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The Constraints of Eros

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Once on the island of Samos while a wedding procession moved through the streets to the groom's house, a bystander announced to his friends that the bride would be kidnapped before she reached her new home and that on that very night another man would make her his wife. And so it happened: a group of armed men descended on the crowd, killed some who resisted, and scattered the rest as they fought their way to the bride in the center and made off with her. The shrewd observer was no magician but Polemo, a second-century detective of the heart's secrets through the science of physiognomy, who continues his account, "I later learned from people discussing the events that it had happened with her consent. And now I will explain to you the signs on which I based my judgment."[1] Polemo had noticed near the bride a young man whose face and bearing revealed the forces that had mastered him: audible breathing, sweaty spots on his clothes, a palpitation in the nose, color shifting back and forth from pallor to blush and an overall trembling as if from fear of disgrace. The bride's eyes were unusually liquid, though her gaze was sharp, and a certain sorrow hovered over her features.

This scene contains most of the social and psychological traits that characterize relations of amicable association (φιλία, *philia*) and sexual desire (ἔρως, eros) in the Mediterranean family of cultures. Let us begin by looking at its telltale signs and, like Polemo, analyzing the character that informs its cultural surface. In this way we will be able to place the symbolic and tangible techniques for manipulating eros—known from a wide variety of practical handbooks as well as literary scenes—into a living context of intelligible purposes. To the original purveyors of and clients for "love spells" eros was no mystery at all—a problem, perhaps, but not a mystery. At the same time, though much of what we loosely call "erotic magic" can be seen to conform to the common sense of ancient Greek culture (and to pockets of our culture), the confrontation between actual erotic spells and the masculine literary fantasies about erotic witchcraft will illuminate some dark corners of personal anguish and interpersonal spite.

Indeed, the presence of such venomous and malicious feeling in many of the erotic magical rites offers twentieth-century readers quite a jolt. "Love" is certainly not *le mot juste* for the scenes of bondage and humiliation that are acted out in the central group of procedures aimed at bringing a desired person to one's bed; we can speak of this as "passion," "lust," or "desire" but hardly as "love." The vanilla connotations of "love" for us include mutual delight and consent, harmonious and balanced tenderness, perhaps a certain loss of self in the great mystery of the

beloved other; they do not include wishing discomfort, annoyance, profound inner turmoil, and pain on the body and soul of one's beloved, as do the bulk of erotic incantations, both generic and prescription, found in *Papyri Graecae Magicae* and *Defixionum Tabellae*. When we further note that the norm for such procedures is male agency and female victimage, we clearly have much to be concerned about. Do we have here one more concerted assault on women as a group, comparable to foot binding, witch burning and similar examples of institutional misogyny?[2] The answer is a complex one, involving experiences of projection and desire symbolized in a Mediterranean setting where the whole question of "access"—to the divine or to anything else—had a rather different weight than it does in twentieth-century capital economies.

Each of the three sections of the present essay contains some ancient material, an argument about it, and a subtext on the relation of that ancient material to our conditions of understanding. I take it that an awareness of our "conditions of understanding" should be present in any hermeneutically sophisticated account, but it is particularly necessary in the case of a "distanced" subject like magic. *Magic* is a relative term: we call something "magic" only if we do not (or no longer) accept the premises of its meaning or operation.[3] The term thus reveals—or may be used to reveal—as much about the speaker as it does about the object. The perspective adopted here has something in common with Polemo's as a participant-observer in the wedding on Samos, that is, it neither exclusively identifies with the observed field nor pretends to stand wholly outside it but tries to understand what the actors themselves experience and intend and also, where possible, to see more than they do. Let me here make explicit the tendency of my subtexts.

First I present some of the ordinary technologies for managing eros and explain them as relatively unproblematic actions, given the social setting of Polemo's captured bride, with its cultural patterns of agonistic dramatization. The only reason to call these "magic" is that *modern* reliance on impersonal sciences and other centralized disciplines of the state and university has deprived *us* of the crafty resourcefulness in regard to available materials and symbols that can flourish in a *more* face-to-face and self-reliant society.

Note how that last sentence fictionalizes modernity and creates a role for the reader as a predictable and familiar contemporary, not a magically gifted or experienced individual. I enjoy the strangeness of erotic magic. I attempt to explain it only by invoking another, unarguable "strangeness"—that of cultural difference as studied by social anthropology. This tactic at its best may succeed in making the reader feel that such "magic" is not so strange after all, that it is not so much a queer custom of Others as it is a muted aspect of ourselves.

Risks of serious misrepresentation are built into the organized study of other cultures, which tends either to glamorize them or patronize them.[4] It is particularly great when there is not the safety mechanism of informants who can tell us when our reconstruction slips into fantasy. The temptation to discern an essentially fictional unity is increased by the fact that the material, though it is all drawn from ancient Greek texts, comes from many different locales, times, levels of society. The picture can at best be an impressionistic sketch, a series of experimental snaps, not an ethnographic report.

I then explore the twilit world of *agōgai* (*ἀγωγαί*), rituals designed to lead a

desired person to one's house and bed. These provide an unusually intimate picture of private and heartfelt anxieties, as staged in one's psyche by persons more experienced in self-dramatization and in entertaining themselves than our relatively passive consumer culture. The bed at night, or the rooftop nearby, is the imagined location of most *agōgai,* their place of performance and the goal of the rite, and it is in the fantasy world of half-sleep that the desperate, sometimes suicidal, passions grow strong. Some of the violence of language and gesture in the *agōgai* is due to the projected intensity of the performer's own sense of victimization by a power he is helpless to control. My subtext takes the risk here of romanticizing Mediterranean passion (as Stendahl and Browning did for Italy) as something exquisite and vital, missing in our drier and paler culture. This too, of course, is a trick of sorts. It is not that modern culture is passionless, only that we are differently embarrassed about certain displays and expressions of it. If I were writing a novel rather than a scholarly essay, these scenes might be made to fit very well into a modern context.

Finally, I dwell on the implications of a disturbing terra-cotta statuette in the Louvre, using the anthropological common sense of the first section and the passionate psychology of the second to graph some of the deep tremors of hatred of women that seethe in the symbolic actions of the *agōgai*. It should not be possible in the late twentieth century to continue to ignore the institutions of terror that have circumscribed the experience of women over the centuries. But the more seriously we take this question, the harder it is to give a single answer. I will suggest, among other things, that the victimage models enacted in *agōgai* paradoxically incorporate rather than suppress women's desire but that they do so only within the models of family competition and male fantasy in which any desire is a dangerous irruption into one's autonomy and in which women's desire in particular must be thought of—that is, by men—as submitting to the pretensions of masculine control.[5]

HOME REMEDIES FOR EROS

A Public Drama

The Samian wedding witnessed by Polemo would not have been perceived as a tale of true love triumphing over opposition. It was rather an unmitigated social disaster for all concerned. The two families, putting their alliance on display in the open streets by a procession from house to house, have been shamed before an audience that watches, evaluates, spreads the tale and keeps it in long remembrance. In the zero-sum competition between families a fall in the stock of one group means a rise in the value of others.[6] The social force of prescribed enmity, manifested in competition, gossip, and envy is so strong that its deleterious effects can even be executed unconsciously and unwittingly, as in the case of the evil eye.[7] The two principal terms that articulate this perpetual jockeying for position are *honor* and *shame,* represented respectively by the men and the women of a family.[8] The behavior of men in controlling the reputation of a household and in prudently administering its resources has been analyzed from fourth-century sources by Michel Foucault.[9] The experience of Mediterranean women is considerably more difficult of access (appro-

priately enough) and falls outside the scope of Foucault's project, which is to trace the archaeology of certain practices of self-discipline, but modern analogies provide a consistent framework within which the ancient evidence fits snugly and comfortably.[10]

Young women are the actors (often treated as passive tokens in the social game) whose cooperation is essential in the highly unstable process of transmitting property through the recreation and redefinition of family units. As the bearers of a tremendous symbolic weight determining the good or bad reputation of two families, virgins, brides, and young wives are often perceived as the point of maximum vulnerability in a household's integrity. "A woman's status defines the status of all the men who are related to her in determinate ways. These men share the consequences of what happens to her, and share therefore the commitment to protect her virtue."[11]

An emphasis on protecting the vulnerable, of course, installs the vulnerability of women as a permanent and necessary part of the system—a bar to the crossover of women, should any aspire to do so, into activities of the public and male realms. This is the first key point at which we must invoke a sophisticated awareness of the interplay between our values and our evaluations. A naive reliance on the public pronouncements of ancient men would lead us to think that their wives and daughters were objectively weak in mind and body, both light-headed and prone to passion. Such statements should be taken seriously as a social move in the competitive game,[12] but should not be accepted at face value. An equally naive assumption that ancient women were much the same in character and aspirations as modern women would lead us to dismiss most ancient texts as patriarchal propaganda and even to resent their automatic classification of women as counters in an exclusively male game.

To counteract these temptations we must not only weave together various types of evidence—in this essay mainly literary productions and medical self-help procedures—but we must be aware of the historical, cultural, and material premises of their utterance.[13] Chief among these, and one very difficult for us to grasp, is the prevalence of lying.[14] Duplicity is not just a cultivated skill useful in special circumstances but a permanent state of defensiveness against intrusive enemies who will use any knowledge about the private affairs of a family to bring it down. Hence with every affirmation of family honor we must also posit the unspoken comments of neighbors doubting its truth; by the same token every aspersion on a family's integrity must be understood as an "interested" comment. In short, every statement implies a plethora of competing and opposing evaluations in a network wherein no allegation is disinterested and every assessment is a strategic move in the collective maneuvering of public opinion concerning the relative prestige of family units.

These comments on duplicity serve, first, to underscore the high stakes of a public performance like a wedding, which stages the outcome of delicate negotiations between families entering into an alliance in the presence of numerous well-wishers who undoubtedly entertain concealed thoughts of at least low-grade hostility. In 1968 Manoli, an eighteen-year-old young man from a socially prominent family on the island of "Nisi" fell in love with a girl from a poor family: "As Manoli had eaten at the girl's house, his family felt that someone there must have put a love potion

into his food." Resisting all the advice and pressure from his family, Manoli eloped with the girl and after a few days returned and went through a formal wedding ceremony:

> The groom was unable to consummate the marriage. It was believed that when the best man passed the wedding crowns over the couple's heads three times, someone present had uttered magic words and had tied three knots in a string, thereby acquiring power over the couple. . . . The groom took ill and was bedridden for four months. He began to waste away, and the priest was summoned daily to bless him and the house. A relative suggested that a witch in Athens be consulted and he, his parents, and his wife went to Athens. The witch performed a curing ritual and instructed them to return to Nisi and be remarried at an outlying chapel. This was done. At this service, known as reversing the crowns, the magic was broken.

The intense disapproval of the bride's parents at her elopement and of the groom's family at Manoli's folly gives ample grounds to reconstruct the network of "social forces" at work—gossip, defamation, dirty looks, and other covert symbolizing activities such as knot tying and muttered words of power—influencing and correcting the young couple's improper behavior. A few years later the couple was divorced after Manoli became convinced that his original love "must have been witchcraft. Otherwise, he would have listened to his father and waited. He added, 'Why else would I have married during the best years of my life?' "[15] The transition along public thoroughfares from the protected inner sanctum of one house to that of another exposes the symbolically vulnerable family members, bride, and groom to malignancy that is both inevitable and invisible.[16] (Playing out this line of thought, we might maintain that many forms of what we call ancient "magic" are simply our way of representing "social forces," equally inevitable and invisible, "forces" that no longer prevail with us. In time to come what we assume to be powerful "social forces" may in turn be called our "magic" by a future "enlightened" society.)

