complex, not easy to define, and one that should not be disregarded or placed to the side in studies of Roman medicine. F., therefore, should be thanked for successfully bringing to light the voice of the Roman medical woman.

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MAGIC

M. W. DICKIE: *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*. Pp. viii + 380. London and New York: Routledge, 2001. Cased, £55. ISBN: 0-415-24982-1.

A. MOREAU, J. C. TURPIN (edd.): *La Magie. Actes de colloque International de Montpellier 25–27 mars 1999. Tome I. Du monde babylonien au monde hellénistique. Tome II. La magie dans l'antiquité grecque tardive. Les Mythes. Tome III. Du monde latin au monde contemporain. Tome IV. Bibliographie générale.* Pp. 328, 336, 353, 169. Montpellier: Publications de la recherche Université Paul Valéry, 2000. Paper, frs. 150 (Tomes I–III), 100 (Tome IV). ISBN: 2-84269-389-1, 2-84269-399-X, 2-84269-400-7, 2-84269-401-5.

Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World is an outstanding book that combines impressive scholarship with clarity and accessibility, and belongs at once in the collections of specialists and on undergraduate reading lists, perhaps even as a prescribed textbook. It packs a great deal into its densely printed 388 pages, yet remains doggedly focused on the actual practitioners of magic in antiquity throughout. If 'Magic and' deserves its place in the title, this is because we learn so much about the wider field in the course of the detailed consideration of its personnel. The coverage extends relatively late, up to 650 A.D. A particularly welcome result of this is that a number of rich snippets of late-antique evidence already familiar to classical scholarship from their deracinated use in the elucidation of earlier material (e.g. Zacharias the Scholastic's Ethiopian boy, pp. 263–7) are treated in their own proper context. The seemingly exhaustive collation of evidence is breath-taking. A significant number of important but neglected *loci* will now enter the mainstream of magical scholarship as a result of this publication (most notably the *Chronicle of the Year 354 AD* on the execution of forty-five sorcerers and eighty-five witches in the reign of Tiberius, repeatedly exploited and deservedly so, pp. 154, 175, 192).

As we learn from the preface, this substantial volume originated in a footnote on magical drunken old women, and indeed bawd-witches (who account for most of these) and prostitute-witches constitute an important recurring theme in the book. The treatment renders Faraone's handling of the same theme in *Ancient Love Magic* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), pp. 149–52, all but obsolete. Other types encountered repeatedly in a range of contexts include itinerant magicians (beggar-priests, street performers etc.), in-house magicians (practitioners retained on the staff of rulers or rich individuals), and learned magicians (the collectors of magical lore previously discussed by Dickie himself in his fine article 'The Learned Magician and the

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Collection and Transmission of Magical Lore', in D. R. Jordan et al. [edd.], *The World of Ancient Magic* [Bergen, 1999], pp. 163–94).

Dickie rightly has little time for the latter-day *goêteia* of magic-definition, and for the most part sweeps the pseudo-philosophers and the pseudo-anthropologists aside, jargons and all (p. 18). His Gordian-knot approach asserts that from the later fifth-century B.C. the varied Greek (and later Latin) terms ostensibly bearing upon magic and its practitioners all saluted the same unitary concept (e.g. pp. 5, 15, 34–5, 128, 135), which is roughly the same as our own. This approach is underpinned by an element of old-school essentialism: magic is inherently unorthodox and secretive (pp. 38–41). He accordingly gives himself license to investigate any individual to whom or type to which any one of the key terms is found applied. The notion that the concept of magic was invented in the fifth century B.C. is shared with Graf, but otherwise the two scholars have little in common, and Dickie does a good job of exposing and demolishing Graf's ivory-tower notion that the concept of magic was cooked up in the select circles of doctors and philosophers (pp. 20–1, 26; cf. p. 339 n. 6, where Graf's views on the development of the concept of magic at Rome are also rejected).

It is upon this fifth-century B.C. starting point that my greatest criticism of the book rests. It is only here, Dickie believes, that a unitary concept of magic crystallized. Although some Homeric episodes may in retrospect appear 'magical', and were taken up in later tradition as such, they are excluded from consideration in their own context on the ground that 'magic' is not a category that informs the thinking of the epics (pp. 6, 23). Now, for Dickie the crystallization of the 'magic' concept in the fifth century is to be demonstrated by means of the syndrome or concentration of characteristics attributed to *magoi*, *goêtes*, *pharmakeis*, *pharmakides*, and *epôdoi* in the course of it, characteristics he holds to be uncontroversially 'magical' in the subsequent period. The syndrome approach is one with which I wholeheartedly agree, but it can be used to demonstrate equally well, if not actually rather better, that the 'magic' concept was indeed already thriving in the age of the *Odyssey*. I here (Table 1) tabulate the characteristics Dickie (p. 33) lists as attributed to *magoi* etc. in the fifth century B.C. over against the attribution of these same characteristics to the *Odyssey*'s Circe, whom Dickie explicitly forbids us to consider a sorceress (p. 23). At the foot of Table 1 I append some further characteristics which, I venture to suggest, might also be considered typical of 'magic' in the subsequent period, and which are attributed to Circe in the *Odyssey* but not, as it happens, to fifth-century *magoi*.

