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The Magical Narcissus:
A Study of the Water-gazing Motif in the Narcissus Myth

Master of Arts Thesis
© By Max Nelson

University of Ottawa, 1997



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A Pompeian painting of Narcissus. Photograph by the author.

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I dedicate this labour of love to the memory of a saint and a scholar, my mother, Dr. Louise Vanh  e-Nelson (1934-1986) (on her life and works, see Joan Magee, *The Belgians in Ontario: A History*, Toronto and Reading: Dundurn Press, 1987, pp. 141-143.)

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ABBREVIATIONS:

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Ed. Theodor Mommsen. Berlin: 1863- .

EG = *Epigrammata Graeca*. Ed. G. Kaibel. Berlin: 1878.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*. 1873- .

ILS = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Ed. Hermann Dessau. Berlin: 1892-1916.

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zurich and Munich: 1992- .

LL = London and Leiden papyrus (as cited in Griffith and Thompson [1921]); all references are to the recto unless otherwise noted.

*LSJ*⁹ = Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Ninth edition. Oxford: 1940.

*OCD*³ = Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition. Oxford and New York: 1996.

PDM = *Papyri Demoticae Magicae* (as cited in Betz [1986]).

PGM = *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (as cited in Preisendanz and Henrichs [1973-1974] as well as Betz [1986]).

PIR = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*. *Saec. I. II. III.* Ed. Hermann Dessau. Berlin: 1897.

RE = A. F. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll et al., eds. *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: 1894- .

ABSTRACT OF
MAX NELSON'S MASTER OF ARTS THESIS:

The Magical Narcissus:
A Study of the Water-gazing Motif in the Narcissus Myth

The originating context of myths (as interpretations of events, phenomena, or customs through narrative) can be discovered through a "structuralist" approach in which the combination and function of traditional story elements or "motifs" are carefully examined and compared. By analyzing the motifs of the Narcissus myth in such a manner, the original context of the telling of the myth is to be ascertained.

All of the evidence for the Narcissus myth, which is fairly vast, is very late (none certainly earlier than the late first century B.C.), probably then fixing the origins of the myth to a date not much more remote. Though the original version of the myth is not apparently extant, it can be reconstructed from the use to which motifs are put in the three most important sources: Conon, Ovid, and Pausanias. Among the many motifs to be found in versions of the myth, a few have been recognized by scholars as most essential in terms of discovering the originating context of the myth. Usually self-love has been considered the most basic story element, but clearly Narcissus is made to fall in love with an object which will never satisfy him completely as a punishment for scorning those who have loved him; that this object is himself is really secondary. This punishment for scorning the lovers is made superfluously dual in the earliest extant account (that of Conon, which survives only in summary form), for Narcissus is made both to fall in love with his own image as well as kill himself (which is the more usual mythical punishment in such cases). Conon seems then to have superimposed not only the common suicide motif, but also the whole amatory aspect of the story (in an innovative etiology of the cult of Thespian Eros), to a more basic story of a water-gazing youth connected with a flower. Furthermore, the motif of metamorphosis in the myth probably only reflects customary hopes that the deceased's beauty live on.

Scholars have interpreted the function of the original water-gazing Narcissus as arising from the superstition that one could lose one's soul in turbulent waters or that one could give oneself the

evil-eye, but it makes most sense in terms of revelation. In fact fifteen separate details from Ovid's version (six of which are also in the summary of Conon's account) parallel precisely a magical form of revelation through water (hydromancy) in which a young, beautiful, virginal, fasting boy stares motionless, in a prone position, at his own reflection in calm, clear, resplendent springwater at a pure location protected from the sun, while narcotic flowers are burned, in order to bring on visions of a deceased individual. Pausanias recounts a version of the myth (which he likely heard first hand in his travels) in which Narcissus goes to a spring precisely to invoke the image of his deceased sister by looking at his own reflection, thus confirming a probable original divining Narcissus. Also, in a Byzantine magical codex Narcissus is invoked in what is said to be a lecanomantic rite (water divination with the use of a bowl). The originating context of the myth could then have been the importation of the rite of hydromancy from Egypt to Greece and Rome around 100 B.C. (perhaps by Bolus of Mendes or through the cult of Isis and Osiris), at which time the divinatory prescriptions were explained not rationally as means of hypnotizing a boy-medium, but as narrative elements in a mythological story.



CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION:

THE NARCISSUS MYTH, ITS DATE, AND ITS MOTIFS

As can be seen from the title of this thesis, I intend to study a particular motif, that of water-gazing, in a single myth, that of Narcissus.¹ I shall proceed by first explaining what I mean by "myth" and by "motif", and outline my basic methodological approach, which consists in analysing the function of motifs in a given myth to determine its original context. I shall then go on to a survey of the Narcissus myth and its motifs, concentrating at first on previous scholarly work on motif studies in the myth, and culminating in my own hypothesis that the water-gazing motif in the myth represents an original divining Narcissus. After presenting a number of parallels between Narcissus' water-gazing and water divination rites, I conjecture concerning the original, magical context of the Narcissus myth. I conclude that most likely the Narcissus myth was originally created around the first century B.C. when prescriptions for water divination were explained or rationalized by introducing them as narrative elements in a mythological story.

MYTHS AND MOTIFS

Recently, Burkert has presented a carefully wrought definition of myth as "a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance".² or, as Graf has put it, following Burkert, myth is a traditional tale with a certain cultural relevance to a particular community.³ Bremmer has shown, though, that some myths are not traditional tales but original contemporary creations and also that some are only important within small literary circles and not society as a whole, but he has still defined myths, following Burkert, as "traditional tales relevant

¹ All translations from the Greek and Latin in this thesis are my own, but translations from Egyptian Demotic and Armenian are taken from others, as cited in the text. The abbreviations of ancient authors and works used are listed in the primary sources bibliography while the citations for modern authors (by last name and date of publication) refer to the secondary sources bibliography.

² Burkert (1979), p. 23, influenced by Kirk (1974), p. 38, who says that myths are "traditional tales".

³ Graf (1994), pp. 1-8.

to society".⁴ By basically accepting the definition of myth which he himself criticizes strongly weakens the impact of Bremmer's own cogent arguments. I would rather accept his points and use "myth" to signify a particular system of interpreting and sometimes explaining such things as present and past events, natural phenomena, societal customs, and religious rites, through narrative.⁵ This narrative is created out of particular combinations (varying with different versions) of traditional story elements, that is "motifs" in terms of Thompson's definition.⁶ Sometimes a few motifs can be found repeated in a particular sequence in a number of different narratives, forming familiar story patterns, and for these I would borrow the word "motifeme", used by Dundes for Propp's system.⁷

Kirk, whose work was a starting point for Burkert, has argued that no single interpretative system can rightly claim to have universal validity and be applied to all myths.⁸ This is because, as Graf has put it, reductionist approaches that try to fit myths into preconceived interpretative systems, end up explaining away, rather arbitrarily, essential features of myths in the process.⁹ As a reaction to such approaches, Doty has suggested a "structuralist" methodology which examines the structure of the essential components of myths or rituals (that is the motifs and motifemes) and how these can be "related to their originating contexts".¹⁰ His approach then is in some ways opposed to that of Lévi-Straussian "structuralism", since while the latter assumes that all motifs (called in this system "mythemes") found in all versions (ancient and modern) of a single myth have an equal claim to

⁴ Bremmer (1987), pp. 1-9.

⁵ I realize that this simplistic, provisional definition does nothing to elucidate, for instance, the difficult question of the difference between myth and fable or saga, but it is sufficient for my present purposes.

⁶ Thompson (1955), vol. 1, pp. 10-11.

⁷ Cf. Propp (1928). On Dundes' use of the word "motifeme", see the discussion in Burkert (1979), pp. 5-6, and Morford and Lenardon (1991), pp. 16-17. The word "morpheme" could also be used, as noted by Graf (1994), p. 49.

⁸ Kirk (1974), p. 38 ("there can be no single and comprehensive theory of myths").

⁹ Graf (1994), pp. 30-31.

¹⁰ Doty (1986), p. 193 and n. 1 (as pointed out by Doty, this is an approach found in a great many different systems of interpreting myths).

importance in the myth simply by virtue of their presence."¹¹ Dory's "structuralism" recognizes that myths have original contexts, which are deducible from the function to which the most fundamental motifs of the myth are put. Such original and basic motifs of a myth are not always easily detectable, since these are prone to change or may be added to in later versions as the result of authorial creativity or even perhaps misinterpretation. As Forbes Irving points out, myths are not "timeless entities" but they "undergo a development, and in the case of any one version of a myth there will always be questions to ask about the particular context of its telling."¹² Such interpretative additions seem to abound in the later versions of the Narcissus myth.¹³ My main goal is to distinguish the most valuable and essential constituent structural elements of the myth and to discover their function (sometimes by comparing their use in other myths) to try to ascertain the use to which they were put in the original telling of the Narcissus myth.

SOURCES FOR THE NARCISSUS MYTH

Since I am attempting to come to a deeper understanding of the Narcissus myth's "originating context" (in Dory's words) through its motifs, it is important to briefly examine not only the nature of the literary evidence for the Narcissus myth, but also that of the epigraphical, iconographical, numismatic, and onomastic evidence, to determine which motifs were to be found in the earliest sources of the myth, and which are later, creative additions that can do nothing to help elucidate the original Narcissus.

THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

The earliest extant literary accounts of the Narcissus myth date to the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. The Christian patriarch of Constantinople Photius (ninth century A.D.) has left us a brief summary of the first extant version of the Narcissus myth, written in Greek by the

¹¹ A structuralist investigation of the Narcissus myth has recently been undertaken by Massenzio (1992), pp. 7-19.

¹² Forbes Irving (1992), p. 4.

¹³ As noted by Hadot (1976), p. 81.

mythographer Conon.¹⁴ Photius explains that Conon dedicated his collection of myths to Archelaus Philopator, the last king of Cappadocia, who was installed by Mark Antony in 36 B.C. and who died in Rome in A.D. 17, at which time his kingdom became a Roman procuratorial province;¹⁵ this then places Conon's work very late, between 36 B.C. and A.D. 17. In his version of the Narcissus myth Narcissus is a beautiful youth from Thespieae in Boeotia who angers Eros by refusing to give in to those who love him; one of his suitors, named Ameinias, kills himself after calling Eros to become his avenger; as a punishment Narcissus is made by Eros to fall in love with his own image at a spring where he eventually kills himself, prompting the Thespians to worship Eros from then on; from Narcissus' blood the narcissus flower was said to grow. Photius' summary of Conon's version does not explain precisely why Narcissus' punishment was to love his own image or why exactly he kills himself, and thus is certainly a quite abbreviated account of Conon's version.

Some scholars have assumed that Conon was copying a now lost Alexandrian mythographical handbook,¹⁶ even though the myth's absence from the second century A.D. Pseudo-Apollodorus, who used such handbooks, is quite conspicuous. Zimmerman has at least conceded that this is "debatable",¹⁷ but has nevertheless, along with Schachter, attempted to find other possible candidates for Conon's source, leading into quite unprovable speculation.¹⁸ Though arguments ex

¹⁴ Con., *Narr.* 24 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 134b28-135a3. On this version, see Vinge (1967), pp. 19-21.

¹⁵ Phot., *Bibl.* 130b25-28; for Archelaus' dating, see Hornblower (1996), p. 144. The only other possible testimony on Conon is in the first and second centuries A.D. Dio Chrysostomus (*Or.* 18.12) who refers to an orator named Conon as having lived shortly before his own time.

¹⁶ For example Greve (1897-1902), col. 11, ll. 64-66, and Eitrem (1935), col. 1724, ll. 9-11, both of whom follow Höfer (1890), p. 92.

¹⁷ Zimmerman (1994), p. 3.

¹⁸ Zimmerman suggests that Conon may have used Ephorus or Hegesippus ([1994], p. 3, n. 4); he later suggests (pp. 19-21) that Corinna of Tanagra first popularized the Narcissus myth, but without substantial proof, and only in an attempt to show that Theocritus could have known it and used it in his treatment of Daphnis. He tries to demonstrate this mainly from a dubious translation of *Id.* 1.92-93 as meaning self-love (p. 54) and a reference to the narcissus plant growing on the juniper in the context of impossible things at *Id.* 1.133, which he takes to show that Theocritus probably knew the myth (pp. 64 and 72); he at least is right in showing that the third or fourth century A.D. sophist Callistratus (*Stat. Descr.* 5) probably misidentified a statue of Daphnis or Olympus as Narcissus (pp. 93-94). It is enough to say that Zimmerman's thesis is unconvincing, based as it is on a number of very tenuous links. Schachter ([1990], pp. 103 and 105) suggests that Conon and Ovid's source for the myth was perhaps Phanocles or else simply "an early cataloguist".

silentio are usually unconvincing, it is rather surprising that even if often spoken of in personifying terms¹⁹ the plant was not, early on, linked to a youth. Furthermore, in the place in the underworld reserved for the victims of unrequited love, Narcissus cannot be found in Vergil.²⁰ I shall argue that all these facts, along with others to be discussed, point to the creation of the Narcissus myth not long before Conon wrote his version.

Ovid provides us with the second earliest version of the myth, and the longest extant ancient one.²¹ In his account Narcissus is again a proud and beautiful Boeotian youth who is unwilling to submit to any of his lovers: among them is Echo, who can only repeat what is said to her, and who, through grief at being rejected by him, finally becomes bodiless. Another youth scorned by Narcissus curses him to love and not be able to have that which he loves; Nemesis thus makes him fall in love with his own image at a pool where he has gone to fetch water during a hunt. Though at first Narcissus thinks his reflection is another he finally realizes that it is only himself and bewails his own fate: he ends up languishing and dying, and from the place where he died the narcissus flower grows. Even in the underworld Narcissus' curse continues since he admires his reflection in the Stygian waters.

It has not, to my knowledge, been observed that Ovid fails to mention Narcissus the youth when speaking of the flower as an ingredient of a beauty cream in an early work²² but only seems to know the myth after A.D. 2. Scholars have generally thought that Ovid took the story from Conon²³ or, at the very least, that the numerous parallels between the two prove a common source.²⁴ There

¹⁹ Cf. Cratin., *Malth.* ap. Poll., *Onom.* 6.106 and ap. Athen., *Deipn.* 15.685c; Theophr., *Hist. Pl.* 6.6.10; Theocrit., *Id.* 1.133; Verg., *Georg.* 4.122-123, and 160.

²⁰ Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6.440-476.

²¹ Ov., *Met.* 3.339-510. A good line by line commentary is provided by Bömer (1969), pp. 536-570; see also the discussion by Schickel (1962), pp. 486-496. Narcissus is also briefly mentioned at Ov., *Fast.* 5.225-226.

²² Ov., *Med. Fem.* 51-68.

²³ Viarre (1959), p. 146, n. 9; Vinge (1967), p. 21 ("at least conceivable"); and Knoespel (1985), p. 3.

²⁴ Manuwald (1975), pp. 352-372.

is actually no firm evidence concerning who Ovid used as a source for the myth, nor even if he knew Conon (which may seem unlikely because of the latter's connection with far-off Cappadocia), who may even have written slightly later than Ovid. Yet, I shall argue further down that the amatory aspect of the myth was Conon's own addition, and thus that Ovid must have known Conon's version to have included such an aspect in his own version. This is not to say that Ovid was not possibly aware of an older, pre-Cononic version of the Narcissus myth. That such a version existed (and thus that the Narcissus myth was not invented by Conon in its entirety) is supported by the fact that the second century A.D. periegetic writer Pausanias recounts two versions of the Narcissus myth, one of which parallels the accounts of Conon and Ovid and "another account" (ἕτερος ... λόγος), in which Narcissus goes to the spring to recall through his own image his sexually beloved deceased twin sister.²⁵ Scholars have tended to agree that this second account was probably a rationalization invented by Pausanias since he could believe no one naïve enough not to recognize his own reflection, and to him Narcissus was not a mythical but rather a historical character.²⁶ If this is so this version would be of no use in attempting to reconstruct an original version of the myth. But Pausanias does not patently present this alternate version, as he does elsewhere, as his own speculation about the origin of the myth²⁷ (though he does say that he himself believes that the youth Narcissus was named after the plant and not vice versa²⁸), but makes it clear that it is a circulating version, though a less

²⁵ Paus., 9.31.7 and 9.31.8.

²⁶ Hadot (1976), pp. 92 and 95; Knoespel (1985), p. 3; Grimal (1986), p. 302; and Forbes Irving (1992), p. 282. Manuwald ([1975], p. 351) calls it more a polemic of Pausanias', while Zanker ([1966], p. 153) believed that the whole myth changed with Pausanias' interpretation.

²⁷ When Pausanias gives his own opinion on a mythological matter he makes it quite clear. For example, he thinks that men cannot be transformed into birds (1.30.3 [γενέσθαι δέ μοι]), that the hydra was a snake with only one head (2.37.4 [ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν]), and that no divine force made Acteon's hound turn against him (9.2.4 [ἐγὼ ... πείθομαι]). Veyne ([1988], p. 150, n. 181) gives other examples of Pausanias' speaking in his own name (cf. 8.2.4, 8.3.1, 8.39.2, and 9.20.4) and though he speaks in depth concerning Pausanias' euhemerism and rationalizations (cf. pp. 11-15 and 71-78) Veyne does not claim that Pausanias' second version of the Narcissus myth is a fabricated rationalization but simply shows that Pausanias could not believe in the historicity of his first version since Narcissus' supposed naïveté defied reality (pp. 97-98); Vinge ([1967], p. 22) gives a similar interpretation.

²⁸ Paus., 9.31.9 (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν).

popular one (ἥσσοι ... γνώριμος) than the usual.²⁸ Pausanias also did not believe that the Narcissus story was very old, claiming that the poet Pamphos (to be dated to sometime after the fourth century B.C.) was born many years before Narcissus the Thespian.²⁹

While Eitrem³¹ saw Conon's version as closest to the original myth, Frazer³² thought that Ovid was closer. But scholars have too often dismissed Pausanias' important alternate version. It is quite probable that the myth of Narcissus was reported to Pausanias directly when he went to visit Thespieae, that he knew no Latin and therefore had no knowledge of Ovid, and that he may not even have known Conon for that matter. Furthermore, Ovid himself may have known not only Conon's version, but a more primitive Thespian version akin to Pausanias' alternate version: as Schachter has shown, not only did Ovid have many links to Thespieae, but he may well have gone there himself and found mythological sources on the spot.³³ In Chapter IV, I will examine more closely the possibility that Pausanias and Ovid can best point out to us the original context of the Narcissus myth.

Most of the other authors who refer to the Narcissus myth seem derivative and are of little use in attempting to reconstruct an original Narcissus. Thus, for example, Statius and Hyginus seem to have used Ovid directly and no other source, while Lucian and Clement of Alexandria add nothing original, and may have been indebted to Conon or else some other Greek author. From the third century A.D. onward the Narcissus myth was often recounted and was considerably distorted in such authors as Plotinus, Pentadius, Servius, Ausonius, Claudian, and Nonnus. Buckley³⁴

²⁸ Zimmerman ([1994], p. 11) has been one of the few scholars to recognize this, noting: "It would be valuable to know what Pausanias' source was for this story. No literary or artistic representation corresponds to it. Most plausible is the view that it was simply one of the many genuine variations of the myth current in the folk-memory of Boeotia."

²⁹ Paus., 9.31.9.

³¹ Eitrem (1935), col. 1723, l. 58 to col. 1724, l. 17.

³² Frazer (1898), vol. 5, p. 159.

³³ Schachter (1990), pp. 106-108.

³⁴ Buckley (1882), pp. 265-282.

compiled the texts (without translation) of all versions of the Narcissus myth known to him (some fifty or so); though his compilation is impressive it still is not comprehensive.³⁵ I have no intention of making a full study of the literary sources, though there is certainly still work to be done in this area, but only note that though the Narcissus myth was often recounted and referred to, all surviving examples are relatively late, and that the most important versions remain those of Conon, Ovid, and Pausanias.

THE EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

There exists an inscription found in Thespieae, the home of Narcissus in our earliest sources,³⁶ datable to the reign of Hadrian, that begins,³⁷

ὦ παῖ τοξότα Κύπριδος λιγείης
 Θεσπιαῖς Ἑλικωνίασι ναίων
 Ναρκισσοῦ παρὰ κήπον ἀνθέοντα,
 ἰλήκοις ...

Boy archer [Eros], son of the sweet Cypriot [Aphrodite],
 you who dwell in Heliconian Thespieae,
 by the blooming garden of Narcissus,
 may you be propitious. ...

This surely points to the close association of Narcissus and Thespieae, which could simply well be due to the connection of the two already in Conon's account (in which Narcissus is also linked with

³⁵ I add Ov., *Fast.* 5.225-226; Hyg., *Fab.* 214 (title only); Prob., *Comm. ad Verg. Ecl.* 2.48; Philargyr., *Comm. ad Verg. Ecl.* 2.48; Serv., *Comm. ad Verg. Ecl.* 2.47; Ps.-Orph. ap. Marsil. Ficini., *Comm. ad Plat. Symp.* 6.17; Petr. Cant., *Verh. Abhrev.* (no number); the proverb in Leutsch and Schneidewin (1965), vol. 1, p. 371, and vol. 2, pp. 85, 204, and 619; and possibly Hier. and Philagr., *Philogel.* 11 and 33. Also *Schol. in Luc. Dial. Mort.* 5 (Ἵάκινθος τέ ἐστὶν καὶ Νάρκισσος ἐρώμενοι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος), which proves that Hadot ([1976], p. 85) is wrong in saying that, for the Narcissus myth as a whole: "On ne nous dit pas qu'il ait été aimé par une divinité."

³⁶ Con., *Narr.* 24 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 134b28 and 40, and Paus., 9.31.8 (at Donacon near Thespieae); Ovid (*Met.* 3.339) only gives the location as Aonia, that is the Aonian plain, which is used poetically to mean all of Boeotia (but he may well have known that it should be placed in Thespieae [cf. Schachter (1990), pp. 103-109]). Thespieae remained Narcissus' native locale in Stat., *Theb.* 7.340-342, and Eust., *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.498. On the location of the myth in different versions, see Eitrem (1935), col. 1721, l. 63 to col. 1723, l. 16.

³⁷ *IG*, vol. 7, p. 329, no. 1828, ll. 1-4. I follow Zimmerman ([1994], p. 18) here in making narcissus a proper noun.

Eros). There is also an epitaph that implies the Narcissus myth and that I will discuss at the end of this chapter.

THE ICONOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

There is a reasonably large amount of iconographical evidence for the Narcissus myth, including wall paintings, mosaics, reliefs, sarcophagi, gems, and statues.³⁸ But all of these sources seem only to exist for the first century A.D. and beyond. Some scholars have tried, to my mind unsuccessfully, to find older examples. Rafn surmises that Roman statues of the standing Narcissus ultimately derive from an early Hellenistic original;³⁹ even if true this original need not have been our Narcissus, but another languid youth, as Zimmerman rightly shows.⁴⁰ Rafn's other possibility for a pre-first century A.D. Narcissus is a terracotta statuette from the third century B.C., now inconveniently lost, of a boy with Eros on his shoulder standing in a pose reminiscent of Roman depictions of Narcissus (arms crossed over his head and removing his mantle);⁴¹ but this proves little in light of the paucity of other evidence. Rafn neglects, however, two classical vases cited in earlier works as involving Narcissus, though truly neither can be seriously construed as such evidence.⁴² In Chapter III I will examine in more detail the way Narcissus was represented iconographically.

³⁸ Bazant and Simon (1986), pt. 1, pp. 681-683 and pt. 2, p. 534, and Rafn (1992), pt. 1, pp. 703-711 and pt. 2, pp. 414-420. See also the discussion of some works of art in Weiseler (1856), pp. 9-74; Greve (1897-1902), col. 16, l. 31 to col. 21, l. 10; Eitrem (1935), col. 1729, l. 65 to col. 1733, l. 2; Zanker (1966), pp. 155-170; and Zimmerman (1994), pp. 13-18.

³⁹ Rafn (1992), pt. 1, p. 710, col. 2. Zanker ([1966], p. 168) assumes that in late Hellenistic times the Narcissus pose began in statuary, showing that it is paralleled in earlier works (pp. 166-168).

⁴⁰ Zimmerman (1994), p. 15, citing Levi (1947), p. 62; he nevertheless still believes (p. 17) that the Narcissus myth can be placed in the early Hellenistic period according to this evidence.

⁴¹ Rafn (1992), pt. 1, p. 707, col. 1 and p. 711, col. 1. Zimmerman ([1994], pp. 17-18 and 20) also sees this statuette as the "earliest, actually datable representation of the Narcissus myth" and believes that it could have been used in a shrine. A photograph of it can be found in Greve (1897-1902), col. 17, fig. 1.

⁴² Creuzer (1805), p. lxvi (cited in Buckley [1882], p. 278), on a vase supposedly showing Narcissus and Persephone; and Fraser (1939), p. 373, on a kneeling youth on a vase as representing Narcissus. Beazley ([1963], vol. 3, p. 1728) cites no red-figure vases depicting Narcissus, and both Greve ([1897-1902], col. 21, ll. 4-5) and Zimmerman ([1994], p. 17) note this absence.

THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Buckley claimed that Narcissus was used as a device on Thespian coins without citing any sources.⁴³ In fact it would seem that in Hellenistic times only Eros and Aphrodite (Melainis) and to a lesser extent Athena and Artemis were portrayed on coins, while the only surviving Thespian coin types from Imperial times date from Domitian's reign and portray either Apollo Kitharoedos or a female figure (probably Tyche).⁴⁴ I have found no evidence for the depiction of Narcissus on any ancient coins.

THE ONOMASTIC EVIDENCE

The first extant reference to the use of the personal name Narcissus also dates to the first century B.C.: in Strabo⁴⁵ a certain Narcissus the Eretrian is said to be nicknamed the "Silent One" in Oropus.⁴⁶ There are quite a few instances of the name in the first century A.D. (for example in

⁴³ Buckley (1882), p. 278.

⁴⁴ Head (1991 [1844-1914]), pp. 354-355, and (1974 [1881]).

⁴⁵ Str., 9.2.10; cf. Alciphro., *Epist.* 3.22, and Eust., *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 24.465 (who probably took the story from Strabo [cf. Zimmerman (1994), p. 12, n. 15]). Hadot ([1976], p. 87) seems to assume (as do also Schachter [1972], p. 23, and Zimmerman [1994], pp. 12-13) that this is the Narcissus of myth especially since Probus (*Comm. ad Verg. Ecl.* 2.48) says that Narcissus was from Eretria; but no mythological motifs are apparent in this version and it is possible that Probus knew of the person cited by Strabo and himself confused him with the mythological character.

* Wieseler ([1856], p. 80) thought because of the aspects of sleep and death associated with the flower, as did Knoespe (1985), p. 3) as well; Farnell ([1970 (1921)], p. 352) connected it with the superstition that the ghost would harm a passerby if evoked by speech; Hadot ([1976], p. 87, n. 8) said because he terrifies people into silence (thinking of the flower's connection with the Erinyes); and Zimmerman ([1994], p. 13) tried to connect this with the myth, thinking of the silence of Narcissus in ignoring his suitors or contemplating his reflection.

Pompeii,⁴⁷ Cos,⁴⁸ and Athens,⁴⁹ and three imperial freedmen who went by that name⁵⁰), some of these at least ostensibly inspired by Ovid's story. Beginning in the second century, for some reason, there are a number of instances of Christians with this name,⁵¹ and Lucian shows that beautiful and long-haired servants were sometimes called Narcissus.⁵²

* * *

It is a rather interesting, if not puzzling, fact that all of the evidence for the Narcissus myth is very late;⁵³ none is certainly before the first century B.C., which places it among a restricted number of ancient myths.⁵⁴ Though it cannot be disproven that some now lost Alexandrian mythographical work or some Hellenistic poet mentioned Narcissus, it is a compelling hypothesis that the myth did indeed originate in the first century B.C., especially when one considers the rapid spread of the name Narcissus from the first century A.D. onwards in Roman and Greek locales, a

⁴⁷ For example, *CIL* 4.3527 = *ILS* 6408a.

⁴⁸ Paton and Hicks (1891), p. 289, cited in Fraser and Matthews (1987), vol. 1, p. 323 (s.v. Νάρκισσος 2).

⁴⁹ Of a father and son from the late first or early second century: *IG*, p. 112, no. 2481, l. 21 (cited in Fraser and Matthews [1987], vol. 2, p. 325 [s.v. Νάρκισσος 1 and 2]).

⁵⁰ The freedman of Claudius (*PIR*, vol. 2, pp. 397-398 [s.v. N18]; cf. Millar [1967], p. 15, and Melmoux [1975], pp. 61-69), the freedman of Nero (only found in Dio Cass., *Epitom.* 64.3.41; cf. *PIR*, vol. 2, p. 398 [s.v. N19]), and the freedman of Commodus (*PIR*, vol. 2, p. 398 [s.v. N20]; although the literary sources speak of this Narcissus as an athlete and as the murderer of Commodus, Whitaker [(1969), vol. 1, p. 121, n. 2] has shown that he was "probably one of the palace freedmen").

⁵¹ For example, the bishop of Jerusalem in the second century A.D. (Smith and Wace [1967 (1875)], vol. 4, p. 3, coll. 1-2 [s.v. Narcissus 1] and Ensslin [1935a], col. 1733, ll. 6-18), the bishop who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian (Smith and Wace [1967 (1875)], vol. 4, p. 3, col. 2 [s.v. Narcissus 2]), the bishop of Neronias or Irenopolis in Cilicia in the fourth century A.D. (Smith and Wace [1967 (1875)], vol. 4, p. 3, col. 2 to p. 4, col. 1 [s.v. Narcissus 3] and Ensslin [1935b], col. 1733, l. 19 to col. 1734, l. 23 [s.v. Narkissos 3]), the Catholicos of Armenia (Smith and Wace [1967 (1875)], vol. 4, p. 4, col. 1 [s.v. Narcissus 4]), and the Christian presbyter in the late second century A.D. apocryphal *Acta Petri* (3, 6, 14, and 19).

⁵² Luc., *Saturnal.* 24.

⁵³ As noted by Hadot (1976), p. 81.

⁵⁴ Forbes Irving ([1992], p. 299) notes that myths of metamorphoses of people into rivers are also all late; other examples are to be found in the supposedly pagan myths quoted only in Christian polemic.

phenomenon that could not have been brought about simply by the popularization of Ovid's text. This makes the Narcissus myth an ideal candidate for an analysis of its originating context, since it can already be fairly confidently fixed chronologically. By carefully studying the function of the motifs, especially in the versions of Conon, Ovid, and Pausanias, an original Narcissus may be discoverable.

MOTIFS IN THE NARCISSUS MYTH

I have chosen as my motif study the Narcissus myth since only the self-love motif has been generally recognized, and the others are often ignored under the *a priori* assumption, made, it must be said, both by ancients and moderns, that the self-love motif must be the essential one in the myth. I hope to dispel this notion through a careful examination of that and other major motifs in the myth, which will lead to the hypothesis that the motif of water-gazing seems to be the most fundamental for the understanding of the myth's originating context. The remainder of this thesis will be devoted to a close study of the significance of the water-gazing Narcissus, which I will conclude has connotations of revelation that are basically magical and not amatory.

The Narcissus myth provides much opportunity for motif study, and many have approached it in this manner, ending up with many different results. Some have preferred to simply make a general survey of the motifs, without making any conclusions about their relative importance (I have provided a listing of the identifiable motifs in the earliest extant versions of the Narcissus myth in Appendix I). Thus Hadot, in one of the best studies on Narcissus, has carefully examined the essentials of the myth.⁵⁵ Vinge, in another commendable work, has similarly undertaken to systematically discuss the fundamental motifs of the Narcissus myth, but with different goals than mine;⁵⁶ she names those of reflection, error or illusion, beauty, the iconic motif, and the motifs of

⁵⁵ Hadot (1976), pp. 81-98.

⁵⁶ Vinge's approach is that of *Stoffgeschichte* or "thematology", which involves a rather exhaustive examination of sources throughout a wide period of time and the sorting out of motifs (see Vinge [1967], pp. ix-xiii), but without investigating the origins of the myth (p. 2: "the various ... attempts at explaining the origin of the myth or at 'interpreting' it that have been made in modern times can be left outside here") as I intend to do.

homosexuality, rejected wooing, vengeance, recognition, death and obliteration, hunger and thirst, and metamorphosis⁵⁷ (but surely not all of these [for example, homosexuality and death] are strictly motifs rather than simply descriptive elements in the story). Other scholars have concentrated on one motif of the myth alone: Zanker that of self-awareness;⁵⁸ Borghini examined the motif of self-love;⁵⁹ Rosati looked at the motif of illusion or error;⁶⁰ Massenzio that of miscommunication;⁶¹ and, most recently, Elsner studied the motif of spectatorship and objectification.⁶²

In order to distinguish what exactly is a significant element in a myth, I have followed Thompson's manner of distinguishing motifs. Though his work is incredibly detailed, he is mainly interested in cross-cultural parallels in story structures, and thus provides little of use to someone dealing exclusively with ancient Greco-Roman evidence. And since his selection of motifs from Greek myths is drawn mostly from Frazer's edition of Apollodorus,⁶³ an author who makes no mention whatsoever of Narcissus, he is of negligible direct use to my present enterprise. Nevertheless, Thompson does mention the Narcissus myth at least once under his motif "falling in love with reflection in water";⁶⁴ this could really be broken down into the motifs of water-gazing, and of a love that either is of the self (which is surely what he implies, though he leaves it ambiguous) or else of an unattainable (in a sexual sense) object.

⁵⁷ Vinge (1967), pp. 11-19.

⁵⁸ Zanker (1966), pp. 152-170.

⁵⁹ Borghini (1978), pp. 177-192, cited by Rosati (1983), p. 40, n. 91.

⁶⁰ Rosati (1983), chap. 1 ("Narciso e l'illusione letteraria").

⁶¹ Massenzio (1992), pp. 7-19.

⁶² Elsner (1996), pp. 247-261.

⁶³ Cf. Thompson (1955), vol. 1, p. 12; he does though also occasionally cite Fox (1916).

⁶⁴ Thompson (1955), vol. 5, p. 334 (T 11.5); he gives one other case, from an Italian novella. Wesselski ([1935], pp. 37-63 and 328-350) has found numerous parallels from around the world.

SELF-LOVE

As I have said above, the motif most often associated with the Narcissus myth and usually taken for granted as being the essential one is that of self-love.⁶⁶ This was really the view from the second century A.D. onward, as can be seen in Hyginus,⁶⁷ in numerous surviving epigrams,⁶⁸ and in many other sources. The proverb, "Many will hate you if you love yourself", credited to the nymphs warning Narcissus, is to be found throughout the ancient paroemiographers,⁶⁹ but it certainly predates our myth since one of the so-called "maxims of Menander" states, "If you love yourself too much you won't have a friend."⁷⁰

The notion of Narcissus as the exemplary self-lover was of course most powerfully popularized by Freud in his psychoanalytical approach to the myth.⁷¹ He defined psychological "narcissism" as "the attitude of a person who treats his own body in the same way in which the body of a sexual object is ordinarily treated -- who looks at it, that is to say, strokes it and fondles it till he obtains complete satisfaction through these activities".⁷² The whole point of the Narcissus myth, as can be seen in all its variants, is that Narcissus is incapable of acquiring his beloved, just as he

⁶⁶ To Vinge's credit, she does not consider ([1967], p. xiv) self-love the most essential motif to examine in this myth. She quotes (p. 19) Fränkel that in this myth "self-love is headed for self-destruction" ([1956], pp. 83-84), but agrees more with Wilkinson that "Narcissus ... is not presented as a symbol of self-love in general" ([1955], p. 212).

⁶⁷ Hyg., *Fab.* 271.

⁶⁸ Cited in Buckley (1882), pp. 270-272; Delatte (1932), p. 152, n. 4; Eitrem (1935), col. 1728, ll. 30-37; Hadot (1976), p. 92; Rosati (1983), p. 15 and n. 23; and Zimmerman (1994), p. 43, also give the interesting parallel of the story of horses which supposedly fall in love with their own images in the water, stop eating and die from desire (Colum., *de Re Rust.* 6.35).

⁶⁹ See the texts in Leutsch and Schneidewin (1965), vol. 1, p. 371, and vol. 2, pp. 85, 204, and 619; and *Suda* s.v. πολλοί σε μισήσουσιν.

⁷⁰ Edmonds (1957), vol. 3, pt. B, p. 926, no. 310 (λίαν φιλῶν σεαυτὸν οὐχ ἔξεις φίλον); this is an important parallel (if indeed Edmonds in this case can be trusted) which has gone uncited in studies of Narcissus.

⁷¹ The psychological use of Narcissus goes back to Ellis in 1898 and Näcke in 1899 (Strachey [1957], p. 73, n. 1) and seems to have first been used by Freud around 1909 (Strachey [1957], p. 69). I have no intention of examining the continuing psychoanalytical scholarship on narcissism and refer the reader to the numerous articles on the subject in the *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse* 13 (1975) as well as to other works cited in the bibliography of secondary sources at the end of this thesis.

⁷² Freud (1914), p. 73.

himself had spurned his lovers. But even if we were to define "narcissism", as it has come to be usually done, simply as self-love (or even little more than vanity), there are still problems if we wish to understand the myth in its ancient context. It is true that in Conon the details of Narcissus' infatuation are rather simply described: he is the first and only one to become that strange type of lover, the lover of the self.⁷² It must be remembered though that this is what is to be found in Photius' summary and may in fact reflect his own interpretation of the myth. In Ovid, it is made very clear that Narcissus does not realize that the unattainable object of his love, that *puer unicus*,⁷³ is himself: *se cupit imprudens*⁷⁴ and *quid videat, nescit*.⁷⁵ Eustathius too agrees.⁷⁶ Narcissus' reflection then is perceived as a distinct entity⁷⁷ and though he does eventually recognise himself,⁷⁸ he, to quote James, "willfully continues to treat his reflection as another being" to the point that even "death does not dispel the delusion."⁷⁹ And from the point of recognition on, Narcissus "who previously delighted in his body now craves for separation: he desires his own absence," as Rudd has put it.⁸⁰

⁷² Conon, *Narr.* 24 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 134b37-38; Hadot ([1976], p. 92, n. 2) oddly claims that Conon says that Narcissus thinks it is another he loves.

