

## **Opening Remarks**

**Victoria Wohl, Chair, Department of Classics, University of Toronto**

It's my great pleasure to welcome you all to the 2023 Donor Appreciation Lecture, the first of what I hope will become a new tradition, and in fact the tradition was supposed to begin last year but like so many things it's postponed due to COVID, so it's a double pleasure to be able to welcome you all here today. I didn't fully realize until I became chair how important the generosity of our donors is for everything we do in this department. The most obvious and significant impact is probably on our graduate programs. We in the Department of Classics strive to support our graduate students to the highest degree possible but it's very hard to keep up with the ever-rising cost of living in Toronto and the steep competition from our peer institutions in Canada and the U.S., including the University of Chicago. Your donations help us to recruit the best students in the world and to support them throughout their studies.

They also enable us to recognize and reward students who are particularly excelling in those studies. An award like Catherine Boshier Memorial Graduate Award in Classics offers targeted support to female students following in Catherine Boshier's footsteps doing innovative, interdisciplinary work in Classics, while the John Landon Memorial Fellowship in Classics, established in 2019 in memory of MA alumnus and University of Turin Professor John Landon supports students undertaking extended travel for advanced research. At the undergraduate level, awards like the Chau/Chan scholarships in Classics or the new John Spina Classics scholarships allowed us to recognize particularly talented undergraduates, which in turn holds out a model and goal for their classmates. The strength of our graduate and undergraduate programs is vital to everything we do, and we literally could not do it without the support of donors like you.

I named some awards made possible by major donations but our students benefit from donations of every size and shape, and sometimes it's shaped like money or checks, sometimes it's shaped like books, and I can mention here the recent donation of books to the Woodbury Library by John Alton and Allison Woodbury, which is greatly appreciated. Donations to our departmental trust, for instance, support our efforts to make Classics more inclusive through bursaries for summer Greek and Latin study, and support outstanding students from groups still under-represented in Classics. I know that some of you have earmarked your donations for this goal and am happy to report that we're about to welcome into the MA program this fall a truly superb student who was able to learn Greek and Latin thanks to the summer language bursary. In students like this one we see very clearly and directly the positive impact your donations have both on individuals and on the department as a whole. The event today, as I said, the first of many I hope, is just a small expression of the Department's deep appreciation.

I'll now turn it over to my colleague Kenneth you to introduce today's speaker.

## **Introduction**

**Kenneth Yu, Assistant Professor, Department of Classics, University of Toronto**

It's great to see everyone and it's my immense pleasure to introduce Christopher Faraone, the Edward Olsen Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Chicago. A prolific scholar, Chris has published seven monographs, over 70 articles in top tier peer-reviewed journals, and 60 contributions to edited volumes and collections. He has co-edited 10 volumes on such topics as ancient sacrifice initiation and the god Dionysus. His primary interests are in ancient Greek poetry and Greek religion and magic, and many of his publications remain at the foundation of the field. I'll just read to you some titles of his books to convey the breadth of his research: *The Stanzai Architecture of Archaic Greek Elegy*, published by Oxford in 2008, *Transformations of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019, and the pioneering *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, published by Harvard in 1999, which has been translated into modern Greek and French. In this book Faraone demonstrated that ancient Greek love magic, far from being a superstition to be ignored, can serve as windows into Greek ideas about gender and ancient religious agency.

Most recently, he and his colleague Sophia Torallas-Tovar published three volumes entitled *The Greco-Egyptian Magical Formularies*, two of which were published last year, and another forthcoming from the University of California press. A red thread in all of Faraone's work is his interdisciplinary outlook, and his sophisticated handling of texts, material culture, and iconography. To answer complex questions about ancient Greek society, Faraone's research has been supported by the most distinguished awards and fellowships in the humanities including from the Lope Foundation, the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and in Paris, the Getty in Los Angeles, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Guggenheim fellowship.

