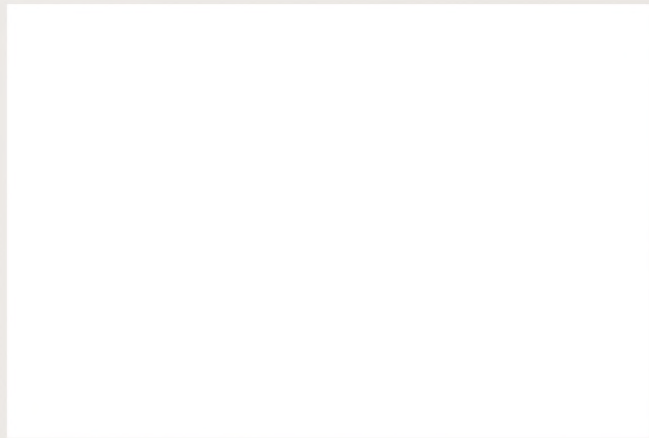


P. Berol. 21243: Textual Criticism, Interpretation and Cultural Context.

*For my sister
who teaches me what strength really is.*



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P. Berol. 21243: Textual Criticism, Interpretation and Cultural Context.

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by

Stephanie Lynne Larson, B.A.

REPORT

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

APPROVED BY
READING COMMITTEE

David Martinez
David Martinez, Supervisor
1995

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

AUGUST 1995

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Stephanie Larson

Austin, Texas

August 1995

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Introduction

Papyrus *P. Berol.* 21243¹ stands as a landmark in the written record of the mysterious Greek magical papyri. The Berlin text is one of the oldest extant magical papyri, dating to the Augustan period, and was found in mummy cartonnage at Abusir-el-Melek; it is also one of the earliest surviving fragments from a magical handbook. Undoubtedly the spells recorded reflect magical charms from an earlier date,² and thus throughout this paper I shall refer to *P. Berol.* 21243 as a late Hellenistic magical text.

Two columns containing three spells, two erotic love-charms and one headache spell, are visible on the papyrus. The language of the charms is often formal and classical with a few epic forms thrown in here and there for metrical purposes;³ traces of dactylic hexameter and iambic trimeter appear in both columns. The entire text is written in a poetic and often literary style, including the headache charm at the end of the papyrus. The absence of magical words which are so frequent in later Greek magical texts is also striking.⁴

Column 1 offers us a glimpse of language common in later magical texts as well as motifs familiar from Greek literature. The overall effect of such composition is unique and may reflect the early date of the papyrus, a period in the written record of magical texts when the Greek and

¹ *P. Berol.* 21243 = PGM CXXII.

² C. Faraone. "Aphrodite's KESTOS and Apples for Atalanta" *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 235.

³ For example, ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν (column 1. 8); ἐοῖ (column 2. 9).

⁴ W. Brashear. "Ein berliner Zauberpapyrus" *ZPE* 33 (1979) 262.

Egyptian elements had been syncretized but still remained distinct within the spells. The Greek tone of lines 5-14 may also suggest that at the time the potential audience for the magical spells in Greek Egypt was not as assimilated as in later centuries.⁵ Moreover, the spells may reflect a period in ancient magical tradition when magical charms resembled earlier metrical incantations. The love-charm of Column 1 concludes with a dramaturgic recitation in a distinctly Egyptian narrative pattern.

Column 2 is more Egyptian in tone throughout. This section highlights the syncretistic nature of *P. Berol.* 21243; the spells exhibit ethnic influences from both the Egyptian and Greek magical traditions. Specific Egyptian myths are called to mind by objects mentioned and the various gods involved in the recitation, yet Hellenic qualities, albeit of a more subdued and syncretized nature than those in Column 1, are still present. The first spell, a love-charm, employs Egyptian myths and also a hymn to Helios that includes threats against a divinity. The second spell against headache is Egyptian throughout. These distinct Egyptian qualities of Column 2 serve to place the papyrus as a whole in a late Hellenistic magical context, an early and transitional time in the production of the surviving Greek magical papyri.

⁵ Lewis has traced the patterns of assimilation throughout the Hellenistic period in many different areas of Greek Egypt, and he concludes that less fusion of the two cultures existed first — only in late Ptolemaic times did Greeks and Egyptians (in outlying areas especially in Upper Egypt) truly assimilate in language and social mores to the other culture (Lewis, N. *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt: Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World*. Oxford 1986).

PART 1. Textual Commentary. Column 1.

Column I begins with a claim of sacred origins (lines 1-5):

ἐξαγωγή ἐπωδῶν ἐκ τῆς εὐρεθείσης
ἐν Ἡλίου{c} πόλει ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ βύβλωι τῇ καλου-
μένη Ἑρμοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ Αἰγυπτίοις
γράμμασιν καὶ διερμηνευθέντων Ἑλληνι-
κοῖς.

Publication of spells from the < > (?) found in Heliopolis in the temple library in the holy book called 'of Hermes,' (written) in Egyptian and translated into Greek.⁶

1 **ἐξαγωγή** : this term means "extract" or "exportation" in a reference to material goods for trade in *P. Cair. Zen.* 93.13;⁷ a logical extension of this meaning is "extract" in the sense of "excerpt."⁸ It has also been suggested that here ἐξαγωγή takes on a rarer meaning unparalleled in other texts from the Greek magical papyri: "publication."⁹ The term may then refer to the actual "recovery of charms out of the temple, their translation and introduction *into* the Greek world."¹⁰ In this attractive reading, the term ἐξαγωγή anticipates the following assertion that the spells were translated from an ancient Egyptian book of Hermes found in the *adyton* of his temple in Heliopolis.

⁶ Translations mine unless otherwise noted.

⁷ LSJ II. 3.

⁸ So Faraone (1990) 232 and Betz 316.

⁹ *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 112.

¹⁰ *Ibid* p. 112.

2-3 ἐν Ἡλίου{c} πόλει ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ βύβλωι τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἑρμοῦ ἐν τῶι ἀδύτῳι : in all likelihood the connection to an ancient temple of Hermes is tendentious; such claims for specific Egyptian hieratic sources are part of a long tradition in the Greek magical papyri of ascribing mysterious origins to charms in order to increase their efficacy.¹¹ This common ancient practice was “a kind of ‘Egyptianism’ - the romantic attribution of whatever was mysterious, powerful, and ancient in character to Egypt and its fabulous gods.”¹² Heliopolis, a city revered for its magical practices, had flourished in Ancient Egypt; the Egyptian deity *heka*, the goddess of magic, was worshipped there as a primeval deity and thus, in the minds of the ancients, connected the city to her immense magical power.¹³ Although Heliopolis was in severe economic decline by the time of Augustus, the city still had the reputation of being one of the most sacred and revered places in Egypt.¹⁴ Accordingly, simple mention of the name “Heliopolis” here associates the upcoming love-spell with

¹¹ Brashear 265. Cf. *P. Oxy.* vol. 11. 1382. 19-20; *P. Oxy.* vol. 6. 886. 2-4; *PGM IV.* 885-7. Common in literature of other genres and cultures is the motif of exoticism gained by contact with Egyptian temples and priests. Moses, Orpheus, Solon, Pythagoras and even Plato were acknowledged to have learned and sat at the feet of Egyptian priests. *Plut. V. Sol.* 26 and *Plat. Tim.* 21E-22A mention Solon in this context, and information regarding the Greek philosophers in general appears in *Diod. Sic. I.* 96-8 (Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* 15). Also cf. *Plut. Is. and Os.* 10.

¹² D. Frankfurter. “The Magic of Writing and the Writing of Magic: The Power of the Word in Egyptian and Greek Traditions” *Helios* 21 no. 2 (1994) 189.

¹³ G. Pinch. *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (University of Texas Press 1994) 63.

¹⁴ Brashear 265.

generic ancient magical powers particularly exotic because of their connection with the revered magical city.¹⁵

2-3 **ἱεργὰ βύβλωι, τῶι ἀδύτῳι:** the **ἱεργὰ βύβλωι**, a standard Greek term for the Egyptian “Book of the Gods,”¹⁶ also connects the Berlin text to magical powers from the exotic past as does the reference to the ἀδύτον. This term may be an Hellenized reference to the Egyptian “*bw dsr*” or “segregated place,” the location of the image of the god, the holiest of holy places of oriental temples, the place “where no man may enter.”¹⁷ *P. Berol.* 21243 describes this precinct as Ἑρμοῦ. Perhaps the ἀδύτον then is the temple library, the home of Egyptian Thoth, the inventor of writing,¹⁸ a god often called Hermes Trismegistus or simply Ἑρμῆς — his divine ownership of the book and the spells could only enhance their magical potential.

3-5 **Αἰγυπτίοις γράμμασιν καὶ διερμηνευθέντων Ἑλληνικοῖς** : the five-line introduction to *P. Berol.* 21243 concludes with the claim that the spells were written originally in Egyptian script and later translated into Greek.¹⁹ Again, this assertion is unlikely. It is worth mentioning that

¹⁵ Cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 106-110: κλυθί μοι, ὁ κτίζων καὶ ἐρημῶν καὶ γενάμενος ἰσχυρὸς θεός, ὃν ἐγέννησεν λευκὴ χοίρας, ἀλθακα, εἰαθαλλαθα, καλαιοθ, ὁ ἀναφανείς ἐν Πηλουσίῳ, ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει, κατέχων ῥάβδον κιδηρᾶν, κτλ.

¹⁶ *Suppl. Mag.* II. p. 113.

¹⁷ S. Morenz. *Egyptian Religion* 100. Cf. Rosetta Stone N 7 (*Urk.*, II.172).

¹⁸ Cf. J. Griffiths. *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*. University of Wales Press 1970, 519-521.

¹⁹ Here is an instance of a substitution of the masculine participle for a feminine subject: διερμηνευθέντων (line 4) almost certainly refers to ἐπφδῶν from ἐπφδή (line 5). Such substitution may be a mistake on the part of the scribe. Later in *P. Berol.* 21243 another gender mishap occurs. Line 13 reads the masculine participle φιλῶν with reference to the

none of the claims in this section, however, are based solely on an Hellenic desire for exoticism; many ancient Egyptian spells themselves boasted about their antiquity and origins, claiming that they were used by royalty or originated in holy places.²⁰ Whether or not such tendentious claims are Greek or Egyptian, from the point of view of the recipient of this charm the boasts tie the upcoming love-spells to a mystical and powerful past.

The papyrus continues with a spell evocative of the Greek literary tradition separated from the introduction by a small wavy line to the left of the text. Lines 7-14 are in corrupt hexameter:²¹

ἐπὶ μήλο[υ] ἐπωδὴ· τρίς·
 βα[λ]ῶ μή[λ]οις [c. 4] δῶξω τόδε φάρμα-
 κ[ον] καίριον αἰεὶ βρωτὸν | θνητοῖς ἀν-
 8 θρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν | ἦ ἄν
 δῶ μήλω τε βάλω μήλω τε πατάξω |
 πάντα ὑπερθεμένη μαίνοιτο ἐπ' ἐμῆι

feminine beloved. Gignac states that masculine participles are used for feminine nouns "not only through association in contexts in which the masculine is more common, but also when there are no such predominant contextual influences" (*Grammar* II, 130f.). This practice becomes more common in the later papyri but appears in other texts that fall fairly near *P. Berol.* 21243 in time: *BGU* 1013.15 (A.D. 41-68): ἡ ὁμολογῶν; *P. Ryf.* 151. 5-12 (A. D. 40): Ἡραῖς . . . εἰσελθὼν . . . καὶ . . . συνλαβὼν.

²⁰ The demotic papyrus of London and Leiden, for example, a papyrus dating from 1300-1200 BC that reflects texts from c. 1900 - 1800 BC (gynaecological charms, spells for burns and eye-diseases, etc.), is said to have appeared out of nowhere in a temple during the reign of King Khufu, c. 2500 BC (Pinch 63).

²¹ This segment of the papyrus (1. 5-14) contains many textual problems (*Suppl. Mag.* II p. 115). The hexameters of lines 8-9 (ἦ ἄν δῶ μήλω τε βάλω μήλω τε πατάξω) and lines 9-10 (πάντα ὑπερθεμένη μαίνοιτο ἐπ' ἐμῆι φιλότῃ) are certain but the remaining lines are difficult. Lines 7-8 (θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν) may be an hexameter with a short καὶ (by correption) and the final short -ι- of the epic dative plural ἀνθρώποισι. Line 6-7 (from the second syllable of δῶξω to βρωτὸν) could be the last half of an hexameter if καίριον and βρωτὸν are viewed as glosses put into the originally pure hexametrical line by an "unmetrical" scribe to help explain the proper use of the spell.

12

φιλότητι | ἥτε ἐν χειρὶ λάβο[υ]σα φάγοι
..... ἢ ἐν κόλπῳ καθῆται μὴ
παύσαιτο φιλῶν με· Κυπρογένεια τέλει
τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν.²²

Incantation [to be spoken] three times over an apple: I shall strike with apples - - - and I shall provide (?) this timely love-spell to eat for both mortal people and immortal gods. To whatever woman I give it and throw an apple and hit with an apple, setting everything else aside, may she be mad with love for me; whether she takes it in her hand and eats it - - - or whether it rests in her lap, may she not stop loving me. O goddess born on Cyprus, fulfill for me this perfect charm.

5 ἐπὶ μήλο[υ] ἐπῳδή· τρίς : the spell was probably to be recited three times over apples; the number of apples is unclear from what follows. Instruction to repeat spells three times for efficacy are common in the Greek magical texts (as is the number three in general).²³ Faraone cites evidence from Near-Eastern love-spells in support of this reading.²⁴

5-14 μῆλα : imagery of apple-throwing appears consistently throughout Greek literature and in all instances the fruits are tokens of affection, most famously in Catullus' poem 65. 19-20: *ut missum sponsi furtiuo munere malum / procurrit casto virginis e gremio*. Plutarch, Vergil and Ovid all make

²² The Greek text follows *Suppl. Mag.* 72 with the exception of line 9.

²³ Brashear 266; Faraone (1990) 233 n. 32 and 235 n. 36. For instruction to repeat a spell three times cf. *PGM IV.* 986; for the use of three efficacious Homeric verses cf. *PGM IV.* 2145 ff.

²⁴ Faraone (1990) 234-6.

use of this motif.²⁵ Apples as love-tokens appear in Hellenistic love-poetry as well; Theocritus writes:

Ἴππομένης, ὅκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἤθελε γάμαι,
μᾶλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐλῶν δρόμον ἄνυεν· ἅ δ' Ἀταλάντα
ὡς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη, ὡς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα.²⁶

Moreover, apples were not considered only symbols of affection but tokens that produced sexual desire in females; two epigrams attributed to Plato make the connection between apples and female sexuality quite explicit:

Τῷ μήλω βάλλω σε· σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐκοῦσα φιλεῖς με,
δεξαμένη, τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος·
εἰ δ' ἄρ' ὃ μὴ γίγνοιτο νοεῖς, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ λαβοῦσα
σκέψαι τὴν ὥρην ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιος.²⁷

The second epigram personalizes the love of the pursuing man:

Μῆλον ἐγὼ· βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις· ἀλλ' ἐπίνευσον,
Ξανθίππη· κάγῳ καὶ σὺ μαραινόμεθα.²⁸

As such tokens of of sexual affection apples served an important ritual function in Greek wedding ceremonies. A precept in an alleged law of Solon required brides to eat a “Kydonian μήλον” before entering the bridal chamber with her husband,²⁹ and apples were thrown directly at the bride

²⁵ For a fairly complete list of occurrences of the apple-motif in Graeco-Roman literature cf. A. Littlewood. “The Symbolism of the Apple” *HSCP* 72 (1967) 48-81. For a description of the apple as a symbol of love because of its numerous seeds, cf. E.S. McCartney, “How the Apple Became the Token of Love” *TAPA* 56 (1925) 70f.; For the contrary view that apples served as aphrodisiacs rather than symbols of fertility, cf. Faraone (1990) p. 230-1, esp. n. 25.

²⁶ *Idyll* 3. 40-42. Also cf. *Idyll* 5. 88: βάλλει καὶ μάλοις τὸν αἰπόλον ἅ Κλεαρῖστα / τὰς αἰγὰς παρελᾶντα καὶ ἀδύ τι ποπυκλιάδει; and *Idyll* 6. 6f.

²⁷ *AP* 5. 79.

²⁸ *AP* 5. 80.

²⁹ Plut. *Solon* 20. 3; Faraone (1990) 231.

during an Athenian wedding. Presentation of μήλα as wedding gifts or engagement presents to the couple signified the sexual excitement of the upcoming wedding night.³⁰

That this ritual pervaded Athenian society is intimated by a parody in Aristophanes' *Clouds*; Aristophanes implies that the youth Pheidippides and his crowd are effeminate enough for a *female* prostitute to throw apples at them.³¹ Of course Aristophanes employed this gender reversal for comic effect, but the joke signifies something more: the Athenian audience was familiar enough with this ritual to understand the slight Pheidippides had received by being pelted with the fruit that was believed to cause sexual excitement in women. Obviously at weddings and perhaps on other occasions apples were thrown at women in order to engender sexual desire toward men — Greeks felt that in matters of erotic love the chances for the female's willing reciprocation were increased when a love-token such as an apple was involved.

Perhaps the clearest example of the *magical* effect that the love-token apple has over a woman appears in the myth of Acontius and

³⁰ Faraone (1990) 230; cf. B. O. Foster "Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity" *HSCP* 10 (1899) 39-55; Faraone cites M. Detienne, *Dionysos Slain*, tr. M. Muellner and L. Muellner (Baltimore 1979) 41-44.

³¹ Ar. *Nubes* 996-7: μηδ' εἰς ὄρχηστρίδας εἰσάττειν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ταῦτα κεχηνῶς μήλω βληθεῖς ὑπὸ πορνιδίου τῆς εὐκλείας ἀποθραυσθῆς. . . . I tend to read Aristophanes as a link between ancient literature and ancient reality, for many practices, jokes and habits reflected in his plays still occur in modern Greece. His mention of the apples as love-tokens lends more credence to the theory that motif of apple-throwing in literary works is an actual reflection of practice.

Cydippe.³² Acontius, a Cean youth, arrives at Athens for a festival and falls madly in love with Cydippe, the beautiful and unmarried daughter of a noble Athenian. He must have her, and so after inscribing an apple with the words "I swear by the sanctuary of Diana to marry Acontius" he throws it at Cydippe as she sits in the goddess' sanctuary. Cydippe picks up the apple, reads aloud the message and throws the fruit away in anger. By her speech however, the spell written on the apple has been cast inexorably and Diana causes Cydippe to fall deathly ill as she waits to be married off to a suitor of her father's choice. Her father finally realizes that Cydippe will be permanently ill until she is married to Acontius, and so it happens. The apples in the love-charm of *P. Berol.* 21243 serve a similar function for the client, the pursuer of the beloved. Their power as tokens of love grows as the spell is repeatedly recited over them, and thus, their efficacy as symbols of the client's power over the beloved is strengthened. Perhaps the client actually threw the apples as the charm was recited, but regardless of the *praxis*, the mention of apples in this magical context was enough to bring their powerful connection to sexual love into play over the desired person.

The description of the lustful effect of such apples on women in Catullus' second poem is worth noting here as well. Catullus speaks of his love for Lesbia with an allusion to the myth of Atalanta:

tam gratum est mihi quam ferunt puellae
pernici aureolum fuisse malum,

³² Cf. Ovid *Heroides* 20, 21 and Aristaenetus *Epist.* x. 10. The myth of Acontius and Cydippe is also found in several fragments of ancient poets, most notably Callimachus' *Aetia* Book III, fragments 67-75.

quod zonam soluit diu ligatam (IIa. 1-3).