⁷³ Ovid, *Met.* 3.454.

⁷⁴ Ovid, *Met.* 3.425.

⁷⁵ Ovid, *Met.* 3.430.

⁷⁶ Eust., *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 266.7-9.

⁷⁷ As noted by James (1986), p. 18, citing Galinsky (1975), p. 52, and by Zanker (1966), p. 152; Vinge (1967), pp. 16-17, and Hadot (1976), p. 92, citing Schikel (1962), p. 492. Wesselski speaks of the primitive emotion experienced by men upon discovering their reflection, which lead to fear since they thought it was someone else ([1935], p. 348, cited by Hadot [1976], p. 98).

⁷⁸ Hadot ([1976], p. 93) notes that Ovid is the only author to include such a recognition within the myth: it occurs at *Met.* 3.463 (*iste ego sum*). Zanker has studied the whole evolution of the naïve and knowing Narcissus, and believed the former characteristic to have been original to the myth ([1966], p. 152); similarly, Manuwald ([1975], p. 352) believed that Conon adapted the story of a naïve victim to one with contempt of Eros on the grounds that Pausanias stressed Narcissus' naïveté.

⁷⁹ James (1986), p. 18; on this Hadot ([1976], p. 93 and n. 7) agrees ("Cette découverte ne change rien") against Vinge ([1966], p. 17: "Narcissus dies when he loses the illusion").

⁸⁰ Rudd (1986), p. 47.

Pausanias⁶¹ seems to be witness to a similar source as Ovid's since he also speaks of Narcissus as naïve and even comments on how ridiculous it is that someone old enough to love could not recognize his own image. It would seem that Narcissus' naïveté became something of a notorious trait since it can be interpreted as being made fun of in two entries in an extant ancient jokebook.⁶²

Thus if Narcissus in a sense loves himself it is only in the form of his reflection which he conceives as being another. Spotnitz and Resnikoff, in a psychoanalytical approach to the myth, say that in Ovid "there is some question whether Narcissus at first recognized the reflected image as being his own",⁶³ though, as has been demonstrated, there really is no question about it. Spotnitz and Resnikoff go on to say that Ovid's account is not so much a depiction of the "narcissistic impulse" as a case of a "homosexual impulse".⁶⁴ By this phrase they are surely implying ideas which apply only to modern cultural constructs of sex beginning in the late nineteenth century,⁶⁵ and make no sense in terms of the ancient views of same-sex love. Homosexuality is basically seen by them as a sexual aberration, but Sergent has rightly concluded the total opposite when it comes to Narcissus: he in fact is a "paradigmatic asocial character" precisely because "he rejects love, not only homosexual love but also heterosexual".⁶⁶ and not because he is homosexual.⁶⁷ Hadot has also warned against misunderstanding the homosexual aspect of the Narcissus myth.⁶⁸ Though it is true that the other (really himself) whom Narcissus loves in the pool is a man, the sex of the love-object

⁶¹ Paus., 9.31.7.

⁶² Hier. and Philagr., *Philogel.* 11 and 33; Baldwin ([1983], pp. 55 and 62) believes that the Narcissus myth was being alluded to in these passages.

⁶³ Spotnitz and Resnikoff (1954), p. 174.

⁶⁴ Spotnitz and Resnikoff (1954), p. 175.

⁶⁵ Cf. Halperin (1990), pp. 15-53, and (1996) pp. 720-723.

⁶⁶ Sergent (1986), p. 83, cf. p. 96; Sergent though does see the real aberration of love of self (rather than other) in the myth. Vinge ([1967], pp. 15 and 20) also puts too much emphasis on the homosexual aspect.

⁶⁷ Spotnitz and Resnikoff ([1954], p. 177) do acknowledge Narcissus' "asexuality".

⁶⁸ Hadot (1976), p. 91, n. 9.

can be explained simply by the fact that the one who cursed him to this fate, because of being rejected, was a man, as seen in both the accounts of Conon and Ovid.⁶⁵

Spotnitz and Resnikoff further contend that Pausanias' alternate account⁶⁶ depicts the "heterosexual incestuous impulse". Although Spotnitz and Resnikoff claim⁶⁷ to "have preferred to minimise the more speculative possible interpretations" of the myth, nonetheless they (falling prey to that error attacked by Aristotle⁶⁸ in which the facts are fitted to the theory rather than vice versa) present a ridiculous chronological scheme, supported by no evidence whatsoever, in which they theorize that in the original story Narcissus loved another, then later, in another version, he loved his sister, then finally himself, stating that there was an "increasing internalization and assimilation of an external object".⁶⁹ There are obviously many hazards in psychoanalysing the ancient mythical Narcissus, which may confirm modern conceptions but say nothing about ancient ones.

JUST RETRIBUTION FOR THE SCORNE LOVER

Both in Conon and Ovid it is quite clear that Narcissus is made to love his image in retribution for having scorned his pursuers, therefore as part of the rules of poetic justice, or of the *lex talionis* of love, he is to be scorned by the one whom he pursues.⁷⁰ His punishment is not to love himself, but rather the inability to obtain the one whom he pursues, and thus he pursues his image

⁶⁵ Con., *Narr.* 24 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 134b30-35 (Armeinias) and Ov., *Met.* 3.404 (unnamed male). As Zimmerman notes ([1994], p. 7, citing Eitrem [1935], col. 1725), since Ovid has an unnamed male rather than Echo curse Narcissus he was most likely dependant on either Conon or a common source for this detail.

⁶⁶ Paus., 9.31.8.

⁶⁷ Spotnitz and Resnikoff (1954), p. 180.

⁶⁸ Aristot., *de Cael.* 293a25.

⁶⁹ Spotnitz and Resnikoff (1954), p. 176. For some reason Vinge ([1967], p. 53) does not object to their methodology or with their conclusion.

⁷⁰ As Hadot ([1967], pp. 91-92) realizes, Fränkel says ([1956], p. 83) that Narcissus' punishment "took the most fitting form: self-seeker that he was, he found himself"; he also compares the fitting punishment of Aglauros and Propoetides ([1965], p. 213, n. 33).

simply because this is the quintessential unobtainable object of love through which he can never be adequately satisfied in a physical manner. Therefore a more basic motif than the one of self-love is the one of the just retribution of the scorned lover or as Hadot, who agrees fully with this notion, calls it, "la punition du bel indifférent".⁹⁶

Despite the talk of Narcissus as the first self-lover, this is clearly the more important motif in Conon, since Narcissus is driven by Eros to commit suicide after his scorned lover does:⁹⁷ in Ovid it is Rhamnusia, that is Nemesis, who punishes Narcissus.⁹⁸ This motif could really be subdivided into two standard motifs in Thompson's system: that of the suicide of the scorned lover,⁹⁹ and that of the punishment (I would add, appropriate to the crime) by the deity for being neglected.¹⁰⁰ These motifs thus involve aspects of love and revenge which many scholars have claimed as unifying elements in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Stephens suggested that love is the principal subject of the *Metamorphoses*.¹⁰¹ This may do justice at least to the Narcissus account in Ovid, who, after all, made the subject of love an important one in a great deal of his works, especially his early ones, and who was, so he claimed, appointed by Venus as the master of the art of love.¹⁰² On the other hand, Otis has seen the Narcissus myth as primarily an episode about vengeance, along with a number of other stories somewhat artificially grouped together by him in a section he entitles "The Avenging Gods".¹⁰³

⁹⁶ See Hadot (1976), pp. 91-92; he associates Narcissus' rejection of lovers with the actions of followers of Artemis.

⁹⁷ Con., *Narr.* 24 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 134b32-40. As Zimmerman notes ([1994], p. 4) this account is vague but seems to imply the suicide of Narcissus with the phrase ἐαυτὸν διαχράται ("he destroys himself"); Zimmerman also shows (p. 14) that Eros also seems to be behind Narcissus' punishment in some of the iconographical sources.

⁹⁸ Ov., *Met.* 3.406.

⁹⁹ Thompson (1955), vol. 5, p. 346 (T 81.2.1).

¹⁰⁰ Thompson (1955), vol. 1, p. 217 (A 1335.6).

¹⁰¹ Stephens (1958), pp. 286-300.

¹⁰² Ov., *Art. Am.* 1.5-8.

¹⁰³ Otis (1970), pp. 128-165.

Solodow for one has argued against such generalizations.¹⁶³ The main problem with them is that they take into account the role of the myth only within Ovid's own work and do not analyse, first, how Ovid adapted the myth from his source(s), and, second, how these motifs usually function, from a structuralist perspective, in other myths. On the one hand, Ovid (if he knew it, as I assume) did away with Conon's detail of Narcissus committing suicide as his lover had done. This is significant since Conon is following the usual mythological pattern in this respect, a pattern in which the death of the spurned lover calls for the death of the recalcitrant beloved.¹⁶⁴ Scholars, have shown, for example, the parallel between Conon and Pseudo-Theocritus, *Idyll* 23, in which the lover hangs himself after cursing the beautiful and scorning beloved, who then dies when a statue of Eros falls on top of him while he bathes,¹⁶⁵ as well as with the story, found in two versions, of the spurned youth who commits suicide and the beloved girl who then turns into stone.¹⁶⁶ The most important parallel, though, is surely the story of Callirrhoe, who is loved by Coresus, a priest of Dionysus Antheus, who eventually kills himself, as does she afterwards with the same sword.¹⁶⁷

Interestingly, Conon seems to have superfluously combined two very different punishments for Narcissus, the usual suicide to follow that of the one scorned, as well as the love of his own image in water (the only one which Ovid picked up, and which, after him, fully replaced the other, probably through the influence of Ovid's great emphasis on this aspect of the story through his clever paradoxes). Conon's forced amalgamation of two separate punishments must be explained in order to come to an understanding of the Narcissus myth's originating context.

¹⁶³ Solodow (1988), p. 9.

¹⁶⁴ The motif of the punishment of the scorning beloved is widespread in ancient literature; see the examples (which include that of Narcissus) listed in Rohde (1960 [1876]), p. 157, n. 4. This motif was especially common in Latin elegy (see the references in Pichon [1966], pp. 142-143 [s.v. *fastus*]). I owe these references to Dr. John Yardley.

¹⁶⁵ Greve (1897-1902), col. 12, ll. 23-25; Eitrem (1935), col. 1724, l. 14; and Zimmerman (1994), pp. 5-6 and 8.

¹⁶⁶ Hermes., *Leont.* 2 ap. Anton. Liberal., *Met.* 39, and Ov., *Met.* 14.698-761 (cited by Eitrem [1935], col. 1724, ll. 14-15, and Zimmerman [1994], p. 5, n. 7).

¹⁶⁷ Paus., 7.21.1-5 (cited in connection with Narcissus by Greve [1897-1902], col. 12, ll. 28-30).

RELIGIOUS ETIOLOGY

To begin with, Conon's version should be seen as fundamentally an etiology of the cult of Thespian Eros.¹⁰⁶ reflecting his obviously great interest in obscure cult etiologies.¹⁰⁷ Greve¹⁰⁸ actually saw the connection with Eros and the cult etiology as an addition by Conon to the myth, and more recently Schachter¹⁰⁹ has stated that this combination of elements is "probably pure story-telling, connecting two well known Thespian names" (that is Eros and Narcissus), noting that Pausanias¹¹⁰ has no *aition* at all for the Thespian Eros. Schachter indeed considered the original Narcissus myth as an instance of the motif of the "dying boy", a Boeotian cult pattern involving the death of the (youthful) protagonist and his association with water and possibly vegetation, but not, at least necessarily, love.¹¹¹

If Greve and Schachter are right, as seems reasonable, a number of other Eros-related (that is amatory) motifs can be seen as not being essential to the original myth, such as the spurning of the lover and even the love of one's own reflection; we are left with a beautiful youth gazing at himself in a pool of springwater and then being connected with a flower. Thus the dual punishments found in Conon's version clearly show that there existed an original, water-gazing Narcissus to which Conon

¹⁰⁶ Conon, *Narr. ap. Phot., Bibl.* 134b40-135a1. On the Eros cult in Thespieae, see Hadot (1976), pp. 86-87, and Zimmerman (1994), p. 18; there was a famous Erotidia festival in Thespieae (Paus., 9.31.3; Plut., *Amat.* 748-749; and Athen., *Deipn.* 13.561e). Schober ([1935], col. 1734, ll. 25-62) thought that the Narcissus spring (Ναρκίσσου πηγή) was not far from the Eros sanctuary in Thespieae. Zimmerman ([1994], pp. 4-5, cf. 20-21) interestingly suggested that Conon's source may have been a now lost hymn to Eros.

¹⁰⁷ On this interest of Conon's, see Henrichs (1987), p. 245 and n. 11.

¹⁰⁸ Greve (1897-1902), col. 12, ll. 18-21.

¹⁰⁹ Schachter (1986), vol. 1, p. 218.

¹¹⁰ Paus., 9.27.1-5.

¹¹¹ Schachter (1972), pp. 23-24 (cited by Zimmerman [1994], p. 19); he also mentions that the myths of Argynnus, Lophis, Kaanthos, and perhaps Actaeon, conform to this pattern. But Schachter says ([1972], p. 23) that Narcissus drowned at Donacon (the place mentioned in Pausanias' account [9.31.7]) and elsewhere ([1990], p. 105) that the main element shared by the stories of Narcissus and Argynnus was that of "a youth who drowns", but, as will be seen, the drowning of Narcissus was more than likely a late addition to the story (and it is an element not to be found in Pausanias).

added the common motif of the just retribution of the scorned lover through suicide. This in turn would imply that Ovid's sole source for the amatory aspects of his version of the Narcissus myth was Conon, although Ovid may have also known the pre-Cononic version of the myth (as I will try to show in Chapter IV).

METAMORPHOSIS AND NATURAL ETIOLOGY

Before examining the importance of the pre-Cononic, water-gazing Narcissus, it is important to discuss one more motif, that of metamorphosis, which some have seen as the most essential one in the original myth; it of course explains Narcissus' name, and is consistently repeated in later versions. It is in any case obviously the most important unifying motif of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as he himself lets us know.¹¹⁴ But again, in the structuralist manner, it is Ovid's use of his source(s) as well as the function of the motif of metamorphosis in other similar myths which must be examined.

In the first case, Ovid seems to have adapted the story of Narcissus from one of purely religious etiology, as found in Conon, to one of natural etiology, a subject of much more interest to him.¹¹⁵ Ovid only rarely used religious etiologies and only then when he could apply them pertinently to Roman rituals surviving in his day.¹¹⁶ Thus it is not surprising that this feature is not in his version. Instead Ovid makes a connection with Echo, and is normally thought to be the first to combine the two stories,¹¹⁷ which provided him with the opportunity to play with parallels and

¹¹⁴ Ovid, *Met.* 1.1-2, cf. Solodow ([1988], pp. 3, 14-15, and *passim*), who mentions along with it the unifying quality of the narrator as well.

¹¹⁵ Miller has shown ([1992], pp. 11-31) that one of Ovid's favorite didactic techniques, noticeable especially in his *Fast.*, was that of listing variant etiologies (some of which he certainly made up himself), from which, in keeping with his image as an amateur antiquarian, he never chose the most probable.

¹¹⁶ Graf (1988), pp. 58-62.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Fränkel (1956), p. 84; Vinge (1967), pp. 11-12; Galinsky (1975), p. 52 (who claims [pp. 52-53] that the main difference between Conon and Ovid is that the former is more moralistic); Hadot (1976), pp. 85, n. 6, and 94, n.5; and Schachter (1990), p. 103. There is no way to know for sure though if Ovid was the first to combine the stories of Narcissus and Echo because of our lack of sources (as noted by Fränkel [1956], p. 214, n. 38).

paradoxes through the common idea of reflection (auditory versus visual).¹¹⁸

Now in terms of the function of the motif of metamorphosis, some scholars have tried to explain it simply by linking the characteristics of the flower to those of the youth. Wieseler, in the only complete book-length study on the Narcissus myth in ancient times,¹¹⁹ pointed out such allegorical parallels between the flower and the youth, claiming that these explained the origins of the myth. The narcissus plant, like the youth, was attracted to shady spots and especially water, over which both would bend, and when they were dying both withered away, drooped and died.¹²⁰

Spotnitz and Resnikoff, following Wieseler, listed four "features of the plant that are duplicated in the myth":¹²¹ bending over water, to which there is an attraction; asexuality (the plant's bulb reproduces other bulbs while the youth rejects sexual advances); dangerous nature (the plant is poisonous and the youth's actions are dangerous to himself and others); and beautiful appearance. Glenn has added that the fragility of the flower parallels the fragility of both Narcissus' "psyche and his beauty".¹²² Fränkel noted that the flower is "as fine and proud, as single and useless" as Narcissus,¹²³ but also that it is white and pink or reddish like Narcissus.¹²⁴ From Solodow's view¹²⁵ of Ovidian metamorphosis as being basically "a process by which character is made manifest in appearance" the flower in a way would precisely be the means to symbolize the youth's state.

¹¹⁸ Fränkel claims to be the first (apart from works he has not consulted) to have noticed the visual auditory parallel ([1956], pp. 84-85 and n. 39), and it is often mentioned by others (see, for example, Vinge [1967], p. 11; Manuwald [1975], pp. 356-357; and Rudd [1986], p. 43). James ([1986], p. 18) also notes how Narcissus divests Echo of her body while trying to invest his reflection with one.

¹¹⁹ As noted by Zimmerman (1994), p. 1.

¹²⁰ Wieseler (1856), pp. 81-82 (cited in Vinge [1967], pp. 1-2; Hadot [1976], p. 82 and n. 8; and Zimmerman [1994], p. 2). Vinge ([1967], p. 18) also notes some of the other parallelisms, as I do below.

¹²¹ Spotnitz and Resnikoff (1954), pp. 177-178.

¹²² Glenn (1986), p. 219.

¹²³ Fränkel (1956), p. 84.

¹²⁴ Fränkel (1956), p. 214, n. 36 (cf. Ov., *Met.* 3.509-510 [the flower] and 3.423, 481-484, and 491 [the youth]).

¹²⁵ Solodow (1988), p. 2.

Though perhaps somewhat illuminating there is really nothing very profound about such parallels. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is at its root a work on natural etiologies: therefore, according to this very premise Ovid should attempt for every myth to find links between an animal, plant, rock, spring or so on, and a person. Though with many myths it might be enough to simply find such links (if Ovid has in fact not been clear about these) it does not seem to explain the essential feature in the case of the Narcissus myth.¹²⁶ Furthermore, many of the links made by scholars are not to be found explicitly in extant versions: as Forbes Irving notes: "No source develops the story much as a natural *aition* or gives any connection between plant and hero apart from the name."¹²⁷ Also, though the plant and youth are certainly linked by name, the floral element of the myth in fact is not in itself a straightforward metamorphosis: in Ovid the plant is made to grow at that place from which Narcissus' body disappeared, and in Conon (as well as Probus), it only grew out of Narcissus' blood.¹²⁸ In fact, rather than involving true transformation, the Narcissus myth follows closely the convention, prominent on some epitaphs, of the wish that flowers may grow around the tomb or even out of the deceased's body, presumably in remembrance of the person's lost vitality and beauty.¹²⁹ Two such epitaphs in fact mention the narcissus. The first one runs¹³⁰

ἀλλ' ἴα καὶ σάμψουχα καὶ ὕδατινὴ νάρκισσος.
Οὐβειβιε, καὶ περὶ σοῦ πάντα γένοιτο ῥόδα.

May all around you, Vibius, turn into violets,
marjoram, watery narcissus, and roses.

The second one even implies the myths of Narcissus and Hyacinth, obviously comparing the youth

¹²⁶ Glenn ([1986], p. 219) actually noted that the most important metamorphosis in the myth is not from youth into flower but rather is a change consisting in a "progressive deterioration of character or personality".

¹²⁷ Forbes Irving (1992), p. 282.

¹²⁸ Ov., *Met.* 3.509-510; Con., *Narr.* 24 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 135a1-3; and Prob., *Comm. ad Verg. Ecl.* 2.48. For this theme, see Hadot (1976), pp. 84-85. Only in much later versions (Serv., *Comm. ad Verg. Ecl.* 2.47; Philargyr., *Comm. ad Verg. Eclog.* 2.48; *Schol. in Stat. Theb.* 7.340; and Isid., *Etym.* 17.9.16) does Narcissus transform directly into a flower (Forbes Irving [(1992), p. 282] and Zimmerman [(1994), pp. 9 and 11] cite some of these references).

¹²⁹ Cf. Lattimore (1962), pp. 129-131.

¹³⁰ Kaibel (1878), p. 548, ll. 3-4 (cited in Lattimore [1962], p. 130, and also mentioned by Richardson [1974], p. 144).

and beauty of these boys to that of the deceased:¹³¹

εἰς ἰα σου. Πώμπτιλλα. [κ]αὶ [εἰ]ς κρίνα βλα[σ]τείσειεν ὅστέα ...
κ'εἰς καλὰ βλ[α]στήσαις ἄνθεα λευκοί[ου].
ὥς ἰσα Ναρκίσσῳ τε πολυκλαύτῳ θ' Ὑακίνθῳ
[κ]αὶ σὸν ἐν ὀψιγόνῳ[ις] ἄνθος ἔχοι τι χρόνος.

May your bones, Pomptilla, sprout into violets and lilies ... may you sprout into beautiful white lilies, so that just as with Narcissus and much mourned Hyacinth, some time even among those yet to be born may have your flower.

¹³¹ *EG* 547a.1-2 and 4-6 (cited in Lattimore [1962], p. 131); though Lattimore (p. 131, n. 297) mentions the connection to the Narcissus and Hyacinth myths, he leaves these names as non-proper nouns in the text, an oversight which I have corrected, believing as he does that the youths and not just the flowers are meant, especially since it would be the youth and not the flower who would be "much mourned". Narcissus and Hyacinth were also connected in Lucian (*Ver. Hist.* 2.17, 19; *Dial. Mort.* 5 [and schol.]; and *Saturnal.* 24), Ausonius (*Cup. Cruc.* 10), and Claudian (*de Rapt. Proserp.* 2.131-136), and Philostratus describes a painting of Hyacinth after one of Narcissus (*Imag.* 1.23-24), but Kerenyi ([1988], p. 172) is wrong that Narcissus "so much resembled Hyakinthos that the two were often confused together (*sic*)".

CHAPTER II: THE WATER-GAZING MOTIF

So far I have attempted to establish that not only was the Narcissus myth a rather late creation (from around the late first century B.C.) but that many of its motifs in surviving versions do nothing to elucidate the myth's originating context. The self-love motif only developed from that of the just retribution of a scorned beloved (taken up by Ovid from Conon with an emphasis on natural etiology), which itself, I have argued, was combined by Conon, because of his interests in cult etiology, with the more fundamental motif of water-gazing. That this motif is more basic is shown not only by the fact that Conon's narrative consists of a superfluous dual punishment for Narcissus, but also by the fact that Pausanias' alternate version of the myth does not emphasize the aspects of revenge or self-love but concentrates upon the water-gazing aspect.

This fundamental motif of water-gazing appears, or is assumed, not only in Conon, Ovid, and Pausanias, but in fact in all extant versions of the myth,¹ in which any other motif (be it self-love or punishment of the scorning beloved) necessarily relies on Narcissus' first seeing his reflection, and significantly, always in water, never, for example, in a mirror. Ovid provides, by far, the most detail concerning this aspect (as well as most others) of the myth, and thus any examination of this motif must rely mostly on his account, though where possible I have adduced the evidence from other sources as well. A number of scholars have observed the importance of the water-gazing motif, and have variously interpreted how it functioned in the original myth. After examining and criticizing their earlier efforts, I shall attempt to show the importance of the idea of revelation through water-gazing.

¹ Some of the versions (for example Hyg., *Fab.* 214 and Luc., *Charid.* 24) simply note the boy's beauty, but this in itself cannot be construed as being a motif on its own, but must be paired with some further circumstance so as to properly constitute a complete, though still perhaps brief, story.

WATER-FETCHING

But before studying the water-gazing itself, it is important to find the context of this situation in the myth. In Ovid, Narcissus goes to a pool to rest in the shade and because he is thirsty.² Graves considered this water-fetching aspect the most important of the myth, theorizing, as usual without proof, that the myth originated from a story of a hero trying "to purify himself after murdering his mother."³ But it is more likely that Ovid simply adapted the common motif of the male going to fetch water at a spring (usually after the hunt, as in Ovid⁴), having his task interrupted, and being led to his punishment and/or death through the intervention of some feminine power (Nemesis in Ovid).⁵ This is found, among others, in the myths of Actaeon,⁶ Teirisias,⁷ and Hylas.⁸ The last example is probably the most important because Hylas and Narcissus were associated in some accounts⁹ and Narcissus is linked with Naiads¹⁰ and is said to die among the water nymphs¹¹ and in some late versions is even said to have drowned.¹² A connection between the two is not only to be found in literary but also in

Ov., *Met.* 3.413-414. Nonnus, who surely knew Ovid's version of the Narcissus myth (despite what Knoespel [(1985), p. 119, n. 24] and others may claim), played on this detail when he had Aura go drink at a spring where the flower of the youth Narcissus grew (*Dion.* 48.570-600; he also mentions the myth at *Dion.* 10.214-216 and 11.322-323).

² Graves (1960), vol. 1, p. 288.

³ Ov., *Met.* 3.413; Sergent [(1986), p. 98] calls this the "sojourn in the bush" motif.

⁴ Segal [(1974), pp. 20-39] has recognized what he calls a "death by water" motif in the myths of Daphnis (*Theocr.* *Id.* 11), Hylas (*Id.* 13), Amycus (*Id.* 22), and the unnamed youth of Ps.-*Theocr.* *Id.* 23.

⁵ Eur., *Bacch.* 339-340; Diod. Sic., 4.81.4; Ov., *Met.* 3.138-252; Paus., 9.2.3-4; Ps.-Apollod., *Bibl.* 3.4.4; Nonn., *Dion.* 5.287-551; etc.

⁶ Callim., *Lov. Pall.* 57-136.

⁷ Apollon. Rhod., *Argon.* 1.1207-1272 and schol.; *Theocr.* *Id.* 13; Propert., *Eleg.* 1.20; Ov., *Ars Am.* 2.110; Sen., *Med.* 645; Ps.-Apollod., *Bibl.* 1.9.19; etc.

⁸ Hyg., *Fab.* 271, and Luc., *Ver. Hist.* 2.17. In Ausonius, epigrams on Hylas (*Epigr.* 106-107) and Narcissus (*Epigr.* 108-110) are grouped together.

⁹ Ov., *Met.* 3.505-506, and Anon., *Myth. Vat.* 1.182.18-19 and 2.207.21-23.

¹⁰ Callistr., *Stat. Descr.* 5.3.

¹¹ Plot., *Enn.* 1.6.8.8 (for which Hadot [(1976), p. 99, n. 1] argues convincingly that we are dealing with Narcissus and not Hylas, as some have thought) and Eust., *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 266.

iconographical sources: for example, a second century A.D. marble puteal from Ostia has Hylas and nymphs in relief on one side and Echo and Narcissus on the other.¹³ This is not the place to investigate further the connections between the two myths¹⁴ but simply to note that the motif of water-gazing, so important for Ovid's Narcissus, is nowhere to be found in the Hylas myth. Ovid then has simply used a standard manner, that of adopting the motif of the thirsty hunter, to have Narcissus come in contact with the water into which he will gaze.

THE FEAR OF SOUL-LOSS

Frazer saw water-gazing as the most essential motif of the myth. In the second part of *The Golden Bough*, entitled *Tahoo and the Perils of the Soul*, he wrote:¹⁵

We can now understand [having seen modern-day parallels around the world of the dangers of exposing the "reflection-soul"] why it was a maxim both in ancient India and ancient Greece not to look at one's reflection in water, and why the Greeks regarded it as an omen of death if a man dreamed of seeing himself so reflected. They feared that the water-spirits would drag the person's reflection or soul under water, leaving him soul-less to perish. This was probably the origin of the classical story of the beautiful Narcissus, who languished and died through seeing his reflection in the water. The explanation that he died for love of his own fair image was probably devised later, after the old meaning of the story was forgotten.

Later, in his commentary on Pausanias¹⁶ Frazer repeated this idea, saying that Ovid's version of the Narcissus myth

¹³ Oakley (1950), pt. 1, p. 576 (no. 21). The similarity of the two can also cause problems of identification as exemplified in the case of a mosaic from Orbe discussed by Koller ([1976], pp. 94-101).

¹⁴ Hadot believes ([1976], p. 97) that there is no real connection between the two myths and places more emphasis (pp. 90-91) on the links between Hippolytus and Narcissus, both hunters who refuse love. Rudd ([1986], p. 45) too calls Narcissus "a figure of the Hippolytus type". Tyrell ([1984], p. 85) shows that Hippolytus is "a liminal figure between virginity and marriage" who fails to mature, a characteristic also of Narcissus, as will be seen. Smoot ([1976], pp. 37-51), following Rankin ([1975], pp. 71-94) as well as Slater ([1968], p. 335) proposes rather that Hippolytus is a character of the Narcissus type, since he is a "narcissist".

¹⁵ Frazer (1890-1915), vol. 2, p. 94.

¹⁶ Frazer (1898), vol. 5, p. 159.

is probably nearest to the original, which seems to be based on the widespread superstition that the soul or life is in the reflection or shadow, and hence that it is dangerous for a man to see himself reflected in water, because his soul, being present in the reflection, may be carried off by the monsters or spirits of the water.

Others have made similar associations between the myth and beliefs in the evil powers of mirrors and brilliant surfaces.¹⁷ There is no doubt that it was a commonly held superstition in ancient Greece that the soul could drown in turbulent waters. Frazer only cites two instances. The first is found in the second century A.D. "dream-book" of Artemidorus:¹⁸

τὸ ἐν ὕδατι κατοπτρίζεσθαι θάνατον προαγορεύει· αὐτῷ τῷ ἰδόντι ἢ τινὶ
τῶν οἰκειοτάτων αὐτοῦ.

to be reflected in water [in a dream] portends death to whosoever sees himself or to someone closely related to him.

Later Iamblichus warned against looking at one's own reflection in his listing of Pythagorean symbols and he noted specifically that the danger was from flowing water.¹⁹ But Ovid emphasizes the calmness of the grove in which Narcissus seeks water;²⁰ later, it is true, Narcissus disturbs the water with his tears,²¹ but this is simply a symbol of eradicating identity.²² Though some scholars have accepted Frazer's dangerous water theory,²³ Hadot is certainly right in dismissing it on the grounds that Narcissus' case is exceptional since his situation was brought on by a divine source, and not by a soul-loss which would apply to any one gazing into water²⁴ (though as I have shown, still

¹⁷ See Hadot (1976), p. 96 (citing Delane [1932], p. 5, and Eitrem [1935], col. 1728, ll. 16-22), and Zanker (1966), p. 153.

¹⁸ Artem., *Oneir.* 2.7. Interestingly, Aristotle even compared dreams to reflections in disturbed water, since both are hard to interpret (Aristot., *Div. Somn.* 464b7-17).

¹⁹ Iambli., *Protr. Synh.* 25. Frazer cites this through Mullach's Latin translation: *Faciem in fluvio nec lavandam nec spectandam.* | i.e. *e re fluxa et instabili speciem capere non debet* ([1875], vol. 1, p. 510, no. 24).

²⁰ Ov., *Met.* 3.409-410.

²¹ Ov., *Met.* 3.475.

²² As noted by Vinge (1967), p. 17.

²³ For example, Viarre (1964), pp. 194-195 and 342-343.

²⁴ Hadot (1976), p. 98.

only in disturbed or flowing water). Therefore Frazer's concept of soul-loss being the most essential and original aspect of the Narcissus myth should be considered untenable.

THE DANGER OF THE EVIL-EYE

There are other relevant, and even older, sources concerning the danger of looking at oneself in water not mentioned by Frazer. In one of Aesop's fables, which has not been cited by commentators on the Narcissus myth, looking into a river brings bad luck to a dog, when thinking that its reflection is another dog (thus paralleling Narcissus' naïveté) it drops the piece of meat it holds in its mouth to snatch the other dog's meat, but ends up with nothing when its own meat is swept downstream.²⁵ More important though, in Theocritus Polyphemus spits to protect himself after seeing his reflection in the sea.²⁶ His actions are explained in one of Plutarch's dialogues²⁷ in which a character named Soclarus—who argues that the evil-eye (βάσκανον) need not result from envy (as was usually thought) since there were cases of beautiful, young men who fascinated themselves through their reflections—quotes Euphronion about the beautiful Eutelidas who gave himself the evil-eye by staring into a stream. Delatte believed that the Narcissus myth originated from this belief²⁸ and Eitrem similarly thought that the Eutelidas story was a version of the Narcissus myth.²⁹ Zimmerman went much further, claiming not only that Ovid explicitly shows that the evil-eye is concerned when he says that Narcissus "himself perishes through his own eyes" (*perque oculos perit ipse suos*).³⁰ but also claiming, without any proof, that Euphronion used the Narcissus myth.³¹ Hadot,

²⁵ Aesop, no. 265.

²⁶ Theocr., *Id.* 6.35-39.

²⁷ Plut., *Quaest. Conv.* 5.74 = *Moral.* 682b, with the explanation at 682ef.

²⁸ Delatte (1932), p. 152.

²⁹ Eitrem (1935), col. 1726, ll. 15-29 and col. 1728, ll. 22-24. He also cites (col. 1728, ll. 38-43) Lawson ([1964 (1909)], p. 10) to show that even in modern Greece there has survived the notion of the danger, associated with the belief in the evil-eye, of seeing one's own reflection.

³⁰ Zimmerman (1994), p. 43, citing Ov., *Met.* 3.440.

³¹ Zimmerman (1994), pp. 40-73 (identifying Narcissus and Eutelidas and arguing that Daphnis too in Theocritus suffered from a self-inflicted evil-eye) and p. 64, n. 40 (on Euphronion using the myth).

though, has rightly dismissed any connection in this regard, arguing that Eutelidas fascinates himself because of a self-love that he experienced even before he sees his reflection and not once he sees it (as with Narcissus) and because he does not at all fall in love with the image in the water.¹³

REVELATION

What has been overlooked by Frazer as well as by those who emphasize the evil-eye interpretation is the idea of revelation, which water-gazing in calm, mirror-like water, as in Ovid, can imply. The basic revelation in the amatory version of the myth is that of the unattainable object of love (which happens to be Narcissus himself), but the watery mirror can reveal much more than simple surface beauty.

Ovid pursued the theme of revelation through water-gazing in his stories of Io (who sees in water that she has been transformed into a heifer) and Cipus (who sees in water that he has developed horns on his head).¹⁴ More important, in Ovid's version of the Actaeon myth, once he is transformed as punishment by Diana into a stag, he becomes apprised of his identity (which is in crisis because of the conflict of human and animal aspects of his personality) once he sees himself in the water.¹⁵ James has seen this as a foreshadowing of the theme of identity that is found in the Narcissus myth,¹⁶ which follows very soon after. Indeed in both cases the crisis is brought on by divine punishment, but the Narcissus myth is very different from all three of these myths since the revelation in the water is not of physical metamorphosis.

Stewart has noted that to the ancients mirrors were seen as the revealers of truth: as Seneca

¹³ Hadot (1976), p. 97 and n. 2.

¹⁴ Ov., *Met.* 1.640 and 15.565; these examples are given by Viarre (1964), p. 343.

¹⁵ Ov., *Met.* 3.200. Cf. Barkan (1986), p. 45 (cited in James [1986], p. 21, n. 12).

¹⁶ James (1986), p. 21. Throughout her article she investigates the identity crises of a number of Ovidian characters, which parallel Narcissus' condition, such as Myrrha and Pygmalion (who also reject the advances of lovers, and turn to an object of love which is very unorthodox); Hadot ([1976], p. 91), and Rosati ([1983], *passim*) also make the link with Pygmalion.

said, they were actually "invented" so that humans could know themselves."³⁶ In Ovid, the water, acting like a mirror, is the medium through which Narcissus is doomed by knowing himself, as Teirisias warns will be his downfall from the beginning in a reversal of the famous Delphic maxim.³⁷ Narcissus' great mistake then in Ovid is not that he does not recognize himself but simply that he sees himself and his own body, something he should never have seen.³⁸

For Plato, the Delphic maxim "know yourself" was a call towards contemplation of one's soul, since the soul (and not the body) was for him the human being.³⁹ Platonic interpreters of the Narcissus myth who accepted and expanded upon such a dualistic philosophy⁴⁰ believed that the true message of the story is of a revelation which is far beyond the physical, beyond appearance and bodily identity. For Clement of Alexandria, for instance, the main message is one against the trap of false, physical beauty.⁴¹

οὐδὲ γάρ, ὡς ὁ μῦθος Ἑλλήνων ἔχει, Ναρκίσσῳ προεχώρησεν τῷ καλῷ τῆς
ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνης γενέσθαι θεατῆν.

since, as the pagan story maintains, it did not succeed for the beautiful Narcissus
to gaze at his own image.

With the use of the Narcissus myth, Plotinus elaborated on this idea of the body as a poor reflection

³⁶ Sen., *Quaest. Nat.* 1.17.4 (cited by Stewart [1996], p. 143 and n. 21).

³⁷ Ov., *Met.* 3.348 (*si se non noverit*). This comparison with the Delphic maxim is made often, for example by Fränkel (1956), p. 213, n. 30 (who links it too with Actaeon and Semele); Glenn (1986), p. 37; James (1986), p. 17 (cf. p. 25); and Rudd (1986), p. 43.

³⁸ Argued both by Fränkel ([1956], p. 213, n. 30) and Hadot ([1976], p. 94); Vinge ([1967], p. 17) says that Narcissus is "lost when he sees himself in the image". James ([1986], p. 17) is wrong in saying that Narcissus' error is to deny his own identity "to the point of absurdity". Van der Leeuw ([1948], p. 282, cited by Viarre [1964], p. 343) wrote, "l'expérience de Narcisse est essentiellement lumineuse; c'est la découverte de la potentialité propre et cependant merveilleusement étrangère, insurmontable, supérieure et mystérieuse".

³⁹ Pl., *Alcib. Maior* 128e-135e; Betz ([1981], pp. 157-159) provides a good discussion of the importance of this Platonic supposition for later interpreters of the maxim.