Finally, as a former student of Chris's, I would be remiss not to mention that he is an exceptional teacher. He has the variability to maintain constant pressure on students and to keep dissertations moving along without ever making one feel rushed or behind, his personal warmth and amiability eased the times of stress and uncertainty inevitable in Graduate Studies. In recognition of his exemplary mentorship Chris received the coveted University of Chicago Award for Excellence in Graduate Teaching in 2008. Chris will speak to us today on cletic hymns from Sappho to the PGM. The passages included in the handout which has been circulated promise to showcase the vast range of expertise for which Chris is known: lyric poetry, Greek drama, Orphic hymns, Greco-Egyptian magical recipes, Hellenistic spells, and early Christian political texts. So without further ado, please join me in welcoming Chris Faraone.

## Cletic Hymns from Sappho to the Greek Magical Papyri

Christopher Faraone, Edward Olson Distinguished Service Professor, Department of Classics,  
University of Chicago

Thanks, Kenneth, for that introduction. I should just say that though I purposely put the word "cletic" in the title because it is a word that has dropped out of vocabulary. It's a word I learned in graduate school for Michael Jameson in the 1980s and it's an important type of hymn, you see, since it's a hymn that calls a god to come to a place, often calling a god from another place. So let me just start. I also want to thank the department and everyone for having me here and I also I have written on top of the first three pages to speak slowly because I'm a native New Yorker and when I get excited about my material I just speak too quickly so I will pause.

As the name suggests, the cletic hymn is a specialized form of ancient Greek hymn designed to pull or to summon the deity from afar to a temple or an altar. As we can see in this fragment of Sappho which seems to be one of the earliest witnesses to the genre.

Sappho Fragment 2 (Hymn to Aphrodite)

Hither to me from Crete to this holy temple where is,  
your delightful grove of apple-trees, and altars smoking  
with incense...(lines 1-4)

Then after describing the attractions of the sanctuary in great detail, Sappho ends her poem with a description of the anticipated theophany:

here, indeed, may you, Cypris take...and pour  
gracefully into golden cups nectar that is mingled with  
our festivities (lines 13-16)

Sappho, in short, calls a goddess away from Crete to join some ongoing ritual at a sanctuary on Lesbos that involves the burning of incense. Although the final stanza is somewhat damaged, we can see that at the end of the poem, Sappho does not make any specific requests to the goddess beyond asking her to appear. Despite the fact that the performance is set in the sanctuary, this is clearly a private hymn. Sappho says come to me, not come to us. This hymn is of course a literary hymn rather than a cultic one or one used in ritual, but as commentators have pointed out, Sappho seems to reflect in this quote and in the more famous Fragment One the traditional form of Greek hymn. I will push this approach a bit further and claim that Sappho's model here is the specific sub-genre of cletic hymn which is, as we shall see, often a personal, not communal, speech act. It asks the deity to come but often does not ask why and is often key to some kind of crisis that needs immediate attention. The alleged differences between a ritual hymn and a literary hymn has in fact also complicated the modern understanding of the so-called Orphic hymns which survive in the same manuscript as the so-called Homeric hymns.

The first hymn in this collection is dedicated to Hecate and displays most of the features of a cletic hymn.

Orphic Hymn no. 1:

I call on you lovely Hecate, at the roadside, at the triple crossroads  
in the sky, in the earth and in the sea, saffron cloaked,  
in the tomb, reveling with the souls of the dead  
daughter of Perseus, lover of deserted places, delighting in deer,  
nocturnal dog-loving irresistible queen,  
bull-herder, key-holding mistress of the entire cosmos,  
leader, nymph, nurturer of the youth, mountain roamer,  
as I beseech (you), maiden, to be near to (these) holy rites,  
with goodwill always for the cow-herd and always with joyous heart!

This short nine verse poem is a single sentence that is comprised mainly of compound epithets and alternate names of the goddess. It delays the request for the deity's appearance until the penultimate line, where the goddess is simply asked to be near the holy rites to be performed in her honor. This hymn to Hecate is similar to Sappho's poem in that it begins and ends with a request to appear. Sappho's hymn focuses on the beauty and the attractiveness of the sanctuary to lure Aphrodite from Crete, whereas the Orphic hymn emphasizes a detailed knowledge of Hecates' names and epithets in the hopes that one or more will have the desired effect. Many scholars in fact see the Orphic hymns as literary productions like those of Sappho that would have never been used in cults, but in the last 10 or 15 years, there's a growing consensus that they were performed in the third century in the context of private initiation rituals associated with the community of Dionysiac worshipers in Asia Minor.