Here the apples are the means by which Atalanta releases her sexuality and accepts her desire for Hippomenes. The earliest source for the *topos* of an apple as a love-token connected with the myth of Atalanta appears in a fragmentary papyrus of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*:

αὐτὰρ ὃ [. πό]δεσσι μ[
ἦ δ' αἶψ' ὥσθ' Ἄρπυια μετ[αχρονίοισι πόδεσσι
ἔμμαρψ'· αὐτὰ[ρ ὃ] χειρὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἦ[κε χαμάζε·
.....
καὶ δὴ ἔχεν δύο μῆλα ποδώκης δι' Ἄτ[αλάντη·
ἐγγὺς δὴ ἦν τέλος· ὃ δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἦκε χ[αμάζε·
κὺν τῶι δ' ἐξέφυγεν θάνατον καὶ κῆ[ρα μέλαιναν,
ἔστη δ' ἀμπνείων καὶ [] [] σομ[³³

This fragment does not describe the emotional or physical effect of the apples thrown by Hippomenes, but as we saw in Theocritus above, for example,³⁴ the apples certainly served as a stimulant for Atalanta's desire toward her suitor.³⁵ In this context it has been suggested that column 1 of *P. Berol* 21243 contains an actual fragment from the Hesiodic catalogue, and in consideration of the other literary excerpts used in the magical papyri as words of power or authority, this theory may be valid.³⁶ On the other hand, Hesiod is never quoted in any other extant magical text, and

³³ fr. 76.17-23 West. It is worth noting that in the Hesiodic fragment, the apples are thrown on the ground rather than directly at Atalanta, but given that all the varying accounts of the story, including the account of Theocritus mentioned above, mention apples and Atalanta's subsequent capitulation, it seems safe to say that the two elements are the framework of the story; clearly, apples were an integral part of the myth and were directly related to Atalanta's change of heart.

³⁴ Theoc. 3. 40-42.

³⁵ Faraone (1990) 232-33.

³⁶ Ibid 234 n. 24.

given the common use of apples in marriage and engagement rituals, it is perhaps better to consider the apple-motif of *P. Berol.* 21243 simply as a motif taken from Greek ritual and incorporated into the early erotic spell in hexameter for the sake of its symbolic usefulness in the realm of erotic love; clearly mention of ritual love-tokens would be considered efficacious for the love charm.³⁷ Moreover, if the verses were such an efficacious excerpt from literature, it seems likely that they would occur in the magical papyri more often.³⁸ On the other hand, considering the early date of this text, the sole occurrence of this motif in all the Greek magical texts does not rule out the theory that the apple-charm of *P. Berol.* 21243 is at least based upon a fragment from the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. Other sections of the Berlin papyrus display rather poetic rhythm and language unparalleled in later magical texts, but in light of the scanty support for either position, we can only speculate.

A structural aspect of the apple-spell may serve to place it into a more literary context. The use of the future tense in line 6 (βα[λ]ῶ and δῶϕω) resemble what Faraone calls the “performative future” tense found

³⁷ Faraone has noted a possible connection between the apple-spell of *P. Berol.* 21243 and a cuneiform collection of Near Eastern ritual texts used by men to attract and seduce women. In these spells the beloved eats the fruit, Inanna (Sumerian for Ishtar, often synonymous with Aphrodite) is invoked, and in the end the male pursuer can make love to her (Faraone 233). The parallel here is striking and ought not to be overlooked, but in light of the more profuse literary evidence for the use of apples as love-tokens in Hellenic culture, an influence from the Greek *literary* tradition coupled with actual known Greek *ritual* practice seems the likeliest possibility.

³⁸ The same Homeric quotations employed for magical efficacy, for example, occur *repeatedly* in the Greek magical texts. An Homeric verse recited in order to win friends (*Il.* 10.193; *PGM* IV. 469-70) is repeated in other spells for friends (*PGM* IV. 833-34; 2145). Likewise, three other verses from Homer (*Il.* 10. 564 ; 10.521; 10.572) occur at *PGM* IV. 47-73, 821-23, 2146ff., in spells relating to divine assistance.

in many Greek poems,³⁹ especially works of Pindar and Theocritus.⁴⁰ Such a future in the first person is often coupled with a deictic pronoun, the adverb $\nu\acute{\nu}\nu$, or some other reference to material used in the ritual performance of the supposed action.⁴¹ Pindar's examples are also matched with imperatives addressed toward a divine helper.⁴² The futures of *P. Berol.* 21243 appear in the first person with a deictic $\tau\acute{o}\delta\epsilon$ as well as the command to Aphrodite: $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\nu$. This is a striking structural similarity, yet even Faraone notes that the corruption of the text of *P. Berol.* 21243 in these first few lines makes it impossible to prove anything definitive about these "performative futures;" the rite may simply be a preparatory recitation in which true futures are used.⁴³ Again, any literary connections involved in such language remain doubtful.

8-9 $\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\acute{\omega}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\lambda\omicron\ \tau'\ \acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu\ \mu\acute{\eta}\lambda\omicron\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega\ \dots$:⁴⁴ there has been much technical discussion over the language of lines 8-9. The use of the relative pronoun only once in conjunction with three different verbs in three different constructions is not rare.⁴⁵ The problem appears in the verb $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega$ — the first person personal ending appears in two cases at

³⁹ Claude Calame first named this future "performative;" cf. Calame "Legendary Narration and Poetic Procedure in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*," from *Callimachus*, eds., M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Walker, *Hellenistica Groningana* 1 (Groningen 1993).

⁴⁰ Faraone cites Pind. *Ol.* 10. 78-79, *Ol.* 11. 11-14. *Nem.* 9. 9-10, *Ol.* 9. 25 (Faraone [1995] 1).

⁴¹ Faraone (1995) 3.

⁴² *Ibid.* 3.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 10.

⁴⁴ This text is taken from *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 107 following Malotmini's emendation of these lines.

⁴⁵ Kühner-Gerth *Grammatik* II 432.

the end of the verb stem; –α– is written in the lower half of the line and –ω– appears superscript above. The letters are flanked by a vertical stroke with a small curve to the left at the bottom. Is this a correction of the verb from an aorist to a future tense or is this an economical condensation of two verbs into one? Brashear suggests the latter, and in his reading the line denotes three distinct moments in time: “Ich . . . (Gegenwart), ich bewarf mit einem Apfel (Vergangenheit) und ich werde mit einem Apfel schlagen (Zukunft).”⁴⁶ “I . . . (present), I threw an apple (past), and I will throw an apple (future).” However, considering ἦ ἄν δῶ at the beginning of the line, it seems more likely to assume that the writer of the spell was correcting his mistake of τ’ ἐπάταξα to τε πατάξω (aorist subjunctive).⁴⁷ This correction would necessitate the emendation of τεβαλον to τεβάλω (also aorist subjunctive).⁴⁸ The vertical stroke with a small curve at the bottom of παταξα would then mark the corrected tense for the magician reciting the charm.

10-13 πάντα ὑπερθεμένη μαίνοιτο ἐπ’ ἐμῆι
 φιλότητι ἢ τε ἐν χειρὶ λάβο[ῦ]χα φάγοι
 ἢ ἐν κόλπῳ καθῆται μὴ

⁴⁶ Brashear 268.

⁴⁷ Maltomini 247-8. However, forms of the indicative were substituted for forms of the subjunctive frequently in papyri. I cite two examples from the 3rd century: ἴνα . . . ἀνελοῦσι (*P. Flor.* 175. 27-9); εἶνα . . . διαπέμψεται (*P. Oxy.* 1068. 5). The converse occurs as well, though not as frequently. The earliest examples of such confusion between the indicative and subjunctive appear on inscriptions dating from as early as the third century BC (MS, 166) (Gignac, vol. ii, p. 358-9).

⁴⁸ *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 116.

παύσαιτο φίλων με : these lines contain language repeated in both older papyri and Greek literary sources. The client requests that the beloved “put everything aside:” πάντα ὑπερθεμένη; this stock phrase occurs in personal letters from the third century B.C. especially when the writer needs a favor.⁴⁹

The request continues with the verb μαίνοιτο; both verbs and adjectives related to μαίνομαι are common in love-spells of the magical papyri,⁵⁰ thus it is significant that the verb μαίνομαι occurs in literary analyses of madness brought on by love as well. Plato speaks of the “tyrant-type” of madman who rages with insanity brought on by his desires:

ἐν ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἡγεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ πλείω εἶναι ἢ ἐν τῷ
μαινομένῳ ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμιῶν τε καὶ ἐρώτων τούτῳ τῷ τυραννικῷ; (*Resp.*
9 578A).

In the *Phaedrus* Plato brings the same term closer to the meaning of the magical papyri by describing the desire of an actual lover; here μαίνομαι has the meaning of “inspired:”

προθυμία μὲν οὖν τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐρώντων καὶ τελετή, ἐάν γε
διαπράξωνται ὁ προθυμοῦνται ἢν λέγω, οὕτω καλή τε καὶ
εὐδαιμονική ὑπὸ τοῦ δι' ἔρωτα μανέντος φίλου τῷ φιληθέντι γίγνεται,
ἐάν αἰρεθῇ (*Phaedrus* 253C).

μαίνομαι does not appear in this sense only in Greek philosophy, however. Theocritus employs the term in his famous literary

⁴⁹ *Ibid* p. 116.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Suppl. Mag.* I 41, 12: ἔρωτι μανικῷ; *Suppl. Mag.* I 45, 7: ἔρωτα μανιώδη; *Suppl. Mag.* I 45, 31: ἔρωτι μανιώδη; *Suppl. Mag.* I 45, 43: *Suppl. Mag.* I 45, 49: ἔρωτα ἀκατάπαυστον καὶ φίλιαν μανικήν; *PGM* IV. 2756f: μαινομένη ἢ δ(εῖνα) ἥκοι ἐπ' ἐμαῖσι θύραισι.

representation of ancient magical praxis, *Idyll 2*; there Simaetha wishes divine madness upon her former lover (as clients of magical spells often did). She wishes to see her lover, Delphis, maddened by love like young foals maddened with wild longing for a poisonous Arcadian plant:

ἵππομανὲς φυτὸν ἔστι παρ' Ἀρκάδι, τῷ δ' ἔπι πᾶσαι | καὶ πῶλοι
μαίνονται ἀν' ὄρεα καὶ θοαὶ ἵπποι· ὡς καὶ Δέλφιν ἴδοιμι, καὶ ἐς τόδε
δῶμα περάσαι | μαινομένῳ ἵκελος λιπαρᾶς ἔκτοσθε παλαίστρας (*Idyll*
2. 48-51).

The literary instances of this term mirror its meaning in *P. Berol.* 21243; thus, the motif of erotic madness present in the apple-spell of *P. Berol.* 21243 is confirmed by similar descriptions in literary sources and sets this section of the text firmly within the Greek erotic tradition.⁵¹

13-14 **Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιοιδήν**: the spell concludes with language common to other magical texts. A similar phrase had become a formulaic exhortation to the invoked deity in numerous magical love-spells by the Augustan period. Another spell from the second half of the first century BC reads: τελέαν ἐπαιοιδήν,⁵² and the next spell in column 2 of *P. Berol.* 21243 likewise ends with the same command: τέλεόν μ[οι] τελέαν ἐπαιοιδήν. Many later Greek spells boast this formula as well.⁵³

⁵¹ In reference to μαίνομαι Maltomini also mentions Men., *Mis.* A 11f.; Luc., *Philops.* 14 (*Suppl. Mag.* II p. 116). In reference to ἐν κόλπῳ: Catullus 65. 19-22 (above); Luc., *Dial. mer.* 12. 1; Long. III. 34. 3; Aristaen. I. 10. 29 f.; 25. 21-23 Mazal; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.* p. 148. 88 f. van Dielen (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* XI.1), *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 117.

⁵² *Suppl. Mag.* II 71, frag. 2 + 21, line 4. Fragment 83 from the same papyrus was probably also involved in such a formula (Ἰελεα . . .) and may fit in between fragments 2 and 21.

⁵³ Cf. *Suppl. Mag.* I 45. 53: τελεῖτε τελείαν τὴν ἐπαιοιδήν; *Suppl. Mag.* II 71, fr. 21 I 3 and fr. 2. 6; *Suppl. Mag.* II 72 I 13f., 27 II 8. 25; PGM IV. 294 f.: τελέσατέ μοι τὴν τελείαν ἐπαιοιδήν;

τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιδὴν could be considered a formulaic magical expression; on the other hand, since there are so many similarities between the terms used to describe erotic madness in *P. Berol.* 21243 and in Greek literary sources (μαίνομαι, for example), the phrase Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιδὴν, no matter how formulaic, is worth investigating as an element of an older tradition of oral incantation found in both magical texts and Greek poetry.

First, in *P. Berol.* 21243 Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιδὴν is repeated three times (column 1, lines 13-14, 27; column 2, line 25); each repetition occurs at the completion of a sense-unit or at the end of a spell. Such repetitive structure calls to mind the hymnal repetition found in Theocritus 2, for example, where every four lines during the recitation of the binding spell Simaetha recites the same verse calling upon the powers of the magical ἵνυξ.⁵⁴ Second, the phrase Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιδὴν is metrical; such repetition and metrics find parallel in many hymns from Greek magical texts.⁵⁵ Most striking is the appearance of the same rhythmic phrase (τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιδὴν) at the conclusion of an

PGM VII. 992: καλῶς μοι τέλει ταύτην τὴν ἐπαιδὴν; *PGM* XX 4 f.; *P. Oxy.* III. 412. 17, and others.

⁵⁴ The repetition throughout the rest of Theocritus' poem should be noted as well; for even after the recitation of the καταδεσμὸς is complete, the remaining verses maintain a repetitive structure that harken back to the enchanting binding spell itself.

⁵⁵ A particularly noteworthy example of a metrical hymn from the *Greek Magical Papyri* is *PGM* IV. 939-948 (Hymn 3, "An Helios," *PGM* vol. ii, p. 238); for incantatory repetition in magical hymns, cf. *PGM* III. 198-229, esp. lines 10-21 (Hymn 5, "An Helios und die Allgötter," *PGM* vol. ii, p. 241-2); *PGM* IV. 261-273 (Hymn 7, *PGM* vol. ii, p. 243-4); *PGM* II. 132-4 (Hymn 11, *PGM* vol. ii, p. 246); *PGM* IV. 2786-2870 (Hymn 18, *PGM* vol. ii, p. 253-4, lines 10-13), etc.

hymn to Aphrodite.⁵⁶ Although dating from a later period, this charm seems significant since the formulaic phrase τέλει τελέαν έπαιοιδήν appears here both as an address to the goddess Aphrodite and in the context of erotic magic.

Such repetition and metrics in incantation appear on a more basic level in Greek poetry as well. As an example I mention fragment 31 of Sappho, a brief poem which repeats the particle δέ seven times within five lines (lines 10-15) and the structure ώς . . . ς(ε) . . . ώς . . . με within a single line (line 7).⁵⁷ Such rhythmic repetition produces an incantatory and ritualizing effect of the same sort as other repetitive metrical texts whether magical or literary, including Column 1 of *P. Berol.* 21243.

Moreover, τέλει τελέαν έπαιοιδήν calls to mind another phrase of a similar nature that ends many hymns in *PGM*: μοι τόδε πράγμα τέλεσεν⁵⁸ or μοι τόδε πράγμα ποιήσεν.⁵⁹ These phrases contain both a deictic τόδε and an imperative; not only does this structure parallel the somewhat weaker Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν έπαιοιδήν, but the phrases also match in general tone. Clearly such metrical phrases frame the charms rhythmically and add a formal ritual effect to the sound of the spells in *P. Berol.* 21243. In speaking of rhythmic tone in Greek poetry, Segal notes that "the rhythm and ritual effects of the song are felt to be capable of working real magic on the body and soul of the hearer."⁶⁰ The effect of even the short

⁵⁶ *PGM* IV. 2902-2939; hymn 22, p. 261 [vol. ii].

⁵⁷ Segal 146.

⁵⁸ Hymn 20. 37 (*PGM* vol. ii, p. 259).

⁵⁹ Hymn 18. 55 (*PGM* vol. ii, p. 255)

⁶⁰ Segal 144.

phrase Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδὴν serves as a similar θέλξις and highlights the affinity between this magical text, an ἐπαοιδή, and literary song, ᾠοιδή. In light of these similarities between hymnal recitative structures reflected in literature, magical texts, and the Berlin papyrus, the final line of this apple-spell only reinforces the unusual incantatory hymnal tone of Column 1.

The next section of Column 1 is badly damaged; the lacunose lines leave much opportunity for emendation. Such emendation must remain speculative however, especially since no other distinct parallels of this section in Greek magical texts have yet come to light. Lines 15-27:

φ.ται [c.9] θελεηλετα
 16 ε . . . []τα[. . .] δ' ἔλαβόν σου [τὸ ὄ]μμα. ὁ δε(ί)να·
 ἔλαβόν σου [τῆ]ν ψυχὴν. ὁ δεῖ[να· c. 5]μην σου
 τοῦ αἵματος. [ὁ δε(ί)να·] ἐχρησάμη[ν σου c. 7]
 ὁ δε(ί)να· κατέφα[γόν] σου τὸ ἥπαρ. ὁ δε(ί)να·[c. 5]κά-
 20 μην σου τ[ὸ δέ]ρμα. ὁ δε(ί)να· ἐποίησα. ἡ θεὰ ἡ
 ἐν τῷ οὐρ[αν]ῶι αὐτὸν προκ[α]τίδε καὶ ἐ[γ]έ-
 νετο αὐτῶ[ι π]άντα κατὰ ψυχὴν [. . .]
 ὁ δε(ί)να· ἀφ' ἧς ἡ[μ]έρασ (καὶ) ὥρασ σοι [. . .]
 24 ναν [. . .]θεῖα `η σταθεις[?]' ἐμπεσ[. . .] εἰς ἔρωτα,
 εἰς φιλ[ί]αν [κ]αὶ εἰς <σ>τοργὴν [. . .] [. . .] . .
 ἀποθάνω. [ᾧ] πότνια θεὰ ι[c. 8]εραιω
 τέλεσόν μ[οι] τελέαν ἐπαοιδὴν.

(NN says the following): "I took your eye. (NN): I took your soul.
 (NN): I - - - - your blood. (NN): I used you. (NN): I ate your
 liver. (NN): I - - - your skin. I did it."

The goddess in heaven looked down upon him and everything
 happened according to the wish of his soul - - - -

(NN says the following): from that day and from that hour - - -
may she (?) standing - - falling in love, friendship and affection - - -
until (?) I die. Mistress goddess Isis, fulfill for me this charm
completely.

17 **ὁ δεῖ[να c. 5]μην**: this lacuna can be successfully completed as **ὁ
δεῖ[να ἐγευσά]μην**.⁶¹ Γεύω rarely occurs in the Greek magical texts but
remains a possibility;⁶² it may also offer support for one of the
interpretations of lines 15-27 (Part II).

18 **ἐχρηκάμη[ν σου c. 7]**: χράομαι may be a direct reference to the act of
sexual intercourse;⁶³ Maltomini offers an attractive reconstruction:
ἐχρηκάμη[ν σου τῷ σώματι].⁶⁴

19-20 **ὁ δ(εῖνα)· κατέφα[γόν] σου τὸ ἦπαρ. ὁ δ(εῖνα)· [c. 5]ζάμην
σου τ[]ρμα** : Heinrichs suggests: **[ἐνεδυ]ζάμην σου τ[ὸ δέ]ρμα**.⁶⁵ This is a
possibility, but it should be noted that τὸ δέρμα occurs so rarely in the
Greek magical papyri that it does not even appear in Preisendanz's index
with this meaning (vol. iii). Τὸ σπέρμα, on the other hand, occurs
regularly, and connotes both 'seed' and 'semen.'⁶⁶ However, it would be
odd to find both σπέρμα and ψυχή in the same passage since ψυχή often

⁶¹ H. Maehler first suggested this reconstruction (*non vidi*); cf. *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 119.

⁶² Cf. *PGM* vol. iii, γεύω: to taste, sample.

⁶³ *LSJ* IV 2. This is a not uncommon meaning of the verb.

⁶⁴ *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 119.

⁶⁵ *Apud Suppl. Mag.* II p. 119. He posits this on the basis of a passage from Dio Cassius who reads: τὰ ἀπολέμματα ἐνεδύοντο (LXVIII 32. 1) - ἀπόλεμμα, "skin," from ἀπολέπω, "to peel off skin." Cf. *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 119.

