: 67-84.

Jennison, G.

- 1937. *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*. Manchester.

Jimeno, A. L.

- 1990. "Las cartas de maldición." *Minerva* 4: 134-44.

Johnston, S. I.

- 1991. "Crossroads." *ZPE* 88: 217-224.
- 1999. *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*. Berkeley.
- 1999a. "Songs for the ghosts: Magical solutions to deadly problems," in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, & E. Thomassen, eds. *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997*. Bergen. 83-102.
- 2002. "Sacrifice in the Greek Magical Papyri," in P. Mirecki & M. Meyer, eds. *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden. 344-358.
- 2003. "Describing the undefinable: New books on magic and old problems of definition." *History of Religions* 16: 50-54.
- 2004. "Magic," in S. I. Johnston, ed. *Religions of the Ancient World*. Cambridge, Mass. 139-154.
- 2008. "Animating statues: A case study in ritual." *Arethus* Vol 41(3): 445-477.
- 2008a. *Ancient Greek Divination*. Oxford.
- 2008b. "Magic and the dead in Classical Greece," in J.C.B. Petropoulos ed. *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*. London. 14-20.

de Jong, A.

- 1997. *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin literature*. Leiden.

Jordan, D. R.

- 1976. "CIL viii 19525 (B).2: QPVULVA = Q(UEM) P(EPERIT) VULVA." *Philologus* 120: 127-132.
- 1980. "Two inscribed lead tablets from a well in the Athenian Kerameikos." *AM* 95: 225-239.
- 1985. "Defixiones from a well near the southwest corner of the Athenian agora." *Hesperia* 54: 205-55.
- 1985a. "The inscribed gold tablet from the Vigna Codini," *AJA* 89: 162-7.
- 1988. "A love charm with verses." *ZPE* 72: 245-259.

- 1988a. “New archaeological evidence for the practice of magic in classical Athens,” in *Praktika tou xii diethnous synedriou klasikēs archaiologias 1983-4*. Vol. 4. Athens. 273-277.
- 1988b. “New defixiones from Carthage,” in J. H. Humphreys, ed. *The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage*, vol. 1. Ann Arbor. 117-140.
- 1999. “Three curse tablets,” in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, & E. Thomassen, eds. *The World of Ancient Magic. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997*. Bergen. 115-124.
- 2000. “New Greek curse tablets (1985-2000).” *GRBS* 41: 5-46.

Jütte, R.

- 2008. *Contraception: A History*. Trans. V. Russell. Cambridge.

Kagarow, E. G.

- 1922. “Form und Stil der Texte der Fluchtafeln.” *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 21: 494-497.
- 1929. *Griechische Fluchtafeln*. Leopoli, Poland.

Kaimakis, D.

- 1976. *Die Kyraniden*. Meisenheim am Glan, Germany.

Käkösy, L.

- 1985. “La magia nell’antico Egitto,” in *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei faraonni, Catalogo della Mostra, Milano 1985*. Mantua. 7-102.

Kambitsis, S.

- 1976. “Une nouvelle tablette magique d’Egypte.” *BIFAO* 76: 213-223.

Karivieri, A.

- 1996. *The Athenian Lamp Industry in Late Antiquity*. Helsinki.
- 2010. “Magic and syncretic religious culture in the east,” in D. M. Gwynn & S. Bangert, eds. *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity*. Leiden. 401-434.

Kaufmann-Heinimann, A.

- 2007. “Religion in the House,” in J. Rüpke, ed. *A Companion to Roman Religion*. Oxford. 188-201.

Keuls, E. C.

- 1985. *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens*. London.

Kingsley, P.

- 1995. *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery and Magic: Empedocles and Pythagorean Tradition*. Oxford.

Koenig, Y.

- 1994. *Magie et Magiciens dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Paris.

Kotansky, R.

- 1991. "Incantations and prayers for salvation on inscribed Greek amulets," in C. A. Faraone, & D. Obbink, eds. *Magika Hiera*. Oxford. 107-137.
- 1994. *The Greek Magical Amulets. The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze lamellae. Part 1: Published Texts of Known Provenance*, Papyrologica Coloniensia, 22/1. Opladen.

Kristeva, J.

- 1970. *Le Texte du roman*. The Hague.
- 1974. *La Révolution du langage poétique*. Paris.
- 1980. *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. New York.

