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VERLAG C.H.BECK MÜNCHEN

Rufus, but in all cases illustrating the ‘subordinating appropriation’ which the Peripatetics are practising on this Stoic doctrine.

All in all, this is a very fine and useful collection of papers, illustrating the dynamics of interaction between these two main philosophic schools – and indeed Jewish and early Christian thinkers – in this rather crucial period of ancient thought.

Dublin

John M. Dillon

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Ljuba Merlina Bortolani: *Magical Hymns from Roman Egypt. A Study of Greek and Egyptian Traditions of Divinity.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP 2016. XXI, 467 S. 104 £.

In this book, Ljuba Merlina Bortolani attempts to identify the extent to which the deities found in the extant magical hymns from Roman Egypt were Greek or Egyptian. Bortolani focuses on these hymns, which are peppered throughout the Greek Magical Papyri (‘Papyri Graecae Magicae’, ed. K. Preisendanz, 2 vols. Leipzig-Berlin 1928, 1931; rev. ed. A. Henrichs. Stuttgart 1974 [hereafter PGM]),¹ because they provide «pure invocations» (i.e., they are not interrupted by ritual procedures) and scholars have often simply understood them as «authentically Greek». Her study includes analyses of both the content and stylistic dimensions of the magical hymns, comparing these texts with earlier Greek and Egyptian hymnic exemplars more generally. This book consists of a lengthy introduction; an analysis of the hymns (Parts 1 and 2); and the conclusions. Bortolani also includes a bibliography and several helpful indices.

In the Introduction, Bortolani outlines her general approach to the magical hymns and establishes the terminological framework she will use throughout the remainder of the book. For Bortolani, the terms ‘Greek’ and ‘Egyptian’ are not productively used in reference to separate ethnicities; however, she contends that Greek and Egyptian have heuristic potential as distinctive «cultural backgrounds», especially since the magical hymns display a «conservative attitude» to such backgrounds. She also provides a brief overview of scholarship on ‘magic’ and specifies her etic approach to the term (p. 13). In addition, she compares the Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri (PGM and PDM), highlighting their respective audiences: the PDM were meant for Egyptians; the PGM were made for «Hellenized ritual specialists and their clients». She also provides a historiographical survey of the scholarship on these hymns and offers a brief introduction to the uses of hymns in Greek and Egyptian contexts. Bortolani notes that, although both Greek and Egyptian hymns follow a general tripartite structure (*epiclēsis*, *eulogia*, and *euchē*), there are micro differences between them: e.g., Greek *eulogia* tend to include a narrative section, which details relevant precedents, that is typically missing in Egyptian *eulogia*.

Her analysis of the fifteen magical hymns from Roman Egypt (ca. II/III–IV/V C.E.) is divided into two subsections: (Part 1) Hymns to the Male Deity and (Part 2) Hymns to the Female/Chthonic Deity. For each hymn, Bortolani in-

¹ Bortolani also draws on the editions and translations of these hymns in ‘Abraxas’, ed. R. Merkelbach and M. Totti. Vols. 1 and 2. Opladen 1990, 1991.

cludes its date, an overview of its content and structure, the text, a literal translation, a commentary, and conclusions (in which she identifies the hymn's religious background). In her analysis of the hymns to male deities (Part 1), she investigates four versions of a specific hymn to Apollo(-Helios-Horus) (collected as Hymns 1–2), which reveal an Egyptian religious background, but which incorporate «foreign» (esp. «Judaeo-Christian») religious elements; two separate hymns to Helios (Hymns 3–4), both connected with an Egyptian religious background; a hymn to Horus Harpocrates (Hymn 5), which, despite its use of Homeric poetry, she identifies as Egyptian; three separate hymns to Apollo(-Helios) (Hymns 6–8), which reflect the Greek tradition (Hymn 6, she claims, has been re-worked in light of its «magical» context); and a hymn to the Creator God (Hymn 9), which she attributes to a «Jewish» background reframed «in light of an *interpretatio aegyptiaca*».