This consensus has not however addressed two features of the hymn which for so long have convinced scholars to see them as literary poems. The first is that the hymns lack a central narrative or argument that convinces the god to act, and the second is that they do not end with a specific or concrete request. We will see in what follows that cletic hymns often lack both and I will argue that the shared form of the Sapphic and Orphic hymns points to a traditional and underappreciated genre of cletic hymn as an introduction to or first step in a longer ritual sequence that begins by burning incense and inviting the deity to come to a sanctuary or home, and then in a prosaic prayer or request that follows, to ask the deity for some personal or private benefit. The cletic hymn, in short, is designed to produce a theophany after which the god or goddess is available for further and more detailed requests.

To make this argument, I will show that another set of cletic hymns, a Roman dated hymn like the Orphic ones with a similar performing function have been missing from the discussion of cletic hymns because of the traditional divide between those who study Ancient Greek religion and those who study Ancient Greek magic. The first is the so-called magical hymns that appear on a lead tablet and in several papyrus handbooks from the third or fourth Century CE Egypt, and the second are a pair of important but completely neglected hymns preserved by

Hippolytus of Rome in his famous diatribe *Against The Magicians*, a text that is usually dated in the third Century CE.

We'll begin however by looking at the basic rhetorical form of some other early cletic performances. In each case we will see that these cletic hymns have finished their work when the deity arrives, and that a second ritual action or speech act is necessary in order for practitioners to achieve their ultimate goal.

Before I begin let me clarify two terms. First of all you should imagine that there are scare quotes around the problematic terms "Orphic" and "Magic" every time I use them. The designation of Orphic descends from antiquity in the title of a hidden collection claiming to be the work of Orpheus but in fact these hymns do not seem to be part of any known corpus of Orpheus' poetry nor are they connected to Orphic religion, if such a thing ever existed. The second designation, "magical hymn" is, on the other hand, a completely modern intervention used to designate the first sections of invocations found in Greek magical texts.

Let me begin by returning to Sappho and examining her other surviving hymn, Fragment One, which starts out, as you all know:

Ornate-throned immortal Aphrodite,  
wile-weaving daughter of Zeus, I entreat you:  
do not overpower my heart, mistress,  
with ache and anguish,

but come here, if ever in the past you heard  
my voice from afar and acquiesced and came,  
leaving your father's golden house, with  
chariot yoked: beautiful swift sparrows...

This poem begins with a plea to come to the performer, coupled in this case with a brief argument: come to me because you have come before. The request is a personal one and is generated by a crisis that involves anguish and pain. The poem ends by reiterating the cletic request but here too Sappho does not say out loud why she is summoning the goddess.

Sappho Fragment 1.25-28

Come to me ever now and free me from oppressive  
anxieties; and bring to perfection however many things  
my heart long to perfect, and you yourself  
be my fellow-fighter (summachos).

We should note that this final request is also a general one - "relieve my anxiety and bring about my wishes". We know of course from the intervening stanzas that Sappho wants Aphrodite's help in attracting another woman, because in the midsection of the poem Sappho

recalls an earlier theophany of the goddess who promised the poet that whoever was fleeing her would quickly pursue her.

In Aeschylus' Eumenides and in quite different circumstances Orestes also makes a cletic request in times of crisis when he prays to Athena.

Aeschylus' Eumenides 287-398

And now it is time with pure lips that I reverently call  
Athena, ruler of this land, to come to me as an ally...

But whether she is in a region of the land of  
Libya, close by the stream of her natal river Triton,...,  
or whether she is surveying the plain of Phlegra  
like a bold man in command of an army, may she  
come - a god can hear even from far away - so that  
she may be my liberator from these troubles.