Kuhnert, E.

- 1894. "Feuerzauber." *RhM* 49:37-54.

Kurtz, D. C. & Boardman, J.

- 1971. *Greek Burial Customs*. London.

Labarbe, J.

- 1953. "L'âge correspondant au sacrifice du κούρειον et les données historiques du sixième discours d'Isée." *BARB* 5 sér. 39.358-94.

Larson, J.

- 2007. *Ancient Greek Cults: A Guide*. New York.

Lasserre, F., & Bonnard, A., eds.

- 1958. *Archilochus: Fragments*. Paris.

Lawson, J. C.

- 1964. *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*. New York.

Leach, E.

- 1976. *Culture and Communication: The Logic by which Symbols are Connected*. Cambridge.

Leary, T. J.

- 1991. "Contraception, sex and the art of love." *CB* 67: 25-28.

Lévi-Strauss, C.

- 1950/1987. *Introduction to the Work of Marcel Mauss*. Trans. F. Baker. London.
- 1969. *The Raw and the Cooked*. Trans. J. & D. Weightman. Chicago.
- 1972. *Structural Anthropology*. Trans. C. Jacobson & B. G. Schoepf. Harmondsworth

Lévy-Bruhl, L.

- 1979. *How Natives Think*. Trans. L. A. Clare. New York.

Lexa, F.

- 1925. *La magie dans l'Égypte antique de l'ancien Empire jusqu'à l'époque copte*. Paris.

Lewis, D., ed.

- 1969. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century*. Oxford.

LiDonnici, L. R.

- 1998. "Burning for it: erotic spells for fever and compulsion in the ancient Mediterranean world." *GRBS* 39: 63-98.
- 2001. "Single-stemmed wormwood, pinecones and myrrh: Expense and availability of recipe ingredients in the Greek Magical Papyri." *Kernos* 14: 61-91.
- 2002. "Beans, fleawort, and the blood of a Hamadryas Baboon: Recipe ingredients in Greco-Roman magical materials," in P. Mirecki, & M. Meyer. *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden. 2002.

Littlewood, A. R.

- 1967. "The symbolism of the apple in Greek and Roman language." *HSPH*. 72: 147-181.

Lloyd, G. E. R.

- 2003. *In the Grip of Disease: Studies in the Greek Imagination*. Oxford.

Lopez Jimeno, M. d. A.

- 1991. *Las tabellae defixionis de la Sicilia griega*. Amsterdam.
- 1999. *Nuevas tabellae defixiones áticas*. Amsterdam.

Lotman, Y.

- 1990. *Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture*. Trans. A. Shukman. Bloomington, IN.

Lowe, J. E.

- 1929. *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature*. Oxford.

Lucas, A.

- 1928. "Silver in ancient times." *JEA* 313-319.

Luck, G.

- 1999. "Witches and sorcerers in Classical literature," in V. Flint, R. Gordan, G. Luck, & D. Ogden, eds. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Vol 2. Ancient Greece and Rome*. London. 91-158.
- 2000. *Ancient Pathways and Hidden Pursuits: Religion, Morals and Magic in the Ancient World*. Ann Arbor.
- 2006. *Arcana Mundi*. 2nd ed. Baltimore.

McCartney, E. S.

- 1925. "How the apple became a token of love." *TAPA* 56 : 70-81.

McCown, C. C.

- 1923. "The Ephesia Grammata in popular belief." *TAPA* 54: 128-140.

McLaren, A.

- 1990. *A History of Contraception: From Antiquity to the Present Day*. Oxford.

Maehler, H.

- 1990. "Symptome der Liebe in der Roman und in der griechischen Anthologie." *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*. Groningen. III. 1-12.

Malinowski, B.

- 1948. *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays*. New York

Mallory, J.P., & Adams, D.Q., eds.

- 1997. *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. Oxford.

Marciniak, K.

- 2001. "The winged mouse: Bats in ancient literature." *Eos* 88 (2): 307-314.

Mariani, L.

- 1910. "Osservazioni intorno alle statuette plumbee sovanesi." *Ausonia* 4.1:39-47.



Martinez, D.