Second, the assumption that hostility will be present but masked helps us to place the techniques of erotic influence where they belong—that is, in the extensive penumbra surrounding public events; they are usually unrecorded by conventional public discourse but undoubtedly present in unguessably large amounts. Thus it is only the more conversational or unpretentious or deliberately outrageous works of classical literature that allude with any regularity to the covert acts of symbolic influence that most citizens are constantly practicing—and always denying that they practice—on their fellows. How did Pericles come to have so many cooperating allies (*φίλοι*)? "One hears" and "they say" that it was due to spells (*ἐπῳδαί, epōidai*) and love charms (*φίλτρα, philtra*).[17] Playfully, Socrates can explain the faithful devotion of his friends Apollodoros and Antisthenes to *philtra* and *epōidai* and the drawing of Simias and Cebes all the way from Thebes to the even stronger attractive power of *ἴυγγες* (*iunges*) (Xen. *Mem.* 3.11.16–18).

Recipes for Success

The later handbooks of self-help procedures record many such devices for (in the words of a modern magus) "winning friends and influencing people." Those that are focused narrowly and exclusively on sex will be considered later. Here we must first

note the texture of the social fabric into which such private practices are woven, for eros cannot be neatly detached from the total world in which these actors try to upstage each other. The ideal of personal success for men in an agonistic, duplicitous, self-dramatizing culture includes the items requested in a prayer to Helios (*PGM* III.494–611): "Come to me with your face gleaming, at the resting-place (κοίτη) you choose yourself, granting me, NN, life, health, safety, wealth, fine children, knowledge, ready hearing, good disposition, good counsel, good reputation, memory, charm (χάρις), looks (μορφή), beauty (κάλλος) before all persons who see me, and make my words persuasive, you who hear everything without exception, great god" (lines 575–81).

The petitioner would like to shine in his community not only with external marks of physical success but most particularly in personal qualities, because the truly significant interactions in which his value is continuously judged and rated by others are those where he shows his individual excellence. To get the edge on competitors often means charming or outfoxing them rather than fighting or insulting them, so generalized prayers for success frequently include what may seem to us a rather peacocklike pride in looking good and being seen as sexually appealing. The social implications of radiating χάρις (*charis*) in the eyes of the community are brought out in spells specifically directed to acquiring or reinforcing one's charisma, such as XII.397–400, which promises the bearer of an inscribed wormwood root, "You will be charming and befriended and admired by all who see you."[18] Part of such a person's total influence as a force in his society is his outright sexiness, as in the recommendation to carry the right eye and first tail-joint of a wolf in a gold container to make the bearer "well thought of and successful and honored and victorious and sweet and desirable in form and loved and desired by women."[19]

Competitive success is regularly joined not only with personal charisma but with power to soften and restrain the anger of one's enemies.[20] A prayer to Helios under the rubric *Spell to restrain anger, win victory, gain charisma* (XXXVI.211–30) asks not only for "sexiness (ἐπαφροδισία) and charm before all men and all women" and for "victory over all men and all women" but also for protection against failure, plots, harmful drugs, exile, and poverty. These latter eventualities are seen as the outcome of other people's θυμός (*thumos*, "anger, resentment"), which must be restrained, hence the name θυμοκάτοχον (*thumokatochon*, "anger-restraint"). Exuding charm and warding off anger are equally necessary and coimplicated strategies in the project of maximizing personal success.[21] Anger-restraining techniques range from reciting lines of Homer (IV.831–32)[22] to saying prayers (XXXVI.161–77) to carrying inscribed pieces of metal or papyrus (VII.940–68, IX, and XII.179–81).[23] The last three are designed so that the name of a particularly dangerous person may be inserted according to the needs of the wearer. We have one such prescription spell on an ostracon asking Cronos to check the anger of Hori, son of Maria, and not let him speak to Hatros, son of Taeses.[24] This is mild. Others beg the god to subject, silence, subordinate, enslave, and trample on NN (VII.940–68, IX); that intention is acted out by placing a tablet in one's right sandal inscribed with mystic vowels and angels' names: "Just as these sacred names are being trampled, so also let NN who hinders me be trampled" (X.36–50).

The systematic interlacing of violence and charm, which we may find puzzling and even repugnant, is simply the necessary shape given to aspirations for success

in that agonistic, masked, and duplicitous society. The φιλτροκατάδεσμος (*philtrokatadesmos*) of Astrapsakos (VIII.1–63) is obviously "a spell for some shopkeeper to ensure good business," as its translator notes.[25] But the blessings prayed for NN and his workplace (ἐργαστήριον, line 63) include not only victory and wealth but charisma (4, 27, 36), sexiness (ἐπαφροδισία, 5, 62), and a handsome face and body (προσώπον εἶδος, 5; μορφή, 27, 30; κάλλος, 27). Our analytic surgery should not sever the nexus of triumph and seductiveness in this shopkeeper's social personality, for they are constantly juxtaposed in its litanies.[26] Both his charm and his strength serve the same goal in the wary game of life: "Humble all before me and give me power and beauty, etc." (30–31) Hence the title φιλτροκατάδεσμος, which equally invokes violent restraint of one's competitors (κατάδεσμος) and friendly alliance (φιλτρο–), is not misleading, as the translator claims, but expresses the diffusion of a visible, low-grade eros throughout the competitive structure.

The serviceableness of such eros is most vividly portrayed in the rite for constructing and empowering a wax image of Eros to be an all-purpose assistant (*parhedros*) in XII.14–95. When it has absorbed the life breath of seven strangled birds, the Eros statue will serve its master in bearing powerful messages of compulsion to all men and women whom the owner wishes to influence. "I call upon you, in your beautiful resting-place (κοίτη), in your house of desire, serve me and always convey whatever message I tell you" (40–41). Among other things, this assistant can "make all men and all women turn to desire me" (ἐπ' ἔρωτα μου, 61–62) and can "grant me charisma, sweet speech, sexiness towards all men and all women in creation, that they be subject to me in all things that I wish, for I am the servant of the most high god who controls the cosmos, the ruler of all" (69–72). The power of this Eros assistant to enter people's houses (82); to appear in their dreams or as a divine visitation in the midst of sleep (15–16, 41–42, 83–84); or to "afflict them with fear, trembling, anxiety, mental disturbance" (54–55, 84) assimilates this serviceable or "social success" eros to the more focussed *agōgai* of the next section. Before turning to those, however, we must round off this treatment of simple self-help therapies by taking a brief look at aphrodisiacs and antaphrodisiacs.

Erotic Pharmacology

The terms φιλτροκατάδεσμος (*philtrokatadesmos*) and χαριτήσιον (*charitēsion*) covered not only prayers and amulets but more directly material technologies for stimulating and managing sexual feelings, such as penis ointments[27] (VIII.191–92) and love potions. The penis of a lizard caught copulating produces indissoluble affection in the woman who unwittingly drinks it; and if you can throw your handkerchief over lizards copulating it will be a χαριτήσιον μέγα (great spell to produce charm); the tail worn as an amulet promotes erection (Cyranides 2.14.10–13). This is useful knowledge and it circulated in massive quantities along informal channels on the ground, leaving but a few traces in the stratosphere of dignified writing.[28] Before the compilation of handbooks it resided with families and individuals who might share it as they chose.[29] Plato's *Charmides* shows how a cure for headache (consisting of a leaf and recited spell) could be passed on;

Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon* does the same for a bee sting remedy (2.6). But note that both cures are incorporated into the narrative as tricks to seduce a desirable person (*Charm.* 155B) rather than as straightforward home remedies.

It seems that one of the central institutions for promoting and sharing such knowledge was the symposium. At least, the antiquarian and medical literature that picks up information about aphrodisiacs tends to set it in a *symposiastic* context.[30] The Playful Tricks of Democritos includes lamp illusions, oinoprophylactics, and sexual stimulants.[31] Athenaios' experts on cultivated dining know a good deal about what foods rouse desire.[32] They cite treatises in prose and poetry from classical and hellenistic times (Philoxenos' *Dinner,* Heracleides of Tarenton's *Symposion,* Terpsicles' *Concerning Aphrodisiacs*) that included equally useful advice on which foods cause gas (Ath. 53C) and which promote sperm (bulbs, snails, and eggs [64A]). But this material is obviously much older and more widely available; most of Athenaeus' aphrodisiacs are cited from fourth-century Attic comedy (Ath. 63E–64B, 356E–F). He might have added Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusai* 1092, where the crones demanding sex from a young man advise him to gulp down a potful of bulbs.[33] Theophrastos records, with varying degrees of skepticism, the claims of fourth-century herb merchants:[34] ointment of snapdragon produces good reputation (*Hist. Pl.* 9.19.3), mandrake root in vinegar is a love-potion (9.9.1).[35] Hipponax evidently referred to a love potion to be drunk when one saw the first swallow in the springtime (172 West).[36] The simplest ways are sometimes best: the Aristotelian *Problems* (3.33) recommend a big breakfast and light dinner to promote sexual desire.

Many of these ingredients are explicitly conceived in a system of balances, since the prudent householder needs to control eros both in its arousal and in its dispersal, both for male and for female. The plant "rocket" (*Eruca sativa,* εὔζωμον), eaten green, prevents erection and wet dreams,[37] but its seeds mixed with pepper and honey produces an erection two fingers long and is especially recommended for "older men whose part is relaxed."[38] The weasel's right testicle is conceptive, the left is contraceptive (Cyran. 2.7). The right molar of a small crocodile worn as a amulet guarantees erection in men, the left produces "equally powerful pleasure in women" (Cyran. 2.29).[39] The testiclelike double bulbs of the orchis and *satyrion* have opposite effects (*adversantur altera alteri* [Pliny *HN* 27.65]), stimulating or depressing desire,[40] producing male or female children.[41]

Some ingredients are directed specifically against women, such as crane brain (Ael. *NA* 1.44) and sparrow's gizzard, which, given secretly in a drink, promotes pleasure and eros in the maiden who swallows it (Cyran. 1.18.42–4). Evidently most of this popular-technical writing was composed for men, yet in literature and historical anecdote suspicions are regularly directed to women as food handlers who might add secret ingredients to affect men's eros.[42] Here, too, the network of competition and suspicion motivates the action. Aretaphila, married to the hateful tyrant of Cyrene, tried to poison him; detected in her food-tampering, she defends herself by claiming merely to be preparing antidotes to the drugs and devices of other women, so that her husband's affection (εὔνοια) will not be drawn away and her honorable position will continue to be secure (Plut. *De Mul. Vir.* 256A–C.)

Deianeira, in Sophocles' *Trachiniai,* is similarly motivated: she hates "bold women," presumably those who use erotic charms to gain lovers, but uses Nessos' blood to keep Heracles faithful to her (lines 575–87).[43]

These self-help procedures, in their very ordinariness, do not constitute a reliable system for managing the deepest and most disturbing problems of passion, particularly the deeply unwanted experience of falling helplessly and hopelessly in love. Let us turn then once more to Polemo's wedding to study the medical and psychological aspects of such invasive, antisocial eros and the covert, symbolizing activities used by lovers on unwilling subjects.

REMEDIUM AMORIS

Polemo's detection of the truth concealed in two lovers' hearts was couched in a specifically medical idiom.[44] In effect, he was diagnosing an illness on the basis of signs visible in the face and bearing of the bride and her lover. The belief runs deeply through ancient medicine, social practice, and literature that intense desire is a diseased state affecting the soul and the body, an illness that up to a point can be discerned and analyzed but that is remarkably difficult to treat. The pathology is fundamentally melancholic: "Those who possess a large quantity of hot black bile become frenzied or clever or erotic or easily moved to anger and desire."[45] Nowadays, free-associating on the world *love* would not elicit *frenzy* and *anger* as primary responses. Since the premises we bring to "love stories" are somewhat different from those of the ancient Mediterranean, we must always be on our guard against misreading such narratives. For instance, when Herodotos begins a dynastic tale by saying "Kandaules fell in love with his own wife" (1.8), his audience knew from the word eros itself, as well as from the ominous conjunction of eros with marriage, that desperate events were in the offing.