Here again we find the usual features of cletic hymn. First, like Sappho, he begins by calling on Athena to come and be his ally, and at the end he repeats his plea that the goddess come, justifying at this time by the claim that gods can hear from far away and thereby arrive as his liberator. Orestes also uses a trope that we will see again in the later cletic hymns when he wonders out loud whether Athena is in the land of Libya close by the river Triton or whether she is surveying the plain of Phlegra. Orestes' prayer is in fact successful. Athena responds with a theophany and says:

From far away I heard a cry summoning me...  
by rushing with unwearied foot I have arrived

In his initial prayer, however, Orestes does not explain why Athena should feel compelled to come but what he wishes her to do when she arrives.

To reiterate, the lyric hymns of Sappho and the dramatic prayer of the Orestes are all literary productions, but they nicely reveal a basic genre of cletic hymn or prayer. They are short invitations of a deity to come to the speaker who is in need of them. Their express goal seems to be theophany alone and for this reason they usually do not end with specific requests which we presume will come later.

Now, the Orphic hymns. Anne-Marie Moran has shown that the Orphic hymns of the cletic type take a form that can be summarized as follows. According to Moran's analysis, an initial verse that either uses, as Orestes does, the first person verb to summon a god in the accusative to come, or addresses a god directly as Sappho does, and bids them to listen or to come, then there is roughly 6 to 11 verses of epithets or short relative clauses describing the powers of the places connected to the deity, and then a closing sentence that often begins with an apostrophe that asks the goddess to come to some subsequent ritual or speech act.

Hymn 6: To Protogonos (the incense is myrrh)

I call upon Protogonos, the two-natured, the great, the ether-tossed

(8 lines of epithets or alternate names)

But you, o blessed one, of many couples, of many seeds, come gladly to those who are celebrating a holy and elaborate rite!

Like the hymn to Hecate quoted earlier, all of these Orphic hymns end with a request to attend some kind of ritual performance. The frequency of these cletic hymns in the Orphic collection is important. Out of 87 examples, 28 or roughly one-third begin, and some begin and end, by summoning a god. The relatively short length of these cletic hymns is also of note. Of the 28 composed in this fashion, 22 are between 8 and 18 verses long.

To get an even better sense of the ritual setting and the introductory nature of these cletic hymns, we need to look at a set of hymns of a similar date preserved in the magical text in Roman Egypt. The first is a lead tablet inscribed with a long erotic curse and the second is a recipe from a papyrus handbook of a similar kind of procedure. This curse tablet aims in forcing a woman named Gorgonia to have sex with another woman named Sophia, and it includes two cletic hymns both in iambic meters, not hexametrical. The first one runs as follows:

Supplementum Magicum 42

Lord of the immortals, holding the sceptres of Tartaros and of terrible, terrible Styx and of life-robbing Lethe, the spiky(?) hairs of Herberos tremble in fear of you, you crack the loud whips of the Erinyes; the couch of Persephone delights your heart, when you go to the desired bed, whether you be immortal Sarapis, who the universe fears, whether you be Osiris, star of the land of Egypt; your messenger is the all-wise boy; yours is Anubis, the pious herald of the dead. Come hither, fulfill my wishes, because I summon you by these secret symbols.

Hades is not named in the short hymn which is perhaps surprising in a cletic hymn that is supposed to summon the god by all of his names. But this is explainable because the Greeks were in fact often afraid to mention his name aloud, but the hymn makes his identity clear by mentioning the captured Persephone, the three parts of his kingdom: Tartarus, Styx, and Lethe, as well as those who serve under him: Kerberos and the Erinyes. The first six verses of this hymn are indeed filled with references to both the places and key individuals traditionally found in the Greek underworld. In the last six lines, however, the same hymn ends by identifying Hades with Sarapis and Osiris and by placing in his service the god Anubis, another well-known denizen of the Egyptian underworld. The differences between these two halves and the hymns suggest in fact that the last six verses were added later in an effort to assimilate this

originally Greek cletic hymn to its new Egyptian context, but in making these Egyptian equations the author has nonetheless adopted a very old feature of Greek cletic hymns that we noted earlier in Orestes' prayer to Athena, at the point where he wonders aloud whether she's in Libya or whether she is surveying the plain of Phlegra. On the curse tablet, however, this is not a questionable location but rather it's a question of assimilation: "whether you be immoral Sarapis, whom the universe fears, whether you be Osiris, star of the land of Egypt."