- 1991. *A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P. Mich. 757)*. American Studies in Papyrology 30. Michigan Papyri. Vol. 16. Atlanta.
- 1991a. "T. Köln inv. and erotic *damazein*." *ZPE* 83: 235-236.
- 1995. "May she neither eat nor drink: Love magic and vows of abstinence," in M. Meyer, & P. Mirecki, eds. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Leiden. 335-360.

Maroti, E.

- 1968. "A recently found versified oracle against the pirates." *AAntHung* 16: 233-38.

Massoneau, E.

- 1934. *La magie dans l'antiquité romaine*. Paris.

Mauss, M.

- 1972. *A General Theory of Magic*. London.

Maxfield, V. A.

- 1981. *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. London.

Meiggs, R., & Lewis, D., eds.

- 1969. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford.

Mercer, S. A. B.

- 1949. *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*. London.

Merrillees, R. S.

- 2003. *On Opium, Pots, People and Places: Selected Papers- An Honorary Volume for Robert S. Merrillees*. Sävedalen.

Metzger, B. M.

- 1968. *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian*. Leiden.

Meyer, M., & Smith, R.

- 1994. *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. San Francisco.

Mikalson, J. D.

- 2005. *Ancient Greek Religion*. Malden, MA.

Miller, P. C.

- 1986. "In praise of nonsense," in A. H. Armstrong, ed. *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality. Egyptian, Greek, Roman*. London. 481-505.

Moke, D. F.

- 1982. *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri: Selected Studies*. Diss. University of Minnesota.

Montserrat, D.

- 1996. *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. London.

Moorey, P. R. S.

- 1999. *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries: The Archaeological Evidence*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Moraux, P.

- 1960. *Une défexion judiciaire au Musée d'Istanbul*, Académie royale de Belgique, Collection des Lettres, Mémoires, Collection in 80, 2. LIV, ii. Brussels.

Morenz, S.

- 1973. *Egyptian Religion*. Trans. A. E. Keep. London.

Morris, C. W.

- 1938. *Foundations of the Theory of Signs*. Chicago.
- 1946. *Signs, Language and Behaviour*. New York.

Morris, I.

- 1992. *Death-ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge.

Meuli, K.

- 1975. *Gesammelte Schriften*. Basle.

Murray, O.

- 1993. *Early Greece*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London.

Musello, C.

- 1992. "Objects in process: Material culture and communication." *Southern Folklore* 49: 37-59.

Mylonopoulos, J.

- 2006. "Greek sanctuaries as places of communication through rituals: An archaeological perspective," in E. Stavrianopoulou, ed., *Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World*. Liège. 69-110.

Nagy, G.

- 1979. *The Best of Achaeans: Concepts of Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry*. Baltimore.

Nock, A. D.

- 1925. "Magical notes 1: The Sword of Dardanus." *JEA* 11: 154-158.
- 1972. "Greek Magical Papyri," in Z. Stewart, ed. *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*. Vol. 1. Oxford. 176-194.
- 1972a. "Paul and the Magus," in A. D. Nock, ed. *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World I*. Oxford. 308-330.

Nöth, W.

- 1990. *Handbook of Semiotics*. Bloomington, IN.

Nutton, V.

- 2004. *Ancient Medicine*. London.

Nuzzo, D.

- 2000. "Amulet and grave in late Antiquity: Some examples from Roman cemeteries," in J. Pearce, M. Millett, & M. Struck, eds. *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World*. Oxford. 249-255.

Oakley J. H., & Sinos, R. H.

- 1993. *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*. London.

Ogden, D.

- 1999. "Binding spells: Curse tablets and voodoo dolls in the Greek and Roman worlds," in V. Flint, R. Gordan, G. Luck, & D. Ogden, eds. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Vol 2. Ancient Greece and Rome*. London. 3-90.
- 2001. *Greek and Roman Necromancy*. Oxford.
- 2008. *Night's Black Agents: Witches, Wizards and the Dead in the Ancient World*. London.
- 2009. *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford.

O'Sullivan, T., Hartley, J., Saunders, D., & Fiske, J., eds.

- 1983. *Key Concepts in Communication*. London.

Pachoumi, E.

- 2011. "Divine epiphanies of Paredroi in the *Greek Magical Papyri*." *GRBS* 51: 155-165.

Papadopoulos, J.

- 1980. *Xoana e sphyrelata: Testimonianze delle fonti scritte*. Roma.

Parisinou, E.

- 2000. *The Light of the Gods*. London.