Bortolani then turns to the hymns to the female chthonic/lunar deities (Part 2), analyzing a hymn to Hecate-Persephone (Hymn 10), which she claims derives from the Greek tradition; a hymn to Hecate-Selene (Hymn 11), which she identifies with «Greek religious thought», but which displays ad hoc «magical» features; a hymn to Hecate-Selene-Persephone-Artemis (Hymn 12), which aligns with a Greek religious background; a hymn to Hecate-Selene's διαβολή (Hymn 13), whose magical procedure reflects an Egyptian context, but whose religious context is best described as Greek; and two hymns to Hecate-Selene-Persephone-Artemis (Hymns 14 and 15), both of which best fit within a Greek religious context.

In the Conclusions, Bortolani draws inferences from her analyses in Parts 1 and 2. For instance, she contends that the magical hymns addressed to the male deities are primarily for the purposes of obtaining prophecy (e.g., via a dream oracle, lamp divination, or necromancy), while the hymns addressed to the female lunar/chthonic deities are typically for amatory purposes – though such deities can also assist in cursing (e.g., Hymn 11). She also argues that, although both Greek and Egyptian traditions connect solar gods with prophecy, they differ as it relates to curses: the Greek magical tradition tended to appeal to chthonic gods in imprecatory rituals, whereas the Egyptians drew from a much broader array of deities (often solar deities). Bortolani also compares the form and content of the Greek and Egyptian magical hymns, stressing that both traditions, for instance, adapted Homeric language to the particular situation. Yet, while the Egyptian hymnic tradition seem to have utilized Homeric materials as a «mechanical pasting of pattern expressions of verses» in order to appeal to a «Hellenized» audience, the Greek tradition, which was more familiar with the Homeric lexicon, drew inspiration from Homeric vocabulary as well. Bortolani also treats the usage of «Judaeo-Christian» vocabulary, which clusters in the solar hymns and seems to reflect the «Greek» background, and compares the epithets found in the magical hymns with the *Orphic Hymns* (pp. 351–354). Bortolani ultimately argues that the solar hymns make most sense in light of an Egyptian background; the Apollonian hymns reflect a Greek cultural background; and the lunar hymns were probably «reworked starting from cultic/ritual praises of Greek chthonic deities possibly connected with the Anatolian worship of Mother-chthonic-lunar Goddesses» (379).

Tackling the alleged ‘jumbling’ of different traditions, Bortolani argues that the practitioners behind the solar hymns – which evince the greatest degree of cultural ‘mixing’ (e.g., different divine epithets and names) – were simply describing a single «Egyptian solar-creator god», whereas the Greek-oriented Apollonian and lunar hymns, especially in their final phase of transmission, reflect a context in which practitioners were unable to find equivalent Egyptian deities for certain qualities of Apollo and Hecate respectively. This situation in the extant record leads Bortolani to contend that these materials were collected «within an Egyptian priestly milieu», which only had limited knowledge of Greek culture. Following in the tradition of David Frankfurter, Bortolani further contends that the hymns reflect a context in which «the Egyptian priestly ‘upper class’», tailored their rituals to «the Hellenized ruling class» (391). For Bortolani, the conceptions of the divine in this corpus reflect the broader world of Greco-Roman Egypt, where Greek and Egyptian cultures did not merge, but co-existed.

Bortolani’s extensive and detailed study of the magical hymns makes an important contribution to this often neglected corpus of material. She has certainly shown that many of the magical hymns are explicable relative to an Egyptian religious perspective and, therefore, the hymns cannot be described categorically as reflecting an ‘authentically Greek’ context. In addition, Bortolani’s individual commentaries on these hymns reflect her wealth of knowledge of ancient sources (and much relevant scholarship) and illuminate many background issues and lexical peculiarities. Although Bortolani has only slightly changed prior Greek editions of these hymns (esp. those of Preisendanz and Merkelbach/Totti), she has provided new – more literal – English translations of them, thus complementing the translations found in ‘The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation’, ed. H. D. Betz. Chicago 1991². Finally, the layout and structure of her monograph are user friendly – though it is unfortunate that Bortolani (and/or Cambridge University Press) chose to place the English translation after the Greek text in sequential order instead of facing the text and translation opposite to one another (as in Preisendanz’s Greek–German edition of the PGM).