If falling in love is, in many contexts, much the same as falling ill,[46] this is particularly the case for those whose desire has been roused for someone they must not associate with or marry. Of course, it is true for young lovers in general: "What is sweeter for a human being than the desire for a woman, especially a young man's desire? . . . Yet griefs and toil follow close behind."[47] If the lover's desire is not reciprocated or is not sanctioned by his or her family, the situation is desperate indeed, often resulting in the victim's taking to bed, wasting away and, if untreated, meeting his end.[48] Suicide is a common end to stories of hopeless love, as in the old Greek folk song of Kalyke, who leaped from a cliff rather than live without the young man who rejected her.[49] Eros in such circumstances is felt to be the sort of constraint or external pressure that may make life simply unlivable. The moral justifications for suicide in classical philosophy refer generically to god-sent constraints, among which eros counted in popular opinion if not in Aristotle's.[50]

Since eros, for all its beauty, loosens the limbs and dominates one's better judgment (Hes. *Theog.* 120–22), it is crucial to be able to diagnose and treat the affliction.[51] Polemo's demonstration belongs to a long line of claims and stories showing the limits of ordinary medicine's ability to cope with the devastating and disruptive power of eros. The physician can detect it, but he cannot control it. A few such narratives (proving the rule) do manage to have happy endings. The famous

physician Erisistratos not only correctly analyzed the cause of prince Antiochos' sickness as unfulfilled eros but detected the object of his love by feeling his pulse as various members of the household entered the sickroom.[52] (Galen believed the story and claimed to have done the same.)[53] But more typically, eros confounds social expectations and medical expertise. People who lived near the River Selemnos in Achaia had told Pausanias that bathing in its waters cured eros for men and women alike, and he comments wryly, "If there is any truth in the tale, the water of the Selemnos is more valuable than great wealth" (7.23.3). The continual, quasi-medical complaint is that there is no drug to cure that disease except the beloved in person.[54]

The core experience represented in erotic literature is that of powerful involuntary attraction, felt as an invasion and described in a pathology of physical and mental disturbance. There are many well-known examples from Sappho[55] to *Daphnis and Chloe*,[56] but let us rather look at a less-celebrated example, that of the lovely Sosipatra, from the pages of Eunapios' *Lives of the Philosophers*.[57] Trained from the age of five in religious and philosophical lore by two old Chaldean magi, Sosipatra acquired the powers of prescience and telepathy that were the aim of many iatrosophists in the fourth century A.D. Her kinsman Philometor, "conquered by her beauty and her speech," falls into a state of eros that "was constraining him and doing him violence." He begins to ply unspecified arts at which he is adept to make Sosipatra feel the same, and she begins to be aware of his attempts. She describes her *pathos* to her confidant Maximus: "When Philometor is present, he is just Philometor . . . ; but when I see him leaving, my heart inside me is stung and twists about at his departure." Philometor perseveres in his rites, and Maximus struggles against him, "learning by divinatory sacrifices what Power Philometor had summoned to help him and then invoking a more violent and forceful Spirit to dissolve the spell of the lesser one."[58] Sosipatra is freed from her unwelcome feelings, and Philometor stops his plotting.

What covert symbolizing activities did Philometor practice? Many low-tech devices are known from *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, such as words to whisper over a wine cup before giving it to someone to drink[59] or ingredients to add to the drink itself.[60] A sun scarab properly boiled in myrrh and with just a touch of vetch ("the constraining plant," *κατανάγκη βοτάνη*[61]) enables you to compel a woman to follow you once you have touched her, presumably with a dab of the wonderful oil.[62] Eye contact is powerful even without pharmaceutical or spiritual assistance,[63] but the effect can be enhanced by saying the secret name of Aphrodite to yourself seven times while looking at her (*PGM* IV.1265–74) or by saying a formula and breathing deeply three times while you stare at her. If she smiles back it is a sign that the spell has worked![64]

But Philometor was not fooling around with amatory *jeux*. The compulsion he tried to project because he felt it himself belonged rather to the far more extensive and expressive set of rites known as *agōgai*, spells to lead or draw a person to one's house and bedroom. The compelling power, if it works ideally, knows no resistance. I will use two literary pictures of perfectly effective *agōgai*—albeit both contain a measure of authorial irony—to frame an account of the rites and procedures known from *Papyri Graecae Magicae*.

The first occurs in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, or *Golden Ass* (2.32 and 3.15–18).

Fotis, servant to the witch Pamphile, is directed to filch some hairs from a handsome Boeotian youth while he is sitting in the barbershop. The barber prevents her, so, to cover her failure, she brings her mistress some hairs of the same color taken from goatskins recently shorn and hanging up, inflated, to dry. Pamphile takes them at night up to her rooftop, where she has her laboratory stocked with herbs, engraved metal tablets, pieces of shipwreck wood, parts of human corpses, and animal bones. With fire and incantations and various liquids she knots and burns the hairs, which causes the bodies from which they came, not the Boeotian youth's but the inflated goatskins, to come bouncing along the street and beat at Pamphile's house door.

Before the recovery of the rituals in *Papyri Graecae Magicae* one might have thought that Apuleius' picture was so much fantasy. But everything in it, with the stunning exception of the untypical gender of the agent, belongs to the regular procedures for drawing a person helplessly out of her house and into one's bed. At *PGM* VII.462–66, for instance, a copper nail from a shipwreck is used to write characters on a tin plate, which is then bound with *ousia*—some real material from the body of the person being enchanted, typically hair[65]—and thrown into the sea. The inscription reads, "Make her, NN, love me." *PGM* CXVII (first century B.C.) requires "two strands of her hair." *PGM* XVI, XIXa, and LXXXIV—all prescription love spells—were actually found wrapped with hair.[66] The progressive power of a spell to force its victim from her house and along the streets to yours can be watched in the flickering of seven wicks made from the hawser of a wrecked ship (*PGM* VII.593–619): "If the first flame sputters, know that she has been seized by the daemon; the second, that she has come out; the third, that she is walking; the fourth, that she is arriving; the fifth, that she is at the gate; the sixth, that she is at the doorlatch; the seventh, that she has entered the house."

Many *agōgai,* like Pamphile's, employ fire; ἔμπυρον (*empuron,* "in the fire") is even used as a rubric.[67] The obvious symbolism of burning passion felt as internal heat and fire occurs also in the commands ("May the soul and heart of her, NN burn, and be on fire until she comes loving to me, NN," XXXVI.81–82) and in the act of placing the inscribed papyrus with *ousia* in the dry-heat room of a public bathhouse (XXXVI.75).[68] But in some ways a more revealing aspect of the spell worker's fire is not its heat but the fact that it is specifically lighted at night. For *agōgai* are fundamentally generated not by a belief in some thermal technology as such but from a dramatic scene of nocturnal isolation with well-defined psychological features and a consistent strategy of duplicitous projection. If we look not at the prescientific beliefs (such as the power of "sympathetic magic") that may be extrapolated from the procedures but rather at their rhetoric, drama, and social psychology, we will be able to reach a much more authentic understanding of their tenor and function in the lives of ancient lovers.

A Night Scene

When the setting for an *agōgē* is specified, the time is night, the place is ordinarily a high room or rooftop from which the agent may speak to and observe the moon or the planet Venus, and the equipment includes a lamp or fire and sundry materials. There are twelve secure examples of such rites in *Papyri Graecae Magicae* and

Papyri Demoticae Magicae: *PGM* IV.1496–1595 (= XXXVI.333–60), IV.1716–1870 (*Sword of Dardanos*), IV.2006–2125 (*Pitys's agōgē*), IV.2441–2621, IV.2708–84, IV.2891–2942, VII.862–918 (*Lunar spell of Claudianos*), and XII.376–96, *PDM* xiv.1070–77, *PGM* xxxvi.134–60 (a night rite at one's own house door), *PDM* lxi.112–7, and *PGM* LXI.1–38. Other *agōgai* involving lamps (*PGM* VII.593–619, LXII.1–24) are almost certainly to be performed as night scenes, even though darkness and stars and sleep are not mentioned. In order not to misperceive the psychological and social relations implied in this scene, it must be divided into two aspects: the ritual scene of the agent (typically a man about to go to bed) and the imagined scene of the victim (typically a woman asleep in her own house).

The Agent. "Keep the offering (a mixture of drowned field mouse, moon beetles, goat fat, baboon dung, two ibis eggs, etc.) in a lead box, and whenever you want to enact it, remove a little and build a coal fire and climb up onto a high house and offer it saying the following formula at moonrise" (*PGM* IV.2466–70). The agent stands facing the night sky, looking at the moon (or the planet Venus), addressing a long prayer to her and watching for the goddess's reactions: "If you see the star (Venus) glowing, it is a sign that she (the victim) has been hit; if you see it scattering sparks, she has begun to walk along the road; if it assumes an oblong shape like a lamp, she has arrived" (IV.2939–42).[69] Certain preliminary steps may be required during the preceding day, such as placing an inscribed ass's hide under a corpse at sunset (IV.2038–41) or burying a wax Osiris under her doorsill (*PDM* 61.116), but the dormant power of such preparations is only awakened to life in the dead of night.

The Victim. The person to be affected by an *agōgē* is usually sleeping in her own bed, and what the agent wishes for her is an increasingly powerful feeling of restlessness and inner torment so that she cannot sleep: "Take sweet sleep away from her, let her eyelids not touch and adhere to each other, let her be worn down with insomniac anxieties focused on me" (*PGM* IV.2735–39);[70] "Isis is twisting and turning on her holy bed. . . . Make NN, daughter of NN, have insomnia, feel flighty, be hungry and thirsty, get no sleep, and lust for me, NN, son of NN, with a gut-deep lust until she comes and makes her female genitals adhere to my male genitals. If she wants to sleep, put thorn-filled leather whips underneath her and impale her temples with wooden spikes" (XXXVI.142, 147–52). The anxiety wished upon her is variously elaborated in terms of physical and mental symptoms such as burning ("Burn her *psyche* with a sleepless fire," IV.2767), disorientation ("Make her dizzy, let her not know where she is," LXI.15–16), and frenzy ("Let her be terrified, seeing phantoms, sleepless with lust and affection for me," VII.888–89).

Between the agent and the victim, as depicted in these scenarios, there is a curious transference. The rite assigns a role of calm and masterful control to the performer and imagines the victim's scene as one of passionate inner torment. But if we think about the reality of the situation, the intended victim is in all likelihood sleeping peacefully, blissfully ignorant of what some love-stricken lunatic is doing on his roof; while the man himself, if he is fixated on this particular woman, is really suffering in that unfortunate and desperate state known as eros. The spells direct that

the woman's mind be wholly occupied with thoughts of the lover: from the evidence of the ritual we can say, rather, that the lover himself is already powerfully preoccupied with thoughts of the victim.[71]

The experience of eros as a victimization by unwanted invasive forces requires powerful therapy. The method of behavior modification employed in these rites is to make the lover go through motions that are masterful and dominating, with a text that suppresses all reference to his felt anxiety and conjures up instead an image of his love object's experiencing the torments that he is actually feeling: "Let her mind be dominated by the powerful constraint of eros." (IV.2762–63) The texts, of course, are technical manuals for professional (or at least expert) use and they do not provide us with information about the clients who consulted the expert. But it fits better with what we have seen of the psychology and type scenes of Mediterranean eros to imagine that the typical client for such a rite was not a Don Juan who wanted to increase the sheer number of his conquests but rather some young male who needed it rather desperately. Philometor, for instance, resorted to such rites because he was first "conquered" by the beauty and speech of Sosipatra. His attempt to project eros onto her was a calculated response to his own miserable plight.

The second literary picture of an *agōgē,* from Lucian, features just such a client. Allowing, again, for a certain authorial irony affecting the tone of the narrative, it presents an altogether more credible and realistic context for the actual employment of professional expertise in a problem of lovesickness. Young Glaucias, who is eighteen and has just inherited his father's estate, has fallen in love with Chrysis, the wife of Demeas, and it throws him into utter helplessness so that he can no longer study philosophy. His teacher comes to his rescue by bringing in a Hyperborean mage who can summon daemons, call stale corpses to life, and send *erōtes* to get people. The mage expects four minas up front to buy materials and sixteen more if the rite works. He waits for the waxing moon and at midnight, in an area of the house open to the sky, first summons the shade of Glaucias' father (who reluctantly gives his blessing to the affair) and then makes Hecate come up from the underworld and the Moon come down from the sky. Finally he fashions a little statue of Eros from clay and tells it to go fetch Chrysis. It flies off and after a little while she knocks at the door and rushes in to embrace Glaucias "like a woman absolutely mad with lust." At cockcrow Hecate, the Moon, and Chrysis herself all return to their proper places.[72]

Under the Lucianic icing of irony there is a substantial and perfectly plausible rendition of the real-life concerns and motives that led people to use magic rites. Looking at the fuller social context of their performance, we can see that *agōgai* are structured as a system of displacements. The first displacement, presumably of therapeutic value in itself, is the intense imaging of the client's illness as a thing felt by someone else. It might be very healthy for a self-conceived victim of love to act out a scene of mastery and control and to see from the outside and at a psychic distance what those torments look like. An *agōgē,* too, is the kind of last-ditch therapy made necessary by a certain cultural conception of eros, and as such it is a therapy that not only proclaims its own extremity but even in a certain sense its own impossibility. For the implied message of the rite is the home truth enunciated above, that there is no cure for eros except the beloved herself.