Parke, H. W.

- 1967. *The Oracles of Zeus*. Oxford.
- 1977. *Festivals of the Athenians*. Ithaca, N.Y.
- 1985. *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*. London.

Parker, R. C. T.

- 1983. *Miasma*. Oxford.
- 2011. *On Greek Religion*. London.

Parry, H.

- 1992. *Thelxis: Magic and Imagination in Greek Myth and Poetry*. Lanham, Md.

Peirce, C. S.

- 1931-58. *Collected Papers of Sanders Peirce*. 8 Vols. C. Hartshorne, & P. Weiss, eds. Cambridge, Mass.

Pérez, B.

- 2000. "La magie d'Éros," in A. Moreau, & J.-C. Turpin, eds. *La Magie*, 4 vols. Montpellier. 1: 293-306.

Petersson, O.

- 1957. "Magic-Religion. Some marginal notes to an old problem." *Ethnos* 3-4: 109-119.

Petropoulos, J. C. B.

- 1988. "The erotic magical papyri." *Proceedings of the eighteenth international congress of papyrology* 2: 215-222. Athens.
- 1993. "Sappho sorceress: Another look at frag. 1 (L. -P)." *ZPE* 97: 43-56.

Petrovic, A.

- Forthcoming. "The 'Antiaesthetics' of animal sacrificial rituals in the Greek Magical Papyri." 1-22.
- Forthcoming. "Desmophobia: A study of an anguish of Greek gods." 1-49.

Petrovic, I.

- 2004. "ΦΑΡΜΑΚΕΥΤΡΙΑ ohne ΦΑΡΜΑΚΟΝ. Überlegungen zur Komposition des zweiten Idylls von Theokrit." *Mnemosyne* 4. 57 (4): 421-444.

Phillips, C. R., III.

- 1986. "The sociology of religious knowledge in the Roman empire to AD 284." *ANRW* II.16.3: 2677-2773.

Phillips, O.

- 2002. "The Witches' Thessaly," in P. Mirecki, & M. Meyer, eds. *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden. 378-386.

Phillips, R.

- 2002. *Invisibility Spells in the Greek Magical Papyri: Prolegomena, Texts, and Commentaries*. Diss. University of Illinois.

Pinch, G.

- 1994. *Magic in Ancient Egypt*. London.

Preisendanz, K.

- 1918. "Miscellen zu den Zauberpapyri, I." *WSt* 40: 1-8.
- 1962. "Ephesia Grammata." *RAC* V 515-20.
- 1972. "Fluchtafel (Defixion)." *RAC* 8: 1-29.

Préaux, C.

- 1967. "De la Grèce classique à l'Égypte hellénistique: traduire ou ne pas traduire." *CdE* 42: 369-383.

Preger, T.

- 1975 (repr.). *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*. Vols. I & II. New York.

Price, S. & Kearns. E.

- 2003. *The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth and Religion*. Oxford.

Procopé-Walter, A.

- 1933. "Iao und Set (zu den figurae magicae in den Zauberpapyri)." *ARW* 30: 34-69.

Propp, V. I.

- 1928. *Morphology of the Folktale*. Transl. L. Scott, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Austin, TX.

Pulleyn, S.

- 1994. "The power of names in Classical Greek religion." *CQ* 44: 17-25.

Quirke, S.

- 1992. *Ancient Egyptian Religion*. London.

Rätsch, C.

- 1992. *The Dictionary of Sacred and Magical Plants*. Trans. J. Baker. Bridport:

Ratschow, C. H.

- 1955. *Magie und Religion*. Gütersloh.

Ray, J. D.

- 1994. "Literacy and Language in Egypt in the Late and Persian Periods," in A. K. Bowman & G. Woolf, eds. *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*. Cambridge. 51-66.

Remus, H.

- 1999. "Magic, method, madness." *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 11: 258-98.

Richardson, N. J.

- 1974. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Oxford.

Riddle, J. M.

- 1992. *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance*. Cambridge, Mass.

Riess, E.

- 1940. "Notes, critical and explanatory, on the Greek Magical Papyri." *JEA* 26: 51-56.

Ritner, R.

- 1993. *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. Chicago.
- 1995. "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire." *ANRW* II 18.5: 3333-3379.
- 1998. "The Wives of Horus and the Philinna papyrus (PGM XX)," in W. C. A. Schoors & H. Willems, eds. *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years: Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur*. Vol. II. Leuven. 1027-1041.