⁴⁰ I have no intention of discussing in detail ancient dualistic thought, but refer the reader to Dodds' interesting and concise discussion ([1965], pp. 13-30) with his conclusion that the self/body dichotomy is "the most far-reaching, and perhaps the most questionable, of all [classical Greece's] gifts to human culture" (p. 29).

⁴¹ Clem. Alex., *Paedag.* 3.2.10.4.

of the transcendent, non-visual, non-individuated Beauty.⁴² on the model of Plato.⁴³ Plotinus was even supposed to have claimed that he did not want his portrait done since he did not want to leave behind a reflection of a reflection,⁴⁴ thus making him very anti-Narcissus.⁴⁵

Neoplatonists more often used the Orphic story of the baby Dionysus staring into and being fascinated by the mirror given to him by the Titans, who then killed and dismembered him;⁴⁶ for them the mirror in this myth symbolized the concept of fall into multiplicity from the One as found in their theories of participation and emanation.⁴⁷ Creuzer believed that the Narcissus myth was precisely originally about the fall of the soul into matter on the model of the Orphic Dionysus,⁴⁸ but it is doubtful that there is any connection between the story of Dionysus and his mirror and that of Narcissus.⁴⁹ There is also no evidence in our earliest versions to support the hypothesis that a body/soul dualism was a facet of the original myth rather than simply a later Platonic interpretative addition.

⁴² Plot., *Enn.* 1.6.8.8 and 5.8.2.34.

⁴³ Pl., *Symp.* 210e1-212a7 and *Phdr.* 78d, 250b-252b.

⁴⁴ Porph., *Vit. Plot.* 1.1.

⁴⁵ Hadot ([1976], pp. 98-108) has an excellent discussion of Narcissus in Plotinus with numerous references.

⁴⁶ The myth is first alluded to by Onomacritus (ap. Paus., 8.37.5) who speaks only of the Titans causing Dionysus' suffering. Aside from the Neoplatonic mentions the mirror is only specifically found in the late versions preserved by Clem. Al., *Protr.* 2.16; Arnob., *Adv. Nat.* 5.19; and Nonn., *Dion.* 6.169-205. For other references to the myth see West (1983), p. 156, n. 51.

⁴⁷ Plot., *Enn.* 4.3.12; Procl., *Comm. ad Pl. Tim.* 33b; Olympiod., *Comm. ad Pl. Phd.* B 111.14; etc.; cf. Vernant (1990), p. 468, citing Pépin (1970), pp. 304-320.

⁴⁸ Creuzer (1814), pp. xlv-lxx, and (1819-1821), vol. 4, pp. 192-193 (cited in Vinge [1967], pp. 1 and 317-322).

⁴⁹ Hadot ([1976], p. 97) thinks because of the lack of amatory motif in the Dionysus story (see also pp. 102-103). Vernant ([1990], pp. 474-476) also speaks of the connection between the two. Rohde was actually willing to suggest ([1966 (1894)], vol. 2, p. 353, n. 29) that Zagreus (the Orphic Dionysus) might have been "another Narcissus".

CHAPTER III: THE HYDROMANTIC NARCISSUS

As has been seen, numerous interpretations of the origins of the Narcissus myth have stressed the importance of the water-gazing motif. Yet most previous attempts at determining the function of water-gazing in the originating context of the Narcissus myth have not been able to explain important details, as in Pausanias' alternate version, and especially in Ovid's version, which is much more elaborate than Conon's version (which survives only in summary form) and which is, with Conon's, the earliest surviving account. Because of these two facts Ovid's account must be given priority of place in any careful analysis of the myth. The soul-loss theory conflicts with the detail of calm water found in Ovid; the evil-eye theory does not account for a number of details about the grove and the water (which will be discussed below) and ignores Ovid's stress on the importance of revelation through gazing into water; and the theory which perceives a body/soul dualism behind the story no longer relies on any of the early texts of the myth, only on late Platonic interpretations. I will now attempt to show that the details surrounding the water-gazing motif, especially in Ovid, are consistent within the context of water revealing information in a magical manner.

As Glenn noted when speaking of the Narcissus myth: "mirrors are magic things".¹ Both Cancik and Eitrem in their respective commentaries on the Narcissus myth have further shown that in antiquity water-gazing was sometimes performed to gain preternatural knowledge through divinatory rites, but neither of them believed this to be the originating context of the Narcissus myth. On the other hand, Lehmann, following Eitrem, has thought that the Narcisus myth "is rooted in the general lore of mirror-prophecy", but without further elaboration.² I will endeavour to show that this hypothesis is quite probable.

¹ Glenn (1986), p. 37.

² Cancik (1967), pp. 42-44 and 51, and Eitrem (1935), col. 1728, ll. 48-68; Manuwald ([1975], p. 361) attacked Cancik on the magical effect of the mirror in Ovid claiming instead that in this account there is a rationally explainable phenomenon.

³ Lehmann (1962), p. 68.

The whole Narcissus myth in Ovid is in fact framed by a prediction made by Teiresias, which places the myth from the beginning in a context of divination.⁴ And in fact, at almost every point (and this, as far as I know, has not been realized by any previous commentator on the myth) Ovid's description of Narcissus parallels prescriptions for a type of magical ritual in which a young, virginal boy, acting the part of a diviner's medium, lying on his stomach, would stare at his reflection in a calm, clear pool of springwater in order to see images of the dead. For such divinatory rites in which the medium's reflection in water is crucial I will use the term hydromancy, and when such rites are performed, as was usually the case, with a bowl (rather than at a natural pool of water) I will use the term lecanomancy.⁵

The clearest parallel of the divinatory elements in the Ovidian account is an Egyptian Demotic papyrus from the third century A.D. (part of which is now in Leiden and part in London) that deals with lecanomancy.⁶ After a number of instructions it states:⁷

You should bring a new bowl and fill it with clean oasis oil. You should put [it in] to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness so that it becomes exceedingly clear.

⁴ Narcissus' mother Liriope was the first to consult Teiresias who warns here that her son should never know himself (Ov., *Met.* 3.341-348); the truth of the prophecy is shown with a long digression on Narcissus (Ov., *Met.* 3.349-510) after which it is said that because of this correct prediction Teiresias became famous throughout Greece (Ov., *Met.* 3.511-512). Teiresias' involvement in the myth was also copied from Ovid at Anon., *Myth. Vat.* 1.182.2-4 and 2.207.2-4.

⁵ It must be understood though that while the liquid involved in lecanomancies in the Egyptian Demotic texts is often oil, it is fairly certain that water was always involved in the corresponding Greco-Roman magical practices, as Dodds has convincingly argued ([1973], p. 188); this then makes Greco-Roman lecanomancy a form of hydromancy. Bouché-Leclercq ([1879], vol. 1, pp. 184-188, and [1892], pp. 300-301) uses much broader terminology in which hydromancy means any use of water for divination (including drinking water) and in which lecanomancy is any use of bowls for divination (including observing objects thrown into them). Similarly, Davis (1955) confuses numerous different types of "divining bowls" (in some of which liquid is not even used) and says that the same principle (that spirits control the bowl) can be found in "oracular, detecting, and magical" bowl divination (strange distinctions made by him). I will also refer in this thesis to the practice of catoptromancy, that is divination through the medium's reflection in a mirror. The practice of lychnomancy (divination in which the medium is made to stare at the flame of a lit lamp), though it does not involve the medium gazing at his own reflection (or more specifically, staring at the reflection of his own eyes), does induce hallucinations in a similar manner (as will be seen).

⁶ I shall refer to this source as the Demotic papyrus from now on since this is the only Demotic source used in this paper (I have been unable to consult the examples of hydromancy to be found in *Pap. Louvre* E 3229 according to Ritner [1993], p. 218, n. 1017). The text is from Griffith and Thompson (1921 [1974]) and the translations by Johnson in Betz (1986) (under *PDM* xiv); an excellent analysis of the magical rituals in this papyrus has been made by Maspero (1923).

⁷ *PDM* xiv 67-73 = LL III 9-15. Many of these prescriptions are also to be found in *PDM* xiv 411-412 = LL XIV 17-19.

You should bring a pure youth who has not yet gone with a woman; you should speak down into his head beforehand, he standing up (*sic*). (to learn) whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. If he will be useful, you should make him lie down on his belly and cover him with a clean linen cloth (you should recite down into his head), there being a strap on the upper part of the cloth. You should recite this invocation which is above down into his head, he gazing (*sic*) downwards looking into the oil, up to seven times, his eyes being closed. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes, and you should ask him about what you desire. You do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

This papyrus contains a good dozen prescriptions for lecanomancy, and though this, the best source for ancient water divination, is in Egyptian Demotic it describes the same sort of magical rituals as can be found scattered in four Greek magical papyri,⁵ and is in fact more useful than these texts since it does not assume knowledge of the *modus operandi* as they do and actually describes in much detail the steps involved in this type of divination;⁶ thus this papyrus will be the most important reference for those hydromantic details to be found in Ovid's version of the Narcissus myth. There are, though, many other references to water divination in other types of sources, most of which I will refer to throughout this thesis. There even survives a bowl from the third century A.D. decorated with magical symbols (presumably used for lecanomancy) that was found with a magician's kit in Pergamum.⁷ Though all these sources range from the first century B.C. through to the fourth century A.D. and beyond, and usually extreme caution must be taken when dealing with sources so far removed chronologically, one must keep in mind Festugière's note concerning the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* that "pour le fond des recettes, la question de date n'a-t-elle pas grande importance, rien n'étant plus conservateur que la magie".⁸ Indeed it is remarkable that similar divinatory rites were still being performed in the nineteenth century in Egypt, as can be seen in Lane's description of a magical session in which a young boy looked into "the magic mirror of ink" in a room filled with

⁵ The Greek papyri which mention hydromancy are *PGM* III, IV, V, and VII (Preisendanz and Henrich use roman numerals to designate papyri containing pagan as opposed to Christian magical recipes). It must be noted also that the Demotic papyrus contains Greek passages and glosses in the same way that the Greek magical papyri have Demotic and Coptic portions. Cunen (1960) convincingly shows that *PGM* V.1-52 parallels perfectly prescriptions in the Demotic papyrus.

⁶ Griffith and Thompson (1921 [1974]), p. v, and Maspero (1923), p. 105.

⁷ Hull (1974), p. 15.

⁸ Festugière (1950), vol. 1, p. 283.

the smoke of perfumes, while words were indistinctly muttered, and saw in the ink the deceased Lord Nelson, describing him faultlessly.¹² Budge even wrote earlier this century.¹³

When the Orientals at the present day use the divining cup, or bowl, water is poured into it up to the brim, and the magician tells the enquirer to repeat the question to which he wants an answer and to look into the water. ... Sometimes the cup is filled with black water, or ink, when the scene on the surface of it becomes very plain. When no cup or bowl is available the enquirer is made to "cup" his hand and ink is poured into it.

The same type of divination also survived from antiquity into Byzantine and modern Greece.¹⁴

It is not my intention to meticulously examine the sources for or procedure of ancient hydromantic rituals: Boehm has in any case already carefully compiled all the information on hydromancy from the four magical papyri known to him to mention it.¹⁵ and others have given good summaries of the practice.¹⁶ Here then simply follows an examination of fifteen parallels between

¹² Lane (1846), vol. 2, chap. 12, pp. 93-99, cited by Hull (1974), pp. 21-22, and Luck (1985), p. 255 (who notes that indeed this survival of the practice is "truly astonishing").

¹³ Budge (1968 [1930]), p. 447, the story which he goes on to describe (pp. 447-449) does not involve this type of water divination though but another type in which the water is drunk.

¹⁴ Cf. Hopfner (1932), pp. 218-232, which is an analysis of a number of Byzantine texts collected by Delatte (1927), pp. 1-740. Dodds ([1973], p. 187 and n.4) also notes one modern Greek instance of hydromancy, taken from Rodd ([1892], p. 185). For other possible instances of the survival of the practice in Europe, see Lefebure (1902). Davis (1955) mentions some modern African examples of hydromancy of the reflection type, for instance (p. 132) in Gaboon: "A person seeking guidance or information may even peer into a pool. He sees the unrevealed past or the secrets of the future."

¹⁵ Boehm (1914), col. 80, l. 67 to col. 84, l. 1. The papyri are *PGM* IV, V, VII, and *PDM* xiv; Boehm does not mention the reference to lecanomancy at *PGM* III 275.

¹⁶ Hopfner ([1990], pp. 387-458, § 228-272) has given by far the most detailed account of ancient hydromancy: lecanomancy/catopromancy (which he correctly categorizes together, as I do in this thesis), dependent in part on Delatte, who had meticulously gone through some of the most important ancient evidence for water divination ([1932], pp. 133-154), and especially the evidence for mirror divination ([1932], *passim*). Dodds ([1973], pp. 186-92), who was, as he says (p. 186, n. 3), "heavily indebted" to Delatte, provides an excellent summary of what he calls "srying" in antiquity, with excellent references, and Luck ([1985], esp. pp. 254-255) relies mostly on Dodds. Nilsson too provides a good, short summary ([1969], pp. 146-148 [also quoted by Luck (1985), p. 254]) but without any citation of sources. Ninck ([1921 (1960)], pp. 49-57) uncritically cited a number of standard Greco-Roman sources but ignored the highly important Demotic evidence. Bouche-Leclercq ([1892], pp. 300-301) has little of use to say specifically on hydromancy/lecanomancy of the reflection type. De Waele's brief explanation of hydromancy and lecanomancy ([1927], pp. 158-163) is very inaccurate. Halliday's account of lecanomancy ([1967], pp. 145-162) is weak in not distinguishing ancient Greek practices from the mass of comparative material (sometimes quite irrelevant) that he brings to bear in his examination.

Ovidian description in his version of the Narcissus myth and hydromantic divinatory prescription. For ease of reference, all the parallels are listed in Appendix II.

I. YOUTHFULNESS AND NAÏVETE

Ovid, after speaking of his parents and foreshadowing his doom, says of Narcissus:¹⁷

*namque ter ad quinos unum Cephisius annum
addiderat poteratque puer iuvenisque videri*

The son of Cephisus had added one year to thrice five
and could seem to be both boy and youth.

The sixteen year old Narcissus is thus characterized by Ovid as being in a sort of liminal period of his life.¹⁸ Glenn says that Narcissus is "in a state of arrested adolescence" since he refuses to lose his identity to another in giving himself over to that person,¹⁹ and sees the idea of "arrested development" as an important motif of this myth as in others in Ovid.²⁰ Ovid then is emphasizing Narcissus' immaturity: in fact later Ovid says simply that Narcissus is a *puer*.²¹ Already in Conon's earlier version there is no doubt about Narcissus' youth: he is made out to be a παῖς.²²

Hopfner distinguished between the medium who could divine by his own powers (through a sort of self-suggestion that was thought to be a form of madness), such as some oracles, and the medium who needed a magical practitioner to hypnotize him: the last category was usually

¹⁷ Ov., *Met.* 3.351-352.

¹⁸ Henderson ([1979], p. 78) translates "halfway between boy and man", that is "*adulescens*".

¹⁹ Glenn (1986), p. 35.

²⁰ Glenn (1986), p. 38.

²¹ Ov., *Met.* 3.500.

²² Con., *Narr.* 24 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 134b29.

composed of children, especially boys.²³ The modern explanation for this is that few adults can experience hallucinations under hypnosis, while children can.²⁴ For the ancients there were two main reasons for the use of youths, namely their naïveté and persuadability, and their sexual purity. Dodds perhaps rightly connects closely these two traits, saying that though the medium was allegedly wanted for "sexual purity", it was presumably really because of his "greater suggestibility."²⁵

Both of these are of course characteristics of Narcissus, and I shall examine them one at a time. For the first case, as I have pointed out before in speaking about the self-love motif in the myth, Narcissus displays incredible naïveté (as a part of the curse on him?) in not realizing that the unattainable object of his love is himself.

Hopfner and Dodds have both found three examples of the need for young and persuadable mediums in three Platonists:²⁶ Apuleius, Iamblichus (in a section quoting Porphyry), and Olympiodorus.

Firstly, Apuleius, in his *Apologia*, defends himself against the charge, among others, that a boy had been bewitched by one of his spells (*puerum quempiam carmine cantatum*), causing him to fall to the ground and pass out. This supposedly had taken place at a solitary location (*secreto*

²³ Hopfner (1926), p. 65. On boy-mediums, see also Maspero (1923), pp. 114-120 (for lychnomancy in the Demotic papyrus) and pp. 123-126 (for lecanomancy in the Demotic papyrus), and Festugière (1950), vol. 1, pp. 348-350. Very rarely a virginal girl is called for as a medium in lecanomancy (for example, Cod. Athen. 1265, fol. 41, recto and Cod. Athen. 115, fol. 41, recto). Bremmer ([1983], p. 50, n. 102) notes that Dodds (1973) "leaves the preference for boys [i.e. as opposed to girls] unexplained" and makes no attempt himself at explaining it. Presumably boys were usually used simply because females were considered to be "exceptionally susceptible to impurity and dirt" (von Staden [1992], p. 13 [with a discussion on pp. 13-15]).

²⁴ Dodds (1973), p. 186, and Luck (1985), pp. 254 and 260, n. 68 (who depends on Dodds).

²⁵ Dodds (1973), p. 309, n. 115.

²⁶ Hopfner (1926), p. 66, and Dodds (1951), p. 297 with n. 114 on p. 309, and (1973), pp. 190 and 201 (with n. 3). It is quite probable though that it is a simple coincidence that this evidence comes from Platonists; in fact Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 2.32.3) mentions the use of boy-mediums in passing in a passage not noticed by either Hopfner, in his otherwise fairly exhaustive study, or by Dodds. Furthermore, Cunneen ([1960], p. 68) has noted that the use of young mediums was originally an Egyptian and Oriental practice adopted by the Greeks.

loco) far from spectators (*remotis arbutis*) (except for a few co-conspirators [*paucis consociis testibus*]), where a small altar (*arula*) and a lamp (*lucerna*) were set up.²⁷ Aside from noting that the boy (named Thallus) had simply fallen because he was an epileptic.²⁸ Apuleius showed that his accusers had not even fabricated a believable lie about him, since it should have been added that the boy had revealed the future to him.²⁹

Apuleius explained that the opinion that boys have this divinatory ability is held both by the common and the learned elements of society (*nec modo vulgi opinione, verum etiam doctorum virorum auctoritate hoc miraculum de pueris confirmatur*).³⁰ He went on to cite Varro on two examples of this but later said that such stories could be found in a number of different (unspecified) authors.³¹ The first example from Varro³² is obviously hydromantic:

Memini me apud Varronem philosophum, virum accuratissime doctum atque eruditum, cum alia eiusdem modi, tum hoc etiam legere: Trallibus de eventu Mithridatici belli magica percontatione consultantibus puerum in aqua simulacrum Mercuri contemplantem quae futura erant centum sexaginta versibus cecinisse.

I remember that, along with other similar methods, I read this as well in the philosopher Varro, a very careful, learned and knowledgeable man: when the people of Tralles consulted a boy in a magical inquiry concerning the outcome of the [First] Mithridatic War, the boy uttered what would occur in the future in one hundred and sixty verses as he saw an image of Mercury in the water.

The second example simply speaks of boys being impelled by the spells (*pueros carmine instinctos*)

²⁷ Apul., *Apol.* 42.3-4.

²⁸ Apul., *Apol.* 43.8-10.

²⁹ Apul., *Apol.* 42.5.

³⁰ Apul., *Apol.* 42.5.

³¹ Apul., *Apol.* 42.6-8 and 43.1. It is truly unfortunate that Apuleius does not cite these other sources, but he may mean Pseudo-Ostanes or Bolus of Mendes (as will be seen later). Unfortunately for modern scholars it does not help that Augustus burned some two thousand books on divination in 12 B.C. (Suet., *Vit. Aug.* 31.1).

³² Apul., *Apol.* 42.6; Boyancé believed that Varro learned about this anecdote first hand in his travels ([1955], pp. 69-70, n. 3). In a similar story, the emperor Didius Julianus was said to use boys to predict the future with the use of a mirror: one of the boys supposedly claimed that he saw Severus replacing Didius Julianus (*Il. A. Did. Julian.* 7.10-11).

of Nigidius Figulus to reveal (*indicavisse*) the location of money stolen by another person.” There is no indication in this second instance that hydromancy is involved, and I would argue that the use of the verb *indico* being applied to the boys rather than, say, one involving seeing (i.e. something in the water) or even hearing³³ shows that simple prophecy is being described.” Butler and Owen have thought, assuming both these examples involved water divination, that Apuleius may have alluded to the use of the boy Thallus as a hydromantic medium:³⁴ there is no way of knowing for certain, and though the presence of the lamp could point to lychnomancy, it could indeed have a role in hydromancy as well, as will be seen. But just like Varro’s second example, simply through a spell recited by the magician, and through no special medium as water or fire, the boy Thallus could be thought to be able to foretell (*praedixisse*)³⁵ the future. There is in fact an example of a boy-medium performing simple prophecy, by falling in a trance and seeing the gods, in one of the magical papyri.³⁶

To continue, Apuleius, after wondering about the plausibility of such stories as Varro recounts,³⁷ goes on (in a very important passage for my thesis) to explain, from Plato’s theory of the δαίμων as intermediary between men and gods,³⁸ why he thinks boys would make such good

³³ Apul., *Apol.* 42.7-8.

³⁴ Varro spoke of hearing in an instance of hydromancy (ap. August., *de Civ. Dei* 7.35.1 and ap. Isid., *Etym.* 8.9.12). Dodds ([1973], p. 191 and n. 2, cf. p. 192) cites a number of other instances to prove that the medium was expected to both see and hear the being in question.

³⁵ Abt ([1908], p. 251) argued as I do that lecanomancy in this case was not involved, but Dodds ([1973], p. 189, n. 4) has argued against him that “serving” was probably involved mainly on the strength that more than one boy is spoken of, because this parallels *H. A. Did. Julian.* 7.10-11, which describes catoptromancy (though elsewhere ([1951], p. 263, n. 70] he was more cautious in not citing the procedure here involved).

³⁶ Butler and Owen (1914), p. 101.

³⁷ Apul., *Apol.* 42.4.

³⁸ *PGM* VII 549.

³⁹ Apul., *Apol.* 43.1-2.

⁴⁰ Pl., *Symp.* 202d13-203a8; cf. *Rep.* 392a, 427b, 617d, and *Leg.* 713d, 717b; Apuleius also discusses this demonological theory in *de Deo Socr.* 6. This is not Plato’s only demonological theory: see Rist (1963), pp. 13-24 and Brisson (1992), pp. 469-470.

mediums:⁴¹

... illud mecum reputo posse animum humanum. praesertim puerilem et simplicem. seu carminum avocamento sive odorum delenimento soporari et ad oblivionem praesentium externari et paulisper remota corporis memoria redigi ac redire ad naturam suam, quae est immortalis scilicet et divina. atque ita velut quodam sopore futura rerum praesagare.

... [because of Plato's demonological theory] I am aware that it is possible that the human soul, especially a childish and simple one, be put to sleep, either through the seduction of spells or through the soothing effect of smells, and that it be brought outside of the realm of perception to the point of oblivion, and, for a little while, having repressed the memory of the body, to be brought back and to return to its natural state, which is, of course, immortal and divine, and so, just as in a sort of sleep, to predict the future.

The concept of divination in (a sort of) sleep was a widespread one.⁴² as was the use of music for such.⁴³ though it is interesting that smells too are mentioned as a means, and this will have to be pondered again later. The most important point in this explanation for my present purposes is the fact that a soul which is *puerilis* and *simplex* can be very effective for predicting the future since it most easily can put aside temporal and material distractions. Apuleius does not go so far as to say that the soul leaves the body to gather information (a very common means in the belief of antiquity⁴⁴), but perhaps implies it. But in any case it is difficult to understand how he would conclude such a thing from Plato's theory of the δαίμων as intermediary, especially since he does not mention any δαίμων as being actively involved in the divination. It actually makes more sense in the context of Plato's concept of the δαίμων as one's upper, separable, soul.⁴⁵ or else of the

⁴¹ Apul., *Apol.* 43.3.

⁴² For example, see Aristot., *de Philos.* ap. Sext. Emp., *Phys.* 1.20-23; Xen., *Cyr.* 8.7.21; and Iambl., *de Myst.* 3.3. See Festugière ([1950], vol. 1, pp. 312-317) on direct revelation in dreams or in ecstasy.

⁴³ Cf. Iambl., *Vit. Pyth.* 114 (music for good dreams in sleep) and Arist. Quint., *de Mus.* 3.116 (Pythagoras' dying words that "souls cannot ascend without music").

⁴⁴ See Nelson (1996), pp. 21-26.

⁴⁵ Pl., *Tim.* 77b and 89e-90a (a work which was known to Apuleius [cf. *de Plat.* passim]); this was originally a Pythagorean notion (cf. Aet. Placit., 4.7.5).

δαίμων as guide of the soul into the non-corporeal reality.⁴⁶ but this is no place to examine Apuleius' whole demonology.⁴⁷

We find confirmation of the *puerilis* and *simplex* formula for a good medium in the Neoplatonist Porphyry, as quoted by Iamblichus (in the late third or early fourth century A.D.):⁴⁸

τὸ δ' εἶναι μὴ πάντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους καὶ νέους ἐπιτηδαιστέρους

Not all people but only the more simple-minded and young are better suited [for divination].

Iamblichus explained that this was because they are more prepared to receive the spirit that comes in from outside and takes possession of them.⁴⁹

Thirdly, Olympiodorus (in the sixth century A.D.) writes:⁵⁰

διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ οἱ παῖδες μᾶλλον καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀγροῖς διατρίβοντες. ὥς ἀφελεῖς καὶ ἀπλοῖ. ἐνθουσιῶσιν·

because both young boys and those living in the country are unimaginative and simple-minded they will be more readily possessed by a god.

In connection with this, Dodds notes that Plutarch says that the Pythia was a simple country girl.⁵¹

* Pl., *Remp.* 10.617de, 10.620a, and *Phd.* 81ef, 107cd.

* Abt ([1908], pp. 252-257) examines Apuleius' demonology in this passage while Dillon ([1996], pp. 317-320) has an excellent summary of its place in Apuleius' *de Plat.* and especially *de Deo Socr.* On Apuleius' use of Plato for his demonological theories, see Brenk (1986), p. 2134.

* Porph., *Ep. ad Aneb.* ap. Iambl., *de Myst.* 3.24.

* Iambl., *de Myst.* 3.24: καταδοχὴν τῷ ἔξωθεν ἐπεισιόντι καὶ κατέχοντι πνεύματι οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν ἐτοιμότεροι.

* Olympiod., *Comm. ad Pl. Alc. Maior* 8.12-13.

* Dodds (1951), p. 309, n. 115, citing Plut., *de Pyth. Orac.* 22.405c.

2. SEXUAL PURITY

As mentioned above, the second reason for having a child as a medium was because of his sexual purity. Narcissus of course is the ultimate spurner of sex. Though youths seek him.⁵²

nulli illum iuvenes, nullae terigere puellae

Neither boys nor girls caught his fancy.

Ovid goes on with an example of his lack of interest when he recounts the story of Echo.⁵³ then says of Narcissus:⁵⁴

*Sic hanc, sic alias undis aut montibus ortas
luserat hic nymphas, sic coetus ante viriles;*

In this way he had mocked her and other nymphs
of the waves or mountains and groups of men.

This aspect of Narcissus' character was already present in Conon's account.⁵⁵

Hopfner saw sexual purity as the primary presupposition of the utility of the child as a medium as well as a magician's assistant;⁵⁶ the *locus classicus* for the explanation of this is in Porphyry, who speaks of sex as defilement of the soul since it forces the soul to associate with the body.⁵⁷ There is in fact one precise example of the need for sexual purity in lecanomancy, stating

⁵² Ov., *Met.* 3.355.

⁵³ Ov., *Met.* 3.356-401.

⁵⁴ Ov., *Met.* 3.402-403.

⁵⁵ Con., *Narr.* ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 134b30-35.

⁵⁶ Hopfner (1926), p. 65.

⁵⁷ Porph., *de Abst.* 4.20. Furthermore, Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* 5.10.1-2) also quotes Porphyry that higher forces listen to invocations from mortals only if these abstain from sex as well as from eating meat or touching the dead, but that on the other hand they paradoxically encourage sexual orgies and animal sacrifices. Both of these references are cited by Hopfner ([1926], p. 66). Parker ([1983], chap. 3, pp. 74-103) discusses the ancient need for sexual purity in religious (as well as magical) rites, but explains it in terms of shame of bodily functions and of the need to separate sacred and profane and not in Porphyry's manner (though he refers to him at [1983], p. 75, n. 4).

that, the medium should be "a pure youth who has not yet gone with a woman".⁵⁸ The same requirement is found also in closely-related lychnomancy prescriptions,⁵⁹ as well as in a spell for a more generic method of trance-inducement attributed to King Solomon.⁶⁰

Most often, purity in general of the youth, rather than specifically sexual purity, is spoken of. Thus the medium must remain pure for seven days in one prescription for lecanomancy;⁶¹ another rite adds to the seven days the need of abstention from meat and bathing.⁶² Also it is "a pure youth" who must be "tested in his ears" to determine his usefulness as a hydromantic medium.⁶³ Another aspect of purity involved in the lecanomantic ritual is the wrapping of the boy-medium in linen⁶⁴ and, as I will examine later, the purity of the location for the ritual and the purity of the water in which the pure youth gazes are also important.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ *PDM* xiv 68 = *LL* III 11. Dodds is not strictly correct when he says that hydromancy was done by proxy in antiquity by invariably using "a boy or a team of boys below the age of puberty" ([1973], p. 190); virginity and not necessarily prepubescence is spoken of in the magical papyri (see Maspero [1923], p. 114), and multiple mediums are only implied in the catoptromancy in *H. A. Did. Julian*, 7.10-11.

⁵⁹ The medium must be "a youth who has not yet gone with a woman" (*PDM* xiv 769 = *LL* XXV 20) or a youth "being pure, he not having gone with a woman" (*PDM* xiv 819 = *LL* XXVII 15). In one lychnomancy the boy is to be uncorrupt and pure (*PGM* VII 544) and in a heliomancy the medium is "a pure youth" (*PDM* xiv 857 = *LL* XXIX 1); see also the "request for divination" (as it is called in Betz (1986), p. 39, n. 27) involving Helios (*PGM* IV 89).

⁶⁰ In this case, the one to go into the trance must be pure, not having had sex for three days, and the magician too must be pure (*PGM* IV 897-898 [cf. Betz (1986), p. 55, n. 121]); Hopfner speaks of this whole passage in great detail ([1926], pp. 65, 67, n. 1, and 70-71).

⁶¹ *PGM* IV 3209-3210, cf. 3247.

⁶² *PGM* IV 734-735 (cited by Hopfner [1926], p. 66).

⁶³ *PDM* xiv 287 = *LL* X 14-15; the test elsewhere to see the medium's usefulness is to be done by speaking "down into his head" as he stands (*PDM* xiv 68 = *LL* III 11-12), and if both of the boy's ears "spoke" he was considered very good, if only the right, good, if only the left, bad (*PDM* xiv 77 = *LL* III 18-20); the incantation to be spoken is given in *PDM* xiv 74-75 = *LL* III 16-18.

⁶⁴ *PDM* xiv 70 = *LL* III 13; see also the use of a "clean robe" in a lecanomancy (*PDM* xiv 845 = *LL* XXVIII 6). In an invocation to Helios a pure linen garment is to be spread out on the floor (*PGM* IV 170). Apuleius (*Apol.* 44.2) also mentions the boy-medium wearing a "pure garment" (*purum pallium*) (cited in Dodds [1951], p. 296, and discussed by Abt [1908], pp. 262-264 [with parallels]).

⁶⁵ On the fundamental importance of purity in all aspects of hydromancy, see Maspero (1923), pp. 109-110 and 127.

3. FASTING

Ovid says of Narcissus:⁶⁶

Non illum Cereris. non illum cura quietis / abstrahere inde potest ...

No thought of food or rest can draw him from there ...

Vinge in fact speaks of the "hunger and thirst" motif in Ovid's version of the Narcissus myth, in that Narcissus goes to quench his thirst at the spring where he is then afflicted with another thirst (the love of his reflection), then eventually dies of physical as well as mental starvation.⁶⁷ As has been shown though, fasting was also part of divinatory practices, including hydromancy; one text prescribes fasting for three days,⁶⁸ another for a whole week.⁶⁹

4. BEAUTY

Narcissus is also a paradigm of beauty. In Ovid it is said:⁷⁰

dumque hibat. visae correptus imagine formae

and when he drank, he is smitten by the sight of the beauty⁷¹ he sees

His eyes are *geminum ... sidus* ("twin stars") and his hair is *dignos Baccho. dignos et Apolline* ("worthy of Bacchus, worthy of Apollo too"). he has smooth cheeks (*inpubesque genas*) and an

⁶⁶ Ov., *Met.* 3.437-438.

⁶⁷ Vinge (1986), pp. 17-18. The notion that love makes one forget about food and drink was of course a common one in antiquity; see, for example, Pl., *Symp.* 191a8, and Long., *Daphn.* 1.13, 17, and 2.7-8.

⁶⁸ *Thessal.* 16, on which see Dodds (1973), p. 188 and J. Smith (1993), p. 180, n. 35.

⁶⁹ *PGM* IV 734-735.

⁷⁰ Ov., *Met.* 3.416.

⁷¹ Of course *forma* could also simply mean "form".

ivory neck (*eburnea colla*).⁷³ Narcissus says to his image:⁷⁴

... certe nec forma nec aetas / est mea, quam fugias, et amarunt me quoque nymphae!

... surely neither my appearance nor my age are such that you would flee them, since even the nymphs have loved me!

At Narcissus' end it is said that:⁷⁵

lumina mors clausit domini mirantia formam

death shut the eyes which admired their owner's beauty

Already in Conon Narcissus is said to be very beautiful.⁷⁶ Later Hyginus listed Narcissus among the all-time beautiful boys of mythology.⁷⁶ Lucian cited him as well in a similar sort of catalogue,⁷⁷ and though in one comic account he connected Narcissus with Socrates in the afterlife⁷⁸ in another satiric passage he showed that the great beauties such as Helen and Narcissus were reduced to indistinguishable bones after death.⁷⁹ In any case, as Statius said, Narcissus was "famous for his beauty",⁸⁰ especially after Ovid.

Now Apuleius, again in his *Apologia*, informs us:⁸¹

⁷³ Ov., *Met.* 3.420-422.

⁷⁴ Ov., *Met.* 3.455-456.

⁷⁵ Ov., *Met.* 3.503.

⁷⁶ Con., *Narr.* 24 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 134b29-30: πάνυ καλός.

⁷⁷ Hyg., *Fab.* 271.

⁷⁸ Luc., *Charid.* 24.

⁷⁹ Luc., *Ver. Hist.* 2.17 and 19.

⁸⁰ Luc., *Dial. Mort.* 11.1 and 3.

⁸¹ Stat., *Theb.* 7.340-341: *praeclarum forma ... / Narcissum*.

⁸² Apul., *Apol.* 43.4-5.

debet ille nescio qui puer providus. quantum ego audio. et corpore decorus atque integer deligi et animo sollers et ore facundus. ut in eo aut divina potestas quasi honis aedibus digne diversetur. si tamen ea pueri corpore includitur. an ipse animus expurgatus cito ad divinationem suam redigatur. quae ei prompte insita et nulla oblivione saucia et hebes facile resumatur.

A foreseeing boy, whoever he may be, must be, as far as I hear, one who is chosen both beautiful of body and untainted, as well as clever of mind and eloquent in speech, so that in him either the divine power dwells worthily as if in a good abode, if only it is actually enclosed in the body of the boy, or the soul itself roused suddenly is restored to its own divinatory powers, which, since they are readily innate in it [the soul], and since they have not been impaired and dulled by forgetfulness, are easily recovered.

Apuleius thus explains that beauty is a prerequisite for the boy-medium both in cases of divine possession (an interiorization [see *includitur*⁴²]) as well as those in which the soul, through its own powers, is able to somehow (as seen before, Apuleius mentions that this could be done by spells and smells) separate itself from or transcend the corporeal (an exteriorization [see *externari*⁴³]). This distinction of two means of divination was actually a rather common one in antiquity.⁴⁴

Apuleius then goes on, as part of his defense, to show that Thallus, the boy accused of having been his divinatory medium, was very ugly and physically unfit.⁴⁵ and not at all the prerequisite⁴⁶

puer sanus. incolumis. ingeniosus. decorus. quem ego carmine dignitatus sim initiare.

healthy boy, in sound condition, clever, beautiful, whom I would consider worthy to be initiated with spells.

⁴² Apul., *Apol.* 43.5.

⁴³ Apul., *Apol.* 43.3.

⁴⁴ See, for example, *Thessal.* 11 and *Damasc., Comm. ad Pl. Phd.* 2.110 on *Pl., Phd.* 108a7-108b3.

⁴⁵ Apul., *Apol.* 43.8-10.

⁴⁶ Apul., *Apol.* 43.7.

Apuleius, while he does explain why beauty is important for possession (since the divinity will be attracted to a beautiful medium) does not explain what this has to do with the second form of divination. Could it be that a hydromantic medium's beauty would have been expected to entrance him when he saw himself reflected in water? This would obviously have a close connection with the Narcissus myth. Indeed it may well be an allusion to the Platonic notion that contemplation of physical instances of beauty can aid in transcending the corporeal and approach Beauty in itself, that is the One.⁸⁷ Suffice it to say that Apuleius at least testifies to the fact that the medium of the sort needed for hydromancy was to be beautiful, healthy, virginal, clever, and eloquent. The last two traits may seem to contradict Apuleius' earlier prescription for a simple-minded medium, but surely Apuleius means that though the boy is to be naïve (that is, intellectually pure as he is physically pristine) he must still be able to recognize and express the images he sees in the water.⁸⁸

5. PRONE POSITION

Ovid mentions Narcissus' water-gazing pose three times: *procubuit* ("he lay stretched out"),⁸⁹ *humi positus* ("he was placed on the ground"),⁹⁰ and *opaca fusus in herba* ("he was spread out/extended on the shady grass").⁹¹ Very interestingly though, all surviving representations of Narcissus do not faithfully reproduce Ovid's description of a prone Narcissus. Most of the Pompeiian wall paintings of Narcissus⁹² show him sitting (or, more accurately, reclining); in two he is kneeling, and in two others he is standing. A Vespasianic wall painting from Torre

⁸⁷ Cf. Pl., *Symp.* 209e5-212a7.