The control exercised by the agent is in some part a control over his own

desperation, as he summons chthonic powers to do terrible things: it puts him in a role opposed to that of the erotic victim he "actually" is. The spiritual authority assumed by the lover is a second kind of displacement, for he speaks with the backing of, and sometimes in the person of, a mighty Power: "for I have about me the power of the great god, whose name cannot be uttered by anyone except by me alone on account of his power. . . . Hear me because of the constraint, for I have named you on account of NN, daughter of NN, that she have affection for me and do whatever I want" (LXI.23–29). Within this displaced authority ("It is not I, the helpless lover, who command you but I, the god or friend of gods") we can also detect the real authority of the expert who has designed and administered the rite. Desperate lovers like Glaucias are helped by their friends and also by experts, whose wisdom about personal problems may be couched in language very different from that now current but that was surely effective in its way (a point not appreciated by Lucian).

A third, and particularly revealing, displacement is that which occurs in the diabolic strategy occasionally adopted to enlist the aid of the goddess. To inflict so awful a condition as eros on an unwitting human, the goddess must be persuaded that the intended victim deserves to be punished:

> Let all the cloudy darkness part asunder and let the light of the goddess Aktiophis shine forth for me and let her hear my holy voice. For I come announcing the slander (διαβολή, *diabolē*) of the foul, unholy woman, NN. For she has slandered your holy mysteries, making them known to mortals. It was NN who said this, it was not I who said, "I saw the greatest goddess descending from the celestial pole, walking on earth without sandals, carrying a sword, naming a disgusting name." It was NN who said, "I saw the goddess drinking blood." NN said it, I did not: AKTIOPHI ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUALETH PHORPHORBA SATRAPAMMON CHOIRIXIE SARKOBORA. Proceed to NN and take away her sleep and make her *psyche* burn; give her mental torment, sting her out of her mind, chase her from every place and every house and bring her thus to me, NN. (IV.2471–92, cf. XXXVI.138–44)

The procedure is remarkably duplicitous, and therein lies its resonance with the larger patterns of Mediterranean social relations and with the cultural configuration given to eros. The projection of the lover's διαβολή (*diabolē*), like the similar transfers of his own victimage onto another and of another's commanding power onto himself, can also guide us in interpreting the deep dissonance that exists between the literary creations and the material artifacts in this field. There are two contrasts. First, in literature lovesick clients are usually female and the ritual experts whose help they seek in learning how to counteract or fulfill eros are usually male,[73] whereas the prescription papyri and tablets are predominantly composed by (or on behalf of) men in pursuit of women.[74] The generic rites in manuals, too, regularly and unselfconsciously assume that the client will be a man aiming at a woman.[75] The second contrast is that poetry and novels reveal a fascination with the powerful crone, often in groups like Macbeth's weird sisters.[76] Yet gangs of ugly women raiding cemeteries and swooping down on handsome young men do not figure in the papyri or tablets. In real life the persons famous for their "magical" powers and knowledge are regularly men, not women, as in Apuleius' *Apologia* 90.[77]

Both contrasts make sense as part of a cultural habit on the part of men to deal with threats of eros by fictitious denial and transfer. When weakened by invading eros, men could seek help through a personal ceremony that reassigned the roles of

victim and master and, in the more generalized forum of literature, through the construction of public images that relocated both the victimage (in young women—Simaetha in Theoc. 2 and others) and the wickeder forms of erotic depredation (in older women—Canidia in Apul. *Met.* and others).

Women, for all we know, might have resorted to the same ceremonies; in a few cases (note 74) we know that they did, and this is testimony to the cultural belief that women were potentially victims of Eros and agents of daemonic eros in the same way that men are. But we certainly do not find them resorting to these ceremonies in the tangible materials left to us in even nearly equal numbers to men.[78] At a guess I would say that insofar as women's conceptions of eros as a problem for family politics overlapped with men's, their activities were more likely to take the form of vigilance and direct intervention in their immediate neighborhood. Young women who might fall into lovesickness are considerably more watched and guarded and disciplined than their brothers and presumably had less easy access to the male experts with their books and to the money required for hiring them. The "old women who know incantations" (Theoc. *Id.* 2.91) have expert knowledge but tend not to leave much behind them in the way of papyrus, lead, and published poetry. Clement of Alexandria imagines that rich ladies, transported in their litters to public temples, associate with old women and mendicant priests who teach them whispered spells to gain lovers (*Paed.* 3.28.3).

It might be tempting to identify such old ladies, wrinkled and dressed in black, as a source for the witch fantasy in men's imagination, but they are at most a Rorschach blot onto which men projected facets of their own behavior. One, more paradoxical conclusion to be drawn from the confrontation of real *agōgai* with literary fantasies is that Horace's Canidia behaves in a masculine style—and not only because she is energetic in going after what she wants (*mascula libido, Epod.* 5.41). The conceptual or imaginative source of the witch fantasy in men's erotic rituals is revealed in the poetic διαβολή (*diabolē*) (*PGM* IV.2574–2601), where the agent accuses his victim of distinctly witchy behavior: She, NN, offered to the goddess an unholy brew—fat of dappled goat and blood and filth, gore of a dead virgin, heart of one untimely dead, οὐσία [*ousia*] of a dead dog, a human fetus.[79] He goes on in the same creative vein to paint a picture of a recognizable witch, an unholy, dangerous outcast from the goddess's true worshippers. Yet no secret is made to us of the fact that this is a lie, deliberately concocted as a strategy to discredit the victim and to enlist the goddess's dread powers on the side of the lover. Further, the lie is a version of the lover's own truth, for the macabre handling of charnel material that regularly figures in witch fantasies is all of a piece with the *agōgai,* which require a good deal of animal mutilation, contact with cemeteries, and converse with the violent dead.

A Dream of Passion

Credimus? an qui amant ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?

Do we believe? Or do lovers make up their own dreams?
VERGIL, *Eclogues* 8.108

A final facet of the lover's therapeutic procedure has yet to be disclosed in order to appreciate the many-sidedness of these highly (and in some ways deliberately)

misleading texts. He frequently employs a compelling go-between—an Eros,[80] an unquiet corpse,[81] the goddess herself,[82] or any messenger chosen by her.[83] The imagined scenario is that the daemonic assistant will literally fly to the victim's house, enter her bedroom, and torment her until she comes to the agent's house. The most physical version is "Drag (ἕλκε) her by the hair and by the feet" (VII.887).[84] The visitation of the compelling assistant is acted out in a puppet show at *PGM* IV.1852–59. After making a clay statuette of Eros to be your assistant, "go late at night to the house of her whom you wish, tap on her door with the Eros and say to it, 'Look, here is where she, NN, dwells; *stand above her* and say the words I have chosen, assuming the appearance of the god or daemon she worships.' "

But that last clause introduces a notion that, at least in our categories, is something completely different. The power who will stand over her head in the likeness of a revered deity is a dream. The classic descriptions of significant messages received in sleep represent the dream speaker hovering over the head of the dream receiver. The erotic assistant in *agōgai* accomplishes his mission in a psychic form indistinguishable from influenced dreaming.[85] Indeed, the same ritual is frequently employed for dream sending (*ὀνειροπομπή*) and for love drawing.[86] It is not a question of redeploying the same procedure for a different purpose; rather an *agōgē* is inherently a nocturnal drama set in or near the lover's own bedroom; the imagined narrative of what happens to the victim is a projection of the lover's own disturbed sleep and erotic dreaming:[87] "Put the leaf (inscribed with an *agōgē*) under your head while you sleep" (*PDM* xiv.1070–77); "(The assistant you summon) will stand by you in the night *in your dreams*" (*PGM* IV.2052–53).[88]

The interlacing of dreams and sex could be explored in some detail, but I will cite only a few intriguing texts. Dio Chrysostom interprets Paris as a man who fantasized about a perfectly beautiful woman in a daydream. The entire story of Helen was originally Paris's dream, based on his erotic desire, but then he had the status and wealth to carry it out in waking life (*Or.* 20.19–23). In Dictys of Crete's journal of the Trojan War (6.14–15), Odysseus was frightened by powerfully erotic dreams, which interpreters saw as a warning against incest with his own son. The omen is fulfilled when Telegonus and Odysseus kill each other. Apollonios' Medea is entranced at the sight of Jason: as he leaves, his image stays in her mind as if she were dreaming and it remains there as a second level of reality during her waking moments (*Argonautica* 3.442–58). Best of all, "when night came on again, Artaxerxes was on fire, and Eros reminded him how beautiful were Callirhoe's eyes, how fine her features. He praised her hair, her walk, her voice, how she had entered the courtroom, how she had stood and spoken and kept silent, how she had showed modesty and how she had wept. He kept awake most of the night and only fell asleep long enough to see Callirhoe in his dreams" (Chariton *Callirhoe* 6.7).

These literary elaborations are based on a widespread but little studied association of dreams and sex that is summed up in the verb (*ἐξ*)*ονειρώττω* and noun (*ἐξ*)*ονειρωγμός* or *ὀνείρωξις*. The verbal suffix–*ωττω*/*ωσσω* indicates a physical disturbance, usually of an unhealthy sort.[89] Observations concerning such dreams are plentiful in Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, and similar writers. The term applies not only to the dreams of men accompanied by seminal emissions but also to women's erotic dreams (Ar. *Gen. An.* 739a21–27, *Hist. An.* 10.6 [637a27–28] and 10.7 [638a5]). The most striking case of its use I know occurs in Celsus' charge

that Mary Magdalene's encounter with the resurrected Jesus was only the ὀνειρωγμός of a sexually excited [πάροιστρος] woman.[90]

To give a rounded account of this erotic therapy one should also include (though there is not room to do it here) the rites of dream sending.[91] In Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Alexander* the Egyptian pharaoh-in-exile, Nectanebos, meets Olympias and agrees to help her with his knowledge.

> Nektanebos went forth from the palace and quickly picked and gathered a plant which he knew suitable for provoking dreams. And having rapidly done this, he made a female body of wax[92] and wrote on the figure Olympias' name. Then he made a bed of wax and put on it the statue he had made of Olympias. He lit a fire and poured thereon the broth of the plant, until the spirits appeared to Olympias; for he saw, from the signs there, Ammon united with her. And he rose and said, "My lady, you have conceived from me a boy child who shall be your avenger." And when Olympias awoke from her sleep, she was amazed at the learned diviner, and she said: "I saw the dream and the god that you told me about, and now I wish to be united with him."[93]

The same disturbing, malevolent imagery occurs both in *agōgai* and in dream-sending rites, such as that of Agathocles (*PGM* XII.107–21): "Take an all-black cat who died a violent death, write with myrrh on papyrus the following inscription with the dream you want to send, and place it in the mouth of the cat." With this we should compare two erotic *agōgai* in which papyrus inscriptions are to be placed in the mouth of dogs who died a violent death (XIXb, XXXVI.361–71) and one that requires that a skull fragment of a man who died violently be placed in the mouth of a wax dog (IV.1872–1926). The symbolic and gestural language is similar because the cultural configuration of classical and later Greek eros is shaped with elements of violence and dreaming that our culture keeps at arm's length.