⁶⁶ Σπέρμα as 'seed': cf. *PGM* XII. 418 (ἀννήθου); VII. 491; XXXVI. 327; IV. 754; XII. 97. Σπέρμα as 'semen': cf. *PGM* IV. 2984 (of the primordial gods); of Pan, IV. 2995; of NN and the IARPHE ARPHE, XXXVI. 287; ἀρτεμίσιας σπέρματικός, V. 371.

connotes both seed and semen (cf. Part II). Henderson offers an interesting insight to τὸ δέρμα. He notes that once in Aristophanes δέρμα seems to mean “prepuce;” the scene is one in which a slave compares the skin of his flayed companions to the skin on the *phalloi* of men who masturbate.⁶⁷ Τὸ δέρμα can also signify the whole phallus⁶⁸ or simply “a man’s skin.”⁶⁹

23-24 ἀφ’ ἧς ἡ[μ]έρασ (καὶ) ὥρασ, ἐμπεσ[. . .] εἰς ἔρωτα : Maltomini notes two significant parallels of ἀφ’ ἧς ἡ[μ]έρασ (καὶ) ὥρασ within PGM.⁷⁰ With the phrase ἐμπεσ[. . .] εἰς ἔρωτα the Berlin text reflects both magical and literary usage (as in the use of μαίνομαι above). Some aorist of the verb ἐμπίπτω is a probable reconstruction, and varied literary sources offer corroboration of the phrase “to fall in love.” Cf. Pl. *Resp* 608A:

ἀκροασόμεθ’ αὐτῆς ἐπάδοντες ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὃν λέγομεν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπωδὴν, εὐλαβούμενοι πάλιν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸν παιδικὸν τε καὶ τὸν τῶν πολλῶν ἔρωτα.⁷¹

25 εἰς φιλ[ί]αν [καὶ] εἰς (ς)τοργήν: with this phrase the client adds other aspects to the affection he desires from the beloved. Such language is found repeatedly in many of the magical papyri to denote the state of

⁶⁷ Ar. *Eq.* 29: τὸ δέρμα δεφομένων ἀπέρχεται; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*, 2nd ed (New York 1991) 115.

⁶⁸ Henderson cites Pl *Com.* 174. 18 (*The Maculate Muse* 115).

⁶⁹ LSJ δέρμα 2.

⁷⁰ *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 119; cf. PGM VII. 649f.; PGM XII. 62.

⁷¹ Diodorus Siculus offers the same phrase in XXXVI 2. 2 (συμπλακεῖς δ’ αὐτῇ καὶ εἰς ἔρωτα παράδοξον αὐτῆς ἐμπεσῶν ἐξηγόρασεν αὐτήν . . .) as does Strabo (XIV. 1. 41): . . . καὶ Κλεόμαχος ὁ πύκτης, ὃς εἰς ἔρωτα ἐμπεσῶν κιναιίδου τινὸς . . . Yet more instances of this phrase are cited in *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 119.

the beloved after the spell has worked its magic. *Suppl. Mag.* 45. 7 says, “drive her . . . ἐρῶσα ἔρωτα μανιώδη καὶ στοργὴν καὶ συνουσίαν;” the same papyrus later details a similar list: “bring her . . . φιλοῦσαν με ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ καὶ στοργῇ καὶ συνουσίᾳ.”⁷² Once again, similarities of language set *P. Berol.* 21243 firmly within the tradition of Greek magical texts.

Column 2.

The Berlin papyrus continues with two more spells, each separated from the preceding spell by a small wavy line to the left of the characters. The first spell is a love-charm with two distinct sections: I call lines 1-8 a *praxis*, while lines 9-25 contain a hymn to Helios.

1-3 ἄρα τὰς χεῖρας π[ρὸς] τὰ ἄστρα κατάσειε λέγω[ν c. 8] . . . εἶνα
καὶ [3-5]
καὶ νύξ μέλαινα καὶ στάσις καὶ ἀγρυπνία καὶ εμη[c. 9] δο-
κρεμοὶ ὑπ[3-5]

χρησ ἴδη πρὶν ἥλιον: the raising of the hands as one invokes a deity is a gesture familiar in magic and prayer. This formulaic movement is described in many other magical papyri, most simply in *PGM XIII.* 827-829: ἀμφοτέρων χεῖρας προτείνας, λέγε, etc.⁷³ The iambic trimeter of lines 2-3 sets an hymnal tone, but like the hexametrical apple-incantation of Column 1 (lines 6-14), the meter here is corrupt.

⁷² Cf. *Suppl. Mag.* I 42. 13, 36f., 45f.; *Suppl. Mag.* II 50. 60.

⁷³ Cf. passages cited in *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 120: *PGM III.* 621f.; *PGM IV.* 904-906, and others. In literature, cf. Euripides' *Supplikes* 772 (and others).

2 νύξ μέλαινα καὶ στάσις καὶ ἀγρυπνία: Brashear rightly notes that these nouns are reminiscent of the conditions of the shut-out lover in comedy.⁷⁴ In magical terms however, “confusion and sleeplessness” are merely a list of a few of the standard symptoms involved in love-sickness; thus, these nouns might be the punishments of love-sickness the client wishes to inflict upon the beloved via this charm.⁷⁵ However, νύξ μέλαινα would be out of place as a torment wished upon the beloved; rather νύξ μέλαινα calls to mind the occurrences of this phrase in tragedy where it often connotes the actual deity “Black Night.” In Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*, for example, the chorus, eagerly awaiting the tally of the ballots after Athena casts her decisive vote, refers to Night as the dark mother: ὦ νύξ μέλαινα μητέρα, ἄρ’ ὄρας τὰδε (745). In Euripides’ *Electra*, Night also receives the invocation of of a deity: ὦ νύξ μέλαινα, χρυσεῶν ἄστρων τροφέ . . . (54).

The following parallel from *PGM*, a hymn to Selene containing her epithet νύξ, is striking:

χαίρει θεά, καὶ καίειν ἐπωνυμίαίς ἐπάκουσον.
 θύω σοι τόδ’ ἄρωμα, Διὸς τέκος, ἰοχέαιρα,
 οὐρανόθεν, λιμνίτι, ὀρίπλανε εἰνοδία τε,
 νερτερία νυχία τ’ , αἰδωναία σκοτία τε,
 ἦκυχε καὶ δασπλήτι. τάφοις ἐνὶ δαίτα ἔχουσα,
 Νύξ, Ἐρεβος, Χάος εὐρύ, σὺ γὰρ δυσάλυκτος Ἀνάγκη, κτλ.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Brashear 274. Cf. *Men. Mis.* A 1; *Anth. Pal.* V. 164 (Asclep.); *Anth. Pal.* 191 (Men.).

⁷⁵ *Suppl. Mag.* II 121. Such ‘role-reversal,’ an Egyptian tendency inherent in handbook love-charms, will be discussed later.

⁷⁶ *PGM* IV. 2853-2862, Hymn 18, vol. ii, line 49 f.

By invoking Selene as Night the spell calls upon all the dark, negative forces associated with νύξ. In *P. Berol.* 21243 νύξ may serve a similar function — the three nominatives / vocatives in a row (νύξ μέλαινα καὶ στάσις καὶ ἀγρυπνία) suggest that the three nouns are present as standard magical torments used in a rather Hesiodic invocation of dark forces. Νύξ μέλαινα may well symbolize a deity invoked against the beloved as a power of negative force in connection with the torments στάσις and ἀγρυπνία.⁷⁷

3 *χρης ἴδη πρὶν ἥλιον* : regardless of the precise nature of the three nominatives, νύξ μέλαινα καὶ στάσις καὶ ἀγρυπνία and *χρης ἴδη πρὶν ἥλιον* must be related.⁷⁸ Countless other uses of formulae resembling *χρης ἴδη πρὶν ἥλιον* appear in the Greek magical texts — many are directions for the proper and timely completion of the *praxis*. *PGM* IV. 286, a spell for picking a useful herb (βοτανήαρσις), requires the client to use it before sunrise (χρῶ πρὸ ἡλίου). Another spell for digging a trench orders the client to complete it πρ[ό]τερον πρὶν ἀνατείλῃ ὁ ἥλιος (*PGM* IV. 33). Thus perhaps the three nouns that head the spell refer to abstract personifications of Black Night, confusion, and sleeplessness and the conditions that accompany them: the conditions under which the spell must be performed. One must compete the recitative Hymn to Helios

⁷⁷ The use of the nominative case makes it difficult for νύξ μέλαινα to refer to a proper time for completion of the spell.

⁷⁸ Brashear emended *χρης* to the future used as an imperative: *χρήση*. This is a definite possibility; for other instances of the future of *χράω* used in this way, cf. *PGM* II. 64; *PGM* XIII. 748, 752.

when “Black Night” is present (νύξ μέλαινα), and when conditions of confusion (στάσις) and sleeplessness (ἀγρυπνία) are affecting the heart of the client. These conditions mirror ἀγωγή rituals in which the setting is specified — the time is night, and the sleeping victim is soon to be tortured by sleeplessness and visions of the operator.⁷⁹

Column 2 continues with a description of a ritual object connected with a deity and the myth surrounding that deity:

4 λαβὼν μύρον ἔπασον καὶ χρεῖσον τὸ πρόσωπον· εὐ εἶ τὸ μ[ύ-]
 ρ[ο]ν ᾧ ἡ Εἷσις χρε[ι]σαμένη
 ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ὀσειρίου κόλπον τοῦ αὐτῆ[ς ἀνδρὸς καὶ
 ἀδ]ελφοῦ καὶ ἔδωκε αὐτῆ[ς]
 τὴν χάριν ἐπ’ ἐκείνη τῆι ἡμέρᾳ· δός μοι ταρε[c. 10] τα.
 [c. 10]
 η[] . . [c. 25]ειρε τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὴν δεῖνα. δέξ[ποι-]
 8 να Ἴσι τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιδῆν.

Defining an object used during the recitation of a spell as something once used by a god in a myth is a common motif in the Greek magical texts; such a connection with the divine clearly brings more power into play over the beloved against whom the spell is invoked. In *Suppl. Mag.* 38. 9 we find a description of a binding love-spell once used by Isis but now employed by a mortal client: τελείωσον τὸ τοῦ φίλτροκαταδέσμου — τοῦτο ἐχρήσατο ἡ Ἴσις . . . Here, the binding love-spell has essentially become the ritual “object” used by the client. *PGM XII. 120-1* offers another

⁷⁹ Winkler (1991) 224-25.

example: τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο. τούτῳ καὶ Ἀπολλώβηξ ἐχρᾶτο.⁸⁰ Once again the client makes use of something (here a name) that someone powerful used before him. As a final example I cite *PGM LXI*. 7-9, the magical text perhaps most parallel to the description of the myrrh of *P. Berol.* 21243; *PGM LXI* explicitly addresses and identifies the object used as divine:

 cὺ εἶ τὸ ἔλαιον, οὐκ εἶ δὲ ἔλαι[ο]ν, ἀλλὰ ἰδρῶς τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος,
 ἡ μύξα τῆς [Ἰ]σιδος, τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα τοῦ Ἡλίου, ἡ δύναμις τοῦ
 Οὐρίριος, κτλ.⁸¹

The use of Isis' holy myrrh, then, places the first section of *P. Berol.* 21243 solidly within the tradition of these magical motifs.

At this point in the action of *P. Berol.* 21243 the client or the magician perhaps is handling actual ointment with which the client's face is covered; facial ointments are common in love-charms of the magical papyri and some may point to influences outside the Hellenic tradition.⁸² In addition myrrh had definite connections to love and erotic competition

⁸⁰ Apollobex was a famous magician (Apuleius, *Apol.* 90); in his *Natural History* Pliny states that Demokritos copied his works from those of Apollobex (*NH* 30. 9), but this name is also an epithet of Horus (Betz, *Translation* 157).

⁸¹ Cf. also *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, col. 1, line 10: "for this vessel-divination in the vessel-divination of Isis, when she sought . . ."

⁸² Cf. Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, XII 14. 30 (=PDM xiv. 348-9), and Faraone, *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 224, and n. 10. This Demotic magical papyrus concerns a special oil used for attracting women. After reciting formulaic expressions over the oil mixed with various things (especially fish), a man who wishes to lie with a woman does the following (lines 14-15): "when you [wish] to make it do its work, you anoint your phallus and your face; you lie with the woman for whom you do it" (*Demotic Magical Papyrus* 88-89). Neo-Assyrian *egalkura* spells employ facial ointments: cf. *KAR* 237. 13-17 (= Spell J. 1-5 Scurlock); also *KAR* 237. 18-23 (= Spell L Scurlock). It is noteworthy that occurrence of such facial ointments is more common in later Greek magical texts; there is evidence in Greek poetry, however, that such ointments were used from an early time: cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 221-223 for the magical oil Medea prepared for Jason (Faraone [1990] 224 and n. 10).

in the Greek magical spells; from a love-spell of attraction (ἀγωγή ἐπιθυομένης) we have:

λόγος· cὺ εἶ ἡ Ζμύρνα, ἡ πικρά, ἡ χαλεπή, ἡ καταλλάσσουσα τοὺς
μαχομένους, ἡ φρύγουσα καὶ ἀναγκάζουσα φιλεῖν τοὺς μὴ
προσποιουμένους τὸν Ἔρωτα. πάντες σε λέγουσιν Ζμύρναν, ἐγὼ δὲ
λέγω σε καρκοφάγον καὶ φλογικὴν τῆς καρδίας (PGM IV. 1500-1508).

Moreover, the first part of this spell ends with an invocation to the goddess who used the myrrh to complete the charm (δέξ[ποι]να Ἴσι τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν).⁸³

The client and magician now arrive at a hymn to Helios (lines 9 - c. 12). The text is horribly fragmentary until the end of this spell; thus all subsequent discussion is speculative.

χαῖρε Ἥλιε, χαῖρε ἀνατέλλων, χαιρέτωσαν δὲ οἱ cὺν σοὶ ἀναθέλλοντες θεοί,

χαῖρέτω δὲ κ	οὐ περὶ θ . . [] οὐ περ[ι	c. 20	ο]ὐδὲ
περὶ ἀργυρίου ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα τ[c. 30]
μένει· κατατρ[έ]χω, αὐτὸς δέ με φεύγει [c. 25]

Hail Helios, hail you who rise, and hail to those rising with you, hail also - - - - ; (I beseech you) not for - - - - , not for - - - - , nor for money, but for him, NN - - - - - he does not (?) remain; I pursue, but he flees from me - - - - -

9 Ἥλιε : most important here is the possible connection between the Greek sun god, Helios, and the Egyptian deity Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, the divinities mentioned in the preceding lines of the spell. Throughout antiquity Helios was equated with numerous other gods among whom was Horus. PGM IV. 987ff. offers an example of Helios'

⁸³ This standard formula was discussed above.

various *personae*: ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε, τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, δυνάστην Ὡρον Ἄρποκράτην Ἀλκιβ Ἀπταμοσι, κτλ.⁸⁴ It is not proper to speak of Helios as being equated with only one other deity consistently, but in the context of Column 2 of the Berlin text there may be a significant correlation between Helios and Horus.

Horus, the falcon-like sky-god of Egyptian mythology, was often considered the “Sun.”⁸⁵ Plutarch equates the sun with the Eye of Horus⁸⁶ and thus perhaps, given the other Hellenic qualities of the spells in the Berlin text, the two gods were simply identified with one another in this Hellenized context. It is significant that Helios is directly equated with Horus in another texts from PGM. In a hymn to Helios, the reciter says: κλήζω δ’ οὖνομα κόν, Ὡρ’, . . .⁸⁷ In support of the connection between Horus and Helios in this section is the close family relationship of Isis, Osiris and Horus as a family unit. For example, three of Isidorus’ *Hymns*, works written about the Egyptian Isis for the benefit and understanding of a Greek audience, discuss the divine family unit of mother, father, and son.⁸⁸ Thus, this tentative identification between Helios and Horus may serve to connect Column 2 with the hymn to Helios more concretely — it seems only logical that immediately following a description of “that day”

⁸⁴ The same equation is restated at lines 1000-1002.

⁸⁵ Bonnet, *Reallexicon* (=Sonne) 731-2; Morenz 262.

⁸⁶ Plut. *Is. et Os.* 52: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὕμνοισι τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἀνακαλοῦνται τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις κρυπτόμενον τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ τῆ τριακάδι τοῦ Ἐπιφί μηνὸς ἐορτάζουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν Ὡρου γενέθλιον, ὅτε σελήνη καὶ ἥλιος ἐπὶ μιᾶς εὐθείας γεγόνασιν, ὡς οὐ μόνον τὴν σελήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὄμμα τοῦ Ὡρου καὶ φῶς ἡγούμενοι.

⁸⁷ PGM IV. 455.

⁸⁸ *Hymn* II, 9-14; *Hymn* III. 33; *Hymn* IV. 4-6.

of Isis and Osiris (ἐπ' ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ), one would find a reference to the product of that union, namely the child Horus/Helios. The two sections of Column 2 are then implicitly joined through popular mythological connections.⁸⁹

8 οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἀναθέλλοντες θεοί: the gods who rise with Helios may be the gods that compose the retinue of Re in his ship;⁹⁰ this suggestion makes sense in light of the explicit identification between Re/Phre and Helios; e.g., *PGM* IV. 1282f.: ἐπάκουσόν μοι, Ἥλιε Φρη, τὸν ἱερόν (λόγον), κτλ. There is another possibility however. Since Helios, Horus, and Re are all sun-gods, the σὺν σοὶ ἀναθέλλοντες θεοί could simply be the stars and planets that appear with the sun as it rises at dawn. They appear in other papyri as such; e.g., *PGM* XIII. 391-97:

ὁ δὲ ἐννεάμορφος δίδωσι αὐτῷ τὸν φθόγγον κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ ἥχου ὕδατος ὁ ἥλιος ἀναβῆ· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτῷ συνεφάνη. διὸ τῶν ἐννεά θεῶν τῶν ἀνατελλόντων σὺν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔλαβε τὰς μορφὰς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν.⁹¹

This latter interpretation fits in well with the command concerning the proper time for completion of the spell in line 3: χρῆς ἴδη πρὶν ἥλιον; as the recitation is performed the client simply invokes the stars and planets that

⁸⁹ However, I note here that in the magical papyri Helios was a diverse god often syncretized with many deities simultaneously (cf. Part III).

⁹⁰ Brashear "Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus" 276. Ra (Re, Phre) an Egyptian god of the sun. For a description of the boat of Re cf. the Hermetic spell *PGM* XIII. 150-160 (the description is repeated at 460ff.).

⁹¹ Maltomini suggests *PGM* XXXVI. 215. as well, but this text does not refer to a plurality of gods who rise at dawn but only Helios himself (*Suppl. Mag.* II p. 123). For other descriptions of the unaccompanied sun rising, cf. *PGM* III. 135-45; *PGM* IV. 1647; *PGM* XXXIX. 18.

regions,⁹⁵ we must accept that this phrase “οὐ περὶ . . . οὐ περὶ . . . οὐδὲ περὶ, ἀλλὰ περὶ” is merely a common way of itemizing objects in many languages and may not indicate or resemble a real “formula” at all.

Other lists of objects sought by clients in magical spells offer interesting corollaries to the phrase οὐ περὶ . . . οὐ περὶ . . . οὐδὲ περὶ, ἀλλὰ περὶ. In other love-spells often the client seeks such benefits as ζώην, υἰείαν, σωτηρίαν, πλοῦτον, εὐτεκνίαν, γνῶ[ς]ιν, εὐακοίαν, εὐμένειαν, εὐβουλίαν, εὐδοξίαν, μνήμην, χάριν, μορφήν, and κάλλος (*PGM* III. 576-579). In a second love-spell (*PGM* VIII. 4f.) the client asks for various aspects of physical beauty and also εὐημερίαν, “sustenance,” a term that can mean “finances” or “money.”⁹⁶ *PGM* IV. 2439f., a spell geared toward financial concerns such as gaining business and calling in customers, also requests a long list of items: φέρε μοι ἀργύρια, χρυσόν, ἱμ[ατ]ι[ς]μόν, πλοῦτον πολυόλβον ἐπ’ ἀγαθῶ.⁹⁷ The phrase οὐ περὶ . . . οὐ περὶ . . . οὐδὲ περὶ, ἀλλὰ περὶ of the Berlin text calls to mind such lengthy requests, and by stating its intentions in a much more modest fashion, the spell is much more likely to persuade the god.