Similarly, Dickie insists (p. 24) that the healing amulet attached to Odysseus' leg (19.455–7) should not be seen, in its own age, as part of 'magic' but as part of 'medicine': *obscurum per obscurius*. What reason have we to think that the concept of 'medicine', as it came to be known, existed at this time? Why not rather construct a syndrome from this healing amulet and the erotic-attraction amulet of Aphrodite's girdle, her *kestos himas* (*Iliad* 14.197–22), and call it 'magic'?

Dickie takes a reifying approach towards much of the evidence for magical practitioners, and tries hard to find in it reports and descriptions of genuine phenomena as opposed to what might be termed 'constructions'. Thus, for example, the Median origin of *magoi* is taken seriously (pp. 14, 41–2). And Antiphon's case *Against a Stepmother for Poisoning* is treated as straight social history (pp. 88–9), for all its allusion to the Deianeira myth and its ostentatiously stagy reference to 'Clytemnestra'. The approach also has a tendency to underrate the often discursive or accusatory use of magician-terms, as well as the impact of the literary tradition upon the representation of practitioners, but Dickie is not completely blind to such considerations (pp. 15–16, 176).

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TABLE 1. 'Magic' characteristics

	Fifth-century *magoi*	Circe in the *Odyssey*
In Dickie's list	Control of sun, moon and weather (*magoi*, Hippocrates *On the Sacred Disease* 1.29–31; *pharmakides*, Aristophanes *Clouds* 749–57)	Circe sends favourable wind (11.6–8)
	Prolongation of life, bestowal of immortality (*magoi*, Euripides *Suppliants* 1110–11)	Under Circe's instructions, Odysseus has acquired a double life (12.22); cf. Circe's 'doublet' Calypso, who offers to make Odysseus immortal (5.135–6)
	Incantations and purifications (*magoi*, Hippocrates *On the Sacred Disease* 1.10–12; Euripides *IT* 1337–8)	Circe's spell (10.320), and the necromantic prayer she instructs Odysseus to utter (10.526)
	Initiation (*goêtes*, *epôdoi*, Euripides *Bacchae* 233–8, 258–62)	Circe sends Odysseus into the underworld, the characteristic conceit of mystery-initiation
	Making men disappear (*magoi*, Euripides *Orestes* 1494–8)	Circe travels invisibly (10.571–4)
Further to those in Dickie's list	Animal transformations	Circe transforms Odysseus' companions into pigs (10.239–40)
	Necromancy	Circe tells Odysseus how to consult ghosts (10.514–40)
	Erotic-attraction magic	Odysseus must protect himself against Circe's feminizing erotic-attraction magic (10.299–301, 342–5; cf. my remarks at *CR* 50 [2000] 477)

Given Dickie's particular interest in issue of specialization, the ever-expanding corpora of curse-tablets are perhaps underexploited for the refinements they can bring to such enquiries (e.g. p. 243). Recent scholarship on these asks whether they were typically manufactured from start to finish by the same individual 'magician'. Or, rather, did one specialist provide the text of the spell (a lore-monger?), another the lead lamella to inscribe (a smith?), another the work of inscribing (a scribe?), and another again the act of deposition?

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The forty pages of endnotes reproduce important quotations in Latin, but not in Greek. The lack of 'notes to pages . . .' headers constitutes an obstacle to their use. Terms transliterated from Greek are denied macrons. The somewhat sparing bibliography, covering just ten pages, modestly excludes the author's own numerous and important articles in the field. Latinization is inconsistent between and even within proper names (p. 69 Pisthetairos; p. 70 Peisistratus).

I did not notice many slips. Lucian would have been dismayed to find his Sorcerer's Apprentice tale stripped from the mendacious Eucrates to be foisted upon his crusading hero Tychiades, and to find the water-carrying pestle magically transformed into a 'door-upright' (p. 215; *Philopseudes* 34–6); but he would have rejoiced to see the hated Alexander repeatedly consigned to the unheard-of Abunoteichos (e.g. p. 209).

All ancient-magic specialists and serious classical libraries will want to own the substantial and mostly scholarly collection of articles comprising *La Magie*, which, at *c*. £55 or $80, is good value by today's standards. Francophone scholars dominate the contributions (which are all published in French), and the volumes can be taken to display the full panorama of contemporary French scholarship in the field.