There are many *agōgai* like these two that do not happen to contain explicit references to the "night scene." If we correctly place the typical enactment of such rites in the lamp-lit world of a lovesick man alone with his feelings and about to enter the powerful underworld of his own *psyche*, then *agōgai* again turn out to make sense as psychodramas in which intensely disturbing emotions are manipulated and treated. Taken together, they give us a uniquely vivid view of personal anxiety in a Mediterranean cultural setting, with their characteristic self-dramatization, suicidal intensity, and masking procedures.

THE TORMENTS OF *PSYCHE*

A tiny but deeply disquieting terra-cotta statuette in the Louvre shows a woman on her knees, hands behind her back, pierced with thirteen nails.[94] Instructions for such an artifact are given at IV.296ff., where a wax or clay image of a kneeling and bound woman is to be accompanied by a statuette of Ares standing over her and plunging a sword into her neck. Each body part on the female is to be inscribed with a magical phrase and pierced with one of thirteen copper needles while saying "I pierce such-and-such part of her, NN, in order that she have no one in mind but me, NN." The purpose expressed in the words is psychological—the lover aims to create

in his victim a state of mental fixation on himself—but the imagery is physically violent, even sadistic. A contrast between psychological "bonding" and physical torment is even clearer in the spell known as the *Sword of Dardanos* (IV.1716–1870), in which a magnet is engraved with Psyche ridden by Aphrodite and burned from beneath by a torch-holding Eros on one side, and on the other side with Eros and Psyche embracing.

The problem can be posed in more general terms by noting that a good deal of covert erotic ceremonial employs the objects, methods, and language found in the procedures against enemies known as κατάδεσμοι (*katadesmoi*, or binding spells).[95] The statue instructions cited above are entitled φιλτροκατάδεσμος (*philtrokatadesmos*), which might seem to be a simple contradiction in terms—at least on a certain understanding of affection and desire and the desirability of mutual affection. The fundamental idea behind binding spells and *agōgai* alike is constraint. To the Louvre figurine compare the procedure at *PGM* V.304–69. An iron ring is wrapped inside a sheet of papyrus or lead; inscribed "Let his mind be bound (καταδεθήτω)"; pierced with the pointed stylus; tied round with knots while the agent says, "I bind (καταδεσμεύω) NN to such-and-such an action;" then placed either in an unused well or in the grave of one untimely dead. Or compare the colorful "I bind you, Theodotis daughter of Eus, by the tail of the snake and by the mouth of the crocodile and by the horns of the ram and by the venom of the asp and by the whiskers of the cat and by the penis of the god, that you may not be able to have intercourse ever with another man either frontally or anally or to fellate[96] or to take pleasure with another man except me alone Ammonion Hermitaris."[97]

Audollent rather indiscriminately bundles together incantations designed to curse love rivals, make couples divorce, make a pimp's business decline, or bring a desirable person to one's door.[98] It is only the last that interests us here. Lead texts, rolled up, frequently pierced with a nail, and often found in tombs contain commands to powerful spirits identical to those in papyrus texts—to take away the sleep of a named woman, to make her burn with love for a named man, to make her think constantly of him: *coge illam mecum coitus facere* (*DT* 230).[99] Operations for bringing about a divorce or enmity between friends naturally invoke Typhon,[100] but he also figures prominently in *agōgai*, both by name and symbolically in the use of ass's blood.[101] Like binding spells, erotic rites employ the violent and untimely dead as agents.[102] The first effect of some *agōgai* is to send the affected person to her bed feeling ill;[103] to this we may compare *PGM* CXXIV, a spell designed specifically to cause illness (κατακλιτικόν), that uses a wax doll pierced with bones and placed in a pot of water.[104]

The forces brought to bear for erotic constraint are in principle deadly: the *agōgē* demonstrated to Hadrian "evoked [one] in one hour, sickened and sent [one] to bed in two hours, killed [one] in seven."[105] Hence both binding spells and *agōgai* can employ animal mutilation to strengthen their point.

Here is a test for the reader. Which of the following procedures do you think is used for love and which for hate: (1) smear an inscribed lead tablet with bat's blood, cut open a frog and place the tablet in its stomach, stitch it up and hang it from a reed and (2) take out a bat's eyes and release it alive, put the eyes in a wax or dough

figurine of a dog, pierce the eyes and bury it at a crossroads with an inscribed papyrus? The former (*PGM* XXXVI.231–55) requests the supreme angels that he, your enemy, NN, drip blood as the frog drips blood, the latter (IV.2943–66) asks Hecate that she, NN, lie awake with nothing on her mind except you.

The Louvre figurine raises thoughts of systemwide female victimage and male dominance. Is this what eros meant (or means) to men—women's bondage, pain, humiliation, submission? The answer is complex. In the previous section I sketched the pretensions of male control and the patterns of gender transfer used to hide men's vulnerability and erotic agency. The Louvre image, existing within a cultural system that assumed and demanded a woman's submission to the controlling male of her family, could certainly not escape that network of meanings. But the submission in question is a social protocol, not a sexual practice; and we should at least be cautious about assuming a perfect isomorphism between the public stance and the private posture. Ancient texts are not as chatty and revelatory about personal and sexual histories as modern writers, but what we can see of personal psychology in the *agōgai* (second section above), framed by the social constraints depicted in the first section, points to four other facets of the bondage imagery that should be given weight as well.

First, insofar as the operations are a wish that she, NN, come to feel eros as deeply and disturbingly as the operator himself feels it, the binding and piercing represent not a will to dominate but a replication in her of his own experience. The submission in this case is portrayed as a submission to erōs itself, to a painful state of being in which one is afflicted by "affection, desire, pain" (*PGM* XVI.5–6), though willing someone into that state is of course selfishly motivated. The problem here is one of translating emotions and gestures from one cultural system to another. We—at least some of us—lack the categories, and hence the experience to say "I bind you, Nilos, with great evils: you will love me with a divine eros." (*PGM* XV).[106]

Second, some of the torments—insomnia, loss of appetite, dizziness—are temporary phenomena, inducements to action rather than ends in themselves. That at least seems to be implied by the frequent stipulation that she feel those things "until she comes to me."[107] This instrumental view of erotic torments runs contrary to the previous one, which sees them as constitutive of eros; but it shows in the agent that same quality of radical self-centering and indifference to the needs of others, which somehow also remains innocent of malice. The aseptic distance and respect for persons that are fundamental to some modern social ideologies make it difficult for us to see the petulant bravado of these private rites on its own terms. In a modern context they would be *simply* malicious; in an ancient context they are that and other things as well. In order not to misinterpret the significance of rites of erotic compulsion, we have to grant that they grow organically and naturally in a culture that assumes a far higher degree of self-serving activity in every sphere of social relations on the part of every agent and counteragent, individually and in groups.

Third, the erotic rhetoric reckons little with days and months: its units of measurement are now and forever.[108] When Pamphile casts her eye on a handsome youth, she aims to bind him with "eternal bonds of profound love" (*amoris profundi pedicis aeternis alligat, Met.* 2.5). The agent in at least some of these cases seems to be

aiming at the bondage of marriage or the equivalent, praying for continuous, life-long love: "all the time of her life" (*PGM* VII.913–14); "Let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades" (XVI.24–25); *usque ad diem mortis suae* (*DT* 267). In one case this is explicit: Domitiana adjures the daemon to bring the tortured and sleepless Urbanus to her and ask her to return to his house "to be his mate" (*σύμβιον γενέσθαι*). Her prayer concludes, "Yoke them as mates in marriage and desire, for all the time of their lives; make him subject to her in desire as her slave, desiring no other woman or maiden" (*DT* 271). Bondage in this event means permanence and stability. From the last text quoted, it might also seem to mean dominance, but I take that to be a private metaphor for Domitiana's real aim, which is not that her husband be publicly known to be her devoted slave but that he be faithful to her.

Fourth and most important, we must look at the real social context of these covert operations. *Agōgai* are a kind of sneak attack waged in the normal warfare of Mediterranean social life. Plato's Diotima generalizes in calling Eros a crafty hunter and a bold plotter against the beautiful (*Symp.* 203D); in fact *agōgai* are aimed as a rule at women and maidens, who are constantly guarded and watched by their own families and by all the neighbors. The means of eliciting consent and independent action on the part of these "passive actors" in the dynamic game of interfamily competition is to rouse their sexual desire. Let us return a final time to the Samian bride observed by Polemo: "And I later learned that it had happened with her consent."[109] Covert erotic rites operate on exactly the same protocols as parental vigilance, namely, that young women are quite apt to have sexual feelings and minds of their own and might well act on them even though it results in social tragedy and a calamitous fall in the fortunes of a house. Thus, not only are such rites of use to lovelorn swains, they are very useful for the face-saving needs of families whose daughters have actually eluded parental control. If they can claim that some devil made her do it, family honor is not so deeply hurt as it would be by her voluntary wantonness. *Agōgai,* viewed from this angle, are a backhanded tribute to the potential power of female sexual autonomy, though their language is that of divine compulsion, not that of *Our Bodies, Ourselves.*

If the heat of this last analysis properly brings out the invisible writing on love spells—their implied social script—then we have the paradoxical result that these wishes for bondage are a discourse (of sorts) about women's desire; and they speak of women's desire as an experience that will seem not to be forced on them by the expressed choice of a parent or suitor but to well up from within. They are one of the few categories of ancient text that speak at all of female pleasure, and they do so persistently and with a wide range of expression: "May she come melting with eros and affection and intercourse, fully desiring intercourse with Apalos" (*PGM* XIXa.53); "May she accomplish her own sexuality (*τὰ ἀφροδισιακὰ ἑαυτῆς*)" (IV.404). "Bring her loving me with lust and longing and cherishing and intercourse and a manic eros" (*PGM* CI.30–31). The social implications of this autonomous desire are alluded to in the neighboring clauses that request forgetfulness of parents and relatives, husband and children.[110]

These four considerations do not—and are not intended to—dispel the anguish roused in us by the Louvre image. Rather they are baby steps on a methodological

path that has not yet been widely followed in studying classical and later Greek culture, particularly the subjects of sex, gender, and magic. These terms and practices are bundles of complex, historically specific meanings that are socially constructed according to the interests of cultures and economies very different from our own and hence difficult to translate without losing not just their savor but their very soul. There is no magic phrase, such as ANTHROPOLOGY that will guarantee success to our hermeneutic project any more than earlier slogans worked to unlock all secrets: FISHER KING, MOTHER GODDESS, CLASS CONFLICT, STRUCTURALISM. But cultural and social anthropology does at least raise questions and provide comparisons that illuminate much of the ancient material, letting us see much more clearly just how familiar and how strange it really is.

Notes

1. Polemo, *De Physiognomonia Liber,* chap. 69, in R. Foerster *Scriptores Physiognomonici,* vol. 1 (Berlin, 1893). Works frequently cited in this essay: *PGM = Papyri Graecae Magicae,* ed. Karl Preisendanz, 2nd ed. rev. Albert Henrichs, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1973–74). *PGM* contains Greek papyrus texts numbered I–LXXXI, "Christian" papyrus spells numbered P1–24, ostraca numbered O1–5, and two wooden tablets numbered T1–2. The English translation of *PGM* is *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells,* vol. 1, *Texts,* ed. H. D. Betz (Chicago, 1986), abbreviated *GMPT,* which unfortunately does not contain Preisendanz' nonpapyrus and "Christian" material. As the editor makes clear on p. ix, *GMPT* is conceived within a Christian interpretive framework, which explains its sectarian omission of Preisendanz' "Christian" papyri. I suspect that the omission of the ostraca is similarly motivated, since two of them are "Christian" magic (O3–4). For demotic spells I use PDM plus the number. *DT* = A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904); D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 169 (1969): 56–111.

Many friendly readers have helped me improve this essay, all of whom I thank—in particular, Froma I. Zeitlin, Michael Herzfeld, Amy Richlin, Ludwig Koenen, Marilyn Arthur, Robert Daniel, and Ann Hansen.

2. Current examples in D. E. H. Russell and N. Van de Ven, ed., *Crimes against Women: Proceedings of the International Tribunal* (Millbrae, Calif., 1976).