12 **κατατρ[έ]χω, αὐτὸς δέ με φεύγει:** there are no other structural parallels of this personal motif in the Greek magical papyri.⁹⁸ However, this exact theme appears proverbial in Greek poetry from all periods as well as in Latin poetry from the Augustan Age; for example, Aphrodite

⁹⁵ Compare the ubiquitous formulaic expression discussed above: τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιοδὴν.

⁹⁶ Cf. *Eur. El.* 197.

⁹⁷ *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 124; cf. also *PGM* VIII 31f.

⁹⁸ *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 124.

tells Sappho that her beloved will flee: καὶ γὰρ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει . . . (1. 21), and Bacchylides writes: αἰεὶ τὰ φεύγοντα διζήνται κιχεῖν (1.176 Snell). It is noteworthy that Callimachus, one of the most popular authors of the Hellenistic period, also takes up this proverbial theme — thus, it does not seem outrageous to assume that the image of such a chase would have been extremely familiar to any Greek audience of his time and following, including a magician and his client from the Fayum.⁹⁹ Certainly this literary *topos*, the first person ending on the verb κατατρ[έ]χω, and the use of the nominative personal pronoun αὐτός add an unique personal tone to this love-spell like few other extant magical charms; here the lover/client here actually communicates his *personal* misery.¹⁰⁰ In most other magical spells, the client, racked by violent desire, communicates his despair by wishing tortures upon the beloved — we understand his own pain only vicariously through the tortures he describes, not through a personal confession like κατατρ[έ]χω, αὐτὸς δέ με φεύγει.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Poets of the Augustan Age continued this theme as well, most notably Ovid and Horace. As in many of his other works Ovid may have been influenced by Callimachus when he wrote *sequitur fugienta, capta relinquit* (*Am.* 2.9.9), but Horace's employment of the motif lends credence to its widespread and more popular nature: *transvolat in medio posita et fugienta captat* (*Sat.* 1. 2. 108); Cf. Gow's commentary on Theocritus 11. 75 and 6. 17.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. J. Winkler. "The Constraints of Eros," from *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, Faraone and Obbink, eds. Oxford 1991, 214-243.

¹⁰¹ However, this literary motif may be reflected (although rather obliquely) in the theme of role-reversal found in many of the magical love-spells where the beloved becomes the *pursuer* and the client the *pursued*. The papyri reflect the same image of chasing and fleeing as the literary sources, although the roles have switched. Here is a vivid example of just such a role-reversal where the beloved pursues: "Every flaming, every cooking, every heating, every steaming, and every sweating that you [masc.] will cause in this flaming stove, you [will] cause in the heart, in the liver, [in] the area of the navel, and in the belly of NN whom NN has borne, until I bring her to the house of NN whom NN has

Another important factor in this section is the supposed “gender switch” in the same line. For the remainder of column 2 the beloved is referred to by the masculine pronoun αὐτός (line 12), masculine/feminine adjective ἄδημος (line 16), and the masculine accusative τὸν δε[ί]να (line 21). Such consistency in gender denies the possibility of scribal error here, but some scholars have found the “switch” still difficult to explain.¹⁰² Is this spell homosexual in orientation or written from the point of view of a woman? On the contrary, line 7 of Column 2 shows that this love-spell was never specifically “homosexual” or “heterosexual” in intent:]ειρε τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὴν δεῖνα (“Awaken (?) --- him, NN, or her, NN”). Clearly, this spell is a *generic* love-spell of attraction, for the use of a variety of clients: male, female, heterosexual or homosexual. The consistency of the masculine gender here simply reveals the grammatical consistency of the magician-scribe who copied the spell. In regard to intent, we have two options. First, because of the preponderance of magical erotic charms written for a male client pursuing a woman, it seems reasonable to suggest here that perhaps the magician-scribe first accidentally copied down the masculine pronoun αὐτός and then continued to employ the masculine gender throughout the passage simply for accuracy. On the other hand, there are a few extant homosexual love-charms from the Greek magical texts; in this context I cite one written from a male point of view: καῦσον

borne and she puts what is in her hand into my hand, what is in her mouth into my mouth, what is in her belly onto my belly, what is in her female parts onto my male parts, quickly, quickly, immediately, immediately” (PGM IV. 115-123, translation Betz). Here the beloved has become the activator.

¹⁰² *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 120.

ψυχὴν καὶ καρδίαν αὐτοῦ Ἀμωνείου, οὗ ἔτεκεν Ἑλέν(η), ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 Σεραπιακόν, ὃν ἔτεκεν Θρέπτη, ἄρτ[ι, ἄ]ρτι, ταχὺ ταχύ (PGM XXXIIa. 7-
 13).¹⁰³ Thus, it does not seem reasonable to assume that reference to a
 masculine beloved in this spell would have caused any confusion to the
 listener. The love-charm of Column 2 of *P. Berol.* 21243 employs the
 masculine here as a generic category of referral to the beloved — the
 masculine signifies the same sexual relationship between the client and
 the beloved as if the text of Column 2 read αὐτή, ἄδημος (in the feminine),
 or τὴν δεῖνα. As such, the masculine gender here falls into the category of
 “unmarked” language;¹⁰⁴ the linguistic distinction between the masculine
 and feminine here simply does not specify the presence of sexual gender.
 The spell was open for use by either heterosexual or homosexual
 clients.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Other homoerotic love charms include: *Suppl. Mag.* I 42 (lesbian) “Gorgonia, daughter of Nilogenia, is to be made to love Sophia, daughter of Isara;” PGM XXXII. 1-19 (lesbian) “attract and bind Serapias to this Herais;” *Suppl. Mag.* II 54 (possibly homoerotic); PGM LXVI.1-11(possibly); PGM XVI. 1-75.

¹⁰⁴ Nagy cites Roman Jakobson as follows: “the general meaning of a marked category states the presence of a certain (whether positive or negative) property A; the general meaning of the corresponding unmarked category states nothing about the presence of A. (R. Jakobson. *Shifters, Verbal Categories, and the Russian Verb.* Cambridge 1957, *non vidi*). Nagy continues, “the unmarked category is the general category, which can include the marked category, whereas the reverse situation cannot hold (G. Nagy. *Pindar’s Homer: the Lyric Possession of an Epic Past.* Johns Hopkins 1990, 5).

¹⁰⁵ It is important to note here, however, that in the later magical texts the gender classifications of ὁ δεῖνα as the lover/client and ἡ δεῖνα as the beloved were standardized and generic.

In addition, even in light of the conclusion about the gender neutrality of *P. Berol.* 21243, the tenuous connection between the thematic motifs of this section (employing the masculine pronoun and possibly homosexual) and the motifs of Sappho (poem 1) is noteworthy. Could the writer of this spell have been inspired to incorporate the rarer masculine gender for the beloved because of the homosexuality of Sappho’s Poem 1? Assuming that what little ancient literary evidence survives today was well-known in

Thus *P. Berol.* 21243 contains an example of a specifically heterosexual charm, the erotic apple-spell of Column 1, immediately followed by a spell devoid of specific gender reference and employable by both homosexual and heterosexual customers. The significance of such gender differences between erotic spells within the same handbook deserves brief comment with regard to Hellenistic attitudes toward gender distinction. Any distinction we may see between the sexes in ancient erotic spells or poems may have nothing to do with ancient conceptions of personal "sexuality" *per se*; we may simply be interpreting the ancient text in light of our twentieth-century matrices of understanding modern "sexual-distinction." Was "distinction" such a big issue in erotic affairs between lovers of the ancient world? Hellenistic epigrams offer some evidence for ambivalence concerning the gender of the beloved during this period. An anonymous epigrammatist writes:

Αἰετὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἀντίθεον Γανυμήδην,
 κύκνος ἐπὶ ξανθὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἑλένης.
 οὕτως ἀμφοτέρ' ἐστὶν ἀσύγκριτα· τῶν δύο δ' αὐτῶν
 ἄλλοις ἄλλο δοκεῖ κρεῖσσον, ἐμοὶ τὰ δύο.¹⁰⁶

Other epigrammatists describe similar situations,¹⁰⁷ but by far the most interesting examples of ancient thoughts concerning bisexuality or gender

antiquity is a risky business; however, for a discussion of this connection cf. J. Winkler. "Double Consciousness in Sappho's Lyrics" from *Constraints of Desire: an Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York 1990) 167-174. For other discussions of this poem in relation to ancient magical spells, cf. S. Cameron. "Sappho's prayer to Aphrodite" *HTR* (1939) 1-17, and C. Segal. "Eros and Incantation: Sappho and Oral Poetry" *Arethusa* 7.2 (1974) 148-150.

¹⁰⁶ *AP* 5. 65.

¹⁰⁷ Callimachus writes: "Ὅμοσε Καλλίγνωτος Ἴωνίδι, μήποτε κείνης
 ἔξειν μήτε φίλον κρέσσονα μήτε φίλην.

ambivalence occur in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, a second-century romance of Achilles Tatius. In this work Tatius praises sexual relationships with boys and women equally, leading us to believe that at least for some citizens, sexual attraction was not rigidly defined according to the gender of the beloved.¹⁰⁸ PGM IX. 4f., a spell to attract members of both sexes, offers further support for this theory: κατυπόταξον, φίμωσον, καταδούλωσον πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων, ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλυκῶν, etc.¹⁰⁹ These literary *topoi* show that the close juxtaposition of a heterosexual spell and a gender-“neutral” spell within a single papyrus from a magical handbook should not surprise us.

The remaining lines of this love-spell are extremely lacunose, but the general flow of this passage is one of threats on the part of the client. It has been suggested that here the client pressures Helios via threats to a

ώμοσεν· ἀλλὰ λέγουσιν ἀληθέα, τοὺς ἐν ἔρωτι
 ὄρκους μὴ δύνειν οὐατ' ἐς ἀθανάτων.
 νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἀρσενικῶ θέρεται πυρί· τῆς δὲ ταλαίηνης
 νύμφης, ὡς Μεγαρέων, οὐ λόγος οὐδ' ἀριθμός. XXV (Pfeiffer).

Rufinus writes:

Οὐκέτι παιδομανῆς ὡς πρὶν ποτε, νῦν δὲ καλοῦμαι
 θηλυμανῆς, καὶ νῦν δίσκος ἐμοὶ κρόταλον·
 ἀντὶ δέ μοι παίδων ἀδόλου χροὸς ἤρεσε γύψου
 χρώματα, καὶ φύκους ἄνθος ἐπεισόδιον.
 βοσκήσει δελφίνας ὁ δενδροκόμης Ἐρύμανθος,
 καὶ πολὺν πόντου κύμα θοὰς ἐλάφους. AP 5. 19.

¹⁰⁸ AP 12. 35 (E. Cantarella. *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*. Yale 1992, 74). In addition, within his literary portrayal of a magical ritual and the magical quality of poetry, Theocritus notes a similar gender ambivalence on the part of Delphis, Simaetha's former lover. A mother of a friend describes Delphis' new love to Simaetha: κέῖτε νιν αὐτε γυναικὸς ἔχει πόθος εἴτε καὶ ἄνδρος, οὐκ ἔφατ' ἀτρεκέες ἴδμεν . . . (lines 150-151).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Petropoulos 216, n. 6.

divinity in a higher position.¹¹⁰ This interpretation is attractive and lends an Egyptian air to the passage:

- 13 θέντα σοι τὴν δ[]... κ(αὶ) ποιήσαντά σε βασι[c. 5]ε. νοσ[]
[c. 10]
ἀνατολῶν μήτε δύσεων μήτε ... ν[c. 10]φ[]τι μὴ πίοι
μ[ήτε]
καθίςαι μήτε [] ωσαι ἀλλὰ ἔχοι με ἐν [c. 25]
16 κ(αὶ) ἄδημος ἦτω ἕως ἂν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἕως [c. 25]
αἰώνιον θεῖον [c. 5] τον[] μὴ ε[c. 8] [c. 6]
ἐντολ[] [] [] ἐὰν μὴ [c. 18] ἐμῆ ἡμῶ[c. 6]
ἐὰν διαλίποις [] ε[] βασιαν[ι]ῶ σε ἕως ἂν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔλθ[η]ς καὶ
πορεύ[η c. 5]
20 traces traces αν[]δεκ[] ε[] traces [c. 5]
... τὸν δε[ῖ]να ἀγάγης [Ἡ]λιε[] ι[] ωσα traces [c. 5]
τὴν αἰεὶ ἐμ[] η[] ον ἡμέρα τὸν δε(εῖνα) ... ονε[] υμαι ἀμφ[]
εζωμαι χαα[] traces [] μαι traces μαιτον[] νειδη[]
24 επαν[] πα traces [] εαν καὶ [c. 8] πότνια
Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδὴν.

---- to you the ---- and I will torture (?) you doing ---
neither of rising nor setting ---- may he not drink nor sit nor ---
but may he hold me in his thoughts (?) - |¹⁶ - and may he be
abroad until he comes (?) to me ----- everlasting divine ----- if
you (?) do not --- if you wait --- I shall torture you until until you
come to me and go -- |²⁰ -- O Helios, that (?) you bring him, NN -
--- the always ----- on a day, him, NN ----- |²⁴ --- O mistress
born of Cyprus, fulfill this perfect charm.

13 -**βασ**- : in this context of threats, I propose to complete -**βασ**- as **βασανιῶ**, "I will torture." This verb also appears in line 19, and the

¹¹⁰ *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 124.

repetitive nature of this section suggests this reading (compare line 16 with line 19, for example). The fragmentary nature of line 19 poses a problem, however. Perhaps here the client recites in the first person what he will do to the beloved, switching soon afterward back to an address to Helios in line 21 with the vocative [Ἡ]λιε.¹¹¹ This possibility supports the theory about the “performative future” discussed above in the context of the apple-spell. However, as Faraone notes, the fragmentary nature of the apple-spell prevents a definite decision about the future in that passage; thus, any consistency between the usage of the future tense in the two spells is purely random.

It is not impossible, however, that here the threat of torture is addressed toward the god Helios *himself* — this motif would continue the threat to the higher divinity observed in line 13 (θέντα σοι τὴν δ[] . . . κ(αὶ) ποιήσαντά σε βασιλῆα). In support of this reading all the deities in this passage are addressed in the second person and the vocative: σοι and σε (line 13); διαλίποισ, σε, and ἔλθ[η]ς (line 19); ἀγάγης and Ἡλιε (line 21). The beloved is *constantly* referred to with the third person: πίοι (line 14); καθίσει and ἔχοι (line 15); ἄδημος ἦτω (line 16); τὸν δε[ί]να (line 21); τὸν δε(ίνα) (line 22). It seems only logical, then, to suggest that the recipient of the threat fit into the grammar of this passage that makes such consistent use of inflection and pronouns for clarity of person. Thus, I read βασιλῆα[ι]ω σε ἕως ἂν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔλθ[η]ς as a threat to the god Helios.¹¹²

¹¹¹ *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 124.

¹¹² However, the fragmentary state of the text at this point makes this and any other interpretation of the passage speculative.

As noted, such a theme of torture is common in the magical papyri (toward both gods and men, but more common toward men), especially in love spells where the client wishes his personal sufferings to be inflicted on the beloved.¹¹³ Here, the client, who presumably cannot eat nor sleep because of his erotic longing, wishes that the beloved neither eat nor sit down (lines 14-15). I cite a similar exhortation from a love-spell of a close date to the Berlin text: ὕπαγε εἰς πάντα] τόπον καὶ πᾶσα[ν οἰκίαν καὶ ἄζον μοι τὴν δ(εῖνα).] ἐὰν καθεύδῃ μὴ [καθευδέτω, ἐὰν φάγῃ μὴ] φαγέτωι, ἐὰν πίν[ῃ μὴ πινέτω, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς] ἐμὲ, τὸν δ(εῖνα) . . .etc.¹¹⁴ A most extensive list of torments wished upon a beloved appears in a later spell, PGM IV.

1510-1519:

εἰ κάθηται, μὴ καθήσθω, εἰ λαλεῖ πρὸς τινα, μὴ λαλείτω, εἰ ἐμβλέπει τινί, μὴ ἐμβλεπέτω, εἰ προσέρχεταιί τινι, μὴ προσερχέσθω, εἰ περιπατεῖ, μὴ περιπατεῖτω, εἰ πίνει, μὴ πινέτω, εἰ ἐσθίει, μὴ ἐσθιέτω, εἰ καταφιλεῖ τινα, μὴ καταφιλείτω, εἰ τέρπεταιί τινι ἡδονῇ, μὴ τερπέσθω, εἰ κοιμᾶται, μὴ κοιμάσθω, κτλ.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ For exemplary lists of torments against the beloved cf. *Suppl. Mag.* I 43, 45, 46, 47, 48; also PGM IV. 353-360, 373-380, etc. References to such suffering are also frequent in Greek literature, especially in Hellenistic and medical literature. In Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* the love-lorn Philetas narrates the details of his sufferings that are remarkably similar to those described in so many of the erotic magical papyri (οὔτε τροφῆς ἐμεμνήμην οὔτε ποτὸν προσφερόμην οὔτε ὕπνου ἠρούμην, II 7.4). Phaedra talks about her physical pain in the *Hippolytus* in such terms (Eur. *Hipp.* 135ff.), and even Vergil's Dido exhibits symptoms of love-sickness (sleeplessness, burning, etc.) in Book IV of the *Aeneid*. Theocritus' Simaetha contrasts the silence of the sea with her own confused heart, thereby reflecting her inner torments (*Idyll* II. 33-36 [38-41]); Apollonius' Medea is the perfect example of a love-sick character (Cf. III. 445ff., 616ff.). For further commentary and more citations from Hellenistic literature and the medical corpus cf. Martinez, 59-61; also cf. PGM IV 354, 1510ff., XXXVI. 134-60, LXI. 1-38/PDM lxi. 159-96; *Suppl. Mag.* I 43, 9; 45, 45; 46, 11; 47, 10; 48 J 9, 23; II 71; 73 ii 6. The "violence" in such prohibitions apparent to modern readers will be discussed later.

¹¹⁴ *Suppl. Mag.* II 73. 3-7 (1st century AD)

¹¹⁵ If she is sitting, let her not keep sitting; if she is chatting with someone, let her not keep chatting; if she is gazing at someone, let her not keep gazing; if she is going to

16 ἄδημος: this word occurs in only one fragment of Sophocles and nowhere in the magical papyri.¹¹⁶ However, the theme of “being abroad” as a torment is found in a Coptic love-spell that states: “But let him seek after me from village to village, from city to city, from field to field, from country to country, until he comes to me.”¹¹⁷ Ἄδημος may connote a torment common in the Greek erotic charms, namely, that the beloved “spring up from every house” to meet the operator of the spell. Cf. *Suppl. Mag.* 42. 15ff.: ἄξατε Γοργονία, ἣν αἴτεκεν Νιλογενία, ἄξατε αὐτήν - - - δαμάσεται αὐτήν ἐκπηδήσῃ ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας, κτλ.¹¹⁸ Thus, as a whole the fragmentary list still within the general thematic framework of torments mentioned in other Greek magical texts.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the rest of this spell in Column 2 it is extremely difficult to make any speculations concerning the remainder of the love-charm. The last line appears in its entirety, however, and ties the spell to the preceding love-charm of Column 1 by repeating the metrical phrase Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδὴν discussed above. In sum, this fragmentary section of *P. Berol.* 21243 juxtaposes themes common to later magical texts with rarer motifs such as the lover’s admission of his own torments (line 12); the theme of torments also serves

someone, let her not keep going; if she is strolling about, let her not keep strolling; if she is drinking, let her not keep drinking; if she is eating, let her not keep eating; if she is kissing someone, let her not keep kissing him; if she is enjoying some pleasure, let her not keep enjoying it; if she is sleeping, let her not keep sleeping (translation Betz).

¹¹⁶ Fragment 639 (Radt), *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 125.

¹¹⁷ P. Smither. *JEA* 25 (1939) 173 f.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Martinez 62-3.

to connect the love-spell of Column 2 to the following headache spell (lines 26-30) where the client threatens to torment the gods themselves.