The final verse of this hymn is the author wondering about whether Hades will accept this invitation. Hades will come because he has been summoned by these secret symbols. The use here of the pronoun "these" probably refers to the long list of magical names that begins in the very next sentence. It will not detain us beyond noting that as a list of divine names, it continues in the cletic tradition by piling up multiple names and epithets. I should say here that these names most of them we don't know what they are. Some people say they're nonsense names. I have an idea that one time I want to sit down with my colleagues at the Oriental Institute and see if they have meaning in some other languages. For the last hundred years, scholars have tried to try to say that most of them are Egyptian or most of them are Jewish, and it has looked like some of them are, but I would say 90% of them seem to be unknown as far as we can tell.

The third section of this ritual sequence is the curse itself which is in prose rather than verse.

Supplementum Magic 42 (prose curse that follows the first hymn)

Constrain Gorgonia, whom Nilogenia bore, to cast herself into the bath-house for the sake of Sophia, whom Isara bore, for her. Aye, lord, king of the chthonic gods, burn, set on fire, inflame the soul, the heart, the liver, the spirit of Gorgonia, whom Nilogenia bore, with love and affection for Sophia, whom Isara bore; drive Gorgonia herself, torment her body night and day; force her to rush forth from every place and every house, loving Sophia. Whom Isara bore she, Gorgonia surrendered like a slave, giving herself and all her possessions.

This curse invokes Hades once again as king of the underworld and the change from poetry to prose shows us clearly that this is a second and subsequent speech act. The cletic hymn in short uses poetry to attract and invite Hades to come up from the underworld, whereas the curse that follows in prose specifically asks him to burn the target with passion. The switch from poetry moreover shows that these are two separate speech acts.

We see the same tripartite structure in another section of the same lead tablet. The initial hymn is rather corrupt, so I will only discuss uh the first six verses.

Part of the Corrupt Second Hymn in Supplementum Magic 42

"...fundament of the gloomy darkness.  
jagged-toothed dog, coiled with snakes,  
turning three heads, traveler in the recesses of



underworld, come, spirit-driver, with the  
Erinyes (4) savage with their stinging whips;  
holy serpents, maenads, frightful maidens,  
come to my wrathful incantations"

As was true for the first hymn on the tablet, this one is followed by a shorter sequence of magic names and then by a prose curse that is quite similar to the one that followed the hymn to Hades that was quoted earlier. Here too it would seem that the wrathful incantations mentioned at the end of the hymn refer once again to the prose curses at the very end of the sequence. These two hymns on the lead tablet give us an excellent idea of how a cletic hymn in a poetic meter can be used as an introduction to the subsequent request that is clearly marked by its prosaic form as a second and separate performance. There is moreover evidence in the Greek magical handbooks that the initial hymn could also be composed in dactylic hexameter like the orphic hymns discussed earlier.

There is an erotic curse with the same three parts, which begins:

PGM IV 2894-2942 (Cletic Hymn to Aphrodite)

BEGINS:

O foam-born Kythereia, mother of both gods and men,  
etherial and chthonic, all-mother nature, unsubdued,  
who holds things together(?), who revolves the great fire,...

ENDS:

Queen, goddess, come to these incantations

Unlike the cletic hymns on the lead tablet, the instructions in this papyrus handbook helpfully describes the simple ritual that accompanies this hymn:

PGM IV 2891-93

Offering to the star of Aphrodite: A white  
dove's blood and fat, untreated myrrh and  
parched wormwood. Make this up  
together as pills and offer them to the star  
on pieces of vine-wood or on coals.