⁸⁸ As Maspero ([1923], p. 114) has shown, the medium had to be young enough to ensure that he was a virgin but old enough to be able to understand what was asked of him.

⁸⁹ Ov., *Met.* 3.414; Anon., *Myth. Var.* 1.182.16 and 2.207.19 has *procubuisse* on the model of Ovid.

⁹⁰ Ov., *Met.* 3.420.

⁹¹ Ov., *Met.* 3.438.

⁹² There are twenty-two listed in Raft (1992) and this is said to be only a selection; Zimmerman ([1994], p. 14, n. 22) counts thirty-three while Rose ([1996], p. 1026) claims that there are "nearly 50 murals" in Pompeii alone. All of these seem to be of Neronian or more often of Vespasianic date.

dell'Annunziata has Narcissus, depicted as a hermaphrodite, standing. Also a Neronian stucco relief found in a villa at Petrarò depicts Narcissus sitting. In a painting described by Philostratus and a statue described by Callistratus Narcissus is standing.⁴³ Only in J. W. Waterhouse's 1903 painting *Echo and Narcissus* is Ovid's prone Narcissus properly represented.

The fact that Ovid's prone Narcissus is not to be found in the artistic sources has not been stressed by scholars. Raft wrote:⁴⁴

No doubt the influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is manifest when in Pompeii and elsewhere the interior wall of the houses were decorated, because the paintings draw heavily on the story told by Ovid about how Narcissus realized his great beauty which finally destroyed him.

Viarre came closer to the truth when she noted that the setting of the Narcissus myth is very differently portrayed in painting than in Ovid, with the addition of rocks, columns, and animals.⁴⁵

It is not easy to explain the discrepancy between literary and iconographical evidence on this point. Certainly the inability of the Pompeiian artists to portray the prone position must be ruled out, since their skills in such matters are amply attested by, for instance, the surviving depictions of sexual poses. The most common position of Narcissus, that of reclining, is also found in a wall painting of Tyndareus for example,⁴⁶ proving that this pose certainly was not peculiar to Narcissus. Perhaps then the explanation is simply that this was a standard position for (certain) mythological figures. But another solution comes to mind. Perhaps the iconographical motif of "prone youth gazing into water" had already different associations, magical ones. In the Demotic papyrus it is

⁴³ Philostr., *Imag.* 1.23 and Callistr., *Stat. Descr.* 5. The typical pose of Narcissus in statuary is to have his arms crossed over his head. Overbeck ([no date], p. 171, cited by Zanker [1966], p. 163) has said that this gesture "is translated to the standing figure from a sleeping position" ("aber sie ist auf die stehenden Figuren aus der Lage im Schlafen übertragen").

⁴⁴ Raft (1992), p. 709, col. 2.

⁴⁵ Viarre (1964), p. 95.

⁴⁶ Cf. Gell and Gandy (1880), plate of Leda and Tyndareus (no p. no).

said:⁹⁷

you make the youth lie down on his stomach.

And again (as quoted before):⁹⁸

you should make him [the medium] lie down on his belly.

The same prescription of the boy-medium lying down on the ground is also paralleled in two Greek magical papyri.⁹⁹ One Greek lecanomancy of Serapis¹⁰⁰ cites the need of a bench, presumably to have the boy lie prone.¹⁰¹ One Greek papyrus, it is true, states that the bowl used in lecanomancy was to be placed on the medium's knees,¹⁰² but I would argue that the prone position was sufficiently well associated with hydromancy (in which a bowl need not be used, as we shall see) as well as lychnomancy so as to be associated directly with divination when found in combination (in a literary or iconographical source) with the aspects of the youth gazing into water. This parallel between Ovidian description and divinatory prescription, when seen in combination with all the other parallels which I shall adduce, may well indicate that great caution must be used when trying to find the Narcissus' originating context through the iconographical evidence rather than through the earlier, and ostensibly more faithful, literary evidence.

⁹⁷ *PDM* xiv 413 = *LL* XIV 19.

⁹⁸ *PDM* xiv 69 = *LL* III 12; the Demotic literally reads "on the face of (?) his belly" which is a "curious expression" according to Griffith and Thompson (1921 [1974]), p. 34, n. on l. 12.

⁹⁹ *PGM* IV 174 and *PGM* VII 348.

¹⁰⁰ *PGM* V 1-53.

¹⁰¹ This is assumed, for example, by Hull (1974), p. 21, and Luck (1985), p. 255. The bench would prevent the medium from becoming impure by being soiled by the dirt on the ground (see Maspero [1923], p. 115). Cunen ([1960], pp. 67-69) examines other possibilities (with references) for the identity of the βᾶθρον here, that it is a seat (and not a bench) for the medium, a support for the bowl, the throne for the god (perhaps not even really material), or a small altar.

¹⁰² *PGM* IV 229-230 and 3251-3252; but at *PGM* IV 3218 the bowl is to be on the floor, a prescription which is consistent with a prone medium.

6. IMMOBILITY

Ovid at one point says¹⁰³ that Narcissus is immobile (*immutus*) and stuck (*haeret*) to the ground, and also likens him to a statue (though he is not always still). Proclus, in his commentary on Plato's *Republic*, recounts a very strange (and certainly apocryphal) story told by Clearchus about his teacher Aristotle performing an experiment on a boy, in which his soul was driven out and returned to his immobile body;¹⁰⁴ Hopfner has paralleled this tale to the use of the boy-medium in magical rites.¹⁰⁵ Though there is no ancient account of hydromancy that explicitly speaks of the immobility of the medium, the escape of the soul from the body that resulted in the immobility of the body (but not its death) was supposedly a common means to gain knowledge from a preternatural source. Thus there was a story that a certain Hermotimus of Clazomenae would fall into trances in which his body was totally still and he allowed his soul to leave his body; once, although he had warned his wife that nobody should touch his naked, corpse-like body, his enemies burned it while he was in one of his trances, leaving his soul with no place to return.¹⁰⁶ Other such stories involving immobility as a consequence of soul-loss allowed for the purposes of revealing arcane information can be associated with Pythagoras, and perhaps even Socrates, among others.¹⁰⁷

Obviously Narcissus' immobility could simply be interpreted as resulting from his total concentration and fascination with the image of himself in the water. Yet, as we have seen, Apuleius spoke of the beautiful boy-medium transcending the corporeal, presumably in a hydromantic rite, with his soul "restored to its own divinatory powers",¹⁰⁸ and following the common

¹⁰³ Ov., *Met.* 3.418-419.

¹⁰⁴ Clearch., *de Somn.* ap. Procl., *Comm. ad Pl. Remp.* vol. 2, p. 122, l. 17 to p. 124, l. 27.

¹⁰⁵ Hopfner, (1926) pp. 67, n.2, and 71.

¹⁰⁶ Bol. Mend., *Mir.* (?) ap. Apollon., *Mir.* 3; Plut., *de Gen. Socr.* 592-593; Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 7.174; Orig., *Contr. Cels.* 3.32; Tert., *de Anim.* 44; and Luc., *Musc. Enc.* 7.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Nelson (1996), pp. 21-26 (esp. p. 24 on Pythagoras). See Clark (1968), pp. 63-75 (esp. pp. 66-67), not known to me when I wrote my article.

¹⁰⁸ Apul., *Apol.* 43.4: *animus expergitus cito ad divinationem suam redigatur.*

conception in antiquity this would have had the effect of leaving the boy's body totally still.

7. INVIOULATE LOCATION

Ovid explains that the grove where Narcissus gazes into the water was never trodden by shepherds, she-goats, or any other cattle.¹⁰⁹ Viarre has noted that Ovid uses this inviolate grove *topos* often in the *Metamorphoses*,¹¹⁰ and rightly shows that the sacred grove of Narcissus is portrayed negatively as forbidden and untrodden to emphasize its purity, which is like that of the boy.¹¹¹ Similarly, Rudd noted: "Like Narcissus himself, the place is isolated and without warmth".¹¹² But the place is also isolated as would be the location picked for a private magical rite, such as the *secretus locus* mentioned in Apuleius.¹¹³ Also the purity and cleanliness of the location (as is stressed in Ovid since it is a place devoid not only of those animals but also necessarily of their ubiquitous droppings) can be found for a lecanomancy in the Demotic papyrus:¹¹⁴

you go to a clean place; you bring a copper vessel.

Again, in a Byzantine text, lecanomancy is to be performed εἰς τόπον καθάρων ("in a clean/pure place").¹¹⁵ Dodds has indeed noted that the requirement of a τόπος καθάρως was a very common one in ancient magical practice and he cites a number of other prescriptions for it.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ Ov., *Met.* 3.408-409: [*fons*] *quem neque pastores neque pastae monte capellae / contigerant aliudve pecus.*

¹¹⁰ Viarre (1964), p. 172 (with references). Glenn links this to the sacred groves of Mars' serpent and that of Diana ([1986], p. 36), as well as from the myth of Glaucus and the pool of Salmacis ([1986], pp. 178-179). Wilkinson ([1962], pp. 80-81) also shows other parallel idyllic descriptions of scenery in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

¹¹¹ Viarre (1964), pp. 94-95 and 195.

¹¹² Rudd (1986), p. 45.

¹¹³ Apul., *Apol.* 42.3.

¹¹⁴ *PDM* xiv 844 = LL XXVIII 4.

¹¹⁵ Cod. Bonon. 3632, p. 496, l. 2.

¹¹⁶ Dodds (1951), p. 290 and n. 57 on p. 304, citing *PGM* II 147, IV 28, 1927; *Thessal.* 26; and Olympiod., *Comm. ad Pl. Alc. Maior* 20 (but not the two sources that I quote).

8. GAZING INTO WATER

Not only is the visual aspect of Ovid's version often emphasized by scholars,¹¹⁷ especially as the counterpart to the auditory aspect of Echo's story (as has been seen), the important role that water plays in the myth has been admitted as well.¹¹⁸ This combined motif of water-gazing, already found in Conon,¹¹⁹ and, as noted earlier, a fundamental one of the myth, is of course the clearest parallel with divinatory prescriptions.¹²⁰ Strangely though, not all depictions of Narcissus at Pompeii portray him as looking at his image though he is shown by the pool in which he is reflected. One such case, which I have reproduced as the frontispiece, is noted by Rafn,¹²¹ but in another I think she mistakenly says that Narcissus is looking at himself since this is not at all clear.¹²² Highly interestingly though, some depictions of Narcissus actually have him looking into a bowl,¹²³ which parallels the most clearly attested form of hydromancy, lecanomancy.¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ Hadot ([1976], p. 89, citing Fränkel [1956], p. 213, n. 30) shows that the motif of sight can be found in the Narcissus myth and a number of others in Book 3 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Ovid uses many terms relating to sight in the Narcissus myth, for example, Ov., *Met.* 416 (*visae*), 420 (*spectat ... lumina*), 428 (*visum*), 430 (*videt*), 431 (*oculos*), 434 (*cernis*), 439 (*spectat ... lumine*), 440 (*oculos*), 446 (*video*), 492 (*visa*), 494 (*vidit*), 499 (*spectantis*), 505 (*spectabat*).

¹¹⁸ Hadot (1976), p. 98, and Viarre (1964), p. 343.

¹¹⁹ Con., *Narr.* 24 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 134b35-37.

¹²⁰ Cf. *PGM* IV 229, *PDM* xiv 8, 19, 39-40 = *LL* I 8, 19-20 and II 11-12 (the boy "whose face is bent [down] over this vessel [or oil]"), and *PDM* xiv 71 = *LL* III 14 ("he gazing downwards looking into the oil").

¹²¹ Rafn (1992), pt. 1, p. 704, col. 1 (no. 3 = Pompeii II.2.2-5 [b] [Domus M. Lorei Tiburtini]): "Face reflected in the water, but he gazes upward".

¹²² Rafn (1992), pt. 1, p. 704, col. 1 (no. 1 = Pompeii V.4.11 [i] [Domus Lucretii Frontonis]); Elsner ([1996], p. 247) seems to make the same mistake. This wall painting is the most commonly reproduced one depicting Narcissus (see, for example, Zimmerman [1994], p. xv, fig. 1, and Elsner in Kampen [1996], p. 248, fig. 103; it appears in full colour on the front of D'Or and Pirone [no date]).

¹²³ Rafn (1992), pt. 1, p. 706, col. 1 (no. 32 = Naples Mus. Naz. 9382 [from Pompeii]) and p. 707, col. 2 (no. 46 = Pompeii VI.9.6-7 [49] [Casa dei Dioscuri]); cf. p. 707, col. 2 (no. 47 = Naples Mus. Naz. 9388 [from Pompeii]), in which Echo pours the water from a hydria into a pool as Eros pours it into the bowl in the last example.

¹²⁴ Bouché-Leclercq ([1892], p. 300 on fig. 2478 [on p. 301] and p. 309 on fig. 2481) cites two examples of wall-paintings which he believes involve lecanomancy; the first, from the house of Livia on the Palatine, shows one woman standing before a seated woman who is holding a wand, while the second, from Pompeii, shows Cassandra holding twigs with vessels nearby. De Waele ([1927], pp. 153 and 161-162) rightly doubted that the first instance represented water divination (as did also Mudie Cooke [1913], p. 168, showing that it may well simply show "an ordinary domestic sacrifice") but believed that the second certainly did since he assumed that a wand or rod was used (though he did not know how) in this type of magic. But

9. USE OF SPRINGWATER

Ovid explains that Narcissus gazes into water where¹²⁵

fons erat inlimis, nitidis argenteus undis

there was an unmuddied spring, silvery in its glittering surface

This is an important line for my argument,¹²⁶ and I will return to it a few times in what follows. The first point to make from it is the fact that the water gazed at by Narcissus is said to be from a spring.¹²⁷ Already in Conon this detail is to be found,¹²⁸ and much later Ausonius spoke of a "sacred spring" as the cause of Narcissus' death,¹²⁹ and Nonnus simply called it the "spring of death".¹³⁰

Hydromantic rituals also used springwater specifically for divination with the use of the dead. This is detailed for lecanomancy in the fourth century A.D. Great Magical Papyrus from Paris:¹³¹

βάλε ὕδωρ | - ἐὰν μὲν τοὺς ἐπουρανίους θεοὺς κλήζη, ζήνιον. | ἐὰν δὲ τοὺς
ἐπιγείους, θαλάσσιον. ἐὰν δὲ Ὅσιριν ἢ τὸν | Σάραπιν, ποτάμιον. ἐὰν δὲ

there is absolutely no evidence for the use of such a wand or rod nor could the need for its use be inferred from what we know about the manner in which water divination was performed in antiquity. Furthermore, neither of these two cases shows any of the elements readily to be associated with hydromancy (such as a youthful medium or even the gazing into the vessel) though a painting in the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii, which will be fully discussed below at the end of Chapter IV, does.

¹²⁵ Ov., *Met.* 3.407.

¹²⁶ Schickel also emphasizes the importance of this line, placing it at the front of his article ([1962], p. 486).

¹²⁷ This detail is also repeated at Ov., *Met.* 3.414.

¹²⁸ Con., *Narr.* 24 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 134b36-37: ἐπὶ κρήνης ... τῷ ὕδατι.

¹²⁹ Auson., *Techn.* 10.2: *flore alio reus est Narcissi morte sacer fons.*

¹³⁰ Nonn., *Dion.* 11.322: φονίη παρὰ πηγῇ; it is also a spring at Anon., *Myth. Var.* 1.182.15 and 2.207.19 among other sources.

¹³¹ *PGM* IV 224-227; this passage is actually cited by Eitrem in his study of Narcissus ([1935], col. 1728, ll. 48-68) to show the possible magical properties of water. Rainwater is also mentioned in Cod. Bonon. 3632, p. 496, l. 1 (ὕδωρ δμβριον) and riverwater is also to be found in *PGM* IV 3215-3216.

νέκυας, πηγαῖον ...

Pour water: rainwater if you are calling upon heavenly gods, seawater if gods of the earth, riverwater if Osiris or Sarapis, springwater if the dead.

This prescription obviously assumes the existence of sympathetic links between certain types of water and certain divinities or the dead.¹³²

Other, strictly non-magical accounts, are less precise in the reasons for the type of water to be used for different types of water divination, but still make springwater an important ingredient for divination. Pausanias, in the second century A.D., gave three examples of divinatory springs in Greece. The first comes in his section on Laconia:

ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ πηγὴ ... πρότερον δὲ τοῖς ἐνιδούσιν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τοὺς λιμένας, φασί, καὶ τὰς ναῦς θεάσασθαι παρεῖχε.

There is also a spring on [the hill of] Taenarum ... They say that it used to show harbours and ships to those gazing into the water.¹³³

It would seem that rather than divination about the future, the springwater here provides a direct window on far away maritime places, providing the gazer with the power of clairvoyance. The next two references to divinatory springwater in Pausanias comes in his section on Achaia:¹³⁴

πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος ἔστι πηγὴ ... μαντεῖον δὲ ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἄψευδές, οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ παντί γε πράγματι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν καμνόντων. ... τούτῳ μὲν τῷ ὕδατι ἐς τοσοῦτο μέτεστιν ἀληθείας, Κυανέων δὲ τῶν πρὸς Λυκίαι πλησιαίτατα χρηστήριον Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Θυρξέως παρέχεται δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Κυανέαις [εἰς δὲ] ἐνιδόντα τινὰ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν ὁμοίως πάντα ὅποσα θέλει θεάσασθαι.

In front of the sanctuary of Demeter [in Patras] is a spring. ... Here there is an infallible means of divination, not concerning everything, but only the sick. ... To

¹³² Halliday is therefore absolutely mistaken when he comments on this passage ([1967], pp. 158-159): "the power of the water has entirely departed ... the water has become a housing place for the god who answers your questions."

¹³³ Paus., 3.25.8.

¹³⁴ Paus., 7.21.12-13.

this extent the truth is contained in this water, but near Cyaneae by Lycia, where there is an oracle of Apollo Thyrsus, the water reveals to him who gazes into the spring everything that he wants to see.

Herbillon thought that the oracle in Patras may well have originally had necromantic traits, or at least could originally have been useful not only with regards to the sick.¹³⁵

In Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* there is a relevant passage on the lecanomancy of the fourth century B.C. King Nectanebus II, the last native ruler of Egypt. In one text it speaks of him¹³⁶

... λεκάνην πλήρης ὕδατος ἀγαγὼν ...

... taking a bowl full of water ...

In the earliest manuscript, from the eleventh century A.D., it is said that¹³⁷

... ἐλάμβανε χαλκὴν λεκάνην καὶ γεμίσας αὐτὴν ὕδατος ὀμβρίου ...

.. he took a bronze bowl and having filled it with rainwater ...

In another recension it is said that¹³⁸

... ἔβαλλεν ὕδωρ πηγαῖον εἰς τὴν λεκάνην ...

... he put springwater into a bowl ...

That the water is from a spring is also specified in an Armenian¹³⁹ as well as a Latin¹⁴⁰ version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, and may well then have been the original.

¹³⁵ Herbillon (1929), p. 34 (citing also Bouché-Leclercq [1879], vol. 2, p. 255).

¹³⁶ Ps.-Callisth., *Vit. Alex.* 1.2E, p. 2, l. 4.

¹³⁷ Ps.-Callisth., *Vit. Alex.* 1.1.3A in Cod. Paris. 1711, vol. 1, p. 1, l. 12.

¹³⁸ Ps.-Callisth., *Vit. Alex.* 1.1B in Cod. Paris. 1685, p. 2, ll. 5-6.

¹³⁹ Ps.-Callisth., *Vit. Alex.* 1.1 in Venice ms. 424: "he poured springwater into his basin" (trans. in Wolohojian [1969], p. 23).

¹⁴⁰ Jul. Valer., *Vit. Alex.* 1.1.

All these versions go on to describe Nectanebus modeling ships and men out of wax, placing them on the water in the bowl and then the actions of these effecting battle in real life so that the king could win against his actual Persian enemies.¹⁴¹ Thus though the account is meant to be of a lecanomancy, as stated in the texts, there is no element of divination involved in the central magical rite; only afterwards is it said that Nectanebus saw in the water Egyptian gods controlling the Persian ships, showing that they had taken the Persian side against him. Perry suggested that originally the gods would have declared to him their alliance with the Persians in a dream, as found in the second century B.C. papyrus of the *Dream of Nectanebus*, and that Pseudo-Callisthenes added the rite of lecanomancy.¹⁴² He may have done so not simply because he confused two different types of magical rites, one divinatory and one homeopathic,¹⁴³ which both involved bowls, but also maybe because he had a certain motive in having lecanomancy practised in Egypt right before the Persian conquest when in general it was thought to have been originally a Persian practice that was imported by them into Egypt (as will be seen). In any case a similar confusion of two magical rituals can be found in the account of *Thessalus*¹⁴⁴ for though it purports to be of lecanomancy, the result described, that the god will be seen "alone with the alone", echoes Neoplatonic and theurgic ascent toward and direct union with the One, and not the indirect viewing of an image through the medium of water.¹⁴⁵

Lastly, Varro claimed that Numa because he "had carried forth water ... with which he had performed hydromancy" (*aquam egesserit ... unde hydromantian faceret*) his wife was said in

¹⁴¹ See the discussion in Budge (1971 [1901]), pp. 91-93.

¹⁴² Perry (1966), pp. 331-332. He further claims (pp. 330-331) that the rite with the wax models is purely Greek, though Ritner ([1993], p. 219, n. 1020) on the other hand says that the "Egyptian element in this tale is striking", and shows Egyptian parallels of the manipulation of model ships and wax figures. Davis ([1955], p. 134) attempts, unconvincingly, to show that this rite is strongly paralleled in modern African practices.

¹⁴³ De Waele ([1927], p. 161) calls the magical principle operative here that of *ficta pro veris*.

¹⁴⁴ *Thessal.*, 23-24.

¹⁴⁵ J. Smith (1993), pp. 179-181. Dodds has wrongly assumed ([1973], pp. 189 and 191) that lecanomancy is involved throughout this account.

legendary accounts to have been the nymph Egeria:¹⁴⁶ clearly we are meant to imagine him taking this water from the spring in the grove where he was rumoured to meet with Egeria at night,¹⁴⁷ and to place it somewhere else in a bowl for divination. Very interestingly then Varro analysed a myth in the same way (except for his questionable etymological linking) and with the same result as I am doing with the Narcissus myth.

Furthermore, Varro's account clearly replaces Numa's gathering of knowledge from Egeria with a necromantic type of hydromancy.¹⁴⁸ Smith proposed that Varro in uniting lecanomancy (as he seems to believe is implied, as I do) and necromancy may have been confusing them,¹⁴⁹ thus paralleling the confusions between lecanomancy and homeopathy or *unio mystica* described above. There is indeed no doubt that the Homeric νέκυια caused much confusion in the derivative literary accounts of necromancy in antiquity,¹⁵⁰ and perhaps Varro too (if the prescription is to be attributed

¹⁴⁶ Varro ap. August., *de Civ. Dei* 7.35.22-23; Varro also mentions Egeria (and Numa, though not by name) when quoting Ennius at *de Ling. Lat.* 7.42. On the other hand, while Plutarch (*Numa* 4.1-2, cf. 8.6) rationalized the story of Numa's marriage to Egeria by saying that he passed his days alone in divine groves, Livy (1.19.6) believed that Numa had made up the whole story so that people took seriously his religious reforms.

¹⁴⁷ Livy, 1.19.5-6 and 1.21.3; and Lactant., *Inst.* 1.22.1; Martial (6.47) speaks of Numa's wife specifically as a spring nymph. There were two different traditions of the location of the grove in which Numa learned from Egeria. In the first, it was in a valley outside of Rome near the *Porta Capena* on the *Via Appia* where a spring flowed which was sacred to the Camenae water-nymphs, who were later identified with the Muses (Livy, 1.21.3; Juv., 3.11-20; and Plut., *Numa* 13; cf. Frazer [1973], vol. 3, p. 87). In the second, it was the Arician wood sacred to Diana next to Lake Nemi (Verg., *Aen.* 7.761-764 and 774-777; and Str., 5.3.12), the locale made famous by Frazer in his *The Golden Bough* (cf. Frazer [1973], vol. 3, pp. 69-70). Ovid actually knew both of these traditions and attempted to reconcile them. In the *Metamorphoses* (15.482-551) he says that Egeria left the Roman grove after the death of Numa and went to the Arician grove, where she was turned into the spring which feeds lake Nemi; her dual homes are also mentioned in *Fast.* 3.261-262 and 275-276 (and cf. 3.151-154 and 4.669-672).

¹⁴⁸ Varro ap. August., *de Civ. Dei* 7.35.1-10 and ap. Isid., *Etym.* 8.9.11-14. Surely Varro was led to think that necromantic hydromancy was behind the *fabula* (as Augustine [*de Civ. Dei* 7.35.26] called it) since Numa was said to visit the grove, where a spring was located, at night.

¹⁴⁹ J. Smith (1993), p. 180, n. 38, strangely citing Apul., *Apol.* 42 along with August., *de Civ. Dei* 7.35. Halliday too ([1967], p. 157) wrongly speaks of the "confusion" between necromancy and hydromancy.

¹⁵⁰ For example, for Vergil (*Aen.* 6), Pausanias (10.28, cf. 1.17.5), and Lucian (*Menipp.*) the Homeric νέκυια (Hom., *Il.* 10.517-537 and 11.23-50) is seen as a catabasis (a descent to the underworld), as it has been interpreted by some modern scholars as well (see, for example, Rohde [1966 (1894)], vol. 1, pp. 32-33); in Heliodorus (*Aeth.* 6.14-15) some of the elements are borrowed for an anastasis (a bodily resurrection); and in Iohannes Tzetzes (*Exeg. in Hom. Il.* 110.5 and *ad Lycophr.* 813) it is actually considered to be a lecanomantic rite. It is in fact a psychagogic rite as defined by Phrynichus Arabicus who said (*Lex.* vol. 1, p. 73, ll. 11-12) that a ψυχαγωγός to the ancients was that person who brought forth through magical rites the souls of the dead. That this is what was meant in Homer has been recognized, among others, by

to him and not to some later Christian polemical view) succumbed to error in speaking of the use of blood in hydromancy on the model of Homer.¹⁵¹ But Smith ignored the evidence of the magical papyri and other sources, which prove a link between lecanomancy and necromancy provided by the ritualized use of springwater.¹⁵² Surely this link developed because springwater was thought to have sympathetic links to the dead, especially since springs in antiquity were often seen as passages to the underworld through which souls of the deceased could appear.¹⁵³ I would argue then that Varro's account is mostly believable and that in conjunction with the other evidence it shows that the springwater detail in the Ovidian version of the Narcissus myth parallels actual necromantic/hydromantic rites.

Bernard ([1991], p. 273): "dans l'*Odyssée* la cérémonie de nécromancie vise à faire sortir de la terre le mort que l'on invoque." Eitrem ([1928], pp. 4-5) showed that the usual catabasis was replaced by Homer with the hero visiting a distant land which is in a way the land of the dead even if paradoxically the dead are also raised there from below, and that the βόθρος ("pit") is not the place through which the dead are raised but around which they gather to drink. Burkert ([1985], p. 60) has shown that in Homer a blood sacrifice in a βόθρος to honour the dead has "become a conjuring up of the dead man." Plutarch (*Moral.* 16f) actually thought that it was a myth fit only for a woman's ear.

¹⁵¹ Varro ap. August., *de Civ. Dei* 7.35.1-10 and ap. Isid., *Etym.* 8.9.11-12. Isidore says that in necromancy, "blood is applied to the corpse of those being consulted since it is said that demons love blood. And therefore as often as there is necromancy the gore of the dead is mixed with water so that more easily they [demons] are called forth with gore [of the dead] rather than from blood [of the living]. They are called hydromancers from [the Greek word for] water." (*ad quos sciscitandos cadaveri sanguis adicitur. Nam amare duemones sanguinem dicitur. Ideoque quotiens necromantia fit, cruor aqua miscitur, ut cruore sanguinis facilius provocentur. Hydromantii ab aqua dicti.*) Since Augustine also cites Varro on the use of blood in hydromancy, Flint is surely wrong that for the use of blood in necromancy Isidore "is calling upon direct observation" (something he almost never does) even if she may be right that he often mentions blood in his discussion of ingredients used in magic ([1991], pp. 52-53). As in Isidore, Lucan, surely also adapting Homer, speaks of the need for hot blood to be poured into a corpse that is to be revived (*de Bel. Civ.* 6.667-669, cf. 6.582-583). Thus though blood was indeed said to be used in necromancy, especially in the Homeric νεκυια (cf. Hopfner [1935], col. 2223) it was never placed in water for hydromancy in the non-literary magical texts, only plants and stones (though sometimes hematite or blood-stone, thus providing the confusion?), presumably since it would contradict the usual prescriptions for clear and pure water. The closest we come is the use of blood of a hoopoe to stain an amulet that the boy-medium should wear when performing hydromancy (*PDM* xiv 90-92 = LL III 33-35); also blood of a Nile goose, of a hoopoe, and of a nightjar are all called for in another lecanomancy, but without explaining their use, though it is presumably for protection (*PDM* xiv 814 = LL XXVII 10).

¹⁵² Necromancy and hydromancy are linked at *PGM* IV 227 and 250; *PDM* xiv 262-263 = LL IX 25-26, *Cyran.* 1.13; Cod. Athen. Hist. and Ethn. Soc. 115, fol. 23, p. 403, l. 4; and other sources which will be discussed below. Delante ([1932], pp. 23 and 28), Ninck ([1921 (1960)], p. 54), Dodds ([1973], pp. 190-191, n. 5), and Greenfield ([1995], pp. 147-148, n. 100 [following Ninck (1921 [1960]), pp. 70-80]) have all rightly recognized the importance of this connection.

¹⁵³ On the general chthonic nature of water in the thought of antiquity see Ninck (1921 [1960]), pp. 1-46. Ninck notes (p. 51, n. 4) that the reason for the use of springwater for the invocation of the dead needs no explanation ("ist ohne weiteres verständlich"); see Abt's similar statement ([1908], p. 246, n. 9: "Quellwassers ist verständlich"). Halliday also has a chapter ([1967], pp. 116-144) on springs and prophecy and cites ([1967], p. 120, n. 3) a spring at Argos which was thought to be an entranceway to the netherworld (Hesych., *Lex.* s.v. ἐλευθέρον ὕδωρ).

10. WATER REVEALS SHADOWY DOUBLE

There is a further connection with the dead (apart, that is, from Narcissus' eventual stay in the underworld) in Ovid's account of Narcissus. In a first person narrator's interjection Ovid says:¹⁵⁴

quam cernis. imaginis umbra est

what you see is the shade of a reflection

As Vinge has shown, this expression is strange but certainly not meant to be a simple tautology.¹⁵⁵ She notes too, as other commentators have also,¹⁵⁶ that *umbra* could mean not only shadow but also the disembodied dead, and that this word could be used as a sort of foreshadowing of Narcissus' upcoming death when "he gazed into Stygian water" (*in Stygia spectabat aqua*).¹⁵⁷ She does not note though that Nonnus, probably following Ovid, made this association explicitly, saying that Narcissus¹⁵⁸

κάτθανε, παπταίνων σκιοειδέα φάσματα μορφῆς·

died gazing at the shadowy phantom of his shape

Ninck believed that the essential meaning of the Narcissus myth could be found in the notion of the *doppelgänger*, the person's shadowy, underworldly double, which can gain a sort of life of its own.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Ov., *Met.* 3.434; see also *simulacra fugacia* ("fleeting image") at 3.432.

¹⁵⁵ Vinge (1967), p. 13, who tries to explain it as meaning either that he sees his own attraction to his reflection in his reflection or else that his eyes see both the reflection and how it is reflected.

¹⁵⁶ Vinge (1967), p. 12 (quoting Schickel [1962], p. 488) and p. 17; cf. Delatte (1932), p. 150, and Knoespel (1985), pp. 10 and 120, n. 36. Ovid uses the term *umbra* to mean the disembodied dead at *Met.* 13.449 and *Fast.* 2.541 among other places.

¹⁵⁷ Ov., *Met.* 3.505; Knoespel ([1985], p. 18) notes that Narcissus in Ovid becomes an *umbra* after having looked at his *umbra*.

¹⁵⁸ Nonn., *Dion.* 48.586.

¹⁵⁹ Ninck (1921 [1960]), p. 58; Eitrem ([1935], col. 1728, ll. 38-43) alludes briefly to the notion of the *doppelgänger*. Ninck also cited ([1921 (1960)], p. 58, n. 3) the interesting story of Daedalus making a living statue of Heracles which the real Heracles fought (Ps.-Apollod., *Bibl.* 2.6.3). Lucian makes fun of the notion of the *doppelgänger* by wondering

But though Ninck mentioned this in a chapter on water-divination, he did not realize the full implications of his theory.

In a hydromantic prescription from a Greek magical papyrus from the third or fourth century A.D. there is the following important passage:¹⁶⁰

Μαντεῖον ἐπὶ παιδός. κατακλίνας ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος |
λέγε, καὶ φανήσεται αὐτῷ παιδίον μελάνχρουν.

Divination by means of a boy:
After you have laid [the medium] on the ground, speak, and a dark-coloured boy will appear to him.

Presumably the dark-coloured boy spoken of is the medium's underworld counterpart, black, as spirits of the dead were usually portrayed,¹⁶¹ thus again linking hydromancy and necromancy. In fact Propertius, in a passage enumerating different forms of divination, wrote:¹⁶²

... *umbrave quae magicis mortua prodit aquis.*

... or the shade of the dead which appears through magical water.

Commentators have tended to see this as a reference to hydromancy involving the dead,¹⁶³ as seems logical, though Tupet has hesitated to assert this for certain, noting among other things that this would be the only reference to hydromancy in Latin poetry. She suggests instead that it could be a reference to the common rite of purification with the use of water before magical practices in

which Heracles is real: his body at Oeta, his shade in the underworld, or his form as god in heaven (*Dial. Mort.* 11).

¹⁶⁰ PGM VII 348-349.

¹⁶¹ For example Luc., *Philops.* 31-32; for a full account of the colour of ghosts in antiquity, see Winkler (1992), pp. 12-16.

¹⁶² Propert., *Eleg.* 4.1.106.

¹⁶³ Cf. Butler and Barber (1933), p. 330 ("The reference is probably to hydromancy in which spirits appear in a bowl of water over which incantations have been performed"); Camps (1965), p. 67 ("hydromancy, in which ghosts or other spirits [conjured up by the operator] appear in a bowl of water and declare the future"); and Richardson (1977), p. 421 ("The reference is to hydromancy, or necromancy, in which the spirits of the dead are summoned into a bowl of water"). It is indeed strange that all of these commentators (who have certainly relied one on the other, it is true) have thought that lecanomancy must be meant, without admitting the possibility that the water could be used for consultation at a spring (or the like) rather than a bowl.

which also the dead could be consulted about the future.¹⁶⁴ In any case both Pliny and Evax¹⁶⁵ use the word *umbra* specifically in the context of a hydromancy that involves invoking the dead in passages that I shall discuss below under the thirteenth parallel (the resplendency of the water).

11. CALMNESS OF THE WATER

Narcissus in Ovid stares into a pool which exactly resembles a mirror, it is¹⁶⁶

*fons ... / ... quem nulla volucris /
nec fera turbarat nec lapsus ab arbore ramus ...*

a spring ... which neither bird nor beast nor branch
fallen from a tree had disturbed

Fränkel has thought that Ovid "advisedly excludes any stirring of life" thus allowing Narcissus "the self-lover" to be "by and with himself alone", but that otherwise the setting is borrowed from pastoral poetry.¹⁶⁷

Again a hydromantic interpretation can explain this detail since this form of divination was closely related to the magical practice of catoptromancy, that is divination with the use of a mirror.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Tupet (1976), pp. 24-25.

¹⁶⁵ Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 37.192 and Evax, *de Lapid.* 5.2.

¹⁶⁶ Ov., *Met.* 3.407 and 409-410.

¹⁶⁷ Fränkel (1956), p. 213, n. 34.

¹⁶⁸ Delatte proved that catoptromancy was native Greek while hydromancy was foreign (cf. [1932], pp. 133 and 147, and *passim*), but as Dodds noted ([1973], p. 186) though "distinct in origin" truly "the same sensory automatism underlies both"; this is especially noticeable in *H. A. Did. Julian.* 7.10-11, in which boy-mediums perform catoptromancy. The earliest extant reference to catoptromancy is in Arist., *Ach.* 1128-1129 and 1141 (with schol.); other ancient Greek and Byzantine sources for catoptromancy are discussed in detail by Delatte ([1932], *passim*). Scholars tend also to compare ancient hydromancy to crystal-gazing (or crystallomancy), a practice only first clearly mentioned in Byzantine sources (cf. Mudie Cooke [1913], p. 168; Halliday [1967], p. 150; Nilsson [1969], p. 147; Dodds [1973], p. 186; Brier [1981], p. 256; and Luck [1985], p. 254); indeed the ancients usually considered crystals simply frozen water (for example, Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 36.162 and 37.23; Sen., *Quaest. Nat.* 3.15.2-3 and 3.25.9-10; and Claudian., *Carm. Minor.* 33). Dodds applies the word "scrying" to all of these practices, but for my purposes this expression is too general, since I am dealing almost exclusively with magical rites in which the medium's reflection is clearly involved.

There is no obvious reference in magical texts to the need for calm water but it can be fairly confidently assumed as a necessity for hydromancy in its parallelism to catoptromancy: Iamblichus for example showed that phantasms (which he thought were not revealed by the gods) could appear in either water or in mirrors.¹⁶⁹ Also, the need for a smooth surface through which to divine may well explain why lecanomancy is so much more prevalent in our sources than "pure" hydromancy: it would be much easier to have calm water in a bowl than at an outdoor spring.