3. D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," in *ANRW* vol. II, pt. 23, sec. 2, (Berlin, 1980) 1506–57; an exciting and magisterial treatment of the larger interpretive issues in C. R. Phillips III, "The Sociology of Religious Knowledge in the Roman Empire to A.D. 284" in *ANRW* vol. II, pt. 16, sec. 3, pp. 2677–2773, esp. 2711–32 on "magic."

4. Gerrit Huizer and Bruce Mannheim, eds. *The Politics of Anthropology* (The Hague, 1979); James Clifford and George E. Marcus, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley, 1986); specifically on Greece, Michael Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the Looking-glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe* (Cambridge, 1987).

5. A meaningful ethnography would require at the minimum not only a social object well-defined in space and time but the possibility of interviews, observations, and counting, which our resources cannot provide. Lacking this, I have resorted to the now familiar, though still debatable, notion of a Mediterranean family of cultures whose broad lines of similarity have persisted across the *longue durée.* The features of this cultural family and in particular its erotic items may well be found elsewhere in the world: I make no claim about a specifically or uniquely "Mediterranean" character in their configuration. Similarly, though I often con-

trast "us" and "them" as cultural strangers, many of "their" notions and practices may have a familiar ring. That is to say, my working portrayal of a twentieth century "us" is as much in want of qualification as my global picture of an ancient Mediterranean "them". The heuristic value of this strategy will be greatest if the reader first accepts the temporary role and character of a "twentienth-century Western consumer-capitalist" and then resists it.

6. Alvin W. Gouldner, *Enter Plato: Classical Greece and the Origins of Social Theory* (New York, 1965), 45–55. The economic metaphor is natural to us but should not mislead: the value in question is precisely not one that can be quantified and exchanged but depends on personal assertion, vindication, and negotiation in the intimate forums of a small-scale society. Good examples of misreading the honor code as an exchange relation are found in P. Bourdieu, "The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society," in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. J. G. Peristiany (Chicago, 1966), 191–241.

7. Clarence Maloney, ed., *The Evil Eye* (New York, 1976), especially R. Dionisopoulos-Mass, "The Evil Eye and Bewitchment in a Peasant Village" and Vivian Garrison and Conrad M. Arensberg, "The Evil Eye: Envy or Risk of Seizure? Paranoia or Patronal Dependency?"; Michael Herzfeld, "Meaning and Morality: A Semiotic Approach to Evil Eye Accusations in a Greek Village," *American Ethnologist* 8 (1980): 560–74; Anthony H. Galt, "The Evil Eye As Synthetic Image and Its Meanings on the Island of Pantelleria, Italy," *American Ethnologist* 9 (1982): 664–81. For ancient material, see O. Jahn, *Aberglaube des* bösen Blicks bei den Alten, SB Leipzig 7 (Leipzig 1855); A. Moreau "L'Oeil malefique dans l'oeuvre d'Eschyle" *REA* 78/79 (1976/77): 50–64.

8. J. G. Peristiany (see n. 6) shows that the values are not a uniform system throughout the area, a point made by M. Herzfeld, "Honour and Shame: Problems in the Comparative Analysis of Moral Systems," *Man* n.s. 15 (1980): 339–51; David Gilmore, ed., *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean* (Washington, D.C., 1987); K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, 1974), 95–102, 205–13, 226–42; Julian Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem; or, The Politics of Sex* (Cambridge, 1977).

9. *Histoire de la sexualité*, vol. 2, Michel Foucault, *L'usage des plaisirs* (Paris, 1984); English translation by R. Hurley, *The Use of Pleasure* (New York, 1985).

10. Ernestine Friedl, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece* (New York, 1962); John K. Campbell, *Honour, Family, and Patronage* (New York, 1964); Peter Walcot, *Greek Peasants, Ancient and Modern* (Manchester, 1970); Juliet du Boulay, *Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village* (Oxford, 1974); R. B. Hirschon, "Under One Roof: Marriage, Dowry, and Family Relations in Piraeus," in Michael Kenny and David I. Kertzer, eds., *Urban Life in Mediterranean Europe: Anthropological Perspectives* (Urbana, 1983); Jill Dubisch, ed., *Gender and Power in Rural Greece* (Princeton, 1985); and above all Michael Herzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village* (Princeton, 1985).

11. J. Schneider, "Of Vigilance and Virgins: Honor, Shame, and Access to Resources in Mediterranean Societies," *Ethnology* 10 (1971):1–24.

The charge of adultery brought against Lycophron was supported by an allegation that he had followed the mule cart on which she was riding during the wedding procession and had openly begged her not to consummate the marriage. Since her brother, an Olympic wrestler, was there, "could I have been crazy enough to utter such shameless words about a free woman in the hearing of all present and not be afraid of being strangled to death on the spot? For who could have endured to hear such words about his own sister . . . and not have killed the man who uttered them?" (Hypereides, *In Defense of Lycophron* 6). "One of the men in Chios, . . . was taking a wife and, as the bride was being conducted to his home in a chariot, Hippoklos the king, a close friend of the bridegroom, mingling with the rest during the drinking and laughter, jumped up into the chariot, not intending any insult but merely being playful according to the common custom. The friends of the groom killed him" (Plut. *De Mul.*

Vir. 244E). See also B. M. Lavelle, "The Nature of Hipparchos' Insult to Harmodios," *AJP* 107 (1986):318–31.

12. In the Cretan mountain village of "Glendi," card games in the coffee house are an emblematic male contest in which the cards themselves are frequently given feminine names, successful players are spoken of as sexually charged ("He's hot," "He's ploughing straight" [= "He is copulating"]), and unlucky players are taunted as having had recent sexual contact, which polluted them. Michael Herzfeld (see n. 9), 152–62.

13. "While an understanding of stratified agrarian societies may provide a first-level explanation for 'virginity complexes,' any particular instance of the complex must be understood within its specific historical context. Women's chastity may be a primary idiom used by people in stratified agrarian societies for negotiating claims to unequal privileges, but it is not the only idiom" (J. Collier, "From Mary to Modern Woman: The Material Basis of Marianismo and Its Transformation in a Spanish Village," *American Ethnologist* 13 [1986]: 100–107, quotation from p. 102).

14. J. du Boulay, "Lies, Mockery, and Family Integrity," in *Mediterranean Family Structure,* ed. Jean G. Peristiany (Cambridge, 1976), 389–406; P. Walcot, "Odysseus and the Art of Lying," *Ancient Society* 8 (1977):1–19.

15. R. Dionisopoulos-Mass (see n. 7), 58–60. For another modern account of love magic see the novel *Love with a Few Hairs* by Mohammed Mrabet, translated from the Moghrebi and edited by Paul Bowles (New York, 1968)—a discovery for which I owe thanks to Josiah Ober.

16. See J. G. Frazer's discussion of the customs of disguising the bride in his edition of *Ovid's Fasti* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 410–11.

17. Themistocles, a less lovable character, must have used an amulet (*περίαμμα*), "attaching (*περιάψας*) some good thing to the city" (Xen. *Mem.* 2.6.10–13).

18. Sulla's success was summed up in the name granted to him by the Senate—Epaphroditos (Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.97). Other *χαριτήσια* (spells or amulets to acquire "charm" [*χάρις*]): *PGM* VII.215 (*Stele of Aphrodite;* a tin amulet); IV.2226–29 (a gold amulet for *φίλτρα*); VII.186–90 (right leg of a living gecko caught in a graveyard and worn as an amulet; brings victory as well as charm); XII.182–89 (a prayer to the lord who is the *χάρις* of the cosmos to grant unfailing free speech "and let every tongue and every voice listen to me"). A Coptic shard contains the prayer, "Fill (this engraved shard) for me with every wish, every love which is sweet, every peace, every delight at once!" (*Enchoria* 5 [1975]: 115–18, revised by G. Browne *ZPE* 22 [1976]: 90–91).

19. Cyranides 2.23.21–28. Similarly, the right eye of a seal wrapped in deerskin makes one successful and desirable (*ἀξιέραστος*, Cyranides 2.41.9–10, 4.67.14–16). The seal's tongue brings victory and its whiskers and heart are a *χαριστήριον μέγιστον* guaranteed to bring success. I cite the Cyranides by book, chapter and line numbers in the edition of Dimitris Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden,* Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 76 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976).

20. Or, in some cases, one's friends: Antigone reminds her angry father that "other men too have terrible sons and a sharp anger (*θυμός*) against them, but assuaged by the spells (*ἐπῳδαί*) of friends their angry nature is dis-spelled (*ἐξεπάδονται*)." Soph. *OC* 1192–94.

21. "Give me praise and love (before NN, son of) NN today. . . . (But as for my enemies) the sun shall impede their hearts and blind their eyes" (*PDM* xiv.309–34).

22. = IV.467–68. Empedocles once saved his host Anchitos from being murdered by the son of a man who had been executed in a capital case brought by Anchitos. As the young man rushed forward with sword drawn and in a state of terrible anger (*θυμός*), Empedocles struck a soothing and restraining (*καταστολτικός*) chord on his lyre and recited *Od.* 4.221. (Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 113 = Diels-Kranz *FVS* 31.A.15) For other uses of Homeric and Vergilian lines cf. Ricardus Heim, *Incantamenta Magica Graeca Latina,* Jahrbücher für classische Philologie Suppl. 19 (Leipzig, 1892), 514–20.

23. "Restraint" is the first of many points of contact between two fields usually kept separate in modern accounts—erotic rites and binding spells, e.g., "Hermes Restrainer, restrain Manes" (*DTA* 109).

24. O1 in *PGM*, vol. 2, p. 233.

25. E. N. O'Neil in *GMPT*, p. 146.

26. χάρις / νίκη (charisma and victory, *PGM* VIII.36), πράξις / χάρις (successful business and charm, VIII.62), ἀλκή / μορφή (power and beauty, VIII.30), προσώπου εἶδος / ἀλκὴ ἀπάντων καὶ πασῶν (a handsome face and power over all men and women, VIII.5–6). A similar juxtaposition of personal success, triumph over enemies, and erotic ambitions are promised for a ring at *PGM* XII.270–350: "Wearing it, whatever you may say to anyone, you will be believed, and you will be pleasing to everybody" (XII.278–79).

27. cf. XXXVI.283–94; PDM xiv.335–55, a fish oil to be applied both to phallus and to face before intercourse. PDM xiv contains eight other penis ointments plus an erotic fish oil just for the face (355–65).

28. Hans Licht, "Sexuelle Reizmittel und Verjüngungskuren in Altgriechenland," *Zeitschrift für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 13 (1926/27):134–37; Theodor Hopfner *Das Sexualleben der Griechen und Römer*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Prague, 1938; repr. New York, 1975), 273–305. The Latin for "drug," *venenum*, is apparently derived from *Venus* and thus fundamentally meant aphrodisiac. Cf. Afranius, frag. 380–81 Ribbeck.

29. "A vessel inquiry that a physician in the district of Oxyrhynchos gave me" (PDM xiv.528).

30. The original purpose of wine was to promote intercourse, according to Schol. Lucian (p. 280.3ff Rabe): ὅτι ὁ Διόννυσος δοὺς τὸν οἶνον παροξυντικὸν φάρμακον τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν μίξιν παρέσχεν.

31. VII.167–86. Max Wellman, *Die Physika des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, (Berlin, 1928). Hippol. *Haer.* 4.28–42 interprets all magician's performances as tricks: Richard Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, vol. 39, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1913).

32. Bulbs are prominent (*Deipnosophists* 1.5B, 2.63E–64B, 64E–F, 8.356E), evidently from their resemblance to testicles (especially those that grow in pairs, cf. Pliny, *HN* 26.95, Diosc. *Mat. Med.* 3.126). *Satyrion*, frequently cited as an aphrodisiac, has a "bulbous root like a fruit, ruddy with a white inside like an egg" (Diosc. *Mat. Med.* 3.128). Sometimes the aphrodisiac effectiveness resides not in the shape but in the significant name, as in the case of scallops (κτένες, also meaning "vaginas") and the sea creatures known as *fascina* and *spuria* (Apul. *Apol.* 35; Adam Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei*, RGVV 4.2, (Giessen, 1908; repr. Berlin, 1967), 223–24 = 149–50. The words also mean male and female genitals, respectively (sources cited in Abt).