The analytical scope of her book, however, would have benefited from a more sustained interaction with relevant theories and methods in the study of religion. First of all, her analysis does not grapple sufficiently with classic terms in the field, especially magic. Although not all specialists (myself included) would follow the likes of Bernd-Christian Otto and (now) David Aune, who argue that magic should be removed from our analytical vocabulary, Bortolani’s presentation merely reproduces much of the earlier – and negative – baggage associated with the term. For Bortolani, magic constitutes a private, coercive, and impious domain of ritual – an outmoded perspective, with which many contemporary scholars would disagree. One would have also expected more theoretical interaction with ‘religion’ given its perpetual use throughout this book and its often-controversial place in contemporary scholarship.

More importantly, Bortolani should have made use of insights drawn from religious studies and (ancient) history in orienting the primary cultural categories in her analysis (i.e., Egyptian, Greek, and Judaeo-Christian). She claims that «[a]n extensive account of the scholarly opinion on the issues of ethnicity, cultural identity and plurality or fusion of religious traditions in Graeco-Roman

Egypt lies outside the scope of this study...» (3). By contrast, it is precisely these broader theoretical insights that would have helped to frame her project in a more persuasive way. Although she rightfully insists that one cannot draw clear-cut distinctions between Egyptian and Greek ‘ethnicities’, Bortolani often frames Greek and Egyptian ‘cultures’ as monolithic and static entities – a kind of textbook portrait of these traditions based primarily on ostensible origins. One finds little sustained reflection on the manifold dimensions of local religion, especially as it pertains to the ‘Greek’ tradition. Perhaps even more striking is the analytical capital she invests in the adjective, ‘Judaeo-Christian’, by which she means the «Jewish and Christian» (p. 64, n. 10). This phrase reduces a host of discursive symbols, texts, and groups to a single entity. By contrast, the diversity encompassed within the categories ‘Judaism’ and ‘Christianity’ is so great that many ancient historians have preferred ‘early Judaisms’ and ‘early Christianities’. In short, her study does not sufficiently take into account the taxonomic complexities endemic to extensive categories, such as Greek culture, Egyptian culture, and the Judaeo-Christian tradition. This is unfortunate since many historians of ancient religion, including J. Z. Smith and Daniel Boyarin, have provided helpful models to follow, productively drawing from polythetic taxonomic theory, prototype theory, and family resemblance theory in their analyses of ancient cultural and religious interaction and comparison.

Despite her limited use of relevant theory, Bortolani’s detailed exegesis of the magical hymns and her robust treatment of relevant Greek and Egyptian sources translate into a book that will certainly benefit experts of Greco-Egyptian magic and historians of antiquity more generally.

Munich

Joseph Sanzo

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Lynn S. Fotheringham: *Persuasive Language in Cicero’s Pro Milone: A Close Reading and Commentary*. London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London 2013. XV, 503 S. (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. 121.).

Teachers of oratory and rhetoric – from Quintilian to Kennedy – have long recognized Cicero’s published speech on behalf of Titus Annius Milo as one of the orator’s finest efforts. In this volume, Lynn S. Fotheringham, building on her doctoral thesis and previously published work, offers to students and scholars of Ciceronian oratory an interesting, informative, if idiosyncratic ‘close reading’ of the *Pro Milone*. From the outset, the author is clear about what this ‘commentary’ is – and is not: readers should not expect to find the typical contents of a commentary on a Ciceronian oration, i.e. help with difficult points of grammar and syntax as an aid to translation; exegesis of the historical and cultural context of the speech; citation of parallels for particular Latin (or specifically Ciceronian) expressions; evaluation of textual variants; or cross-references to other Ciceronian works or to modern scholarly bibliography. Rather, relying on the tools of modern literary criticism, including discourse analysis, text linguistics, speech act theory, facets of narratology, and quantitative analysis, Fotheringham offers a line-by-line examination of the entire oration.