Rives, J. B.

- 2010. "Magus and its cognates in Classical Latin," in *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference held at the University of Zaragoza, 30 Sept.-1 Oct. 2005*, ed. R. L. Gordon & F. Marco Simón. Leiden.

Robert, L.

- 1936. *Collection Froehner*. Vol. 1. *Inscriptions grecques*. Paris.
- 1966. *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Méridionale*. Geneva.

Roccati, A. & Siliotti, A., eds.

- 1987. *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei Faraoni*. Verona.

Rohde, E.

- 1925. *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks*. London.

Russel, W. M. S.

- 1981. "Greek and Roman ghosts," in H. R. Ellis Davidson & W. M. S. Russel, ed. *The Folklore of Ghosts*. Cambridge. 193-213.

Sauneron, S.

- 1951. "Aspects et sort d'un thème magique égyptien: les menaces incluant les dieux." *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 8: 11-21.

de Saussure, F.

- 1983. *Course in General Linguistics*. Trans. R. Harris. London.

Scarborough, J.

- 1991. "The pharmacology of sacred plants, herbs, and roots," in C. A. Faraone, & D. Obbink, eds. *Magika Hiera*. 138-174.

Schneider, D. M.

- 1976. "Notes towards a theory of culture," in K. H. Basso & H. A. Selby, eds. *Meaning in Anthropology*. Albuquerque. 197-220.

Schultz, W.

- 1909. "Εφέσια und Δελφικά γράμματα." *Philologus* 68: 210-228.

Scibilia, A.

- 2002. "Supernatural assistance in the Greek Magical Papyri: The figure of the Parhedros," in J. N. Bremmer, & J. R. Veenstra, eds. *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*. Leuven. 71-86.

Scullion, S.

- 1994. "Olympian and Chthonian." *Classical Antiquity* 13: 75-119.

Sebeok, T. A.

- 1994. *An Introduction to Semiotics*. London.

Sebeok, T. A., ed.

- 1977. *A Perfusion of Signs*. Bloomington, IN.

Segal, A. F.

- 1981. "Hellenistic magic: Some questions of definition," in R. Van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, eds. *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions for Gilles Quispel*. Leiden. 349-375.

Segal, C. P.

- 1974. "Eros and incantations: Sappho and oral poetry." *Arethusa* 7: 139-160.

Sfameni, C.

- 2001. "Magic syncretism in the late Antiquity: Some examples from papyri and magical gems." 'ILU (Revista de Ciencias de las religiones), 6: 183-199.
- 2010. "Magic in late Antiquity: The evidence of magical gems," in D. Gwynn, & S. Bangert, eds. *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity*. Leiden.

Shafer, B. E. ed.

- 1991. *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice*. Ithaca, NY.

Schliemann, H.

- 1878. *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*. London.

Shorter, A. W.

- 1937. *The Egyptian Gods: A Handbook*. London.

Siebourg, M.

- 1915. "Zu den Ephesia Grammata." *ARW* 18: 594.

Simon, E.

- 1983. *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary*. Madison.

Smelik, K. A. D. & Hemelrijk, E. A.

- 1984. "Who knows not what monsters demented Egypt worships?" Opinions on Egyptian animal worship in Antiquity as part of the ancient conception of Egypt." *ANRW II*: 17.4. 1852-2000, 2337-2235.

Smith, G. E. & Dawson, W. R.

- 1924. *Egyptian Mummies*. London.

Smith, M.

- 1973. *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*. Cambridge, MA.
- 1978. *Jesus the Magician: Charlatan or Son of God*. New York.



Smith, J. Z.

- 1982. *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*. Chicago.
- 1987. "The domestication of sacrifice," in R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, ed., *Violent Origins*. Stanford. 191-205.
- 1995. "Trading places," in M. Meyer & P. Mirecki, eds. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Leiden. 13-27.

Sokolowski, F.

- 1966. "Sur l'oracle de Claros destine à la ville Syédra." *BCH* 92: 519-22.

Solin, H.

- 1968. *Eine neue Fluchtafel aus Ostia*. Helsinki.

Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch.

- 1995. "Reading" *Greek Death: To the end of the Classical Period*. Oxford.

de Souza, P.