33. What works for humans, works for animals: squill and deer's tail will stimulate reluctant bulls (*Geoponika* 27.5, Varro, *Rust.* 2.7.8) and "this same procedure works for humans too" (*Geoponica* 19.5.4). Red mullet is an antaphrodisiac for men, a contraceptive for women and birds (Ath. 7.325D). The root of all-heal (*Ferulago galbanifera*) is good for birthing, other gynecological problems, and flatulence in cattle.

34. Literally, "rootcutters," ῥιζοτόμοι—also the title of a play by Sophocles concerning Medea, cf. D. F. Sutton, *The Lost Sophocles* (Lanham, Md., 1984), 117–18.

35. G. E. R. Lloyd, *Science, Folklore, and Ideology* (Cambridge, 1983), 119–35.

36. E. Degani, "Hipponactea," *Helikon* 2 (1962):627–29.

37. Hence it is eaten regularly by temple attendants (Cyran. 1.5.13–14), preferable perhaps to the three cold baths per day described by Chairemon apud Porph. *De Abstin.* 4.6–8. Hemlock is consumed for the same reason by the hierophant at Eleusis (Hippol. *Haer.* 5.8). Also useful are red mullet (Terpsicles [a pseudonym if I ever heard one] apud. Ath. 7.325D),

associated with Artemis (Plato Comicus apud Ath. 7.325A); and water lily root (*nymphaia:* named for a nymph who was hopelessly in love with Heracles; see Pliny *HN* 25.75; cf. 26.94, Diosc. *Mat. Med.* 3.132).

38. Cyran. 1.5.15–18; rocket seed ground with pine cones in wine was a widely known aphrodisiac (*P.Lit. Lond* 171; cf. Diosc. *Mat. Med.* 2.140, *P.Lond.* 121[r]182–84).

39. The wearing of a crow's heart (male by man, female by woman) ensures affection (εὔνοια) forever—"an unsurpassable miracle" (Cyran. 1.2.14–19).

40. Pliny *HN* 26.95 and 96, a knowledge attributed to Thessalian women by Diosc. *Mat. Med.* 3.126.

41. Pliny *HN* 27.65, Diosc. *Mat. Med.* 3.126; cf. Diosc. *Euporista* 2.96.

42. Plut. *De Tuend. San. Praec.* 126A, *Conj. Praec.* 139A.

43. A woman accused of using aphrodisiacs to gain the love of Philip was brought before Olympias who, seeing her beauty and hearing her intelligent conversation, said "The accusations are baseless, you have aphrodisiacs in yourself." Plut. *Conj. Praec.* 141B–C; a similar story in a discussion of misogyny in Satyros' *Life of Euripides* (a dialogue in which at least one of the three speakers was a woman), *P. Oxy.* 1176, frag. 39, col. 14: "When he saw her stature and beauty, he said 'Hail, lady; the accusations are false, for you have drugs in your face and eyes.'" The trope is reversed at Lucian, *Dial. Meret.* 8: "His wife told everyone that I had driven him crazy with drugs, but the only drug involved was his own jealousy."

44. As in the detective stories of Hippocrates visiting Democritos, Diog. Laert. 9.42. For an ancient drawing of two hearts, or what Audollent saw as such, see the "valentine" at *DT* 264.

45. Ps.-Aristotle *Problems* 30.1.954a52, cf. 954a25: "when black bile is overheated, it produces cheerfulness accompanied by song, and frenzy, and the breaking forth of sores."

46. E. J. Kenney, "Doctus Lucretius," *Mnem.* 4th ser. 23 (1970):366–92, esp. 380–90; J. L. Lowes "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos," *Modern Philology* 11 (1913–14):490–547; M. Ciavolella, "La tradizione dell' *aegritudo amoris* nel *Decameron,*" *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 147 (1970):496–517.

47. Antiphon Soph. *On Likemindedness, FVS* 87B49 D–K. "A sign of the onset of eros is not delight in the presence of the beloved, which is only normal, but rather the sting and pain felt in the beloved's absence" (Plut. *Quomodo Quis Suos in Virtute Sent. Prof.* 77B). "These signs—groans and tears and pallor—indicate nothing other than eros." Lucian, *Iupp. Trag.* 2.

48. Some famous literary cases: Euripides' Phaedra, Callimachos' Cydippe, Chariton's Callirhoe. Lesser-known sufferers are the son of Diogenes (Suda, s.v. *Diogenes*) and the rich young man who fell in love with a farmer's daughter (Ath. 12.554C–E, from Cerkidas' and Archelaos' *Iamboi*).

49. Ath. 14.619D–E (from Aristoxenos), traditionally attributed to Stesichoros (D. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci,* 277). Dimoites, cursed by his wife, falls in love with a corpse washed up on the shore; since it is in an advanced state of decay, he buries it and kills himself on the grave (Parth. *Amar. Narr.* 31). When Antiope gently but firmly refused the suit of Soloeis, he leaped into a river and drowned himself (Plut. *Thes.* 26.2–5). Daphnis's mother is afraid he will commit suicide (Longus 3.26.3). Phidalios of Korinth (*FGrHist* 30 F 2) states the general principle: "It is natural for lovers to cling to the beloved and to die for her . . . ; for they are made savage by desire and do not use their minds to reason with." So common is the motif that Lucian makes fun of it: in a checklist of those entering Hades are "seven who slew themselves for eros" (*Catapl.* 6).

50. "Some constraint (ἀνάγκη) sent by god" (Pl. *Phd.* 62C); "constrained (ἀναγκασθείς) by an unbearably painful and inescapable misfortune or meeting with a hopeless and unlivable shame" (Pl. *Laws* 9.873C); "to die to escape poverty or eros or some anguish is the mark of a cowardly rather than manly person" (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3.7.1116a12–14).

51. Plutarch recommends that the old practice of public diagnosis of illness be applied also to emotional disorders, imagining the following comments from bystanders: "You're suffering from anger; stay away from x." "You're feeling jealous; do y." "You're in love; I was in love once but I recognized my mistake (*μετενόησα*)" (*De Lat. Viv.* 1128E).

52. Appian *Bell. Syr.* 59–61; Plut. *Demetr.* 38; Lucian *Syr. D.* 17–18; Val. Max. 5.7.3. E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman,* 5th ed. (Hildesheim, 1974 [orig. pub. 1876]), 55–59; P. M. Frazer, "The Career of Erasistratus of Ceos," *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti, Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche* 103 (1969):518–37; D. W. Amundsen, "Romanticizing the Ancient Medical Profession" *Bull. Hist. Med.* 48 (1974):320–37. R. Asmus analyzes the physiognomonic tradition reflected in this widely known story: "Vergessene Physiognomika," *Philologus* 65 (1906):415–21. Pl. *Lysis* 204C reflects the topos: commenting on a young man's blush, Socrates says, "I have this god-given talent for instantly discerning who feels eros and who is its object."

53. The pulse of Justus's ailing wife quickened when the name of the dancer Pylades was mentioned: Gal. *Prognosis* 6 (XVI.630–34 Kühn = *CMG* V.8.1, ed. V. Nutton, pp. 100–1044); the same incident is referred to in his *Commentary on Hippokrates' Prognostics* I.8 (XVIIIB.40 Kühn = *CMG* V.9.2, ed. Diels, p. 206).

54. Pl. *Phdr.* 252A–B. Orderly education will moderate other desires, but as for eros, the source of a million evils for individuals and whole cities, "what herbal drug can you cut to liberate these people from so great a danger?" (*Laws* 8.836B); "O King, there is no other *φάρμακον* for eros but the beloved in person" (Chariton 6.3.7); a magus declares that he can command the moon and sun and sea and air, "but for eros alone I find no drug" (*PGM* XXXIV, (fragment of a novel). Theocritos declares that there is no cure except poetry (*Id.* 11.1–3); Callimachos accepts the point and adds starvation as another cure (*Epig.* 47).

55. Plutarch nicely observes that the physical symptoms described in Sappho 31 are exactly those of eros (*Dem.* 38). They are also unwelcome, involuntary, and perhaps the result of a spell. One of the earliest magical papyri (*PGM* CXXXII, Augustan period) is a collection of verse rites with echoes of the topoi of Greek lyric (throwing fruit, *μῆλα*, col. 1, lines 6 and 9) and possibly of Sappho in particular—"I run after, but he flees" (col. 2, line 12, and Compare Sappho 1.21).

56. Chloe tentatively diagnoses her own symptoms as a spring fever (Longus 1.13ff.).

57. In the Loeb edition of Philostratus and Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1921), 398–417.

58. So the love spells of Canidia were countered, she imagines, by "the incantation of a more scientific witch," *veneficae scientioris carmine* (Hor. *Epod.* 5.71–72).

59. *PGM* VII.285–89, 619–27, 643–51. VII.969–71 (partly in code) is a written equivalent that obviates the awkwardness of long mumbling while the other is waiting for the drink.

60. *PGM* 13.319–20 (wasps caught in a spider web!); PDM xiv.376–94, 428–50, 636–69, 772–804.

61. Pliny *HN* 27.57; Diosc. *Mat. Med.* 4.131.

62. *PGM* VII.973–80; *PGM* CXIX. A related form of touch magic at Pl. *Meno* 80A, where Meno feels numb and helpless because of Socrates' wizardry, as if he has been touched by an electric eel. *PGM* CXXVII: a man whose loins have been touched with the brain of an electric eel will bend over and not be able to stand upright.

63. As Hippodamia says of the beautiful Pelops in Sophocles' *Oinomaos:* "Pelops has such a magician's implement to capture eros, some lightning in his eyes; it warms him, it scorches me entire" (frag. 474). "As fire burns those who touch it, so beautiful people ignite a subtle fire in those who see them even from a distance, so that they glow with eros" (Xen. *Cyr.* 5.1.16). See D. M. Halperin, "Plato and Erotic Reciprocity," *CA* 5 (1986):63, n.5.

64. *PGM* X.19–23. Surely, friendly eye contact from an admirer for the space of three

deep breaths is an unmistakable message in its own right: the formula serves more for self-confidence.

65. "Lead forth and bind fast Matrona, daughter of Tagenes, whose *οὐσία* you now have, the hairs of her head, that she may not have sex . . . with any other man except Theodoros, son of Techosis." Wortmann (see n. 1), p. 60, lines 19–23. *PDM* xiv.1075. "Put the hair of the woman in the leaf"; see K. Preisendanz, "*Ousia*," *WS* 40 (1918):5–8. In other *agōgai*, *οὐσία* is attached to the head or neck of a kneeling doll (IV.302–3) or wrapped with a papyrus incantation and placed in a box (*PGM* XV) or put inside an inscription on ass's hide and placed with vetch in a dead dog's mouth (XXXVI.361–71).

66. See Wortmann, p. 69 and Faraone in this volume (chapter 1) p. 14 and n. 64.

67. *PGM* XXXVI.68–101; 102–34; 295–310; in the lunar calendar at VII.295 the moon in Aries is a propitious time for *ἔμπυρα* and *ἀγώγιμα*.

68. E. Kuhnert, "Feuerzauber," *RhM* 49 (1894):37–58.

69. Looking at the moon: *PGM* IV.2708; "Late at night, in the fifth hour, facing Selene (the Moon) in a pure room . . . ; when you see the goddess turning ruddy, know that she is already attracting her" (VII.874–75, 889–90; LXI.6); "before Isis in the evening when the moon has risen" (*PDM* lxi.118); "in the waning of the moon when the goddess is in her third day," (*PGM* XII.378–79; the same day is chosen for a necromantic ceremony in Heliodoros, *Aithiopica* 6.14.2. If a rooftop is not available, one may make do with the ground, *PGM* LXI.6.

70. Sleeplessness is a central aim, too, of erotic rituals that do not mention a time of performance, such as *PGM* IV.2943–66; VII.374–76, 376–84. These could be plausibly grouped with our "night scenes".

71. "Let her have only me in her mind (*κατὰ νοῦν*)" (*PGM* IV.1520, 2960–61); *Solum me in mente habeat* (*DT* 266.19); Maltomini (*Civiltà class. e cris.* 1 [1980]:376) supplements *PGM* CCXXII along these lines. A rare trace of the lover's obsession is found in Wortmann [see n. 1], 64, line 78: "Matrona . . . whom Theodoros has on his mind (*ἐν νόῳ*)."