12. CLEANLINESS, CLARITY, AND PURITY OF THE WATER

When Ovid says that the spring into which Narcissus gazes is *inlimis*,¹⁷⁰ literally "unmuddied", he is applying to the water the closely related characteristics of cleanliness and clarity. Later, the clarity of the water is also described in his expression *liquidis lymphis* ("to the clear water").¹⁷¹ The purity (and beauty) of the water in the Narcissus myth is also emphasized by Callistratus:¹⁷²

κρήνη πάγκαλος ἐκ μάλα καθαροῦ τε καὶ διαυγοῦς ὕδατος

a very beautiful spring of very pure and clear water

Again these details are to be found as part of the need for purity in hydromantic rituals. In the same passage in which Porphyry speaks of sex as spiritual defilement, he also compares this to water mixed with earth, itself corrupted and impure.¹⁷³

Pausanias recounts that:¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ Iambli., *de Myst.* 2.10 (cited by Dodds [1973], p. 187); hydromancy is also mentioned at *de Myst.* 3.14.

¹⁷⁰ Ov., *Met.* 3.407.

¹⁷¹ Ov., *Met.* 3.451.

¹⁷² Callistr., *Stat. Descr.* 5.1.

¹⁷³ Porph., *de Abst.* 4.20.

¹⁷⁴ Paus., 3.25.8.

ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ πηγῇ, νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν ὥστε καὶ θαῦμα εἶναι
παρεχομένη ... τοῦτο ἔπαυσε γυνὴ τὸ ὕδωρ μὴ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοιαῦτα
ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μεμιασμένην ἐναποπλύνασα ἐσθῆτα.

There is also a spring on [the hill of] Taenarum which is no longer now amazing ...
a woman stopped the water from revealing such [magical] things thereafter once she
washed polluted clothes in it.

Damascius of Damascus, the last head of the Academy in Athens, wrote the following about a holy
woman whom the Neoplatonic philosopher Isidorus had supposedly met:¹⁷⁵

Ἵδὼρ γὰρ ἀκραιφνὲς ἐγχέασα ποτηρίῳ τινὶ τῶν ὑαλίνων, ἑώρα κατὰ τοῦ
ὑδατος εἶσω τοῦ ποτηρίου τὰ φάσματα τῶν ἐσομένων πραγμάτων ...

Having poured pure water in a glass drinking-vessel, she would see images of things
at the bottom of the water in the vessel ...

Julius Valerius also speaks of the use of water from a very limpid spring (*ex fonte limpidissimo*)
in the lecanomancy of Nectanebus II discussed above.¹⁷⁶ The same prescription is found again in
actual magical texts. In a lecanomancy to Aphrodite using a drinking cup (and including the use
of olive oil) we are told to use¹⁷⁷

ὑδατι ποταμίῳ καθαρῷ

clean riverwater

It is unclear why riverwater would be used to summon the uranian Aphrodite, since this goes against
the prescription for rainwater as seen earlier in the same papyrus¹⁷⁸ and quoted above. In any case
the Demotic papyrus states:¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Damasc., *Vit. Isid.* 191 ap. Phot., *Bibl.* 347b8-10.

¹⁷⁶ Jul. Valer., *Vit. Alex.* 1.1.

¹⁷⁷ *PGM* IV 3251-3252.

¹⁷⁸ *PGM* IV 224-227.

¹⁷⁹ *PDM* xiv 67-68 = *LL* III 9-11.

You should bring a new bowl and fill it with clean oasis oil. You should put [it in] to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness so that it becomes exceedingly clear.

And further on we find:¹⁸⁰

You should bring a clean copper beaker or a new vessel [made] of pottery; you should put a *lok*-measure of water that has settled or of pure water into the beaker together with a *lok*-measure of pure real oil, or oil alone without putting water into it ...

13. RESPLENDENCY

The pool in Ovid, as seen already, is silvery (*argenteus*) because of its glittering (*nitidus*) waters.¹⁸¹ This, like the stillness of the water, can perhaps be linked to its likeness to a mirror, but the idea of resplendency may have even further significance. As Hopfner and others have shown,¹⁸² light and darkness play a large role in the type of divination that relies on the hypnotizing of the medium, such as hydromancy and lychnomancy, closely related practices in the Demotic papyrus.¹⁸³

For the light to have a strong effect on the medium, his eyes were usually covered at the beginning of the ritual: this was done either with a black blindfold¹⁸⁴ or simply the medium had his

¹⁸⁰ *PDM* xiv 284-285 = LL X 10-12.

¹⁸¹ *Ov., Met.* 3.407.

¹⁸² Hopfner (1926), p. 70. Halliday ([1967], p. 162) and Luck ([1985], p. 254) also speak of the use of bright or shiny objects, and Dodds ([1951], pp. 216-217 and 309, n. 113 [with references]) notes the use of ointments to induce visions.

¹⁸³ The Demotic papyrus contains a number of the latter, with the same prescriptions for the youth in being pure, remaining prone, and staring (this time into the flame rather than the reflective surface) until he has visions (see Maspero [1923] for a detailed comparison, and Cunéen [1960], p. 65, nn. 1 and 2, who follows Maspero). There are even cases of the vase being substituted for a lamp (see Cunéen [1960], p. 65, n. 2) and there are references to "the vessel inquiry of the lamp" (*PDM* xiv 509 and 817 = LL XVII 20 and XXVII 13, cited by Cunéen [1960], p. 66; on p. 67 he speaks of "l'usage simultané de la lécanomancie et de la lychnomancie"). Cunéen explains (p. 66) that indeed in Egypt both lamps and bowls were oil containers and the only difference between the two was the presence of the wick. But surely it is doubtful that both the flame and the reflection in the water were used simultaneously to hypnotize the medium.

¹⁸⁴ *PGM* IV 175; in *H. A. Did. Julian.* 7.10 boys are blindfolded and incantations spoken over their heads for a catopromantic rite. This type of blindfold has been identified with the black Isis band (Betz [1986], p. 41, n. 47, cf. pp. 122, n. 16, and 336) taken from the goddess' mourning clothes (*Plut., de Isid. et Osirid.* 39; cf. *PGM* VII 227 and 231, and *PGM* VIII 67-68) which is elsewhere mentioned as a blindfold (*PGM* I 59).

eyes closed and covered with the magician's hand.¹⁸⁵ Dodds has considered the blindfolding as a means of preventing the boy from gazing at the water prematurely,¹⁸⁶ but it makes more sense to venture that the sudden exposure to light after having been blindfolded would have a greater effect in providing the medium with visions.¹⁸⁷

Once the medium's eyes were uncovered in the moment of revelation,¹⁸⁸ the medium would be faced with bright reflections off the water.¹⁸⁹ This scintillating effect would have been created through a number of possible different means. For ceremonies outside, the full moon shining on the water could provide enough resplendency, and this may explain why hydromancies were often prescribed for the time of the full moon.¹⁹⁰ But the easiest manner, one attested in the sources, would be to have a lamp illuminate the surface of the water in a dark place.¹⁹¹ To enhance the brightness

¹⁸⁵ *PDM* xiv 289-290, cf. 71, 819, and 846.

¹⁸⁶ Dodds (1973), p. 187, n. 2.

¹⁸⁷ Nilsson notes ([1969], p. 147): "strong light will do as well as darkness to deceive the eyes, especially if they are alternately opened and shut" as in lychnomancy.

¹⁸⁸ Dodds ([1973], p. 187, n. 2) has shown against Delatte ([1932], pp. 140-141) that the eye-covering was only temporary.

¹⁸⁹ The boy is told to open his eyes and is asked if he sees light (which is made equivalent to seeing a being, often the god Anubis) in the water; if he does not he is to shut his eyes again and an incantation is spoken over him, if he does, another, different incantation is recited (see *PDM* xiv 29-50, 292, 419, 545-547, 634-635, 854-855 = *LL* II 1-27, X 18-19, XIV 24-25, XVIII 24-26, XXI 79, XXVII 14-15). Iamblichus (*de Myst.* 3.14) stated that water was a good medium for light for visions.

¹⁹⁰ *PGM* V 53; *PDM* xiv 295, 697, and 702; Iambli., *de Myst.* 3.14; and Hippol., *Ref. Omn. Haer.* 4.10. Different times are given at *PDM* xiv 72 and *PGM* IV 163, 173, and 222-223. Ptolemy (*Tetr.* 181) states that lecanomancy should be performed when the moon is in Sagittarius or Pisces, while one Greek astrological codex (Cod. Paris. 2425, p. 210, ll. 5-8) cites that this would have been the time for necromancy and that the moon should rather be in Taurus, Capricorn, or Cancer for lecanomancy; in *PGM* III 275 lecanomancy is to be performed when the moon is in Virgo (though this form of divination is not mentioned in the similar catalogue at *PGM* VII 284-299). The astrologer Manetho claimed (4.206-213) that the time for hydromancy and "lecanoscopy" was when Mercury was shining on Virgo.

¹⁹¹ *PGM* V 3 (a lecanomancy with lamp, bowl, and [probably] bench) and *PDM* xiv 845 (in which a censer is also mentioned, presumably for the smell produced, as will be seen); Butler and Owen noted ([1914], p. 101) that if the boy Thallus in Apuleius (*Apol.* 42.10) was to be used in hydromancy "the lamp may have been there in order to give a brilliant point of light to be gazed on in the water"; Abt thought that lychnomancy was probably involved here ([1908], pp. 238-239) though he did cite the two lecanomantic prescriptions in the papyri which mention lamps and noted their possible connection with Apuleius' *lucerna* (pp. 235 and 249, respectively).

of the light on the water, oil could be used.¹⁹² or else a reflector or mirror.¹⁹³ or perhaps simply the polished bottom of the bowl.¹⁹⁴ More often stones seem to have been used to cause more replendency in the water rather than oil¹⁹⁵ or a mirror.¹⁹⁶ Delatte claimed that such stone use was not to be found in the magical papyri,¹⁹⁷ but in the Demotic papyrus we find:¹⁹⁸

... you should put a *qs-ankh* stone in the vessel with the oil ...

This stone was probably hematite.¹⁹⁹ Pliny gives names of other stones used in hydromancy:²⁰⁰

¹⁹² Cf. *PGM* IV 3211 and 3251. Dodds ([1973], p. 188) says “to give increased luminosity”, while Ritner ([1993], p. 64, n. 289) is vaguer when he states that “filling the bowls with water or oil may have enhanced their use in scrying”.

¹⁹³ Paus., 7.21.12 (a mirror hung over a divinatory spring); though Bouché-Leclercq ([1892], p. 300 and n. 118) and Dodds ([1973], p. 187, n. 3) considered this to be an instance of catopromancy, Delatte ([1932], pp. 135-136) thought that it was hydromancy, noting (p. 137) that: “le miroir n’est qu’un double de l’eau, destiné à renforcer la vertu mantique de l’hydromancie” (copied, it seems, by Flacelière [1961], p. 25: “Le miroir semble n’être l’à qu’un accessoire destiné à révéler la vertu mantique de l’eau.”). It seems more probable that replendency here too was wanted. Lucian (*Ver. Hist.* 1.26) seems to have spoofed this description of Pausanias’ (cf. Delatte [1932], p. 139, and Dodds [1973], p. 187, n. 3), saying that on the moon there was a well with a mirror above it in which everything on earth could be seen.

¹⁹⁴ As suggested to me by Dr. Richard Burgess. Indeed a copper vessel is prescribed for lecanomancy at *PDM* xiv 844 = *LL* XXVIII 4. On the materials used for the hydromantic bowl, see Maspero (1923), pp. 120-121.

¹⁹⁵ Heliodorus (*Aeth.* 2.30) for one compared the luster of gemstones to the brilliancy of olive oil.

¹⁹⁶ “Il ne semble donc pas douteux que l’emploi de ces pierres dans la lécanomancie ... ait été destiné à produire la réflexion ou la réfraction des rayons lumineux, ou, si l’on veut, à causer les mêmes effets d’éblouissement et d’hallucination que le miroir [dans la catopromancie]” (Delatte [1932], p. 143).

¹⁹⁷ Delatte (1932), p. 142.

¹⁹⁸ *PDM* xiv 285 = *LL* X 12; this stone is also mentioned for another lecanomancy at *PDM* xiv 814 = *LL* XXVII 10.

¹⁹⁹ Betz (1986), p. 200, n. 65, based on Harris (1961), pp. 233-234. There is much ancient testimony on this stone (cf. Halleux and Schamp [1985], pp. 319-320, n. 1, and Budge [1968 (1930)], p. 314). As can be seen from its name, rendered many times as “bloodstone” in English, this mineral was connected with blood, because of its colour (Theophr., *de Lapid.* 37; *Orph. Lith.* 660; and *Orph. Lith. Kerygm.* 22.1 [cited in Halleux and Schamp (1985), p. 319, n. 1]). Among numerous ancient recipes with the use of the stone, it was said, in a synpathetic manner, to be able to cure hemorrhaging (see Halleux and Schamp [1985], p. 245, n. 3, for sources). In some texts it was said to have originated from the blood of Uranus (*Orph. Lith.* 645-659) and to turn into blood when soaked in water (*Orph. Lith.* 661-662 and *Orph. Lith. Kerygm.* 22.2). A dubious modern work on magical stones even gives a means of “scrying” with the use of hematite and a red candle (Cunningham [1993], pp. 100-101); modern hematite though is not blood-coloured but mirror-like.

²⁰⁰ Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 37.192. The *Magi* is added by Bidez and Cumont ([1938], vol. 2, p. 287), who say that this may indicate Ostanēs (vol. 2, p. 204, n. 1); they cite this passage (vol. 2, p. 204) as a fragment of Zoroaster’s.

anancitide in hydromantia dicunt [sc. Magi] evocari imagines deorum. synochitide teneri umbras inferum evocatas ...

With *anancitis* (“compelling stone”),²⁰¹ (the Magi) say, the apparitions of gods are summoned in hydromancy; with *synochitis* (“holding stone”),²⁰² they say, shades of the dead are held once they have been summoned ...

Isidore (surely following Pliny) also mentioned *anancitis* (“compelling stone”):²⁰³

anancitide in hydromantia daemonum imagines evocari dicunt

They say that apparitions of demons are summoned in hydromancy with *anancitis*

In Evax²⁰⁴ it is said that the *odontolycius* (“wolf’s tooth stone”) is useful

per aquam divinare aut per sensus volentibus. positus subter fundum sciphi.

for those wishing to divine either through water or through innate powers once it is placed at the bottom of a cup.

Concerning the *diadochos* (“successor”) stone, which is likened to beryl, Evax said:²⁰⁵

Utilissimus est divinationibus per aquam et adductionibus umbrarum tamquam non alius lapis. Praeterea effigies demonum omnium diligenter ostendit. Ad mortuum ne adhibeas eum. Resistit enim defunctis.

It is very useful, more than any other stone, for divinations with the use of water and for the summoning of the dead. Besides this, it reveals accurately the likeness of all

²⁰¹ It would seem to be another name for the diamond (*adamas*) (cf. Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 37.61, and Evax, *de Lapid.* 3.1-8 [with Halleux and Schamp (1985), p. 238, n. 4]).

²⁰² This name was said to have been given to *galactite* (“milky-white-stone”) by the Magi and the Egyptians (Evax, *de Lapid.* 34.1).

²⁰³ Isid., *Etym.* 16.15.22 (cited in Delatte [1932], p. 142, n. 2).

²⁰⁴ Evax, *de Lapid.* 18.2; I choose to cite the author as Evax instead of Damigeron (see the discussion on the author in Halleux and Schamp [1985], pp. 223-228).

²⁰⁵ Evax, *de Lapid.* 5.2-5. I read *ad mortuum* as suggested by Halleux and Schamp ([1985], p. 240, n. 1) and not as Delatte has it ([1932], p. 142); what exactly is meant by the stone’s resistance to the dead (while at the same time it is said to be used for necromancy) must perhaps remain uncertain.

demons. Do not use it in front of a dead person, for it resists those deceased.

Concerning the sapphire Evax said:²⁰⁶

Facit autem ad divinationem per aquam intellegere sancta responsa. Divinantibus quoque valde optimus est. Nam qui habet eum perfectum in formam scarabei omnia vera divinabitur et fidelia habebuntur dicta eius ...

It also makes known the holy responses in water divination. And it is very good for diviners for he who has it finished in the shape of a scarab will predict the whole truth and his words will be taken as true ...

The “very beautiful and highly regarded *smaragdus* stone” was said to be useful in hydromancy,²⁰⁷ as was the topaz,²⁰⁸ the emerald,²⁰⁹ the magnet²¹⁰ and, perhaps most importantly (because of its parallel with the narcissus), the hyacinth stone.²¹¹ Other stones were simply said to have various divinatory powers.²¹²

14. UNTOUCHED BY THE SUN

There is a strange paradox in Ovid’s account of the Narcissus grove. On the one hand, as we have seen, the water of the spring is bright (*nitidus*),²¹³ yet, on the other hand, Ovid says just a few

²⁰⁶ Evax, *de Lapid.* 14.12-14; it should be identified as our lapis lazuli according to Halleux and Schamp (1985), p. 250, n.1.

²⁰⁷ Anon., *Lith.* (no number).

²⁰⁸ *Orph. Lith. Kerygm.* 8.15, and Evax, *de Lapid.* 29.1.

²⁰⁹ Socr. and Dion., *de Lapid.* 26.3, and Evax, *de Lapid.* 6.1.

²¹⁰ Cod. Bonon. 3632, p. 496, ll. 2-3 (cited in Delatte [1932], p. 143).

²¹¹ Anon., *Lith.* (no number).

²¹² For example, *helionope* (Evax, *de Lapid.* 2.8) and *chelonite* (Evax, *de Lapid.* 11.1-5); the *erotylyus* stone was said to be used in divination according to Bolus (ap. Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 37.160) in his alphabetical catalogue of gems (cf. Halleux and Schamp [1985], p. xxv).

²¹³ Ov., *Met.* 3.407.

lines later that not only is the grove unvisited by shepherds and their flocks,²¹⁴ the common motif of the inviolate sacred grove (as has been seen), even the sun does not shine there:²¹⁵

*gramen erat circa, quod proximus umor alebat.
silvaeque sole locum passura tepescere nullo.*

There was grass around, which the nearby water nourished,
and a grove which permitted no sunlight to warm the spot.

The source then of the brilliancy of the water is difficult to understand; the mirror analogy again cannot alone explain it. Ovid uses the adjective *nitidus* some twenty-seven times in the *Metamorphoses*, including this instance;²¹⁶ it is most often associated with the sun's brightness²¹⁷ or with metallic surfaces²¹⁸ and sometimes wet or sleek things,²¹⁹ but never to water itself. It could be said that a place sheltered from the sun was the natural habitat of the flower, as it is in Sophocles.²²⁰ More probably, Ovid wanted to both make the water bright as a mirror and also include the sunless grove *topos*, one common among Roman poets.²²¹

But what can perhaps best explain the paradox between bright and sunless water is the fact

²¹⁴ Ov., *Met.* 3.408-409.

²¹⁵ Ov., *Met.* 3.411-412.

²¹⁶ Cf. Deterrari, Barry, and McGuire (1939), pp. 1246-1247.

²¹⁷ Ov., *Met.* 1.603, 2.112, 4.348, 14.33, 14.768, 15.30, 15.187, cf. 2.3; cf. 8.180 about fire.

²¹⁸ Ov., *Met.* 10.475, 12.129, and 13.294 (swords), and 6.720, 9.689, 10.666, and 675 (golden items).

²¹⁹ For example, fish (Ov., *Met.* 1.74 and 8.1), cattle (2.694 and 9.47), the wet head of Galatea (13.838), oily wrestling (6.241), olives (7.470), etc.; see also concerning steps (15.685), halls (11.764), and a wreath (14.720). Other parallels are cited by Bömer (1969), p. 552.

²²⁰ Soph., *Oed. Colon.* 676 (cited by Fränkel [1956], p. 213, n. 34, and Bömer [1969], p. 552).

²²¹ For example, Verg., *Aen.* 6.237-238 (*spelunca alta fuit ... tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris*); Sen., *Oed.* 545-547 (*nistis sub illa, lucis et Phoebi inscius, / restagnat umor frigore aeterno rigens; / limosa pigrum circumit fontem palus*); Lucan., *de Bel. Civ.* 3.399-401 (*lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab aevo, / obscurum cingens coneris aëra ramis / et gelidas alie summis solibus umbras*) and 6.644-645 (*urquet silva comis et nullo vertice caelum / suspiciens Phoebus non pervia taxus opacat*); and Stat., *Theb.* 4.419-421 (*silva capax aevi validaque incurva senecta, / aeternum intonsae frondis, stat pervia nullis / solibus*).

that not only is resplendent water to be found in hydromantic prescriptions but the need for the water to be untouched by the sun is too. This again figures in the Demotic papyrus:²²²

You bring a copper cup; you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with settled water guarded which the sun cannot find; you fill the top [of the water] with true oil.

Presumably, the need for water untouched by the sun would be to somehow attract the denizens of the underworld, or in this case, Anubis, associated with the underworld. Winkler, giving no ancient sources for his statement, has written that groves where the sun never shines are the perfect places at any time for ghosts to appear.²²³ As with the water being from a spring, this prescription of sunlessness is meant to operate in terms of magical *συνπάθεια*.²²⁴ Though the Greco-Egyptian magical texts are silent about this, as they are consistently about any underlying theory to the magical actions prescribed, this can be certain from other works which systematize the uses of all sorts of natural magico-medical ingredients.²²⁵

15. PLANT INVOLVED

Bolus of Mendes, in Egypt, was the first to write about natural sympathies and antipathies

²²² *PDM* xiv 411 = *LL* XIV 17-18.

²²³ Winkler (1992), p. 39, n. 11.

²²⁴ Scholars tend to be cautious about using this term in relation to magical practices (cf. Faraone [1992], p. 87, n. 12, and Graf [1994], pp. 231-232), but it was undoubtedly meaningful to the ancients (see the fragments in Geinoll [1884], pp. 1-6 (*non vidi*), and the brief study by Weidlich [1894], esp. pp. 13-16 [on Pseudo-Democritus]). In fact Plotinus explained (*Enn.* 4.4.40) that magic actually worked in terms of sympathy and antipathy.

²²⁵ Cf. Fowden (1986), p. 87.

(among animals, plants, and stones).²²⁶ and was very much read in the first century B.C.²²⁷ The only work to have survived which can be traced back entirely to his system of magical *συμπάθεια* is the *Cyranides*, which was attributed to Hermes Trismegistus.²²⁸ Festugière has studied the history of the work, a compilation of a number of other, now lost works, and has shown that Lucian seems to have mentioned it as the *Κυράννη*.²²⁹ The work is organized alphabetically in sections in each of which a plant, a fish, a bird, and a stone are mentioned that not only share a common first letter but also have special sympathetic medico-magical associations. In the section on *v* in the first book of the *Cyranides* the plant named is the νεκύα:²³⁰

Στοιχείον ν'. νεκύα βοτάνη, ναυκράτης ιχθύς, νήσσα πτηνόν, νεμεσίτης λίθος.

Νεκύα βοτάνη ἐστὶ ἡ λεγομένη φλόμος. ταύτης τῆς βοτάνης εἶδη εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ. λέγεται δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς ὅτι τὰ ἀναβαίνοντα τῶν φύλλων ὑπὲρ γῆν πῆχυν α' καίουσιν ἐν τοῖς λύχνοις ἀντὶ λύχνιου. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο κατέχουσιν ἐν ταῖς νεκυομαντείαις ταῖς διὰ λεκάνης γενομέναις οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττοντες, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκάλουν τὰ τοιαῦτα φύλλα νεκύδια.

The letter *nu*: the plant “of the dead”, the “master-of-the-sea” fish, the “swimming” bird (the duck), the “retribution” stone.

²²⁶ Fragments are in Diels and Kranz (1952), 68 B 300 (under Pseudo-Democritus); Jacoby (1957), vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 24-29, § 263; and Giannini (1966), pp. 377-379. Halleux ([1981], vol. 1, pp. 62-69) has an excellent introductory discussion on Bolus, citing important earlier works. See also the short entry by Wellmann (1897). I assume, along with most scholars, that the two entries in the *Suda* for Βόλος refer to the same person, and that works on botany, alchemy, and sympathy and antipathy attributed to Democritus were written by him. Kingsley ([1995], pp. 325-328) has shown that Bolus was just as much a Pythagorean as a Democritean, and emphasizes especially (pp. 335-339) the importance of his work on plants as a practical aspect of Pythagorean thought.

²²⁷ Festugière (1950), vol. 1, pp. 197-200.

²²⁸ Cf. Festugière (1950), vol. 1, pp. 196-200; Halleux and Schamp (1985), pp. xxv-xxviii; and Copenhagen (1992), p. xxxv.

²²⁹ Luc., *Trag.* 171, showing that it probably is to be dated to the first century A.D. (Festugière [1950], vol. 1, pp. 201-216, and cf. Halleux and Schamp [1985], p. xxvii).

²³⁰ *Cyran.* 1.13; the first book is a fusion of two works, one by Cyranus and one by Harpocration of Alexandria (*Cyran.* prol.). In a later section (5.13) the *v* plant is the *νάρθηξ* though never the *νάρκισσος*.

The plant “of the dead” is the one called *flomus*.²³¹ There are seven types of this plant. It is said of it that the shoots of its leaves, which reach a height of one cubit, are burned in lamps instead of wicks,²³² and that since the leaves possess such qualities, people use this (plant) in necromancies which are performed through a bowl, and also because of this they used to call such leaves “of the dead”.

This testimony shows clearly that plants were used in lecanomancies involving raising the dead for information. Presumably by putting the plant in the bowl it was thought to attract (or even compel) the dead to make themselves seen through the liquid. Presumably it was also because of the effects of the plant’s smell when it was burned (on which see below) that it was considered good for necromancy.

Plant use in lecanomancy is also to be found in the same Demotic papyrus mentioned throughout this study. The “live-on-them”, the mustard, the “Great-of-Amoun”, and the “footprint-of-Isis” plants are all mentioned in a lecanomancy, but their exact use is not specified;²³³ perhaps it was for burning, as will be seen. More detail is given in a lecanomancy involving oil (and possibly water):²³⁴

... you should put a “heart-of-the-good-house” plant in the bottom of the vessel ...

Griffith and Thompson commented that the “heart-of-the-good-house” could be “symbolic”, and should be understood as the name of a “resurrection plant” (such as the *Anastatica hierochuntina*).²³⁵ Surely “sympathetic” rather than “symbolic” is the *mot juste*, though certainly its resurrective aspect

²³¹ Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* 9.12.3) compares the stem of the φλόμος with that of the poppy, which also grows about one cubit high. The φλόμος is to be identified with *verhascum* (“mullein”) (Waegeman [1987], pp. 105-106 [with references]) which was said to be used also as a protective amulet (Ps.-Apul., *Herb.* 72 [cited by Waegeman (1987), p. 109, n. 11]). The φλόμος was also said to be sympathetically linked to the planet Mercury (for example, in Cod. Paris. Gr. 2256, p. 159, ll. 1-18, and p. 164, l. 16; cf. Pfister [1938], col. 1452, ll. 21-23 and col. 1453, ll. 23-25, and Delatte [1949], p. 147).

²³² The long leaves of the *verhascum* were used for lamp wicks, giving the plant its name of λυχνίτις (Diosc., *Met. Med.* 4.103, and Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 25.121 [cited by Waegeman (1987), p. 106 and n. 13 on p. 109]). Does this point to the plant’s connection with lychnomancy as well as lecanomancy?

²³³ PDM xiv 814 = LL XXVII 10.

²³⁴ PDM xiv 286 = LL X 12-13.

²³⁵ Griffith and Thompson (1921 [1974]), p. 76; cf. Betz (1986), p. 212, n. 236.

is the key as they observed, and the same may also apply to the νεκύα, since νέκυια is the term used for the (non-bodily) resurrection in Homer.²³⁶ Interestingly, in a Peripatetic botanical source it is said that a dead narcissus plant could at least seem to bloom during the summer,²³⁷ thus treating the narcissus too as a “resurrection plant”.

THE CHTHONIC NARCISSUS

Now the narcissus plant was thought to have many connections with the dead.²³⁸ Artemidorus notes²³⁹ that to dream of narcissus wreaths portends bad luck, even when in season (though this is usually considered good luck for most flowers) and especially to those who gain their livelihood through the water and who have to sail;²⁴⁰ this was presumably because of its chthonic associations.²⁴¹ Nonnus gives an example of a tombstone on which the narcissus plant is depicted,²⁴² and Richardson

²³⁶ Cf. LSJ², p. 1166, col. 1 (s.v. νέκυια).

²³⁷ Ps.-Aristot., *Prob.* 20.21, 925a19-25 (mentioned also are the pennyroyal and onions). The text actually reads τὰ λείρια (“lillies”), but it has been translated convincingly as “narcissi” (for example, by Forster [1949], vol. 7, no p. no., and Organ [1966], p. 109 [s.v. narcissus]) since the Peripatetic Theophrastus equated the νάρκισσος with the λείριον (*Hist. Pl.* 6.6.9, cf. 6.8.3) as did also Sextius Niger (*de Mater.* ap. Erotian., *Lex.* s.v. λείριον). Athenaeus (*Deipn.* 15.681e) mentions Theophrastus’ identification in book 6 but notes that later Theophrastus treats the νάρκισσος and λείριον as distinct (cf. Theophr., *Hist. Pl.* 7.13.4 [cf. 7.13.1-7]); the solution to this problem is to be found in Pliny who notes (*Hist. Nat.* 21.25 [cf. 21.64]) that the *narcissus* is a type of *lilium*. Pollux (*Onom.* 6.107) apparently used Theophrastus’ association of the νάρκισσος and λείριον to identify the λείρια at *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 427 with the νάρκισσος to be found in the next line. Also in Ovid (*Met.* 3.342) Narcissus is the son of the nymph Liriope (i.e. Λειριόπη), a name which is certainly derived from λείριον (cf. Bömer [1969], p. 540); this detail was also copied from Ovid by Anon., *Myth. Vat.* 1.182.1-4 and 2.207.1-4.

²³⁸ This is often noted, for example, by Richardson (1974), p. 144; Hadot (1976), pp. 82-83 and 90; and Knoespel (1985), p. 3.

²³⁹ Artem., *Oneir.* 1.77.

²⁴⁰ Hadot ([1976], p. 83) believed that this water association predated and influenced the Narcissus myth, and not vice versa.

²⁴¹ As noted by Hadot ([1976], p. 83, citing Wieseler [1856], pp. 128-135; Murr [1890], p. 249; and Eitrem [1935], col. 1728, ll. 45-48).

²⁴² Nonn., *Dion.* 15.352-353.

has noted that an actual one has been found in Southern Italy.²⁴³ It was also used in both Greek²⁴⁴ and Egyptian²⁴⁵ funeral wreaths, and was depicted as part of the garland of Hades.²⁴⁶ Nicander speaks of²⁴⁷

τοτὲ χρυσανθὲς ἀμέργων | λείριά τε στήλῃσιν ἐπιφθίνοντα καμόντων

plucking now and then the gold-flower and narcissi²⁴⁸ that perish upon the tombstones
of the dead

Lucian has the narcissus plant grow with other fragrant flowers on the Isle of the Blest, the home for the dead heroes where it was always spring.²⁴⁹

The associations of the narcissus flower with death, as well as with religious ritual, had been most clearly depicted in the story of the rape and death of Persephone. In the Pseudo-Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, right as Persephone picks the one-hundred-headed narcissus which was placed as a lure for her, Hades comes out from the underworld to grab her and bring her down.²⁵⁰ Interestingly, Ovid forgoes a chance to mention the narcissus when he gives his catalogue of plants picked by Persephone before her rape.²⁵¹ Much later though the poet Claudian logically combined the stories of Persephone

²⁴³ Richardson (1974), p. 144. The narcissus is also mentioned on some funeral epitaphs, as has been shown at the end of Chapter I.

²⁴⁴ Knoespel (1985), pp. 3 and 119, n. 18.

²⁴⁵ Whiteside (1991), p. 108 (no source is cited).

²⁴⁶ Richardson (1974), p. 144. On the narcissus as having been used in wreaths, see Cratin., *Malth.* ap. Athen., *Deipn.* 15.681b and 685bc; Theophr., *Hist. Pl.* 6.6.11 (quoted by Athen., *Deipn.* 15.680e) and 6.8.1, 3; and Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 18.244.

²⁴⁷ Nicand., *Georg.* 74.69-70.

²⁴⁸ Gow and Scholfield ([1953], pp. 212-213) interpret λείριά as “narcissi” because Nicander was speaking of wild flowers and the lily and narcissus were equated in botanical works (as seen above).

²⁴⁹ Luc., *Ver. Hist.* 2.5, 12-13, cf. 29.

²⁵⁰ *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 4, 8, and 428 (on the narcissus).

²⁵¹ Ov., *Fast.* 4.420-454.

and Narcissus.²⁵²

The motif of the young, beautiful, and virginal girl being abducted while picking flowers (usually with her friends) in springtime was admittedly a common one.²⁵³ In some versions of the story of the abduction of Europa by Zeus (disguised as a bull) the narcissus flower is picked as well,²⁵⁴ but the flower does not have such a central role as it does with the Persephone myth, a role that had enough cultic significance to be emphasized in what has been shown to be the official cult etiology of Eleusis, that is the *Hymn to Demeter*.²⁵⁵ It is at least known that in actual practice wreaths of Demeter and Persephone were made from the narcissus flower.²⁵⁶

THE MAGICAL NARCISSUS

With all these associations of the narcissus with the dead and the realm of the dead it is not surprising that this plant came to be (at least said to be) used in sympathetic, magical rites. One such case is to be found in the Pseudo-Vergilian *Ciris*, in which the wetnurse performs *Stygalia sacra* (“Stygian rites”) to Jove to try to persuade Nisus to stop fighting Minos for the sake of his daughter’s love for Minos.²⁵⁷

²⁵² Claudian, *de Rapt. Proserp.* 2.131-136. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 21.128) and Pausanias (9.31.9) both realized that the myth of Narcissus only came after that of the flower that killed Persephone.

²⁵³ Cf. Richardson (1974), pp. 140-141.

²⁵⁴ Mosch., *Id.* 2.63-71 (with the narcissus at 65); cf. Ach. Tat., *Leuc.* 1.1.

²⁵⁵ On this work as official cult etiology, see Graf ([1994], p. 116) and Burkert ([1983], p. 32, n. 12 [and cf. p. 250]); Kirk ([1974], p. 250) calls it a “local charter myth”. For a full discussion of the link between the *Hymn* and the actual Eleusinian Mysteries, see Richardson ([1974], pp. 12-30).

²⁵⁶ Soph., *Oed. Colon.* 683, where the “great goddesses” are mentioned; in some manuscripts the phrase is in the dual, which must signify Demeter and Persephone (compare Paus., 8.31.1: αἱ δὲ εἰσιν αἱ Μεγάλαι Θεαὶ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη) as Plutarch thought (*Quaest. Conv.* 3.1.3 = *Moral.* 647b), but sometimes it is found in the plural, leading some ancients to interpret the goddesses as the Furies (*Schol. in Soph. Oed. Col.* 681-682 [citing Euphorion]; *Prob., Comm. ad Verg. Ecl.* 2.48; and Eust., *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 87.25); cf. Richardson (1974), pp. 143-144. The narcissus was also the flower of Demeter (Gruppe [1906], p. 1179, n. 2, cited in Hadot [1976], p. 83 and n. 4) and a certain species of narcissus was named the δαμάτριον after Demeter (Hesych., *Lex.* s.v. δαμάτριον).

²⁵⁷ Ps.-Verg., *Cir.* 369-370; *Stygalia sacra* is at Ps.-Verg., *Cir.* 374.

*at nutrix patula componens sulphura testa
narcissum casiamque herbas incendit olentis*

And the wetnurse, mixing narcissus and casia
with sulphur in a broad and shallow earthenware vessel.²⁵⁸
burns the odorous herbs.

But Lyne comments that the narcissus here is “an ingredient somewhat fancifully added by the poet” for three main reasons.²⁵⁹ First, it seems copied from disparate lines in Vergil;²⁶⁰ Hubaux (who is not cited by Lyne) indeed proved that Vergil copied Meleager and that the author of the *Ciris* copied Vergil.²⁶¹ Though certain words were copied in the recipe in the *Ciris* it still does not mean that the whole rite itself is fabricated. Indeed it is paralleled, even with the use of the narcissus, in other sources (as will be seen), and it is certainly important that the author of the *Ciris* changed Vergil’s *contundit* (“crushes”) to *incendit* (“burns”).²⁶² Second, Lyne says that “the *narcissus* is surely rather a flower than a *herba*”. In fact the narcissus plant was called a *herba* by both Isidore and Evax,²⁶³ both of whom are authorities better versed in ancient Latin botanical terminology than Lyne (who does not cite either of them). Third, the flower’s magical traits, says Lyne, are unparalleled in other

²⁵⁸ This vessel is similar to the one prescribed for lecanomania in *PDM* xiv 284 = LL X 11.

²⁵⁹ Lyne (1978), p. 259.

²⁶⁰ Verg., *Ecl.* 2.11 (*herbas contundit olentes*) and 2.48-49 (*Narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi : tum casia atque aliis intexens suavis herbis*), and Ps.-Verg., *Cir.* 371 and 373 is akin to Verg., *Ecl.* 8.70 and 73 (*triplici diversa colore and numero deus impari gaudet*); Vergil also mentions the narcissus at *Ecl.* 5.38 and 8.53 (based on Theocr., *Id.* 1.133), and *Georg.* 4.122-123 and 160 (on which see Abbe [1965], pp. 67-68 [s.v. narcissus]).

²⁶¹ Hubaux (1927), pp. 74-78, on Verg., *Ecl.* 2.45-48 copying Meleag. ap. *Anth. Graec.* 127.1-2 (in which the narcissus is mentioned).

²⁶² Verg., *Ecl.* 2.11 and Ps.-Verg., *Cir.* 370. Fairclough ([1986], vol. 2, p. 434) is mistaken in preferring *contundit* in the *Ciris* passage.