The Headache Spell (lines 26-30). As the only extant charm against headache that contains direct threats toward the gods in the magical papyri, this charm is unique in structure. Various spells against other ailments offer examples of such behavior. The text runs as follows:

πρὸς κεφαλαλγίαν· Ὁσειρις πογεί τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὁ Ἄμμων
πογεί τοὺς κροτάφους τῆς
κεφαλῆς, Ἡ[ε]νεφθυς πο[ν]εῖ τὸ περίμετρον τῆς κεφαλῆ[ς].
οὐ μὴ παύσεται [Ὁσειρι]ς
28 πονῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν, οὐ μὴ παύσεται ὁ Ἄμμων πονῶν τοὺς
κροτάφους τῆς κεφαλῆς,
οὐ μὴ παύσεται [Ἡε]νεφθυ[ς] πονοῦσα τὸ περίμετρον τῆς
κεφαλῆς, ἕως παύσεται
πρῶτον ὁ δεῖνα πάντ[α]. [c. 9].

Against headache: Osiris has a headache, Ammon has pain in the temples of his head, Eseneptys has pain all through her head. Osiris shall never stop being pained in his head, Ammon shall never stop being pained in the temples of his head, Eseneptys shall never stop being pained all through her head, until he, NN, first stops completely . . .

A demotic magical papyrus offers a parallel (*P. Louvre* E3229, col. 5. 23-6, 1): "The copper is bent down. The neshmet-bark will not stop sinking. The great river draws blood. Isis is ill, [Neph]thys . . . The copper will not stop bending. The neshmet-bark will not stop sinking. Nephthys will not stop - - - until they [make] him do the thing which so and so desires from

him."¹¹⁹ It is significant that this text was written in demotic, for threats and insults directed toward the gods are a very standard means of persuading a deity in ancient Egyptian magical practice. In Chapter 534 of the *Pyramid Texts*, for example, we find the writer insulting the gods by calling Seth "Castrated," Khenty-Irty "Spittle," Isis "Motherless and Swollen," and Nephthys a "Concubine without a Vagina."¹²⁰ In an ancient Egyptian magical spell for healing from the *Coffin Texts*, the magician threatens to prevent all sacrifice to the gods until the human ailment is cured.¹²¹ The ancient Egyptian magician could even threaten the animals in whom the Egyptian gods were incarnated¹²² or threaten to burn or put to the torch a god if the desired effect of the spell was not accomplished!¹²³

Likewise, it is not uncommon in ancient Egyptian magical texts for the gods themselves to be depicted with headaches; the connection between the human realm and the troubled divine realm in these instances is obvious and closely resembles the later Stoic conception of the cosmos

¹¹⁹ Cited by Maltomini in *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 126, but translated by J.H. Johnson, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 72 (*non vidi*).

¹²⁰ C. Jacq. *Egyptian Magic*. Bolchazy-Carducci 1985, 102.

¹²¹ *Coffin Text* 7. 43; cf. Jacq 103.

¹²² Borghouts #32.

¹²³ *Coffin Text* 148-150; Jacq 128. This is not to say that threats do not occur in the magical texts from the Greek tradition (cf. especially *PGM* IV. 209f; *PGM* XII. 55f; *PGM* XXXIV. 1f; LVII. 2f.), but for the most part these texts have been influenced by Egyptian magic - it is worthwhile to note only the Egyptian origins of these threats here. In the ancient world Iamblichus found Egyptian influence in threats as well (*de Myst.* VI. 5-7); cf. Martinez 69-74.

and the principle of συμπάθεια. If any divine figure has a headache,¹²⁴ a human has a headache, and if Re has a headache, the entire world is troubled!¹²⁵ That humans with headaches are likened to the gods with headaches is stated explicitly in some ancient Egyptian magical texts. A certain man with a headache who is likened to Horus receives pity from Isis herself in a magical text from Bourghouts.¹²⁶ But why the anger and threats toward deities with a headache? In the ancient Egyptian tradition, headaches arose from a divinity considered hostile to man; these divinities were the same divinities who favored man at times, but who were capable of throwing aside their benevolent *personae*. As dangerous divinities “they may then be threatened, attacked, and even killed.”¹²⁷ Morenz notes that in times of illness, man confronts the divine in “belligerent self-defense;” many ancient Egyptian medical texts are addressed and directed toward the divinities supposedly in charge of this illness.¹²⁸ Thus, this last headache spell of *P. Berol.* 21243 exhibits pure Egyptian tendencies, and points to the fact that magical texts of the Augustan period contained

¹²⁴ Horus is the god who most often has a headache; cf. Jelinkova-Reymond, *Les Inscriptions de la statue guerisseuse de Djed-her-le-Sauveur* (Cairo 1956) 39; also *P. Louvre* N 3 279, 31 and n. 3 (*non vidi*, cited by Jacq 116).

¹²⁵ Jacq 116.

¹²⁶ Bourghouts #43 and 44. Spell #43: Horus is fighting with Seth for the Unique Bush — a *hmm*-plant which Geb had brought forth. — Re, ‘listen to Horus! Should he keep silent because of Geb? Horus is suffering from his head! Give him (something) to dispel his torments, Isis! Take a decision, mother of Horus!’

‘I have indeed applied (something) to all his sore spots.’ . . . etc.

Spell #44: Look, she has come, Isis there, she has come, swaying her hair like a mourning woman, she being of disordered appearance herself like the hair of her son Horus on account of the smashing of his head, of the ruffling of his side-locks by Seth the son of Nut, during that fight in the great valley! . . . etc.

¹²⁷ Morenz 26.

¹²⁸ Morenz 27.

spells evocative of the Hellenic tradition interspersed among charms of truly Egyptian nature. *These lines have yet to be irrefutably interpreted, but it is generally believed that this section contains an historiola or aetiological exemplum (an abbreviated narrative incorporated into a magical spell often taken from foreign mythology) in three parts, employing both utterances and narratives from a myth.² That magical spells and the myths behind them were recited is not questioned, and the performative aspect of magical spells and their mythical excerpts gave much power to the magician interested in completing an efficacious spell for his paying client.³ Once the mythical precedent is cited, "the god is obliged to act in the same way now as then, this time to the benefit of the conjurer/supplicant."⁴ The recitation of such mythical narratives directs their intrinsic "narrative" power into the human realm,⁵ for having once been in the same situation as described by the myth, "the god is induced to act in a way favorable to the magician" and his client.⁶*

² It should be noted that throughout the section the text is badly damaged, thus one must not proceed all conjectures lightly, especially since no other distinct parallels to this section in Greek magical texts have yet come to light.

³ Other the mythological sources behind such excerpts are obscure, but occasionally scholars discover the myth of Kereni, *JNES* 37 (1972) 167-74. For a brief discussion of *magicians*, cf. *Beube* (1992) 240-242.

⁴ Of course, the power involved in the oral performance of a magical spell is no way lessened the power of its written form. Written magic was just as important as a spoken magic. One of the most common imperatives in the *Great Magical Papyri* is *spéce*, for example, and writing the names of the people involved in a spell and inscribing certain ritual phrases on amulets or tablets or amulets prescribed by a magician are common practices in the magical texts (Cf. *PGM* 481, 47, 210, 417, 505, 51, 711, VII, 343, 451, 461, II, 27, 36, 64, VIII, 65, etc.).

⁵ *Beube* (1992) 242.

⁶ Frankfort, D. "Naming Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical Historiola in Ritual Spells" *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, eds., Meyer and Misner, 2.

⁷ *Beube* (1992) 242.

PART II. Interpretations of lines 15-27 of Column I¹

As noted earlier these lines have yet to be irrefutably interpreted, but it is generally believed that this section contains an *historiola* or mythological *exemplum* (an abbreviated narrative incorporated into a magical spell often taken from foreign mythology) in three parts, employing both utterances and narratives from a myth.² That magical spells and the myths behind them were recited is not questioned, and the performative aspect of magical spells and their mythical *exempla* give much power to the magician interested in completing an efficacious spell for his paying client.³ Once the mythical precedent is cited, "the god is obliged to act in the same way now as then, this time to the benefit of the conjuror/suppliant."⁴ The recitation of such mythical narratives directs their intrinsic "narrative" power into the human realm,⁵ for having once been in the same situation as described by the myth, "the god is induced to act in a way favorable to the magician" and his client.⁶

¹ It should be noted that throughout the section the text is badly damaged, thus one must put forward all conjectures lightly, especially since no other distinct parallels to this section in Greek magical texts have yet come to light.

² Often the mythological sources behind such *exempla* are obscure, but occasionally scholars discover the myth; cf. Koenen, L. *CdE* 37 (1962) 167-74. For a brief discussion of *historiolae*, cf. Brashear (1995) 3438-3440.

³ Of course, the power involved in the oral performance of a magical spell in no way lessened the power of its written form. Written magic was just as important as a spoken magic. One of the most common imperatives in the *Greek Magical Papyri* is *γράφει*, for example, and writing the names of the people involved in a spell and inscribing certain ritual phrases or drawings on tablets or amulets prescribed by a magician are common practices in the magical texts (Cf. *PGM* XIII. 47, 210, 417, 565; III. 711; VII. 300, 451, 941; II. 27, 34, 64; VIII. 60, etc.).

⁴ Brashear (1995) 3439.

⁵ Frankfurter, D. "Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells," *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, eds., Meyer and Mirecki, 2.

⁶ Brashear (1995) 3439.

It is worthwhile to note a few structural elements here. First, *P. Berol* 21243 describes events in mythic time by using the past tense; second, this spell lacks *voces magicae* (as do all the spells on the Berlin papyrus), and suggests that here the magical power is contained within the narrative itself, within a performed mythical story, not only in sacred names or symbols.⁷ Recited myths had a powerful effect: they “are told as events in mythic time, but are punctuated with dramatic monologues delivered by various deities, giving the narrative a strong ‘presence’ if heard aloud. Indeed, it seems that the central “act” in the Egyptian *historiola* is not so much a gesture or movement but a god’s utterance of a name or spell – thus reciting divine dialogue takes on special significance.”⁸

I suggest the following as a hypothesis. ὁ δεῖνα speaks the first five lines (15-20) presumably while handling some sort of object or ὄνεια;⁹ at this point the drama shifts into the third person with a description of

⁷ Ibid 4. On the other hand, many early magical non-erotic binding spells contain no *voces magicae*, yet beyond a doubt people believed in their power.

⁸ Ibid 5.

⁹ What the ὁ δεῖνα actually does in this section remains a concern. There are two main possibilities. First, ὁ δεῖνα can refer to the person completing the *speech* of the action, the reciter (e.g. line 16, so Maltomini); in this interpretation the client undergoes his desired transformation via speech alone. Such transformation by speech is evident in various Egyptian and Near Eastern creation myths, for example (cf. Martinez 98-99 for more references). Second, ὁ δεῖνα can refer to the actual completer of the action; in other words, the client, in addition to speaking, performs some rite with his hands or mouth during the spell (so Betz). This second interpretation rules out the first, namely that transformation comes about only through speech; but it seems unreasonable to propose one interpretation over the other on the basis of the evidence we have. In our eyes the written text seems to support the interpretation that speech effected the desired outcome, but in the absence of any other physical record, we cannot assume that ritual did not occur. In all likelihood, the spell contained a mixture of both, but since only the papyrus is extant, we must concentrate upon the text.

the action completed so far by the client; the magician probably recites these two lines. The recitation picks up again at line 23 where the client finishes the spell with a wish and the formulaic exhortation to Aphrodite discussed above. This dramaturgic structure projects a novelty and excitement onto the first spell of *P. Berol.* 21243, and scholars have put forward quite a few attractive hypotheses concerning these mysterious lines which I will discuss here. In all likelihood, this section contains elements of many of these theories instead of adhering structurally to only one interpretation. Again, the text:

16 φται [c.9] θελεηλετα
ε . . [] τα [. . .] δ' ἔλαβόν σου [τὸ ὄ]μμα. ὁ δε(ί)να·
ἔλαβόν σου [τῆ]ν ψυχὴν. ὁ δεῖ[να c. 5]μην σου
τοῦ αἵματος. [ὁ δεῖνα]· ἐχρησάμη[ν σου c. 7]
ὁ δεῖνα· κατέφα[γόν] σου τὸ ἥπαρ. ὁ δεῖνα]·[c. 5]κά-
20 μην σου τ[ὸ δέ]ρμα. ὁ δεῖνα· ἐποίησα. ἡ θεὰ ἢ
ἐν τῶι οὐρ[αν]ῶι αὐτὸν προκ[α]τίδε καὶ ἐ[γ]έ-
νετο αὐτῶ[ι π]άντα κατὰ ψυχὴν [. . .]
ὁ δεῖνα· ἀφ' ἧς ἡ[μ]έρασ <καὶ> ὥρασ σοι [. . .]
24 ναν [. . .]θεῖσα ἡ σταθεις[?] ἔμπεσ[. . .] εἰς ἔρωτα,
εἰς φιλ[ί]αν [κ]αὶ εἰς <σ>τοργὴν [. . .] [. . .]
ἀποθάνω. [ὦ] πότνια θεὰ ι[c. 8]εραιωι
τέλεσόν μ[οι] τελέαν ἐπασιδήν.

(NN says the following): "I took your eye. (NN): I took your soul.
(NN): I - - - - your blood. (NN): I used you. (NN): I ate your
liver. (NN): I - - - your skin. I did it."

The goddess in heaven looked down upon him and everything
happened according to the wish of his soul - - - -

(NN says the following): from that day and from that hour - - -
may she (?) standing - - falling in love, friendship and affection - - -

until (?) I die. Mistress goddess Isis, fulfill for me this charm completely.

Brashear was the first to put forward the theory that the myth recited here is based on an Egyptian tale of cannibalism.¹⁰ Examples of myths pertaining to cannibalism do exist in ancient Egyptian literature,¹¹ but to look toward the Egyptian tradition solely because of a reference to the eating of flesh is too limited an interpretation. Cannibalism is certainly not absent from Greek literary or mythological sources. The myth of the meal of Tydeus serves as a good example. The hero Tydeus, badly wounded in war, was about to die before the Theban gates. Tydeus was loved by Athena, and she immediately went to Zeus for a drug to make Tydeus immortal. While she was gone, Tydeus was given the severed head of his enemy Melanippos to snack upon, and when Athena returned she found him busily sucking out Melanippos' brains. In disgust Athena denied him the drug and thus his immortality. Brief references to Tydeus' delight at eating the brains of his enemy abound in ancient Greek literature,¹² and the story also appears in pictorial representation, most notably the Rosi krater, a vase of c. 450 BC perhaps by the Eupolis painter.¹³ This is not to say that such cannibalism was condoned by Greek

¹⁰ Brashear (1979) 269ff. and (1995) 3462-3.

¹¹ Jacq 9-11.

¹² The ultimate source for the story was epic, perhaps the *Thebais*; other mentions include a scholiast to Pindar (*N.* 10, 12b); Apollodorus (*Bibl.* III. 6. 8); Schol. Ven. Ar. *Aves*, 1536; schol. Hom. *Il.*, 5. 126 (fr. 97 Jacoby); Geneva scholion II on *Il.*, 5. 126; Libanius *Progymnasmata* R. iv. 1100.

¹³ Beazley, J. "The Rosi Krater" *JHS* 67 (1947) 1-9. Cf. also Vermeule 132-133.

society — Athena withheld Tydeus immortality because of his disgusting action. Likewise, in Homer the accusation of cannibalism or omophagy was an insult of serious proportions.¹⁴ Clearly instances of cannibalism existed in Greek mythology; to attribute a mythological *exemplum* to the Egyptian tradition on the basis of an apparent description of cannibalism is hasty.

In the context of cannibalism, Brashear also refers to *PGM IV. 296-355*, a spell in which a practitioner crafts a statuette of the beloved in a submissive posture and another statuette of the god Ares ready to plunge a sword into her neck. The statuette is then pierced with thirteen needles in various parts of her body (eyes, brain, belly, etc.) “so that she may remember no one but” the beloved alone (line 329). The connection between this violence and “cannibalism” is not strong however, especially in light of the violence so commonly perpetrated against the beloved in so many of the binding and love-spells of the Greek magical texts— such violence has no connection to cannibalism *per se*.

Brashear is inclined to interpret such magical “love”-spells in twentieth century romantic terms. He states: “from the reading of this creepy cannibalism ritual we think of the primitive rituals where the person who gives the invocation hopes that through the eating or the seizure of body members of his enemy (hair, fingernails, blood, heart, liver, etc.) he will also get his power. Here, but at the very end (line 25), the reader surprisingly understands that the text is not a spell for

¹⁴ Cf. *Il.* 4. 31-6, 22. 345, and 24. 212.

destruction, a curse or something similar, but only a love-spell."¹⁵ Yet in a majority of ancient magic love-spells the frustration of the pursuer, brought on by the erotic attraction of the beloved, manifests itself in the operator's threats to destroy the beloved with love-sickness if she doesn't come to him. Often the client states the desired control in violent terms:

Ἴσι καὶ Ὅσιρι καὶ χθονὸς <δαίμονες> Ἀβλαμ' γουνχωθω, Ἀβραράξ,
καὶ δαίμονες οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν χθόνον, ἐγείρεσθε, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους, καὶ
ποιήσατε τὴν δεῖνα, ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἀγρυπνεῖν, ἀεροπετεῖσθαι,
πεινώσαν, διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν, ἐρᾶσθαι ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα,
οὗ ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἔρωτι ππλαγχνικῶ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν
ἑαυτῆς φύσιν τῇ ἀρσενικῇ μου κολλήσῃ. ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃ κοιμᾶσθαι,
ὑποστρώσατε αὐτῇ ciτύβας ἀκανθίνας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κοτράφων σκόλοπας,
ἵνα μοι ἐπινεύσῃ ἐπὶ ἐταιρωτικῇ φιλίᾳ, κτλ. (PGM XXXVI. 144-154).

In Brashear's analysis then, violence as a fundamental factor in ancient magical love-charms is underestimated. The following spell encapsulates the connection between violence and ancient eroticism:

μὴ εἰσέλθῃς αὐτῆς διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων, μὴ διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν, μὴ διὰ τῶν
ὀνύχων μηδὲ διὰ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ μηδὲ διὰ τῶν μελῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς
ψυχῆς, καὶ ἔμμεινον αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ καῦσον αὐτῆς τὰ
σπλάγχνα, τὸ στήθος, τὸ ἦπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα, τὰ ὀστέα, τοὺς μυελούς, ἕως
ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, φιλοῦσά με καὶ ποιήσῃ πάντα τὰ θελήματά
μου - - - - ὡς ἐγὼ σε [Ζμύρναν] κατακάω καὶ δυνατὴ εἶ, οὕτω ἦς
φιλῶ, τῆς δεῖνα, κατάκαυσον τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ἔκκαυσον καὶ ἔκτρεψον
αὐτῆς τὰ σπλάγχνα, ἔκταξον αὐτῆς τὸ αἷμα, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν
δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα (PGM IV. 1523-1548).

¹⁵ Brashear 269 (*italics mine*).

One only needs to consider the pierced figurine mentioned earlier or the language of the spells just discussed for evidence of the conflation between erotic desire and violence in Greek erotic spells.¹⁶

In addition, nearly all of the body parts mentioned in this part of the spell are body parts commonly afflicted with burning and pain in other violent love-charms in the Greek magical papyri, including the spell just cited, *PGM* IV. 1525-1535 (τὰ ὄμματα, ἡ ψυχὴ, τὸ ἦπαρ).¹⁷ Likewise, another spell, a love-charm directed toward Helios, contains similar commands to set on fire the heart, viscera, *liver*, *spirit*, and bones of the beloved (*PGM* VII. 981-93). We might also note that among the pierced body parts of the female figurine mentioned earlier are eyes and genitalia. Such lists of body parts targeted specific physical or mental functions such as sleeplessness, passion, or sexual energy and served to inform the invoked deities how to control the beloved; the extent of the lists of body parts named serves to control the total person. The consistency between the list in *P. Berol.* 21243 and other magical spells is significant.