- 1997. "Romans and pirates in a late Hellenistic oracle from Pamphylia." *CQ*. 47 (2): 477-481.

Speyer, W.

- 1969. "Fluch." *RAC* 7: 1160-1288.

Stannard, J.

- 1982. "Medicinal plants and folk remedies in Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*," *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 4. 3-22.

Steiner, D.

- 2001. *Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought*. Princeton.

Stewart, S.

- 1979. *Nonsense: Aspects of Intertextuality in Folklore and Literature*. Baltimore.

Stopes, M. C.

- 1941. *Contraception: Its Theory, History, and Practice. A Manual for the Medical and Legal Professions*. London.

Stratton, K. B.

- 2007. *Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology, and Stereotype in the Ancient World*. New York.

Struck, P.

- 2004. *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers at the Limit of their Texts*. Princeton.

Sturrock, J., ed.

- 1986. *Structuralism*. London.

Susini, G.

- 1973. "Un Nuevo corpus delle defixiones." *Epigraphica* 35: 7-139.

Tambiah, S. J.

- 1968. "The magical power of words." *Man* 3: 175-208.
- 1973. "Form and meaning of magical acts: A point of view." In R. Horton, & R. Finneganeds, eds. *Modes of Thought*. London. 199-229.

Tavener, E.

- 1942. "The use of fire in Greek and Roman love magic," in *Studies in Honour of Frederick W. Shipley*. St. Louis. 17-37.

Teeter, E.

- 1991. *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge.

Thomas, K.

- 1971. *Religion and the Decline of Magic*. New York.

Thomassen, E.

- 1999. "Is magic a subclass of ritual?" in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, & E. Thomassen, eds. *The World of Ancient Magic. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997*. Bergen. 55-66.

Thompson, D. V.

- 1956. *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting*. New York.

Tomlin, R. S. O.

- 1988. "The curse tablets," in B. Cunliffe, ed. *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath. Vol 2. The Finds from the Sacred Spring*. Oxford. 59-280.

Traunecker, C.

- 2001. *The Gods of Egypt*. Trans. D. Lorton. Ithaca, NY.

Treister, M. Y.

- 1996. *The Role of Metals in Ancient Greek History*. Leiden.

Trumpf, J.

- 1958. "Fluchtafel und Rache puppe." *MDAI(A)*. 73: 94-102.

- 1960. "Kydonische Äpfel." *Hermes*. 88: 14-22.
- Tupet, A. –M.
- 1976. *La Magie dans la poésie latine: i: des origines à la fin du règne d'Auguste*. Paris.
  - 1986. "Rites magiques dans l'antiquité romaine." *ANRW II*:16.3: 2591-2675.
- Turner V.
- 1969. "Forms of Symbolic action: Introduction," in R. F. Spender, ed. *Forms of Symbolic Action: Proceedings of the 1969 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*. Seattle. 3-25.
- Tylor, E. B.
- 1920. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*. London.
- van der Horst, P. W.
- 1982. "The secret hieroglyphs in classical literature," in J. den Boeft & A. H. M. Kessels, eds. *Actus: Studies in Honour of H. L. W Nelson*. Utrecht. 115-123
- van Genep, A.
- 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. Trans. M. B. Vizedom & G. L. Caffè. London.
- van Rengen, W
- 1984. "Deux défixions contre les bleus à Apamée (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C.)," in J. Balty, ed. *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973-79*. Paris. 213-234.
- van Straten, F. T.
- 1995. '*Hiera kalá*': *Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Leiden.
- te Velde, H.
- 1967. *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of his Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*. Leiden.
- Vernant, J-P.
- 1980. *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*. Trans. J. Lloyd. Brighton.
  - 1981. "The myth of Prometheus in Hesiod," in R. L. Gordon, ed. *Myth, Religion and Society*. Cambridge. 43-56.

- 1981a. “Sacrificial and alimentary codes in Hesiod’s myth of Prometheus,” R. L. Gordon, ed. in *Myth, Religion and Society*. Cambridge. 57-79.

Versnel, H. S.