²⁶³ Isid., *Enm.* 17.9.16 (*Narcissus herba fabulosa in positum nomen habet a quodam puero cuius membra in hunc florem transierunt, qui et nomen Narcissi in appellatione custodit et decus pulchritudinis in candore retinet foliorum*) and Evax, *de Lapid.* 44.2 (*Hic [narcissites] tritus odorem habet narcissi herbae floribus magnificis*).

sources;²⁶⁴ but there are actually other instances of the use of the narcissus, not only in medical recipes,²⁶⁵ but also in magical prescriptions.²⁶⁶ It is odd that though Wünsch referred to a fourth century A.D. magical papyrus called the “Eighth Book of Moses”²⁶⁷ which mentions that casia was the incense of Hermes,²⁶⁸ he did not realize that this same papyrus has, only a few lines later, a reference to the *ναρκίσσινον*. It is found in the context of a spell that has as its goal the magician’s meeting a god:²⁶⁹

ἐντεῦθεν | βαστάσας τὰ ζ' ἄνθη τῶν ζ' ἀστέρων. ἃ ἔστι σαμψούχινον,
κρίνινον, λώτινον, ἐρεφύλλινον, ναρκίσσινον, λευκόϊνον, ῥόδον. ταῦτα τὰ
ἄνθη πρὸ εἴκοσι | μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς τελετῆς λειοτριβήσων εἰς λευκὴν θυίαν
καὶ, ξήρανον ἐν σκιά καὶ ἔξε αὐτὰ ἔτοιμα εἰς | τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην.

Take then the seven flowers of the seven stars, which are *sampsouchinon* (marjoram), *crininon* (white lily), *lotinon* (lotus), *erephyllinon* (?), *narcissinon*, *leucoinon* (gillyflower), *rhodon* (rose); grind these flowers finely into white incense twenty-one days before the initiation, dry them in the shade, and have them ready for that day.

As can be seen, the *ναρκίσσινον* is referred to as one of the seven flowers of the seven stars. A

²⁶⁴ Lyne ([1978], p. 259), arguing against Wünsch ([1902], p. 471), who, though he knew of no instances of the narcissus in magical texts other than this one, attributed this to a coincidence in the state of the evidence, saying that the plant obviously had magical associations in popular belief (“Allerdings ist in der sonstigen Zaubertexte *νάρκισσος* als derartiges Ingrediens nicht bezeugt, aber dass dies nur eine zufällige Lücke in der Ueberlieferung ist, zeigt uns der mehrfach bestätigte Volksglaube, der sich an diese Pflanze anknüpft.”). Viarre ([1959], p. 327, and [1964], p. 195) too thought that the narcissus plant had magical associations on the basis of this passage.

²⁶⁵ There are a great deal of medical recipes involving the narcissus from the Hippocratic corpus and later, some of which I will cite where appropriate.

²⁶⁶ Stannard ([1977], pp. 33-34) distinguishes between plants 1) which, because of a detectable physical property or through tradition, have natural therapeutic qualities, 2) which through magical rites acquire certain special properties not usual to them normally (“magiferous plants”), and 3) which are fully imaginary and do not really exist. He shows that some plants can be both 1) and 2), and one such plant would have been the narcissus. Lowe ([1929], pp. 24-25, n. 3) claimed, citing no sources, that in antiquity children wore the narcissus in a capsule (*hulla*) around the neck, presumably as a protective amulet.

²⁶⁷ On the history of this spell-book, see M. Smith (1984), vol. 2, pp. 683-693.

²⁶⁸ *PGM* XIII 17 (cited in Wünsch [1902], p. 472).

²⁶⁹ *PGM* XIII 23-29; the *νάρκισσινον* is at XIII 25-26. The same flowers are also listed again at *PGM* XIII 355.

number of other texts of *Pflanzenaherglaube* (“botanical-superstition”),²⁷⁰ attributed to such wise men as Alexander the Great, Hermes, or Solomon, and collected together by Festugière and other scholars,²⁷¹ link the seven “planets” (Sun, Moon, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn) with seven flowers. It is known from the work of the twelfth century A.D. Constantine Manasses, as well as an astrological codex now in the Vatican, that the narcissus was considered the flower of the moon,²⁷² presumably because of its chthonic associations.²⁷³ Such a selenic connection is also confirmed in the sixth century A.D. account of Alexander of Tralles in which he says that the narcissus should be picked at the time of the waning of the moon.²⁷⁴ Delatte has noted that plants with lunar sympathy were automatically seen as antipathic toward the sun and thus kept out of sunlight,²⁷⁵ again paralleling the narcissus plant and the youth Narcissus, as has been seen.

It is not the *νάρκισσος* though which is mentioned in the magical papyrus, but the

²⁷⁰ Cf. Pfister (1938), col. 1446, l. 16 to col. 1456, l. 21.

²⁷¹ Festugière (1950), vol. 1, pp. 146-160; Festugière also discusses the ancient lists of decanic plants (pp. 139-143), zodiacal plants (pp. 143-146), and of the fifteen plants related to the fifteen fixed stars (pp. 160-186). Delatte ([1949], pp. 145-147) gives a good introduction to plant-planet sympathy and discusses five treatises of this type and (pp. 148-177) edits another one, but none of which involves the narcissus. Pfister ([1938], col. 1450, l. 21 to col. 1453, l. 25) discusses only four such texts.

²⁷² Constant. Man., *Compend. Chron.* 128 (cf. Cook [1914], vol. 1, pp. 624-625), and *Cod. Vat.* 1144, fol. 270, l. 6 (*νάρκισσος καλλιπέταλος ἐφαίνετο Σελήνῃ*).

²⁷³ The moon of course was widely connected with magic (especially in terms of Selene's identification with Hecate) and the dead in ancient times (see Préaux [1970], pp. 9-57 [on the moon and sympathy] and 119-123 [on the moon's connection to magic]). In a prayer to Selene for any spell she is addressed among a number of other epithets as *νερτερία* (“infernal”), *νοξία* (“nocturnal”), *ἄιδωναία* (“netherworldly”), *σκοτία* (“dark”) (*PGM* IV 2854-2855), *θανάτηγέ* (“death-bringer”) (*PGM* IV 2865), etc. (on this hymn, see M. Smith [1981], pp. 643-654).

²⁷⁴ Alex. Trall., vol. 2, p. 581, cited by Delatte (1938), p. 29, and Bidez and Cumont (1938), p. 302. There is indeed no doubt that the magician's knowledge of *συμπάθεια*, such as the connection between plant and astral body, was also closely connected with that of herbalism, especially in terms of the right time to pick magical plants, as detailed in the polemic against Nechepso in *Thessal.* 27 (cf. J. Smith [1993], pp. 183-184). Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 18.321) stated that “Democritus” (that is Bolus of Mendes) and Vergil (*Georg.* 1.276-286) both understood that certain operations must be performed according to the days of the moon.

²⁷⁵ Delatte (1938), p. 54.

νάρκισσινον; this is logically translated by Smith as “narcissus” since it is said to be a flower.²⁷⁶ but it is clear that in other ancient contexts this word implies something extracted from the narcissus plant. Pliny says²⁷⁷ that perfume made from the flower was called *narcissinum*, as was also a thick oil which could help smooth calluses or help chilled body parts or ear problems.²⁷⁸ Indeed, though the papyrus refers to seven flowers, it does prescribe their use in a non-plant form, a powdery form to be burned for incense,²⁷⁹ thus paralleling the burning of the narcissus in the Pseudo-Vergilian passage. In this last reference the reason for the burning of the plant is surely the resulting emanating smell.²⁸⁰ Michael Psellus stated that it was a common pagan Greek belief that smells could drive away or attract demonic forces, as could also stones, herbs, and special rites;²⁸¹ the *Cyranides* indeed confirms such use of smells, at least to drive away spirits.²⁸²

The narcissus plant was noted for its smell and its connection with demonic forces both through its benumbing characteristic, which provided a folk etymology for its name.²⁸³ In the first

²⁷⁶ M. Smith in Betz (1986), p. 173; Smith also changes, for some reason, the order of the flowers as found in the edition of Preisendanz and Henrichs (1973-1974). Preisendanz ([no date], vol. 3, p. 139) identifies the νάρκισσινον as the *Narcissus poeticus* L.

²⁷⁷ Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 13.6.

²⁷⁸ Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 21.129 (*narcissinum*) (cf. 15.30 and 23.94 [simple mentions of oil made from the flower]) and Diosc., *Mat. Med.* 1.63 (νάρκισσινον). Narcissus oil is also mentioned in the Hippocratic corpus (Littre [1962 (1849)], vol. 7, p. 431, and vol. 8, pp. 93, 141, 201, and 335).

²⁷⁹ M. Smith (in Betz [1986], p. 173) prefers to read “in a white mortar”, but notes (p. 173, n. 10) that the text can just as easily be translated as “into white incense”, since θύα could apply to both; I prefer the latter because of the parallel prescriptions for burning plants cited below, but even if “mortar” is to be understood this could still imply that the powder from the plants was to be burned.

²⁸⁰ Lyne ([1978], p. 259) believes that the smell in this passage was that intrinsic to the plants while Wünsch ([1902], p. 471) believed, as I do, that the smell was caused by the burning.

²⁸¹ Psell., *Chron.* 6.68, cited by Duffy (1995), p. 89. He also spoke of inhaling narcotics in a theurgic rite (cf. Luck [1989], p. 204). On specific rites to summon greater beings, see Theodor. Philet., *Necronomi.* proem.

²⁸² *Cyran.* 1.3.21, 3.51.20-22, 4.13.2-3, 4.1.6-7, and 4.55.4, cited in Greenfield (1995), p. 135, n. 55.

²⁸³ The word νάρκισσος was said to come from νάρκη (Plut., *Quaest. Conv.* 3.1 = *Moral.* 647b; Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 21.128; Clem. Alex., *Paedag.* 2.8.71.3; *Schol. in Soph. Oed. Col.* 681; and Eust., *Comm. Ad Hom. Il.* 87.25-26 and 1173.49), the equivalent to the Latin *torpor*; cf. Carnoy (1959), p. 185, and Chantraine (1974), vol. 3, p. 736 (s.v. νάρκισσος). Rosati ([1983], p. 13, n. 13) surveys the modern opinions on this etymology, showing (with references) that some scholars have

place, though Plutarch stated that the narcissus could benumb when consumed.²⁸⁴ Clement of Alexandria claimed rather that it was its smell, which was much remarked upon in antiquity,²⁸⁵ that had a numbing effect.²⁸⁶ This may in fact explain why Pliny says that perfume was no longer made from the narcissus in his day.²⁸⁷ Indeed, the story of the abduction of Persephone in the Pseudo-Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* may have resulted from the notion that the plant's smell could bring one (quite literally) in touch with the underworld.²⁸⁸ Furthermore, it was presumably numbing by smell that was also the property of those two plants named *therionarca* (i.e. θηριονάρκη or "beast-numbing") cited by Pliny: the first, which he knows from "Democritus" (that is Bolus of Mendes), was supposedly magical while the other was a more usual plant (*in nostro orbe*).²⁸⁹

Clement of Alexandria's claim also makes sense in terms of some of the surviving evidence for those natural items linked in ancient sources with the narcissus. For one, the plant was to be mixed with the νάρκη (the electric ray) in a copper vessel filled with water and oil (a procedure reminiscent of lecanomancy) as part of a φυλακτικόν for gout and arthritis given by Alexander of

accepted it, some have remained uncertain, and some have considered it a folk etymology (as I do).

²⁸⁴ Plut., *Quaest. Conv.* 3.1.3 = *Moral.* 647b; Plutarch might have just been trying to explain the folk etymology since other ancient sources say only that eating the bulb of the narcissus plant could cause mild nausea and a headache (Diosc., *Mat. Med.* 4.161, and Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 21.128-129).

²⁸⁵ *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 13; *Cypr.* 4.6 ap. Athen., *Deipn.* 15.682ef; Cratin., *Malth.* ap. Poll., *Onom.* 6.106 and ap. Athen., *Deipn.* 15.681b and 685bc; Mosch., *Id.* 2.65; Diosc., *Mat. Med.* 1.161; and Luc., *Ver. Hist.* 2.5 and 29. Because of its smell it was said to be a good plant for attracting bees (Verg., *Georg.* 4.160; Colum., *de Re Rust.* 9.4.4 and 10.107-108; Pallad., 1.37.2; and Philostr., *Imag.* 1.23.2).

²⁸⁶ Clem. Alex., *Paedag.* 2.8.71.3. Indeed it is true that the smell of certain narcissus species can be narcotic or even deadly (Spotnitz and Resnikoff [1954], pp. 177-178; Grieve [1959], vol. 2, p. 573; and Woodward [1985], p. 30).

²⁸⁷ Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 13.6; as far as I know no one has ever suggested this.

²⁸⁸ Hadot ([1976], p. 84) has actually linked the smell and narcotic property of the flower in this account. Much earlier, Creuzer ([1821], vol. 3, p. 550) and Wieseler ([1856], p. 95) saw the flower's numbing scent as part of the Narcissus myth's origins (cited in Vinge [1967], p. 336, n. 57).

²⁸⁹ Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 24.163 and 25.113. Note also the νάρκαφθον plant (Diosc., *Mat. Med.* 1.23, and Paul Aeg., 7.3 and 7.22.4) which seems to imply a power to avert envy (and the evil-eye?); this plant though was also known as the νάσκαφθον or νάκαφθον (Diosc., *Mat. Med.* 1.23 and Oribas., 12N5) so perhaps then its name changed on the model of the other numbing plants. This plant may also be equivalent to the λάκαφθον (LSJ^s, p. 1160, col. 2 [s.v. νάρκαφθον]).

Tralles.²⁹⁰ The reason for this was presumably not only because of their seemingly similar etymology but also because of their similar properties: Pliny actually explained that the electric ray (*torpedo*) could paralyze not only by touch but also from a distance through its smell.²⁹¹ Some sources also speak of the νάρκισσίτης stone²⁹² which Evax said was so called because it smelled like the narcissus flower when rubbed.²⁹³ It is tempting to conjecture that Bolus, or some other author on natural sympathies, linked, because of their smell, the νάρκισσος (“narcissus”), νάρκη (“electric ray”), and νάρκισσίτης (“narcissus-stone”), and influenced Alexander of Tralles, Evax, and even Pliny. Indeed sometimes in the *Cyranides* the items linked together are “completely homonymous”, as in the very similar example of the link made between the ἀετός (“eagle”), ἀετός (“eagle-ray”), and ἀετίτης (“eagle-stone”).²⁹⁴

In the Demotic papyrus numerous items are listed which will help call forth (or dismiss) an image in lecanomancy by being burned upon a brazier,²⁹⁵ and in one instance “crocus powder” is suggested to help invoke information from a (deceased?) thief.²⁹⁶ In another instance the “Anubis

²⁹⁰ Alex. Trall., vol. 2, p. 581: Νάρκην ζῶσαν βάλε εἰς χαλκοῦν ἀγγεῖον καὶ εἰς κάκαβον μετὰ ἐλαίου καὶ ὕδατος ... καὶ νάρκισσον τὴν βοτάνην συνάγων αὐτὴν λεγούσης σελήνης ἐμβαλε καὶ αὐτὴν συνεψὼν τῷ ζῳῳ ... (“Throw a live electric ray in a copper vessel and then into a three-legged pot with [olive] oil and water ... and throw in a narcissus plant gathered at the ‘picking’ moon and boiling it together with the animal ...”). The narcissus is also said to be useful for gout in Rufus of Ephesus (*de Podagr.* 20.3) and for arthritis in Dioscorides (*Mat. Med.* 4.161).

²⁹¹ Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 32.7. See Bloedow and Björk ([1982], pp. 111-112) on Pliny’s references to the electric ray and its use in ancient medical and magical recipes (and pp. 104-105 and n. 12 for other ancient sources on this animal, not including Alexander of Tralles though).

²⁹² Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 37.188, and Dionys. *Perieg.*, *Lith.* 1031 (both cited in LSF, p. 1160, col. 2 [s.v. νάρκισσίτης]).

²⁹³ Evax, *de Lapid.* 44 (not cited in LSF); Chantraine, who also does not cite Evax, may then be quite wrong that it was thus called because of its colour ([1974], vol. 3, p. 736 [s.v. νάρκισσος]).

²⁹⁴ Waegeman (1987), p. 8, citing *Cyran.* 1.1 and providing the translation “eagle-ray” (on which, see Aristot., *Hist. Anim.* 540b18); I have changed the order of the items to emphasize the similarity. Note also the parallel case in Bolus’ formula for invisibility (ap. Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 28.118) using both the chamaeleon and the chamaeleon plant.

²⁹⁵ On the importance of the thick, perfumed smoke used in this form of divination, see Maspero (1923), p. 128.

²⁹⁶ *PDM* xiv 77-86 = LL III 20-32 (29 for the “crocus powder”); there is no doubt that the κρόκος is meant because it is found in Greek as a gloss on the Demotic *grwgrw* here and the Greek word was also put into cipher at LL verso XVIII 7 (Griffith and Thompson [1921], vol. 3, p. 103, no. 27 [index of Greek words] and p. 110, no. 32 [index of words in cipher]). Interestingly, Bolus (ap. Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 37.185) said that the *zathenes* stone had a nice smell when ground with palm wine

plant” (surely one with chthonic associations) is to be burned as incense in a lecanomantic prescription;²⁹⁷ unfortunately the papyrus is defective in the area where the plant is identified.²⁹⁸ And as we have seen, Apuleius spoke of the entrancement of the boy-medium specifically through the use of spells and smells;²⁹⁹ similarly, Pseudo-Galen explained that ἐνθουσιασμός, that is the entering of the god into the medium, could be caused by smells or music.³⁰⁰

Secondly, the narcissus was also linked directly with demonic powers. A scholiast on Sophocles says:³⁰¹

ὅτι τοῦ φρίττειν καὶ ναρκᾶν εἰσιν αἱ δαίμονες αἴτιαι ὥστε διὰ τὸ ὄνομα συνωκειῶσθαι τὸ φυτὸν αὐταῖς·

because demons are the causes of shuddering and numbness, the [narcissus] plant, by reason of its name, is connected with them.

Thus it seems that because of its name, which describes its nature as benumbing, the narcissus was thought to be linked with demons that cause numbness, presumably through possession. As has been

and the crocus flower. The κρόκος is put into close connection with the νάρκισσος in *Hom. Hymn. Cer.* 428; *Soph., Oed. Col.* 681-685; and *Theophr., Hist. Pl.* 6.8.3 and 7.13.1-2, among other sources, and the νάρκισσος was said to have a κρόκος-coloured interior by Dioscorides (*Mat. Med.* 4.161 [ἐφ' οὗ ἄνθος λευκόν, ἐσωθεν δὲ κροκῶδες], quoted also by Oribas., 12N4) and Ovid (*Met.* 3.509-510 [*croceum ... florem ... foliis medium cingentibus albis*]); Billerbeck ([1972], pp. 86-87) calls this the *Tazetta Narcissus* as opposed to the *Poeticus* which he identifies as the purple narcissus found in sources which he cites. On the uses of the crocus in antiquity, see Goubeau ([1993], pp. 23-26), who concludes that the plant was very important and widely used in ancient Greece. It is interesting that Crocus was also the name of a mythical youth transformed into the eponymous flower (cf. Forbes Irving [1992], p. 283).

²⁹⁷ *PDM* xiv 415-416 = *LL XIV* 22.

²⁹⁸ *PDM* xiv 426-427 = *LL XIV* 32-33; all that is preserved is its having white leaves and having flowers like the κόνυζα. Griffith and Thompson ([1921 (1974)], pp. 103-104, n. on l. 32) identify it with the στάχυς since it had white leaves (citing *Diosc., Mat. Med.* 3.110, and *Plin., Hist. Nat.* 24.86) but Johnson (in Betz [1986], p. 220, n. 340) notes that this identification has been questioned and that some have said that the *mentha aquatica* was meant.

²⁹⁹ *Apul., Apol.* 43.3: *reputo posse animum humanum, praesertim puerilem et simplicem, seu carminum avocamento sive odorum delenimento soporari.*

³⁰⁰ *Ps.-Gal., Defin. med.* 487, cited by Delatte (1932), p. 138 (who speaks of smells reinforcing the magical ritual). Luck ([1989], p. 195) cites this in mentioning that intoxicants could be used to induce trances.

³⁰¹ *Schol. in Soph. Oed. Colon.* 681.

seen, both Apuleius and Iamblichus speak of the possession of boy-mediums used in divination,¹⁰² though it might seem to contradict the notion of the invoked being going into the water and not into the medium in hydromancy.

With all this information, it is tempting to conjecture that powdered narcissus would have been used (like the crocus) not only to help invoke the gods (as in the magical papyrus) but also to help evoke the dead (as in Pseudo-Vergil) in hydromancies, and/or that the narcissus stone was similarly employed (like the hyacinth stone). As Hadot noted,¹⁰³ the narcissus is a singular plant in having had both chthonic and narcotic associations.

* * *

Each of the fifteen parallels between Ovid's Narcissus myth and water divination that I have adduced may not seem convincing individually but all together I would argue that they are very significant. The magical interpretation of the water-gazing motif in the myth explains why Ovid would add such seemingly irrelevant (and paradoxical) details as the characteristics of the water as well as the link between the flower and the water-gazing youth. It is important to understand that for each prescription that has been mentioned there was a dual reason for its use in divination. A young boy was used, so it was said, for his purity, but, more practically, for his persuadability. Fasting could purify one, but also aid in bringing on visions. The incantations spoken "onto" the medium could have had the effect of placing him in a trance (especially through the use of nonsensical and repetitive *voces magicæ*) and not simply to supposedly call down the divinatory powers. Similarly, stones were ostensibly used for their sympathetic qualities, which would help to compel (and sometimes hold) a power for information, but could have surely also provided trance-inducing resplendency. Plants too, either placed in the liquid in the vessel or else burned on a nearby brazier, could have both helped to invoke the image desired in the water as well as entrance the boy-medium

¹⁰² Apul., *Apol.* 43.4-5, and Iambl., *de Myst.* 3.24.

¹⁰³ Hadot (1976), p. 84.

by their smells. But rather than explaining all of these ritual details in such a rationalizing manner, which is quite characteristic of our modern, critical approach, the ancients could have attempted to explain them instead by presenting them as narrative elements in a mythological story.

CHAPTER IV: THE ORIGINS OF THE MAGICAL NARCISSUS

Now that I have shown that there is a hidden divinatory aspect to Narcissus' water-gazing in Ovid's version, two points remain to be investigated: the respective relationships of the versions of Conon, Pausanias, and Ovid (in that order) to an original, hydromantic version of the Narcissus myth, as well as the exact originating context of the myth.

As I have already shown, Conon seems to have taken the original water-gazing Narcissus and added to it, as part of a cultic etiology, an amatory aspect through the motif of the just retribution for the scorned lover, as well as the motif, common on epitaphs, involving the hope that the deceased's beauty and vitality can be remembered and in a way can even live on through flowers (or a specific flower). Unfortunately, Photius' brief summary of his account leaves us with practically no details beyond Conon's supposed additions. Of the fifteen parallels between Ovid's version of the myth and divinatory prescriptions, Conon mentions six: youthfulness, sexual purity, beauty, water-gazing into springwater, and the eponymous flower.

On the other hand, Pausanias' second version, though even briefer than what remains of Conon's account, is seemingly almost devoid of any authorial additions (despite what scholars may have claimed, as I have shown in Chapter I). Not only is it a first hand account from Thespiae, but it is also unconnected to Conon's account since it does not involve the lover's curse. It also emphasizes the importance of the water-gazing, which Narcissus is said to do in order to call to mind his beloved, deceased twin sister. Ninck believed that this version was closest to the original, surmising that Narcissus' underworld double (or *doppelgänger*) as found in the original version took on the role of a separate lover in this story.¹ But as it stands, Pausanias' alternate version seems to make perfect sense in terms of an original hydromantic context for the Narcissus myth, since in it Narcissus does nothing other than evoke the image of a dead individual in the water, thus truly

¹ Ninck (1921 [1960]), p. 58, n. 4.

performing an activity akin to a necromantic/hydromantic rite. The only readily apparent change in this account (perhaps made by Pausanias himself?) is that the image in the water is made out to be that of Narcissus' twin sister; this detail may have been thought necessary in order to explain how the image of the dead individual in the water was so like the reflection of the medium. Surely in an actual hydromantic rite the medium would not have seen his own reflection clearly, because of the use of light and resplendency to unfocus his eyes and stun him, but only that "dark-coloured boy" discussed earlier.

Though I posit that Pausanias' alternate version of the Narcissus myth is pre-Cononic, and that Conon added the amatory aspect to the myth, it is undeniable that there is indeed still a certain love element in the supposedly earlier account (which indeed may have made it logical for Conon to connect the story with Eros). But this element is different than that in Conon, which involves the just retribution for the scorned lover as well as an etiology of the cult of Thespian Eros, since it conforms rather to instances in which ancient rites involving the evocation of the dead were connected with love for a deceased individual. Protesilaos, the first soldier to have died at Troy, was said to have been resurrected for one night of passion with his wife Laodameia.² Another story sharing the same motif was that of Philinnion who was resurrected to sleep with Machates.³ Both these cases, it is true, involve anastasis, that is actual resurrection of the body, and not simple necromancy, in which the disembodied dead is evoked. But the prescription for lecanomancy in the Demotic papyrus that most closely parallels the Ovidian description of Narcissus (as a prone virginal youth gazing into a clean and clear liquid) can be seen as a rite that has as its goal the acquisition of information about a beloved deceased. This prescription, which is the longest surviving lecanomantic rite from antiquity, is specifically said to be the "vessel divination of Isis when she was searching";⁴ obviously

² Ps.-Apollod., *Epit.* 3.30; Philostr., *Imag.* 2.9.5; Luc., *Dial. Mort.* 23; Hyg., *Fab.* 104 (cf. 103); cf. Ov., *Her.* 13.

³ Phleg., *Mir.* 1 (cf. Burkert [1983], p. 244, nn. 3-5).

⁴ *PDM* xiv 9 = LL 19 (cf. xiv 853), originating from the Oxyrhynchite nome of Egypt (*PDM* xiv 1 and 528). The magician identifies himself at one point as "Isis the wise" (*PDM* xiv 50 = LL II 22-23) and calls upon the chthonic Anubis to bring together gods, from which the one whom the magician wishes to consult may be chosen (*PDM* xiv 17). But this lecanomancy can also be used with beings other than gods, including spirits (*PDM* xiv 83), the dead (*PDM* xiv 84), and even a living man (*PDM* xiv 82).

then this implies that she is searching for her beloved deceased husband (and brother) Osiris. I will return to this important evidence below.

Having looked at the relationships, respectively, between the versions of Conon and Pausanias of the Narcissus myth with its originating context, we must turn to that of Ovid's version. To begin with, though Ovid does emphasize the aspects of self-love and natural etiology (that were ostensibly developed from Conon's account), his version, as I have shown, points to another, probably more fundamental Narcissus story (that parallels Pausanias' alternate account) involving water-gazing for the purposes of divination. Before attempting to explain Ovid's source for the hydromantic details in his story, I shall attempt to show that Ovid must have been aware of their presence.

Although there are no references to hydromancy in any of Ovid's extant works, it is certain that his knowledge of religious matters, as well as magical ones, was vast. The *Fasti* especially attest to his knowledge of Roman religion, and this work, along with all of Ovid's other extant works, has references to magic,⁵ and thus demonstrates his accurate knowledge of the subject,⁶ even though he might have been sceptical when it came to the actual efficacy of magical practices.⁷ Ovid also had a peculiarly sophisticated notion of magical sympathy or *similia similibus* practices,⁸ often paralleling

⁵ As noted by Viarre (1964), p. 172 and Tupet (1976), pp. 379 and 385-386; Tupet ([1976], p. 379) says that the *Tristia* and *Ponto* are the only exceptions but Viarre ([1959], p. 328) has shown that even these have references to magic. Porte has demonstrated ([1985], pp. 23-24 and *passim*) that the *Fasti* is a work primarily concerned with etiology, which happens for the most part to deal with religious (and magical) rituals.

⁶ For example, Ovid understands the importance of herbs and vegetative substances in magic (Tupet [1976], pp. 389, 397-398, and 402, cf. Viarre [1964], pp. 185-187 [who also mentions, blood, fire, water, etc.]) as well as incantations (Tupet [1976], p. 397, cf. Viarre [1964], pp. 182-185). Most notably, the whole *Ibis* is a long curse paralleled in surviving *tabellae defixionis* (Tupet [1976], pp. 379 and 407, cf. Viarre [1959], p. 328; on these see Gager [1992], *passim*) and his *Med. Fem.* includes numerous recipes with close connections to magical ones (cf. Viarre [1959], pp. 327-328 [who compares the narcissus formula in the *Ciris*]); but, though Ovid mentions necromancy a few times in the *Metamorphoses* (1.147, 7.206, 13.439-448, and 14.412), the instances are mainly based on transformation rather than pure magic (cited in Viarre [1964], p. 175, and cf. [1959], p. 329). Viarre sometimes tries to stress his originality too much (cf. Viarre [1959], *passim* and [1964], p. 12), though she admits that his descriptions are authentic ([1964], p. 172, cf. p. 169); on Ovid's originality in terms of his magical prescriptions, see also Tupet (1976), pp. 387-389.

⁷ See Tupet (1976), pp. 379-386 for references; this applies especially to his view of love magic (Tupet [1976], pp. 383-384).

⁸ Viarre (1964), pp. 190-194, and Tupet (1976), pp. 398-399 and 405-407.

precisely the prescriptions in magical papyri and tablets for these sorts of rites;⁹ as we have seen *συμπάθεια* was at the basis for most hydromantic prescriptions. Viarre has actually interpreted the Narcissus myth in Ovid as magical in the sense that it plays on the idea of sympathy: there is a link between the mirror-like surface of the water and Narcissus' soul, between the purity of the place and the youth, and, most important, Narcissus is attracted to himself, thus conforming precisely to the principle of like attracting like.¹⁰ Viarre does contend that the sources of some of Ovid's myths were actual magical rites,¹¹ and though she never links hydromancy with the Narcissus myth, she, along with Lehmann (who noted a link with catoptromancy) and Ninck (as has been seen with his *doppelgänger* theory), has perhaps come closest to recognizing a possible magical meaning to the water-gazing motif in the myth.

Ovid, if he did not share in common knowledge about the practice of hydromancy, could certainly have become informed about it through two sources which contributed much to his *Fasti*: Propertius and Varro. As I have noted before, Propertius seems to mention hydromancy involving the dead at one point.¹² Ovid himself informs us that Propertius often recited his verses to him,¹³ and

⁹ Ovid refers to the practice of binding through the use of needles in a wax figurine (*Her.* 6.91-3 and *Am.* 3.7.79-80; cf. Tupet [1976], pp. 384-388) in the manner to be seen in magical texts (for example, *PGM* IV 296-329; cf. Faraone [1991], pp. 165-205, and Faraone [1992], pp. 3-32) and in an actual surviving exemplar from the third or fourth century A.D. (Louvre inv. E 27145; cf. Faraone and Obbink [1992], front; Gager [1992], pp. 97-99 and fig. 13 on p. 98; Ritner [1993], p. 112, fig. 2; and Pinch [1995], p. 92, fig. 48). Porte has also noted ([1985], p. 17, citing Tupet [1976], pp. 398-414, esp. p. 413, cf. pp. 445, n. 59 and 451, n. 59) that Ovid's use of the goddess Muta or Tacita in a description of a sympathetic magical ritual for silence (*Fast.* 2.571-582) can be shown to be authentic through the evidence found in magical tablets.

¹⁰ Viarre (1964), pp. 194-195. Viarre has found magic throughout the *Metamorphoses* ([1964], pp. 149-152 and *passim*) and has seen, as she puts it, the essence of the Ovidian world as similar to that of the magical world (p. 172). But for her in the *Metamorphoses* it is a magic concerned with transformation (and not with love or the dead), which is original in its very aesthetic and natural treatment and which is not developed in terms of its real psychological impact as in other Roman authors (Viarre [1959], *passim*; cf. [1964], p. 149 and n. 1). Tupet on the other hand has attacked many of Viarre's examples ([1976], pp. 394-396) and thinks rather that only the Medea and Circe episodes in the work strictly involve magic ([1976], p. 396; Viarre speaks of Medea and Circe in [1964], pp. 168-171 and 178-179).

¹¹ Viarre (1964), p. 189; she also suggests that sometimes Ovid used magic to explain otherwise incomprehensible myths.

¹² Propert., *Eleg.* 4.1.106.

¹³ Ov., *Trist.* 4.10.45-46.

Ovid actually saw himself as his poetic successor.¹⁴ Mack has suggested that Ovid's *Fasti* was a work basically prompted by the desire to outdo Propertius by taking up what he "promised in the opening of his fourth book and backed off from",¹⁵ that is his plan to write a work on rituals, days and the original names of places on the model of Callimachus' *Aitia*.¹⁶ Ovid then certainly knew Propertius' mention of the dead appearing through magical water, but, granted, this meagre reference, even if it is to hydromancy, could not in itself inform Ovid of the particulars of this form of divination, though it might imply that these were fairly well known to literate Romans, as Tupet has shown.¹⁷ But, because of the paucity of evidence, there is really no way of knowing whether water divination was well known to literate (or, for that matter, non-literate) Romans, though the relative newness of the practice in the first century B.C. (as will be seen) may argue against this.

Another important source, if not the most important, both for Ovid's knowledge of religion and magic and for his *Fasti* was the first century B.C. polymath Varro,¹⁸ who set about explaining rituals, especially etiologically, in his *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* and his Callimachian *Aitia*.¹⁹ works which unfortunately only survive in fragments. In four of Varro's fragments, transmitted by Apuleius, Augustine, Servius, and Isidore respectively,²⁰ hydromancy is actually mentioned. Servius and Isidore seem to rely on the same work of Varro's (if only indirectly²¹) since in both of them his theory of divination is said to contrast with that of Cicero, which differentiates between divination

¹⁴ Ov., *Trist.* 4.10.53-54, cf. 2.65-68.

¹⁵ Mack (1988), p. 30.

¹⁶ Cf. Propert., *Eleg.* 4.1.69-70, cf. 64; cf. Mack (1988), pp. 30-31.

¹⁷ Tupet (1976), p. 25.

¹⁸ Cf. Nick (1881), pp. 380-382.

¹⁹ Porte (1985), pp. 24-25, who mentions a number of authors who wrote *Fasti* before Ovid.

²⁰ Apul., *Apol.* 48.6; August., *de Civ. Dei* 7.35; Serv., *Comm. ad Verg. Aen.* 3.559; and Isid., *Etym.* 8.9.11-14. As Boehm shows ([1914], col. 80, ll. 7-11), with references, the passage in Isidore was also taken up by later writers.

²¹ Isidore may have simply been following Servius rather than Varro directly (as pointed out to me by Dr. Richard Burgess).

by *ars* and by *furor*,²² and is said to instead consist in dividing divination into four types corresponding to the elements, that is geomancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, and hydromancy.²³ Isidore provides more detail in speaking about the use of blood in hydromancy (as seen already), in his connection of it and necromancy, in his Christian polemical²⁴ definition of it as the deceptive games of demons that can be seen or heard, and in his mention of the Persian origins of the practice; in all three cases he parallels Augustine (whom he surely used),²⁵ in whose account the mention of blood actually makes more contextual sense,²⁶ though in whose account it is not explained how Numa or Pythagoras could have learned of the practice if it was indeed originally Persian.²⁷ It is quite certain then that these three passages come from the same work, and Boehm has found it very possible that the Apuleian passage, which adds the detail of a boy-medium, as we have seen in Chapter III, is also

²² Cf. Cicer., *de Div.* 2.11.26, and 1.6.11-12, 18, and 34.

²³ Servius (*Comm. ad Verg. Aen.* 3.359) has: *ut ait Cicero, omnis divinandi peritia in duas partes dividitur: nam aut furor est, ut in vaticinantibus: aut ars, ut in aruspicihus, [fulguritis sive] fulgoratoribus, auguribus, ... Varro autem quattuor genera divinationum dicit: terram, aërem, aquam, ignem: geomantis, aeromantis, pyromantis, hydromantis.*

Isidore (*Etym.* 8.9.13-14) has: *Varro dicit divinationis quattuor esse genera, terram, aquam, aerem et ignem. Hinc geomantiam, hydromantiam, aeromantiam, pyromantiam dictam. ... Duo sunt [autem] genera divinationis: ars et furor.*

²⁴ This is not to say that Varro could not have mentioned demons in his account of hydromancy, but only that Augustine and Isidore would have added negative connotations to this word if they had taken it from Varro (as shown by Boyancé [1955], pp. 70-71): in fact Apuleius' connection of (Platonic) demons with hydromancy (*Apol.* 43.2-3) may have been taken, at least in part, from Varro.

²⁵ Isidore (*Etym.* 8.9.11-13) has: *Necromantii sunt, quorum praecantationibus videntur resuscitati mortui divinare, et ad interrogata respondere. Νεκρὸς enim Graece mortuus, μαντεία divinatio nuncupatur ... Est enim hydromantia in aquae inspectione umbras daemonum evocare, et imagines vel ludificationes eorum videre, ibique ab eis aliqua audire, ubi adhibito sanguine etiam inferos perhibentur sciscitari. Quod genus divinationis a Persis fertur adlatum. Varro dicit*

Augustine (*de Civ. Dei* 7.35.1-6, 7-10) has: *Nam et ipse Numa, ad quem nullus Dei propheta, nullus sanctus angelus mitebatur, hydromantiam facere compulsus est, ut in aqua videret imagines deorum vel potius ludificationes daemonum, a quibus audiret, quid in sacris constituere atque observare deberet. Quod genus divinationis idem Varro a Persis dicit allatum. ... ubi adhibito sanguine etiam inferos perhibet sciscitari et νεκρομαντείαν Graece dicit vocari, quae [sive hydromantia] sive necromantia dicatur, id ipsum est, ubi videntur mortui divinare.*

²⁶ As noted by Boehm (1914), col. 80, ll. 18-25.

²⁷ Boyancé noted ([1955], p. 70) that the confusion of transmission here may be explainable by the fact that Varro wanted to remain "dans un vague prudent, comme il convient quand on est dans un passé aussi lointain."

to be connected with the others.²⁸ Now Augustine indicates²⁹ his source as being Varro's work *Curio de Cultu Deorum* ("Curio on the Worship of the Gods")³⁰ and this then is more than likely the source (again, if only indirectly) for all four of our fragments.³¹

Unlike the slight reference in Propertius, Varro obviously could have provided Ovid with a fair knowledge of the workings of hydromancy. Of the fifteen parallels mentioned before we can be fairly certain that he knew of many of them: the use of a young, virginal, and beautiful boy as medium, gazing into water (assuming that Apuleius has relied on Varro for the greater part of his knowledge of the practice, as seems quite possible), which at least could be taken from a spring (the story of the grove of Egeria) and could be used to contact the dead. Though perhaps likely, it is impossible to tell if he knew of the other crucial parallel prescriptions, such as the medium being prone³² and the use of flowers³³, though Varro did certainly write more on hydromancy than survives.³⁴

It is tempting to think that Varro transmitted to Ovid knowledge not only of hydromancy, but also of the hypothetical pre-Cononic, non-erotic version of the Narcissus myth apparently known independently by Pausanias: Varro at least recognized that myths could arise as explanations for hydromantic rites, as seen in his own interpretation of the Numa and Egeria story. If not through

²⁸ Boehm (1914), col. 79, ll. 58-65. Abt too ([1908], p. 245) has considered the Apuleian fragment to be a section taken from a larger section of Varro's in which he also speaks of the origins of hydromancy as Persian.