72. Lucian *Philops.* 13–15. The narrator comments: "But I know that Chrysis; she is a lusty and forward lady, and I don't see why you had any need of a clay ambassador and a magus from the Hyperboreans and Selene herself when one could lead (*ἀγαγεῖν*) her all the way to the Hyperboreans for twenty drachmas."

73. Theoc. 2.161–62 (Assyrian stranger; the local old ladies who knew spells were unable to help, 2.91); Verg. *Ecl.* 8.95–99 (Moeris); Lucian *Dial. Meret.* 4.4–5 (Syrian herbalist, an old lady); Heliodoros *Aithiopika* 3.17; cf. 3.19 and 4.5 (an Egyptian priest, pretending to be a love wizard).

74. Men aiming at women: *PGM* XVIIa, XIXa, LXXXIV, CI, CVII, CVIII, CIX; ostracon O 2 (*PGM*, vol. 2, p. 233); *DT* 100, 227, 230, 231, 264–71, 304; two tablets for the same agent and victim (see below, n. 99); two tablets and one ostracon for the same agent and victim in Wortmann [see n. 1], 57–84; *BIFAO* 76 (1976):213–30; *ZPE* 24 (1977):89–90. Women aiming at men: *PGM* XV, XVI, XXXIX, LXVIII; *DT* 270, 271. Women aiming at women: *PGM* XXXII; *PSI* 28, cf. F. Maltomini, *Miscellanea Critica*, Papyrologica florentina 7 (1980), 176). Men aiming at men: *PGM* XXXIIa, LXVI; *JEA* 25 (1939):173–74.

75. Rare traces of other situations: *PGM* I.98 ("fetches women and men"); IV.2089–92 ("*οὐσία* of her/him . . . where she, or he, dwells . . . bring her to me")—both these instances might equally have in view male or female lovers working the spell on a male; XXXVIa.70 is unambiguous on this point ("brings men to women and women to men," but at XXXVI.73–74 the client is directed to take "*οὐσία* of whatever woman you want," thus reverting to the generic norm); XII.364–75 is a spell to create hatred between two men, with an alternate version for a man and a woman.

76. Hor. *Epod.* 5 and 17, *Sat.* 1.8; Apul. *Met.* 1.5–19, 2.5; Petron. *Sat.* 63; Luc. 6.413–830.

77. A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei,* RGVV 4.2 (Giessen, 1908; repr. Berlin, 1967), 318–329.

78. In real life (or what has some claim to be such) women are charged with administering φίλτρα in food or drink rather than with performing ἀγωγαί: Antiphon 1.9, 19; Arist. *Mag. Mor.* 1.16; Plut. *Conj. Praec.* 139a.

79. A second version at *PGM* IV.2643ff.; the two are written as verse and compared at *PGM*, vol. 2, pp. 255–57.

80. *PGM* IV.1840–59; cf. the Hyperborean mage cited above from Lucian *Philops.* 13, ἔρωτας ἐπιπέμπων. Galen asserts that eros is a strictly human passion, "unless of course one believes the tales that some people are led (ἄγεσθαι) to this passion by a tiny baby god holding burning torches" (*Comm. in Hippoc. Prognost.* I) vol. XVIII.2, p. 19 Kühn.

81. *PGM* IV.2031–32 (νεκυδαίμων); *IV.*2088 (καταχθόνιος δαίμων); cf. the related rite over a skull at 4.1928–2005; *PDM* xiv.1070 (a mummy); *PGM* XXXVI.139 (demons of the darkness).

82. *PGM* IV.2486 (Hecate); IV.2730–36 (Hecate accompanied by troops of the shrieking untimely dead); IV.2907–9 (Aphrodite).

83. VII.884–85: Selene is asked to send a holy angel or sacred assistant to serve the lover in the course of this night.

84. "Drag (ἕλκε) Matrona by her hair, her guts, her *psyche,* her heart" (Wortmann [see n. 1], 66. In earlier periods the ἴυγξ served to drag or draw unwilling persons to a lover's bed: Pind. *Pyth.* 4.214, *Nem.* 4.35, playfully at Xen. *Mem.* 3.11.18. Hephaistos is shown making one as a torture wheel for Ixion on an Attic vase from the circle of the Meidias Painter; see E. Simon in *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft,* new series 1 (1975):177ff. Eros plays with one; see S. G. Miller, *AJA* 90 (1986): plate 14, figs. 10, 12. *PGM* has one poetic reference to Ixion's wheel (IV.1905–6).

85. *PGM* IV.2500, 2735. Thus Cupid assumes the form of Perdica's mother and appears to him in a dream (*Aegritudo Perdicae* 77–83).

86. *PGM* IV.2443, VII.877; *PDM* xiv.1070; *PGM* 64.

87. Arist. *On Dreams* 2 has a very acute analysis of the parahypnotic fantasies of emotionally aroused people: the timorous man seems to see his enemy approaching, the amorous man his beloved (460b1–15).

88. The victim's dreaming of the agent is explicit in *PGM* XVII.15: ἐννυπνιαζομένην, ὀνειρωττούσαν. For the sexual implications of the latter term, see next paragraph.

89. R. Kühner, *Aus Führliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache,* vol. 1, pt. 1; 3rd ed., rev. F. Blass (Hannover, 1890), sec. 328.9.

90. Origen *C. Celsum* 2.55.

91. See S. Eitrem's essay (chap. 3).

92. For wax figurines in erotic procedures, see pp. 178–81, 231.

93. *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes,* trans. from the Armenian version by A. M. Wolohojian (New York, 1969), 27.

94. P. du Bourguet, "Ensemble magique de la periode romaine en Egypte," *La revue du Louvre* 25 (1975): 255–57; the text of the accompanying lead sheet is edited by S. Kambitzis, *BIFAO* 76 (1976): 213–30 (= *SEG* 26.1717).

95. Clearchos offers a variety of explanations for the popular notion that men whose wreath comes undone at a symposium are suffering from eros, one of which is that it is only the bound who come undone: "for men in love have been bound" (καταδέδενται γὰρ οἱ ἐρῶντες, Clearchos frag. 24 Wehrli [= Ath. 15.670C]). Other instances of unbound or slipping wreaths signifying love: Asclepiades *A. P.* 12.135 (no. 18 Gow-Page); Callimachos *Epigr.* 44; Ov. *Am.* 1.6.37–38.

96. λαικάζειν , cf. G. P. Shipp, "Linguistic Notes" *Antichthon* 11 (1977): 1–2; H. D. Jocelyn, "A Greek Indecency and Its Students: LAIKAZEIN," *PCPS* 26 (1980): 13–66.

97. V. Martin, "Une tablette magique de la Bibliothèque de Genève," *Genava* 6 (1928): 56–63. The text refers to itself as a φιλτροκαταδέσμος (line 8).

98. Under the heading *amatoriae* in the subject index (Index pp. 472–83) to *DT*.

99. *DT* 267–71; F. Boll, *Griechischer Liebeszauber aus Aegypten,* SB Heidelberg (Heidelberg, 1910, no. 2); Wortmann (see n. 1), 56–84; *ZPE* 24 (1977): 89–90.

100. "Give to NN fighting, war, and to NN contempt and hatred—such as Typhon and Osiris had." *PGM* XII.372–73, 449–52 (= PDM xii.62–75, with a drawing of an ass-headed figure labeled Sēth).

101. *PGM* VII.467–77, XXXIIa, XXXVI.69–101.

102. *PGM* IV.1390–1495, XIXa (a prescription spell to be placed in the mouth of a dead person, lines 15–16), XIXb (a generic spell to be placed with a corpse). The witchy versions of such rites in poetry traffic in materials gathered in graveyards and from those disturbing animals that belong simultaneously to two categories, such as frogs and snakes (Prop. 3.6.27–30). The similarity of necromancy and erotic rites is the organizing principle of L. Fahz, *De Poetarum Romanorum Doctrina Magica Quaestiones Selectae,* RGVV 2.3 Giessen, 1904).

103. Indicated by (κατα)κλίνειν: *PGM* IV.2076, 2442, 2624. "Caligula was unhealthy both in mind and body. . . . He was believed to have been drugged by his wife Caesonia with a love potion that sent him mad. He was most of all tormented by sleeplessness" (Suet. *Calig.* 50).

104. Dolls in erotic operations: Verg. *Ecl.* 8.75, 80 (wax and clay); Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.30–33, 43f. (wax and wool); Hor. *Epod.* 17.76 (wax); PDM lxi.112–27 (wax Osiris); *PGM* XCV. 1–6 (uncertain material and purpose). *PGM* CI, found in a pot evidently from a cemetery ("you daemons who lie here," line 2), was wrapped around what appears to be two crudely made wax figurines embracing, the male and female made of darker and lighter waxes respectively (Wortmann [see n. 1]). With all these should be compared the dolls employed to harm enemies: R. Wünsch *Philologus* 61 (1902):26–31; J. Trumpf, "Fluchtafel und Rachepuppe," *AM* 73 (1958):94–102; Faraone in this volume (chapter 1) p. 7, n. 31.

105. *PGM* IV.2449–51; "Be sure to open the door for the woman who is being led by the spell, otherwise she will die" (IV.2495). Cf. Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 9.11.6 on the effect of different doses of strychnine. Pitys's *agōgē* "attracts, sickens, sends dreams, restrains, answers in dreams" (*PGM* IV.2076–78). Is XII.376–96 an *agōgē* or a recipe for death by insomnia? It compels a woman to lie awake, day and night, "until she consent" (ἕως συμφωνήσῃ, line 378); but the words command her to lie awake until she die (ἕως θανεῖ, line 396), and directions promise that she will die without sleep before seven days have passed. In recommending that lovers not use drugs and spells, Ovid argues both that they do not work and that they harm the psyche and the sanity of young women: *Nec data profuerint pallentia philtra puellis; philtra nocent animis vimque furoris habent* (*Ars Am.* 2.105–6). A humorous statement of the death brought by a love-potion (metaphorically for love itself): *Si semel amoris poculum accepit meri eaque intra pectus se penetravit potio, extemplo et ipsus periit et res et fides* [property and credit] (Plaut. *Truc.* 42–44).

106. Similarly in the Coptic *agōgē* published by P. C. Smither (*JEA* 25 [1939]: 173–74), the speaker conjures Iao, Sabaoth and Rous "that even as I take thee and place thee at the door and the pathway of P-hello the son of Maure, thou shalt take his heart and his mind and thou shalt master his whole body. When he stands, though shalt not allow him to stand; when he sits down, though shalt not allow him to sit down; when he sleeps, thou shalt not allow him to sleep; 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 and becomes subject under my feet—I Papapolo the son of Noah, his hand being full of every good thing, until I have fulfilled with him my heart's desire and the longing of my soul, with a good will and an indissoluble love."

107. *PGM* IV.1531, XII.490 (= *PDM* xii.155), XVIIa.16, XXXVI.82, *GMPT*, pp. 113, 149, 359; *DT* 230, 265A.

108. Two extraordinary cases specify lengths of time: F. Boll (see above, n. 99), 9–11: ἐπὶ ε μῆνας; *PGM CI.* 36–37 ἐπὶ χρόνον μήνων δέκα. Eitrem takes ε in the former text to be a five-month trial marriage (*P. Oslo* II, p. 33, n. 1). The latter text may refer to confirming a marriage by pregnancy, ten months being considered the normal period of pregnancy (J. Bergman, "Decem Illis Diebus," in *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren oblata,* Studies in the History of Religions—Supplement to *Numen* XXI [Leiden, 1972], I.332–46, esp. 340–41).

109. CF. M. Herzfeld, "Gender Pragmatics: Agency, Speech, and Bride-Theft in a Cretan Mountain Village," *Anthropology* 9 (1985):25–44.

110. *PGM* IV.2757–60, XV.4, XIXa.53, LXI.29–30 (= PDM lxi.173); *DT* 266, 268; cf. Sappho 16.