The categories into which articles have been distributed are as follows: outside the Graeco-Roman world (9); the classical and Hellenistic Greek worlds (3); Greek late-antiquity, which begins with Plutarch (!) (10); Greek myth (10); the Latin world (7); the Middle Ages (2); and the contemporary world (2). For all their range, from ancient Mesopotamia (the distinguished Bottéro) through to the medieval world (Dubost, Boudet) and even film studies (Scheinfeigel), all the volumes are grounded in classical antiquity. Although the first category ostensibly strays the farthest, its 'Egyptian' article (Aufrère) treats of the *Alexander Romance*, its articles on the *Etrusca disciplina* (Capdeville, Briquel) treat of Seneca, Lucan etc., its article on the Celts (Sergent) treats of a Roman-context curse tablet (cf. below), and its article on, I suppose, Samaria (Bremmer) treats of Simon Magus in the apocryphal *Acts of Peter*.

Strenuous attempts have been made to give the collection the appearance of greater cohesion than one normally expects from the publication of proceedings. The first volume opens with a lightly referenced 'sorcerer's apprenticeship' by Moreau himself, introducing the main terms and issues of ancient magic to, I would imagine, an undergraduate readership. Graf's keynote speech follows and serves as a more formal general introduction. The third volume closes with 120 pages of paraphernalia: a fairly serious general index; abstracts of the articles in both French and (sometimes bad) English; and Paul Wathelet's 'synthesis' of all the contributions, which works the articles into structure rather different to that implied by their layout in the main body of the book. A caveat here: the abstracts can correlate poorly with their respective articles and sometimes they do not even share the same title (no doubt they reflect the papers as initially offered).

The final volume is wholly devoted to bibliography, and boasts some 3,200 titles in a unified alphabetical series. It sets out in the first instance to provide a general bibliography for ancient magic, but takes a very wide view of what might be considered relevant. It includes such things as general items on authors who happen to mention magic, more extraneous items to which attention has been called in the preceding articles, and a great deal of medieval and modern-historical material, a coverage disproportionate to the space given to these subjects in the articles. Hence, one can often read through an entire page of it without encountering one item of obvious relevance to ancient magic as such. A small, and somewhat curious, concession has been made towards articulating this bibliography: interleaved amongst the authors' names are lemmata for amulets, voodoo dolls, intaglios, incantations, papyri, curse

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tablets, and filmography (list at p. 7), each followed by a short, naked list of names of authors whose *oeuvre* includes material of relevance. A more serious attitude towards articulation could have increased the usefulness of this volume dramatically.

The weight of the articles lies on the literary side. By contrast, the documentary side does seem underrepresented, at any rate for the Graeco-Roman material. Only one article apiece focuses on the papyri (Johnston), curse tablets (Sergent, again), and intaglios (Lancellotti). Voodoo dolls all but pass without mention, despite their bibliographical inclusion. Admittedly, Sergent's article, on the god Maponos in the remarkable Gaulish curse tablet from Chamalières, is one of the most fascinating, calling upon water-ordeals and the Welsh *Mabinogi* for elucidation. And Lancellotti's article brings the exciting news of a major Italian project to produce a comprehensive corpus of the intaglios.

Amongst the sections perhaps the most internally coherent is that on myth. This includes articles on the relatives Circe (Wathelet, in part, and Karsai), Medea (no less than five articles, by Moreau, Buxton, Baldini Moscadi, Gaggadis Robin, and MacDonald—and cf. Segal's article on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the Latin-world section—all to be added to those collected by J. J. Clauss and S. I. Johnston in *Medea* [Princeton, 1997]), and the Diodoran Hecate (Sauzeau, an interesting piece).

A notable feature of the collection is the battle joined between the authors of the two most recent general studies of ancient magic to have appeared in French, André Bernand and Fritz Graf. Graf's introduction on the writing of the history of Graeco-Roman magic strangely excludes mention of Bernand's commendable *Sorciers grecs* (Paris, 1991). Bernand's piece, 'The Voice of the Excluded', is discreetly postponed to the second volume. Here he writes with a clear sense of outrage, but also with engaging humour, about what he considers to be Graf's dismissive references to and misrepresentations of *Sorciers grecs* in *La magie dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1994; translated as *Magic in the Ancient World* [Cambridge, MA, 1997]). Bernand also takes the opportunity to return to one of his own book's important themes, that of the relationship between magic, 'envy' (not, he would say, the ideal translation of *phthonos*), and the evil eye (*baskania*), and he now augments his discussion with reference to anthropological work on the peasant notion of 'the limited good'.

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EDESSA

S. K. Ross: *Roman Edessa. Politics and Culture on the Eastern Fringes of the Roman Empire, 114–242 CE*. Pp. xiii + 204, figs. London and New York: Routledge, 2000. Case, £45. ISBN: 0-415-18787-7.

Edessa, lying in the complicated political intersection of Osrhoene between Syria, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia, has a long history. Ross concentrates on the period A.D. 114–242, when an independent Edessan monarchy was attempting to balance a tenuous existence between Rome and the Parthian and Persian states. Since J. B. Segal's *Edessa* (Oxford, 1970), much has been written on the Near East, particularly by Millar and by Sartre (of whose work R. seems unaware). This, together with the discovery of two new Syriac documents from the Euphrates in the 1980s, makes the city's history worth re-examination.

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