²⁹ Aug., *de Civ. Dei* 7.34.6.

³⁰ On this work of Varro's see Boyancé (1955), p. 68 and n. 3 (spoken of in the context of the Egeria story in Augustine); he explains that the Curio involved was Gaius Scribonius Curio, consul in 76 B.C.

³¹ As Boehm shows ([1914], col. 79, l. 45 to col. 80, l. 7) against Merkel ([1841], p. cxv), who, on weak grounds, gives as source the third book of the *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum*.

³² Apuleius though says (*Apol.* 43.8-10) that the boy Thallus was on the ground because he was an epileptic, but he could be implying that his accusers could have thought about the prone position of the boy-medium if they only knew believable lies to invent.

³³ Boyancé seems to have thought that Varro may have been aware of the use of plants for hydromancy ([1955], p. 70, n. 2).

³⁴ As noted by Boehm (1914), col. 79, ll. 45-47.

Varro, Ovid could have learned of it, as Pausanias had, through contacts with Thespieae, as I have suggested in Chapter I. A third possibility, though much less probable, is that Conon's account originally contained those details akin to hydromancy similar to that of Ovid's version, that Ovid copied him, and that Photius left them out of his summary of Conon

* * *

This brings us to conjectures about the originating context of the Narcissus myth. Thus far my structuralist motif study approach has lead me to emphasize the importance of the water-gazing motif as representing a form of ritualized magic, prompting me to accept a basically *a posteriori* ritualistic interpretation of the myth, that is one that supposes that the myth was invented to explain or describe a ritual. The originating context of the Narcissus myth would then have to have been an occasion in which the prescriptions for hydromancy would have had to be explained and/or described. To discover such an occasion, the evidence for hydromancy must now be carefully examined. I shall eventually argue that the occasion was perhaps the importation of the rite of hydromancy from Egypt to the northern side of the Mediterranean Sea.

Though Varro and Propertius, in the first century B.C., are our earliest extant Latin sources on hydromancy and lecanomancy, the earliest extant Greek reference to this type of divination seems to be only a little older, in Bolus of Mendes. Before examining this source, it is imperative to first examine five seemingly earlier instances, which can all be dismissed.

First, in 458 B.C., Aeschylus mentioned pouring vinegar and flour into the same glass and watching their movements,³⁵ which is a form of lecanomancy probably originating from Mesopotamia.³⁶ But though it shares the use of a bowl with hydromancy it is far different from the latter practice, since, to mention but one difference, no reflection is involved but rather the patterns

³⁵ Aesch., *Agam.* 322.

³⁶ Cf. Burkert (1987), p. 53.

on the surface of the liquid are interpreted.³⁷

Second, in a choral passage in Aristophanes we read:³⁸

πρὸς δὲ τοῖς Σκιάποσιν λίμνη τίς ἐστ'. ἄλουτος οὐ | ψυχαγωγεῖ Σωκράτης·

Near the land of the Shadow-feet there is a certain pond, not used for washing, where
Socrates raises the spirits of the dead.

Aristophanes seems to have used two striking ambiguities here. First of all, ψυχαγωγεῖ could mean either that Socrates persuades the living or that he performs a magical ritual involving the calling forth of the disembodied dead, both meanings being found, for example, in Plato.³⁹ Here, though Aristophanes might at first seem to be simply calling Socrates a persuasive speaker, he goes on to link him to magical rites (involving the sacrifice of a camel by Pisander to summon a soul) that he parodies from the Homeric νέκυια (as well as Aeschylus' *Psychagogoi*⁴⁰). In the second instance of what may well be playful ambiguity Aristophanes does not make clear what ἄλουτος modifies. It has usually been interpreted by commentators and translators as modifying Socrates, meaning that he was "unwashed"; Dover believes that this is Aristophanes' meaning (as most other scholars do as well) and shows that Plato seemed to imply that Socrates went unwashed to Agathon's party but that he did still wash after it though this may not have entailed a complete bath.⁴¹ Yet ἄλουτος can just as easily modify the pond or lake, and would thus mean "not used for washing",⁴² which would parallel Pausanias' account (discussed above in Chapter III) of the spring that lost its divinatory powers once

³⁷ This is also probably the type of divination practiced by Joseph with the use of his cup in *Genesis* 44: 5 and 15. Davis ([1955], p. 133) considers this to be lecanomancy of the reflection type, but he actually presents more parallels between this instance and divination through patterns.

³⁸ Arist., *Av.* 1553-1555.

³⁹ Pl., *Phdr.* 261a, cf. 271c (rhetorical persuasion) and *Leg.* 909b (evocation of the dead). This ambiguity is noted by Dunbar (1995), pp. 711-712.

⁴⁰ Cf. Dunbar (1995), p. 711.

⁴¹ Dover (1980), p. 81, citing Pl., *Symp.* 174a3-4 (unwashed before party) and 223d11 (washed after party).

⁴² As noted by Sommerstein (1987), p. 300, and Dunbar (1995), p. 711.

it was used for washing.⁴³ Nevertheless, Aristophanes, as has been shown, continues the passage with an obvious parody of Homer, thus though tempting, there is no reason to infer a reference to hydromancy. On the other hand, Aristophanes does provide us with the earliest instance of catoptromancy,⁴⁴ an account which Dodds correctly considers also the only evidence for "scrying" before the first century B.C.⁴⁵

Third, a fifth century B.C. black-figure pelike from Florence, which shows a woman standing before a seated man who is stirring a vessel with a rod,⁴⁶ was believed by Milani to depict a woman consulting a hydromancer.⁴⁷ But de Waele has shown that it surely depicts simply a seller of oil or wine with a female customer.⁴⁸

Fourth, Mudie Cooke claimed that on "the well-known vase at Naples representing the defeat of Marsyas" Cook had said (presumably in private correspondence) that "Aphrodite ... is unconcernedly holding a *phiale* to serve as a divining-glass for Eros."⁴⁹ First, the vase referred to by Cook⁵⁰ is an amphora from the British Museum,⁵¹ originally from Ruvo, and not the amphora from Ruvo now in Naples,⁵² as Mudie Cooke believed. Second, Cook does not mention the lecanomantic

⁴³ Paus., 3.25.8.

⁴⁴ Arist., *Ach.* 1128-1129 and 1141 (cf. schol.).

⁴⁵ Dodds (1973), pp. 186-187, n. 4; see also Delatte's excellent discussion of this passage, (1932), pp. 133-135.

⁴⁶ Florence, no. 72732.

⁴⁷ Milani (1923), p. 147.

⁴⁸ De Waele (1927), p. 161, with figs. 10 and 11.

⁴⁹ Mudie Cooke (1913), p. 169.

⁵⁰ The vase was found consequently in Cook (1914), vol. 1, pp. 36-38 on pl. xii (mistakenly called a pelike on p. xxiii).

⁵¹ British Museum, no. F 331.

⁵² Naples, no. 3235, in Beazley (1963), vol. 2, p. 1316, no. 1 (involving the theft of the Palladium on one side and Marsyas and Olympus on the other).

description of this vase in his work,⁵³ a description which in any case is incorrect: on the vase Eros holds a phiale in one hand as he hovers above Aphrodite. There is no divinatory aspect to the scene on the vase and consequently there is absolutely no compelling reason to think that lecanomancy is involved here.

Fifth, and last, the interior of a kylix discovered in Vulci and now in Berlin shows Themis in front of Aegeus on a tripod holding a sprig of laurel and a bowl, toward which her head is bent, though she does not appear to be staring into it.⁵⁴ Amandry has pointed out that there have been five main interpretations of this vase.⁵⁵ Mudie Cooke was the first to suggest that 1) lecanomancy was involved⁵⁶ while Delatte believed that 2) catoptromancy was involved.⁵⁷ But Dodds has noted that since there is no evidence for "scrying" at Delphi, such interpretations should be rejected.⁵⁸ Robbins had already recognized this and instead had proposed that 3) cleromancy, that is divination by the casting of lots, was involved.⁵⁹ There is some ambiguous evidence that may point to this form of divination having been performed at Delphi⁶⁰ and some scholars have subsequently accepted the cleromantic interpretation of the scene on this vase.⁶¹ But the Pythia's answer to Aegeus' consultation in the literary sources is always cited in verse and not as a "yes" or "no" response,⁶² an argument

⁵³ Cf. Cook (1914), vol. 1, p. 38 (Aphrodite and Eros are simply named as being on the vase without comment).

⁵⁴ Antikenmuseum Staatliche Museen F 2538, in Beazley (1963), vol. 2, p. 1269, no. 5 (Codrus painter).

⁵⁵ Amandry (1950), pp. 66-67.

⁵⁶ Mudie Cooke (1913), p. 169; Cook for one accepted this interpretation ([1914], vol. 2, p. 206), as did also Davis (1955), following Cook.

⁵⁷ Delatte (1932), pp. 185-186 and fig. 18.

⁵⁸ Dodds (1973), p. 186, n. 4.

⁵⁹ Robbins (1916), p. 282.

⁶⁰ While some scholars have accepted that cleromancy was performed at Delphi (for example, Amandry [1950], chap. II, pp. 25-36, cited in Fontenrose [1978], pp. 200-201; Roux [1976], p. 157; and Parke [1967], pp. 85-86), others have not (Lane [1939], coll. 831-832, cited and argued against by Amandry [1950], pp. 25-26; and Fontenrose [1978], pp. 222-223).

⁶¹ Amandry (1950), p. 67, n. 2 and Morrison in Loewe and Blacker (1981), pp. 99-100, on pl. 8.

⁶² Cf. Fontenrose (1978), p. 356 (L4) and Parke and Wormell (1956), vol. 2, p. 48, no. 110.

anticipated by Robbins but dismissed by him.⁶³ Also, Themis is not shown picking the lots though the scene is presumably at the the acme of the consultation. Holland instead believed that 4) Themis was pouring a libation,⁶⁴ while the earliest scholars on this vase believed that 5) she was about to drink from the bowl.⁶⁵ But I propose that the simplest explanation is that the vessel was filled with water, which would induce inspiration (for which there is plenty of evidence⁶⁶), and that Themis has just drunk from it. Lucian spoke of three indispensable elements for Apollonian divination, namely the tripod, the laurel, and the sacred water,⁶⁷ all of which then would be prominently portrayed on this vase. It is interesting that our earliest evidence for Aegeus' consultation of Themis, that is in Euripides' *Medea*, and this vase both date from around the same time:⁶⁸ could the vase painter have used the play as his model?

In any case, the presentation of all of this negative evidence is meant to show that there is no substantial evidence for hydromancy before Bolus of Mendes. Pliny presents a catalogue of forms of divination that he says were practised by the Magi, namely divination through lamps, bowls, water, or spheres.⁶⁹ Later he mentions Ostanēs, the semi-legendary, fifth century B.C. teacher of magic to Xerxes, specifically as the practitioner of all these forms of divination, including hydromancy and lecanomancy.⁷⁰ Bidez and Cumont have shown that Pliny had never seen any of the works attributed

⁶³ Robbins (1916), pp. 290-291.

⁶⁴ Holland (1933), p. 210.

⁶⁵ For example, Fürtwangler, Reichhold, and Hauser (cited in Amandry [1950], p. 66, n. 1), as well as Harrison ([1927], p. 480), though she is somewhat ambiguous.

⁶⁶ For example, Paus., 10.24.7 and Iambl., *de Myst.* 3.11; other references cited by Fontenrose (1978), p. 224, n. 37.

⁶⁷ Luc., *Bis Acc.* 1-2 and *Herm.* 60.

⁶⁸ Eur., *Med.* 679 and 681. The play won third prize in 431 B.C. and the vase could date to as late as 430 B.C. (Balty [1981], p. 360, col. 1).

⁶⁹ Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 28.104.

⁷⁰ Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 30.14, who lists divination through water, spheres, air, stars, lamps, bowls, and axes, as well as with the dead. Compare Artemidorus' catalogue (*Oneir.* 2.69) of fraudulent divinatory practices: Pythagoreanism (!), physiognomy, astragalomancy, tyromancy, coscinomancy, morphoscopy, cheiromancy (palmistry), lecanomancy, and necromancy.

to Ostanēs, and gathered almost all of his information on him from Bolus of Mendes, and they further have suggested that Bolus knew a work attributed to Ostanēs in which hydromancy among other forms of divination was present along with the properties of animals, plants, and stones.⁷¹ Boyancé also suggested that Pliny owed his knowledge about the hydromantic use of the *anancitis* stone to Bolus.⁷² Indeed Pliny was much indebted to Bolus for his knowledge of certain magical plants, as well as animals and stones,⁷³ and Bolus may also have been not only the direct source for the use of the "resurrection plant" in lecanomancy in the *Cyranides* but also that for a connection made between the *νάρκισσος* ("narcissus"), *νάρκη* ("electric ray"), and *νάρκισσίδης* ("narcissus-stone"), as has been seen. Furthermore, the catalogue of forms of divination in Bolus/Pliny distinguishes them in part by the elements with which they are associated. This system, as I have shown, was that used by Varro against that of Cicero⁷⁴ and it is perfectly possible that Varro adopted it from Bolus.⁷⁵ Varro may also have taken from him the notion that hydromancy was originally Persian, since Bolus (in Pliny) associated it with the Persian Magi and Ostanēs. Strabo also gave the origin as Persian, noting

⁷¹ Bidez and Cumont (1938), vol. 1, p. 173 ("... ce collectionneur de fables exotiques dut compiler ... un apocryphe ..."). Lindsay wrote ([1970], p. 100) that Bolus "may have used plant-material in apocryphal works under the name of Zoroaster, Ostanēs, and other mages".

⁷² Boyancé (1955), p. 69, n. 2, citing Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 37.192, he may have been indebted to Bidez and Cumont (whom he quotes in the same note) for this idea.

⁷³ Pliny said (*Hist. Nat.* 24.156) that "Pythagoras" and "Democritus" were the first Greeks to write about magical plants and that (*Hist. Nat.* 25.13) "Democritus" learned about them directly from his travels among the Magi. Boyancé suggested ([1955], p. 70, n. 2) that Pliny took at least the former reference from Varro. Pliny also mentioned (*Hist. Nat.* 21.62) that "Democritus" spoke of the *nyctegreton* ("night-watcher") plant which glowed at night and was used by Magi to make vows as well as (*Hist. Nat.* 24.160) the *aglaophotis* ("splendid light") plant (the peony) which was used by the Magi to evoke the gods (though it is not asserted how), and also quotes him, as has been seen, on the magical *therionarca* plant (*Hist. Nat.* 24.163 [cf. 25.113]). On other vegetation: 14.20 (vines), 15.138 (laurel), 17.23 (fruit), 17.62 (myrtle), 18.47 (lupin and hemlock), 18.159 (the "always-alive"), 20.19 (turnips), 20.28 (radishes), 20.149 (mint and pomegranate), 25.14 (the Juba plant which can resurrect the dead), and 27.141 (the *trachinia* worm as an amulet). On animals: 8.61, 11.80 and 29.72 (snakes), 13.131 (bees), 28.112-118 (chamaeleons), 28.153 (goats), and 32.49 (frogs). On stones: 37.69 (varieties of *smaragdus*), 37.146 (*aspisatis*), 37.149 (*helus*), 37.160 (*erolytus* used for divination), and 37.185 (*zathenes*). Other references are at 18.321, 26.19, and 28.7. Giannini's listing of possible references to Bolus in Pliny ([1966], pp. 378-379) is not completely correct: add 24.160, 24.163, and 25.113, and change 28.118 to 28.112-118 (and also Solin., 3.3 to 3.5).

⁷⁴ Serv., *Comm. ad Verg. Aen.* 3.359, and Isid., *Etym.* 8.9.14.

⁷⁵ Wellmann ([1928], p. 39) believed that Bolus influenced Varro, but Halleux ([1981], vol. 1, p. 67, n. 4) has pointed out that this need not have necessarily been the case. Bidez and Cumont ([1938], vol. 2, pp. 286-287) have shown a connection between Pliny's list (i.e. Bolus') and that of Varro ("on retrouve [dans Pline] les éléments de la division adoptée par Varron").

in a listing of such prophets and diviners as Teirisias, Amphiaraus, and Trophonius that⁷⁶

παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις οἱ Μάγοι καὶ νεκρομάντεις καὶ ἔτι οἱ λεγόμενοι
λεκανομάντεις καὶ ὕδρομάντεις ...

among the Persians there are the Magi and the necromancers as well as the so-called
lecanomancers and hydromancers ...

Also, a fifteenth century Greek manuscript, enciphered by a certain Jean d'Aron, includes a drawing of a bearded man said to be a Persian lecanomancer named Apollonius standing beside a boy.⁷⁷ Modern scholars tend to agree to the Persian or Babylonian roots of hydromancy and lecanomancy,⁷⁸ even though all sorts of magical practices were attributed as a matter of course to the Persians in antiquity.⁷⁹ Dodds has shown⁸⁰ that from Babylonia, these magical rites were transmitted to the Greeks and Romans through Egypt (where presumably the Persians brought the practice in the fifth century B.C.⁸¹) around the first century B.C., as confirmed by our earliest evidence.

⁷⁶ Str., 16.2.39.

⁷⁷ Cod. Bonon. 3632, fol. 344, recto, p. 495, ll. 3-4 (with the picture on p. 494). Both Abt ([1908], p. 245, n. 2) and Boehm ([1914], col. 80, ll. 33-36) use this as evidence for the Persian origins of the practice. Hopfner thought that it was doubtful that Apollonius of Tyana was being referred to ([1932], p. 232). The same manuscript has another drawing of a bearded man, wearing what seems to be a mitre, teaching lecanomancy (as it is indicated explicitly) to a young, curly-haired boy, who is holding a bowl (fol. 348, p. 586, ll. 4-5, with the picture [which is also reproduced by Hopfner (1932) pl. 23, a (and cf. p. 223)]).

⁷⁸ Abt (1908), p. 245 ("... ihre Herkunft aus Persien gestanden haben muß"), and Ganszyniec (1925), col. 1879, l. 29 to col. 1880, l. 48. See also Davis (1955), pp. 133-134. Halliday ([1967], p. 146), for no good reason, said that "the Persian origin of this mode of divination [lecanomancy] need hardly be seriously considered". Michael Psellus (*de Opin. Daemon.*, p. 42) considered lecanomancy to be Assyrian (i.e. Chaldean).

⁷⁹ See Viarre ([1964], pp. 159-160) for numerous references.

⁸⁰ Dodds (1973), p. 188; cf. Luck (1985), p. 254 (relying on Dodds).

⁸¹ Capart ([1944], p. 263) suggested that perhaps a certain type of Middle Kingdom statuary in which a person is kneeling and grasping in two hands a large bowl represented lecanomancy, proving then that this was a very old, native Egyptian practice. Ritner ([1993], p. 219, n. 1020) has instead suggested that the scene might be associated with brewing beer. Foucart (cited in Davis [1955], p. 134) claimed, as I do, that lecanomancy was imported to Egypt from Persia. Davis is wrong for dismissing this hypothesis because of his modern parallels, and also the nature of the description of Joseph's divination in *Genesis* (as discussed above) is too vague to be able to provide any certain proof as to its origins (which Davis claims were Egyptian).

But Dodds makes no attempt to explain, first, who popularized the Egyptian knowledge of hydromancy for the Greeks and Romans, and, second, how already during the First Mithradatic War (89-85 B.C.), according to Varro (in the earliest extant practical instance of this form of divination) a boy was used to foretell the future through water.⁸² It is tempting to conjecture that the Greco-Egyptian Bolus was the one who brought, through his works, knowledge of Egyptian hydromancy to Greeks and Romans. He was at least the pioneer in the field of alchemy⁸³ and in the theoretical study of magical *συνπάθεια*. Bolus' dating is rather controversial but he probably flourished around 100 B.C. or slightly earlier.⁸⁴ In terms of the second question, though it is certainly possible that the ancient Persian practice of hydromancy had remained a living tradition at the court of Mithradates VI, perhaps there too it was repopularized through Bolus' works. Mithradates VI's personal physician was the botanist Cratevas who is one of the first extant authors to cite Bolus;⁸⁵ perhaps he (re)introduced hydromancy to the king from his reading of the Pseudo-Democritean.

Perhaps then either Bolus, or another author influenced by Bolus, explained the newly imported Egyptian rite of hydromancy through the mythological narrative of Narcissus. Since this narrative is associated with Boeotia, perhaps--though this must remain only very conjectural--it was the first century B.C. Anaxilaos of Larissa, who knew Bolus' works well, who invented or at least popularized in central Greece the Narcissus myth.⁸⁶ This may explain why a character named

⁸² Varro ap. Apul., *Apol.* 42.6.

⁸³ Cf. Lindsay (1970), chaps. 5 and 6 (pp. 90-130).

⁸⁴ Pseudo-Democritus (i.e. Bolus of Mendes) is later than the fourth and third centuries B.C. Theophrastus since he quotes him (ap. Apollon., *Mir.* 31 ap. Steph. Byz., *Lex.* s.v. ἄψυθος, cf. Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 15.138 [on Bolus' use of Theophrastus, see Kingsley (1995), p. 338 and n. 10]) and is himself first certainly cited in Anaxilaos of Larissa and Cratevas in the first half of the first century B.C. and there is no real evidence which could place him much earlier. Though an older entry in the OCD³ places him as early as the third century B.C. as a contemporary of Callimachus (Furley and Vallance [1949 (1996)], p. 249, following Wellmann [1897], col. 676, ll. 33-39) this does not square with the more plausible date of "c. 150-100 B.C." given in a new article by Halleux ([1996], p. 52, col. 2; in [1981], vol. 1, p. 67 he gives the date as around 100 B.C.).

⁸⁵ The ancient testimonia on and fragments of Cratevas are collected in Wellmann (1958), vol. 3, pp. 139-146. Cratevas named a plant the *mithridatia* after Mithridates VI (Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 25.62); he cites "Democritus" at Cod. Const., fol. 40, recto.

⁸⁶ On Anaxilaos, see Wellmann (1894), col. 2084, ll. 23-37, and on his connection with Bolus, see Wellmann (1928), *passim*.

Narcissus is associated not only with Bocotia, but also with Eretria.⁸⁷ Perhaps too the connection with Thespiac was only first made by Conon as part of his addition of the etiology of the cult of Eros (for which Thespiac was famous) to the myth: at least Pausanias' alternate account (unconnected to Conon's) is not explicitly said to take place in Thespiac.

There are other possibilities for the spread of hydromancy from Egypt which do not necessarily involve Bolus. As I have shown before, the most impressive parallel between the Ovidian description of Narcissus (as well as Pausanias' alternate version of the myth) and divinatory prescription is in the lecanomancy of Isis searching for her beloved, deceased Osiris.⁸⁸ Plutarch and Lactantius both said⁸⁹ that the Greeks enacted mystery ceremonies about Demeter's mourning for Persephone, which was linked with that of Isis for Osiris,⁹⁰ similar to those of Egyptians. Apparently, from the evidence of Diodorus Siculus as well as an extant Isiac arctalogy,⁹¹ it can be assumed that it was in the first century B.C. as well that Isiac rituals were taken over by the Eleusinian Mysteries. But the exact influence, as Betz has noted, "has still not been clarified",⁹² and admittedly there is no proof for water divination in the Eleusinian Mysteries.⁹³

But Plutarch also identified Osiris with Dionysus, and specifically equated the death of Osiris

⁸⁷ Str., 9.2.10 (cf. Alciph., *Epist.* 3.22, and Eust., *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 24.465), and Prob., *Comm. ad in Verg. Ecl.* 2.48.

⁸⁸ Note also the use of the Isis band to blindfold the hydromantic medium (Betz [1986], p. 336 [s.v. Isis band]).

⁸⁹ Plut., *de Isid. et Osirid.* 69, and Lactant., *Epit.* 23.

⁹⁰ Diod. Sic., 1.13.5, and Plut., *de Isid. et Osirid.* 25.

⁹¹ Diod. Sic., 1.29, and *Arct. Is. Maron.* 38-41.

⁹² Betz (1986), p. 250.

⁹³ Hydromancy involving the dead was performed at a temple of Demeter in Patrae at a spring which was near two sanctuaries of Serapis (Paus., 7.21.12); a magical papyrus actually preserves a lecanomancy of Serapis as well (*PGM V* 1-53). Interestingly, Thespiac, the home of Narcissus, was also a centre of Demeter/Persephone worship, and in fact was the home of the last of the hierophants (in the fourth century A.D.) at Eleusis (Eunap., *Vit. Sophist.* 476).

to that of Zagreus, the Orphic Dionysus.⁹⁴ And in fact it is fairly certain that hydromancy and/or catoptromancy was performed at least in certain Dionysiac mystery rites. There is a scene dating to the first century B.C.⁹⁵ on the left side of the far wall in the triclinium of the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii which probably depicts a catoptromantic rite in which a young satyr looks into a shiny, silver bowl held by a silenus in which he sees himself transformed into an older satyr from the reflection of a mask held by another youthful satyr.⁹⁶ It is at least known that by the second century A.D. hydromancy was a Dionysiac practice since there exists an epitaph from A.D. 129 of a priest of Dionysus at Salonica who was called an official "hydroscopist".⁹⁷ It is also interesting to note that

⁹⁴ Plut., *de Isid. et Osirid.* 25. Otto ([1965], p. 195) thought that the comparison was meaningful but did not see a link between the myths of the deaths of the two because he recognized too many differences between them. But Kerényi ([1976], pp. 247-248) noted numerous links in their deaths, citing sources not dealt with by Otto.

⁹⁵ Burkert ([1987], p. 5) dates it to the time of Caesar while Delatte ([1932], p. 188) said Augustus. Lehmann ([1962], p. 68); Hadot ([1976], p. 102, n.6); and Vernant ([1990], p. 476) mention the lecanomancy painting in the Villa of the Mysteries in the context of the Narcissus myth.

⁹⁶ This wall painting has provoked at least five different interpretations. Early on scholars believed that 1) the boy was simply drinking (for example, Rizzo, Comparetti, and Bieber, all cited in Delatte [1932], pp. 189-190 [see his whole survey on pp. 188-196]; this was later accepted also by Nilsson [1957 (1975)], p. 75). Mudie Cooke was the first to propose that 2) lecanomancy was involved on the strength of the mask held behind the gazing youth, seemingly to be reflected in water in the bowl ([1913], pp. 167-169); some scholars have tentatively followed this view (for example, Bianchi [1967], p. 37 [on fig. 91], and Ferguson [1970], p. 103) and others have even suggested that wine rather than water was used in this lecanomancy (Lehmann [1962], p. 67, and Brendel [1980], pp. 106-107). Delatte ([1932], p. 190) has argued against liquid being in the bowl altogether because it is tipped too far (Zuntz has agreed [(1963), p. 185, n. 1] and has added that the vessel is also shown too light for liquid [pp. 183-184]) and has instead convincingly shown that 3) the mask would be reflected in the bowl in a rite of catoptromancy (Delatte [1932], pp. 196-202). Many scholars (for example, Maiuri [1960], p. 68; Seaford [1981], p. 62; and Burkert [1987] pp. 58, 96 [on fig. 5], and 164, n. 31) have cautiously spoken of lecanomancy, hydromancy and/or catoptromancy being involved. Burkert has thought it "attractive to assume that the boy sees himself changed into an old satyr" ([1987], p. 164, n. 31), following Kerényi's interpretation of the scene as 4) a Dionysiac ritual of initiation into (satyr) manhood ([1976], pp. 358-359 [on fig. 110C], citing previous work of his on this); this theory was also accepted by Herbig and Lehmann (cited by Zuntz [1963], p. 184). But Zuntz has argued that the mask could not be reflected inside the bowl at the angle at which it is tilted and with the boy's head in the way ([1963], p. 185; cf. Ling [1991], p. 104) and suggested instead that 5) the boy is awaiting (or perhaps watching) a miraculous filling up of the bowl with wine while the mask symbolises the god's presence ([1963], pp. 186-187). Ling though has pointed out that even if the mask is not reflected into the bowl, the boy may still be seeing something else in it in a rite of lecanomancy, and that the mask could either be a symbol of what is going on or else could have been removed from the real Silenus' face, having caused the girl across the corner to flee in fright ([1991], p. 104, following Brendel [1980], p. 106, and Lehmann [1980], p. 67). The most plausible explanations then point to a ritual which either magically reveals identity in a *rite de passage* or else reveals the god's power and presence through a sort of miracle.

⁹⁷ Cited in Dodds (1973), p. 189, n. 3, from Heuzey and Daumet (1876), p. 280. I follow Dodds ([1973], p. 188) in identifying this as a reference to hydromancy: it makes sense in terms of the parallel word *λεκανοσκοπία*, which is equivalent to *λεκανομαντεία*, in the fourth century A.D. astrologer Manetho (4.213 [cited in LSJ⁹, p. 1037, col. 2 (s.v.) but not in Dodds]).

the narcissus flower was often linked in antiquity with Dionysus. In Sophocles the narcissus grows along with the ivy in a grove of Dionysus⁹⁸ and the flower as well as the youth appear a few times in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*.⁹⁹ Most importantly, Philostratus describes a painting in which he says that the pool of Narcissus is connected with Dionysus since there are vines and ivy growing around it¹⁰⁰ and, further, the Narcissus myth in Ovid is set in a greater Dionysiac context.¹⁰¹

* * *

In attempting to discover the originating context of the (hypothetical) original, hydromantic Narcissus (most apparent in numerous striking details in Ovid's version as well as the brief alternative account in Pausanias), I have speculated about the spread of the knowledge of water divination in the first century B.C., and the need to explain the prescriptions for such a rite in terms of elements of a fictional narrative. Though the exact nature of the Narcissus myth's originating context must of course remain purely hypothetical with our present lack of evidence, it seems most likely rooted in a magical ritual.

⁹⁸ Soph., *Oed. Colon.* 681-685.

⁹⁹ Cf. Nonn., *Dion.* 10.215, 11.323, 15.353, and 48.582 (cited, along with the previous reference, by Knoespel [1985], p. 3).

¹⁰⁰ Philostr., *Imag.* 1.23.2.

¹⁰¹ As noted, for example, by Hadot (1976), pp. 88-90, and Vernant (1990), p. 473. Wieseler ([1856], passim) connected Narcissus with Boeotian Dionysus worship.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

I have argued that through a careful study of the motifs of the Narcissus myth one can eliminate numerous authorial additions (such as the amatory and religious aspects of the story, possibly added by Conon) and one can observe an evolution of motifs through different authors (for example, from cult etiology to natural etiology, from love of an image to self-love, and from punishment to vanity), to finally arrive at an original, water-gazing Narcissus. The details of this water-gazing (as found especially in Ovid, but also, in part, in Conon and in Pausanias' alternate version) are most consistent, not with beliefs about soul-loss, the evil-eye, or the inconsequence of material things, but with a type of ritual in which a beautiful, youthful, naïve, and virginal boy was used in the evocation of the image of a (beloved?) deceased individual in springwater, with the additional use of the narcissus plant. The exact context in which the prescriptions for hydromancy were transformed into mythological narrative detail must remain purely speculative, but they perhaps involved the importation of the hydromantic practice from Egypt to Greece and Rome in the first century B.C., most likely through the works of Bolus of Mendes. This is supported by the fact that our extant evidence for the Narcissus myth, which is relatively vast, does not predate the very end of the first century B. C. when Conon had obscured this narrative by combining it with a religious etiology involving the Eros cult at Thespieae. While both Ovid and Pausanias seem to know the earlier version as well as one paralleling that of Conon, Ovid followed mainly the latter (perhaps simply for reasons of narrative value), emphasizing the aspects of self-love and natural etiology, while Pausanias (in his alternate account) followed the former, with an additional rationalization that the image in the water was Narcissus' twin.

* * *

Probably in the first century A.D., Pamphilus of Alexandria, another author influenced by

Bolus of Mendes.¹ wrote a work "On Plants" (περὶ τῶν βοτανῶν) that Galen claimed was not a serious text for the medical student since it contained old wives' tales, nonsensical Egyptian magical tricks, spells for picking plants, stories of metamorphosis (presumably of man into plant²), as well as a "Hermetic" listing of the plants of the zodiac.³ Unfortunately the loss of such works, presumably brought on by the type of dismissals of them seen here, have left us with a real paucity of ancient evidence on magical practices and their relationships with mythological as well as botanical texts. Therefore I do not believe that the silence from authorities, ancient and modern, is necessarily a deterrent against my view.

I find it odd that though some scholars come close to my conclusions in certain respects (such as Ninck and Viarre), they have not articulated them. Pausanias, Lucian, Pliny, Servius, Isidore, Photius, Iohannes Tzetzes, probably Apuleius, and most importantly, Ovid, all knew about hydromancy as well as the Narcissus myth, yet none patently connected the two.⁴ Delatte, in his work on catoptromancy, did not make the connection and only cites the Narcissus myth with regards to the evil-eye.⁵ Numerous commentators on the Narcissus myth have known about Delatte's work, and have gone further than he in associating Narcissus and water divination, but have still never realized

¹ He wrote a work (περὶ φυσικῶν) on sympathy and antipathy (cf. Wendel [1949], col. 347, l. 35 to col. 348, l. 24) surely based on Bolus' work in this area, since, as Lindsay has shown ([1970], p. 100) Bolus founded the genre of Φυσικά.

² As assumed by Delatte (1938), p. 32.

³ Gal., *de Simpl. Med. Temper.* 6 proem; Galen lists a few plants mentioned by Pamphilus, all starting with α. The only other ancient reference to this work is in a scholiast on Oribasius (*Schol. Orihas.* 9.54) who says that Pamphilus wrote on the ἀντίρρινον or κυνοκέφαλον ("dog-headed") plant; perhaps only Pamphilus' first book (on α plants) was known, or even ever completed. For a discussion of this work, see Wendel (1949), col. 344, l. 62 to col. 346, l. 27.

⁴ On the Narcissus myth: Paus., 9.31.7-9; Luc., *Charid.* 24, *Ver. Hist.* 2.17, 19, and *Dial. Mort.* 18.1, 3; Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 21.128; Serv., *Comm. ad Verg. Ecl.* 2.47; Isid., *Etym.* 17.9.16; Phot., *Bibl.* 134b28-135a3; and Iohan. Tzetz., *Chil.* 1.9.234-238, 4.119.46-49, *Exeg. in Hom. Il.* 11.10, 75.15, and *Schol. in Exeg. in Hom. Il.* 139.12; cf. Apul., *Met.* 1.19.

On hydromancy: Paus., 3.25.8 and 7.21.12; Luc., *Ver. Hist.* 1.26; Plin., *Hist. Nat.* 28.104, 30.14, and 37.192; Serv., *Comm. ad Verg. Aen.* 3.359; Isid., *Etym.* 8.9.11-14 and 16.15.22; Phot., *Bibl.* 347a; Iohan. Tzetz., *Exeg. in Hom. Il.* 110.5 and *Comm. ad Lycophr.* 813; and Apul., *Apol.* 42-43.

⁵ Delatte (1932), p. 152.

the full potential and extent of this connection.⁶ except for Lehmann.⁷ Delatte's omission of the Narcissus/hydromancy link is all the more suprising since he edited a Byzantine Greek codex from the fifteenth century that actually includes a prescription for lecanomancy (ἀρχὴ τῆς λεκανομαντείας) in which Narcissus seems to be very conspicuously invoked as a helpful δαίμων:⁸

Ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. ὥρᾳ πρώτῃ. τοῦ Ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος. ἔπαρον λεκάνην καινὴν, ὁμοίως κενήν. εἴτα λαβὼν ἐλθὲ εἰς τι τρίοδον παλαιὸν καὶ ὄρυζον λάκκον καὶ βάλε τὴν λεκάνην μέσον· τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ εὐρὲ μέλαν ἵππον· ἵππευσον δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου μερόπειον ὀστέον. εἰρηκέναι δὲ οὕτως· Ξερίον. Ἀριήλ. Σαλφρενάς. Μοροῆς. Μιζξαούλ. Ἡμντδβλ. Φορέλ. Φερεήλ. Ναρκίσσε.⁹ Ξυμπωνά. Σαραφαήλ. βερζεβουήλ. Μουνοχόθ. Ἀλαήλ. μισοκλήσους τοὺς δαίμονας τῆς δύσεως. τοὺς δαίμονας τοῦ Κριοῦ· οἱ δαίμονες τοῦ μεγάλου Ἄιδου, // ὧν πρῶτος καλούμενος Ὀρνέας. περὶ τοῦ Θέθ. Μαλδοῦωρ. Φαρτοῦελ. Σαρσαννά. Καρκινάρ. καὶ ἡ γέννα αὐτοῦ Ὀνοσκελίδα· τὸ ὄνομα Σεμιραμήλ. οἱ δαίμονες τῶν τρίοδων. ἔρχεσθε καὶ εἰσέρχεσθε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπόκρισιν. καὶ οὕτως μὴ δειλιάσης. ἀλλὰ στήσον τὴν διάνοιάν σου· ὁμίλει καὶ ἐσὺ ἀποκρινόμενος. ὅταν δὲ στραφῇς. λέγε· ἄρματα οὐρανοῦ πυρίνα καὶ βασιλεὺς Σαβαῶθ. Τετραγράμματον. Εἰς Ναζόρεος. Νέος. καὶ καταλάβε καὶ διαμέρισον.