So again it's a very simple offering, just like the hymn that Sappho sings to Aphrodite with incense. As in the case of the first tablet, this cletic hymn is only the first part of the ritual sequence. This is hinted at by the final plea to Aphrodite to come to these incantations here. Like the reference at the end of the hymn to Hades (to these secret symbols), or the one at the end of the Hecate hymn to my wrathful incantations, the pronoun points forward to the speech act that follows. The sequence that follows, moreover, is similar to the one that we saw on the

lead tablet. First is a series of magical names and then an incantation. This time, whereas the cletic hymn ended by asking the goddess to come to these incantations, the curse itself asks the goddess at the end to bring this incantation to perfection or to fulfillment, much like the request that Sappho makes to Aphrodite in the final stanza of her hymn: “bring to perfection however many things my heart longs to perfect.”

The use of incense as the only offering to Aphrodite in this magical recipe provides us another parallel between the Sapphic, the Orphic, and the magical hymn.

Sappho speaks of it also loading with burning incense and the manuscripts that preserve the orphan hymns uh nearly every in memberships nearly every hymn is introduced with the title uh that indicates the name of the Divine recipient and the recommended incense to burn usually storax, myrrh or frankincense as you can see for example in the titles the first 10 hymns of the collection. In ten of the roughly 30 Magical Hymns we were also told perform this kind of ceremony.

For example, Hymn to Selene is prefaced with the words “burn an offering of Cretan storax on Juniper wood” or “take Ethiopian cumin and the fat of a virgin goat... and offer it to Selene on the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> day of the month.”

Finally, Hippolytus of Rome’s Christian writing in the early part of the third Century CE also suggests the independence of these cletic hymns, when he in his diatribe against oral heresies attributes two hymns of this kind to the magicians of his day, who he claims were defrauding their clients with their magical performances. He describes a number of scenes in which **imagos** and his fellow trickster aspired to deceive an audience. In one case, the trick involved the recitation of a short and apparently incomplete hexametrical hymn to Baubo.

Hippolytus of Rome. *Contra Haereses* 4.35

Approach, you of the netherworld, of earth, and of heaven, Baubo!  
You by the wayside, at the crossroads, light-bearer, night-wanderer,  
enemy of light, friend and companion of night,  
Rejoicing in the bark of pups and in bright red blood,  
lurking among the corpses and the tombs of the dead,  
lusting for blood, bringing terror to mortals  
Gorgo, Mormo, Méné – you of many forms,  
may you come gracious to our immolations

As you can see, this hymn begins with the usual cletic address: “approach, you of the underworld,” and follows with a list of epithets and names similar to the Orphic hymn to Hecate that I read in the beginning. This hymn to Baubo also ends with a reference to an ongoing ritual: “may you come gracious to our immolations”. The word used here in the Greek usually refers to burnt offerings of animals but here it probably refers to the burnt sacrifice of

incense that we saw earlier. This has to do with the context that the Hippolytus describes. It's indoors in an underground room, an unlikely place to burn an animal.

The second hymn preserved by the Hippolytus is introduced as follows. After a magician makes the inside of the house dark, he claims that he will Usher in gods and demons, and if let's say someone demands any display of spookiness, the magician makes the following implication. There follows 11 dactylic hexameters that take the by now familiar form of cletic hymn, which begins as follows:

Zeus, thou immoral though long-perished child of Apollo!  
I invoke you to approach my drink offerings as my ally  
You who once saved ten thousand tribes of strengthless dead  
in the ever-weeping halls of vast Tartaros  
as they sailed the roaring, unreturning stream of irreversible  
<Kokyto> to an end equal <for> all mortal men,  
wailing by the swamp and shrieking unanswered prayers,  
It is you who saved them from unsmiling Persephone!  
Whether you are visiting the foundation of holy Trikke, or beloved Pergamon,  
Or along with these, Ionian Epidauros, come. Blessed One!  
The <chief> of the magoi calls you here <to be present>!