- 1985. ““May he not be able to sacrifice...”: Concerning a curious formula in Greek and Latin curses.” *ZPE* 58: 247-269.
- 1986. “In het grensgebied van magie en religie, het gebed om recht.” *Lampas*, 19: 68-96.
- 1991. “Beyond cursing: The appeal to justice in judicial prayers,” in C. A. Faraone, & D. Obbink, eds. *Magika Hiera*. Oxford. 60-106.
- 1991a. “Some reflections on the relationship magic-religion.” *Numen* 38: 177-197.
- 1998. “And any other part of the entire body that there may be...: An essay on anatomical curses,” in F. Graf, ed. *Ansichten griechischer Rituale: Geburtstags-Symposium für Walter Burkert*. Stuttgart. 217-267.
- 1999. “Κόλασαι τοὺς ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτους ἠδέως βλέποντας, ‘Punish those who rejoice in our misery’: On curse texts and *Schadenfreude*,” in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, & E. Thomassen, eds. *The World of Ancient Magic. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997*. Bergen. 125-162.
- 2002. “The poetics of the magical charm,” in P. Mirecki, & M. Meyer, eds. *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden. 105-158.
- 2002a. “Writing mortals and reading gods: Appeal to the gods as a dual strategy in social control,” in D. Cohen, ed. *Demokratie, Recht und soziale Kontrolle in klassischen Athens*. Munich. 37-76.

Vidal-Naquet, P.

- 1981. “Recipes for Greek adolescence,” in R. L. Gordon, ed. *Myth, Religion and Society*. Cambridge. 163-185.
- 1981a. “The Black Hunter and the origin of Athenian *ephebeia*,” in R. L. Gordon, ed. *Myth, Religion and Society*. Cambridge. 147-162.

Voutiras, E.

- 1999. ‘Euphemistic names for the powers of the nether world,’ in Jordan, D. R., Montgomery, H. & Thomassen, E., eds. *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the first International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4-8 May 1997*. Bergen. 73-82.

von Staden, H.

- 1993. 'Spiderwoman and the chaste tree: the semantics of matter.' *Configurations*. 1(1):23-56.

Wallis, R. T.

- 1986. "The spiritual importance of not knowing," in A. H. Armstrong, ed. *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality*. New York. 460-480.

Watters, B.

- 1984. *Gods of Ancient Egypt*. London.

Wessely, C.

- 1886. *Ephesia Grammata aus Papyrustollen, Inschriften, Gemmen etc.* Vienna

West, M. L.

- 1983. *The Orphic Poems*. Oxford.

West, S.

- 2004. "Nestor's bewitching cup." *ZPE* 18: 229-236.

Wilburn, A. T.

- 2012. *Materia Magica: The Archaeology of Magic in Roman Egypt, Cyprus, and Spain*. London.

Wilhelm, A.

- 1904. 'Der älteste griechische Brief,' *Oesterreichische Jahreshefte* 7: 94-105

Winkler, J. J.

- 1980. "Lollianos and the Desperadoes." *JHS* 100: 155-181.
- 1990. *The Constraints of Desire*. New York.
- 1991. "The constraints of Eros," in C. A. Faraone, & D. Obbink, eds. *Magika Hiera*. Oxford. 214-243.

Wiseman, J.

- 1973. "Gods, war and plague in the times of the Antonines," in D. Mano-Zissi, & J. Wiseman, eds. *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, vol 1. Belgrade. 143-183.

Wortmann, D.

- 1968. "Neue magische texte." *BJ* 168: 56-111.

Wünsch, R.

- 1900. "Neue Fluchtafeln." *RhM* 55: 62-85, 232-271.

- 1902. “The limestone inscriptions of Tell Sandahannah,” in F. J. Bliss, & R. A. S. Macalister, eds. *Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898-1900*. London. 173-176.

Young, M. J.

- 1991. “Permeable boundaries: Ambiguity and metaphor in Zuni ceremonialism and daily life.” *Southern Folklore* 48: 159-189.

Zaidman, L. B., & Pantel, P. S.

- 1992. *Religion in the Ancient Greek City*. Trans. P. Cartledge. Cambridge.

Ziebarth, E.

- 1934. “Neue Verfluchungstafeln aus Attika, Boiotien und Euboa.” *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse* 1022-34, plates 1-3.

Zografou, A.

- 2008. “Prescriptions sacrificielles dans les papyri magiques,” in V. Mehl, & P. Brulé, eds. *Le sacrifice antique. Vestiges, procédures, stratégies*. Rennes, 187-203.