On the first day [of the week], at the first hour, as the sun is rising, set up a new and empty bowl. Next, take it and go into any ancient intersection of three roads, dig a pit and put the bowl in the middle of it. Then at night find a black horse and ride on

⁶ Cf. Eitrem (1935), col. 1728, ll. 48-68 (mentioning water divination; he quotes Delatte [1932], pp. 152-153 at ll. 16-24, but only in the context of the evil-eye); Cancik (1967), pp. 42-44 and 51 (Delatte cited at p. 42 and n. 3); Hadot (1976), pp. 96, n. 5, 100, n. 3, and 102, nn. 2 and 6 (citing Delatte) and pp. 102-103 (associating references to the mirror of Dionysus in Plotinus with catoptromancy in which the dead are evoked and even citing the use of springwater in lecanomancy to call up the dead); and Rosati (1983), p. 15, n. 22 (Delatte and others on the evil-eye).

⁷ Lehmann (1962), p. 68, who must have known of Delatte (1932), at least through Eitrem (1935), col. 1728, ll. 16-24.

⁸ Cod. Neapol. II C 33, fol. 233, recto and verso, p. 617, l. 13 to p. 618, l. 3.

⁹ As pointed out by Cumont, the list of angelic/demonic names appearing here is very corrupt and may well have been misunderstood by the copyist (in Bassi, Cumont, Martini, and Olivieri [1903], vol. 4, app., cod. 19, p. 132, n. 1). Bassi and Martini also, probably rightly, obelize a large portion of this passage (in Bassi, Cumont, Martini, and Olivieri [1903], vol. 4, app., cod. 19, p. 132, ll. 7-16). They also logically changed Ἀριήμ as found in the manuscript to Ἀριήλ (the Hebrew "Lion of God"), a change I accept contra Delatte who leaves it as is ([1927], p. 617, l. 19), and ὄν ἄ~ to Ὀρνέας, accepted by Delatte. But most of the other jumbled names (such as the nonsensical Ἡμντδβλ [read as Ἡμντλβλ by Bassi and Martini]) are left by the editors without attempting any corrections (as I have as well). In light of this, and the fact that the name Ναρκισσοῦ as found in the manuscript is otherwise unattested and that its (apparent) genitive makes no sense in an invocation, Ναρκίσσε should certainly be read. I have also followed a suggestion made to me by Dr. Richard Burgess to change the Εἰς (as found in Bassi and Martini, as well as Delatte) near the end of the passage to Εἰς.

it while holding in your hand a human bone, having said the following: "Xerion, Ariel, Salphrenas, Moroēs, Mizxaoul, Ēmntlbi, Phorel, Phereēl, Narcissus, Xumpōna, Saraphaēl, Berzebouēl, Mounochoth, Alaēl, the demons of difficulty who hate being invoked, the demons of Krios. The demons of great Hades. // of whom the first is called Orneas, around Theth, Maldouōr, Phartouel, Sarsanna, Carcinar, and his son Onoscelida [the ass-legged female]. In the name of Semiramēl, demons of the intersections of the three roads, come and enter into my answer. And thus you [singular], do not be afraid, but establish your intention. And you [singular] be present as you answer." And whenever you turn say: "Fiery chariots of the sky and King Sabaōth, the Four Letters [YHWH], One New Nazorean (?)." Then put down [the human bone] and distribute it [in pieces].

This is yet another case in which though the prescription is said to be for lecanomancy, the rite actually described seems to have little to do with that. Even if the demons are meant to be invoked to go into the bowl, the latter is to be empty and not filled with liquid. Nevertheless, it must at the very least be acknowledged that this text certainly shows that the connection between Narcissus and lecanomancy presented itself to an actual practitioner (probably Christian¹⁰) who thought it logical to call upon the beautiful and naïve water-gazing youth to help fortell the future.

¹⁰ The prescription seems to be a Christian and not pagan one, not because of the use of Hebraic angel names, since the pagans themselves put much importance on "barbaric" names in their magic, but because the word Ναζόρεος ("follower of the Nazarene" ?) may well imply a Christian practitioner, as pointed out by Cumont (in Bassi, Cumont, Martini, and Olivieri [1903], vol. 4, app., cod. 19, p. 132, n. 1).

APPENDIX I, PART I
Identifiable Motifs and Motifemes in the Earliest Extant
Versions of the Narcissus Myth:
(See "Motifs in the Narcissus Myth" in Chapter I)

Conon. <i>Narr.</i> 24 ap. Phot., <i>Bibl.</i> 134b28-135a3	Ovid, <i>Met.</i> 3.339-510. <i>Fast.</i> 5.225-226	1) Statius. <i>Theb.</i> 7.340-341; 2) Hyginus. <i>Fab.</i> 271; 3) Clement of Alexandria. <i>Paedag.</i> 3.2.10.4
	Prophecy of fate of boy (eventually fulfilled)	
Boy of great beauty	Boy's beauty rivals that of the gods	1), 2), and 3) Boy of great beauty
Advances of lovers rejected	Advances of lovers rejected	
	Etiology of the echo	
Curse on beloved by a lover	Curse on beloved by a lover	
Spurned lover committing suicide		
Punishment by appropriate deity (Eros, for maltreating follower)	Punishment by appropriate deity (Nemesis)	
	Male seeking water, leading to his demise	3) Water-gazing
Falling in love with own image (gazing into water)	Falling in love with own image (prone, looking into water, not recognizing own reflection)	2) Falling in love with self
Spurning beloved committing suicide	Spurning beloved pining away	
Eponymous flower growing out of blood of deceased	Eponymous flower growing out of ground where deceased died	
	Punishment (continues) in the underworld	
Cult etiology		

APPENDIX I, PART II
 Identifiable Motifs and Motifemes
 in the Earliest Versions of the Narcissus Myth:
 (See "Motifs in the Narcissus Myth" in Chapter I)

Pausanias, 9.31.7 (version 1)	Pausanias, 9.31.8-9 (version 2)	Lucian, 1) <i>Charid.</i> 24. 2) <i>Dial. Mort.</i> 18.1 and 3. 3) <i>Ver. Hist.</i> 2.17 and 19
		1) Boy of great beauty
		2) Boy of great (though fleeting) beauty
Falling in love with own image (looking into water, not recognizing own reflection)	Falling in love with identical twin sister and seeking to remember her in own reflection	
Dying of love		
	The flower narcissus existed before the youth (no metamorphosis)	
		3) Narcissus and Hyacinthus (comically) connected with Socrates sexually on the Isles of the Blessed

APPENDIX II
 Parallels Between Ovid's Version of the Narcissus Myth and
 Prescriptions for Hydromantic and / or Lecanomantic Rituals:
 (See Chapter III)

Characteristic	Ovidian Description	Divinatory Prescription
Boy is youthful / naïve	<i>Met.</i> 3.351-352, 500 / 425, 430 Cf. <i>Con., Narr.</i> 24 ap. <i>Phot., Bibl.</i> 134b29, <i>Paus.</i> , 9.31.7	<i>Apul., Apol.</i> 42-43, <i>Porph., Ep. ad Aneb.</i> ap. <i>Iambl., de Myst.</i> 3.24, <i>Olympiod., Comm. ad Plat. Alc. Maior</i> 8.12, Cf. <i>Iren., Adv. haer.</i> 2.32.3
Boy is virginal	<i>Met.</i> 3.355, 402-403 Cf. <i>Con., Narr.</i> 24 ap. <i>Phot., Bibl.</i> 134b30-35	<i>Apul., Apol.</i> 43.4, <i>PDM</i> xiv 68, 287, 819
Boy is fasting	<i>Met.</i> 3.437-438	<i>PGM</i> IV 734-735, <i>Thessal.</i> 16
Boy is beautiful	<i>Met.</i> 3.416-424, 503 Cf. <i>Con., Narr.</i> 24 ap. <i>Phot., Bibl.</i> 134b29-30, <i>Hyg., Fab.</i> 271, <i>Luc., Charid.</i> 24, <i>Stat., Theb.</i> 7.340-341, etc.	<i>Apul., Apol.</i> 43.4-5, 7
Boy is prone	<i>Met.</i> 3.414, 420, 438 Cf. <i>Anon., Myth. Vat.</i> 1.182.16, 2.207.19	<i>PGM</i> IV 174, V 1-3, VI 348, <i>PDM</i> xiv 69, 71, 413
Boy is immobile	<i>Met.</i> 3.418-419	As in ecstasy
Inviolable location	<i>Met.</i> 3.408-409	<i>PDM</i> xiv 844
Youth gazing into water	<i>Met.</i> 3.416-440, 474-479, 486-501, 504-505 Cf. <i>Con., Narr.</i> 24 ap. <i>Phot., Bibl.</i> 134b35-37, <i>Paus.</i> , 9.31.7-8, etc.	<i>Apul., Apol.</i> 42.6, <i>PGM</i> IV 229, 3222, <i>PDM</i> xiv 8, 19, 39, 71, etc.

Water is from a spring	<i>Met.</i> 3.407, 414 Cf. <i>Con., Narr.</i> 24 ap. <i>Phot., Bibl.</i> 134b36-37, <i>Auson., Techn.</i> 10.2, <i>Nonn., Dion.</i> 11.322, <i>Anon., Myth. Vat.</i> 2.83.6, etc.	<i>Paus.</i> , 3.25.8, 7.21.12, <i>Ps.-Callisth., Vit. Alex.</i> 1.1.3A, 1.1B, 1.2E, etc., <i>Jul. Valer., Vit. Alex.</i> 1.1, <i>PGM IV</i> 224-227 Cf. <i>Varro ap. August., de Civ. Dei</i> 7.35
Water reveals shadowy double	<i>Met.</i> 3.434 Cf. <i>Nonn., Dion.</i> 48.586	<i>PGM VII</i> 348-349, Cf. <i>Propert., Eleg.</i> 4.1.106, <i>Plin., Nat. Hist.</i> 37.192, <i>Evax, de Lapid.</i> 5.2
Water is calm	<i>Met.</i> 3.409-410	As in catoptromancy
Water is clean / clear / pure	<i>Met.</i> 3.407, 451 Cf. <i>Callistr., Stat. Descr.</i> 5.1	<i>Paus.</i> , 3.25.8, <i>Damasc., Vit. Isid.</i> 191 ap. <i>Phot., Bibl.</i> 347b8-10, <i>Jul. Valer., Vit. Alex.</i> 1.1, <i>PGM IV</i> 3250, <i>PDM xiv</i> 67, 284
Water is resplendent	<i>Met.</i> 3.407	- Time of the full moon: <i>Hippol., Adv. haer.</i> 4.10, <i>Iambl., de Myst.</i> 3.14, <i>PGM V</i> 53, <i>PDM xiv</i> 295, 697, 702 - Use of a lamp: <i>PGM V</i> 2, <i>PDM xiv</i> 845, Cf. <i>Apul., Apol.</i> 42.3 - Use of oil: <i>PGM IV</i> 3211, 3251 - Use of a mirror: <i>Paus.</i> , 7.21.12, Cf. <i>Luc., Ver. Hist.</i> 1.26 - Use of shiny stones: <i>Plin., Hist. Nat.</i> 37.73.192, <i>Isid., Erym.</i> 16.14.5, <i>Evax, de Lapid.</i> 5.2-5, 6.1, 14.12-14, 18.2, 29.1, <i>Socr. and Dion., de Lapid.</i> 26.3, <i>Orph. lith. kerygm.</i> 8.15, <i>PDM xiv</i> 286, etc.
Water is untouched by sun	<i>Met.</i> 3.412	<i>PDM xiv</i> 411
Plant involved	<i>Met.</i> 3.509-510, <i>Fast.</i> 5.225-226 Cf. <i>Con., Narr.</i> 24 ap. <i>Phot., Bibl.</i> 135a1-3, <i>Paus.</i> , 9.31.9, etc.	<i>Cyran.</i> 1.13, <i>PDM xiv</i> 286, 415-416, 426-427

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- Cod. Bonon. 3632 = Codex Bononiensis 3632 (in Armand Delatte, ed. *Anecdota Atheniensia*. Liège and Paris: 1927.)
- Cod. Const. = Codex Constantinopolitanus (in Welmann, ed. *de Materia Medica*. vol. 3.).
- Cod. Neapol. II C 33 = Codex Neapolitanus II C 33 (in Armand Delatte, ed. *Anecdota Atheniensia*. Liège and Paris: 1927.)
- Cod. Paris. Gr. 2256 = Codex Parisinus Graecus 2256 (P. Boudreaux, ed. *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum. Codicum Parisinorum*. Brussels: Lamertin, 1912. vol. 8, pt. 3, cod. 41.)

- Cod. Paris. 2425 = Codex Parisinus 2425 (F. Cumont, ed. *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum. Codicum Parisinorum*. Brussels: Lamertin, 1921. vol. 8, pt. 4, app., cod. 82.)
- Cod. Vat. 1144 = Codex Vaticanum 1144 (S. Weinstock, ed. *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum. Codicum Romanorum*. Brussels: Lamertin, 1940. vol. 5, pt. 4, app., cod. 46.)
- Colum. = Columella
de Re Rust. = *de Re Rustica* (Vilhelm Lundström, ed. *L. Junii Moderati Columellae Opera quae exstant*. Upsala: 1897-1958. 8 vols.)
- Con. = Conon
Narr. = *Narrationes* (in René Henry, *Photius: Bibliothèque*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1962. vol. 3.)
- Constant. Man. = Constantine Manasses
Compend. Chron. = *Compedium Chronographiarum* (S. Weinstock, ed. *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum. Codicum Romanorum*. Brussels: Lamertin, 1940. vol. 5, pt. 4, p. 121, n. 1.)
- Cratin. = Cratinus
Malh. = *Malthakoi* (in T. Kock, ed. *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880. vol. 1.)
- Cypr. = *Cypria* (see under Athenaeus)
- Cyran. = *Cyranides* (Kaimakis, Dimitris, ed. *Die Kyraniden*. Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1976.)
- Damasc. = Damascius
Comm. ad Pl. Phd. = *Commentaria ad Platonis Phaedonem* (L. G. Westerink, ed. *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1977. vol. 2.)
Vit. Isid. = *Vita Isidoris* (René Henry, ed. *Photius Bibliothèque*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971. vol. 6.)
- Dio Cass. = Dio Cassius
Epitom. = *Xiphili Epitome* (Ursul Philippe Boissevain, ed. *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1955 [1895, 1898, and 1901]. 3 vols.)
- Dio Chrysostomus
Or. = *Orationes* (J. von Arnim, ed. *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae exstant omnia*. Second edition. Berlin: Weidmann 1962. 2 vols.)
- Diod. Sic. = Diodorus Siculus (F. Vogel and K. T. Fischer, eds. *Diodori bibliotheca historica*. Third edition. Leipzig: Teubner, 1888-1906 [1964]. 5 vols.)
- Dionys. Perieg. = Dionysius Periegeta
Lith. = *Lithiaca* (in K. Müller, ed. *Geographi Graeci minores*. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965 (1861). vol. 1.)
- Diosc. = Dioscorides
Mat. Med. = *de Materia Medica* (Max Wellmann, ed. *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri quinque*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1907-1914 [1958]. 3 vols.)
- EG = *Epigrammata Graeca* (G. Kaibel, ed. Berlin: 1878.)
- Erotian. = Erotianus
Lex. = *Lexicon* (see under Sextius Niger)

- Eunap. = Eunapius
Vit. Sophist. = *Vitae Sophistarum* (J. Giangrande, ed. *Eunapii Vitae Sophistarum*. Rome: Polygraphica, 1956.)
- Eur. = Euripides (G. Murray, ed. *Euripidis fabulae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902 [1966]. 3 vols.)
Bacch. = *Bacchae*
Med. = *Medea*
- Euseb. = Eusebius
Praep. Ev. = *Praeparatio Evangelica* (K. Mraz, ed. *Eusebii Werke, Band 8: Die Praeparatio evangelica*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956.)
- Eust. = Eustathius
Comm. ad Hom. Il. = *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (M. van der Valk, ed. *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*. Leiden: Brill, 1971-1987. 4 vols.)
Comm. ad Hom. Od. = *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (G. Stallbaum, ed. *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1825-1826 [1970]. 2 vols.)
- Evax = Evax/Demagiron
de Lapid. = *de Lapide* (Halleux, Robert and Jacques Schamp. *Les lapidaires grecs*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985.)
- Gal. = Galen
de Simpl. Med. Temper. = *de Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis* (C. G. Kühn, ed. *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1826 [1965]. vols. 11 and 12.)
- Genesis (A. Rahlfs, ed. *Septuaginta*. Ninth edition. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935 [1971]. vol. I.)
- H. A. = *Historia Augusta* (Ernst Hohl, ed. *Scriptores historiae Augustae*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927 [1971].)
Comm. = *Commodus*
Did. Julian. = *Didius Julianus*
Pex. Niger = *Pescennius Niger*
Sever. = *Severus*
- Heliiodorus
Aeth. = *Aethiopica* (R. M. Rattenbury, T. W. Lumb and J. Maillon, eds. *Les Ethiopiques*. Second edition. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960. 3 vols.)
- Hermes. = Hermes/Hermes
Leont. = *Leontion* (see under Antoninus Liberalis)
- Herod. = Herodian (C. R. Whitaker, ed. *Herodian*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969.)
- Hier. and Philagr. = Hierocles and Philagrius
Philogel. = *Philogelos* (A. Thierfelder, ed. *Philogelos: der Lachfreund*. Munich: 1968.)
- Hippol. = Hippolytus
Ref. Omn. Haer. = *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* (M. Marcovich, ed. *Hippolytus. Refutatio omnium haeresium*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986.)

Hom. = Homer

Il. = *Iliad* (T. W. Allen, ed. *Homeri Ilias*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. vols. 2 and 3.)

Hyg. = Hyginus

Fab. = *Fabulae* (Peter K. Marshall, ed. *Hygini Fabulae*. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1993.)

Hymn. Hom. Cer. = *Hymnus Homericus in Cererem* (T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, eds. *The Homeric Hymns*. Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936.)

Iambl. = Iamblichus

de Myst. = *de Mysteriis* (G. Parthey, ed. *Jamblichi De Mysteriis Liber*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965 [reprint].)

Protr. Synb. = *Protrepticus, Synbolae* (H. Pistelli, ed. *Jamblichi Protrepticus*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1888 [1967].)

Vit. Pyth. = *de Vita Pythagorica* (John Dillon and Jackson Hershbell, eds. *Iamblichus: On the Pythagorean Way of Life*. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1991.)

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873- .)

Iohan. Tzetz. = Iohannes Tzetzes

Chil. = *Chiliades* (in W. E. Buckley, ed. *Thomas Edwards: Cephalus and Procris. Narcissus*. London: Nichols and Sons, 1882. pp. 267-268.)

Comm. ad Lycophr. = *Commentaria ad Lycophronem* (in Theodor Hopfner. *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber. Seine Methoden*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1974. vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 388, § 230.)

Exeg. in Hom. Il. = *Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem* (in W. E. Buckley, ed. *Thomas Edwards: Cephalus and Procris. Narcissus*. London: Nichols and Sons, 1882. p. 268.)

Schol. in Exeg. in Hom. Il. = *Scholia in Exegesisem in Homeri Iliadem* (in W. E. Buckley, ed. *Thomas Edwards: Cephalus and Procris. Narcissus*. London: Nichols and Sons, 1882. p. 268.)

ILS = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Hermann Dessau, ed. Berlin: 1892-1916.)

Isid. = Isidorus Sevilleensis

Etym. = (W. M. Lindsay, ed. *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum*. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1911. vol. 1.)

Jul. Valer. = Julius Valerius

Vit. Alex. = *Vita Alexandri* (text cited in Albert Mugrdich Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes*. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969. p. 160.)

Juv. = Juvenal (Wendell Vernon Clausen, ed. *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992 [revised].)

Lactant. = Lactantius

Epit. = *Epitome Divinarum Institutionum* (Eberhard Heck and Antoine Wlosok, eds. *L. Caeli Firmiani Lactanti Epitome Divinarum Institutionum*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994.)

Inst. = *Divinae Institutiones* (Pierre Monat, ed. *Institutions divines: Lactance*. Paris: Cerf, 1986.)

Livy (Jean Bayet, ed. *Histoire romaine: Tite-Live*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1946-1958. 5 vols.)

LL = London and Leiden papyrus (Francis Llewelyn Griffith and Herbert Thompson, eds. *The Leyden Papyrus: An Egyptian Magical Book*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921 [1974]. vol. 1.)

Long. = Longus

Daphn. = *Daphnis et Chloe* (G. Dalmeyda, ed. *Longus. Pastorales*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1934 [1971].)

Luc. = Lucian (A. M. Harmon et al., eds. *Lucian*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1913 [1961]. 8 vols.)

Bis Acc. = *Bis Accusatus*

Charid. = *Charidemus*

Dial. Mort. = *Dialogi Mortuorum*

Herm. = *Hermotimus*

Menipp. = *Menippus*

Musc. Enc. = *Muscae Encomium*

Philops. = *Philopseudes*

Saturnal. = *Saturnalia*

Trag. = *Tragodopodagra*

Ver. Hist. = *Verae Historiae*

Lucan

de Bel. Civ. = *de Bello Civili* (C. E. Haskins, ed. *Pharsalia: M. Annaeus Lucanus*. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1971.)

Man. Astrol. = Manetho Astrologus (Koechly, A., ed. in *Poetae Bucolici et Didactici*. Paris: Didot, 1862.)

Marsil. Ficin. = Marsilio Ficino

Comm. ad Plat. Symp. = *Commentaria ad Platonis Symposium* (cited by Pierre Hadot. "Le mythe de Narcisse et son interpretation par Plotin." *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse* 13 (1976) p. 103, n. 2)

Meleag. = Meleager (see under *Anthologia Graeca*)

Mosch. = Moschus

Id. = *Idyllia* (A. S. F. Gow, ed. *Bucolici Graeci*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952 [1969].)

Nicand. = Nicander

Georg. = (A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield, eds. *Nicander: The Poems and Poetical Fragments*. Cambridge University Press, 1953.)

Nonn. = Nonnus

Dion. = *Dionysiaca* (Rudolf Keydell, ed. *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1959. 2 vols.)

Olympiod. = Olympiodorus

Comm. ad Pl. Alc. Maior = *Commentaria ad Platonis Alcibiadem Maior* (L. G. Westerink, ed. *Olympiodorus: Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1956.)

Comm. ad Pl. Phd. = *Commentaria ad Platonis Phaedonem* (L. G. Westerink, ed. *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1976. vol. 1.)

Oribas. = Oribasius (Johannes Raeder, ed. *Oribasii Collectionum Medicarum Reliquiae*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1964 [reprint].)

Orig. = Origen

Contr. Cels. = *Contra Celsum* (M. Borret, ed. *Origène: Contre Celse*. Paris: Cerf, 1967-1969. 4 vols.)

Orph. Lith. = *Orphica Lithica* Halleux, Robert and Jacques Schamp. *Les lapidaires grecs*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985.)
Orph. Lith. Kerygm. = *Orphica Lithica Kerygmata* (Halleux, Robert and Jacques Schamp. *Les lapidaires grecs*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985.)

Ov. = Ovid

Am. = *Amores* (J. C. McKeown, ed. *Ovid: Amores*. Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1987. vol. 1.)
Ars Am. = *Ars Amatoria* (Henri Bornecque, ed. *Ovide: l'art d'aimer*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960.)
Fast. = *Fasti* (Franz Bömer, ed. *P. Ovidius Naso: Die Fasten*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1957. vol. 1.)
Her. = *Heroides* (Henri Bornecque, ed. *Ovide: Héroïdes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1961.)
Med. Fem. = *Medicamina Faciei Femineae* (J. H. Mozley and G. P. Goold, eds. *Ovid II: The Art of Love and Other Poems*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985 [revised].)
Met. = *Metamorphoses* (Frank Justus Miller, ed. *Ovid: Metamorphoses, Books I-VIII*. Third edition, revised by G. P. Goold. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977.)¹
Ponto = *Epistulae ex Ponto* (J. A. Richmond, ed. *Ovidius: Ex ponto libri quattuor*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1990.)
Rem. = *Remedia Amoris* (J. H. Mozley and G. P. Goold, eds. *Ovid II: The Art of Love and Other Poems*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985 [revised].)
Trist. = *Tristia* (Georg Luck, ed. *P. Ovidius Naso: Tristia*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1967. vol. 1.)

Pallad. = *Palladius* (Robert H. Rodgers, ed. *Palladii Rutilii Tauri Aemiliani viri inlustri Opus agriculturae, de veterinaria medecina, de insitione*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1975.)

Pap. Louvre E 3229 = *Papyrus Louvre E 3229* (in Janet H. Johnson. "Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text." *Enchoria* 7 [1977] pp. 55-102 [non vidi].).

Paul. Aeg. = *Paulus Aegineta* (J. L. Heiberg, ed. *Paulus Aegineta*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1921-1924. 2 vols.)

Paus. = *Pausanias* (Rocha-Pereira, Maria Helena, ed. *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1973-1977. 3 vols.)

PDM = *Papyri Demoticae Magicae* (see under London and Leiden papyrus)

Petr. Cant. = *Petrus Cantor*

Verb. Abbrex. = *Verbum Abbrexiatum* (in Louise Vinge. *The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature up to the Early 19th Century*. Trans. Robert Dewsnap et. al. Lund: Gleerups, 1967. p. 346, n. 19.)

PGM = *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (Preisendanz, Karl and Albert Henrichs, eds. *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*. Second edition in 2 vols and vol. 3 [indices] as unpublished galley proofs. Stuttgart: 1973-1974.)

Philargyr. = *Philargyrus*

Comm. ad Verg. Ecl. = *Commentaria ad Vergilii Eclogam* (cited by Clayton Zimmerman. *The Pastoral Narcissus: A Study of the First Idyll of Theocritus*. Lanham, Maryland and London, England: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994. pp. 9 and 11.)

Philostr. = *Flavius Philostratus* (C. L. Kayser, ed. *Flavii Philostrati opera*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1871 [1964]. vol. 2.)

Heroic. = *Heroicus*

¹ This is the best edition according to Tarrant (1982), p. 342, n. 1 (cited by Solodow [1988], p. 8, n. 6); I sometimes consult also the text and commentary of Henderson (1979).

- Imag.* = *Imagines*
- Phleg. = Phlegon
Mir. = *Mirabilia* (A. Giannini, ed. *Paradoxographorum Graecorum reliquiae*. Milan: Instituto Editoriale Italiano, 1965.)
- Phot. = Photius
Bibl. = *Bibliotheca* (Henry, René, ed. *Photius: Bibliothèque*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959-1977. 8 vols.)
- Phryn. Arab. = Phrynicus Arabicus
Lex. = *Lexicon* (I. Bekker, ed. *Anecdota Graeca*. Berlin: G. C. Nauck, 1814. vol. 1.)
- Pl. = Plato (J. Burnet, ed. *Platonis opera*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900-1907 [1967]. 5 vols.)
Alc. Maior = *Alcibiades Maior*
Leg. = *Leges*
Phd. = *Phaedo*
Phdr. = *Phaedrus*
Remip. = *Rempublicam*
Symp. = *Symposium*
Tim. = *Timaeus*
- Plin. = Pliny
Hist. Nat. = *Historiae Naturalis* (Karl Mayhoff, ed. *C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1967. 5 vols.)
- Plot. = Plotinus
Enn. = *Enneades* (P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer, eds. *Plotini opera*. Leiden: Brill, 1951-1973. 3 vols.)
- Plut. = Plutarch
Anat. = *Anatorius* (C. Hubert, ed. *Plutarchi moralia*. Second edition. Leipzig: Teubner, 1960. Vol. 5, pt. 3, pp. 1-26.)
de Gen. Socr. = *de Genio Socratis* (W. Sieveking, ed. *Plutarchi moralia*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1935 [1971]. vol. 3, pp. 445-460.)
de Isid. et Osirid. = *de Iside et Osiride* (Griffiths, J. Gwyn, ed. and trans. *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*. University of Wales Press, 1970.)
de Pyth. Orac. = *de Pythiae Oraculorum* (W. Sieveking, ed. *Plutarchi moralia*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1935 [1971]. vol. 3, pp. 25-59.)
Moral. = *Moralia* (W. Nachstädt et al., eds. *Plutarchi moralia*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1935-1965. 11 vols.)
Numa (B. Parrin, ed. *Plutarch's Lives*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1914 [1967]. vol. 1, pp. 306-382.)
Quaest. Conv. = *Quaestiones Convivales* (C. Hubert, ed. *Plutarchi moralia*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1938 [1971]. vol. 4, pp. 1-335.)
- Poll. = Pollux
Onom. = *Onomasticon* (E. Bethe, ed. *Pollucis onomasticon*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1900-1931 [1967]. 2 vols.)
- Porph. = Porphyry
de Abst. = *de Abstinencia* (A. Nauck, ed. *Porphyrii philosophi Platonici opuscula selecta*. Second edition. Leipzig: Teubner, 1886 [1963]. pp. 85-269.)
Ep. ad Aneb. = *Epistula ad Anebonem* (see under Iamblichus)
Vit. Plot. = *Vita Plotini* (Luc Brisson, ed. *Porphyre: La vie de Plotin*. Paris: J. Vrin, 1992.)

Prob. = Probus

Comm. ad Verg. Ecl. = *Commentaria ad Vergilius Eclogem* (see under Philargyrus)

Procl. = Proclus

Comm. ad Pl. Remp. = *Commentaria ad Platonis Rempublicam* (text in Wilhelm Kroll, ed. *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1901. 2 vols.).

Comm. ad Pl. Tim. = *Commentaria ad Platonis Timaeum* (E. Diehl, ed. *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903-1906 [1965]. 3 vols.)

Propert. = Propertius

Eleg. = *Elegies* (Max Rothstein and R. Stark, eds. *Propertius Sextus Elegien*. Dublin and Zürich: Weidmann, 1966. 2 vol.)

Ps.-Apollod. = Pseudo-Apollodorus (R. Wagner, ed. *Apollodori bibliotheca*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1894.)

Bibl. = *Bibliotheca*

Epit. = *Epitome*

Ps.-Apul. = Pseudo-Apuleius

Herb. = *Herbarius* (*Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner and Akademie-Verlag, 1927. vol. 4.)

Ps.-Aristot. = Pseudo-Aristotle

Prob. = *Problemata* (I. Bekker, ed. *Aristotelis opera*. Second edition. Berlin: Reimer, 1831 [1960]. vol. 2)

Ps.-Callisth. = Pseudo-Callisthenes

Vit. Alex. = *Vita Alexandri*

A in Cod. Paris. 1711 (Wilhelm Kroll, ed. *Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes)*. Berlin: Weismann, 1958.)

B in Cod. Paris. 1685 (Leif Bergson, ed. *Der griechische Alexanderroman Rezension β*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1965.)

E (Juergen Trumpl, ed. *Anonymi Byzantini: Vita Alexandri Regis Macedonum*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974.)

Venice ms. 424 (Albert Mugrdich Wolohojian, trans. *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes*. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969.).

Psell. = Michael Psellus

Chron. = *Chronographia* (E. Renauld, ed. *Michel Psellos. Chronographie*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1926-1928 [1967]. 2 vols.)

de Opin. Daemon. = *de Opinione Daemonorum* (Joseph F. Boissonade, ed. *Michael Psellus: de Operatione Daemonum*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1964.)

Ps.-Gal. = Pseudo-Galen

Defin. Med. = *Definitiones Medicae* (C. G. Kühn, ed. *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1830 [1965]. vol. 19, pp. 346-462.)

Ps.-Men. = Pseudo-Menander

Max. = *Maximus* (in John Maxwell Edmonds. *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957. vol. 3, pt. B.)

Ps.-Orph. = Pseudo-Orpheus (see under Marsilio Ficino)

Ps.-Verg. = Pseudo-Vergil

Cir. = *Ciris* (R. O. A. M. Lyne, ed. *Ciris: A Poem Attributed to Vergil*. Cambridge University Press, 1978.)

Ptol. = Ptolemy

Tetr. = *Tetrabiblion* (Boll, F. and A. Boer, eds. *Claudii Ptolemaei Opera quae exstant omnia*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1957. vol. 3.)

Rufus Ephesius

de Podagr. = *de Podagra* (C. Daremberg and C. E. Ruelle, eds. *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Ephèse*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879 [1963].)

Schol. in Apollod. Rhod. Argon. = *Scholia in Apollodori Rhodii Argonauticam* (K. Wendel, ed. *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1935 [1974].)

Schol. in Luc. Dial. Mort. = *Scholia in Luciani Dialogum Mortuorum* (Rabe, Hugo, ed. *Scholia in Lucianum*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1971.)

Schol. in Soph. Oed. Colon. = *Scholia in Sophoclis Oedipum Coloniensium* (Petrus N. Papageorgius, ed. *Scholia in Sophoclis Tragoedias Vetera*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1888.)

Schol. in Stat. Theb. = *Scholia in Statii Thebaid* (see under Statius)

Sen. = Seneca

Med. = *Medea* (C. D. N. Costa, ed. *Seneca: Medea*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.)

Oed. = *Oedipus* (I. C. Giardina, ed. *L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae*. Bologna: 1966. vol. 2.)

Quaest. Nat. = *Quaestiones Naturalis* (Paul Oltramare, ed. *Sénèques: questions naturelles*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1929. 2 vols.)

Serv. = Servius

Comm. ad Verg. Aen. = *Commentaria ad Vergilii Aeneid* (Thilo, Georg and Hermann Hagen, eds. *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961 (reprint). vol. 1.)

Sext. Emp. = Sextus Empiricus

Phys. = *Physica* (H. Mutschmann, ed. *Sexti Empirici opera*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912-1914. 2 vols.)

Sext. Nig. = Sextius Niger

de Mater. = *de Materia Medica* (Max Wellmann, ed. *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de Materia Medica Libri Quinque*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1958. vol. 3.)

Socr. and Dion. = Socrates and Dionysius

de Lapid. = *de Lapide* (Halleux, Robert and Jacques Schamp. *Les lapidaires grecs*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985.)

Soph. = Sophocles

Oed. Colon. = *Oedipus Coloneus* (A. Dain and P. Mazon, eds. *Sophocle*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960 [1967]. vol. 3.)

Stat. = Statius

Theb. = *Thebaid* (D. E. Hill, ed. *P. Papini Stati Thebaidos libri xii*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983.)

Steph. Byz. = Stephanus Byzantinius

Lex. = *Lexicon* (see under Apollonius)

Str. = Strabo (A. Meineke, ed. *Strabonis geographica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1877 [1969]. 3 vols.)

Suda (A. Adler, ed. *Suidae lexicon*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928-1934. 4 vols.)

Suet. = Suetonius

Vit. Aug. = *Vita Augusti* (Mario Attilio Levi, ed. *Divus Augustus. De Vita Caesarum Liber II*. Florence: Nuova Italia, 1951.)

Tert. = Tertullian

de Anim. = *de Anima* (Various eds. *Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera*. Turnholt: Brepols, 1954. 2 vols.)

Theocr. = Theocritus

Idl. = *Idyllia* (A. S. F. Gow, ed. *Theocritus*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952 [1965]. vol. 1.)

Theodor. Philet. = Theodorus Philetas

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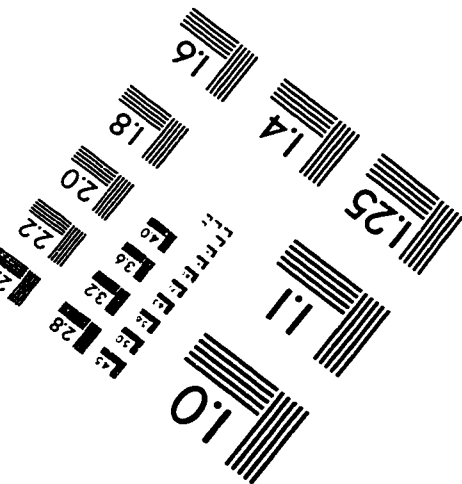
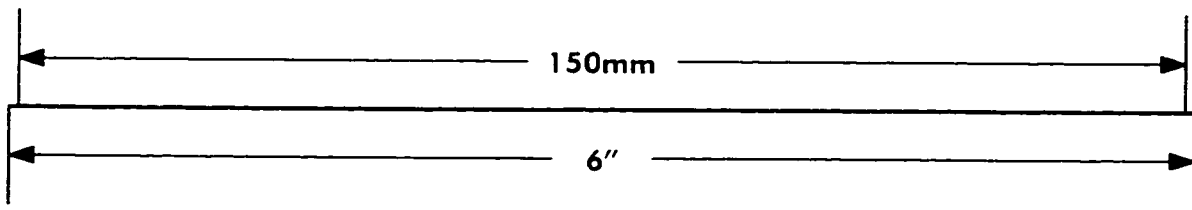
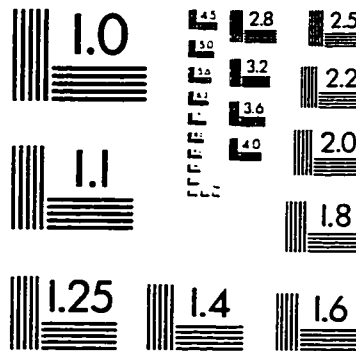
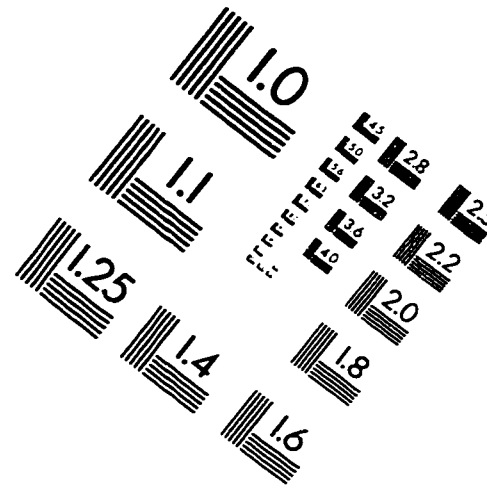
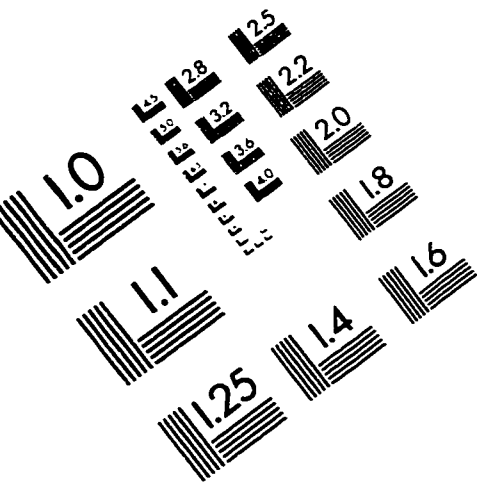
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