Moreover, destruction of the client himself often took place if his erotic desire was not fulfilled. Either he wasted away through the "sickness" of love or he committed suicide in despair. Greek literature is full of images of spurned lovers turned suicidal (Phaidra or Dido come to mind immediately); the motif was so common in the ancient world that

¹⁶ An extant figurine like the one described above was found along with a love-spell of the same sort on papyrus; cf. Kambitsis, S. "Une nouvelle tablette magique d' Egypte, Musée du Louvre, Inv. E. 27145, 3^e/4^e siècle," *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 213-23; *Suppl. Mag.* 47.

¹⁷ cf. also *PGM* VII. 981-93 (extremely fragmentary).

Lucian even makes fun of it: "in a checklist of those entering Hades are 'seven who slew themselves for eros'" (*Catapl.* 6).¹⁸

In this context then, it is noteworthy that Isis, one of the major players in *P. Berol.* 21243, is a goddess of healing. In ancient Egyptian mythology Isis is always the one who heals Horus from a snakebite or provides a cure against scorpion sting, and as such a goddess, in medical papyri and countless magical spells she is invoked as the logical healer of one afflicted.¹⁹ The importance of her presence in these love-spells, charms written and recited for the benefit of a person suffering a "sickness," is obvious. As a healer Isis is, of course, also a goddess of metamorphosis. As discussed above, during the performance of a love-spell, the client beseeches the deity to transform the beloved — she is the one to become tortured with love-sickness, to be transformed into her opposite. Once the spell is effected, the client's own love-sickness departs as a result of the *remedium amoris*. Isis' power over the realm of metamorphoses is significant in Egyptian mythology. She herself changes shape,²⁰ but more importantly, Isis transforms others — most symbolically, Isis raised Osiris from the dead.²¹ In sum, Isis' role as a

¹⁸ Winkler (1991) 238, n. 49. On this topic in general Winkler gives exhaustive references. Cf. especially p. 222-3 and note 49.

¹⁹ Cf. Griffiths, *The Isis Book* 236.

²⁰ In the *Contendings Between Horus and Seth* (cf. Griffiths, *Plut. De Is. et Os.* 545 f.).

²¹ Cf. the *Songs of Isis and Nephthys* 14, 25 ff.: "She dispels the evil which appertains to thy flesh, / and the stroke as though it had never been" (Griffiths, *The Isis Book* 236). On p. 24 Griffiths notes that myths containing metamorphoses are the matrix for folk-tales. I have checked references to stories of metamorphoses in Stith-Thompson's *Catalogue of Folklore Motifs* but have found nothing that could relate concretely to this passage of *P. Berol.* 21243.

goddess of metamorphoses and healing gives more credence to the theory that this passage of *P. Berol.* 21243 is connected simply to common erotic themes of violence, torment and love-sickness rather than to some sort of "cannibalism."

A second interpretation of lines 15-27 of Column I posited by Maltomini is one of ritual διαβολή. Διαβολή is a common technique in the magical papyri and involves slander against the beloved; such slander consists in a projection of a violation of a god's sacred ritual onto the person to be affected by the spell. Such a recitation of the "offenses" that the beloved has supposedly committed angers and provokes the god to act according to the client's wishes. There are numerous examples of such slander from the Greek magical texts;²² this first example appears in the context of a love-spell, *PGM VII* 604ff:

αὕτη γὰρ εἶρηκεν, ὅτι ὁ Ἴαω πλευρὰς οὐκ ἔχει, <ἡ δεῖνα εἶρηκεν,> ὅτι Ἄδωναι ἐπὶ χόλω βία ἐβλήθη, <ἡ δεῖνα εἶρηκεν,> ὅτι - - -, ἡ δεῖνα εἶρηκεν, ὅτι - - - ἡ δεῖνα εἶρηκεν, ὅτι κτλ.

Here is another parallel from the realm of love:

ἡ δεῖνά ἐστιν ἡ εἰποῦσα ὅτι --<οὐκ> ἐγὼ εἰμι εἰποῦσα ὅτι· ἐγὼ ἴδον τὴν μεγίστην θεὸν καταλιποῦσαν τὸν πόλον τὸν οὐράνιον - - - ἡ δεῖνά ἐστιν ἡ εἰποῦσα· κτλ. (*PGM IV.* 2478ff.).²³

A third parallel involves general slander but does not mention love (*PGM IV* 2654ff.).²⁴

²² *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 118. Cf. also *PGM III.* 5, 114-115; *VII.* 593-619; *IV.* 2475.

²³ *Ibid.* 118.

²⁴ In the context of the cited love spells, a request that the god takes the beloved from her house and attract her to the client follows the ritual slander.

It has been said that an interpretation of ritual διαβολή for this passage of the Berlin text "would explain the dramaturgic structure perfectly,"²⁵ but it does not; some aspects of these examples of διαβολή fit neither the tone nor the grammar of lines 15-27. In the parallels cited, the beloved, NN, is *reported* to have said or done whatever goes against the god by verbs in the *third person*. In the first example the slanderous actions of NN are described thus: αὕτη γὰρ εἴρηκεν (PGM VII. 604ff). The second example runs, ἡ δεινά . . . ἐλεξεν . . . ἔφη . . . (PGM IV. 2654 ff.), and the last example continues this third-person pattern: ἡ δεινά ἐστιν ἡ εἰποῦσα ὅτι, etc. (PGM IV. 2478). Thus the passages introducing the slandered are purely descriptive in nature and do not switch into a first person recitative until the client contrasts his own actions with the slanderous acts of the beloved by saying, for example: <οὐκ> ἐγὼ εἰμι εἰποῦσα ὅτι. (PGM IV. 2479); the client of *P. Berol.* 21243 is the only one who speaks in a first person voice. The verbal structure of the mythological *exemplum* varies from the above pattern as well; it is recited entirely in the first person and switches into a third person description only when the reaction of the goddess is described (lines 20-22).

Neither does the third-person narrative of lines 20-22 (the description of the goddess in heaven) fit the overall pattern of the ritual διαβολή noted so far. Lines 20-22 run:

ἡ θεὰ
 ἡ ἐν τῷ οὐρ[αν]ῷ αὐτὸν προκ[α]τῖδε καὶ ἐ[γ]έ-
 νετο αὐτῷ[ι π]άντα κατὰ ψυχὴν [. . .]

²⁵ *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 118.

The goddess in heaven looked down upon him, and it happened to him according to every wish of his soul.

The text here is fragmentary but the meaning is clear; something has happened correctly (either the ritual or the recitation of the *exemplum*), and by looking down upon him (αὐτὸν) the goddess here acknowledges that the proper magical steps have been taken; the client gets what he wants (καὶ ἐ[γ]ένετο αὐτῶ[ι π]άντα κατὰ ψυχὴν). No such acknowledgment of success occurs in any ritual διαβολή of the *Greek Magical Papyri* that I have seen, nor does such a positive tone match the negative, violent tone of the slander-spells under discussion.

On the other hand, perhaps the simple “ὁ δεῖνα” serves as an introduction for the slandered person reciting lines of impious talk against a god, much like the introduction of a character in a play. If the ὁ δεῖνα were the slandered however, a gender switch from the feminine beloved (in the apple-spell) to the masculine ὁ δεῖνα would be necessary. As noted above, gender switching was a fairly common accident in the papyri, but there are simply no extant instances in ritual διαβολή spells of a masculine target; handbooks always represented the slandered beloved as female.²⁶ The same problem exists for the αὐτὸν of line 21. In a διαβολή-interpretation of this passage, the beloved/slandered (who is in all likelihood female in the context of ritual διαβολή) finished speaking in line 20 (ἐποίησα). The spell continues with the goddess looking down

²⁶ This is not to say that it would be impossible for one slandered to be referred to by a masculine pronoun either in a homosexual spell or a gender-neutral spell; there are just no examples from the existing texts, however.

upon αὐτὸν (masculine), not αὐτήν, the feminine pronoun that would likely refer to the female slandered of the spell. A switch from the feminine here to the masculine would be odd, not only because handbooks represent the slandered as feminine, but also because the only instances of the pronoun αὐτός switching gender are found solely with reference to its nominative/accusative neuter plural: αὐτά.²⁷ Moreover, it is highly unlikely that the *consistent* references to a masculine participant in the mythological story are *accidental* gender slips on the part of the text. Thus, the role-switching difficulties and gender confusion involved in the interpretation of the ritual διαβολή make the reading all the more unlikely, but in the absence of any satisfactory interpretation, the theory must still stand as a tenuous possibility.²⁸

A third interpretation of this section of Column I rests upon speculation concerning the specific myth involved in the possible mythological *exemplum*. Since no proper names appear we must turn to a deep analysis of the text for elucidation of the story behind the spell.

The identification of ὁ δεῖνα is a problem. Brashear connects ὁ δεῖνα to a mythical personage involved in the mythological *exemplum* who claims to have *swallowed* the body parts of a *goddess* by which a mystic

²⁷ Even in these cases αὐτά rarely refers to substances of other genders or numbers, and such occurrences date from a much later period than *P. Berol.* 21243 (late 2nd to 3rd centuries A.D.) (Gignac 176).

²⁸ It should be noted here that if these lines are in fact ritual διαβολή, such a formula may give the spell a particularly Egyptian tone. Cf. Bourghouts # 112: "It is not I who have said it," etc. Cf. also Bourghouts #135 and #10. Betz also notes that ritual διαβολή is common in numerous ancient Egyptian texts (Betz, *Translation*, 83 n. 314).

union is brought about *with the goddess*; she then grants wishes to ὁ δεινα.²⁹ This is an admirable but suspect reading for two reasons. I find no parallels either for ὁ /ῆ δεινα referring to a divinity or a daimon in the magical texts³⁰ or an operator actually eating parts of a divinity; thus I turn at first to a more literal reading of the apparent action of the text.

Simply, this section of the spell refers to a well-known myth recited in direct speech of a god for added efficacy. The client, ὁ δεινα, participating in a "play" of sorts, recites these lines and thereby acts out the role of the mythical personage in the *historiola*; it is significant to note that he claims to swallow different body parts of a beloved, not necessarily a *goddess*. When the goddess involved in the recited myth sees that ὁ δεινα has completed the prerequisite action according to the famous story, everything happens according to his wishes (lines 20-22 in the third person). The spell continues as the ὁ δεινα repeats more phrases about eternal love and concludes this section by invoking Isis.

This hypothesis will become clearer in an examination of the precise mythological source behind the *historiola*. But what is the story? As noted above certain "cannibalistic" tendencies in this section of the papyrus have been noted. A literal interpretation of lines acknowledged to be taken from a myth is a potential misreading, however. Analysis of the famous magical figurine mentioned above offers valuable evidence. Her body is pierced with thirteen needles; to our modern eyes such

²⁹ Brashear 270ff; Betz 317.

³⁰ Often an unidentified divine being is referred to by an expression like "ὅστις ποτ' εἶ" or something similar. Cf. Martinez 53-55.

piercing appears cruel, gorey, and perhaps even murderous, but to suppose that the desired outcome of the magical spell connected with the figurine is only one of wounding and harm rather than one of mental control over the beloved is erroneous. Likewise it is a misreading of the *exemplum* of *P. Berol.* 21243 to suppose that the mythological action occurs in reality just as it is described by the client. In reference to *defixiones* Gager makes a remark appropriate also in this context: "Like much else in this and similar texts, the language is deeply symbolic and will simply not allow an overly literal interpretation."³¹ Accordingly, I postulate that the mythological *exemplum* does not reflect literal eating of flesh (cannibalism) but symbolic consumption of a different sort — sexual consumption, and specifically, the popular myth of the sexual consumption of Osiris by Isis after his death.

We turn to Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*³² for a complete description of the popular Egyptian myth of Osiris' death at the hands of Typhon, Isis' subsequent mourning, and her discovery of his body.³³ Typhon conspired against Osiris and built a coffin the size of Osiris' body; Typhon managed to close Osiris in the coffin at a festival, and he threw it into a river that would carry the chest out to sea. When Isis discovered the trick she wandered all over the land searching for her husband; children revealed to her where the chest had been cast up onto shore. In the meantime wild heather had grown up around the entire chest so that it was no longer

³¹ Gager, J. *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. Oxford 1992, 81.

³² Plut. *De Iside et Osiride*, J.G. Griffiths, ed. University of Wales Press (1970).

³³ Plut., *Isis and Osiris* 13B - 18

visible; the nearby king of Byblos, looking for wood to strengthen his palace, had cut the trunk of heather down and used it to support his roof. Isis arrived there and mourned until the queen's maidservants brought her to the palace. The queen made her the nurse of her newborn baby. Isis suckled the child upon her finger and at night burned away the mortal portions of its body in the fire. The queen, of course, discovered this activity and would not allow it to continue. Isis demanded the coffin hidden within the trunk of heather, took it away, opened the chest, lay upon Osiris and wept. She later hid the body, but Typhon found it again, and scattered all Osiris' body parts, each in a different place. Isis gathered all of the parts of his body except the male member which she crafted anew and consecrated.³⁴

There is no direct model of this myth found in earlier Egyptian Pharaonic sources. In fact, Richardson takes the view that Plutarch's story of Isis and Osiris was adopted and modified exclusively from the Greek *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in which Demeter, bereft at the loss of her daughter Persephone, mourns on a rock until she is invited into the halls of a nearby queen. During her stay at the palace, Demeter attempts to immortalize the queen's son by immersing him in fire at night. The queen misunderstands, and Demeter demands a cult and center of worship to be established in her honor at the palace.³⁵ Clearly the two stories are

³⁴ The substitute evidently had the same procreative powers as the original.

³⁵ For more specific passages and commentary see Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 162, 165, 181f, and especially 220. For a similar discussion of the parallels between the two stories see S. Herman, "Isis in Byblos" *ZAS* 82 (1957) 48-55.

connected, and their cults also resemble each other to a high degree. Participants in both the rites of Demeter and Isis attempt to relieve the goddesses' mourning by laughter, song and dance,³⁶ and both ceremonies include rituals of fasting and sitting on the ground in imitation of the mourning deity.³⁷ It is important to note that Isis was a mourning goddess in Egypt from a very early period, but the specific "detail about her sitting and weeping at a fountain is plainly taken from Demeter's myth."³⁸ At any rate, the Hellenic qualities of this Egyptian story are clear.

Let us turn to the body parts listed by the client as he recites his part of the mythological action. All emphasize a theme of control and consumption. The first noun, τὸ ὄμμα (line 16), is a poetic word that here may symbolize the abstract conception of "wakefulness" (ἀγρυπνητική) rather than "eye." "Wakefulness" as a torture of the beloved often appears in the magical papyri; the best example of the symbolic use of "eye" appears in PGM IV. 2943-66, a spell of love-attraction through wakefulness:

Ἄγωγή ἀγρυπνητική. λαβὼν νυκτερίδος ὀφθαλμοὺς ζῶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπόλυσον καὶ λαβὼν σταίτιον ὠμὸν ἢ κηρὸν ἄπυρον πλάσον κυνάριον καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς νυκτερίδος εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ κυναρίου ἐνθὲς καὶ τὸν εὐώνυμον ὁμοίως εἰς τὸν εὐώνυμον. καὶ λαβὼν βελόνην διεῖρων τὴν οὐσίαν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν βελόνην, διεῖρων διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τοῦ κυναρίου, ἵνα ἡ οὐσία φαίνεται -----

³⁶ cf. Plut. *Isis and Osiris* 69.

³⁷ cf. Apul. *M.* 11.23, 28, 30.

³⁸ Griffiths, J. (1970) 324.

πανοπαῖα, ἰωπη· ποίησον τὴν δεῖνα ἀγρυπνοῦσάν μοι διὰ παντὸς
[αἰῶνος]."³⁹

The taking (λαβών) of the eye in this spell clearly represents the *desired* control of the client over the beloved — he wants thoughts of him to keep her eyes open; she should be tortured by wakefulness. This concept fits in well with the common motif of torments against the beloved discussed earlier and adds further depth to the meaning behind τὸ ὄμμα in the list of body parts in *P. Berol.* 21243.⁴⁰

Next the client recites that he has taken the beloved's ψυχή: ἔλαβόν σου [τῆ]ν ψυχήν. Ψυχή has numerous and varied meanings and in literary sources sometimes appears as slang for the female organ.⁴¹ About the evolution of the term Bonner states: "the word ψυχή, as used by lovers, took on a more fleshy significance, as was natural, passionate love involving, more than any other feeling, a consciousness of the fusion of soul and body."⁴² He continues, "the word ψυχή is not infrequently simply the *self*, as in Luke 12, 19, Theocritus 16, 24, and probably

³⁹ Love-spell of attraction through wakefulness: Take the eyes of a bat and release it alive, and take a piece of unbaked dough or unmelted wax and mold a little dog; and put the right eye of the bat into the right eye of the little dog, implanting also in the same way the left one in the left. And take a needle, thread it with the magical material and stick it through the eyes of the little dog, so that the magical material is visible - - - - - All-seeing one, IOPE, make her, NN, lie awake for me through all eternity" (Translated by: E. N. O'Neil in Betz 94).

⁴⁰ It should be noted here that the difference in terminology between *P. Berol.* 21243 (ὄμμα) and the magical text cited above (ὀφθαλμὸς) is not a problem. In Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, for example, both words are used equally in reference to Oedipus' eyes. Neither term is more poetic or significant than the other. ὄμμα also occurs in other erotic magical papyri (*PGM* IV. 1525, for example).

⁴¹ Betz 339; for literary occurrences cf. Juvenal *Sat.* 6.193-99; Martial *Epigr.* 68.5-12; Sophocles *El.* 775 (possibly).

⁴² Bonner 118.

elsewhere - a complete erotic surrender is implied."⁴³ This explanation adds a romantic element to the meaning of ψυχή found in literature and magical texts, but the sexual undertones of ψυχή often appear in the foreground of erotic spells.⁴⁴ The "Sword of Dardanus" spell, for example, employs ψυχή with the meaning of female pudenda:⁴⁵ Ξίφος Δαρδάνου· πράξις ἡ καλουμένη ξίφος, ἧς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἴσον διὰ τὴν ἐνεργίαν· κλίνει γὰρ καὶ ἄγει ψυχὴν ἄντικρυς, οὗ ἂν θέλῃς.⁴⁶ A spell to induce talking in sleep offers the most explicit example: γράφε εἰς πιττάκιον ἱερατικὸν τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς χαρακτήρας - - - καὶ ἐπίθεε ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπερώτα· καὶ πάντα σοι ἐξομολογήσει.⁴⁷

In this context it is important to note the ancient connection between ψυχή and "seed" begotten from the spinal marrow, μυελός.⁴⁸ Democritus considered the ψυχή rooted in the marrow (B 1 Diels) as did

⁴³ Ibid 119. Bonner's "elsewhere" may be the list found in *LSJ* under ψυχή: E. *Hipp.* 505; X. *Oec.* 6.14; Lys. 32.12; D. 28.21; for ψυχή as appetite see A. *Pers.* 841; Pl. *R.* 579b; X. *Cyr.* 8.7.4.

⁴⁴ cf. *PGM* IV. 227, 337, 1040, 1272, 1526, 1752, 2488, 2744 etc; VII.414, 472; XII. 474-79; XVIIa.18 (in speaking of this papyrus, Moke [p. 36] adds *PGM* I. 123); XXXII. 15. Also cf. *PGM* vol. III, ψυχή. Preisendanz cites *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1 (1920) 170f., where Ganszyniec equates ψυχή with αἰδοῖα. Martinez (11-12, n. 49) refutes some of these examples and adds others. In support of this reading, we might note the common English euphemism "yourself" for genitalia. Of course, in this interpretation of the *historiola* Isis would be referring to male genitalia, but given the gender neutrality of the masculine αὐτός later in the papyrus, there is no reason to believe that the term ψυχή need be gender-specific here.

⁴⁵ E. N. O'Neil has concluded that since the operator of this spell does not seek spiritual love, ψυχὴν here connotes female genitalia (Betz 69 n. 218).

⁴⁶ *PGM* IV. 1719ff.: Sword of Dardanos: Rite which is called "sword," which has no equal because of its power, for it immediately bends and attracts the soul of whomever you wish . . . (Tr. E. O'Neil from Betz 69).

⁴⁷ *PGM* VII. 412 ff.: write on a strip of hieratic papyrus the names and characters - - - and place it upon her pudenda and ask your questions. And she will confess everything to you (Translation E. O'Neil from Betz 129).

⁴⁸ Hippo of Samos A 3 and 12 (Onians 118).