The god invoked in this hymn is probably Zeus Asclepius, whose temple at Pergamon is mentioned three times by Aelius Aristides in his orations, but nowhere else in Greek literature. Before and after the hymn, Hippolytus uses only the name of Asclepius, and the God is clearly a chthonic one, because Hippolytus goes on to say after the hymn is recited, a fiery Asclepius appears to rise up from the floor, a successful bit of theatrical engineering says by the magician's assistant hiding in the next room.

Here too the goal of the hymn seems to be of theophany alone. In this case, the incense used in the other hymns is replaced by the libations mentioned in the second line, a change which makes sense perhaps because a chthonic god like Zeus Asclepius can be better attracted upwards by libations poured down into the surface of the Earth, much as the scent of Sappho's incense rising up from the ground was designed to attract Aphrodite down from the heavens.

The differences between the magical hymns preserved in Hippolytus and those from Egypt are significant. These hymns of Hippolytus do not include any Egyptian deities or nonsense names or nonsense names or strings of Abracadabra of the kind that we saw on the tablet and the handbook recipes from Egypt. This is unexpected of course because Hippolytus' diatribe would have gained much more heft if the two hymns he quotes also contain a lot of outlandish words and so on. These hymns of Hippolytus are in fact entirely Greek both in content and in form and the one dedicated to Zeus Asclepius even had been composed in Anatolia. Anatolia as was mentioned earlier is the presumed place where the Orphic hymns were also composed. If therefore Hippolytus was using as his source some kind of magical handbook, then this book

was probably not one produced in Egypt, like the book that presumably produced the hymns on the lead tablet or the papyrus handbook discussed earlier.

My time is up and it's time to conclude. We have seen that the genre of the cletic hymn had a long life, attested as early as Sappho and Aeschylus. And that these things in addition to the general poetics of summoning, preserve a number of features that survive in the later Orphic and magical examples. For example, the request to the deity to be my ally, or the trope of naming the various other places where the deity might be. Most importantly, all the early examples do not have specific requests and two of the three made no argument about why the god should even listen.

We also saw that in addition to sharing the same short length and cletic form, the Orphic and magical hymns were also performed with a simple offering of incense, like Sappho's Fragment 2, and they serve as flexible prefaces or introductions to a range of other ritual procedures or speech acts that were presumably performed after the deity arrived. These parallel moreover over the recently revived argument that the Orphic hymns were indeed composed in ritual contexts, thus rather than see them as defective hymns that are missing crucial sections of an ideal thing, we can now see I think that at least a third of the orphan hymns belong to a specialized subgenre: cletic hymns that aim at theophany.

Finally a few words about comparing hymns that were written nearly a millennium apart, especially when the early texts are taken from lyric or dramatic poetry and the later from real ritual contexts. The main argument for such an approach is of course that traditional ritual speech is by definition conservative in nature and resistant to change and that Greek poets presumably knew and drew upon this tradition as it suited their theme or their narrative. This is not a new idea, since almost all studies of Greek religion use Homer, Aeschylus, and the other poets as their sources for the earliest rituals, and do so according to the same principle. In the case of the first hymn Sappho, however, there is even more compelling evidence of such continuity because as we saw there are a number of hymns to Aphrodite in the later magical handbooks that aim at erotic compulsion and deploy burning incense as their sole offering. Over the years, scholars have shown that the midsection of Sappho's poem reflects the contenting goals of these later erotic incantations in the Magical Papyri, but a series of recent discoveries since their publications shows an even closer connection to that moment when Sappho asked the goddess to bring to perfection however many things by heart longs to perfect. We saw how the same request appears at the end of the hexametrical hymn to Aphrodite discussed earlier, and we know Sappho is reflecting a long continuous tradition of ending erotic curses in this manner, as we can see at the end of a parody of the erotic curse from a hexametrical fragment.

There are nearly a dozen extant magical spells dating from the late Hellenistic period to the 4th Century CE which ended with versions of this same hexametrical coda "goddess bring to perfection." So when Sappho asks Aphrodite to bring her erotic desires to fulfillment she too seems to reflect a long tradition in which a cletic hymn to the same goddess could be part of an

elaborate erotic spell to force a woman to be erotically aroused and come to the performer.  
Thank you.