Plato in his *Timaeus*.⁴⁹ Plato even called ψυχή seed (σπέρμα) and identified it with the “generative marrow” (γόνιμος μυελός); he claimed ψυχή breathed through the genitals (*Timaeus* 91 B). This appears to have been a popular belief,⁵⁰ and adds more support to the connection between genitalia, generative powers and the term ψυχή in the Berlin spell.

In other magical texts ψυχή complements other body parts noteworthy in this discussion:⁵¹

ὡς ὑμεῖς καίεσθε καὶ πυροῦσθε, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχή, ἡ καρδία τῆς δεῖνα,
ἥς ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ φιλοῦσα ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν
αὐτῆς φύσιν τῇ ἀρκενικῇ μου κολλήσῃ, ἥδη ἥδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

The close proximity between the terms for heart (ἡ καρδία), soul (ἡ ψυχή), and genitalia (τὴν θηλυκὴν φύσιν) in this spell further connects their meanings and implies that the direct result of controlling one’s ψυχή and καρδία is also a domination over the θηλυκὴν φύσιν. Although the separate reference to the vagina (θηλυκὴν φύσιν) suggests that here ψυχή may connote the abstract “soul” or generative power, the *complete* control over all bodily functions of the beloved is clear. Here lust and desire take over every part of the beloved, including her heart and soul. A complete romantic and sexual surrender is implied; the force of the connected language in this spell resembles the cumulative effect of the list of body parts controlled by the client in *P. Berol.* 21243.

⁴⁹ 73 B ff., 85 B.

⁵⁰ Onians cites Eur. *Hipp.* 255; *Aech. Suppl.* 17, 44, 577; perhaps Aristoph. *Nubes* 712 (Onians 119-120).

⁵¹ *PGM XXXVI.* 80-85: “As you are in flames and on fire, so also the soul, the heart of her, NN, whom NN bore, until she comes loving me, NN, and glues her female pudenda to my male one, immediately, immediately, quickly, quickly” (Tr. E. O’Neil in Betz 270).

The next item the client lists is the αἷμα of the beloved (line 18). The primary meaning of αἷμα is blood, of course; a figurative meaning is difficult.⁵² The fourth item listed, τὸ ἥπαρ, is most significant in this context (line 19). In the ancient world the liver was considered the seat of all passions (anger, fear, etc.), and in erotic contexts the liver played an important role as the seat of love. It was mentioned in literary as well as magical texts,⁵³ including one already cited in the context of violence and eroticism:

... καὶ καῦσον αὐτῆς τὰ πλάγχθνα, τὸ στῆθος, τὸ ἥπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα, τὰ ὀστέα, τοὺς μυελούς, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, φιλοῦσά με καὶ ποιήσῃ πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου . . . (PGM IV. 1530 - 1535).

As the seat of passions the liver was used in magical rituals as magical material or οὐσία. Horace describes the power of a love-drug prepared from the liver of a boy (Ep. 5. 37-38): *exsecta uti medulla et aridum iecur / amoris esset poculum*. Thus, in this section of P. Berol 21243 by “consuming” the seat of the passions, especially the magical material central to love, the speaker gains control over all the desires of the beloved. He now has full power over her emotions and can drag her to him by his will.

The list ends with a textual lacuna: ὁ δεῖνα· [c. 5] κάμην σου τ[c. 3] ρμα. The verb is difficult, but it is fairly safe to say that the action would

⁵² LSJ I.3 defines αἷμα as “spirit.”

⁵³ Theocritus uses the term in such a way in reference to Herakles who traverses the countryside in search for his love Hylas, abandoning Jason and his quest (XIII. 66-71; cf. Gow, A. *Theocritus*. Cambridge 1952). Τὸ ἥπαρ commonly refers to the “heart” in tragedy; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 135, *Choe.* 272, *Ag.* 432, 792; Eur. *Med.* 40, 379; Soph. *Ant.* 1315, etc. In this context it may also be significant that it is Prometheus’ liver that is eaten in Aesch. *Prom. Bound* (1025). Cf. Onians 84-89.

have followed the pattern of the most readable verbs before it, ἐχρηκάμην and κατέφα[γον]. Ἐπακάμην (from πατέομαι, to eat)⁵⁴ is an attractive suggestion as is ἐγευσάμην.⁵⁵ The noun τὸ δέρμα has often been suggested over τὸ σπέρμα on the grounds that there is not enough space for σπέρμα within the lacuna.⁵⁶ Henderson's observations on the possibility of δέρμα meaning "prepuce" should again be noted here (cf. Part I), and based on the possible semantic context of this passage I accept τὸ δέρμα. In sum, the unmistakable vocabulary in this section with its emphasis on sexual control only supports the hypothesis that the mythological *exemplum* of the Berlin papyrus is based upon the mythical union between Isis and the dead Osiris.

The fact that Isis, a female goddess, is the aggressor in a myth that provides the basis of a spell in which a male is the aggressor is not problematic. In mythology Isis often played the more active role in her sexual relationship with Osiris. In *P. Louvre* I 3079 Isis states, "I have played the part of a man although I am a woman . . ."⁵⁷ In the Maroneian aretalogy (line 17) Isis also acts as aggressor; the writer states: κύνοικον δ' ἔλαβεε Cέραπιν.⁵⁸ Thus, the gender difference between the deity and the operator of the spell poses no difficulty.

⁵⁴ This suggestion was made by W. G. Arnott (*non vidi*) and mentioned by Brashear 272.

⁵⁵ ἐγευσάμην is H. Maehler's suggestion mentioned in *Suppl. Mag.* II 72. 17.

⁵⁶ *Suppl. Mag.* II. p. 119.

⁵⁷ *P. Louvre* I 3079, col. 110. 10, trans. Griffiths, *Plutarch de Iside et Osiride* 353 and cited by Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 122.

⁵⁸ *Suppl. Mag.* II p. 122.

In the final section of this *exemplum* the client repeats phrases about eternal love. Such language complements the sexual overtones of the preceding lines well since the sexual relationship between Isis and Osiris was also considered only part of the relationship between the two deities in the ancient magical texts; the emotional attachment between Isis and Osiris was just as important as their sexual union in myth. The most poignant example of their emotional relationship as a paradigm occurs in *Supplementum Magicum* 51, a love-charm that concludes as follows:

ὡς ἡ Ἰσις τὸν Ὀσίριν ἐφίλησεν,
οὕτως φιλείτω ἡ Ματρῶνα τὸν Θεόδωρον
ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς (8-9).

In addition to the sexual overtones in their story then, the mere mention of Isis and Osiris in the context of an erotic spell would have evoked thoughts about the tenderness and romance of love in the mind of the client involved. This connection to romantic surrender would not have escaped the notice of the client of a violent a love-charm such as *PGM* XXXVI. 134-160, a text containing a violent slander spell in which the client supplicates both Isis and Osiris to bring the beloved, cursed with love-sickness, to his bed. Here Isis and Osiris are clearly deities who control sexual fulfillment but their power in the realm of romance was omnipresent.

Regardless of the story supporting this love-charm however, we must ask whether it is possible to assume that an ancient audience would have comprehended a performed myth in which no specific names were recited. According to Frankfurter: "it is important to realize that,

whatever the history of the motifs, *historiolae* themselves function in a present that requires only that they be recognizable."⁵⁹ The general recognizability of such an *exemplum* "renders its utterance felicitous."⁶⁰ Surely the popular myth of Isis and Osiris, two of the most powerful Graeco-Egyptian deities in the late Hellenistic period, was recognizable to anyone even remotely familiar with Graeco-Egyptian culture, but especially someone who lived and worked in the Fayum and who sought help in love from a magician; moreover, this myth occurs elsewhere in the papyri.⁶¹

We may find a parallel to sheer "recognizability" of traditional material in the use of quotations from Homer in the *Greek Magical Papyri*, even though these lines were quoted for the purpose of bibliomancy rather than mythical efficacy. Their inherent power was still recognized by the listener. Often quotations of one Homeric line serve as separate charms both in the papyri and on amulets.⁶² The lines are quoted out of context of course, and in the so-called "Homer Oracle" (*PGM VII. 1-148*) even segments of lines appear that do not constitute syntactical units.⁶³ Obviously, the lines that did not include sense units or specific proper names nevertheless were considered valuable enough for quotation and, on a more mundane level, worthy of a client's financial expenditure. In

⁵⁹ Frankfurter 28.

⁶⁰ Frankfurter 26.

⁶¹ Cf. also *PGM IV. 1474*: ἡ Ἴσις ἔβη συνόμενον ἀδελφὸν ἔχουσα ἐν ὤμοις . . .; For a reference to Isis' search for Osiris from the magical texts cf. *PGM XXIVa. 10*: ἡ Ἴσις ζητοῦσα ἑαυτῆς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἄνδρα Ὅσιριν.

⁶² Betz 47, n. 1.

⁶³ Betz 119.

this way the myth behind the *exemplum* in *P. Berol.* 21243 was so embedded in the culture of the listener that it needed no explicit title or names for identification. Its description contained enough power.

On the other hand, line 26 could very well have contained a name: [ὦ] πότνια θεὰ ἰ[c. 8]εραιωι τέλεσόν μ[οι] τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν. There is a bit of ink to the left of the lacuna that may be an iota; on this basis, Merkelbach has suggested θεὰ ἰ[ci].⁶⁴ This emendation supports Isis' role in the mythological *exemplum*. Moreover, the phrase ἡ θεὰ ἡ ἐν τῶι οὐρ[αν]ῶι (line 20 f.) may almost be considered a divine name and is surely a reference to someone specific. In *PGM* IV. 2559, for example, Selene is called οὐρανία,⁶⁵ and in an introduction to another spell to Selene Aphrodite herself receives the title Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία (*PGM* VII. 865). In light of these examples it is possible that the phrase could refer to "heavenly Aphrodite" and thus to Isis through syncretism.

In sum, the interpretation of the myth of Isis and Osiris adds a thought-provoking dimension to a mythical *exemplum* of *P. Berol* 21243. The sexual force of this Egyptianized myth applied toward the erotic desire of the client is powerful and compelling, but I sound a note of caution here. It is known that magicians created suitable myths as the need arose in the performance of spells or borrowed appropriate stories from foreign sources that may no longer be extant.⁶⁶ Nevertheless,

⁶⁴ *Suppl. Mag.* II. p. 120.

⁶⁵ Cf. also *PGM* IV. 2562 and 2853.

⁶⁶ Brashear (1995) 3439. As an example he cites *AEMT* 23, an ancient Egyptian magical text that makes use of both Canaanite and Babylonian deities (cf. p. 3439 especially n. 291).

whether we accept the suggestion that the *exemplum* relies upon the myth of Isis and Osiris or not, the vocabulary and its sexual connections in this section shouldn't be overlooked. Even without consideration of implicit sexual power brought to the fore by this specific myth, the end result of the recitation of the list of body parts is still the client's feeling of *control* over the composite body and mind of the beloved; such terminology can stand alone in its power even without reference to mythology.

representative of the syncretistic magical community that flourished in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

In the context of the *histroriae* it is noteworthy that similar mythological references and stories abound in ancient Egyptian magical spells from as early as the second millennium B.C. Narratives containing such myths liken an earthly case to a mythological antecedent; often these stories contain specific names or references to specific myths, but occasionally they do not — a certain myth is merely intimated, and sometimes the person who uses the spell, the client, is not explicitly identified with the divine role he takes on by participating in the mythical story (by the *typosicis* formula, for example). These are the same types of implicit connections from ancient Egyptian magical texts that I will consider here, calling attention to the instances when either specific myths or an explicit identification between the client and the divine are absent. Such subtleties parallel the mythical *exemplum* of P. Bevil. 21263 in which

PART III. Structural Similarities and Cultural Elements.

Ancient Egyptian magical texts offer more support of such an interpretation of the mythological *exemplum*, and a brief discussion of Egyptian magic pertinent to this section of the Berlin text will lead us into consideration of other Egyptian elements in the text as a whole. The spells of *P. Berol.* 21243 exhibit influence of the Egyptian magical tradition far more than previously investigated and point to the papyrus as representative of the syncretistic magical community that flourished in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

In the context of the *historiola* it is noteworthy that similar mythological references and stories abound in ancient Egyptian magical spells from as early as the second millennium B.C. Narratives containing such myths liken an earthly case to a mythological antecedent; often these stories contain specific names or references to specific myths, but occasionally they do not — a certain myth is merely intimated, and sometimes the person who uses the spell, the client, is not *explicitly* identified with the divine role he takes on by participating in the mythical story (by the ἐγώ εἰμί formula, for example). These are the rarer types of implicit connections from ancient Egyptian magical texts that I will consider here, calling attention to the instances when either specific myths or an explicit identification between the client and the divine are absent. Such subtleties parallel the mythical *exemplum* of *P. Berol.* 21243 in which

there may be no *direct* identification between the client and the divine.¹ I will also consider ancient Egyptian spells that exhibit a narrative structure similar to lines 15-27 of the Berlin text where the narrative switches from the first to the third person and back.

The following Egyptian magical spell against hemorrhage alludes to the mythical battle between Seth and Horus by describing only a small fraction of the story. Names are involved, but there are few details:
Backwards, you who are on the hand of Horus! Backwards, you who are on the hand of Seth! The blood that comes forth from *Wnw* was warded off; the red blood that comes forth at the moment (*wnw.t*) is warded off! Have you ignored the dam? Backwards you, from Thoth!²

Here the “you” in the first two lines is the blood upon the hands of Horus and Seth after the battle; in this case it was enough to mention only a small symbolic aspect of the myth, the blood, yet through mention of the blood the power implicit in the entire story was called into play over the hemorrhage. The magical spell, “by making references to battles which took place in the divine world, drives off harmful influences . . . as Horus saved himself from his killer brother, Seth.”³ During the performance of magical spells the mythical sphere is created by the magician any way he sees fit; subtle mention of mere parts of a myth is a testimony to the “deeper underlying inter-relationships”⁴ and recognizability of well-

¹ Throughout this section the possibility that the lacuna in line 26 names Isis should be kept in mind. As noted in Part II, the θεὰ ἢ ἐν τῶι οὐρ[αν]ῶι (lines 20-21) also intimates that names are involved here, but there is simply no direct evidence.

² Borghouts #30.

³ Jacq 42.

⁴ Borghouts ix, n. 12.

founded mythological stories as a whole. Whether or not names were used in the *exemplum* of *P. Berol.* 21243, the paucity of detail described there is paralleled here.

By far the most Egyptian element in the mythological *exemplum* of *P. Berol.* 21243 is the identification of the human with the divine by dramaturgic means. Such role-transformation is a constant occurrence in Egyptian magic. "In these spells, the person to be protected or helped is identified with the protagonists of a suitable myth. This act of identification transfers a human problem to the sphere of the gods, so that cosmic forces such as *heka* [magic] can be used to resolve it."⁵ An ancient Egyptian spell against headache serves as a useful example here.⁶ The magician, acting out a story of Horus with a headache, imitates or plays the role of Isis in the myth by applying a salve to the left foot of the patient who (because of his headache) plays the role of Horus. This process accomplishes essentially the same result as the characteristically Egyptian formula commonly recited in charms from the Greek magical texts: ἐγὼ εἶμι.⁷ The mortal magically achieves divine status (thereby gaining divine power) by proclaiming these words.⁸ The ἐγὼ εἶμι formula may in fact be an actual translation into the Greek of a phrase common in numerous ancient Egyptian magical texts: "I am one of you." This ubiquitous

⁵ Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* 23.

⁶ Jacq 116 (from the spell *Djed-her* mentioned above (line 39), a fourth century AD inscription on a "healing statue" of Djed-her, the guardian of the doors of the temple of Athribis [Jacq 16]).

⁷ Frankfurter 20.

⁸ Morenz 230 ff.

formula occurs more than twenty times in the few (but exemplary) ancient Egyptian magical spells in Borghouts' collection,⁹ and may actually be an ancient Egyptian temple formula.¹⁰

However, in saying that the role-reversal of the *historiola* is mere transferral of power through "play-acting" is perhaps to trivialize what is really happening as the mortal assumes a divine *persona*. The Egyptian religious culture took such role-reversal very seriously;¹¹ the human participant in a magical spell containing the ἐγώ εἰμι formula is not just following certain stage directions or putting on a mask to hide his mortality — by reciting a mythological *exemplum* a mortal simply *becomes* the divine. We see such pure metamorphoses manifest in other areas of Egyptian religion as well. For example, in Egyptian theology at his death a mortal undergoes transformation into the divine Osiris, the lord of the Dead. A dead man simply *is* the god. Perhaps the ἐγώ εἰμι formula is a simple method of "divine self-disclosure,"¹² but it is enough for the present discussion to note that this revelatory formula is an Egyptian element seriously founded in ancient religious and magical tradition. The Berlin spell takes this identification between the mortal and the divine one step further by *implying* that such role-transformation has taken place

⁹ Cf. Borghouts # 3, 16, 20, 39, 60, 61, 73, 80, 90, 91, 98, 99, 106, 113, 115, 117, 124b, 130, 133, 145. As an example I cite a spell against scorpion bite: "If <you> bite - I am Osiris! If you take me along - I am Horus! I am the snake that came forth from Heliopolis!" (Borghouts #106); cf. also Borghouts #2: "in case you seize my feet, I am Mortu! In case you kill me, I am Osiris!"

¹⁰ Vanderlip 86. For a demonstration of the prevalence of this formula in Hellenistic hymns, cf. Grandjean 123f.

¹¹ Martinez 94.

¹² Martinez 93.

through dramaturgy. Simply by self-identification with a divine figure in the Berlin spell, the client assumes divine *persona*.

Other ancient Egyptian magical spells set precedence for the lack of specific identification between the mortal client and the divine until their final lines. In one spell the client does not reveal the divinity he impersonates until the last line when he states that he has assumed the powers of Horus by reciting in his voice;¹³ it is important to note in this spell that the client uses the first person pronoun in the beginning of the charm and recites in a first person voice even though his identity has not yet been revealed. This reminds us of the perhaps unspoken identity of the client in *P. Berol.* 21243 assumed by the transformation involved in taking on the *persona* of a divine figure through speech. An explicit disclosure of identity also occurs late in another ancient Egyptian magical spell against snakebite in which the man poisoned is identified with Osiris only in the final line.¹⁴ In one dramaturgic spell the client remains explicitly unidentified for the entirety of the charm:¹⁵

¹³ Borghouts' #113: A mouth against mouth, a tooth against tooth! Re guards <the> poison of the scorpion which I have made of clay, <its> base being of turquoise, which I have put on you [. . . with (?) a bundle (?)] of *hḏn*-plants until I release the one whose body is mysterious! Come forth at my utterance, according as [I] have said; I am Horus, who made you! Break out, scorpion!

¹⁴ Borghouts #114: Backwards, retire, evil poison! Do not harm any limbs of this man who suffers. He is that god, the lord of the night. Let the poison have no power over him. He is the Evil One, the lord of the gloom who is in the background, having descended into darkness. He is the fourth hour, the fourth *udjat*-eye (?), the one whose spending of light is high — that means, Ernutet in this hour. <This> man who is suffering — he is Osiris!

¹⁵ Borghouts #49.

'<My> belly!' said Horus, 'What?' said Isis. And Horus said: '<I> have eaten a golden *abdu*-fish on the border of the pure pool of Re!' And Isis said: 'So he is the one who has eaten a golden *abdu*-fish on the border of the pure pool of Re? So [he] spends the day lying suffering from his belly? And does the Little Ennead [weep] because of the suffering of his belly, the Unwearying Soul<s>?' This spell is to be said, written on a new dish <in> yellow ochre. To anoint with honey and to wash a man who suffers from his belly.

Clearly the poor man who has indigestion assumes the *persona* of Horus here, but nowhere is it recited explicitly, not even through the common ἐγώ εἰμι formula. The dramaturgy of the final section of Column 1 in *P. Berol.* 21243 offers the same implicit identification between the client and the god. These various parallels in structure between the ancient Egyptian magical spells and the Berlin papyrus suggest that perhaps a specific statement like ἐγώ εἰμι was not always necessary for role-reversal between divine and mortal to take place in magic. The name of the assumed divinity need only be recited once or the operator need only speak in the voice of the god for divine identification to occur. These spells then may support a more Egyptian reading of the *exemplum* of *P. Berol.* 21243.

Moreover, a few spells in Borghouts' collection offer precedent for the shifting narrative structure of the mythological *exemplum* found in *P. Berol.* 21243 by offering simple first person narrative broken by commentary in the third person. I refer to one ancient Egyptian spell as an example (Borghouts #36).¹⁶ In the first part of this spell ritual speech of

¹⁶ Borghouts #36: 'I am Horus hurrying over the desert to the place that is aflame.' 'See, a fire! His upper part is afire, his lower part is afire; there is no place where he can escape from it!' 'Water is far away; the fire is saying; "be afire!(?)" The doors are closed. Would

a god is recited; immediately following in a line of third person descriptive narrative Isis arrives, and recitation, now explicitly identified as hers, continues the spell. The narrative structure as well as the identity of the god in this spell are notable here. This structure parallels lines 20-22 of the *historiola* in *P. Berol.* 21243 in which the client recites as a god; the goddess is then described in third person narrative as looking down from heaven over him and the completed action.

Another spell to ward off scorpions is also relevant in this discussion of narrative structure.¹⁷ The title is followed by a parenthetical command: "words to be spoken," and the spell begins with the identification between the client and a god. After this identification occurs however, entire paragraphs of recitation *in the first person* continue with no longer any references to proper names. In addition these first person narratives are occasionally broken by brief narrative commentary in the third person. This narrative (switching back and forth from first person recitation in the voice of a god to third person commentary) resembles the narrative of the Berlin text. In addition, this Egyptian spell offers structural evidence that indeed the lacuna at line 26 of *P. Berol.* 21243 does

that <I had> the goddess Isis here at the moment, then she would set me in the (right) way with her powerful spell!

The goddess Isis came to the place where this god was: 'here I am behind you with <my> spell! One (?) is going to hack up your place. Your enemies will extinguish themselves for you — it is (full) with the water of my mouth. A mystery in a place of flame! Do not afflict him, do not afflict him, do not produce a foul fluid, do not produce a white fluid, do not produce worms!'

¹⁷ Borghouts # 90.

contain reference to a proper name that is simply not mentioned for the remainder of the first person narrative.

A Spell for Warding off a Scorpion. Words to be Said:
I am Isis. I had come from the spinning-house where my brother Seth had put me . . . I went out at the time of evening and seven scorpions went out behind me. They took the lead for me. *Tfn* and *Bfn* were close behind me, *Mstt* and *Msttf* under my palanquin, *Ptt*, *Ttt* and *Mett* keeping the road free for me. I urged them strongly and my words penetrated into their ears: 'do not know the black one, nor greet the red one; do not distinguish between the well-born son and the humble one. Keep your faces down on the road! Be careful not to give a lead to the one who is searching for me until we have arrived at the 'House of the Crocodile', the 'Town of the Two Sisters', the beginning of the marshes, the hinterland of *Db!*' . . . And Isis put her arms on the boy, to restore life to the one whose throat was oppressed . . . The fire is extinguished and heaven is calm on account of the name of Isis, the goddess.

The Berlin *exemplum* reads similarly. The client, assuming the persona of a divine figure, recites a speech in the first person and in the past tense (lines 16-20);¹⁸ his speech ends, and a third person narrative begins (line 20-22). Moreover, another similarity between *P. Berol.* 21243 and this ancient Egyptian spell is evident. The last line of the Egyptian spell, "and heaven is calm on account of the name of Isis, the goddess," reflects a *successful* outcome of the magical charm and reminds us of the "success" of

¹⁸ Concerning such use of the past tense in the mythological *exemplum*, another ancient Egyptian spell offers an interesting parallel: the spell, a charm against poison, consists in a speech of Horus in which he describes his actions only with the past tense; it is also noteworthy that the spell concludes with the formulaic identification between the human and the divine: "I am!" (Borghouts #145: "From Shedenu I have come; I have gone forth at daybreak at the voice of the lord of everything himself, on that day of turning upside down on the fields at the words of Atum. I have ensured your safeguarding as a son. I have been hailed when <I> came in that name of mine, "Avenger-of-his-father." I have placed my arms behind Re, etc.)

the Berlin spell reflected in lines 20-22 of the *exemplum*: ἡ θεὰ ἡ ἐν τῶι

οὐρ[αν]ῶι αὐτὸν προκ[α]τίδε καὶ ἐ[γ]ένετο αὐτῶ[ι π]άντα κατὰ ψυχὴν.

Presumably, the client believed he would get what he wanted.

Such parallels in structure give a more Egyptian tone to the mythological *exemplum* of *P. Berol.* 21243; in addition to supporting the theory that the myth behind the *historiola* is an Egyptian myth (and perhaps the myth of Isis and Osiris), these ancient Egyptian spells offer precedent for certain elements of the narrative structure of the myth that appear opaque at first glance. Moreover, the Egyptian tone provides a vivid contrast with the preceding lines, the Hellenic apple charm (lines 5-14); the differences of these ethnic *topoi* appear only more distinct in such a juxtaposition, and the fusion of the Greek and Egyptian elements here creates a syncretistic flavor that flows through the rest of the papyrus.

Although orality and recitation were inherent in Greek culture and Greek magical practice,¹⁹ the performative aspect of the mythological *exemplum* and the rest of the Berlin papyrus can be seen in an Egyptian light as well. The ancient Egyptian magical tradition was intimately bound to recitation;²⁰ one general title for ancient Egyptian magic was "the art of the mouth."²¹ Certain Egyptian divinities themselves exhibit

¹⁹ Even from the early time when Greek *defixiones* consisted entirely of names, for example, it can be assumed that an oral incantation was recited at some time during the preparation of the *defixio* (Faraone, C. "Aeschylus' ὕμνος δέσμιος (*Eum.* 306) and Attic Judicial Curse Tablets," *JHS* 105 (1985), 153 and n., 21). The oral recitations were then canonized in writing primarily during Roman times (Petropoulos, J. "The Erotic Magical Papyri," *Proceedings of the XVIII the International Congress of Papyrology* (Athens 1988) II: 215).

²⁰ Ritner, R. *Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 22-24, 35-49, n. 95, n. 98.

²¹ Pinch 68.

close connections with speech. The divinity manifestly associated with Egyptian magical practice, *heka*, is allied with recitation, and Thoth, the god of writing (or the god of what is spoken as *read*) is often referred to as “excellent of magic” in his capacity as “lord of hieroglyphs.”²² We have seen Thoth (Hermes) serve this function in the introduction to Column 1 of *P. Berol.* 21243 already (lines 1-5) in which the upcoming love-spells were allied with an exotic and powerful magical past simply by their connection to Hermes-Thoth and his ancient temple in Heliopolis, the sacred storehouse of his holy writings. In ancient Egyptian magic the most important offering to a divinity (*peret kheron*) literally means “that which comes forth at the voice,”²³ and even certain ancient Egyptian creation stories center around the concept that spoken word alone can give life to matter. One of these stories describes Ptah of Memphis who created all things by pronouncing their names. Such a connection between the identity of an object and the word used to describe it is fundamental in Egyptian religious thought; simply by saying something, it is brought into being.²⁴ The Greek magical texts consistently carry on this Egyptian recitative tradition by employing mythical narratives and other speech-acts recited for efficacy. The mythical *exemplum* of *P. Berol.* 21243 follows this pattern nicely — simply by reciting the mythical story, the client’s wish is brought to fruition.

²² Ritner 35-38.

²³ Jacq 21.

²⁴ Morenz 163-5. Cf. also Jacq ix-x and Martinez 98-99. Of course, identity found in names is a world-wide belief. Cf. Foucart, George. s.v., “Names (Egyptian,)” *Hastings’ Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 9 (New York 1911) 151-55.

The mythological *exemplum* is not the only section of *P. Berol.* 21243 that exhibits Egyptian tendencies, however. We have already noted the pure Egyptian quality of the headache charm, the myths surrounding Isis and Osiris, the narrative structure of the *historiola*, threats against the divine, and some characteristics of Isis, but in the context of magic Isis deserves more comment here. One of Isis' most common epithets is "Great of Magic (*heka*);"²⁵ in the *Pyramid Texts* Isis was the "supreme magician" who used her magical power to restore the decayed limbs of Osiris after his death. Because of this success she was "regarded as the possessor of the most secret knowledge."²⁶ Throughout Egyptian theology Isis has at her disposal all the magic the earth god Geb gave her, and by the late first millennium BC Isis appeared in mythology with her son Horus "overcoming the Followers of Seth by *spells*."²⁷ Isis' position as goddess of magic was well established by the Augustan period; surely her powerful magical reputation colors the spells in *P. Berol.* 21243 with a further Egyptian tone.

In *P. Berol.* 21243 however, Isis is explicitly connected with the Greek goddess Aphrodite. In column 2 (lines 4-8) Isis appears in a reference to her mythology; at the end of the spell (column 2, line 25) Aphrodite is invoked. A similar pattern emerges in column 1 — the end of the "Greek" apple-spell contains an invocation to Aphrodite (Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν έπαιδιήν, line 13) and the tentative

²⁵ Cf. Borghouts # 81.

²⁶ Jacq xiii; Pinch 29.

²⁷ Pinch 29.

reconstruction of line 26 reveals an invocation to a πότνια θεὰ, probably Isis.²⁸ These striking invocations point toward the double-identity of the two goddesses who were inextricably syncretized by the Augustan period in written documents including the magical texts.²⁹ Even as far as Paphos Isis was said to bear typical epithets applied to Aphrodite: ἀγνή, δία, ἠπιά.³⁰ The fused *personae* of the two goddesses appeared in iconography as well as dedications of temples.³¹ By far the clearest example of a syncretistic dedication to Isis occurs in the first of Isidorus' Hymns to Isis; he states that Greeks and Egyptians worship the same Isis under multitudinous names:

Ἑλληνας δ' Ἑρην μεγαλόθρονον ἠδ' Ἀφροδίτην
καὶ Ἑστίαν ἀγαθήν, καὶ Ῥεῖαν, καὶ Δήμητρα,
Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ Θιοῦν, ὅτι μούνη εἶ σὺ ἅπασα[ι
αἰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαὶ ἄλλαι (I. 21-24).

It is important to make a general observation here however, namely that during Hellenistic times many of these Egyptian divinities were interpreted in ways most comprehensible to their Greek audience; in the Isiac aretalogies and other religious and magical texts characterization of such syncretized deities leaned more toward their Greek functions and

²⁸ Suggested by Merkelbach in *Suppl. Mag.* I 120. In further support of this connection, the meter of the reconstructed line 26 ([ὦ] πότνια θεὰ ι[]) matches the meter of line 13 (Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιοιδὴν).

²⁹ Cf. *PGM VII.* 385-89, for example. Of course, Isis was syncretized with just about every goddess, but here in the context of erotic magic her role as Aphrodite is especially relevant. For more information concerning the syncretism of the Hellenistic period cf. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt: from Alexander to Cleopatra*. Detroit 1990; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford 1972; Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs: 332 B.C. – A.D. 642 from Alexander to the Arab Conquest*. London 1986.

³⁰ *P. Oxy.* 1380, 86.

³¹ For particularly rich references, cf. Griffiths, J. G. *The Isis Book* 149-50.

qualities. In keeping with these syncretistic tendencies Isis' "form and characteristics were adapted to suit Greek requirements and Greek imagination."³² And of course, in a Greek context of "love" such as the charms of *P. Berol.* 21243, the most logical goddess to syncretize with Isis is Aphrodite.

I call such blending a movement toward "Hellenized Egyptianism;" it is very apparent in the syncretism of the two goddesses, but in *P. Berol.* 21243 it also appears in the figure of Helios. As noted above, it is possible that the Egyptian deity Horus and the Greek Helios are connected in Column 2, line 9ff. It is useful, then, to consider Helios' specific role in Greek myth and in particular, his connection to magic. In Greek myth Helios is son of the Titan Hyperion; the Titans lived in the nether world and served as intermediaries between the heavens and earth — deities like Helios who rise and set exemplify the intermediate state between heaven and earth as well.³³ Moreover, in this context Helios is often associated with Hekate as a moon goddess; she plays a pre-eminent role throughout Greek magical texts. Most important however, Helios functions as a Greek god of oaths.³⁴ Oaths were originally a form of "magical" binding, especially in competitive contexts such as athletic contests or judicial cases. Helios appears as guardian of oaths as early in Greek myth as Homer,³⁵ and he also is tied to the mythology surrounding

³² Morenz 248.

³³ Parry 73-74, 77.

³⁴ Brown, N. *Hermes the Thief*. (New York 1947) 8, n. 2.

³⁵ Parry 78; cf. *Il.* 3. 277, 19. 259.

the family of Aietes and Medea, a myth crucial to the foundation of early Greek magical thought.³⁶ Thus, in light of this evidence, Helios' function as a Greek god of magic may serve to highlight the syncretistic nature of his role as a Greek *and* an Egyptian deity in *P. Berol.* 21243.

However, this evidence concerning Helios comes from literary sources, not from the Greek magical texts themselves. The evidence for the Greek connection to Helios is rather weak in light of his role in the magical texts, especially *PGM III*. This lengthy collection of hymns and magical spells offers a radically syncretized version of Helios; he is invoked as a sun-god at the same time as the powers of numerous other gods from other traditions are called into play. He appears together with such diverse divinities as Iao, Raphael, Abrasax, Michael, Sabaoth, and Adonai³⁷ — and although Helios is connected with Horus at one point,³⁸ the characters of all these deities in the text are so conflated that they seem almost indistinguishable at times. From this evidence it is logical to conclude that for the most part in the magical texts (including *P. Berol.* 21243) Helios is one of the many manifestations of the ubiquitous solar deity.³⁹ The solar identity of Helios suggests a further coherence in *P. Berol.* 21243, namely the juxtaposition between the Sun (Helios and his

³⁶ Parry 78.

³⁷ *PGM III*. 197-230, 633-686, for example.

³⁸ *PGM III*. 672.

³⁹ Nevertheless, in light of the early date of *P. Berol.* 21243 Helios' connections to Horus noted above should not be overlooked, especially since the text mentions Isis and Osiris, Horus' parents, immediately before the appearance of the hymn to Helios.

various manifestations) and the Moon (Isis). Isis is equated with the moon in Plutarch's description of Isis and Osiris as well as by Apuleius.⁴⁰

Thus, the spells of the Berlin papyrus are neither wholly Greek nor Egyptian in subject and structure — they reflect a subtle fusion of both magical traditions. The Egyptian elements of *P. Berol.* 21243 point toward "the evidence for the dependence of these texts [the Greek magical papyri] upon the Egyptian milieu in which they were composed."⁴¹ The syncretistic nature of these spells leads to a discussion of the difficulty in distinguishing between Greek and Egyptian elements during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods; this problem affects nearly every investigation of late Hellenistic life, not only analyses of belief systems of the period.⁴² In the realm of literary hymns and spells written in Greek that employed aspects of Egyptian myth and recitative structure, for example, translation from texts of another culture necessarily involved interpretation to some degree. Egyptian ideas articulated in Greek "inevitably acquired new dimensions and lost old ones."⁴³ How does such a variegated text as *P. Berol.* 21243 fit into the overall evolution of

⁴⁰ Plut. *De. Is. et Os.* 52. 43 (=372D14ff.); Ap. *Met.* 11. 3.

⁴¹ Ritner 135.

⁴² This problem is complex in the study of ethnics, for example. The ethnic status of persons claiming Greek names in the third century BC is fairly well established, but after this early period, the ethnic status of such persons becomes less clear. Often it can be proven that certain people, especially those of Egyptian origin living near or in a Greek town, adopted Greek names for reasons of status and reputation. Cf. Samuel, A. "The Greek Element in Ptolemaic Bureaucracy," in the *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Papyrology* (Toronto 1970) 441-53; also Lewis, N. *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt: Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World*. Oxford 1986; Goudriaan, K. *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Amsterdam 1986; Fraser, P. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford 1972.

⁴³ Fowden 45.

such texts? As we have noted, the Isis and Osiris myth in the love-spell of column 1 reflects certain acute similarities to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, and the apple motif is distinctly Hellenic, yet certain structural aspects of the mythological narrative found in the same column are Egyptian; the love-charm of column 2 likewise contains Egyptian mythological references with divinities subtly connected to Greek theology, and the entire papyrus ends with a manifestly Egyptian headache charm. The Egyptian elements and the Greek motifs are blended yet still distinct in the spells, and this clarity may point to the early date of the text, a time when the mythological, structural, and thematic elements of Greek and Egyptian magical practice had begun to coalesce but their boundaries had not yet become blurred.

The evolution of the Isiac aretalogies, a "translator's approach to the expression of Egyptian religious material in Greek,"⁴⁴ may offer a useful evidence for this discussion. The earliest Greek hymns to the goddess, the Hymns of Isidorus from the first century BC, hearken back "to the Greek epic-poetic tradition." Isidorus states that he has translated into Greek an Egyptian story,⁴⁵ yet he uses Greek epic words like ἔην and ἦεν (IV. 21) and ἵκονεε (III. 23).⁴⁶ There are also, however, distinct Koine elements in the Hymns. For example, Isidorus makes frequent use of participles⁴⁷ and employs simple relative clauses instead of the more

⁴⁴ Fowden 47.

⁴⁵ Hymn IV. 29-40.

⁴⁶ Vanderlip 101.

⁴⁷ Vanderlip 100.

classical general conditional-relative clauses.⁴⁸ In Isidorus' aretalogies then, we have Egyptian material expressed in the Greek language of both past and present; the Egyptian attributes of Isis are praised along with her other characteristics adopted from the Greek pantheon. These qualities of style and syncretism mirror the blending of Greek and Egyptian elements in *P. Berol.* 21243.

Later Isiac aretalogies offer a more abstract example of the process of textual interpretation and change that occurred over the centuries of the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods. The Cyme aretalogy (*I. Cyme.* 41; II/I C. BC) is the earliest of a group of Isiac hymns based upon an Egyptian stele at Memphis.⁴⁹ The next aretalogy in this group is a hymn from Andros dating to the first century BC; even at this early stage the Andros text reflects a more advanced presentation of the Egyptian stele than the Cyme aretalogy. The language has moved away from translation toward interpretation.⁵⁰ Further along in this process is an aretalogy from Maroneia on the coast of Thrace (late I C. BC). This text likewise derives from the Memphis text but further departs from the original by casting the hymn in the second person address and emphasizing the personal aspect of the dedicator's relationship with the goddess. The Maroneian aretalogy also drops all references to Egyptian place names.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Vanderlip 101.

⁴⁹ For bibliography and discussion of this aretalogy cf. Grandjean 8-11, 12-15.

⁵⁰ Fowden 46-7.

⁵¹ Fowden 47-8.

Such evolution from pure translation to interpretive hymns based upon an ancient text offer a framework in which to consider various aspects of *P. Berol. 21243*. Hellenic elements within the spell such as the apple charm in Column 1 are true to their Greek parallels in literature for example, yet other Hellenic elements, like the deities Aphrodite and Helios for example, may exhibit more blending with Egyptian deities of the period. The same can be said for the Egyptian elements of the papyrus. The headache charm and the threats against divinities of Column 2 are distinctly Egyptian in tone and language, yet the mythology involved in certain sections of the papyrus, most notably the Egyptian myth of Isis and Osiris, is blended with a more personalized Hellenic theme immediately following the myth. Such subtle blending of traditions may in fact be a function of the early date of *P. Berol. 21243*. Many later magical papyri do not exhibit the literary nature of early Greek spells evident in *P. Berol. 21243*, and Egyptian structural elements of later charms seem more difficult to extract as well.⁵² These distinct cultural elements merged into a mere sixty lines of text testify to the cooperative stage of the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

⁵² Many more overt examples of "cultural borrowings" appear in the Greek Magical Papyri; Often actual Egyptian ritual actions were employed in the Greek texts. For example PGM IV. 2967-3006 exhibits many ritual similarities to Papyrus Salt 825 (= Papyrus BM 10051); both texts name plants efficacious for rituals and continue by equating the deity or daimon from whom the plant derives its efficacy (Ritner 39-40). In addition the ancient Egyptian motif of subjugation of enemies by carving their image on sandals or footstools is also present in the Greek magical papyri.

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